

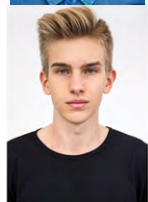


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TERRITOIRES  
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# MILLENNIAL DIALOGUE ON EUROPE

## SHAPING THE NEW EU AGENDA

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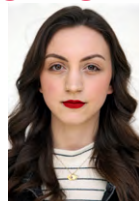
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The present report does not represent the collective views of FEPS or ThinkYoung.

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European Parliament

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# **Millennial Dialogue on Europe**

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**Shaping the new EU agenda**

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**EXECUTIVE  
SUMMARY:  
EUROPE,  
ARE YOU LISTENING?**



Millennials aged 18 to 35 make up roughly a quarter of Europe's entire population. But do Europe's leaders listen to their voices and respond to their needs? Do they know their hopes and dreams for the future? Are leaders encouraging this generation to exercise their growing political power?

This latest report from the Millennial Dialogue offers insights to answer these questions and deliver on the promise and potential of this generation. It is one of the most comprehensive research projects ever completed on European Millennials with over 10,000 survey participants and 72 people engaging in focus groups across 10 EU Member States.

The results of this extraordinary research capture Millennials' views on the big challenges facing Europe at a decisive moment for the European project.

This survey was conducted by the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) in cooperation with ThinkYoung, with support from Stichting Gerrit Kreveld, Institut Emile Vandervelde, BCW, Microsoft, and Coca-Cola.

Pictures by Oliviero Toscani, Ali Toscani, Rocco Toscani, and Stefano Beggiano - in the framework of Razza Umana photo exhibition (11 January - 1st April, ASBL MNEMA – La Cité Miroir). The pictures are included in this report with the kind support and partnership of Les Territoires de la Mémoire, asbl.

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The FEPS Millennial Dialogue is a pioneering research project to use 'connected research' technology to engage and understand Millennials. Learn more at [MillennialDialogue.com](http://MillennialDialogue.com)

Just as the 2019 European elections arrive, Eurosceptic and populist movements are gaining ground across the Union. The elections are also the first following the ‘Brexit’ vote for the United Kingdom to leave the EU, leaving 27 seats to fill in the European Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Yet, Millennials have a record of not showing up at the polls. In 2014, just 27% of youth aged 18 to 24 voted for a European Member of Parliament. Some credit this voter apathy to Millennials’ lack of trust in political institutions and the widespread sentiment that the EU is too far removed from people’s daily lives.<sup>2</sup>

With the Millennial Dialogue, we aspire to reverse these trends. We are empowering Millennials to build and shape Europe’s democratic institutions. Our research bridges the divide between the policymakers and young people who must work together to determine Europe’s future.

This report presents four distinct windows into the views and beliefs of the Millennial generation. Look through them. And discover windows of opportunity for engagement during the ‘year of change’ ahead.

## **Windows into Millennial views**

Overall, we found that Millennials clearly want to feel more connected to the EU and have their voices heard and respected. This report gives European leaders the insights to do just that, offering four ‘windows’ into Millennial views on Europe’s major policy challenges.

### **1. Window on democracy**

### **2. Window on integration**

### **3. Window on society**

### **4. Window on the world**

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<sup>1</sup>Martin Bank, 2019 European elections ‘could be the most decisive yet’ on future of EU. The Parliament Magazine, 2018, retrieved 12 November, 2018, <https://www.theparliamentmagazine.eu/articles/news/2019-european-elections-could-be-most-decisive-yet-future-eu>

<sup>2</sup>Sonia Piedrafita and Anne Lauenroth. ‘Between Apathy and Anger: Challenges to the Union from the 2014 Elections to the EP in Member States’. EPIN Paper No.39/May 2014.



Our research uncovered a split in the minds of Millennials. They strongly support the European Union as a project. But they also believe more countries are likely to leave the Union in the future. Millennials called for greater economic solidarity between EU Member States to financially support European countries going through an economic downturn.

Having grown up during the recent global economic crisis, it should come as no surprise that Millennials want to strengthen social welfare. They enthusiastically support establishing a European minimum wage and EU-funded unemployment benefits for all workers.

Since Millennials are the primary beneficiaries of the EU's Erasmus exchange programme for university students, it is predictably popular among them. They are split, however, on to what degree the programme should be extended beyond the traditional classroom to offer vocational training for young workers.

While Millennials are often described as apathetic, our research shows that they are reacting to major global issues. They want leaders to fight more aggressively on climate change and to develop better solutions to the refugee crisis. They support giving the EU stronger powers to represent Europe on the world stage.

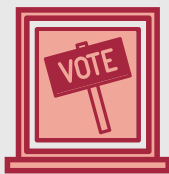


### WHO ARE MILLENNIALS?

**They are the first generation to come of age in the new millennium, aged 18 to 35 for the purposes of this research. Their views are shaped by their unique life experiences, including:**

- 1. economic recession**
- 2. terrorist attacks**
- 3. digital transformations**
- 4. social media**
- 5. globalisation**
- 6. racial and ethnic diversity**
- 7. expanded educational opportunity**

## Windows into Europe's biggest challenges



### 1. Window on democracy

Despite believing in the European project, Millennials agree that EU institutions do not sufficiently engage and encourage young people in decision-making. On economic policy specifically, they strongly see the need for citizens to exert more influence. An overwhelming majority showed support for granting EU institutions stronger powers to challenge Member States that defy EU law.



**80%**

hold favourable views towards the EU



**85%**

want the EU to involve and empower more young people in decision-making



**82%**

believe citizens should have more say on how the EU handles the economy



**66%**

want to empower the EU to challenge law-breaking Member States



### 2. Window on integration

A majority of Millennials believe that more countries are likely to leave the Union in the future. A significant number support greater economic solidarity between Member States. They are nearly split on whether the EU is heading in the right or wrong direction. They called for more coherent and effective action on key priorities such as reducing inequality.



**58%**

believe more countries are likely to leave the EU in the future



**55%**

support the creation of a single European army



**only 10%** called for no further integration



**52%**

believe tackling poverty and reducing social and economic inequalities should be among the EU's top priorities.



### 3. Window on society

Millennials overwhelmingly support greater EU involvement on issues of social welfare. A large majority support a minimum wage and unemployment benefits for all workers in the Union. They are divided on the best policy action to reduce gender inequalities. And also divided on what degree to expand the popular Erasmus programme with vocational training for young workers. Clear consensus emerged to provide greater financial aid for children through EU funding.



**83%**

believe the EU should ensure a minimum wage for all workers



**81%**

want more EU financial aid for children



**47%**

believe reducing gender gaps in salaries and pensions is one of the best ways to tackle gender inequalities in Europe

**62% in Hungary**

want to further expand Erasmus with vocational training for young workers

**vs**

**59% in Greece**

who want to keep the focus on students and those in training



#### **4. Window on the world**

The EU should have stronger powers to represent Europe with a single voice on the world stage, believe a narrow majority of Millennials. On climate change specifically, they want Europe to take stronger action globally. Almost two-thirds of Millennials want Europe to do more to protect its external borders. A narrow majority support merging the EU's armed forces into a single army.

**1 in 10 in Poland and Hungary**

want the EU to make it easier for refugees to come to Europe, compared to

**over 50% in Spain and Portugal**



**60%**

want the EU to do more to tackle the refugee crisis and protect external borders



**56%**

believe the EU should have more powers to represent Europe with a single voice on the world stage



**INTRODUCTION:  
LISTENING TO  
MILLENNIAL VOICES  
BEFORE EUROPE'S  
'YEAR OF CHANGE'**

## INTRODUCTION: LISTENING TO MILLENNIAL VOICES BEFORE EUROPE'S 'YEAR OF CHANGE'

The 2019 European elections are decisive to the future of the European project. Will voters reject the vision of Eurosceptic and populist leaders who want to return power to Member States or leave the Union all together? Or, will they elect representatives who want a stronger, more integrated Europe?

