



EURYKA

Reinventing Democracy in Europe: Youth Doing Politics in Times of Increasing Inequalities

**Integrated Report on Panel Survey Analysis
(Deliverable 4.2)**

Workpackage 4: Panel Survey Analysis

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Introduction

This report looks at young people's ways of doing politics including their norms, values, attitudes, expectations and behaviours regarding democracy, power, politics, policy-making, social and political participation – both online and offline – and the organisation of economic, social and private life relative to older age groups. Young people are generally understood to be in an unequal position to older people and thus looking at age group differences allows us to capture inequalities between these two groups. Moreover, examining the patterns of participation and values of young people is important as the youth of today have come of age in a context of crisis and will become the older citizens of tomorrow, thus their values will contribute to the changes in the aggregate values of society through social change. The results presented are based on data collected in wp4 of the Euryka project through a population survey. The presentation of results that follows is divided into five thematic sections: political engagement, online political participation and media use, attitudes and values, policy satisfaction and issue priorities, and finally, economic outlooks and conditions, life engagement and mobility.

Political engagement

We start off by examining patterns of political participation in Table 1. When we look at differences in the participation patterns of younger and older people in the population across a variety of more or less conventional modes of action such as signing a petition, engaging in political consumerism, attending a political meeting or demonstration etc. we tend to see a higher proportions of younger relative to older people tend to be involved in more unconventional forms of participation such as strikes and occupations; these forms also tend to attract smaller proportions

of individuals participating. On the other hand, more conventional activities such as contacting or visiting a politician or government official generally show higher proportions for older people.

More specifically, starting off with attending a demonstration, in most countries the youngest 18-24 year olds tend to show the highest levels of protest. In most countries, we see lower levels of protest amongst the next youngest age group of 24-34-year olds relative to the youngest 18-24 year olds.

If we turn to signing a petition, public letter or campaign appeal either online or offline we see that this form of participation which requires lower levels of effort tends to involve much greater proportions in all countries, and in most countries, the youngest 18-24 year olds exhibit higher levels of engagement relative to the next youngest age group of 24-34 year olds. However, older people in most countries also tend to show high levels of engagement in this less radical form of protest activism.

With political consumerism such as boycotting certain products for political or ethical reasons either online or offline or deliberately buying products for political or ethical reasons online or offline, we can see that in most countries 18-24 year olds do not exhibit the highest levels for these types of activities, but neither do 25-34 year olds with patterns being more mixed and all age groups exhibiting rather similar levels. Levels are higher than demonstrating but not as high as with petitioning which would seem to align with the level of effort required.

Moving on to more conventional political activities such as attending a meeting of a political organization or party, contacting or visiting a politician or government official online or offline, donating money to a political organization or party online or offline, displaying/wearing a political or campaign logo or badge online or offline we can see that in most countries it is older people that

are more likely to engage in these types of activities. On the other hand, we can see that in most countries it is the youngest 18-24 year olds that are most likely to engage in the more radical modes of unconventional action such as joining a strike or a sit in, occupation or blockade.

In terms of associational involvement, as shown in Table 2, labour/trade unions, political parties, environmental, church or religious and youth organisations (amongst youth) tend to attract slightly larger proportions relative to other organisations in defence of civil and human rights, etc. Higher proportions of young people tend to be involved in these than older people. More specifically we can see that in terms of party membership, the highest levels of participation are to be found amongst older respondents. This is also true in terms of membership of labour or trade unions and that of church or religious organisations. On the other hand, in most countries, higher proportions of young people tend to be members of development/human rights organisations, civil rights/ civil liberties organisations, environment/anti-nuclear or animal rights organisations, women's/feminist organisations, LGBT rights organisations, peace/anti-war organisations, occupy/anti-austerity or anti-cuts organisations, anti-capitalist, Global Justice, or anti-globalisations organisations, anti-racist or migrants rights organisation, social solidarity networks, and quite understandably, also youth or student organisations relative to older people.

Results thus show that higher numbers of young people tend to be involved in organisations associated with 'new' social movements, whereas higher proportions of older people tend to be involved in types of organisations linked to 'old' or traditional class and religious cleavages. If involvement with more traditional organisations translates into better access to politicians and to having one's voice heard and reflected in policy change then this suggests inequalities in political voice between younger and older citizens. As with political participation, we can see that older citizens show higher patterns of involvement in more conventional forms of activity such as

contacting politicians and traditional types of associations such as political parties which may betray greater access to decision-makers and thus a greater ability to influence politics. On the other hand, the patterns of youth political engagement appear more outsider-based where through unconventional participation such as direct action and civil disobedience and engagement with social movement organisations politicised young people attempt to change the terms of the mainstream debate and aim to emphasise the importance of certain issues.

As per Table 3, we can see that younger citizens tend to about as involved as older citizens in community forms of participation such as raising money for a charitable cause or working or cooperating with others to solve problems in their community or neighbourhood. More specifically, we can see that patterns vary by country in terms of whether younger or older citizens exhibit the higher proportions engaging in given activities. This suggests that young people are in fact quite active in their communities politically and that even though they might not perceive these types of activities as political they are in fact as politically engaged as older citizens in many respects. We can see that young people are therefore attempting to act politically within their communities such as raising money through charitable causes, participating in community service or volunteer activities, and working or cooperating with other s to try to solve problems affecting their city or neighbourhood. Moreover the levels of activism in these types of community activities are comparable to those for other types of political action.

When it comes to political efficacy, Table 4 shows that lower proportions of young people feel internal political efficacy: i.e. that they feel well-qualified to participate in politics or that they have a good understanding of political issues facing the country. More young people feel externally politically efficacious however: lower proportions say that public officials do not care about what people like them think or that people like them do not have a say about what the government does

relative to older people. From Table 4, we can see that in most countries younger people exhibit the lowest proportions saying that they consider themselves well-qualified to participate in politics; the same is true with respect to say that they feel they have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country. In all countries, only a minority of young people expresses the view that they feel well-qualified or have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing the country. As such this is a clear inequality between younger and older people in their feelings of being able to engage with politics which are clearly lower for younger people.

On the other hand, if we turn to looking at patterns for believing that public officials do not care what people like me think, here the highest levels of agreement are found amongst older people; the same is true for believing that people like me do not have a say in what the government does which also show higher proportions of agreement amongst older people in most countries. This is an interesting finding because even despite this it was still found that older people show the higher proportions of engagement in conventional means and through parties and other traditional organisations suggesting that this feeling does not stop them from engaging with the institutions presumably in the attempt to make their voice heard. On the other hand, younger people's feeling that they lack understanding or feelings of being qualified to engage in politics may play a role for their lower level of engagement through conventional means and traditional institutions. Even though levels are not as high as for older people, in most countries a majority of young people feels that public officials do not care about what people like me think or that people like me do not have any say about what the government does.

When it comes to mobilization, Table 5 shows that younger people tend to report the higher levels of mobilization requests relative to older people. As such, the inequalities in their levels of

conventional participation do not look to be linked to the absence of requests to engage. The results also show that younger people exhibit the higher levels of requests coming from close relationships such as friends or family, whereas older people show higher proportions for being made requests to participate by a political campaign or political party., This suggests that young people might be participating at lower levels than older people in conventional modes of engagement because parties do not target them in their appeals to action and political campaigns i.e. they are not being asked to participate conventionally. Older people also appear to show higher levels of requests to political participation through online communities. This suggests that older people appear to have the higher requests from more distant organisations and communities. As such, this might suggest an important inequality between younger and older people where older people are targeted more often for requests to participate by external bodies or individuals because they are perceived as more likely to engage and as a potentially more valuable constituency to win over in order to win elections. This is thus another way in which older people can end up having greater political voice and weight than younger people in politics and decision-making.

Table 1: Political participation (% engaged in last 12 months) by age group and country										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>Attended demonstration, march or rally</i>										
18-24		11.9	9.3	13.4	15.0	8.0	34.6	7.6	8.1	10.7
25-34		7.0	8.2	13.2	8.8	7.6	22.6	9.4	4.6	6.0
35-49		10.0	5.4	15.2	6.1	8.4	19.6	4.8	6.0	2.7
50-64		11.4	4.5	18.2	3.0	8.3	27.3	4.4	2.7	3.5
65+		8.7	2.9	17.7	2.9	16.9	29.8	7.5	1.7	2.7
Total		9.8	5.3	16.2	5.6	9.8	25.4	6.4	4.2	4.3
<i>Signed a petition, public letter or campaign appeal (online or offline)</i>										
18-24		37.5	34.1	15.5	30.4	24.6	37.2	34.3	31.5	44.6
25-34		33.8	28.2	19.1	27.4	18.4	29.5	32.6	28.2	36.0
35-49		35.0	29.9	21.5	21.0	23.0	32.6	34.5	31.6	39.8
50-64		31.8	26.7	30.5	21.9	18.1	42.9	25.2	30.3	39.4
65+		41.4	27.6	29.6	26.3	31.6	51.2	20.6	34.6	42.7
Total		35.8	28.6	25.0	24.2	22.7	39.3	28.6	31.4	40.3
<i>Boycotted certain products for political or ethical reasons (online or offline)</i>										
18-24		26.0	25.0	16.9	9.2	8.6	15.1	29.3	25.3	21.4
25-34		26.2	29.8	18.9	12.1	10.4	16.0	33.9	27.4	16.9
35-49		21.6	27.8	25.4	13.4	15.6	16.6	36.3	28.3	17.8
50-64		25.5	28.2	28.4	14.5	10.3	23.9	25.1	31.3	21.0
65+		21.1	22.6	20.6	16.6	16.0	27.8	21.5	30.4	22.3

Total		23.6	26.7	23.2	14.0	12.6	20.7	28.9	29.1	19.8
<i>Deliberately bought products for political or ethical reasons (online or offline)</i>										
18-24		22.3	31.6	18.6	15.9	11.8	22.3	27.9	31.3	19.5
25-34		24.6	28.4	15.3	14.6	9.1	20.4	30.6	28.4	15.8
35-49		16.7	27.0	12.1	16.3	9.6	11.0	29.2	28.7	18.7
50-64		17.8	29.1	20.0	9.9	5.5	13.8	22.0	32.7	15.3
65+		12.5	20.8	13.6	16.2	11.7	21.6	16.5	34.7	16.8
Total		17.8	26.6	15.6	14.4	9.1	16.4	24.5	31.2	17.0
<i>Attended a meeting of a political organization or party</i>										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		7.3	7.8	7.5	8.5	3.8	9.1	7.1	6.2	4.2
25-34		4.2	7.0	5.2	8.5	3.6	6.2	5.0	5.5	5.0
35-49		4.8	5.7	3.3	8.9	6.4	6.7	7.2	5.1	3.4
50-64		4.9	9.2	10.0	6.1	4.0	9.1	5.8	6.9	4.6
65+		4.8	8.8	9.9	7.5	11.2	13.9	10.2	10.9	4.9
Total		5.0	7.8	7.4	7.7	5.9	9.0	7.2	7.0	4.4
<i>Contacted or visited a politician or government official (online or offline)</i>										
18-24		3.9	7.8	3.6	8.8	5.6	6.2	9.2	7.5	8.1
25-34		4.5	7.8	5.7	12.3	5.3	7.5	8.2	5.0	11.1
35-49		4.5	7.4	6.9	13.2	7.0	6.9	8.3	6.0	10.4
50-64		4.8	9.2	10.3	8.2	7.7	7.1	3.8	11.2	14.8
65+		9.0	14.0	10.5	6.6	11.9	9.6	9.6	14.3	21.8
Total		5.6	9.6	8.2	9.7	7.6	7.6	7.7	9.1	14.0
<i>Donated money to a political organization or party (online or offline)</i>										
18-24		13.0	6.9	6.5	4.9	3.9	7.0	10.5	11.6	11.3
25-34		15.2	6.8	5.6	6.9	4.1	6.3	10.8	8.4	8.1
35-49		7.2	2.5	1.9	8.8	6.9	4.6	10.5	12.5	7.2
50-64		9.7	7.3	4.9	5.0	4.8	6.2	8.6	16.7	5.9
65+		14.2	8.5	3.4	14.5	11.7	16.1	11.0	20.8	9.7
Total		11.4	6.3	4.1	8.8	6.4	8.1	10.2	14.6	8.1
<i>Displayed/worn a political or campaign logo or badge (online or offline)</i>										
18-24		5.3	10.4	3.8	6.4	5.2	13.3	11.7	7.5	12.0
25-34		3.3	7.3	3.7	6.1	3.5	8.8	11.2	5.3	8.6
35-49		2.7	3.2	0.6	2.2	8.9	6.2	8.6	6.2	6.8
50-64		4.1	5.5	3.0	3.3	4.6	12.2	11.9	8.1	6.6
65+		3.0	4.6	4.1	2.8	14.7	14.9	14.0	4.2	5.0
Total		3.5	5.4	2.9	3.5	7.5	10.6	11.5	6.2	7.2
<i>Joined a strike</i>										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		8.3	4.6	6.9	8.9	4.7	34.1	3.1	1.9	4.1
25-34		6.6	3.5	6.9	5.3	3.3	17.4	3.0	1.1	5.0
35-49		7.9	2.4	8.0	5.1	2.7	14.4	0.3	1.8	2.0
50-64		6.9	1.5	9.3	2.5	1.7	14.3	0.0	0.0	1.3
65+		1.9	0.8	0.0	1.8	1.1	11.6	0.0	0.0	0.8
Total		6.0	2.1	6.1	3.9	2.5	15.7	0.9	0.9	2.3
<i>Joined a sit-in, occupation or blockade</i>										
18-24		9.4	3.0	8.2	3.8	2.3	9.2	2.5	2.4	4.6
25-34		2.4	2.0	4.3	2.5	1.5	5.5	2.2	1.8	4.4
35-49		1.7	0.6	2.0	2.6	0.4	3.0	0.6	1.4	1.9
50-64		2.5	0.8	3.6	0.7	0.9	8.8	0.9	0.8	0.0
65+		0.7	0.4	1.5	1.6	1.7	5.7	0.0	0.4	0.8
Total		2.5	1.1	3.2	1.9	1.2	5.9	1.0	1.2	1.9

