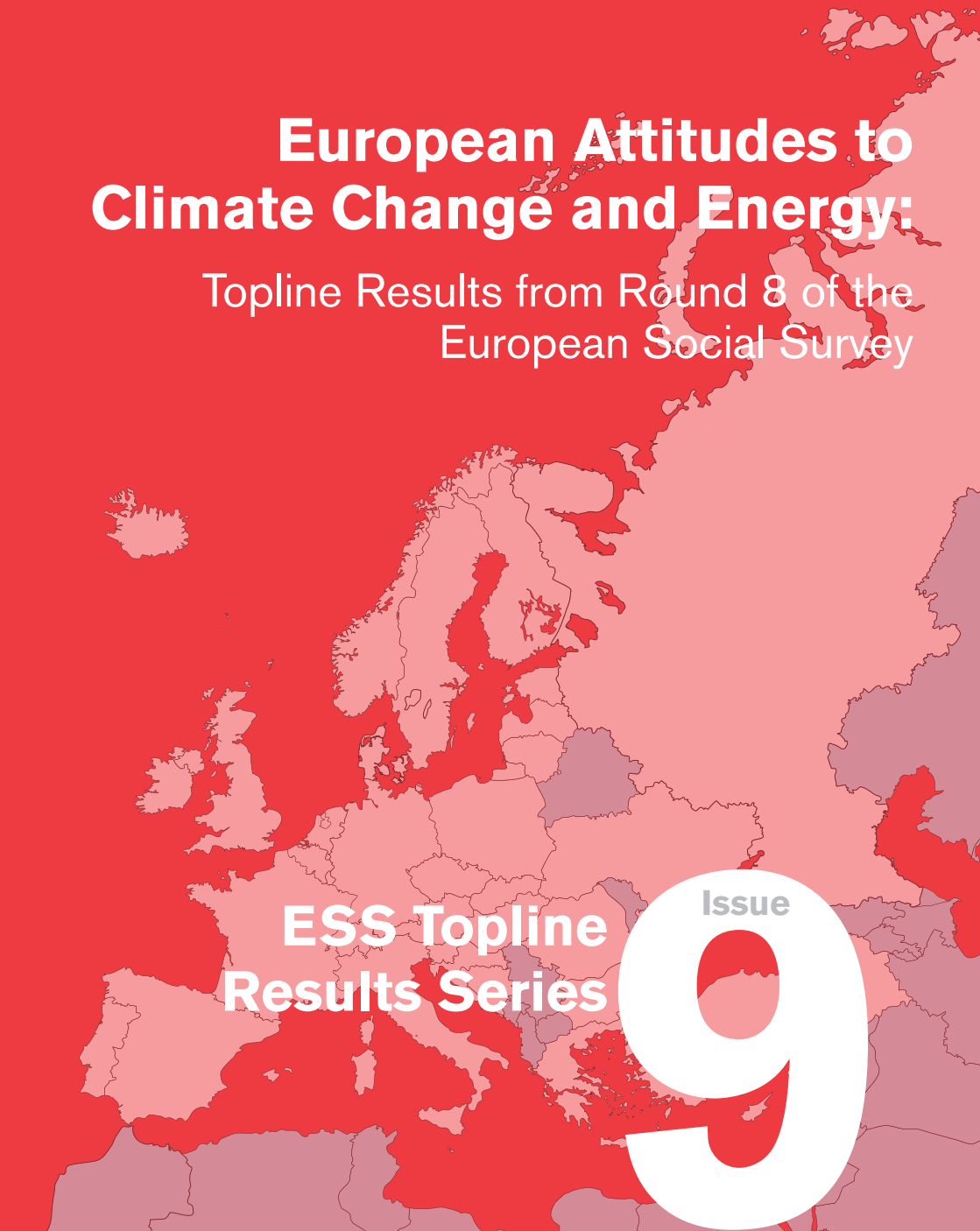
European Social Survey

European Attitudes to Climate Change and Energy:

Topline Results from Round 8 of the European Social Survey



ESS Topline Results Series

Issue 9

This latest issue in our Topline Results series examines public attitudes towards climate change and energy for the first time in the ESS. The module was selected for inclusion due to its academic excellence as well as the increasing relevance of this issue. For example the Paris Agreement made by 195 United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) countries in 2016 underlines the salience of the topic.

With many parts of Europe and the world recording rising temperatures and experiencing more extreme weather, the subject is a key grand challenge. By assessing public opinion on climate change and the related issue of energy we hope that this latest data will influence academic, public and policy debate in this area.

We include two different topics in each round of the survey to expand the relevance of our data into new areas and to allow repetition if the case can be made to examine the same area again. Everyone at the ESS is delighted with the work of the Questionnaire Design Team who led on the design of this module, and who have written this excellent publication.

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Wouter Poortinga, Stephen Fisher, Gisela Böhm, Linda Steg, Lorraine Whitmarsh, Charles Ogunbode

Introduction

Climate change poses serious risks to natural, social and economic systems, and is currently one of the most pressing global challenges. To avoid further human interference with the climate system, significant reductions in greenhouse gas emissions are needed in the coming decades (IPCC, 2014). This requires transforming the way energy is produced and used, including reductions in energy demand. Successfully decarbonising energy in Europe will require behaviour change, new low-carbon energy technologies and facilities, as well as policies and regulations that are only achievable with widespread public acceptance.

Decisions about decarbonising energy supplies to mitigate climate change, however, need to be considered in relation to other energy challenges. Ensuring a reliable and secure supply of energy has become increasingly important in the light of internationalisation of energy markets, rising energy prices, and a continuing dependence on fossil fuels (World Energy Council, 2013). Action that different governments may take in response to these issues is similarly dependent on public perceptions in their respective countries.