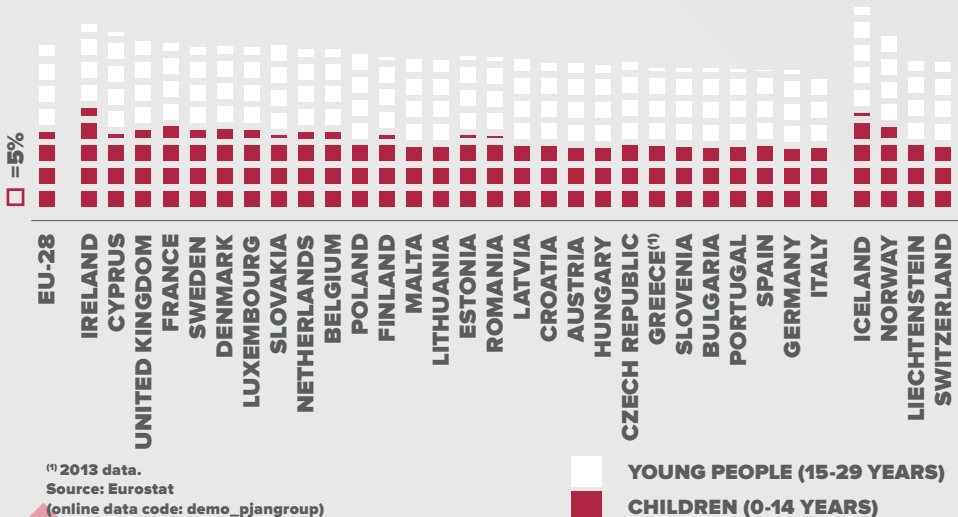
No matter the result, 2019 will be a 'year of change' for Europe. Not least since the UK voted to leave the EU, leaving 73 seats empty in the European Parliament, with 27 of these seats to be redistributed to other countries, and 46 to be kept for future enlargements.<sup>3</sup>

### How will Millennials influence this year of change? Will they embrace the challenge of building and shaping Europe's democratic institutions?

#### Size and country matter

Millennials represent over a quarter of Europe's entire population. Their numbers differ considerably, however, based on the country. In Poland, for instance, Millennials represent 28% of the population. In Italy, they represent only 19%.

#### SHARE OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE POPULATION, 1 JANUARY 2014



<sup>3</sup>European Parliament, European elections in 2019: How many seats will each country have? EU affairs, 1 February 2018, retrieved 20 November 2018, <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/news/en/headlines/eu-affairs/20180126STO94114/eu-elections-how-many-seats-will-each-country-get-in-2019>

## Who are Millennials?

As the first generation to come of age in the new millennium, their views are shaped by unique life experiences. We first need to understand the events that have shaped Millennial lives to understand their views.



### SCARRED BY CRISIS

Millennials in Europe have lived through an economic crisis since 2008 that has scarred their view of politics and society. Their financial strains and employment struggles have contributed to a generational sense of uncertainty and undermined trust in authorities.<sup>4</sup>

The series of terrorist attacks at home and abroad, beginning with 9/11 in the United States, have exacerbated this sense of insecurity. Europe's continued infighting about the refugee crisis has challenged their conventional views about the stability of the EU and its values.<sup>5</sup>



### DELAYED

Europe's economic uncertainty and the social and technological changes underway have contributed to a life cycle where Millennials delay many of the conventional choices associated with adulthood. They are later to marry, have children, and buy a home compared to previous generations.<sup>6</sup>



### DIVERSE

Globalisation and the EU's free movement of people have made Europe today the most racially and ethnically diverse in its history.<sup>7</sup> Millennials have grown up in this melting pot of cultures and languages where borders are no barrier.

<sup>4</sup>Niamh Griffin and Cillian Totterdell, Countdown to the 2019 European elections – the outlook so far. FleishmanHillard Opinions, June 5 2018, retrieved 12 November, 2018, <http://fleishmanhillard.eu/2018/06/countdown-to-the-2019-european-elections-the-outlook-so-far/>

<sup>5</sup>Pero Maldini and Marta Takahashi, 'Refugee Crisis and the European Union: Do the Failed Migration and Asylum Policies Indicate a Political and Structural Crisis of European Integration?' Communication Management Review.2 (2017) 2.

<sup>6</sup>Jennifer Brown et.al, 'Millennials'. Briefing Paper Number CBP7946, 11 April 2017. House of Commons; Bobby Duffy, Hannah Shrimpton and Michael Clemence. Millennial Myths and Realities. Ipsos MORI, 2017.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid. Millennial Myths and Realities. Ipsos MORI. (2017)





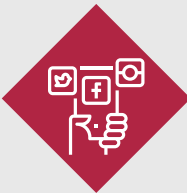
### URBAN

The majority of Millennials opt to live in urban areas over suburbs or rural communities.<sup>8</sup> Cities across Europe have emerged as centres of economic energy and vitality, often driven by Millennial enterprises and initiatives. As they start to have families, however, evidence shows that many move out to suburbs for quieter and cheaper housing.<sup>9</sup>



### EDUCATED

Millennials are the most educated generation in history: 4 out of 10 in Europe aged 25 to 34 have completed university studies.<sup>10</sup> This trend is even more pronounced among women. Millennials' educational achievements are both a reflection of Europe's knowledge-based economy and a response to high unemployment.



### DIGITAL

Millennials grew up with the Internet and mobile phones. Their innovations have transformed the way the world lives, works and plays. Sometimes called the 'Facebook Generation', Millennials have redefined the way we communicate with digital and social media.

Millennials have created entirely new expressions for political action.<sup>11</sup> With 'likes' and 'shares', they created the first 'viral' campaigns and led digital protests that have occasionally spilled out onto the streets with fury.

<sup>8</sup>Cale Tilford, The millennial moment – in charts. FT Series Millennials. June 6, 2018, retrieved 12 November 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/f81ac17a-68ae-11e8-b6eb-4acfcfb08c11>; Eurostat. Urban Europe – statistics on cities, towns and suburbs – life in cities. Eurostat Statistics Explained, 2016, retrieved 12 November 2018, [https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Urban\\_Europe\\_-\\_statistics\\_on\\_cities,\\_towns\\_and\\_suburbs\\_-\\_life\\_in\\_cities#Population\\_structure](https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Urban_Europe_-_statistics_on_cities,_towns_and_suburbs_-_life_in_cities#Population_structure)

<sup>9</sup>Wendell Cox, Move to Suburbs Continues in Western Europe. NewGeography. February 4 2009, retrieved 12 November 2018, <http://www.newgeography.com/content/00715-move-suburbs-continues-western-europe>

<sup>10</sup>Eurostat data for 2017. (<http://www.caixabankresearch.com/en/who-are-millennials>)

<sup>11</sup>Freedman. R and Sgueo. G. (2015).



## Will they vote?

Research shows that younger Europeans are generally more positive about the EU and have more trust in EU institutions.

But, will they show up at the polls when Europe needs them most?

The trends do not look good.

In 2014, just 27% of youth aged 18 to 24 voted for a European Member of Parliament.<sup>12</sup> Evidence shows that the gap in participation between the oldest generation and the youngest continues to widen.

Yet voter apathy is not unique to Millennials. The number of voters overall has consistently declined from 62% in 1979, to 43% in both 2009 and 2014.<sup>13</sup> This trend has been linked to a lack of trust in political institutions and the EU, and the belief that elections and EU policies are too far removed from people's daily lives.<sup>14</sup>

## 2

### GENERATIONAL CLASH ON BREXIT

**Millennials are not just voting less. Their views are also often in conflict with older generations. The British referendum on EU membership is the most recent and visible sign of this generational clash.**

**An overwhelming majority of young British citizens voted to remain in the EU. Research shows that Millennials across the EU28 wish they would stay and fear the consequences of Brexit far more than older generations.\***

\*Anna auf dem Brinke, Katharina Gnath and Philipp Ständer, 'What Millennials Think about the Future of the EU and the Euro'. EUPINIONS Policy Brief 2016/01

<sup>12</sup>Doru Frantescu, Youth Participation in EU Elections is Falling: Differences across Member States. The Progressive Post, 5 October 2016, retrieved 12 November 2018, <https://progressivepost.eu/youth-participation-eu-elections-falling-differences-across-member-states/>; Richard Freedman and Gianluca Sguero, op.cit.

<sup>13</sup>Owen McDougall and Ashoka Mody, Will voters turnout in the 2014 European parliamentary elections? Bruegel, 19 May 2014, retrieved 12 November 2018, <http://bruegel.org/2014/05/will-voters-turn-out-in-the-2014-european-parliamentary-elections/>

<sup>14</sup>Anne Lauenroth and Sonia Piedrafita, 'Between Apathy and Anger: Challenges to the Union from the 2014 Elections to the European Parliament'. EPIN Paper No.39/May 2014.