Table 2: Associational membership (% member) by age group and country										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>Political party</i>										
18-24		2.6	3.8	1.9	2.2	1.3	3.6	5.6	2.3	6.2
25-34		1.8	4.0	3.1	2.9	1.1	2.6	5.5	3.4	4.3
35-49		1.6	0.8	1.2	2.4	1.4	2.2	6.6	2.5	3.2
50-64		3.3	5.0	8.0	3.8	1.4	4.5	9.1	9.2	5.3
65+		3.1	4.7	6.9	2.3	2.4	6.7	13.2	10.2	8.7
Total		2.6	3.7	4.8	2.8	1.5	4.0	8.5	5.9	5.5
<i>Labour/trade union</i>										
18-24		1.2	7.3	1.8	2.2	2.3	3.0	18.3	4.3	5.6
25-34		4.4	8.5	2.3	4.7	6.0	6.4	36.6	7.8	7.7
35-49		7.4	8.9	4.1	6.3	8.6	11.8	51.4	11.5	9.3
50-64		10.0	13.1	7.5	3.5	7.6	10.2	54.0	9.4	9.8
65+		2.1	8.3	14.2	9.4	1.2	3.9	26.1	8.8	6.2
Total		5.7	9.6	7.1	5.9	5.8	8.1	39.7	9.1	8.0
<i>Development/human rights organisation</i>										
18-24		2.2	2.0	2.4	3.1	2.7	3.4	3.3	3.7	4.1
25-34		1.3	1.3	2.4	1.6	1.4	2.5	4.1	2.7	2.8
35-49		0.9	0.6	1.8	2.2	2.2	1.8	1.3	2.6	0.5
50-64		0.8	0.8	0.3	0.3	0.2	1.8	4.5	3.7	0.5
65+		0.8	0.8	0.5	2.5	1.3	4.7	0.9	3.4	1.4
Total		1.0	0.9	1.2	1.8	1.4	2.7	2.6	3.2	1.5
<i>Civil rights / civil liberties organisation</i>										
18-24		2.4	1.6	2.1	2.2	2.4	2.9	1.9	1.7	2.9
25-34		1.0	1.2	1.6	1.6	0.7	1.7	1.8	0.9	1.7
35-49		0.8	0.0	1.3	2.9	1.6	1.8	1.2	1.2	0.4
50-64		0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.8	0.4
65+		0.0	1.6	1.0	2.5	0.3	3.1	0.4	0.9	1.5
Total		0.6	0.8	1.3	1.8	1.0	2.0	1.0	1.0	1.2
<i>Environment/anti-nuclear or animal rights organisation</i>										
18-24		5.0	5.4	4.2	4.3	3.9	6.1	6.2	6.6	7.6
25-34		6.9	4.5	4.0	3.4	2.8	3.5	7.3	6.9	3.8
35-49		4.4	2.8	2.2	3.8	3.7	2.5	8.1	6.9	2.3
50-64		2.7	4.8	2.9	1.7	2.2	2.0	4.0	8.7	2.4
65+		1.6	6.2	0.5	4.5	2.6	1.1	6.2	8.0	6.8
Total		3.8	4.7	2.4	3.4	3.0	2.5	6.4	7.6	4.2
<i>Women's/feminist organisation</i>										
18-24		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		3.2	0.9	1.7	3.7	2.9	6.1	3.1	2.3	6.6
25-34		1.3	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.1	2.9	2.5	1.1	3.1
35-49		0.9	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.3	1.9	2.2	2.0	0.7
50-64		0.0	0.7	1.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.5	0.5
65+		0.0	0.8	0.0	0.4	1.0	1.5	0.7	1.5	0.6
Total		0.7	0.6	0.6	1.1	1.0	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.7
<i>LGBT rights organisation</i>										
18-24		2.2	2.0	4.1	3.7	3.1	3.8	4.8	2.3	8.4
25-34		1.1	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.0	2.5	3.1	1.6	3.6
35-49		0.4	0.0	0.1	1.6	0.0	2.3	2.1	1.1	2.0
50-64		0.0	0.0	0.7	0.0	0.8	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.8
65+		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.4	1.7	0.0
Total		0.5	0.4	0.8	0.9	0.7	1.4	2.0	1.2	2.2
<i>Peace / anti-war organisation</i>										
18-24		3.6	1.7	1.9	2.8	1.4	3.2	2.0	1.7	3.6
25-34		1.0	1.1	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.7	2.6	1.9	2.8
35-49		0.5	0.5	0.1	2.2	1.0	1.5	0.3	1.4	0.4
50-64		0.8	1.0	0.9	0.3	0.0	0.7	1.1	1.0	0.5

65+		0.0	1.1	0.0	3.0	1.0	2.7	1.9	0.9	0.8
Total		0.9	1.0	0.8	1.9	0.9	1.8	1.4	1.3	1.3
<i>Occupy / anti-austerity or anti-cuts organisation</i>										
18-24		1.3	0.7	2.4	1.3	1.0	1.7	1.0	0.7	1.4
25-34		0.4	1.0	1.0	1.2	0.7	1.2	1.5	0.5	1.5
35-49		0.0	0.0	0.8	1.1	0.0	1.3	0.7	0.0	0.3
50-64		0.0	0.7	1.1	0.3	0.4	0.4	2.0	0.4	0.5
65+		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.5	0.0
Total		0.2	0.4	0.8	0.6	0.3	0.9	1.0	0.4	0.6
<i>Anti-capitalist, Global Justice, or anti-globalisation organisation</i>										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		1.1	1.2	2.1	1.1	1.2	2.4	1.3	1.3	1.6
25-34		0.6	1.2	0.7	1.0	0.7	1.4	1.3	0.7	2.1
35-49		0.4	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.0	1.3	0.7	0.3	0.8
50-64		0.4	0.7	0.9	0.6	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.8
65+		0.0	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.9	0.0
Total		0.4	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.3	1.2	0.6	0.6	0.9
<i>Anti-racist or migrant rights organisation</i>										
18-24		1.8	1.8	4.2	1.1	0.0	2.6	1.7	1.4	1.7
25-34		0.7	0.9	0.3	1.4	1.6	2.0	0.5	1.3	2.0
35-49		0.0	0.7	0.6	2.0	1.0	0.5	0.0	2.5	0.0
50-64		0.6	0.5	0.4	0.0	0.5	0.9	4.1	0.9	0.0
65+		1.2	0.5	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.0	0.5
Total		0.7	0.6	0.6	1.0	0.7	0.7	1.7	1.0	0.4
<i>Social solidarity networks</i>										
18-24		3.7	2.0	3.6	2.5	2.4	5.1	3.7	1.3	3.0
25-34		2.0	1.5	4.8	2.0	1.6	4.0	2.9	2.3	2.9
35-49		0.6	1.8	4.0	1.1	2.5	3.2	1.2	1.4	0.0
50-64		1.6	1.5	3.7	0.7	1.3	3.0	2.3	3.7	0.9
65+		1.7	1.0	2.7	2.5	0.5	4.3	0.6	0.9	1.0
Total		1.6	1.5	3.7	1.6	1.6	3.7	1.9	2.0	1.3
<i>Youth or student organisation</i>										
18-24		13.7	11.5	7.9	10.1	11.2	11.0	13.4	14.7	14.2
25-34		2.6	4.3	1.5	3.0	2.1	4.3	6.5	5.2	3.7
35-49		0.8	0.6	0.0	0.7	0.0	1.6	0.4	3.9	0.0
50-64		0.0	0.6	0.4	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.5	1.4	0.9
65+		0.0	0.5	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.9	0.8
Total		2.0	2.1	1.1	1.7	1.6	2.1	2.8	3.9	2.6
<i>Church or religious organisation</i>										
18-24		3.3	14.5	3.7	7.3	22.4	4.0	16.1	13.8	7.6
25-34		2.2	12.7	5.1	4.9	19.6	4.7	15.6	11.5	7.3
35-49		0.9	4.4	3.2	3.6	23.0	2.0	14.3	12.5	6.0
50-64		1.3	16.7	4.4	5.2	20.4	2.3	18.7	12.2	14.5
65+		1.3	12.5	2.4	6.7	16.6	6.5	16.4	18.9	15.2
Total		1.5	11.8	3.6	5.3	20.4	3.7	16.3	13.8	10.5

Table 3: Community participation (% engaged in last 12 months) by age group and country										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>Raised money for a charitable cause</i>										
18-24		12.6	12.1	26.0	13.5	19.6	15.4	15.4	15.2	32.8
25-34		8.6	10.7	24.6	12.8	14.0	12.9	18.0	13.1	29.6
35-49		5.1	8.8	26.1	17.2	14.8	9.5	16.7	11.0	26.4
50-64		3.9	8.0	29.2	13.1	7.4	9.8	13.1	10.9	28.6
65+		8.2	11.2	22.3	11.0	6.5	22.9	15.4	14.0	37.8

Total		6.8	9.8	25.7	13.7	11.7	13.6	15.7	12.4	30.8
<i>Participated in a community service or volunteer activity</i>										
18-24		18.4	20.4	23.5	20.3	21.2	19.9	10.8	22.7	22.8
25-34		14.9	16.9	19.6	14.7	10.7	16.3	9.9	18.6	18.6
35-49		11.6	18.7	23.6	14.8	14.1	11.2	8.2	19.8	20.1
50-64		11.3	20.9	23.2	13.7	7.1	10.2	9.2	22.5	22.9
65+		19.3	22.0	14.0	19.4	10.4	19.3	7.6	29.7	30.4
Total		14.6	20.0	20.4	16.2	11.7	14.3	8.8	22.7	23.2
<i>Worked or cooperated with others to try to solve a problem affecting your city or neighbourhood</i>										
18-24		10.3	9.8	13.6	13.2	12.8	16.4	7.8	8.9	10.2
25-34		6.8	8.4	16.2	9.1	8.6	13.4	8.4	7.8	10.5
35-49		6.7	7.7	17.9	12.2	11.1	11.1	11.2	7.7	8.4
50-64		8.5	6.2	23.0	8.4	6.8	11.6	11.6	11.2	12.4
65+		8.4	9.4	13.7	9.5	14.8	17.6	12.6	12.2	17.2
Total		8.0	8.0	17.5	10.2	10.4	13.5	10.8	9.7	11.9

Table 4: Political efficacy (% agree or strongly agree) by age group and country

		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>Internal</i>										
<i>I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics</i>										
18-24		26.9	40.8	31.3	30.0	33.5	32.9	34.7	38.6	35.1
25-34		38.1	50.6	27.6	35.1	35.0	41.8	33.9	40.3	40.8
35-49		37.2	50.9	25.6	41.1	35.9	22.6	35.2	36.4	38.7
50-64		44.3	62.0	35.8	25.2	37.5	34.9	40.6	46.7	49.5
65+		38.3	74.9	41.3	39.9	44.1	57.7	39.3	61.5	45.6
Total		38.3	58.9	33.0	35.1	37.5	37.3	37.2	45.3	42.8
<i>I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country</i>										
18-24		35.5	47.2	46.3	38.2	49.3	44.2	47.8	46.6	54.1
25-34		44.9	57.2	52.5	41.0	52.6	57.3	49.7	47.6	56.7
35-49		43.8	58.3	57.9	50.6	57.3	48.7	53.1	43.6	54.8
50-64		51.4	71.3	72.0	40.3	62.2	62.8	62.1	56.3	72.4
65+		51.5	84.8	85.2	57.2	77.7	75.2	62.8	72.9	75.3
Total		46.9	67.2	66.6	47.4	60.8	59.1	56.4	54.1	64.0
<i>External</i>										
<i>Public officials don't care much what people like me think</i>										
18-24		45.3	44.8	50.2	53.2	69.5	57.3	37.8	36.4	63.2
25-34		46.5	53.3	60.3	64.9	74.1	60.2	50.2	48.9	65.1
35-49		48.4	61.0	72.7	69.0	80.6	62.4	54.8	50.2	66.3
50-64		41.8	63.8	68.8	71.1	84.0	51.6	55.9	50.8	65.7
65+		51.7	58.8	63.5	67.7	84.0	49.8	59.6	40.6	63.5
Total		46.9	58.5	65.4	67.3	79.7	56.2	53.6	46.7	65.0
<i>People like me don't have any say about what the government does</i>										
18-24		57.9	41.8	22.6	52.0	58.0	61.6	36.0	30.5	56.4
25-34		60.0	46.3	27.3	65.5	61.1	66.9	44.2	40.5	57.9
35-49		62.0	51.9	28.9	63.2	59.9	64.7	39.0	41.7	54.0
50-64		60.1	50.5	21.5	70.9	71.1	56.4	44.4	40.5	53.7
65+		61.6	46.7	29.4	72.4	72.2	58.3	54.4	37.7	46.1
Total		60.7	48.5	26.3	67.0	65.1	61.3	44.6	39.2	53.0