Round 8 of the European Social Survey (ESS) fielded a newly developed Climate Change and Energy module. The module was designed to create a comprehensive, theoretically-grounded dataset of public attitudes to climate change, energy security and energy preferences; using a conceptual framework that was broadly based on the Value-Belief-Norm model (Stern, 2000). In this topline report, we will cover the areas of (1) climate change beliefs, (2) climate change and energy security concerns, (3) personal norms and efficacy beliefs, (4) energy preferences, and (5) environmental policy preferences.

Fieldwork for ESS Round 8 took place between August 2016 and December 2017. The full dataset consists of 44,387 respondents from 23 countries.[1] Further details about data collection can be found in the ESS8 Data Documentation Report, Edition 2.0.[2] The robust design process, alongside high-quality translation and strict guidelines regarding data collection,[3] increases the likelihood that reliable cross-national comparisons can be made.

Climate Change Beliefs

Questions were designed to assess people's mental representations of climate change, specifically their beliefs regarding its existence, causes and impacts (Poortinga, Spence, Whitmarsh, Capstick, & Pidgeon, 2011). First, respondents were asked whether they think the world's climate is changing.

Table 1 shows the percentage of respondents in each country that think that the world's climate is probably or definitely

Table 1: Beliefs in the reality, causes and impacts of climate change

COUNTRY	COUNTRY CODE	CLIMATE IS PROBABLY OR DEFINITELY CHANGING (%)	CLIMATE CHANGE AT LEAST PARTLY CAUSED BY HUMAN ACTIVITY (%)	CLIMATE CHANGE IMPACTS WILL BE BAD (%)
Austria	AT	92.5	91.8	74.0
Belgium	BE	96.4	94.0	66.3
Czech Republic	CZ	88.9	89.5	68.0
Estonia	EE	91.3	88.8	59.7
Finland	FI	94.0	93.9	67.2
France	FR	96.3	93.8	73.7
Germany	DE	95.4	94.8	77.4
Hungary	HU	91.4	92.7	77.0
Iceland	IS	97.7	94.6	81.6
Ireland	IE	96.1	91.1	63.2
Israel	IL	86.3	85.4	58.1
Italy	IT	94.8	93.6	69.0
Lithuania	LT	88.7	82.7	73.7
Netherlands	NL	96.2	91.8	61.6
Norway	NO	92.9	87.8	71.9
Poland	PL	92.6	89.6	70.4
Portugal	PT	97.0	93.6	81.1
Russia	RU	82.2	83.8	61.8
Slovenia	SI	96.5	93.0	71.4
Spain	ES	95.8	95.7	87.9
Sweden	SE	96.8	92.4	81.2
Switzerland	CH	96.4	94.4	74.0
United Kingdom	GB	93.6	91.0	66.0

Source: European Social Survey Round 8, 2016-2017. Post-stratification weights have been applied for country-level analysis.

changing. While in most countries more than 90% think that the world's climate is at least probably changing, in Israel and a number of Eastern European countries less than 90% think this is the case - although the percentages in these countries still represent overwhelming majorities.

Respondents were subsequently asked whether they thought that climate change is caused by natural processes, human activity, or both. Table 1 shows the percentage of respondents that think that climate change is at least partly caused by human activity. The established scientific view is that it is extremely likely human activity is driving observed changes in the climate (IPCC, 2014), and a great majority of the respondents accept that human activity plays a role, if only in part. There is cross-national variation, with residents of Israel, Norway and a number of Eastern European countries being slightly less likely to think that climate change is at least partly caused by human activity.

Table 1 further shows the percentage of respondents in the different countries that think that the consequences of climate change will be bad. Respondents could give a score from 0 to 10, with 0 meaning "extremely bad" and 10 meaning "extremely good". In most countries a majority gave a score on the left side of the scale (i.e. 0-4), although again there is some cross-national variation.