## INTRODUCTION: LISTENING TO MILLENNIAL VOICES BEFORE EUROPE'S 'YEAR OF CHANGE'

EU leaders applied the 'Spitzenkandidaten' process during the 2014 elections to boost citizen engagement and voter participation.<sup>15</sup> The process makes each European political group select a lead candidate for the European Commission President. Despite this change, however, voter turnout remained disappointingly low at just 43% in 2014.

What public policies could help to get young people out to the polls in 2019? Some proposals have included:

- / Lowering the voting age to 16
- / Quotas for youth candidates
- / Required civics education
- / Online voting



# 3

## SWEET 16

The European Commission, supported by the European Parliament and many civil society organisations, have proposed lowering the minimum age for supporting citizens' initiatives from 18 to 16 years. Supporters argue that this reform will both increase youth political knowledge and representation. Some believe it will increase voter turnout as well. Critics warn that 16-year olds are not mature enough to take informed political decisions.

Some Member States have gone ahead and made 16 the decisive age to begin voting.

/ **Austria** became the first EU country to allow voting at age 16 at all political levels.

/ **Malta** became the second EU country to give 16-year olds the vote.

/ In **Germany**, 16-year olds can vote in municipal and federal state elections in some federal states.

/ In **Scotland**, 16-year-olds can vote in Parliamentary elections.

<sup>15</sup>European Movement Ireland, 'All EU Need To Know: Spitzenkandidaten explained'. 21 February 2018, retrieved 12 November 2018, <http://www.europeanmovement.ie/all-eu-need-to-know-spitzenkandidaten-explained/>



## **Time is ticking**

Millennials can be part of Europe's year of change, or they can continue to sit on the side-lines. Ironically, Millennials and the generations that follow have the most to win or lose from the decisions that EU leaders take in 2019.

All parties can agree that Millennials should have a voice at the decision-making table, unified around a central truth: democracy works best when all people participate.

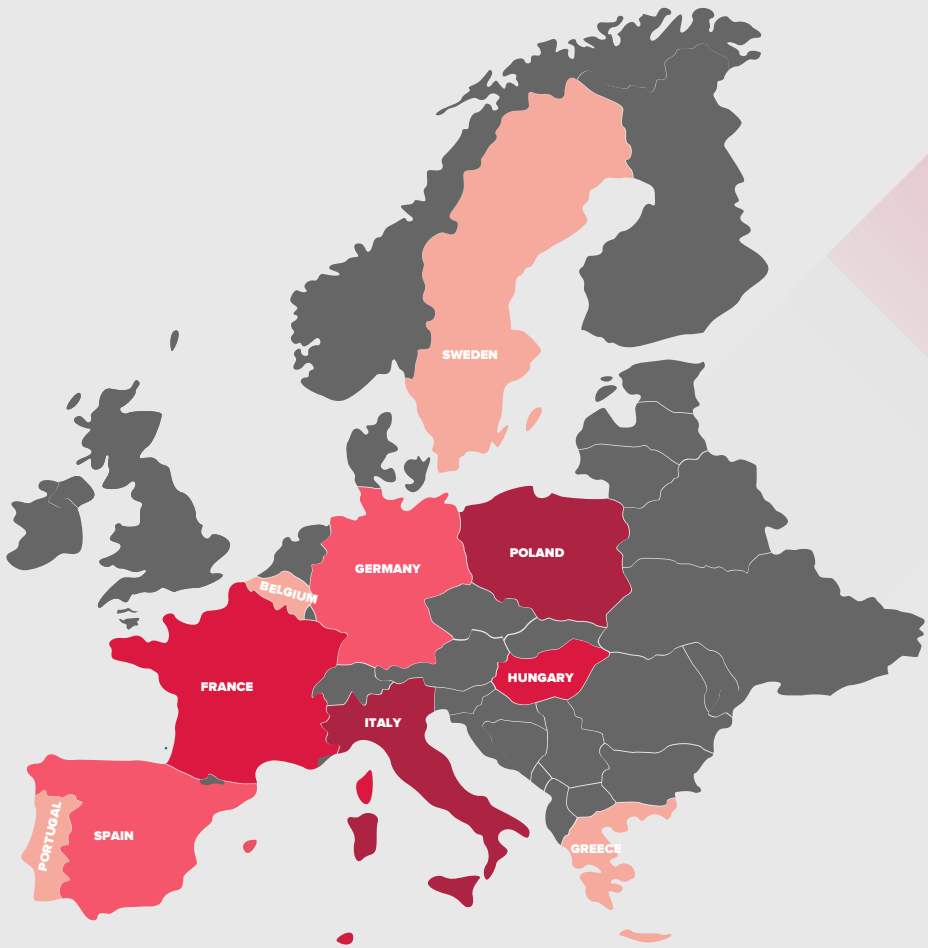
The windows ahead reveal opportunities for engagement. Time is ticking to seize them.

## **Methodology**

This report is the result of one of the most comprehensive research projects ever completed on European Millennials. It involved over 10,000 survey participants and 72 people engaging in focus groups across 10 EU Member States.

**BALANCED REPRESENTATION**

We selected 10 countries that represent a balance of the EU's 28 Member States: from West to East, South to North. These countries jointly account to 77.85% of the EU population,<sup>16</sup> excluding the United Kingdom whose citizens will not participate in the upcoming European elections. All participants were between the ages of 18 and 35.



<sup>16</sup> Eurostat data on EU countries population "Population on 1 January 2018", Eurostat, retrieved on 1 October 2018, <https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&language=en&pcode=tps00001&plugin=1>

## **SURVEY**

The survey questionnaire includes 26 questions (see Annex 2). It was originally written in English by FEPS and ThinkYoung and translated into each relevant language. Participants completed the questionnaire digitally between 27 August 2018 and 12 September 2018.

The set of questions was disseminated by GfK Belgium's Social and Strategic Research team (which has found a new home within Ipsos since October 2018) with a multi-sourcing panel model. Such a model increases reach and capacity, as well as improving consistency and minimising bias. The online sample was composed of a number of different proprietary panels (GfK trusted partners).

All online panel survey participants underwent rigorous quality controls before being included in the sample. To increase diversity, GfK used a variety of contact methods for recruitment: online banners, TV ads, e-mails, apps, social media influencers, and websites, among others.

The survey reached over 1,000 respondents in each country, with a total sample size of 10,138. Hard quotas were applied on the basis of age, gender, socio-economic status and region. Data were weighted to ensure representativeness using a Random Iterative Method, based on Eurostat (2017) and European Social Survey (2016) statistics. Considering the weighting and hard quotas, the margin of error for the sample size is 1.05 percentage points.

## **FOCUS GROUPS**

We held a total of eight focus groups in four European capitals from 29 June to 14 September.

Skilled facilitators led two focus groups in centrally located conference rooms in each city. The groups included an average of nine participants resulting in a total of 72 participants in total. To minimise inhibition risks, the groups were split by age (18-26 and 27-35).

To ensure a sufficient degree of heterogeneity, participants were selected on the basis of gender, occupation, and educational level.<sup>17</sup> Facilitators conducted the focus groups in the local language. The sessions lasted between 90 and 120 minutes, and were voice recorded with the participant's consent.

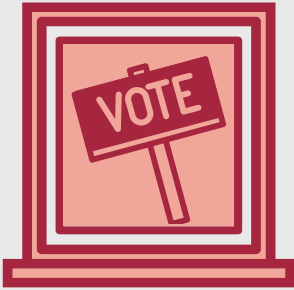


<sup>17</sup> For more details on the selection of the focus group participants, see: Richard Kreuger and Mary Anne Casey, *Focus Groups: A Practical Guide for Applied Research*, Thousand Oaks, California, SAGE publications, 2009, 4th edition, pp. 66-67.





**CHAPTER 1:  
WINDOW ON  
DEMOCRACY**

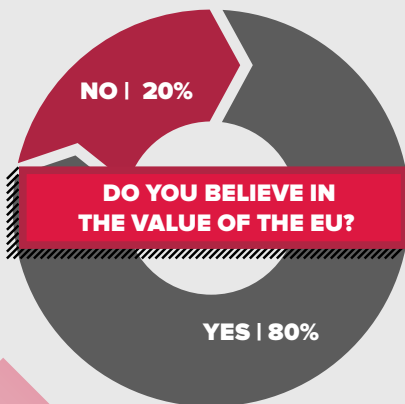


Complaints about Europe’s so-called ‘democratic deficit’ abound on both the right and left. Both sides argue, albeit for different reasons, that ordinary citizens are too far removed from decision making in Brussels and Strasbourg. While the public is generally pro-European, most people do not understand the complex decision-making process that some believe threatens their way of life.