Table 5: Mobilization (%selected) by age group and country

		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>In the past 12 months, have you received any requests to vote or to take some active role in a political or social issue?</i>										
18-24		24.0	58.8	20.6	45.9	32.2	34.7	30.0	61.7	44.9
25-34		14.1	49.1	18.7	32.6	29.0	26.8	21.3	54.6	38.7

35-49		9.4	46.4	19.2	27.6	25.8	18.6	14.1	55.6	30.8
50-64		11.2	44.3	32.3	18.2	26.1	31.4	14.1	61.4	32.9
65+		15.6	52.0	30.9	20.6	32.8	34.1	15.5	63.4	33.7
Total		13.6	48.8	25.6	25.5	28.5	27.7	17.4	59.2	34.8
<i>...by friends or family</i>										
18-24		16.5	22.2	29.3	43.5	39.8	20.8	39.1	22.5	23.5
25-34		34.7	20.1	20.6	40.8	37.9	27.5	37.5	14.9	27.4
35-49		14.6	6.0	12.7	41.2	41.8	22.6	29.2	14.5	22.0
50-64		21.5	11.4	15.7	25.8	29.1	21.8	32.1	9.1	14.1
65+		21.2	3.4	25.6	28.4	10.9	13.5	13.3	10.5	8.2
Total		21.5	10.5	19.7	36.0	31.1	20.4	29.8	13.0	18.4
<i>...by a political campaign or political party</i>										
18-24		48.0	47.8	42.6	38.2	16.6	47.9	47.3	49.6	66.4
25-34		44.2	45.1	28.6	43.6	16.9	50.5	47.6	52.7	59.3
35-49		63.0	35.9	18.9	40.3	18.1	43.4	49.7	52.1	65.7
50-64		61.8	36.5	32.7	39.5	16.6	51.9	43.7	56.2	64.7
65+		58.8	42.3	22.5	53.4	22.5	46.1	60.5	60.4	65.2
Total		55.8	40.5	27.4	43.2	18.3	47.9	50.1	54.9	64.2
<i>...by someone from an online community</i>										
18-24		33.1	6.1	26.0	7.3	45.9	32.1	17.7	5.9	14.3
25-34		22.9	8.3	49.0	12.1	46.5	27.1	20.0	5.1	18.0
35-49		22.1	8.6	74.3	11.3	58.7	33.7	16.6	6.8	24.5
50-64		12.3	8.1	62.0	21.7	65.1	41.6	34.8	3.6	30.6
65+		11.6	3.2	53.3	17.7	65.7	43.4	19.3	3.5	33.7
Total		19.2	6.7	57.5	14.1	57.9	37.5	21.5	4.8	25.3

Online political participation and media use

Turning the focus to online politics, overall, as shown in Table 6, we can see that higher proportions of young people tend to be involved through online forms of political participation such as discussing or sharing opinion on politics on a social network site e.g. Facebook or Twitter or joining or starting a political group on Facebook / following a politician or political group on Twitter etc though older people tend to show higher proportions of searching for information about politics online at least once a month. More specifically, when examining participation in different types of online political activities we can see that in most countries, higher proportions of younger people say they are discussing or sharing opinions on politics on a social network site such as Facebook or Twitter relative to older citizens. The same is true when we look at those saying that

they joined or started a political group on Facebook or followed a politician or political group on Twitter: in most countries the highest proportions of those saying they did this at least once a month are found amongst young people. The pattern is slightly more varied for those saying they visit the website of a political party or a politician at least once a month: in most countries the highest proportions are exhibited amongst younger people, but in a few it is the oldest 65+ age group, that of the baby-boomer generation that reports the highest levels. Finally, turning to those saying that they search for information about politics online, we can see that here, on the other hand, the higher levels tend to be reported for older respondents, in particular the 65+ baby-boomers.

These results point to another potential inequality also in terms of online engagement where older people are more inclined to exploit the Internet to gather deeper levels of political information which might aid them in decision-making and also relate to their feelings of higher internal political efficacy. Indeed, this pattern is in line with what was found earlier with respect to the lower levels of internal political efficacy or the feelings of having a good understanding or being qualified enough to engage in politics exhibited by younger respondents. This feeling of lower internal political efficacy relative to older people is likely linked to the lower tendency of younger people to use the Internet as a means to finding information. This is quite a striking finding given that younger respondents have grown up with the Internet whereas older people have had to pick it up later in life and therefore the fact that they are still exhibiting higher levels of use for searching for political information would suggest an important inequality linked to political education and information gathering between young and old people. This could mean that young people have potentially a lower informational base when making political decisions and therefore could be more likely to fall prey to simplistic rhetoric or even outright lies by certain political entrepreneurs or fake news. This could thus be pointing to an important inequality in terms of young people's ability to engage with politics that might be linked to the inability education systems to challenge young

people and to adequately prepare them for engaging in the world of politics and collecting or desiring to collect information and evidence before forming political opinions and engaging politically.

Moreover, Table 7 shows that in terms of media use for political news, higher proportions of older people appear to follow the news everyday be it on the newspaper, TV, radio and even on the Internet though results are more mixed for social media. More specifically, we can see that when looking at the proportions saying that they read the politics section of the newspaper every day that in all countries this is highest amongst the oldest 65+ year old age group and there is a clear gradient with age. The same is true when we turn to a different media and ask respondents about watching the political news on TV every day: in all countries the highest proportions are by far amongst the oldest age group and rise with each older age group. Additionally, following the results from earlier on we can see what when we ask about looking for political information on the Internet every day that in most countries proportions are highest amongst the older respondents. Patterns are more mixed for looking for political information on social media where in most countries the higher proportions are for younger people. Overall, therefore results suggest that older people are more likely to consume news be it on traditional or new media such as the Internet. Moreover, the proportions reporting media use are far higher amongst older people than younger respondents suggesting that older people spend more time collecting information and consuming it and also that they might be collecting a greater plurality of views by using different media to collect their political information. Once more this suggests an important inequality between younger and older people in terms of political information. Insofar as political information is important for making political decisions or engaging politically in effective manner it appears essential. This could be supported through investment in education systems for example and in turn would contribute to

developing internal political efficacy which could translate into higher levels of political involvement more generally.

Finally, as shown in Table 8, in terms of employing social media to express themselves politically it appears to generally be the case that higher proportions of young people post political content through social media though the pattern is reversed or more mixed in some cases. More specifically, we can see that amongst those saying that they posted political content on Facebook, in several countries the highest proportions are amongst older age groups though in the majority of countries the highest proportions are indeed in the younger age groups of respondents. This pattern is similar for Instagram, Twitter and YouTube where in most countries the higher proportions of respondents reporting that they posted political content are in the younger age groups while this is higher for older respondents in several countries. As such, while political expression through social media tends to be more popular amongst younger respondents, older people are also using social media to express their political views. Overall, it appears that while young people tend to use the Internet to express themselves politically, older people tend more to use it to collect information to potentially engage politically in the wider world and through other means as well, including potentially supporting their sense of internal political efficacy. This is an important inequality in the ways in which the potentialities of the Internet appear to be employed differently by the different means of engagement of younger and older people.

Table 6: Online political participation (% at least once a month) by age group and country										
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>	
<i>Discussing or sharing opinion on politics on a social network site e.g. Facebook or Twitter</i>										
18-24	27.9	31.7	26.5	38.0	28.0	37.2	26.1	23.3	35.2	
25-34	26.2	32.9	25.8	38.6	27.9	38.3	24.9	21.4	37.7	
35-49	20.2	21.9	27.2	39.8	30.7	26.6	17.2	15.0	24.8	
50-64	14.8	18.6	35.6	24.3	26.4	28.0	22.0	13.6	14.1	
65+	15.7	14.3	35.0	33.4	38.8	33.2	14.0	14.8	7.8	
Total	19.5	21.7	31.1	33.9	30.4	31.1	19.8	16.5	21.6	

<i>Joining or starting a political group on Facebook / followed a politician or political group on Twitter</i>										
18-24	18.5	20.7	17.2	26.5	23.6	24.2	16.6	12.9	23.0	
25-34	16.0	21.9	15.7	26.8	19.2	24.1	15.1	12.4	25.1	
35-49	9.3	13.3	10.8	24.5	19.6	11.8	6.7	9.4	13.8	
50-64	7.0	11.4	16.8	15.5	13.3	12.7	6.9	7.0	5.4	
65+	6.8	5.3	23.8	20.7	23.6	17.2	6.2	9.2	4.9	
Total	10.1	12.8	17.0	21.7	19.1	16.1	9.1	9.6	12.7	
<i>Visiting the web site of a political party or a politician</i>										
18-24	18.6	26.1	16.0	30.7	22.3	28.2	28.6	16.7	24.6	
25-34	16.8	27.6	14.2	29.5	22.0	24.5	21.1	16.2	26.6	
35-49	12.4	19.9	13.4	26.3	26.9	13.9	15.0	10.5	16.0	
50-64	9.5	17.1	18.5	17.3	21.9	17.5	17.7	12.3	7.5	
65+	12.1	19.1	21.1	27.2	37.2	16.8	18.0	18.7	10.0	
Total	12.9	20.7	17.0	25.1	26.2	18.2	18.9	14.3	15.3	
<i>Searching for information about politics online</i>										
18-24	37.3	59.9	44.7	61.9	50.7	46.2	47.3	43.4	50.3	
25-34	37.6	59.7	47.9	62.0	52.9	43.5	43.4	39.1	48.5	
35-49	24.4	49.6	48.0	65.3	58.4	24.6	33.3	28.6	37.0	
50-64	31.2	60.4	66.7	51.1	59.3	34.0	39.9	38.1	38.5	
65+	35.1	62.7	71.0	62.9	83.6	38.1	37.3	46.4	33.1	
Total	32.1	58.2	58.4	60.4	61.6	34.5	39.0	38.1	39.9	

Table 7: Media use for political news/information (% every day) by age group and country										
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>	
<i>Read the politics section of the newspaper</i>										
18-24	6.3	7.2	3.5	7.1	3.3	8.8	5.7	5.8	6.1	
25-34	6.0	9.9	4.5	13.2	6.0	17.7	8.1	7.8	11.1	
35-49	4.9	14.3	7.0	18.4	10.6	17.6	9.4	10.0	11.3	
50-64	11.7	30.0	14.9	17.0	10.5	24.8	14.6	23.6	18.3	
65+	13.0	49.5	22.8	23.0	13.6	45.4	30.9	41.5	27.8	
Total	8.9	26.0	12.4	17.6	9.5	25.0	15.3	19.5	16.2	
<i>Watch political news on TV</i>										
18-24	11.2	10.9	7.7	28.8	10.3	27.9	4.8	5.2	8.8	
25-34	13.7	17.3	9.8	30.0	19.0	33.4	8.2	8.7	11.1	
35-49	23.4	36.2	22.8	42.3	33.3	46.2	11.7	10.3	17.5	
50-64	35.0	52.1	39.1	48.1	48.3	56.8	16.2	26.1	31.1	
65+	51.2	67.5	53.4	68.4	65.6	76.9	33.6	47.9	35.7	
Total	30.2	43.0	31.4	47.9	38.2	52.4	16.8	21.6	22.9	
<i>Listen to political news on the radio</i>										
18-24	4.5	5.2	2.7	6.4	6.8	6.6	2.9	2.8	3.3	
25-34	7.2	6.9	4.3	11.0	13.7	12.0	5.1	4.8	7.4	
35-49	15.0	8.4	10.6	16.0	25.9	15.8	5.6	6.9	9.2	
50-64	23.1	11.7	19.8	16.6	30.2	29.4	10.5	9.3	15.3	
65+	31.0	16.2	22.6	20.2	31.5	36.6	12.7	14.5	21.5	
Total	18.6	10.7	14.4	15.8	23.8	22.5	8.1	8.4	12.5	
<i>Look for political information on the internet</i>										
18-24	5.1	11.5	9.6	14.1	9.6	12.2	6.5	5.3	9.1	
25-34	9.2	15.5	12.3	18.4	14.2	16.0	7.6	6.8	10.3	
35-49	5.4	13.6	24.0	22.9	23.2	13.6	6.0	8.7	9.6	
50-64	9.2	20.1	32.1	19.7	31.4	20.3	6.3	9.2	10.8	
65+	9.3	21.6	44.4	22.9	54.4	33.5	6.5	11.0	8.6	
Total	7.8	17.4	28.2	20.8	28.1	20.0	6.5	8.7	9.7	
<i>Look for political information on social media</i>										
18-24	5.1	8.5	7.3	13.0	8.5	12.5	6.0	5.7	11.5	
25-34	8.6	9.3	9.2	13.2	7.8	13.4	7.0	4.4	10.3	
35-49	5.2	5.6	16.0	14.1	14.1	9.4	4.9	4.7	5.2	
50-64	3.4	8.9	23.3	11.0	16.3	13.5	4.1	3.5	5.5	
65+	3.7	7.1	28.0	12.7	24.6	16.9	4.7	3.6	1.7	

