COMMISSION STAFF WORKING DOCUMENT

Situation of young people in the European Union

Accompanying the document


Engaging, Connecting and Empowering young people: a new EU Youth Strategy

{COM(2018) 269 final} - {SWD(2018) 168 final}
8. Youth and the World

### EU youth indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participation of young people in non-governmental organisations active in the domain of climate change/environmental issues</th>
<th>Figures 8-C and 8-E</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Participation of young people in non-governmental organisations promoting human rights or global development</td>
<td>Figure 8-D and 8-E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participation of young people in activities or projects aimed at fostering cooperation with youth from other continents</td>
<td>Figures 8-F and 8-G</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
8.1. INTRODUCTION

Today’s young people are growing up in a world substantially different from the one in which their parents were raised. Globalisation shapes all aspects of their lives: they live in increasingly diverse societies, consume goods from around the world, are impacted by global culture, and have jobs in globally integrated economies. Globalisation affects not only young people’s work prospects, but also their identity, sense of citizenship and patterns of political engagement (1) (see also Chapter 5). In this respect, their experiences have the potential to make them more prone to engage with global issues such as human rights, climate change or environmental protection (2).

Based on Eurobarometer surveys, this chapter therefore looks at the extent to which young Europeans are actually engaged with global issues, as well as at how much they participate in activities designed to foster cooperation between young people from different continents.

8.2. YOUNG PEOPLE’S ENGAGEMENT WITH GLOBAL ISSUES

Eurobarometer surveys exploring Europeans’ opinions on global topics focus on two main challenges: on the one hand, climate change and its consequences for the environment; on the other, poverty and under-development affecting extensive regions of the world. Young Europeans report high levels of awareness of these issues, as indicated by the results displayed in Figure 8-A. Around 90% of respondents see climate change as a serious problem, and attach great importance to aiding the development of poorer countries.

Against this background, the same surveys explored the inclination of young people to take action on these issues, in the form of small-scale, individual and everyday activities (Figure 8-B). Results show that a large proportion of young people are personally taking action to improve the environment and

---

1) Bourn, 2008.
combat climate change. The most common actions taken include reducing waste and recycling systematically, cutting down on disposable items (e.g., plastic bags and packaging), regularly opting for environmentally friendly ways of transport, and buying locally produced foods.

On the other hand, much smaller percentages of young respondents report committing to individual actions to foster global development. The highest proportion of young people (15%) reported giving money to organisations and charities that provide help and relief to developing countries. However, when comparing the results from the two charts it has to be considered that lifestyle changes to protect the environment such as those covered by the survey on climate change are much easier – and less costly – to implement in daily life than committing time, energy and money to projects usually taking place in other parts of the world.

In line with these findings, when it comes to young Europeans’ active engagement with more organised activities such as supporting or joining non-governmental organisations (NGOs) addressing global issues, their level of commitment is limited. Indeed, a recent Eurobarometer survey finds that only 5% participate in NGOs active in the area of climate change or the environment, while 7% do so in the areas of promoting human rights or global development (Figures 8-C and 8-D below). In contrast, according to the same survey, 13% of young people in the EU-28 participate in NGOs aimed at improving their local community (3).

---

Looking at participation on a regional basis, Figures 8-C and 8-D show the Scandinavian countries to have the highest percentages of young people involved in NGOs addressing climate change/environmental issues and global development/human rights. Eastern European and Baltic Member States score much lower, while in Southern Europe the situation is mixed, with a few countries (Spain, Italy and, for human rights, Portugal) reporting very high rates of engagement.

**Figure 8-C**: Participation of young people (aged 15-30) in non-governmental organisations active in the domain of climate change/environmental issues, self-reported participation in the 12 months preceding the survey, by country, 2011 and 2017, and by sex, EU-28 average, 2017

Although a limited proportion of young Europeans are actively engaged in organisations pursuing global goals, a positive trend is apparent since 2011.

Specifically for climate change/environmental issues (Figure 8-C above), Spain and Sweden report the highest percentages of young people active in organisations. At the other end of the spectrum, Croatia, Lithuania, Malta and Slovakia show the lowest rates with only 1% of young people active in these areas. Overall figures have risen since 2011, especially in Czech Republic and Spain, where rates increased fivefold. In contrast, in a few countries (France, Lithuania, and Malta) participation fell by a few percentage points during the period in question.