The UK’s decision to leave the EU in 2016 shined a spotlight on this democratic deficit. And has cast a long shadow over Europe that continues to darken the mood. Restoring the people’s trust in the EU’s legitimacy and credibility has become a priority for EU leaders and the institutions they direct.

Yet, some Member States are becoming more brazen in their attack on Europe’s supranational authority and European rule of law itself. Hungary, Poland and more recently Italy have all challenged Europe’s norms and by extension, the European project.

What do Millennials think about European democracy? Its health and future prospects? The view from this first window is a must-see. Millennials value the EU, but they are disappointed with its performance and concerned about its future.



It is a win for the European project that 80% of Millennials believe in the value of the EU. Only one in five expressed no value for the European Union and its institutions.



**‘ The EU is good for employment, especially for young people. Innovation programmes and opportunities like Erasmus are good for personal development. ’**

**‘ The EU ensures peace and good relations between Member States. ’**

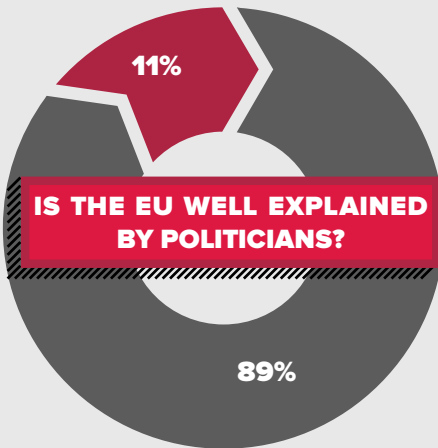
**‘ Stability comes to mind when I think of the EU. It’s like a safety net. ’**

Focus group discussions shed light on the reasoning for this overwhelmingly positive perception.

Participants appreciate the freedom to travel, study and work in another European country, freedoms they attribute to the EU. They were also conscious of the economic development projects sponsored by the EU that benefit their communities.

Spared the horrors of Europe’s wars themselves, Millennials in our focus groups were appreciative of the peace and stability that the EU has ensured. A fact reiterated in the public’s consciousness when the EU earned a Nobel Peace Prize in 2012.

Our results showed that Millennials are conscious of the EU’s democratic deficit. A significant majority (89%) believe that politicians need to better communicate to citizens about what the EU is doing, and how it impacts their daily lives. Only 1 in 10 believe that politicians communicate enough about the EU’s roles, responsibilities and benefits.



**POLITICIANS NEED TO BETTER COMMUNICATE TO CITIZENS WHAT THE EU IS DOING AND HOW IT IMPACTS DAILY LIFE**

**POLITICIANS SPEND ENOUGH TIME COMMUNICATING TO CITIZENS ABOUT THE EU AND ITS IMPACT ON DAILY LIFE**





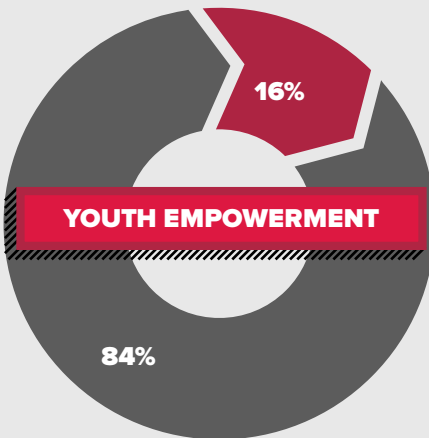
**‘ The EU has great potential, but people don’t see or feel it. ’**

**‘ We need more connections between the EU and national governments. Otherwise, decisions are too far away and impersonal. ’**

With claims of fake news regularly dominating headlines, some Millennials in our focus groups were predictably suspect of the news media. Conversations revealed growing frustration with media reporting that lacks balance and facts. Some argued that this coverage undermines the EU's reputation, making it difficult for people to separate truth from misinformation.

**'One source will criticise everything, while the other will praise every decision of the EU.'**

**'You rarely hear facts about the EU. Just subjective opinions.'**



- **THE EU IS DOING ENOUGH TO ENGAGE MORE YOUNG PEOPLE IN EUROPEAN PUBLIC AFFAIRS**
- **THE EU SHOULD INVOLVE AND EMPOWER MORE YOUNG PEOPLE IN EUROPEAN PUBLIC AFFAIRS**

Clearly, Millennials want to become more engaged in European public affairs. But how? They favour more roles for youth in politics and more contact between young people and politicians. As 'digital natives', it comes as no surprise that they would like to introduce online voting. But their lack of interest in lowering the voting age to 16 is a blow to campaigners for this cause.

**CHOOSE THE ONE TOP INITIATIVE YOU THINK WILL ENCOURAGE MORE YOUNG PEOPLE TO ENGAGE IN POLITICAL LIFE IN EUROPE (%)**

**CREATE MORE ROLES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN POLITICS (YOUTH ADVISORS, YOUTH COUNCILS, AMBASSADORS, ETC.)**

**22.1**

**INTRODUCE ONLINE VOTING**

**19.7**

**MORE PERSONAL CONTACT BETWEEN YOUNG PEOPLE AND POLITICIANS**

**17.4**

**EUROPEAN CIVIC LESSONS ON EU HISTORY, GOVERNANCE, ETC.**

**14.4**

**ENCOURAGE SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES TO HOST MOCK ELECTIONS AND/OR POLITICAL DEBATES**

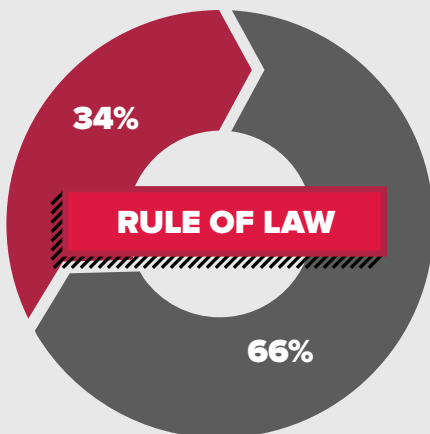
**14.3**

**LOWER THE VOTING AGE TO 16 YEARS**

**6.1**

**ENCOURAGE POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICIANS TO BE MORE DIGITALLY CONNECTED**

**5.9**



- THE EU SHOULD HAVE STRONGER POWERS TO CHALLENGE AND PREVENT MEMBER STATES FROM BREAKING EU LAW**
- THE EU HAS JUST ENOUGH POWER OVER MEMBER STATES**



Recently the European Parliament voted to trigger article seven of the Treaty of the European Union against Hungary for its breach of EU fundamental values and principles.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Italy has come under fire from EU finance ministers for failing to uphold EU spending rules in their proposed budget.<sup>19</sup>

These are just some of the latest examples of national governments challenging the EU's authority and legitimacy. Our research suggests that a majority of Millennials support actions

to ensure all Member States are governed and play by the same European rules. They favour giving EU institutions stronger powers to consistently defend Europe against law-breaking governments.

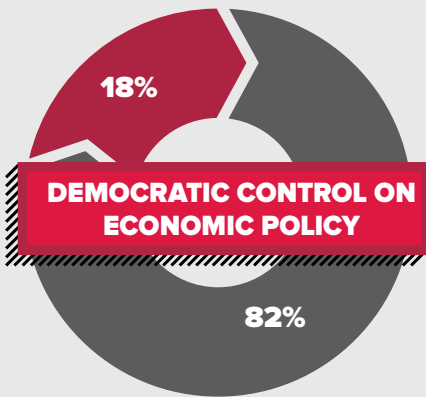
**‘ If constitutional courts lose their rightful influence and the rule of law is eroded, the EU must respond and respond consistently. ’**

**‘ I want the EU to fight more consistently against anti-liberal domestic policies like in Poland. ’**

**‘ The EU must withdraw voting rights and exert real pressure on these countries. ’**

<sup>18</sup>Judith Sargentini, 'Motion for a European Parliament Resolution on a proposal calling on the Council to determine, pursuant to Article 7(1) of the Treaty on European Union, the existence of a clear risk of a serious breach by Hungary of the values on which the Union is founded'. Committee on Civil Liberties, Justice and Home Affairs (2017/2131(INL)).