Total		4.9	7.7	19.1	12.8	14.9	12.9	5.1	4.2	6.0
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Table 8: Posting political content on social media (% selected) by age group and country										
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>	
<i>Facebook</i>										
18-24	23.6	18.0	19.1	26.0	21.6	28.3	19.8	14.4	28.3	
25-34	28.9	28.3	29.3	40.3	26.9	37.9	28.3	21.5	38.8	
35-49	21.4	22.6	28.4	35.0	32.5	31.3	26.7	23.2	27.5	
50-64	15.2	34.4	41.2	23.4	25.9	31.7	27.8	19.9	20.8	
65+	17.6	21.9	54.0	32.5	38.8	31.6	17.5	15.7	17.8	
Total	21.0	25.8	37.6	31.5	29.7	32.3	24.2	19.7	26.8	
<i>Instagram</i>										
18-24	13.3	14.5	10.6	11.0	7.4	30.1	10.8	10.4	11.8	
25-34	12.9	16.5	10.7	10.4	8.7	22.8	13.7	9.4	16.8	
35-49	8.9	4.0	5.3	8.5	14.0	12.0	5.9	7.6	13.3	
50-64	4.0	7.3	5.7	5.7	13.2	8.3	1.0	3.2	2.8	
65+	8.4	0.0	12.0	11.3	0.0	5.1	2.5	5.5	0.0	
Total	10.7	10.1	8.3	9.1	9.7	16.0	7.1	7.7	12.3	
<i>Twitter</i>										
18-24	22.9	25.4	21.5	19.9	17.5	36.1	16.5	20.5	31.9	
25-34	28.4	26.3	11.1	19.5	19.6	36.2	17.9	20.9	32.2	
35-49	24.1	17.1	16.5	23.2	32.6	17.4	14.8	11.9	26.9	
50-64	23.0	19.1	23.5	5.1	15.7	21.7	14.9	10.0	27.7	
65+	19.3	14.2	32.7	17.5	21.1	28.4	14.2	5.9	15.0	
Total	23.6	20.3	22.9	17.0	22.3	26.6	15.8	12.9	28.2	
<i>YouTube</i>										
18-24	4.7	6.2	4.4	4.6	4.9	5.8	6.4	4.2	8.6	
25-34	10.2	10.6	5.0	5.1	6.9	9.6	7.9	3.7	14.8	
35-49	3.3	3.9	1.4	5.3	10.9	6.5	3.1	4.5	5.8	
50-64	7.6	3.3	4.2	6.1	7.0	3.1	0.0	4.2	7.9	
65+	6.8	0.0	17.1	8.1	6.2	8.1	0.0	8.3	2.6	
Total	6.1	5.4	6.8	5.8	7.6	6.8	4.3	4.7	8.7	

Attitudes and values

As we can see from Table 9, in terms of attitudes to the democratic political system overall younger people tend to have less favourable views than older respondents. More specifically, we can see that across countries the highest proportions of people saying that in democracy the economic system runs badly are amongst young people. This suggests that young people are less convinced that democracies provide the groundwork for the best economic systems to thrive than older people. We can also see that in most countries the higher proportions of people saying that democracies are

indecisive and have too much quibbling appear amongst younger age groups; however, in several countries this occurs amongst the older age groups. Moving on to the idea that democracies are not good at maintaining order, we can see that here too the highest proportions appear amongst younger people. Finally, looking at the idea that democracy may have problems but that it is better than any other form of government, we can see the highest proportions of agreement are amongst the older citizens.

Taken together, this suggests that younger people are more sceptical about democracy than older age groups. This suggests an inequality in satisfaction with the political system that may spring from experiencing dire economic conditions in their key period of socialisation and formative years thus potentially showing a scarring effect throughout the life course. Overall, findings could suggest that support for current forms of democracy may be weakening amongst the younger generations potentially opening the way for experimentation with alternative political arrangements such as more direct democratic modes of decision-making that may be perceived as better able to address the current political woes. For example, it may be that young people are particularly sensitive to communitarian critiques to liberal democratic arrangements given their lived experiences growing up within the current economic and political crises.

Turning to Table 10 we can look at attitudes to politicians. As we can see, the highest proportions of respondents considering politicians as necessary can be found amongst the older age groups in all countries. Moving on to the item which says that delegating political decisions is necessary we can see that here too the highest proportions agreeing are to be found amongst the oldest groups. These items could be read as suggesting greater cynicism for politicians amongst the younger age groups; they could also suggest a greater support for more direct democratic arrangements and mode of political involvement. Older respondents also display the higher levels of agreement in

considering that delegating political decisions is efficient thus suggesting that younger respondents not only do not see delegating political decisions as necessary as older respondents but that they also do not perceive this to be as efficient as they do. Perhaps their experiences of the crisis have led them to consider that there may other means to conduct decision-making that may better able to take into account the needs of citizens and make the needed political changes. We find a similar pattern for the indicator saying that it is too hard to decide directly on all political issues which shows the highest proportions of agreement to be found amongst the older respondents. However, in several countries the highest levels are found amongst the youngest age group. This finding may link with the contrasting tendency amongst younger age groups to feel lower political efficacy but on the other hand to also see potentially more direct forms of decision-making bypassing professional politicians as more efficient and promising than older citizens. It may be that younger citizens feel that the ritualistic world of professionalised politics is one that they do not feel qualified to enter but that nonetheless as other results show that they do feel empowered to engage more directly in politics in their own ways through social movement organisations, unconventional means, in their communities, and seeing more direct forms of democratic decision-making in a more positive light than older age groups.

As such, taken together these results would suggest that there may be less support for representative democratic systems amongst younger people and that for example reform to more proportional systems with the development of local forums for direct political participation may be beneficial to engage young people with the political process. Results could also suggest that younger generations growing up in times of crisis may be more likely to come to consider political decision-makers as unnecessary if they cannot be effective at solving outstanding political issues and putting into action reforms to improve societal conditions. Perhaps this new generation is growing a newfound

desire to take politics into their own hands as suggested by the springing of a variety of social movements against austerity such as for example that of the Indignados in Spain.

Table 10 touches upon another interesting contemporary issue which is the question of freedom of speech and particularly in the face of offence. Free speech is understood to be enshrined in the idea attributed to Voltaire that 'I disapprove of what you say but I will defend to death your right to say it'. When asked if free speech should be curtailed if it causes offence we can see that in most countries the highest proportions agreeing with this are to be found amongst the oldest age groups suggesting that younger age groups are more liberal and more committed to the free exchange of ideas even where these might be construed to hurt the sensibilities of certain individuals or groups and that dialogue and free expression are to be preferred to censure for the sake of defending social custom and dogma. This may be since traditionally it has been the views and the new customs of young people breaking into societal rules that are censored and silenced as offending public morals and other social custom. In this sense, as the more marginalised and powerless group, younger people may be aware that the silencing of free speech tends to support conservatism rather than the free exchange of ideas and therefore the more likely uptake of progressive customs and thoughts within the social world. Indeed, society has often tended to othering and framing as potentially dangerous the novel modes of expression and organising of youth and other subaltern groups meaning that young people are more likely to see in the idea of censure of speech in the name of offence the likely creep of conservatism, traditionalist social mores and patriarchalism.

Another interesting and particularly relevant item for contemporary debates included in Table 10 looks at the idea of freedom of movement and whether it should be defended as a principle. Here we can see that in all countries the highest proportions agreeing with this statement are to be found amongst the older age groups. As such, it appears older age groups are more committed to free

movement than younger ones with quite large gaps particularly in some countries. When turning to the question of whether free movement should be limited for the sake of keeping public order, here too we see that in most countries the highest proportions agreeing are to be found amongst the older age groups and that moreover these numbers are much lower than those agreeing that freedom of movement should be defended as a principle and less than half in all countries except for the UK. These findings also align with the ones over free speech suggesting that younger generations are more liberal in that they tend to be more likely than older generations to favour freedoms over order and social morals and yet that they view defending free movement as a principle with more scepticism than older generations particularly in some countries. As such these results suggest that undivided support of free movement amongst the younger generations cannot be taken for granted and that rather than dead dogma these principles need to be argued for as living truths and arguments won in order to persuade new generations. It cannot be simply assumed that younger people will spontaneously see free movement as a good in a context of various economic and political crises. Indeed, the experience of crises during their socialisation may have come to make them question a variety of traditional ways of doing things and to be more sceptical about holding anything as principle rather leading them to keep an open mind about which arrangements and rules may work and which may not without appropriate reforms and mechanisms in place.

Moving on, Table 11 reports on both economic and social values. The first type is understood to relate to the left-right dimension moving from more managed or state planned economic principles to more free market views. The second moves from more libertarian views relating to freedom and autonomy to more authoritarian ones associated with traditionalism and emphasis on law and order. We first turn to the economic values and start off by looking at the proportions agreeing that larger differences in income are needed as incentives. First, we can see that across countries and age groups it is always only minority that agrees with this statement; moreover, we can see that 18-24

year olds tend to show the lower levels of agreement in most countries but that these percentages were higher amongst 25-34 year olds. This could suggest that the youngest generation coming of age in the period of the economic crisis may have come to espouse more leftist principles against income inequalities possibly also given their own experiences of deprivation within their families or if living alone.

Also on Table 11, we can see that it is amongst the older age groups that we find the highest proportions of individuals agreeing that people should take more responsibility to provide for themselves. Here proportions are higher with a majority of respondents tending to agree. This may suggest that amongst younger age groups the idea of wanting to take responsibility for oneself is more likely to run counter to the structural realities of their day such as youth unemployment and restricted opportunities in the face of the economic crisis with contracting businesses and so forth. In this context, the desire to take responsibility for oneself and the idea of choice becomes framed within the context of what choices are available for this such as opportunities for affordable housing, of work that reflects one's talents and educational background, of childcare and public support for starting a family, and so forth. Within a context of low or weakened social provisions this may be seen as an increasing challenge for young individuals.

Moving on to looking at unemployment benefits, it is once more amongst the older age groups that we find the higher levels of support for the idea that people who are unemployed should have to take any jobs available or lose their benefits. In most countries there are quite large differences between older and younger age groups on this matter. However, almost everywhere it is only a minority of citizens that agrees with this more right-wing claim. This may be linked to the younger people's coming of age in contexts of economic crisis and heightened youth unemployment leading them to their greater understanding of unemployment as a social problem and not as a personal

failure. Moreover, being oneself or having been or having friends who are or may have been unemployed could have brought a more human understanding to this problem to younger people seeing that taking jobs that do not match one's abilities and specialisation can be extremely demoralising for individuals and therefore leading them to think that government welfare support systems should allow for individuals to be able to find jobs that better match their proclivities for more long-term life satisfaction and professional development. This would be in contrast to the cycle of short-term and precarious gigs which tend to increasingly be the norm for young people.

On the question of whether competition is good and stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas, we can see once more that the highest proportions of agreement are to be found amongst the older age groups across countries. Overall, majorities tend to agree with this claim. In most countries there is a substantial gap with younger age groups suggesting in turn perhaps differences in lived experiences. While young people are more likely to have to be competing for jobs and so forth daily, for older people who are approaching retirement age or have retired this may be less of a concern.

Moving on to the item on decreasing taxation by a lot and spending much less on social benefits and services we can see that almost everywhere this tends to be a minoritarian position. Moreover, we notice that it tends to be more popular with those of working age and not the oldest age group in this instance presumably since this age group in their old age relies on social benefits. As such, these results suggest that while most people have a general feeling that taking responsibility for oneself is good and that competition may be positive, stimulating people to work hard and develop new ideas, only minorities agree with inequality, that individuals should be forced to take any job available or lose unemployment benefits or that taxes should be reduced along with social spending. Moreover, through all these dimensions even smaller proportions of young people tend to

agree with the right-wing position suggesting that growing up in the crisis may have scarred younger generations making them further realise structural concerns. It is also interesting that while older age group tends to have the higher levels agreement with the more right-wing positions in general, this is not the case for reducing taxes and spending less on social benefits and services.

Moving on to social values, we start off with the item on whether a woman must have children to be fulfilled. Here we see that in general it is only a minority of people agreeing with this view suggesting widespread liberalism on gender norms at least. Moreover, higher proportions tend to be found amongst the older age groups suggesting that younger people tend to be both more left-wing economically as shown from the earlier results and also more socially libertarian relative to older people. As such, these results seem to suggest that young people tend to be more positive about women's abilities to find meaning in life beyond their privatised reproductive roles.

Moving on to the item on abortion and whether it should be allowed in any case we can see that here only very small proportions tend to agree throughout countries. This suggests that there are high levels of libertarianism in society with respect to reproductive rights as well. However, it is interesting to note in many countries it is the younger age groups that show slightly higher agreement with this very strict position. This suggests that the victories of the battles for women's reproductive rights may not be entirely safe without political debate as to why these are important within society socialising new generations.

Moreover, we look at an item asking whether children should be taught to obey authority. Here we see a majority of agreement in most countries and higher levels of agreement amongst older people. A similar pattern is found for punitiveness or the idea that people who break the law should get similar sentences. As such it seems that with respect to the rearing of children and breaking the law

most people whether young or old espouse greater conservatism. There may be also a linked concern that those who currently break the law are not punished – this could be in the face of corruption or tax avoidance which are major issues particularly in some countries where there is the feeling that people who break the law go unpunished and thus undermining the rule of law.

Finally, also in Table 11, turning to the item about whether same sex couples should be allowed to adopt we can see that here too results tend to show liberalism but that as one might expect older age groups are more conservative. Overall therefore patterns have shown that younger people tend to be on the whole more libertarian than older people. This suggests that society will continue to become more liberal with time. However, results such as the one for abortion would caution that political debate must exist so that liberal values may be living truths and not dead dogma. If not there is a risk that the victories of the past in terms of rights, freedoms and equality could be rolled back if the arguments are not put out there and won. Overall, results have shown that younger age groups are more left-wing economically and more socially liberal relative to older people and therefore this suggests that moving forward parties who want to win the support of younger voters who will become the older generations of tomorrow may need to consider their policies in this respect. Moreover, results suggest that citizens are unhappy with inequality and would prefer not to see benefits cut or reduced. Moving forward parties should consider these issues in order to be responsive to the population and provide policy choices which reflect the desires of Europeans.