As with climate change, a positive trend is evident in the rates of participation of young people in NGOs devoted to human rights and global development, which have increased during the past seven years (Figure 8-D).
Figure 8-D: Participation of young people (aged 15-30) in non-governmental organisations promoting human rights or global development, self-reported participation in the 12 months preceding the survey, by country, 2011 and 2017, and by sex, EU-28 average, 2017

Notes: Question: 'Have you in the past year participated in any activities of the following organisations? Answer: An organisation promoting human rights or global development' (multiple answers possible).
Base: All respondents, % of 'yes' answers by country, EU-27 (2011) and EU-28 (2017).

The highest increases have taken place in Germany and Spain, where rates in 2017 were about four times higher than in 2011. A very significant rise has also occurred in Sweden, which has doubled its share of young people active in NGOs defending human rights and supporting global development – giving it the highest score of all EU Member States in 2017. In contrast, significant falls in young people’s participation in NGOs in these areas occurred in France, Cyprus, Lithuania, Malta, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. Data for the EU-28 indicate that young women and men are equally active in NGOs dealing with human rights and global issues.

Figure 8-E shows the percentage increase in participation between 2011 and 2017 for climate change/environmental issues and human rights/global development. The increase for each field is the same in each age group but participation levels remain slightly lower for organisations dedicated to climate change/environmental issues.
Figure 8-E: Percentage increase in young people (aged 15-30) participating in non-governmental organisations active in the domains of climate change/environmental issues and human rights or global development in the 12 months preceding the survey, by age group, EU-28 average, 2017

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Climate change/environmental issues</th>
<th>Human rights or global development</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>+2%</td>
<td>+2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>+2%</td>
<td>+2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-30</td>
<td>+3%</td>
<td>+3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Question: Have you in the past year participated in any activities of the following organisations?
Answer options: ‘An organisation active in the domain of climate change/environmental issues’; ‘An organisation promoting human rights or global development’ (multiple answers possible).

8.3. COOPERATION BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE FROM DIFFERENT CONTINENTS

Collaborating with peers from across the world on projects and activities addressing global issues is a valuable opportunity for young people to develop their critical thinking, enhance their intercultural competences, and cultivate open-mindedness (4). Furthermore, by interacting with people from different cultures and backgrounds, young people can acquire greater knowledge and understanding of social, economic, and political issues in a global context (5), which are becoming increasingly valuable in today’s world.

In 2017, 8% of the young people interviewed reported having taken part in projects which involved cooperation with peers from other continents (Figure 8-F). While this is, admittedly, a small proportion of the whole youth population, it is important to note that it has doubled since 2011, indicating a significant increase in the level of engagement in these activities. The biggest increase occurred in Poland, where the rate went from 1% in 2011 to 12% in 2017. Notable rises also occurred in Czech Republic, Greece and Romania.

Currently, in 2017, Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Poland and Sweden display the highest participation rates. On the other hand, the Baltic republics, some central European countries (Bulgaria, Hungary and Slovakia) as well as Croatia and Malta report the lowest figures. No gender differences are apparent in this data.

(4) Sherraden et al., 2008.
(5) Ibid.
**Figure 8-F:** Participation of young people (aged 15-30) in activities or projects aimed at fostering cooperation with young people from other continents, self-reported participation in the 12 months preceding the survey, by country, 2011 and 2017, and by sex, EU-28 average, 2017

Breaking the data down by age group shows that young people between the ages of 20 and 24 appear to be the most likely to be engaged in projects involving participants from different continents (Figure 8-G). This is also the age cohort for which the biggest increase in the levels of participation has occurred over the past seven years. As most of the young people in this age group are still in education (as illustrated for example in Chapter 3, Figure 3-A), the results suggest that many of these cooperation activities might be linked to higher education studies and exchanges.
CONCLUSION

Overall, the data discussed in this chapter portray a positive trend in the levels of participation in and cooperation between young Europeans in organisations and projects with a global remit – in both areas – climate change/environment and human rights/development. Between 2011 and 2017, the proportion of young Europeans actively engaged in organisations pursuing global goals and those working on projects with peers from other continents have increased.