<sup>19</sup>Jim Brunnsden and Mehreen Khan, EU finance ministers: Italy must abide by EU budget rules. Financial Times, 1 October 2018, retrieved 12 November 2018, <https://www.ft.com/content/30b28f2c-c57f-11e8-bc21-54264d1c4647>



- EUROPEAN CITIZENS SHOULD BE ABLE TO HAVE MORE CONTROL OVER THE ECONOMIC DECISIONS THAT EU INSTITUTIONS TAKE
- EUROPEAN CITIZENS HAVE ENOUGH CONTROL OVER THE ECONOMIC DECISIONS THAT EU INSTITUTIONS TAKE

During the recent global economic crisis, EU leaders made tough decisions on economic policy that continue to impact the daily lives of citizens. While these decisions might have helped steer the Eurozone back to health, the process left many feeling that the EU overstepped its authority. The majority of Millennials in our research appeared to subscribe to this view.

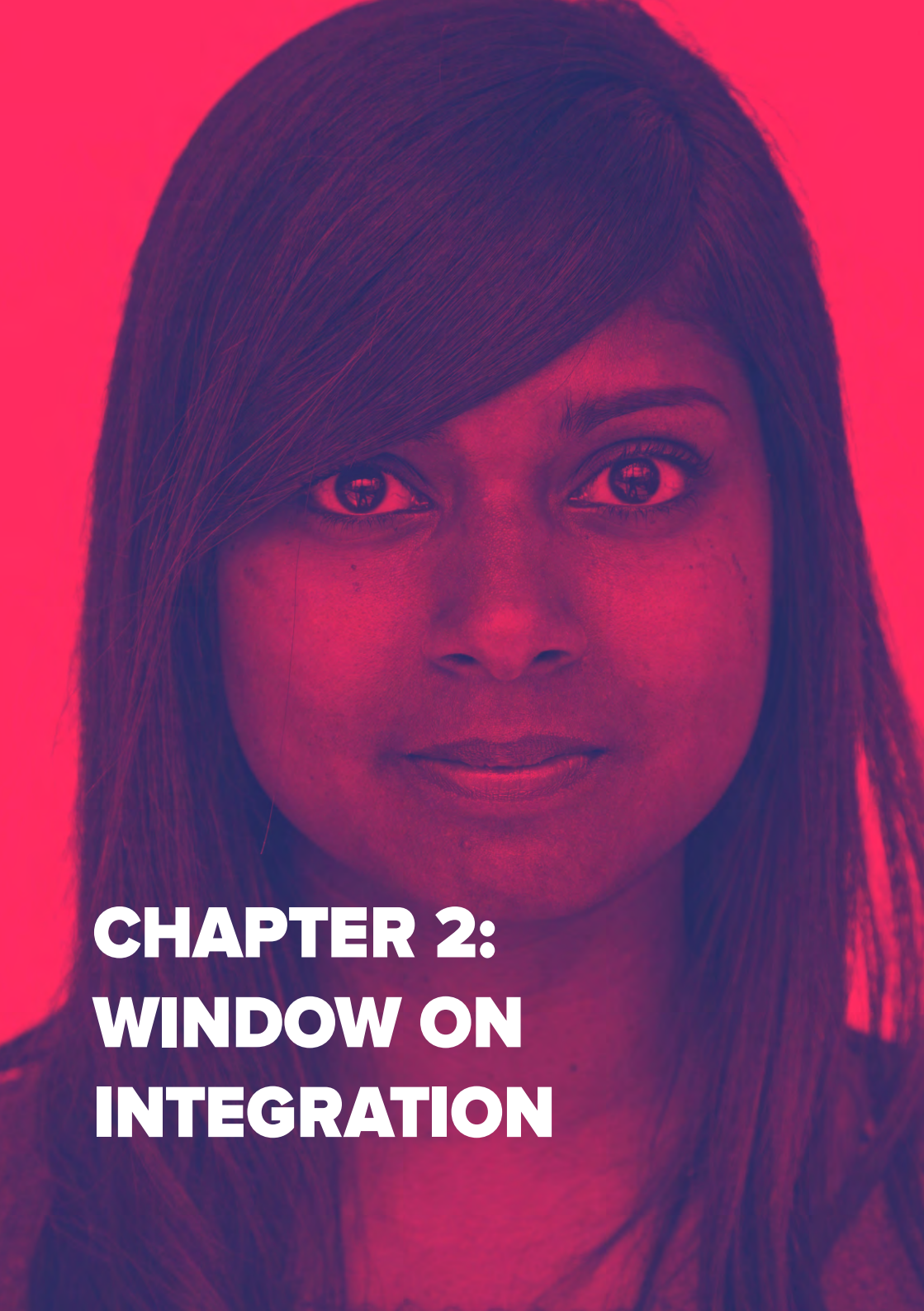
Our research shows they want citizens to exert greater control over EU economic decisions. In focus groups, participants asked for EU politicians to meet them at the street level. To talk to everyday people about economic issues, not just elites.

Some groups argue that the EU is dominated by business interests. This message reso-

**‘ Juncker stands in front of the University of Maastricht and says, “you have to develop Europe”. But he doesn’t talk to the Romanian trucker who earns 500 euros a month. ’**

**‘ The feeling among some people is that the EU is just a big lobby project and afraid of its own citizens. ’**

nated among some in focus groups.



**CHAPTER 2:  
WINDOW ON  
INTEGRATION**

Peace. Unity. Prosperity. These were the ideals that guided the EU's founding members when building the European Union over 60 years ago. After centuries of war, "they agreed to settle their conflicts around a table rather than a battlefield. They replaced the use of armed forces by the force of law."<sup>20</sup> They opened Europe's doors to other countries to join a Union of European democracies.

Has the EU delivered on the ideals of its founding members? When it comes to peace, the answer is unquestionably yes. Consider Germany and France. They fought three wars over a seventy-year period. Today, war between them is just as unthinkable as anywhere else in the Union. Instead, a growing number of European leaders are actually calling for the creation of an integrated EU army.

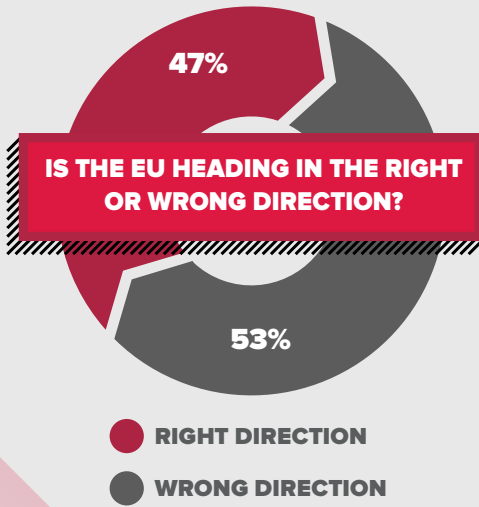
Is Europe today united and prosperous? This is more complicated. It has enlarged to include 500 million citizens who live in freedom in one of the world's most powerful economies. But events over the last decade have unquestionably worked to undermine this incredible accomplishment.

The recent global economic crisis. The refugee and migration crisis. Brexit. The wave of populism, nationalism and Euroscepticism spreading across Europe. Our research shows that Millennials believe that the EU has fallen far short in response to these major crises.

Do Millennials think that European unity will prevail? What is the best path to full European prosperity? How can Europe keep the peace it has achieved? Look through this next window and discover a more encouraging view for Europe than you might expect.

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<sup>20</sup> European Commission. (2017). Commission presents White Paper on the future of Europe: Avenues for unity for the EU at 27. European Commission Press Releases. [http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-17-385\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-385_en.htm)

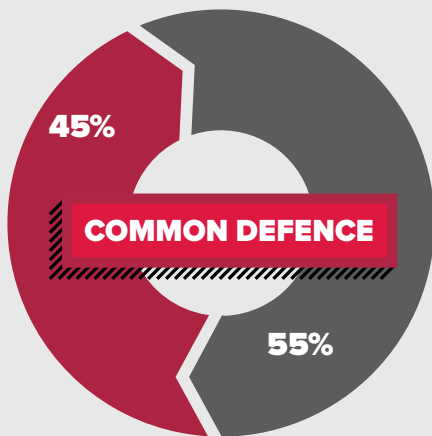


Do Millennials believe that the EU is heading in the right or wrong direction? Our research showed a near 50/50 split.