Table 9: Democratic political system (% agree and strongly agree) by age group and country										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>In democracy, the economic system runs badly</i>										
18-24		31.8	8.5	24.9	33.7	21.9	15.2	11.4	9.4	23.9
25-34		33.5	9.6	27.9	39.8	22.2	19.9	13.8	8.9	29.4
35-49		28.5	5.9	21.7	41.2	15.4	17.0	7.3	11.6	15.7
50-64		27.3	3.1	20.1	43.4	11.4	15.6	5.8	5.5	12.4
65+		31.1	2.7	22.0	39.1	11.3	9.4	4.9	3.6	10.4

Total		30.0	5.1	22.6	40.4	15.6	15.2	7.9	7.7	16.9
<i>Democracies are indecisive and have too much quibbling</i>		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		26.4	46.2	33.0	27.7	36.9	31.3	19.2	28.2	32.8
25-34		36.3	46.1	31.9	33.0	33.9	32.3	24.5	35.2	38.3
35-49		32.2	41.5	28.8	41.4	24.0	29.2	16.0	36.3	30.3
50-64		43.8	45.1	28.6	35.9	27.7	30.0	14.8	36.6	26.6
65+		49.4	51.6	20.3	33.6	25.9	26.5	13.9	35.6	31.4
Total		39.3	46.1	27.5	35.8	28.5	29.4	17.0	35.3	31.3
<i>Democracies aren't good at maintaining order</i>										
18-24		18.1	9.2	15.3	25.9	31.1	15.5	13.6	10.1	21.1
25-34		18.6	12.6	15.9	26.8	30.3	16.3	15.7	10.8	25.6
35-49		13.3	15.5	8.0	30.7	24.7	10.8	13.0	9.8	15.6
50-64		15.5	11.9	13.9	28.2	27.0	12.7	7.7	6.9	15.1
65+		18.5	12.5	14.8	24.7	27.9	9.8	9.2	8.5	12.3
Total		16.4	12.8	13.1	27.6	27.6	12.2	11.4	9.0	17.0
<i>Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government</i>										
18-24		58.7	70.4	64.6	56.5	53.2	54.9	68.3	66.0	55.3
25-34		57.2	66.1	63.5	52.0	48.9	59.6	64.2	59.4	54.6
35-49		55.7	64.5	67.9	60.3	52.6	53.1	73.3	62.9	62.5
50-64		58.5	68.7	71.7	57.7	62.4	71.4	83.2	72.5	73.7
65+		63.8	81.4	84.5	73.7	69.4	81.0	84.9	82.7	84.8
Total		58.9	70.6	72.1	61.8	57.6	65.0	76.4	69.3	68.2

Table 10: Democratic decision-making and freedoms (% agree and strongly agree) by age group and country

		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>Politicians are necessary</i>										
18-24		34.8	62.3	41.1	52.6	40.8	43.7	65.3	55.5	52.6
25-34		31.8	59.6	32.0	42.2	35.4	46.7	60.0	53.2	55.0
35-49		33.9	65.9	39.0	46.5	40.0	39.5	65.8	52.4	56.7
50-64		38.9	61.2	40.7	37.6	46.6	47.8	68.0	58.3	63.8
65+		45.8	71.5	59.9	53.5	46.6	55.6	71.7	69.3	79.7
Total		37.8	64.8	43.8	46.0	42.1	46.6	66.7	58.0	62.9
<i>Delegating political decisions is necessary</i>										
18-24		39.6	48.5	52.2	36.5	15.7	48.9	53.7	50.0	52.2
25-34		41.4	53.9	48.5	31.3	16.8	53.4	54.7	47.9	54.8
35-49		44.0	54.8	57.9	41.4	19.1	36.1	59.2	48.2	51.8
50-64		44.4	61.0	64.7	28.2	20.4	48.6	67.2	52.9	57.9
65+		53.8	69.7	66.7	44.6	21.4	55.9	72.5	63.3	71.8
Total		45.6	59.4	59.9	37.2	19.1	47.3	63.0	52.8	58.4
<i>Delegating political decisions is efficient</i>		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		24.7	30.3	20.0	30.5	27.7	34.4	38.0	34.9	34.4
25-34		26.2	32.0	18.8	28.3	21.6	39.5	38.3	26.8	37.4
35-49		29.0	26.6	19.6	37.0	20.4	25.3	38.7	29.4	28.4
50-64		25.3	31.6	28.3	25.7	21.8	38.0	44.4	28.3	35.5
65+		29.8	37.6	42.3	32.3	21.7	41.9	58.7	38.0	32.8
Total		27.4	31.8	27.5	31.2	22.0	35.0	44.8	31.1	33.3
<i>It is too hard to decide directly on all relevant political issues</i>										
18-24		57.5	60.6	51.9	48.5	55.0	41.6	48.0	58.0	47.9
25-34		50.1	55.5	46.7	40.1	48.4	44.1	47.6	53.1	49.5
35-49		42.4	50.9	44.4	41.1	54.5	33.4	44.3	50.2	45.8
50-64		49.8	53.4	46.1	38.3	54.6	38.9	40.3	51.6	43.1
65+		51.7	57.2	56.1	49.8	59.2	43.6	53.5	50.7	52.3
Total		49.2	54.7	48.8	43.1	54.3	39.3	46.6	51.9	47.5
<i>Free speech should be curtailed if it causes offence</i>										

18-24		25.8	28.7	42.4	22.8	25.9	23.7	23.2	28.6	29.1
25-34		22.5	30.9	44.3	23.5	25.7	28.5	21.7	29.9	28.8
35-49		21.7	34.7	42.8	28.3	39.9	31.3	13.6	29.1	23.1
50-64		19.3	45.6	39.5	23.8	43.2	41.0	13.7	40.6	20.5
65+		31.7	51.3	54.1	26.4	49.6	55.1	13.8	50.1	18.9
Total		24.0	40.6	45.0	25.6	38.5	38.1	16.1	36.6	23.1
<i>Freedom of movement should be defended as a principle</i>										
18-24		60.9	61.6	53.2	65.5	36.0	60.1	41.2	56.2	53.2
25-34		59.9	62.2	58.5	63.3	37.7	63.1	47.2	58.3	54.2
35-49		63.5	61.9	62.9	65.9	42.7	60.2	54.9	64.5	50.1
50-64		65.1	72.9	70.9	67.8	50.0	71.4	59.9	68.4	48.7
65+		64.4	80.3	72.7	77.8	55.3	79.0	71.3	72.6	57.9
Total		63.3	69.4	65.9	69.1	45.3	67.6	57.3	65.4	52.6
<i>The right of free movement should be limited for the sake of keeping public order</i>										
18-24		15.8	14.0	16.9	16.6	11.8	23.6	18.1	16.3	24.4
25-34		18.2	17.4	17.3	21.4	15.2	28.5	26.4	17.1	34.4
35-49		18.6	15.1	10.2	27.3	12.6	33.1	28.4	15.0	30.9
50-64		23.4	18.2	12.1	17.8	8.0	27.6	29.1	13.7	36.5
65+		30.3	19.7	26.1	23.2	6.7	33.0	23.1	20.5	40.0
Total		22.2	17.3	16.4	22.2	10.7	30.3	25.8	16.3	34.2

Table 11: Political values (% agree or strongly agree) by age group and country										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>Economic values (left-right axis)</i>										
<i>We need larger income differences as incentives</i>										
18-24		16.4	12.9	27.0	16.4	34.9	28.2	11.2	11.4	26.9
25-34		18.3	16.5	31.0	20.1	37.7	38.9	13.7	14.8	32.7
35-49		25.1	15.3	24.7	19.8	33.5	39.0	10.2	11.1	22.4
50-64		16.9	13.0	24.7	19.6	27.6	32.4	7.4	9.4	15.0
65+		20.4	13.9	29.4	25.2	34.3	29.6	10.9	13.3	16.5
Total		19.9	14.3	27.0	20.9	33.1	34.4	10.4	11.8	21.5
<i>People should take more responsibility to provide for themselves</i>										
18-24		46.9	63.3	78.9	73.3	64.5	53.5	57.2	54.8	61.6
25-34		43.5	59.4	79.5	71.2	63.7	57.3	57.9	63.1	70.6
35-49		47.6	66.5	78.4	72.9	61.2	45.5	62.2	54.0	71.9
50-64		58.4	59.7	82.7	69.2	71.2	53.7	57.7	58.5	76.4
65+		68.4	68.0	85.1	81.6	73.9	72.5	73.0	66.5	86.5
Total		54.6	63.7	81.4	74.1	67.0	56.1	62.6	59.4	75.0
<i>People who are unemployed should have to take any job available or lose their unemployment benefits</i>										
18-24		41.7	33.4	17.2	36.5	52.8	19.9	28.4	29.0	35.1
25-34		27.6	32.5	23.9	44.9	55.1	26.5	28.7	32.5	49.4
35-49		30.2	32.9	29.0	56.2	45.1	25.9	30.3	27.9	39.7
50-64		32.3	28.1	31.7	63.5	40.8	32.9	27.9	33.0	42.8
65+		44.5	30.7	41.8	78.1	65.6	49.2	32.5	41.0	48.0
Total		34.9	31.1	31.1	60.7	50.7	32.5	29.8	32.9	43.5
<i>Competition is good. It stimulates people to work hard and develop new ideas</i>										
18-24		54.1	57.5	67.1	66.4	78.2	65.5	63.8	56.8	70.5
25-34		45.9	54.7	69.7	60.5	72.8	66.5	60.7	53.7	72.8
35-49		45.6	56.3	73.6	56.4	75.5	60.9	58.0	48.2	73.2
50-64		42.9	54.9	73.3	63.7	77.0	63.7	59.3	48.3	76.0
65+		58.4	64.6	77.4	72.2	87.5	87.2	70.7	63.7	84.4
Total		48.9	57.9	73.3	63.7	78.0	68.8	62.5	53.4	76.1

<i>Government should decrease taxes a lot and spend much less on social benefits and services</i>										
18-24	38.1	26.0	41.6	31.3	58.2	21.8	24.1	24.4	29.4	
25-34	38.3	30.8	43.9	39.0	60.6	28.2	27.1	34.5	40.4	
35-49	42.9	22.9	38.3	38.4	46.2	22.8	25.6	25.0	25.8	
50-64	40.5	22.0	36.2	28.6	47.4	15.0	21.8	25.0	21.5	
65+	48.4	20.0	30.2	30.9	49.9	20.9	23.8	20.6	20.1	
Total	42.4	23.4	36.9	33.5	51.2	21.2	24.4	25.6	26.3	
Social values (libertarian-authoritarian axis)										
<i>A woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled</i>	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>	
18-24	13.2	5.6	14.2	9.1	17.2	4.1	4.5	5.5	8.4	
25-34	17.2	10.4	26.2	16.1	27.2	6.0	6.8	7.8	15.1	
35-49	19.0	7.5	33.2	17.3	35.4	5.3	3.3	10.6	8.2	
50-64	15.6	7.5	25.6	22.3	34.0	6.5	2.1	5.5	6.0	
65+	26.1	6.8	37.4	25.4	28.4	14.1	2.4	7.3	1.6	
Total	19.0	7.6	29.4	19.9	30.3	7.6	3.5	7.6	7.4	
<i>Abortion should not be allowed in any case</i>										
18-24	12.8	10.1	27.8	11.3	19.7	7.5	7.5	11.3	13.9	
25-34	9.4	11.0	24.7	14.0	14.1	9.6	7.0	10.5	18.2	
35-49	3.1	6.1	19.3	14.1	13.6	7.1	1.6	11.2	13.5	
50-64	3.5	5.8	21.7	10.9	12.6	3.6	2.3	4.2	9.0	
65+	2.3	1.5	13.1	10.9	11.0	14.8	3.2	5.5	4.0	
Total	5.0	6.0	19.9	12.2	13.6	8.5	3.7	8.1	11.1	
<i>Children should be taught to obey authority</i>										
18-24	68.6	50.2	6.5	69.1	21.8	53.7	28.5	55.5	58.6	
25-34	68.4	48.2	4.9	74.4	21.1	68.6	39.8	57.8	68.2	
35-49	72.5	54.2	3.7	70.5	17.7	75.9	51.2	65.6	74.7	
50-64	86.8	53.4	7.4	74.3	24.7	67.3	45.7	62.1	77.2	
65+	83.9	51.8	14.4	79.3	25.0	75.6	44.1	59.3	84.0	
Total	77.8	52.1	7.8	74.2	21.9	70.9	43.8	61.0	74.6	
<i>People who break the law should get stiffer sentences</i>										
18-24	64.2	53.9	35.3	74.2	57.6	59.7	66.3	44.5	53.5	
25-34	66.3	63.3	42.0	84.7	71.0	71.8	68.8	58.1	65.5	
35-49	69.8	72.4	55.5	87.1	74.3	80.8	73.8	62.1	74.4	
50-64	77.4	68.5	53.4	84.5	77.0	74.2	67.2	62.8	66.9	
65+	81.6	72.6	60.7	90.4	69.4	69.2	72.2	67.4	70.5	
Total	73.4	68.3	52.4	86.0	71.7	73.5	70.3	61.0	67.9	
<i>Homosexual couples should not be allowed to adopt children under any circumstances</i>										
18-24	13.9	10.8	27.7	19.5	46.9	3.3	9.1	15.2	11.6	
25-34	17.1	12.9	41.9	30.4	54.4	8.5	12.1	18.0	16.9	
35-49	19.7	14.1	44.2	32.6	54.0	8.5	14.8	22.3	14.9	
50-64	23.2	18.7	54.9	37.7	49.9	9.1	12.9	22.8	20.4	
65+	28.6	17.0	57.8	48.8	38.2	22.2	15.9	29.4	30.1	
Total	21.7	15.5	48.6	36.8	49.3	11.4	13.5	22.5	19.7	

Policy satisfaction and issue priorities

In this next section we examine policy satisfaction and issues priorities. Starting off with the results shown in Table 12 which reports levels of satisfaction with government policy on the economy we can see that the proportions satisfied are generally the minority with proportions being particularly low in some cases. Here we can also see that the highest proportions of satisfaction are to be found amongst the older age groups. This may be due to the fact that young people are generally the most vulnerable economically and given they are coming of age in the current context of crisis and searching for a job are most likely to feel the ill effects of economies that are often not working for people. This dissatisfaction with government policy on the economy amongst Europeans and particularly younger people is quite problematic since a functioning economy that works for people is so fundamental to raising people's living conditions and allowing them to fulfil their potentialities. On the other hand, economic uncertainty and deprivation are problematic for a variety of reasons and can cost a heavy toll in terms of human suffering, loss of potential and the potential opening to political entrepreneurs wishing to make gains through simplistic rhetoric and scapegoating migrants and other minorities for major structural problems affecting most European economies today. It thus seems key that changes need to be effected in economic terms across the continent to develop an economic sector that improves the lives of people rather than trapping them in a vortex of short-term precarious gigs as is the case for many young people today.