Climate Change and Energy Security Concerns

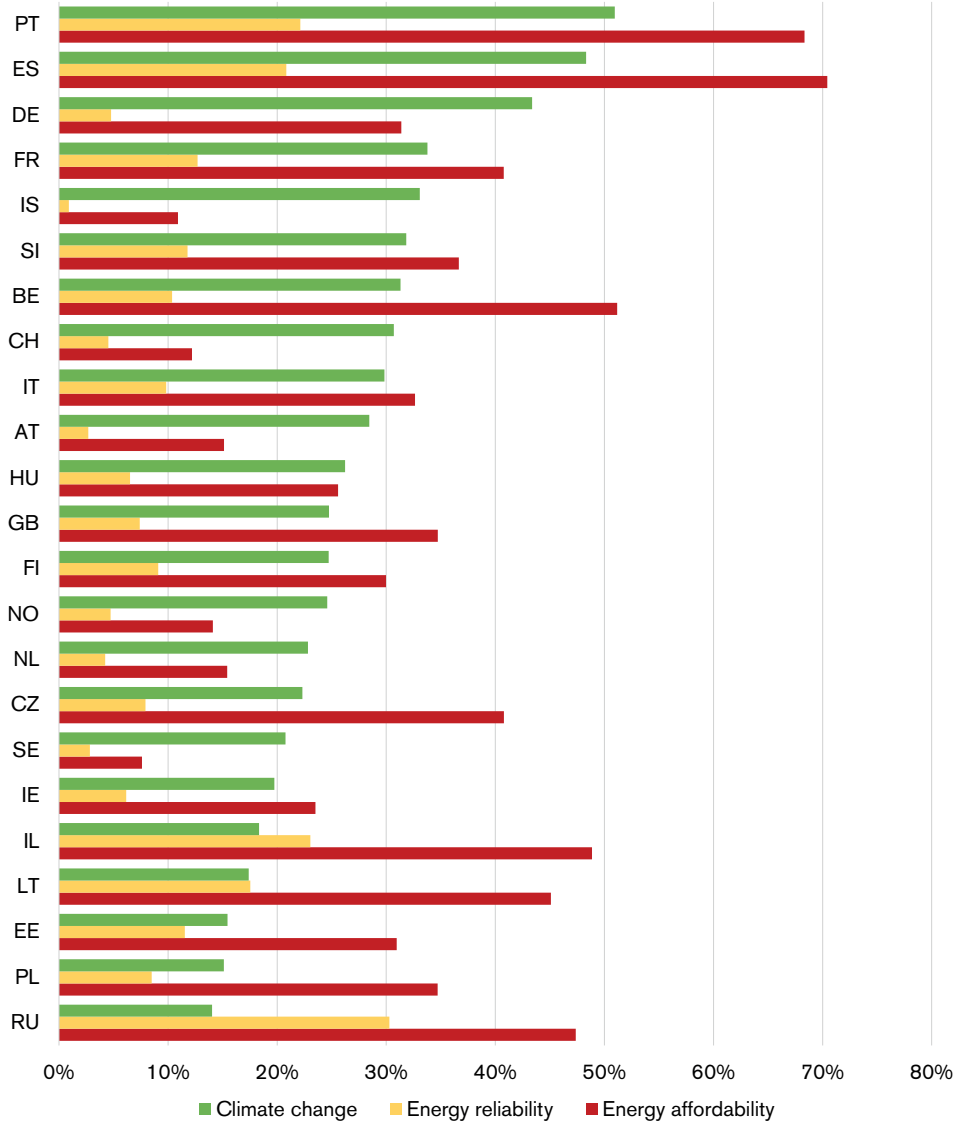
Decisions about decarbonising energy supplies to mitigate climate change cannot be separated from other policy considerations, principally ensuring a reliable and secure supply of energy that is affordable to all households. The simultaneous concern about reliability, security and affordability together is known as the energy trilemma (World Energy Council, 2013).

Here we report on respondents' affective (emotional) evaluations of climate change and energy security. In particular, we elicit concern about the energy trilemma, measuring people's personal feelings of worry about climate change, the reliability of energy supply, and the affordability of energy on a scale from "not at all worried" to "extremely worried".

Despite a great majority of Europeans thinking that the world's climate is changing, and that it is at least partly due to human activity, concern about climate change is relatively low. Across the 23 participating countries, just over a quarter of the respondents report being very or extremely worried about climate change. The low level of concern is surprising, given that just under two-thirds think the impact of climate change will be bad for people across the world (cf. Table 1).

Figure 1 shows the percentages of respondents in the 23 individual countries that report being very or extremely worried about climate change, the reliability of energy supply (energy reliability), and the affordability of energy (energy affordability), respectively. When comparing the

Figure 1: Concern about climate change, energy reliably and energy affordability (% very/extremely worried)



Source: European Social Survey Round 8, 2016-2017. Post-stratification weights have been applied for country-level analysis.

responses across the 23 countries, it appears that people are the most worried about the affordability of energy, with 40% reporting being very or extremely worried, and the least worried about the reliability of energy supplies, with 15% reporting being very or extremely worried. Concern about climate change is somewhere in the middle, with 28% of people expressing a high level of concern.[4]

Concerns about the different aspects of the energy trilemma differ cross-nationally, as might be expected. Countries are not equally vulnerable to the impacts of climate change and face different energy challenges due to their reliance on a variety of energy supply systems.

Concern about climate change is particularly high in Portugal, Spain and Germany, with Portugal being the only country where more than 50% of the population report being very or extremely worried about the issue. In contrast, concern about climate change is relatively low in Ireland and Israel, the Eastern European countries of Lithuania, Estonia and Poland, as well as in the Russian Federation, each with less than 20% of their populations expressing worry about climate change.

As can be seen in Figure 1, concern about the reliability of energy supplies is lower than about climate change in most countries, with the number of people reporting being very or extremely concerned about the issue ranging from less than 1% in Iceland to 30% in Russia. Apart from Russia, levels of concern about energy reliability are relatively high in Spain (21%), Portugal (22%) and Israel (23%).

Concern about the affordability of energy is higher than concern about energy reliability in every country, and it is higher than concern about climate change in a majority of countries. As can be seen in Figure 1, concern about the affordability of energy is particularly widespread in Spain (70%) and Portugal (68%), the two countries that also have the highest levels of concern about climate change. They are followed by Belgium (51%), Israel (49%), Russia (47%) and Lithuania (45%), the latter three being among the countries with the lowest levels of concern about climate change.

The countries with the lowest levels of concern about the affordability of energy are Sweden, Iceland, Switzerland, and Norway, all of which have fewer than 15% reporting being very or extremely concerned "that energy may be too expensive for many people" in their country. These are four of just eight countries where concern about climate change is higher than concern about energy affordability. In 15 out of the 23 countries surveyed, and in Europe overall, the public appear to prioritise affordability over mitigating climate change over energy reliability.

This might appear to resolve the energy trilemma from a public's perspective, by suggesting there is scope for risking reliability of energy supplies in order to keep the costs of climate change mitigation down. However, there had been no major interruptions in energy supply, and both electricity and gas prices had dropped in most European countries in the year before the ESS fieldwork. Worries about both cost and reliability could change dramatically if consumers experience substantial price hikes and shortages.