This is a significantly better result for Europe than a similar general population survey conducted in 2015. It showed that 73% of respondents thought the EU is headed in the wrong direction.<sup>21</sup> Along similar lines, results from a 2018 survey on the general population showed only 32% of people who think that things are going in the right direction in the EU<sup>22</sup>. This suggests that Millennials are more positive about the EU's direction than the general population. Yet, EU leaders surely aspire to win the confidence of more than 47% of Millennials.

<sup>21</sup>Ipsos European Pulse, Views on the EU. Ipsos Public Affairs, August 2015, retrieved November 14 2018, <https://www.ipsos.com/en/views-eu-are-things-going-right-direction-or-wrong-track-across-eu>

<sup>22</sup>European Parliament, 'Democracy on the Move: European Elections – One Year to Go'. Eurobarometer Survey 89.2 of the European Parliament. A Public Opinion Monitoring Study. Directorate-General for Communication Public Opinion Monitoring Unit, May 2018 – PE 621.866.



- **ALL EU COUNTRIES SHOULD MERGE THEIR ARMIES INTO A SINGLE EUROPEAN ARMY**
- **EU COUNTRIES SHOULDN'T MERGE THEIR ARMIES**

**‘ A strong EU army would strengthen our position on the international stage. ’**

Recently, European defence and security has become a major priority for EU citizens and politics. This is based on new challenges including regional conflicts, failed states, terrorism, and cyber attacks to name a few.<sup>23</sup> This has led to calls from across the political spectrum for the EU to enhance its ability to defend itself by force, and to encourage further integration militarily.<sup>24</sup>

Our survey suggests Millennials tend to agree, albeit in a slim majority. The creation of a European army would signify the realisation of the founder’s ideals perhaps more than any other. The army would defend Europe’s peace, serving in unity under Europe’s flag, to protect European prosperity.

<sup>23</sup>S&D, 'Security and Defence: Foreign affairs, human rights, security & defence'. S&D Position Paper, 26/09/2017.

<sup>24</sup>Andrew Sparrow, Jean-Claude Juncker calls for EU army. The Guardian, 8 March 2015, retrieved, 14 November 2018, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/08/jean-claude-juncker-calls-for-eu-army-european-commission-military>



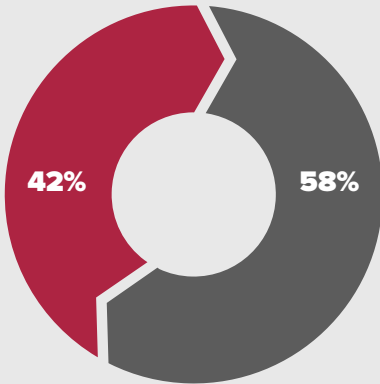
Among the 45% who do not support an EU army, concerns centred around the risk of increased conflict and militarism. Others believed that the army would be unnecessarily redundant with the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO).

**‘ An army feels like military escalation. More time should be spent working on security and cooperation. ’**

**‘ We can’t have both the EU and NATO ’**



**FOLLOWING THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UK FROM THE EU, DO YOU THINK OTHER COUNTRIES WILL ALSO CHOOSE TO LEAVE OVER THE COMING FIVE YEARS?**



- **IT IS LIKELY THAT MORE MEMBER STATES WILL LEAVE THE EU IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS**
- **IT IS UNLIKELY THAT MORE MEMBER STATES WILL LEAVE THE EU IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS**

Brexit's consequences extend far beyond the UK's place in the European Union. It has emboldened Eurosceptic leaders and political parties across Europe, raising them to once inconceivable levels of power and influence. Calls for more 'exits' and defiance against interfering 'Eurocrats' no longer shock the public.

How are Millennials responding to the 'Brexit Contagion'? Not good. We found that nearly 60% believe more Member States are likely to leave the EU in the next five years.

These findings are very similar to that of the general public, with 55% who believe more EU countries will leave in the next 10 years.<sup>25</sup>

Participants in focus groups often lamented this breakdown in European unity. Some attributed the loss to the gap between citizens and political elites, described in Window One.

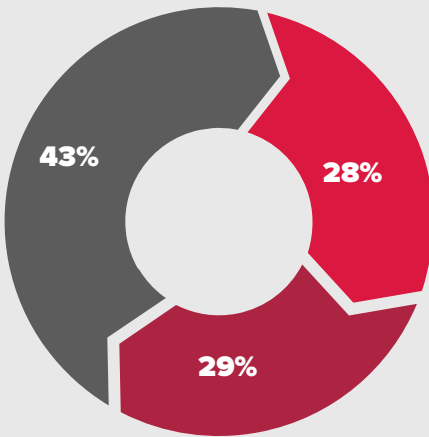
<sup>25</sup> Thomas Raines, Matthew Goodwin and David Cutts, 'The Future of Europe: Comparing Public and Elite Attitudes. Chatham House Europe Programme, Research Paper June 2017.

A photograph of three young people, two women and one man, looking at digital devices. The woman on the left is looking at a laptop, the woman in the center is looking at a tablet, and the man on the right is looking at a smartphone. The image has a strong red color cast.

**‘ Developments like Brexit are a pity, because we have benefited from open borders and the ability to travel to other countries without any problems ’**

**‘ On Brexit, I think there was a big gap between what is down here [citizens] and what arrives up there [EU elites] ’**

**HOW WOULD YOU PREFER TO SEE YOUR COUNTRY'S GOVERNMENT RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EUROPEAN UNION?**



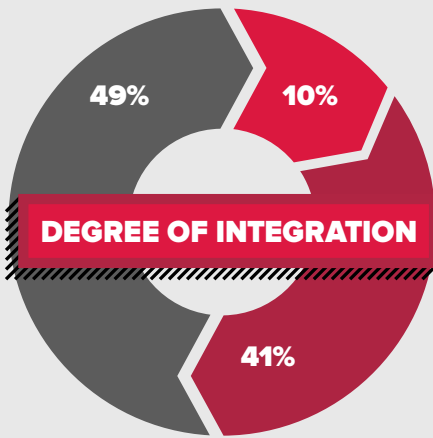
- **WORKING CLOSER TOGETHER ON SOME ISSUES, BUT CONSTRUCTIVELY DISAGREEING ON OTHERS**
- **SUPPORTING AND REINFORCING COMMON EU POLICIES AND PRIORITIES**
- **STANDING UP FOR YOUR COUNTRY'S NATIONAL PRIORITIES IN THE EU CONTEXT**

Power struggles between the EU and Member State governments have dogged the EU since its founding. Questions remain about how much power the EU should have, and how Member States can best express differing views.

Like generations before them, our research suggests that Millennials are wary of ceding too much decision-making power to EU institutions. 43% want their governments to work closely with the EU, but constructively disagree where necessary.

Nearly 30% want their government to stand up to the EU on national priorities.

Conversations in our focus groups suggest that Brexit and Euroscepticism in general are driving this combative sentiment.



- **EU MEMBER STATES SHOULD WORK TOGETHER ON SOME ISSUES, BUT OTHERS ARE BEST DECIDED BY EACH COUNTRY ALONE**
- **EU MEMBER STATES SHOULD NOT PURSUE FURTHER INTEGRATION ON ANY AREA OF EU POLICY**
- **EU MEMBER STATES SHOULD WORK TOGETHER MORE CLOSELY ON AS MANY ISSUES AS POSSIBLE**

Euroscepticism may be growing, but Millennials still want to pursue integration. Our research showed just under 10% want to put on the brakes. The caveat is the balance of power. They want Member States to have autonomy and authority in this process.

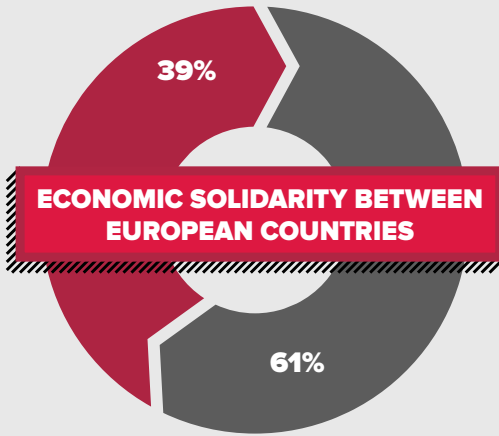
Nearly 50% want national governments to work together on some issues, but to maintain control over decision-making where necessary. The remaining 41% appeared even more supportive of European integration, calling for Member States to work together more closely on as many issues as possible.