However, the pattern of young people’s engagement is not homogeneous throughout Europe. In some areas of the European Union – particularly some countries in the Eastern and Baltic regions – young people have not had as many experiences of global activism as their counterparts elsewhere.
9. Culture, Creativity and ICT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EU youth indicators</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Young people (aged 16-29) participating in cultural or sporting activities</td>
<td>Figure 9-A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young people (aged 16-29) engaged in arts and craft activities</td>
<td>Figure 9-B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young people (aged 15-30) active in a sports club, youth organisation/club or cultural organisation</td>
<td>Figure 9-C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.1. INTRODUCTION

Participation in cultural, artistic and recreational activities is a vital part of young people's lives. Besides providing an opportunity for enjoyment and stimulating creativity, involvement in these activities is an important way for young people to develop their personal, social and professional skills. Cultural engagement can provide them with the opportunities to acquire competencies through non-formal and informal learning that can be used in further education and vocational training as well as in professional development. In addition, involvement in cultural and artistic activities facilitates socialisation and integration into the community (\(^6\)).

The development and increased use of new technologies applied to social communication and cultural enjoyment is rapidly transforming the way young people experience culture and the arts. Information and communication technologies are therefore becoming increasingly important to access cultural life, as well as to engage in artistic activities and creative processes.

The chapter firstly presents data on youth participation in a variety of cultural, sporting and recreational activities. The second part focuses on young people's ICT skills and their use of ICT technologies for accessing cultural goods and services. The proportion of young people who use a computer or the internet on a daily basis is presented, as is data on the level of young people's digital skills. The chapter also explores the ways that young people use information and communications technologies for cultural purposes.

9.2. CULTURAL PARTICIPATION

Cultural activities take various forms: sightseeing, travelling, listening to a concert, singing in a choir, playing in a rock band, creating digital videos, writing blogs, attending a sports club or youth organisation, to name just a few. Data on participation in various types of cultural activity is included in the EU youth indicators. Two ad-hoc modules of the EU-SILC survey show how people in Europe think and behave in the area of culture and allow comparisons over time (between 2006 and 2015).

Figure 9-A shows the proportion of young people (aged 16-29) who have participated in cultural or sporting activities such as visiting museums, art galleries and sites of historical interest; visiting the cinema; attending live performances (theatre, concerts, ballet); or sporting events. Survey results indicate that in the EU, going to the cinema is the most common form of cultural activity among young people: 75.1% of people aged 16-29 indicated that they went to the cinema at least once during 2015. Moreover, 36.4% visited the cinema frequently (at least four times in the course of the year). Live performances (theatre, concerts and ballet) attracted 52.4% of young people, while 47.9% reported visiting cultural sites at least once. Of the four types of activities surveyed, sports events were the least frequented. Still, 44.8% of young Europeans reported attending a sport event.

In only a few countries did young people attend other types of cultural events more often than the cinema. In Lithuania, 76.3% of young people had been to a live performance compared with 66.3% who had been to the cinema. In Latvia, similar proportions of young people visited the cinema and went to live performances

\(^{(6)}\) Sacco, 2011.
(64.5 % and 64.9 % respectively). In the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, live performances (39.1 %) and sports events (37.5 %) were more popular than the cinema (28.3 %).

In the Scandinavian countries, as well as Czech Republic, Germany, Estonia, Luxembourg and the Netherlands, young people were actively participating in all types of cultural and sports activities. In these countries, people aged 16-29 had higher participation rates than the EU average. In contrast, participation was low in Bulgaria, Spain, Italy, Malta and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia – in these countries, people in this age group took part in the four types of cultural and sports activities under discussion less often than the EU average.