Personal Norms and Efficacy Beliefs

When studying the relationships between climate change and energy security concerns on the one hand, and energy preferences on the other, it is important to understand the pathways through which they are linked (Steg & de Groot, 2010). According to the Value-Belief-Norm model (Stern, 2000), pro-environmental personal norms take centre stage in linking climate change concerns to energy preferences. Pro-environmental norms reflect the extent to which a person feels a personal obligation to contribute to the solution of an environmental problem. Within the module, these were assessed by asking respondents whether they feel a personal responsibility to try to reduce climate change.

Respondents could give their answers on an 11-point scale, with the endpoints meaning 0 "not at all" and 10 "a great deal". The overall mean score was 5.6 (SD=2.7) across the 23 participating countries, only slightly above the mid-point of 5.[5] This suggests that people only feel a moderate personal responsibility to help reduce climate change.

As can be seen in Figure 2, feelings of personal responsibility (personal norms) were highest in Western European countries, such as France and Switzerland (with mean scores close to 7), and lowest in the Czech Republic and the Russian Federation (both with a mean score lower than 4).

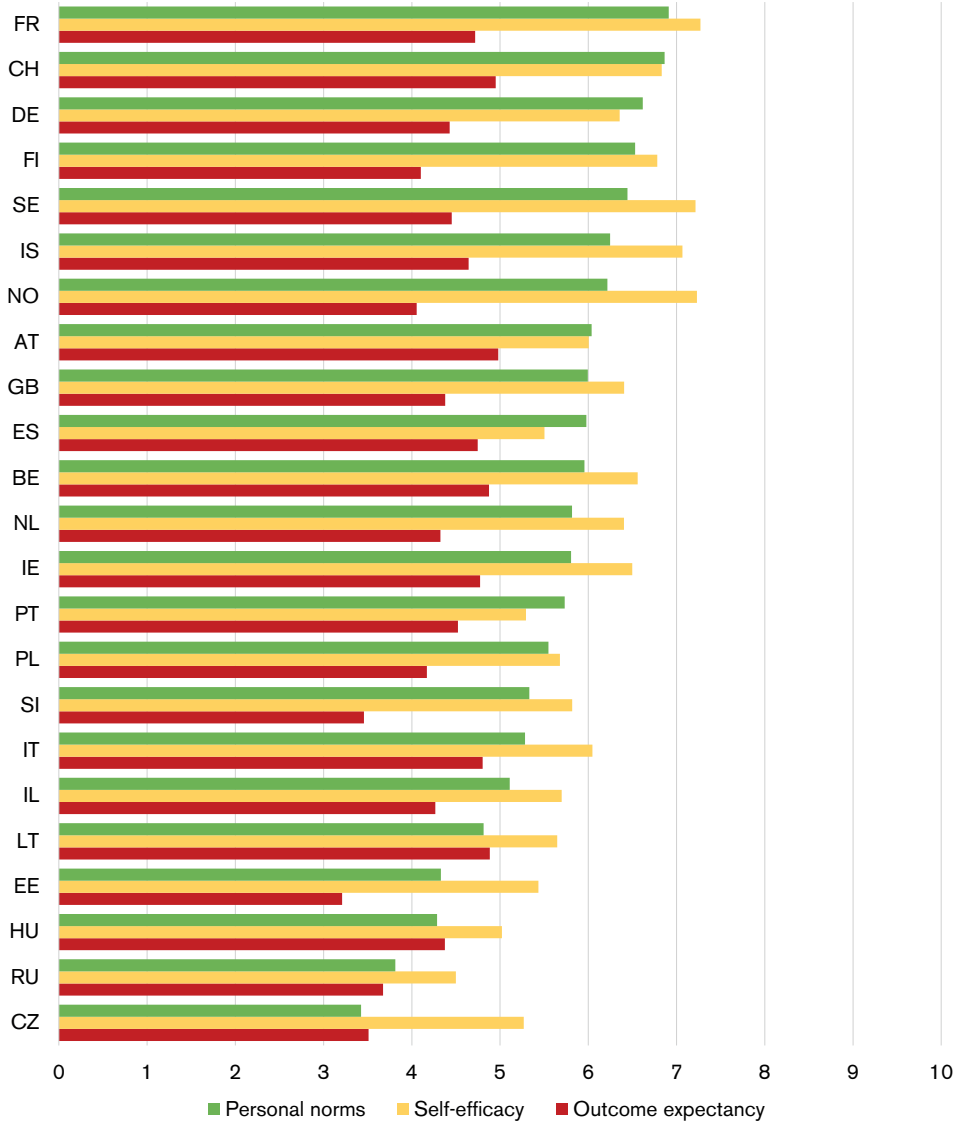
For action on climate change, not only do people need to feel some sense of personal responsibility, they also need to feel that they can make a difference. The importance of personal efficacy beliefs for pro-environmental behaviour has been well established in the literature (Hanss & Böhm, 2010; Meinhold & Malkus, 2005). Social cognitive theory (Bandura, 1982) holds that, in order to successfully achieve a desired outcome, individuals need to possess the belief that they can successfully perform a behaviour (personal efficacy) and the belief that the behaviour is effective in producing the desired outcome (outcome expectancy).

We developed questions covering personal, collective, and institutional efficacy beliefs, based on a collective action model (Koletsou & Mancy, 2011; Lubell, 2002). Here we only report the results relating to personal efficacy and outcome expectancy, which were measured by items about feeling confident to be able to use less energy (personal efficacy) and whether this would help reduce climate change (outcome expectancy).