Linked to this we can also see from Table 12 that levels of satisfaction for government policy on poverty are also very low. However here the levels of satisfaction amongst younger age groups appear a bit higher. There is a similar pattern for satisfaction with policy on inequality where levels are also low. On the other hand, there appears to be slightly higher levels of satisfaction on policy on education particularly amongst the younger age groups relative to older ones.

In most countries there are also quite low levels of satisfaction with government policy on unemployment with no clear age patterns suggesting all age groups are similarly unsatisfied. A job brings a sense of community and fulfilment for individuals and employment for many people is an important part of who they are. Seeing a family member or friend without a job particularly in the context of the crisis may have had deep negative effects particularly on youth coming of age in this context since they are more impressionable. As such, this seems an issue which parties may wish to tackle and address the question of the promises of full employment.

Moving on, we see that levels of satisfaction with policy on healthcare are higher in most countries and that younger age groups tend to be more satisfied with healthcare policy than older ones.

Levels of satisfaction with government policy precarious employment are also quite low though here the higher levels of satisfaction with policy tend to be found amongst the younger groups relative to older age groups. This may suggest that younger age groups tend to be satisfied with existing policies on precarious employment where these exist at least. Precarious employment is a particularly important issue for youth these days since many tend to move between myriads of short-term contracts without being able to find a permanent, long term job which had tended to be the norm for earlier generations.

Moreover, we can also see that generally levels of satisfaction with government policy on immigration are also quite low but tend to be higher amongst younger respondents relative to older ones. Immigration is a particularly important policy area today. For many observers there is a need for a more concerted and organised policy. Education and discussion over immigration and its potential benefits as well as an appreciation of the complexities surrounding migratory influxes historically and the trajectories of various nations through the centuries may contribute to improving policy initiatives and public understanding around these issues. On the other hand, the

absence of discussion may leave a vacuum and open the way for simplistic rhetoric and those scapegoating migrants for complex and challenging structural problems affecting many European nations, including that of ageing populations and mass emigration from economically poorer areas.

Moving on, we can see that as with the other policy areas studied above, only a minority of respondents are satisfied with policy on childcare across countries. Levels tend to be higher amongst younger age groups. It may be that younger people are more satisfied as they have not yet had a chance to need childcare and experience the challenges facing this type of policy cross-nationally. Effective childcare is particularly important to allow parents the chance to enter or re-join the labour market and to participate politically thus allowing real choices.

Only a minority of citizens is satisfied with policy on crime and numbers tend to be higher amongst younger citizens than older ones in each country; the same is true for government policy on security, environmental protection, LGBTQ+ rights, housing, youth issues and gender equality. Numbers tend to be low throughout and never a majority except for security in Switzerland but younger age groups look to be a bit more satisfied with government policy than older age groups. Overall, the fact that such low proportions of young people specifically and the public more generally with government policy is concerning and suggests a mismatch between the world of policy-making and that of the population for example as a result of low democratic responsiveness. These findings therefore suggest that policy-makers need to focus their attention more deeply on developing policies in key areas which address the concerns of citizens and which satisfy them in terms of their lived experience. Politics should work for people and the fact that such low proportions are satisfied with environmental or housing policy for example suggests that there is much more that could be done to design effective and useful policies for the public.

Table 13 reports issue priorities for different age groups and more specifically the proportions in each selecting each issue in their top two most important. As we can see inequality as an important issue is more popular amongst younger age groups than older ones. Corruption seems to be a greater concern for older age groups. On the other hand, unemployment shows higher proportions of younger people including it amongst their top priorities. As discussed above, unemployment is a very important concern. Older people exhibit the higher proportions relative to younger people for selecting the economic situation as one of their two priority issues. The same is true for selecting rising prices/inflation as one of two top priority issues which also tends to attract higher numbers from the older age groups in most countries. Government debt is not a particularly popular concern and tends to attract higher proportions from the oldest age group of 65+ year olds in most countries. Health and security as a priority issue also generally attracts older age groups as do crime and pensions. On the other hand, taxation as an issue priority tends to be higher with the 25-34 age group; they were also the age group that was most in favour of reducing taxation as we saw earlier. The education system tends to be selected as one of the two key issue priorities more with the youngest age group in almost all countries showing the highest levels. There is a similar pattern also for housing, the environment, and climate and energy issues. On the other hand, older age groups show higher levels for selecting immigration amongst their top two issues as well as terrorism.

As such, overall we can see that inequality, unemployment, taxation, education system, housing, the environment, and climate and energy issues show higher proportion of selection as the top two issues for younger age groups more than older ones in most countries. On the other hand, corruption, economic situation, rising prices/inflation, government debt, health and social security, immigration and terrorism show higher levels for older age groups relative to younger ones. Therefore, it appears that while older age groups compared to younger tend to be more concerned

about the economy more generally and in terms of corruption, inflation, debt and social security, young people compared to older are more concerned about economic aspects linked to inequality, unemployment, taxation but also housing and education. Moreover, older people are more concerned about security issues such as immigration and terrorism compared to younger people; younger people are more concerned about the future looking to climate change and the environmental and energy issues. This youth concern for the environmental issue is reflected in the Fridays for the Future movement for example today and clearly forms an important part of the political discussions to be had about how best to organise society looking to the future.

Table 12: Satisfaction with government in different policy areas (% satisfied)										
	<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>	
<i>The economy</i>										
18-24	28.4	49.9	8.4	24.8	28.7	20.3	30.4	58.7	26.7	
25-34	27.1	48.0	8.9	22.9	31.3	23.5	30.2	49.8	32.4	
35-49	21.5	42.3	4.8	17.4	32.6	9.0	25.1	48.1	28.0	
50-64	23.1	45.2	13.5	16.4	30.7	16.4	34.7	41.6	36.2	
65+	28.8	48.9	22.6	23.5	23.7	27.0	30.1	60.0	41.2	
Total	25.2	46.3	12.5	20.1	29.7	18.0	30.0	50.4	33.6	
<i>Poverty</i>										
18-24	20.0	24.0	6.8	15.6	20.4	14.1	25.6	39.2	21.0	
25-34	15.3	19.4	8.3	18.2	21.0	15.9	24.5	30.2	27.0	
35-49	11.7	14.3	3.9	15.6	21.9	4.5	14.0	23.9	17.3	
50-64	9.0	5.3	9.3	15.6	16.6	7.6	18.8	11.1	21.2	
65+	9.9	5.9	22.5	14.9	15.4	9.3	16.1	21.3	20.8	
Total	12.0	11.5	10.9	15.8	19.0	8.8	18.6	22.7	21.1	
<i>Inequality</i>										
18-24	19.6	23.0	16.0	21.8	19.2	20.9	31.3	35.2	29.8	
25-34	16.6	21.3	13.9	22.2	20.3	24.5	31.4	26.8	37.0	
35-49	12.8	15.9	10.9	19.9	16.7	6.9	21.2	22.3	29.7	
50-64	11.3	10.7	14.7	15.1	16.5	10.4	27.1	14.7	33.5	
65+	9.6	10.4	16.5	18.3	12.0	14.8	23.5	20.3	27.5	

Total		12.9	14.6	14.3	18.7	16.7	13.3	25.9	22.0	31.3
<i>Education</i>										
18-24		40.3	46.6	19.5	30.5	31.7	28.6	40.9	65.3	39.1
25-34		36.4	36.9	14.7	28.0	31.8	29.9	38.3	58.4	44.0
35-49		29.4	28.6	7.9	21.1	26.1	17.2	33.2	56.1	31.5
50-64		23.3	26.5	13.5	23.8	27.7	15.5	33.2	47.1	34.0
65+		31.7	28.0	27.8	23.3	17.6	21.1	31.4	66.0	37.4
Total		30.6	30.8	16.5	24.0	26.5	20.5	34.5	57.3	36.4
<i>Unemployment</i>										
18-24		23.4	33.8	8.5	18.6	23.3	16.7	23.8	45.2	23.7
25-34		20.4	33.6	8.9	21.0	31.7	17.0	26.9	39.0	32.1
35-49		14.8	29.0	4.1	14.0	30.6	6.1	19.7	33.6	25.2
50-64		15.6	26.3	9.8	14.3	27.9	9.3	26.4	29.1	37.4
65+		13.7	25.8	18.6	15.9	23.0	12.2	21.8	35.7	45.1
Total		16.5	28.6	10.4	15.9	27.9	10.8	23.4	35.0	33.7
<i>Healthcare</i>										
18-24		61.8	49.7	17.0	33.1	17.6	44.7	29.0	62.0	38.3
25-34		43.5	38.2	12.8	29.1	15.6	42.1	26.0	47.2	39.5
35-49		30.7	32.9	8.8	28.0	16.1	24.1	20.2	38.3	26.5
50-64		29.7	26.5	13.8	23.1	15.2	32.2	25.6	31.8	30.1
65+		38.1	27.9	20.9	28.5	13.2	40.5	26.0	49.8	36.1
Total		37.4	32.3	14.5	27.5	15.4	34.2	24.8	43.0	33.1
<i>Precarious employment</i>		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		21.0	21.7	11.2	17.3	21.6	14.6	26.6	33.5	24.4
25-34		16.7	22.0	8.6	19.8	23.4	13.9	27.7	28.5	28.8
35-49		13.3	23.7	2.7	15.5	29.2	3.9	20.7	21.9	21.9
50-64		14.4	16.1	11.7	14.4	24.9	7.6	22.4	15.3	25.9
65+		9.7	17.5	15.7	16.2	17.9	8.5	20.2	28.5	20.8
Total		14.0	19.7	10.0	16.1	24.0	8.2	22.8	23.9	24.1
<i>Immigration</i>										
18-24		25.0	26.4	12.3	25.1	31.9	27.7	19.7	35.6	30.1
25-34		18.0	25.4	11.3	31.2	33.9	25.5	19.6	25.6	31.9
35-49		14.1	20.2	8.9	21.7	28.1	8.5	9.6	25.5	20.5
50-64		11.5	16.1	8.9	23.4	27.0	12.4	16.4	18.3	17.8
65+		12.0	17.4	24.2	21.5	14.9	10.8	15.1	18.9	22.1
Total		14.7	19.8	13.4	23.6	26.8	14.0	15.3	23.3	23.2
<i>Childcare</i>										
18-24		38.3	35.9	25.0	33.9	40.7	36.9	37.9	51.8	39.2
25-34		30.8	30.3	17.0	29.1	36.2	35.7	34.6	36.4	42.0
35-49		32.3	33.3	13.8	24.3	36.0	22.3	29.2	34.7	32.8
50-64		30.3	24.3	17.1	22.8	34.4	18.8	35.8	31.9	31.4
65+		31.2	27.7	29.5	25.6	31.0	25.4	33.9	38.7	34.7
Total		31.9	29.3	20.2	25.7	35.2	25.3	33.7	36.8	35.2
<i>Crime</i>										
18-24		28.9	37.7	10.7	23.7	30.2	26.6	20.3	56.6	31.4
25-34		22.6	32.2	11.6	21.5	28.6	33.7	19.6	43.1	33.5
35-49		15.8	26.7	7.2	17.2	24.1	16.8	13.6	42.8	27.5
50-64		14.4	19.3	11.2	18.5	21.0	19.7	16.1	30.6	29.8
65+		14.1	25.1	16.3	19.1	15.5	26.8	17.7	36.2	27.6
Total		17.5	26.2	11.5	19.1	23.1	23.1	16.9	39.7	29.5
<i>Security</i>										
18-24		47.0	51.1	15.9	36.6	43.9	42.3	32.9	74.4	42.5
25-34		36.1	45.0	13.8	33.5	38.9	43.4	32.5	61.5	47.3