**Figure 9-A:** Proportion of young people (aged 16-29) who participated in cultural or sports activities in the last 12 months, by frequency and country, 2015 and 2006

a) Visited cultural sites (historical monuments, museums, art galleries or archaeological sites)

b) Visited the cinema
c) Attended live performances (theatre, concerts, ballet)

Back in 2006, cinema was already the most popular cultural activity among young people in almost all European countries. Unfortunately, the EU average is not available for 2006 and this hampers the ability to analyse overall change over time. At the country level, a clear pattern of change over time does not emerge. In Czech Republic, Latvia, Luxembourg and the Netherlands the proportion of young people attending all four types of cultural activity increased in 2015 compared with 2006. In contrast, the proportions of young people attending cultural and sports events decreased in Slovakia (from 3 to 18 percentage points).

Note: EU-28: estimated. 2015: IE, PL, UK: low reliability. 2006: IE, NL, NO: low reliability. The reference year 2015 and 2006 are the only data points available. The value for 2006 should be compared with the total bar length in 2015.

Source: Eurostat EU-SILC [ilc_scp03], data extracted on 25/10/2017.
Practising an art or craft on an amateur basis is another important aspect of youth culture and creativity. Figure 9-B indicates that 23.2% of people aged 16-29 engage in such activities at least once a week in the EU; an additional 19.4% report that they have done so at least once during the last 12 months.

The proportion of young people practising amateur artistic activities is especially high (more than 60%) in Denmark, Germany, Greece, Finland and Iceland. Finland stands out with the highest proportion of young people who have creative hobbies (75.5%), as well as the highest proportion frequently engaging in artistic activities: 43.9% reported practising these activities at least once a week. In contrast, less than 25% of people aged 15-29 reported participating in creative hobbies at least once a year in Belgium, Bulgaria, France, Portugal and Romania. The proportion of young people involved in artistic activities weekly was especially low in Romania (3.8%).

Cultural engagement also takes place collectively through participation in groups, clubs and other organisations. The latest Flash Eurobarometer data shows the proportion of young people who are active in a sports club, a youth organisation or club, or a cultural organisation (Figure 9-C). In most European countries, the sports club is the most common type of organisation to which young people belong. In the EU, 29% of people aged 15 to 30 years reported being active in a sports club. The proportion of young people who belong to a sports club is higher (more than 35%) in Germany, Ireland, France and the Netherlands. Across the EU, however, compared with the situation in 2011, young people's participation in sports clubs had fallen by 5 percentage points in 2017. The fall was particularly severe in the Netherlands (from 59% to 39%) and Slovakia (from 29% to 12%). The proportion of young people engaged in a sports club slightly increased (2-5 percentage points) in Bulgaria, Greece and Portugal.

In 2017, fewer young people attend a sports club than in 2011.
Every fifth young European participates in some kind of youth club or youth organisation. The proportion is considerably higher (more than 25%) in Belgium, Ireland and Italy. In contrast, the proportion is considerably lower than the EU average (ranging from 5% to 9%) in Croatia, Cyprus, Lithuania, Malta and Slovakia. On average in the EU, the proportion of young people participating in such clubs and organisations increased by 2 percentage points (p.p.) from 2011 to 2017. The rise was especially noticeable (6 p.p.) in Portugal. In contrast, participation decreased considerably (8-9 p.p.) in Lithuania, Malta and Slovakia.

**Figure 9-C:** Proportion of young people (aged 15-30) who have been active in a sports club, youth club/organisation or a cultural organisation at least once in the last 12 months, by country, 2017 and 2011

a) A sports club

b) A youth club, leisure-time club or any kind of youth organisation
Young people’s participation is lowest in cultural organisations. Across the EU, only 15% of people aged 15-30 reported being active in a cultural organisation. This proportion remains approximately the same as in 2011. Of the countries examined, the most active young people in cultural organisations are German and Italian.

In terms of gender, being active in a sports club is the activity where differences between young men and women are most apparent. According to Eurobarometer data, men tend to participate more than women, a result in line with men’s higher propensity to engage in physical activities, as illustrated in the chapter on health and well-being (Chapter 4).