Both questions were answered on 11-point scales ranging from 0 to 10, with 0 meaning "not at all confident" and 10 "completely confident" for the first question (personal efficacy), and 0 meaning "not at all likely" and 10 "extremely likely" for the second question (outcome expectancy). As with personal responsibility, the average score of personal efficacy was above the mid-point, but not by much. The overall mean score for the personal efficacy question was 5.9 (SD=2.6) across the 23 participating countries.[6]

Despite energy use being very high in Europe by international standards, people

Figure 2: Mean personal norms, personal efficacy and outcome expectancy



Source: European Social Survey Round 8, 2016-2017. Post-stratification weights have been applied for country-level analysis.

do not feel very confident that they could use less energy than currently. As can be seen in Figure 2, personal efficacy is particularly low in a number of Eastern European countries, such as Hungary, the Czech Republic and Russia. Personal efficacy is higher in most Western European countries, and is relatively high in France, Norway, Sweden and Iceland.

It appears that people do not think that it is highly likely that limiting their energy use would help to reduce climate change. The overall mean score for this outcome expectancy question was, with a mean of 4.3 (SD=2.6),[7] on the left side of the scale. In fact, in all 23 participating countries the mean score was below the scale midpoint of 5, suggesting that many people think that limiting their own energy use would help reduce climate change only to some degree. Figure 2 shows that outcome expectancy is particularly low in countries where relatively few people think that climate change is mainly caused by human activity, such as Estonia, Slovenia, the Czech Republic and Russia. Outcome expectancy is comparatively high in Austria, Switzerland, Belgium and Lithuania - if still below the midpoint of the scale.

Further analyses show that personal norms, personal efficacy and outcome expectancy correlate at the individual level,[8] showing that people who feel personally responsible to help reduce climate change also feel more confident that they could save energy and think that doing so would be effective in reducing climate change. These correlations, combined with the middling responses on the three questions, mean that achieving high scores on personal norms, personal efficacy and outcome expectancy is relatively rare. Indeed, just 22% (23% in the EU/EFTA area) gave scores from 6 to 10 on all three of these questions. Thus, there are relatively few people in Europe with a strong sense of personal responsibility who are also confident that they could use less energy and feel that doing so would be likely to help reduce climate change. To motivate and sustain large-scale behaviour change, more people may need to have this combination of norms and beliefs.

Energy Preferences

This section of the module included questions about both the supply and demand side of the energy market. Here we review the headline findings on public preferences for different electricity supply sources and energy-saving behaviours.

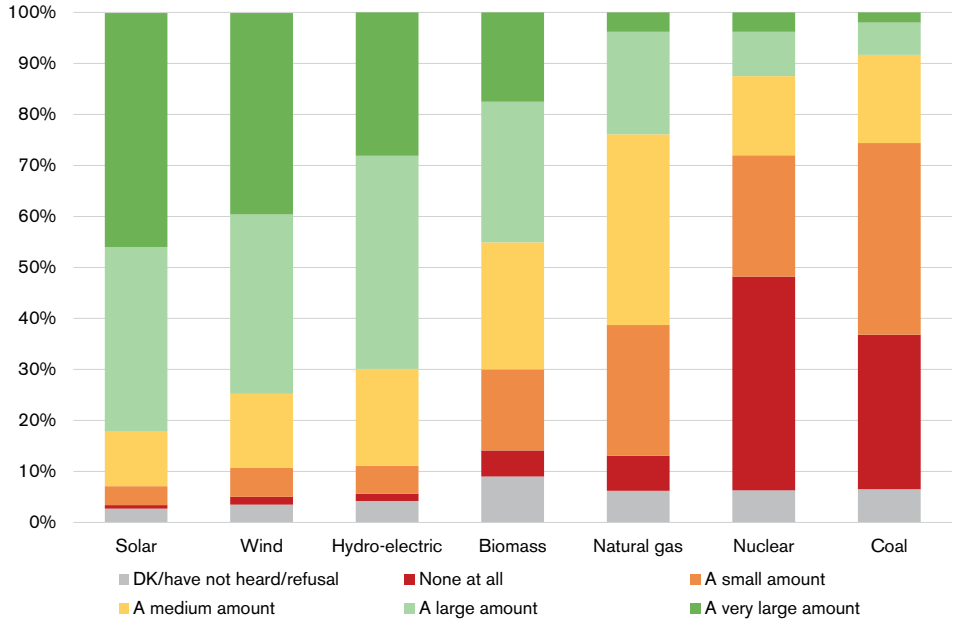
Electricity Supply

Respondents were asked how much electricity should be generated from coal, natural gas, hydroelectric power, nuclear power, solar power, wind power, and biomass. Figure 3 shows the preferences for electricity generation across the 21 European countries in the EU/EFTA area. It is clear that renewable sources are the most popular by far. Around two-thirds overall think that a large or very large amount of electricity should be generated from hydro-electric or wind power, and three-quarters think that should be the case for solar power. In contrast, coal and nuclear are distinctly unpopular sources of electricity generation, with very few wanting

these sources to generate a large or very large amount of electricity. Preferences for natural gas are somewhere in between those for renewables and coal/nuclear.

Further analyses, which are not reported here, show that there are great differences in these preferences between the participating countries. For example, both coal and natural gas are most popular in Israel and a number of Central and Eastern European countries such as Russia and Poland. Nuclear power is relatively popular in Russia, Lithuania, and Hungary. Renewable sources, such as wind, solar, and biomass, are distinctly less preferred in Russia, while hydro-electric is less supported in Finland and Estonia. These differences may partly reflect the prevalent energy supply systems in the participating countries. For example, Eastern European countries have a strong legacy of coal-fired and nuclear power stations (IEA, 2017), although further research is needed to understand these and other cross-national differences.