35-49		28.4	33.7	10.7	25.0	35.1	27.4	24.6	62.8	40.5
50-64		29.5	28.7	14.7	27.4	32.5	27.8	28.3	55.1	48.5
65+		31.0	31.5	27.1	25.9	27.2	38.4	31.0	63.8	55.0
Total		32.4	35.1	16.8	27.9	34.6	33.6	29.2	62.0	47.1
<i>Environmental protection</i>										
18-24		38.2	33.0	15.1	29.8	29.8	25.1	34.9	47.7	32.7
25-34		27.0	32.3	16.6	27.0	30.4	32.4	34.5	45.0	40.0
35-49		24.0	30.9	11.4	24.1	22.3	15.1	26.9	43.2	33.4
50-64		22.0	26.0	15.9	23.2	24.3	14.1	36.0	36.7	35.2
65+		26.3	23.8	23.6	23.4	18.0	20.7	31.4	50.9	39.6
Total		25.9	28.2	16.8	24.5	24.3	19.5	32.2	44.0	36.3
<i>LGBTQ + rights</i>										
18-24		29.5	29.8	25.7	21.7	24.1	35.9	45.3	33.2	44.3
25-34		27.8	27.5	21.9	20.7	26.7	36.8	44.0	28.5	47.3
35-49		18.0	22.1	19.2	23.2	26.6	15.2	38.7	20.5	36.4
50-64		19.7	16.1	20.1	16.5	18.9	16.4	40.3	21.3	39.6
65+		18.1	12.1	34.0	16.6	18.3	25.6	37.5	31.3	36.5
Total		21.2	19.5	24.2	19.3	22.8	22.8	40.3	25.6	39.9
<i>Housing</i>		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		33.5	31.8	15.6	20.0	30.0	20.9	25.6	45.0	27.8
25-34		29.6	25.9	12.6	19.7	24.1	21.2	23.6	34.1	32.1
35-49		19.5	21.1	5.1	18.2	22.9	11.5	23.5	37.5	20.4
50-64		24.9	11.8	9.6	16.2	22.6	12.1	26.5	25.7	26.0
65+		21.0	13.1	18.5	15.8	18.9	15.7	23.3	39.9	22.1
Total		24.3	18.4	11.8	17.4	23.0	14.8	24.4	35.3	24.9
<i>Youth issues</i>										
18-24		37.8	32.4	14.1	25.1	22.8	23.9	31.2	48.1	26.6
25-34		27.2	28.6	12.8	21.7	22.1	27.3	28.6	38.2	34.4
35-49		23.6	27.8	6.9	17.9	22.7	12.2	21.3	36.8	24.0
50-64		19.3	14.3	9.3	19.7	19.3	10.1	20.5	29.2	23.0
65+		24.0	20.2	20.4	21.3	17.3	16.5	23.1	45.5	28.7
Total		24.6	22.9	12.5	20.3	20.7	15.9	23.9	38.2	26.9
<i>Gender equality</i>										
18-24		24.9	41.0	28.2	24.9	28.5	28.6	42.9	36.4	39.7
25-34		23.6	36.1	23.6	24.3	28.3	29.1	40.1	33.4	46.7
35-49		18.9	35.1	15.9	21.0	19.7	12.6	35.1	29.4	34.3
50-64		19.5	27.5	20.7	20.6	24.2	15.4	39.1	26.2	35.6
65+		16.5	25.6	35.2	18.9	13.0	23.6	34.6	32.0	37.4
Total		19.8	31.4	24.3	21.1	22.1	19.5	37.6	30.5	38.0
Notes: % based on points 6/10 on scale from 0 to 10 where 0 Extremely dissatisfied and 10 Extremely satisfied										

		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>Inequality</i>										
18-24		20.2	20.6	6.2	8.9	8.2	17.6	13.3	15.8	15.8
25-34		14.1	25.6	3.0	5.7	6.5	9.7	9.3	16.8	8.3
35-49		12.8	25.8	1.9	6.4	4.3	5.1	4.6	15.2	6.6
50-64		10.8	30.3	0.5	4.3	9.0	8.5	3.5	15.0	6.3
65+		8.6	27.2	1.7	3.9	3.9	8.3	2.8	12.9	2.1
Total		12.3	26.8	2.1	5.3	6.2	8.3	5.6	15.0	6.8
<i>Corruption</i>										

18-24		7.9	3.5	9.0	9.8	3.9	37.4	2.7	5.3	5.6
25-34		5.4	2.8	8.6	9.1	5.5	32.5	3.0	3.4	5.0
35-49		4.8	2.9	8.5	5.5	5.0	38.7	2.1	3.7	3.9
50-64		5.3	1.8	10.4	13.5	7.8	47.1	1.6	3.4	3.0
65+		5.7	4.4	14.9	21.0	7.5	41.0	2.6	6.0	3.8
Total		5.5	3.0	10.7	12.4	6.2	40.2	2.3	4.2	4.0
<i>Unemployment</i>										
18-24		24.7	7.6	41.0	40.3	15.9	32.5	12.3	11.9	17.7
25-34		20.5	7.1	44.0	46.1	13.9	41.4	14.4	9.9	10.9
35-49		23.7	5.7	49.4	45.7	12.8	43.9	6.4	12.8	8.6
50-64		24.0	1.9	28.8	42.4	10.9	44.0	5.6	13.0	6.8
65+		24.3	0.8	18.6	32.8	0.3	28.5	3.1	2.5	0.3
Total		23.5	3.9	34.6	41.1	10.4	39.1	7.4	10.1	7.7
<i>Economic situation</i>										
18-24		10.6	3.6	38.6	25.3	12.0	21.0	9.0	4.7	10.7
25-34		11.7	5.1	47.5	25.7	10.5	24.3	9.7	7.9	14.5
35-49		10.5	4.4	48.8	25.3	12.7	32.0	13.5	9.1	18.3
50-64		14.7	2.7	45.2	22.0	14.0	22.6	8.8	6.1	17.1
65+		9.3	2.5	32.0	23.2	6.1	16.6	6.4	5.7	18.4
Total		11.5	3.5	42.5	24.0	11.3	24.2	9.6	7.0	16.5
<i>Rising prices/inflation</i>										
18-24		15.4	9.3	3.9	7.5	32.5	6.8	3.3	10.8	15.4
25-34		22.5	10.1	4.8	6.3	39.5	6.0	4.4	18.9	24.7
35-49		19.7	10.9	8.0	6.6	37.7	8.3	3.1	18.1	23.1
50-64		12.9	9.1	9.2	5.9	28.6	6.0	3.7	11.6	20.8
65+		10.9	6.2	3.8	3.8	38.3	4.6	2.3	5.3	12.8
Total		15.9	8.9	6.4	5.7	35.3	6.4	3.2	13.1	19.6
<i>Government debt</i>		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		5.1	1.9	4.3	5.3	5.6	3.7	1.0	2.4	2.6
25-34		7.6	1.9	3.4	4.1	7.5	4.8	1.2	1.9	3.0
35-49		7.7	0.3	2.5	4.7	8.2	2.1	0.0	0.4	1.9
50-64		7.2	2.4	3.4	5.2	7.4	3.5	1.0	1.4	3.9
65+		12.1	1.9	4.6	10.4	12.1	7.9	0.7	2.6	6.0
Total		8.3	1.7	3.6	6.3	8.4	4.3	0.7	1.6	3.6
<i>Health and social security</i>										
18-24		3.8	9.2	15.4	7.8	11.8	8.1	28.9	10.8	18.0
25-34		8.7	13.7	19.8	10.3	17.5	9.0	35.6	15.5	22.8
35-49		10.2	17.1	21.5	11.5	20.8	12.0	50.4	27.9	32.9
50-64		7.0	20.8	17.2	16.4	26.1	8.9	49.3	30.2	30.3
65+		8.8	20.9	19.9	14.2	28.2	9.5	48.1	32.8	40.5
Total		8.2	17.8	19.2	13.0	22.0	9.9	44.8	25.8	30.7
<i>Crime</i>										
18-24		12.1	9.1	13.5	11.6	4.4	6.1	18.1	5.4	15.3
25-34		9.6	12.2	8.6	11.1	5.4	4.0	19.6	6.2	13.3
35-49		11.8	12.9	11.3	12.8	3.8	4.6	22.2	8.2	11.1
50-64		12.8	11.0	16.1	11.5	5.9	0.7	25.3	8.0	10.8
65+		5.2	16.2	22.8	18.7	5.0	1.7	21.6	9.1	12.9
Total		10.1	12.8	15.2	13.7	4.9	3.0	21.9	7.7	12.3
<i>Taxation</i>										
18-24		2.5	8.0	14.5	9.8	29.1	7.0	5.7	9.6	7.5
25-34		5.9	8.6	17.8	20.1	34.1	7.7	7.4	15.2	9.3
35-49		4.3	4.6	15.3	17.4	25.5	5.7	5.4	13.0	5.6
50-64		4.5	1.8	21.2	14.4	19.6	5.9	4.6	8.1	3.2
65+		5.9	1.9	18.7	12.4	15.5	6.0	6.7	5.1	3.3

Total		4.8	4.1	18.0	15.1	24.1	6.2	5.9	10.1	5.3
<i>Pensions</i>										
18-24		4.4	17.6	2.9	6.2	7.2	6.9	2.9	17.9	1.7
25-34		4.2	17.2	3.8	8.8	9.4	8.5	4.8	16.2	4.2
35-49		3.7	13.8	3.5	7.7	13.5	13.9	6.7	15.6	6.5
50-64		14.5	22.0	12.4	18.6	37.3	20.9	20.3	26.2	14.0
65+		15.5	21.6	35.5	9.2	60.8	29.3	42.8	26.9	9.4
Total		9.4	18.8	13.9	10.9	27.1	17.8	18.0	21.0	8.0
<i>The education system</i>										
18-24		8.8	17.2	20.4	10.4	23.8	17.3	12.0	11.9	16.6
25-34		6.9	14.9	11.1	5.0	6.6	8.6	9.3	7.6	11.4
35-49		9.4	11.6	10.6	3.5	6.9	6.1	10.8	7.8	15.9
50-64		3.3	10.7	5.8	1.1	2.5	4.6	10.1	3.3	4.4
65+		3.9	12.0	10.8	3.5	2.1	9.7	4.5	3.4	6.9
Total		6.1	12.5	10.4	3.6	6.5	7.9	9.0	6.1	10.4
<i>Immigration</i>										
18-24		18.6	32.6	13.1	30.3	5.9	8.4	32.1	24.0	11.2
25-34		23.4	31.0	13.7	30.2	6.6	13.3	33.7	26.7	15.2
35-49		27.6	39.0	9.7	29.0	5.1	12.0	36.0	25.8	14.3
50-64		28.8	35.1	15.5	26.7	5.9	10.5	38.3	25.6	28.7
65+		33.1	35.3	11.4	29.6	2.4	15.1	32.0	25.9	23.6
Total		27.6	35.2	12.6	28.9	5.2	12.3	34.8	25.7	19.7
<i>Housing</i>		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		5.6	6.3	3.5	0.7	17.4	6.6	16.1	5.7	16.8
25-34		5.0	12.2	3.8	1.2	22.4	12.6	13.7	7.5	17.2
35-49		4.9	10.7	4.5	0.6	21.0	6.5	6.2	6.7	14.3
50-64		2.6	11.9	3.1	0.8	6.3	4.5	3.5	3.3	7.0
65+		3.1	11.7	0.5	2.1	2.2	1.7	1.9	3.0	6.6
Total		4.0	11.1	2.9	1.1	13.6	5.9	6.9	5.1	11.5
<i>The environment</i>										
18-24		17.1	24.2	6.2	9.6	8.1	9.8	19.4	23.3	12.2
25-34		16.8	15.4	6.0	6.4	4.9	7.5	13.5	18.8	11.2
35-49		12.3	17.4	1.9	7.1	8.7	2.5	12.4	13.6	12.7
50-64		7.5	16.8	3.5	8.0	8.1	3.0	8.6	15.1	12.7
65+		6.6	15.9	1.4	4.9	8.2	3.8	7.5	20.2	12.1
Total		11.0	17.2	3.2	6.9	7.6	4.3	11.3	17.2	12.3
<i>Climate and energy issues</i>										
18-24		11.3	13.0	2.1	5.5	3.5	2.2	11.1	23.5	11.0
25-34		9.3	9.6	1.0	3.8	2.6	3.0	12.9	14.2	7.2
35-49		5.3	7.6	0.3	4.8	4.2	1.0	12.1	10.0	6.3
50-64		11.9	10.8	3.7	3.2	4.1	1.4	10.1	14.2	6.5
65+		9.7	7.7	1.4	3.3	5.5	2.9	11.6	18.7	11.6
Total		9.3	9.3	1.7	3.9	4.0	1.9	11.5	15.0	8.3
<i>Terrorism</i>										
18-24		30.7	14.1	4.1	9.7	4.9	7.0	8.4	13.8	19.2
25-34		27.6	11.7	2.3	5.8	3.2	5.3	5.3	11.5	19.1
35-49		30.6	13.3	1.4	10.0	5.0	2.9	5.8	10.3	15.5
50-64		30.9	8.6	2.2	5.5	2.4	4.7	4.6	13.6	17.7
65+		36.9	13.1	2.1	7.2	0.8	8.6	4.1	18.3	22.1
Total		31.7	11.9	2.2	7.6	3.2	5.3	5.3	13.4	18.6

Economic outlooks and conditions, life engagement and mobility

Turning to looking at results for economic outlooks first in Table 14 we can see that higher proportions amongst the older age groups compared to younger age groups consider that their current standard of living is better compared to their parents when they were their age. This suggests that more people in the older generation thinks that they have improved their living standards relative to their parents; however, in several countries less than a majority from the youngest age groups thinks that their living conditions are better than their parents at the same age. This is obviously very concerning particularly when we think that these young people have been coming of age in a context of economic crisis. However, looking at the indicator asking for improvements in the household economic situation in the last five years, younger people tend to show higher levels reporting conditions have improved relative to older age groups though in some several countries this is still less than a majority with numbers worryingly much lower for older age groups who might be more aware of the effectively dire conditions of households and might put a braver face for their young people. A similar pattern is true in terms of the proportions thinking the economic situation of the household will improve in the near future. Higher proportions of young people are hopeful, often over majority, whereas the older age groups are more pessimistic. On the other hand, older people tend to be more positive about the country economic situation relative to younger people in each country but also here numbers are almost always less than a majority throughout. They also show higher proportions being positive about the country's potential economic situation in a year's time though in some countries young people are more optimistic. However, once more overall levels are low with under a majority being positive throughout.