During focus groups, some participants noted the differences between people and

countries that hold back further integration. The divisiveness of integration itself and Europe's multi-culturalism makes coming to consensus on this topic especially difficult.

**' Differences between Member States are severe, based on histories that go back hundreds of years... The idea [of integration] is a bit utopian. '**

**' It's harder to reach an agreement because both sides don't understand each other. '**



- **BETTER-OFF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES SHOULD CONTRIBUTE MORE TO FINANCIALLY SUPPORT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES GOING THROUGH AN ECONOMIC DOWNTURN**
- **BETTER-OFF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CONTRIBUTE ENOUGH TO FINANCIALLY SUPPORT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES GOING THROUGH AN ECONOMIC DOWNTURN**

Millennials came of age during the recent global economic crisis. They are both the most educated generation in European history and also some of today's most chronically unemployed.<sup>26</sup> While some Member States and the Millennials living and working in them have recovered from the recession, others, especially in Southern and Eastern Europe, have not.

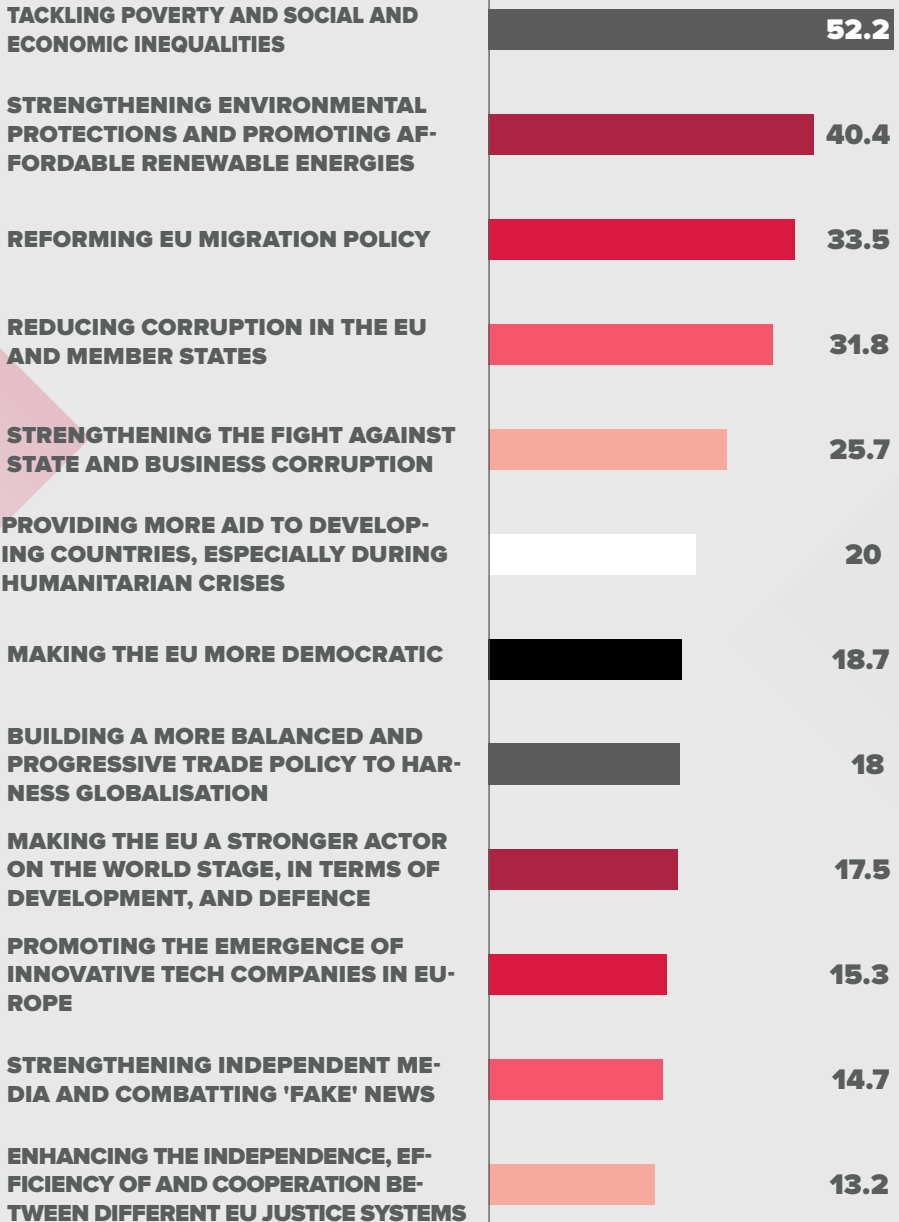
Asked how the EU should respond to this inequality, the majority of Millennials called for more burden-sharing. Over 60% believe that better-off European countries should contribute more to financially support European countries going through an economic downturn.

About 40% believe that current contribution levels are enough. However, some focus group participants were suspicious towards the impartiality of financial assistance from one country to another.

**‘ The [EU] institutions could help in the prevention and solution of social inequalities among EU countries. ’**

**‘ Some forms of assistance may be a form of control ’**

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. Millennial Myths and Realities. Ipsos MORI. (2017)

**TOP 3 PRIORITIES FOR THE EU TO FOCUS ON DURING THE NEXT 5 YEARS (%)**




**CHAPTER 3:  
WINDOW ON SOCIETY**



Social policy has a profound impact on people's daily lives, from rules on wages and unemployment benefits to lifelong learning and gender equality. Yet, social policy is anything but harmonised across Europe since control has long been considered out-of-bounds for Brussels.

Member States vigorously stand guard over social policy in part due to cultural differences. What is considered “socially fair” and worthy of government intervention in Germany, for instance, differs dramatically than in Italy.<sup>27</sup>

Instead of this regulatory patchwork, the European Commission has recently sought to inspire Member States to embrace an aspirational European standard with the European Pillar of Social Rights. This is in the hope of building “a more inclusive and fairer European Union” that reflects the “changing realities of the world of work”.<sup>28</sup> As Maria João Rodrigues, the European Parliament Rapporteur for the European Pillar of Social Rights states, it responds to “citizen's everyday problems by providing employment services, access to social protection, healthcare and long-term care.”<sup>29</sup>

At the prime years of their working lives, Millennials have a lot at stake with European social reforms. These regulations impact how they work, seek jobs, defend their rights and more. What do Millennials think about the hotly debated social policies coming out of Brussels? This window offers a compelling and instructive view.

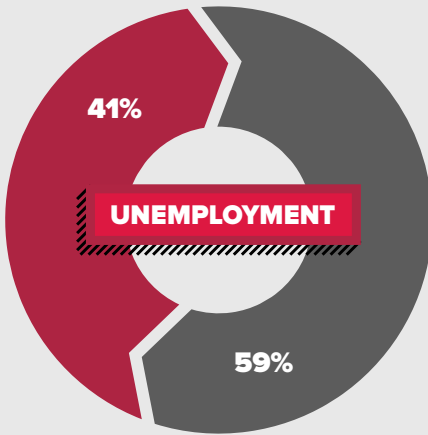
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<sup>27</sup>Hanne Cokelaere, EU pushes Social Pillar at Gothenburg summit. Politico, 17 November 2017, retrieved 14 November 2018, <https://www.politico.eu/article/social-pillar-unemployment-anti-social-europe/>

<sup>28</sup>European Commission, European Pillar of Social Rights: Building a more inclusive and fairer European Union. Retrieved 14 November 2018, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/priorities/deeper-and-fairer-economic-and-monetary-union/european-pillar-social-rights\\_en#background](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/priorities/deeper-and-fairer-economic-and-monetary-union/european-pillar-social-rights_en#background)

<sup>29</sup>European Committee of the Regions, European Pillar of Social Rights must be supported by a strong cohesion policy. Press Release 10 October 2017, retrieved 19 November 2018, <https://cor.europa.eu/en/news/Pages/european-pillar-social-rights-must-be-supported-by-a-strong-cohesion-policy.aspx>; S&D, ‘Social Europe: Contribution to the European Commission reflection paper in the context of its White Paper on the Future of Europe’. S&D Position Paper, 12/04/2017.