Figure 3: Preferences for electricity supply sources in EU/EFTA countries

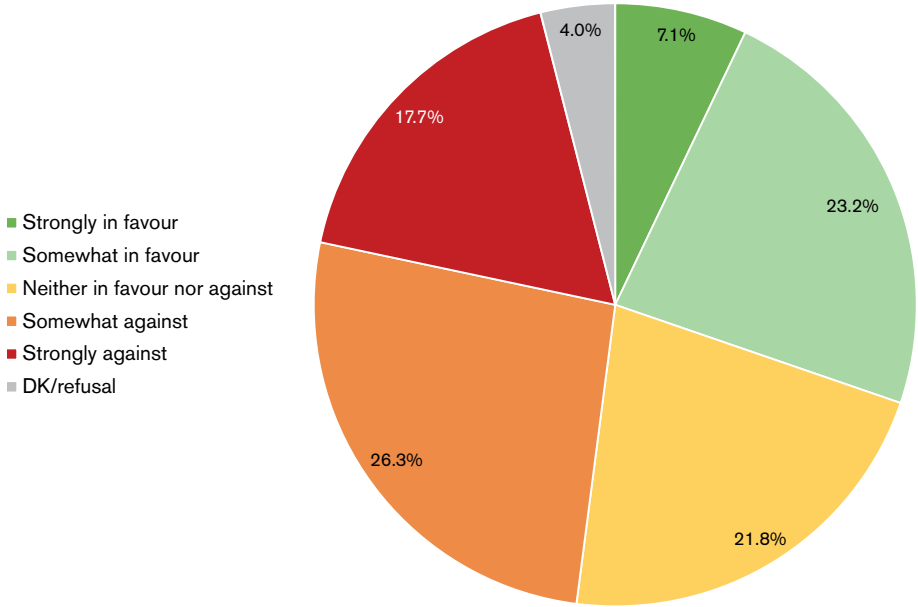


Source: European Social Survey Round 8, 2016-2017. Post-stratification and population weights have been applied for analysis across countries.

Energy-Saving Behaviours

In terms of the demand side of energy, the module included indicators of people's willingness to take efficiency (investing in technology) and curtailment (changing regular behaviours) measures. Regarding curtailment measures, results show that a large majority (74%) of the overall population of the EU/EFTA area say that they often, very often or always do things that can be done to reduce energy use, such as switching off appliances that are not being used, walking for short journeys, or only using heating or air conditioning when really needed. Similarly, regarding efficiency measures, many people indicate that they would buy one of the most energy efficient appliances, with a mean of 7.9 (SD=2.2) across the 21 EU/EFTA countries, on a scale ranging from 0 "not at all likely" to 10 "extremely likely". While there is cross-national variation in the responses, the differences between countries in reported energy-saving behaviours are relatively small.

Figure 4: Preferences to increase fossil fuel taxes in EU/EFTA countries



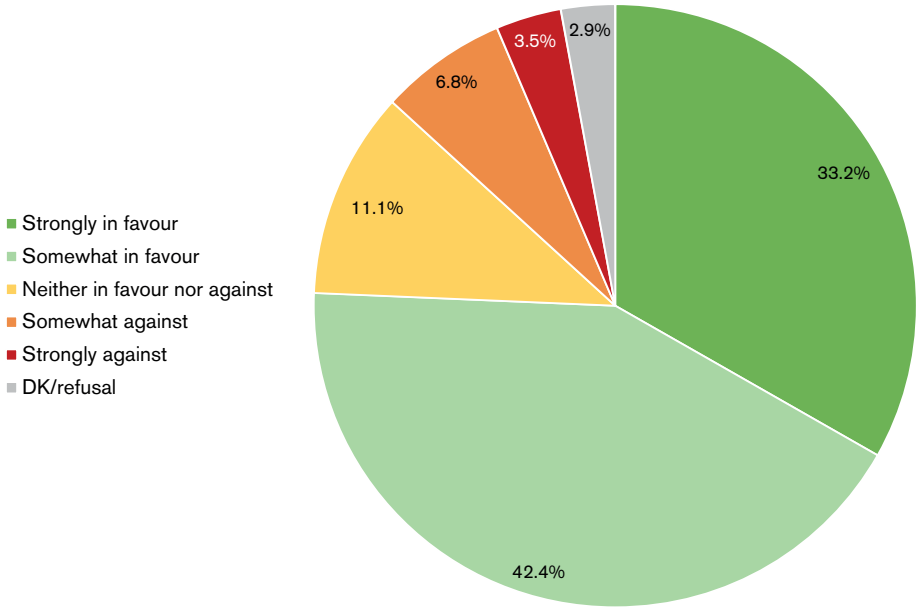
Source: European Social Survey Round 8, 2016-2017. Post-stratification and population weights have been applied for analysis across countries.

Environmental Policies

In order to assess people's preferences for different types of environmental policies to reduce climate change, three questions were included about the extent to which respondents are in favour or against increasing taxes on fossil fuels (increase fossil fuel taxes), using public money to subsidise renewable energy (subsidise renewable energy) and a law banning the sale of the least energy efficient household appliances (ban least energy-efficient appliances). These reflect 'push' and 'pull' measures to decarbonise energy supply, and regulation to reduce energy demand, respectively.

Figures 4-6 shows that, across the EU/EFTA area, the use of public money to subsidise renewable energy is particularly popular, with around three-quarters of the European population covered by the ESS being somewhat or strongly in favour, and only one in ten being somewhat or strongly against. Regulation is also popular.