So far the effects of the new developments in information and communications technology on young people’s cultural life have not been addressed. However, these technologies play an ever increasing role in shaping the way people access and enjoy cultural experiences, especially young people who are the most receptive to the opportunities provided by the new media. The next section will therefore look at the extent to which young Europeans use the new digital technologies in general, and as a medium for accessing cultural experiences. Particular attention will be paid to the levels of digital skills young people have and how this relates to their level of formal education.
9.3. YOUNG PEOPLE AND THEIR USE OF ICT

As with political participation (discussed in Chapter 5), young people have been the first to apply communication technologies to their social interactions. This also impacts on the way they access, enjoy and initiate cultural experiences. To this end, access to and proficiency in the use of computers and the internet are essential. According to data collected by Eurostat, 77% of people aged 16-29 reported daily computer use in the EU (Figure 9-D). The proportion of young people who use the internet daily is even higher (91%). Compared with the total population, young people use both computer and the internet more frequently. In EU-28, 64% of the total population reported daily computer use and 72% indicated that they use the internet every day.

Daily computer use is especially widespread among young people in Czech Republic, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Iceland. In these countries, the difference between young people accessing the internet daily and using a computer daily was rather small. Almost every young person (98-99%) accesses the internet daily in the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Sweden, Iceland and Norway). In contrast, considerably lower proportions of young people reported daily computer and internet use in Romania and Turkey (both indicators show less than 80%). In Turkey, the difference between the proportion of young people that use a computer daily and those that access the internet daily is very high (34 percentage points) suggesting that many young people access the internet through mobile devices. The difference is also pronounced in Spain, Italy, Portugal and Norway.

Figure 9-D: Daily computer and internet use among young people (aged 16-29), by country, 2017

Notes: The total in the insert shows the total population.  
Source: Eurostat [isoc_ci_cfp_fu] and [isoc_ci_ifp_fu], data extracted on 22/01/2018.
There is not much difference between the general data on the frequency of ICT use among all young people and that of particular age groups. The proportion of people in all age groups (16-19, 20-24 and 25-29) using a computer and the internet daily is similar (ranging between 76-78 % and 90-92 % respectively).

However, Eurostat data (Figure 9-E) show that there is a considerable difference between young people’s daily computer use depending on their level of formal education regarding their daily use of computer. 90 % of highly educated people aged 16 to 29 use a computer every day compared with 68 % of those who have low levels of formal education. However, daily internet use is less affected by education level. Although more educated young people use the internet more often, the difference is less pronounced: 96 % of young people with a high level of formal education reported daily use of the internet compared with 92 % of those with a medium level and 87 % of those with a low level of education.

The developments over time indicate that the daily computer use is in decline while the daily internet use is increasing, especially among young people with lower levels of education. This data reflects the trend that computing is rapidly shifting to mobile devices. Currently, 8 out of 10 EU internet users go online with a mobile phone (7).

The proportion of young people with a low level of formal education who use a computer daily decreased from 73 % in 2011 to 66 % in 2017. Similarly, during this time period the proportion of highly educated young people who use computer every day declined from 94 % to 88 %. In contrast, the proportion of young people with low and medium levels of education that use the internet daily increased by 13-15 percentage points between 2011 and 2017. Internet use among young people with a high level of formal education was already very high in 2011 (93 %). Nevertheless, it increased by 3 percentage points during the recent six years and now reaches 96 %.

Figure 9-E: Daily computer and internet use among young people (aged 16-29) by level of education, EU-28 average, 2011 and 2017

Note: According to Eurostat’s Statistics Manual, a low level of formal education corresponds to those with no formal education at all, or those who have only completed primary or lower secondary education (ISCED 0, 1 or 2); a medium level of formal education corresponds to those who have completed upper secondary education (ISCED 3 and 4); and a high level of formal education corresponds to those who have completed tertiary education (ISCED 5, 6, 7 or 8). The International Standard Classification of Education 2011 (ISCED 2011) is applied for 2015/16. ISCED 1997 classification is used for the year 2011. Year 2010 not available.

Source: Eurostat [isoc_ci_cfp_fu] and [isoc_ci_ifp_fu], data extracted on 02/02/2018.