Moving on to looking at indicators of life engagement in Table 15 we can see in most all countries it is the oldest age group which displays the highest proportion of people agreeing that they generally felt that what they do in their life is valuable. However, in most countries a majority of young people also agree with this. A very similar pattern holds for satisfaction with present occupation and daily activity. As such it is concerning that at least one third of youth in most countries is not satisfied with what they do. This finding may well be linked to what we know about precarious work and youth unemployment and the fact that often young people particularly in the current context of crisis struggle to find long term employment moving between short term gigs instead.

We also look at two indicators of deprivation or reduced consumption in Table 16. Namely, reducing the consumption of staple foods or reducing or postponing buying medicines or visiting the doctor. Here we can see that the higher levels of deprivation tend to be found amongst the younger people compared to old in most countries but that it is older people that show higher levels with respect to the medial side. Either way, it is deeply concerning that such high levels of old and young European citizens have to make such sacrifices as reducing consumption of staple foods or medicines or visiting the doctor. It is not surprising then that we would see high levels of dissatisfaction with policies linked to the economic situation and so forth would be linked to this sort of concern.

Moving on to more social indicators with results presented in Table 17 we can see that even when asked in terms of whether they experienced real financial difficulties such as not being able to afford food, rent or electricity in the past 12 months, in most countries it is amongst the younger age groups relative to the older that we see the highest levels of economic deprivation. Indeed, such high levels of individuals seeing that they experience real financial difficulties is deeply concerning

and should ring loud alarm bells for policy-makers. Not addressing such real concerns is likely to further widen the gap between the public and policy-makers if not tackled head-first through targeted and relevant measures and reforms.

Contrasting these dire figures is perhaps the silver lining in the findings also reported in Table 17 that a majority of respondents in most countries says that when they are in difficulties there are people who can take them in or offer financial help. However, it should not be the role of individuals to support their friends and family as this can only be short term but rather there appears to be a need for targeted social policy addressing poverty and deprivation across Europe and challenging poverty and particularly child poverty, protecting those most at risk and ensuring safety nets are provided.

Finally, we turn to looking at mobility in Table 18 and can see that while younger age groups tend to live in bigger cities the differences between older and younger citizens having lived in other countries in each country are not so high despite the conception that this is mostly the case for the ‘Erasmus generations’. Older people will have of course had more opportunities to move around. Moreover, as we have seen the idea of free movement and so forth are not necessarily more popular amongst younger age groups and therefore it appears important to continue the discussion about these and other important political questions of the day so that they may be democratically debated and the best solutions to current woes can be developed through evidence bases in order to develop society for the benefit of its citizens.

Table 14: Economic outlooks (%better) by age group and country										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>On current standard of living compared to your parents when they were your age</i>										

18-24		51.9	67.6	36.8	44.3	66.3	63.2	61.0	71.0	51.7
25-34		34.0	56.7	23.5	31.0	57.1	49.3	57.7	55.2	49.6
35-49		33.4	51.7	23.2	31.4	62.9	37.8	53.0	52.3	46.8
50-64		40.8	63.3	33.4	32.3	63.3	50.1	56.6	58.2	62.7
65+		51.1	78.5	57.7	45.1	69.3	68.8	76.3	80.4	79.3
Total		41.4	63.7	35.9	36.2	63.5	51.6	61.3	62.2	59.1
<i>Economic situation of household relative to 5 years ago</i>										
18-24		48.7	56.4	20.2	35.8	59.8	43.9	53.4	55.7	46.0
25-34		41.5	54.8	17.0	33.5	57.8	46.8	51.1	48.1	48.8
35-49		33.8	46.0	8.7	27.8	51.8	26.6	44.5	46.5	40.1
50-64		28.0	47.5	9.9	21.6	44.9	25.5	43.7	40.6	37.8
65+		21.2	50.6	15.8	29.3	38.2	32.5	43.1	41.5	49.9
Total		32.0	49.9	13.1	28.0	49.4	32.1	46.0	45.1	43.9
<i>Economic situation of household in near future</i>										
18-24		60.1	57.1	37.6	58.4	64.5	60.3	69.1	63.4	53.4
25-34		52.0	59.0	31.3	50.9	62.0	57.5	64.2	59.0	52.6
35-49		34.7	42.3	20.1	44.8	46.3	37.0	55.0	50.7	42.9
50-64		25.6	31.6	25.1	34.6	36.5	31.9	44.4	41.2	36.7
65+		22.1	37.2	31.9	35.0	27.4	30.1	29.5	29.9	34.6
Total		34.7	42.1	27.7	41.6	45.1	39.1	49.4	46.5	42.3
<i>Country economic situation compared to a year ago</i>										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
18-24		28.3	41.4	24.1	30.4	40.1	39.9	25.0	41.8	20.5
25-34		28.9	45.5	20.5	24.8	47.1	39.9	27.2	37.8	27.7
35-49		26.4	45.0	16.6	27.0	44.2	23.4	27.5	34.4	22.1
50-64		27.4	50.4	22.1	18.5	41.0	26.1	35.6	39.5	25.5
65+		29.6	57.2	42.9	25.8	35.5	41.2	38.6	55.7	35.8
Total		28.0	49.2	25.9	24.5	41.9	32.0	31.8	41.6	26.8
<i>Country economic situation a year from now</i>										
18-24		32.8	39.7	35.0	45.6	37.0	47.1	34.3	44.0	23.3
25-34		30.1	39.0	25.7	43.3	41.7	42.2	31.2	33.9	29.5
35-49		24.4	35.6	19.4	36.6	36.5	23.1	22.5	38.0	23.6
50-64		29.2	34.6	26.8	32.8	36.7	24.4	26.9	34.1	29.3
65+		34.8	45.9	43.8	34.5	26.0	36.5	31.1	49.8	35.2
Total		29.9	38.8	29.9	36.7	35.6	31.3	28.3	39.5	28.6

Notes: % based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale where 0 means Much worse and 10 means Much better

Table 15: Life engagement (%) by age group and country										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>I generally feel that what I do in my life is valuable and worthwhile (% agree or strongly agree)</i>										
18-24		47.2	70.3	67.3	58.3	65.1	65.1	55.1	68.3	62.4
25-34		52.3	66.8	62.2	53.7	64.6	64.6	58.9	71.3	69.3
35-49		56.4	74.0	71.6	58.1	57.9	57.9	63.6	68.9	66.7
50-64		56.5	77.9	75.2	61.2	70.0	70.0	64.5	74.8	71.6
65+		54.0	82.0	77.8	66.1	78.5	78.5	67.8	73.9	76.9
Total		54.3	75.6	72.3	60.4	67.1	67.1	63.2	71.8	70.2
<i>How satisfied are you with your present occupation or main daily activity (%satisfied*)</i>										
18-24		62.1	70.7	55.9	62.3	71.2	67.2	57.2	72.5	59.9
25-34		60.2	67.8	48.1	58.3	72.8	66.7	63.4	70.7	68.9
35-49		62.1	70.3	49.9	64.2	72.3	61.0	67.1	63.2	65.1
50-64		64.0	70.6	50.6	56.2	75.6	60.8	68.7	65.1	71.0
65+		73.2	86.8	68.0	76.6	79.6	83.7	82.7	88.1	85.3
Total		64.9	74.2	54.9	64.5	74.5	67.5	69.6	71.3	71.2

*Notes: % satisfied based on respondents selecting points 6 through to 10 on the 0-10 scale where 0 means Completely dissatisfied and 10 means Completely satisfied

Table 16: Reduced consumption (%selected) by age group and country										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>Reduced consumption of staple foods</i>										
18-24		36.3	24.5	47.7	28.0	25.0	27.9	35.0	24.4	32.2
25-34		43.4	29.2	55.3	31.3	32.0	26.6	33.9	32.2	33.5
35-49		37.0	24.6	66.1	25.0	27.0	30.3	20.3	29.4	26.1
50-64		33.9	16.6	70.1	44.0	23.6	28.8	26.3	27.6	14.3
65+		28.8	12.4	56.6	24.7	25.0	14.4	9.1	19.7	7.0
Total		35.2	20.1	61.4	30.8	26.5	25.5	22.7	26.8	20.8
<i>Reduced or postponed buying medicines / visiting the doctor</i>										
18-24		29.2	15.9	42.5	23.2	28.5	18.0	25.2	20.7	19.2
25-34		31.2	18.5	50.1	32.6	31.0	19.9	30.9	34.3	20.1
35-49		26.0	15.9	58.4	31.8	36.3	19.9	24.0	34.7	18.3
50-64		28.8	20.3	50.7	41.9	30.0	18.8	25.4	33.6	10.0
65+		21.1	13.1	29.4	25.1	35.9	10.6	11.2	14.4	2.3
Total		26.7	16.7	46.4	32.0	32.8	17.3	22.4	28.6	13.0

Table 17: Social indicators (%yes) by age group and country										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>You have experienced real financial difficulties (e.g. could not afford food, rent, electricity) in the past 12 months</i>										
18-24		32.1	20.1	54.4	27.2	29.1	29.4	36.4	22.9	34.4
25-34		28.0	24.2	63.0	30.4	34.0	34.8	36.3	30.7	33.0
35-49		20.9	16.2	66.2	26.0	33.0	39.8	28.4	32.9	29.5
50-64		23.9	17.6	71.0	36.9	28.4	28.9	26.5	24.8	13.9
65+		13.7	6.5	42.9	25.1	23.6	16.8	7.4	13.0	2.9
Total		22.2	15.7	60.0	29.2	29.8	30.3	24.9	25.2	20.8
<i>If you have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around you who could take you in for a few days</i>										
18-24		76.6	85.2	81.9	74.9	77.6	76.8	80.2	85.2	70.4
25-34		71.3	78.3	77.4	70.8	73.8	71.6	75.6	82.1	64.5
35-49		60.9	70.3	74.0	60.8	65.2	68.2	73.5	73.2	63.3
50-64		55.3	65.9	73.4	55.3	71.8	68.4	66.4	72.2	57.1
65+		61.9	73.1	72.6	52.7	72.9	73.7	65.0	74.5	67.9
Total		63.0	72.5	74.8	59.8	71.2	70.7	70.8	75.9	63.9
<i>If you have difficulties (e.g. financial, family, or health) there is someone around you who could help you financially</i>										
18-24		69.6	78.3	73.3	66.2	80.4	69.5	77.8	80.5	67.5
25-34		65.3	73.7	66.4	61.4	76.8	63.6	74.9	75.7	61.9
35-49		57.6	66.7	62.0	57.8	70.4	52.2	74.4	62.1	62.2
50-64		50.3	63.6	60.0	50.0	72.8	58.7	62.2	67.5	55.4
65+		45.9	66.8	74.1	48.3	77.0	69.9	57.8	67.5	53.8
Total		55.4	68.0	66.2	54.5	74.5	60.9	67.9	68.7	59.2

Table 18: Mobility (%selected) by age group and country										
		<i>Fra</i>	<i>Ger</i>	<i>Gre</i>	<i>Ita</i>	<i>Pol</i>	<i>Spa</i>	<i>Swe</i>	<i>Swi</i>	<i>UK</i>
<i>Has lived in another country</i>										
18-24		22.6	5.9	13.7	12.9	13.5	17.2	18.0	15.3	16.4
25-34		17.5	6.0	15.0	8.9	20.5	19.8	21.6	16.8	16.7
35-49		13.1	2.3	12.4	11.4	18.2	10.4	20.4	26.6	20.1
50-64		12.7	5.2	24.8	10.1	12.1	12.7	24.2	16.1	22.5
65+		16.0	5.2	32.2	6.9	13.6	26.7	21.4	16.8	25.3
Total		15.3	4.7	21.2	9.7	15.8	16.6	21.4	19.1	20.9

<i>Living in a big city</i>										
18-24		31.4	29.2	49.6	20.6	30.9	36.6	24.8	14.8	24.6
25-34		30.1	36.1	48.2	21.0	34.5	43.7	33.1	16.1	28.9
35-49		24.6	30.4	48.6	25.0	36.0	30.8	23.7	16.0	16.7
50-64		21.3	26.0	47.1	19.2	36.5	41.6	20.8	11.3	14.6
65+		11.5	23.0	57.9	24.2	36.1	44.6	16.9	12.8	7.7
Total		22.2	28.2	50.6	22.5	35.3	39.0	23.0	14.0	17.1