Figure 5: Preferences to subsidise renewable energy in EU/EFTA countries

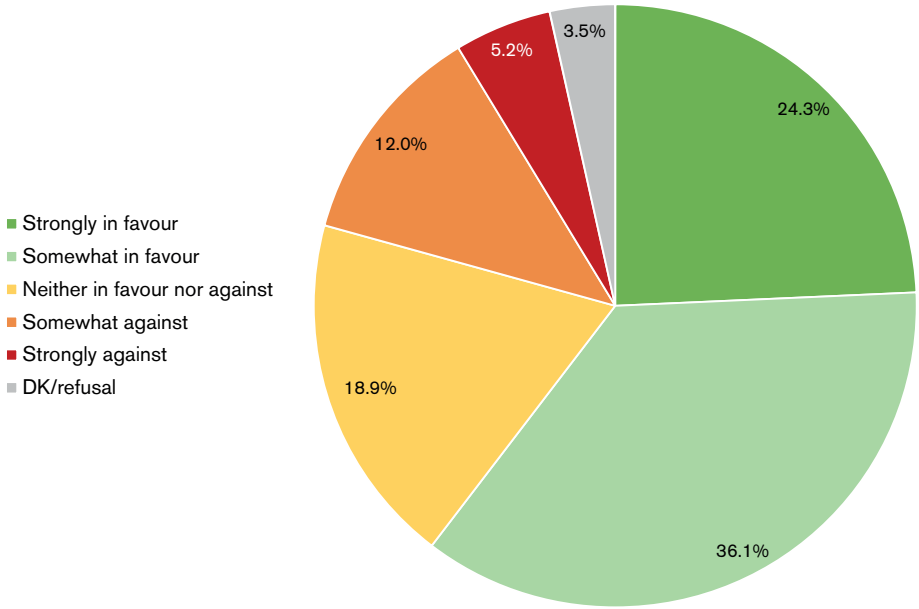


Source: European Social Survey Round 8, 2016-2017. Post-stratification and population weights have been applied for analysis across countries.

More than half of the European population support a law banning the sale of the least energy-efficient household appliances, and only one in five is somewhat or strongly against this policy. Increasing taxes on fossil fuels, such as oil, gas and coal is the least popular of the three policies, with more people being against (44%) than in favour (30%).

A fossil fuel tax appears to be more popular in some Western European, especially Nordic countries, but only receives majority support in Sweden and Finland. The idea is least popular in Poland and Russia, and relatively unpopular elsewhere in Eastern Europe and in some Southern European countries, such as Spain and Portugal. There are no clear regional patterns in support for subsidising renewables. Support was strongest in Hungary and Slovenia, and weakest in the Czech Republic, Russia, Iceland and Ireland. There was relatively little cross-national variation in support for a ban on energy-inefficient appliances.

Figure 6: Preferences to ban least energy-efficient appliances in EU/EFTA countries



Source: European Social Survey Round 8, 2016-2017. Post-stratification and population weights have been applied for analysis across countries.

Conclusion

The ESS Round 8 module on attitudes to climate change and energy provides comprehensive insights into how Europeans in countries included in the ESS relate to the issues of climate change and energy security, as well as what they think about how to reduce energy use, their own and that of society at large.

A main conclusion is that an overwhelming majority of the European population surveyed by the ESS acknowledge the basic tenets of anthropogenic climate change, even in the most sceptical countries. Despite most people accepting that climate change is a problem caused by humans, they do not exhibit strong concern about the issue. Europeans are not very worried about climate change, and only feel a moderate responsibility to do something about it themselves. They tend to feel that personal efforts to reduce energy will not be very effective. This suggests that, while people acknowledge that climate change is a problem, they appear inadequately motivated to sustain large-scale behaviour change (Barasi, 2017).

Having said that, willingness to reduce energy, and support for renewable energy sources and energy efficiency regulation are high across Europe. In all ESS countries, a majority think that a large or a very large amount of electricity should be generated from solar and wind, which is much higher than for any of the other energy sources, in particular compared to fossil energy sources and nuclear power. Similarly, across Europe, people are willing to save energy via both efficiency and curtailment measures, and express high levels of support for policies that subsidise renewables and regulate the energy efficiency of appliances.

Whilst these attitudes sound like a good thing for the prospects of climate change mitigation, we should sound a note of caution. People might be less supportive of policies if they come to be seen as costly. After all, Europeans are more worried on average about energy costs than they are about climate change; and one of the more effective policies to reduce carbon emissions, increased taxes on fossil fuels, is viewed far less favourably than the other policies included in the module.

Some clear cross-European patterns emerged with regard to attitudes to climate change and energy. In general, engagement with climate change and support for low-carbon energy appears weaker in Central and Eastern Europe. While there are exceptions, the pattern covers beliefs about climate change, concern about climate change, as well as attitudes to low-carbon energy sources, such as wind and solar power. Attitudes to fossil energy sources, such as coal and natural gas, are relatively positive in many former communist countries. These findings could reflect a legacy of reliance on fossil-based electricity generation, but also the state of the economy and pace of societal transformation experienced in the region (Balžekiene & Telešiene, 2017). Data from Round 8 of the ESS will help explore further how social and economic factors may shape public attitudes to energy and climate change at the national level.

Endnotes

[1] This comprises 21 European countries from the EU/EFTA area (Austria, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom), the Russian Federation, and Israel.