(7) In 2016, mobile/smart phones were the most frequently used device as reported by 79 % of internet users in the EU, 64 % said they used a laptop/netbook, 54 % a desktop computer and 44 % a tablet. See Eurostat (2017b).
Digital skills are becoming increasingly important in modern workplaces. Nearly all professions use ICT for carrying out certain tasks. Jobs in engineering, accountancy, nursing, medicine, art, architecture, and many more require increasing levels of digital skills (8). The use of digital technologies is beginning to have a profound effect on the tasks carried out and the skills required for many jobs outside the traditional office (9). Moreover, digital awareness is essential in order to avoid online dangers, protect privacy and assess the validity of information. The Eurostat survey on ICT usage by households and individuals (Figure 9-F) indicates that on average, in the EU-28, 17% of young people have low overall digital skills levels (i.e. information, communication, problem-solving and software skills), 26% have basic levels and 54% of young people have above basic level skills.

Similarly, as with the daily use of ICT technologies, the overall digital skills level is largely influenced by the level of formal education. 74% of young people with a high level of formal education have above basic level skills compared with 52% of those with a medium level of formal education, and 41% of those with a low level of formal education. The proportion of young people with a low overall digital skills level was the highest among those with low level of formal education (24%). The proportion of young people with a high level of formal education that demonstrated low overall digital skills was only 6%.

There is a considerable variation between European countries in young people's abilities in using digital technologies (Figure 9-G). A very high proportion (more than 70%) of people aged 16-29 are above the basic level in information, communication, problem-solving and software skills in Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the Nordic countries. Many young people (60-69 %) demonstrate above basic level digital skills in Germany, Estonia, Malta, Austria, Portugal and the United Kingdom. In contrast, only every fourth or fifth young person

---

(8) European Commission, 2017c.
has high overall digital competency in Bulgaria, Romania, Montenegro and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. The proportions vary between 31 and 34% in Italy, Cyprus and Turkey.

**Figure 9-G:** Proportion of young (16-29) people with above basic overall digital skills, by country, 2017

The proportion of young people with above basic overall digital skills seems to be related to the proportion of young people that use the internet on a daily basis (Figure 9-D). At the country level (10), there is a strong positive correlation between these two variables ($r=0.73$).

**Figure 9-H:** Proportion of young people (aged 16-29) buying cultural goods and services online (books/magazines/ newspapers, films/music, tickets for events) compared to the total population, EU-28 average, 2017

(10) Using 2016 data for Italy.
Information and communications technology is becoming an increasingly important instrument for participating in cultural life (\(^{11}\)). The internet currently allows people immediate and easy access to various types of media; they may download films, stream live concerts, listen to the radio and podcasts, watch videos, etc. ICT provides endless possibilities to improve audience engagement and participation, as well as offers simple ways for young people to present their own ideas, be creative and engage in digital dialogue (\(^{12}\)). Moreover, it is increasingly easy to buy all types of goods and services online, including those relating to culture.

Eurostat data indicates (Figure 9-H) that young people are somewhat more active in buying cultural goods online than the total population. 29\% of young people buy tickets for events online, compared to 22\% in the total population. The proportion of young people who purchase films or music online is also higher than the total population: 23\% compared to 16\%. Online purchases of books, magazines and newspapers attract similar proportions of young people as the general population (20-21\%).

**CONCLUSIONS**

This brief overview reveals that many young people across Europe are involved in various cultural and creative activities. Going to the cinema is the most popular cultural activity among young people. Three out of four people aged 16 to 29 indicate they have been to the cinema at least once in the past year, while more than a third visit the cinema frequently. Live performances (theatre, concerts and ballet), and museums, galleries and historical sites attracted approximately 50\% of young people (16-29). Every fourth young person in the EU practises artistic activities – Finland stands out with the highest proportion of young people who have creative hobbies.

45\% of young Europeans reported attending a sport event. Moreover, in most European countries, a sports club is the most common type of organisation that young people belong to. In the EU, 29\% of people aged 15 to 30 years reported being active in a sports club. Compared with the situation in 2011, however, young people's membership of sports clubs had decreased by 5 percentage points across the EU by 2017.

Increasing numbers of young people access the internet every day, and more and more of them use mobile devices. Daily computer use, although still high (77\% of people aged 16-29), is decreasing. This trend is especially strong among young people with lower levels of formal education.

\(^{11}\) Eurostat, 2017a.
\(^{12}\) Kutchinsky, 2014.
REFERENCES


References


151