[2] http://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/round8/survey/ESS8_data_documentation_report_e02_0.pdf

[3] https://www.europeansocialsurvey.org/docs/round8/methods/ESS8_project_specification.pdf

[4] The figures for the EU/EFTA area are slightly different, but have a similar pattern: 37% are very or extremely worried about energy affordability, 32% about climate change, and 10% about energy reliability.

[5] 6.0 (SD=2.5) across EU/EFTA countries.

[6] 6.3 (SD=2.5) across EU/EFTA countries.

[7] 4.5 (SD=2.6) across EU/EFTA countries.

[8] Personal norms – personal efficacy: r=0.34, p=0.000; personal norms – outcome expectancy: r=0.42, p=0.000; personal efficacy – outcome expectancy: r=0.28, p=0.000.

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ESS data and documentation

The European Social Survey (ESS) has undertaken 381,351 face-to-face interviews since Round 1 was fielded in 2002/03. All the documentation and data - collected over the subsequent waves up to and including Round 8 (2016/17) - is available to download or view online (europeansocialsurvey.org).

The ESS became a European Research Infrastructure Consortium (ERIC) in 2013, meaning all participants contribute to the budget of the project. During Round 8, there were 23 participating countries, including 17 ERIC Members.

By using the tools detailed below - EduNet and NESSTAR - you can join over 125,000 people who have registered to access ESS data.

Analysis of ESS data was used in 3,554 academic journal articles, books and chapters, working and conference papers published between 2003-16.

EduNet

The ESS e-learning tool, EduNet, provides hands-on examples and exercises to guide users through the research process, from a theoretical problem to the interpretation of statistical results.

NESSTAR

The ESS Online Analysis package uses NESSTAR - an online data analysis tool. Documentation to support NESSTAR is available from NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data (nesstar.com).

Topline Results Series

This is the ninth issue in our Topline Results series of publications. All nine issues are available to view or download on the ESS website. Other issues in the series include:

1. Trust in Justice (also available in Croatian)
2. Welfare Attitudes in Europe (also available in Croatian, Cypriot Greek and Ukrainian)
3. Economic Crisis, Quality of Work and Social Integration
4. Europeans' Understandings and Evaluations of Democracy (also available in Albanian, Bulgarian, Italian, Lithuanian and Slovak)
5. Europeans' Personal and Social Wellbeing (also available in Albanian, Lithuanian, Russian, Slovak and Slovene)
6. Social Inequalities in Health and their Determinants (also available in Danish, French, German, Irish Gaelic, Romanian, Slovene and Spanish)
7. Attitudes towards Immigration and their Antecedents (also available in Georgian, German, Hebrew, Norwegian, Slovene and Spanish)
8. The Past, Present and Future of European Welfare Attitudes

About the ESS

ESS is an academically-driven survey that has been conducted across Europe since 2002. The survey measures the attitudes, beliefs and behaviour of diverse populations in more than thirty nations. Undertaken every two years with newly selected, cross-sectional samples, the full dataset contains the results of over 380,000 completed interviews.

The European Social Survey has been a European Research Infrastructure Consortium (ESS ERIC) since 2013. It continues to provide freely available cross-national data about public attitudes and behaviour over time.

23 countries participated in Round 8 of the ESS, fielded in 2016/17.

Members:
Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovenia, Sweden and the UK

Observer:
Switzerland

Other Participants:
Finland, Iceland, Israel, Russia and Spain

Multi-national advisory groups to the ESS ERIC General Assembly are the Methods Advisory Board (MAB), Scientific Advisory Board (SAB) and Finance Committee (FINCOM).

The ESS ERIC Headquarters are located at City, University of London.

The ESS ERIC Core Scientific Team includes: GESIS - Leibniz Institute for the Social Sciences (Germany); Katholieke Universiteit Leuven (Belgium); NSD - Norwegian Centre for Research Data (Norway); SCP - The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (Netherlands); Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Spain); University of Essex (UK); and University of Ljubljana (Slovenia).

The National Coordinators' (NC) Forum involves national teams from all participating countries.

ESS topics:

- Trust in institutions
- Political engagement
- Socio-political values
- Moral and social values
- Social capital
- Social exclusion
- National, ethnic and religious identity
- Health and wellbeing
- Demographic composition
- Education and occupation
- Financial circumstances
- Household circumstances
- Attitudes to welfare
- Trust in criminal justice
- Expressions and experiences of ageism
- Citizenship, involvement and democracy
- Immigration
- Family, work and wellbeing
- Economic morality
- The organisation of the life-course
- Climate change and energy

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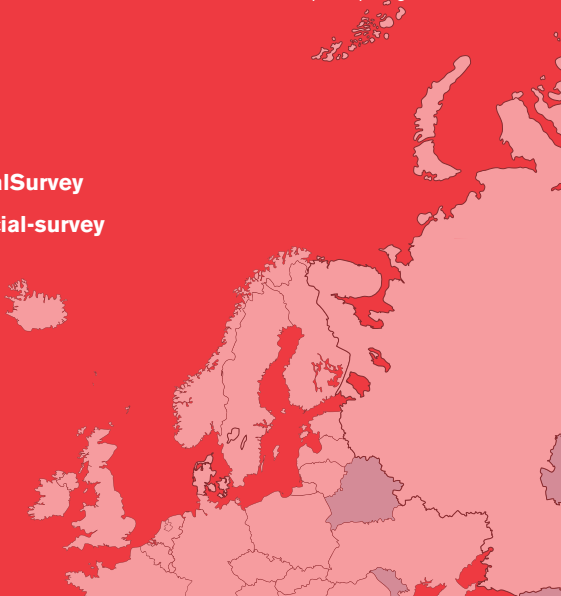

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