- **THE EU SHOULD ENSURE AND CONTRIBUTE TO FAIR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS FOR ALL EUROPEANS**
- **NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS, NOT THE EU, SHOULD OVERSEE BENEFITS FOR UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE**

Youth unemployment in the eurozone has been stuck between 19% to 25% for nearly a decade. In Spain and Greece, it's north of 40%.<sup>30</sup> For many Millennials, unemployment benefits have become a life-line during these tough economic times.

But not all Member States can afford the same level of spending, creating inequalities in benefits across Europe. Given Europe's stubbornly high unemployment rates, political interest in setting a common EU standard for benefits has increased.

A majority of the Millennials we surveyed support this EU initiative. Nearly 60% want the EU to ensure and contribute to fair unemployment benefits for all Europeans. In focus groups, participants explained their enthusiastic support.

**'This has to happen one-way or another. Digitalisation will mean that jobs will be eliminated over the next thirty to forty years.'**

<sup>30</sup> Statista, Youth unemployment rate in Europe (EU member states) as of May 2018 (seasonally adjusted). The Statistics Portal. Retrieved 14 November 2018, <https://www.statista.com/statistics/266228/youth-unemployment-rate-in-eu-countries/>

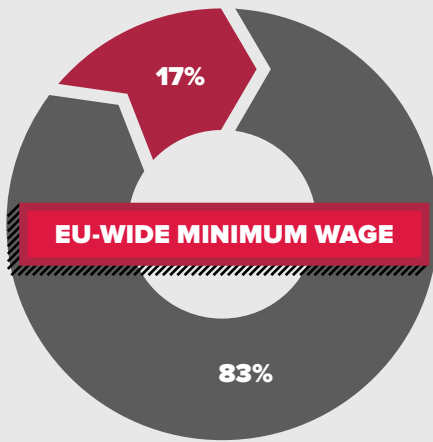
Support for EU involvement in the provision of unemployment benefits: occupational analysis.

	<b>'THE EU SHOULD ENSURE AND CONTRIBUTE TO FAIR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS'</b>	<b>'NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS, NOT THE EU, SHOULD OVERSEE BENEFITS FOR UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE'</b>
<b>EMPLOYED</b>	57%	43%
<b>STUDYING</b>	62%	38%
<b>NOT WORKING OR STUDYING</b>	64%	36%

Occupation is decisive. Millennials who are employed, despite still favouring European integration, are less inclined when compared to students and the unemployed.

Naturally, Millennials with jobs have less recent experience seeking unemployment benefits. And are perhaps less likely to understand the failings of national policies. Yet, this does not entirely explain their hesitance to embrace a European standard.





- **THE EU SHOULD NOT ENSURE A MINIMUM WAGE FOR EVERY-ONE WORKING IN THE EU**
- **THE EU SHOULD ENSURE A MINIMUM WAGE FOR EVERY-ONE WORKING IN THE EU**

While most EU countries do have minimum wage and income schemes, Millennials in our focus groups were quick to describe their failings.

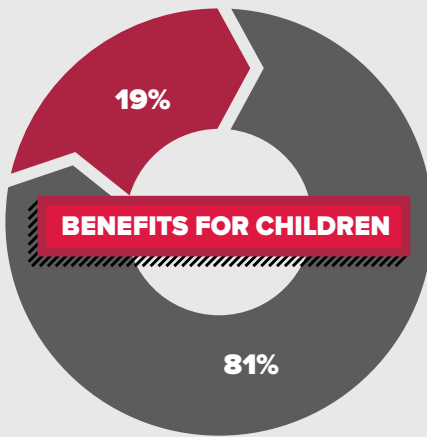
Having grown up in the recent global economic crisis, Millennials know all too well that having a job is not sufficient protection against poverty. Known as the ‘working poor’, more than 8% of European workers live with salaries that keep them below the poverty threshold.<sup>31</sup> As young workers, Millennials are more likely to take poor, minimum-wage jobs at the entry level.

Given their vulnerabilities, Millennials predictably want the EU to offer solutions to this challenge. An overwhelming 83% support the EU in setting a minimum wage for all workers.

With machine learning and other technologies replacing human labour, some argued it is the only way to guarantee people a decent standard of living. The idea of basic income is gaining in popularity in Europe with some surveys showing 68% support within the general population.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup>Eurofound, Working poor in Europe. European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 5 April 2010, retrieved 14 November 2018, <https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/publications/report/2010/working-poor-in-europe>

<sup>32</sup>Anisa Holmes, 31% of Europeans Want Basic Income as soon as Possible. Dalia Research, 3 May 2017, retrieved 16 November 2018, <https://daliaresearch.com/blog-31-of-europeans-want-basic-income-as-soon-as-possible/>



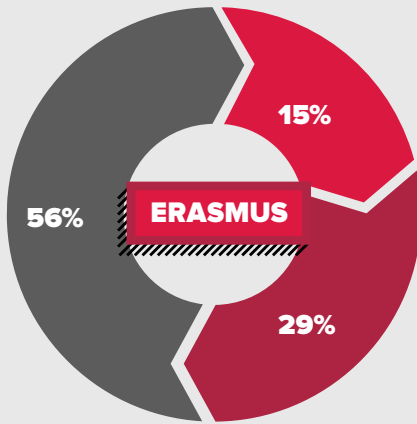
- **THE EU SHOULD NOT BE INVOLVED IN PROVIDING FINANCIAL BENEFITS/AID TO CHILDREN**
- **THE EU SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN PROVIDING FINANCIAL BENEFITS/AID TO CHILDREN**

National governments have traditionally been responsible for financial benefits and aid to vulnerable children. But the EU institutions are rethinking this approach with the European Pillar of Social Rights.

The European Commission has outlined policies to improve aid to vulnerable children and reduce inequalities in coverage among Member States. Calls have also been made to introduce a Child Guarantee policy to ensure in each country that children in poverty have access to a wide range of resources including free healthcare, education, childcare, and decent housing.<sup>33</sup>

Having grown up during the recent global economic crisis, Millennials we surveyed appeared highly sensitive to the plight of children in poverty. Over 80% believe the EU should be involved in their financial benefits and aid.

<sup>33</sup>S&D, Social Rights: Together for a Socially Just Europe. Retrieved 20 November 2018, <https://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/socialrights>



- ERASMUS PROGRAMMES SHOULD BE MORE AVAILABLE TO YOUNG WORKERS TO GAIN INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE
- THE CURRENT PROGRAMMES AVAILABLE FOR YOUNG WORKERS (E.G. ERASMUS FOR YOUNG ENTREPRENEURS) ARE ENOUGH
- ERASMUS SHOULD PRIORITISE STUDENTS AND THOSE IN TRAINING

Over the last 30 years, more than three million students have benefited from Erasmus educational exchanges throughout Europe. It is by far one of the EU's most popular programmes, especially among Millennials who are among its first beneficiaries.

Building on this success, the European Commission has proposed to double the number of young people participating in Erasmus by 2025.<sup>34</sup>

What kind of educational opportunities do Millennials think an expanded Erasmus should involve? Our survey showed that a majority (56%) want greater focus on worker exchanges, rather than on students and those in training (29%).

During focus groups, participants agreed that having a university degree is often not enough to secure a job. Instead of more classroom time, they advocated for more practical work experience. Especially for young people from low- and middle-class backgrounds who follow a less traditional educational path.

**‘ The model of vocational education works. It strengthens the educational path between work and academic studies. ’**

<sup>34</sup>European Commission, President Juncker at the Social Summit for Fair Jobs and Growth, 17 November 2017, retrieved 14 November 2018, [https://ec.europa.eu/commission/news/president-juncker-social-summit-fair-jobs-and-growth-2017-nov-17\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/commission/news/president-juncker-social-summit-fair-jobs-and-growth-2017-nov-17_en); Jan Bernas, S&Ds: the EU Parliament adopted a pro-European budget 2019. The Council must demonstrate its commitment to live up to the EU citizen's expectations. 24 October 2018, retrieved 19 November 2018, <https://www.socialistsanddemocrats.eu/newsroom/sds-eu-parliament-adopted-pro-european-budget-2019-council-must-demonstrate-its-commitment#contact>

**‘ People who don’t study in University shouldn’t be prevented from getting to know Europe too. ’**

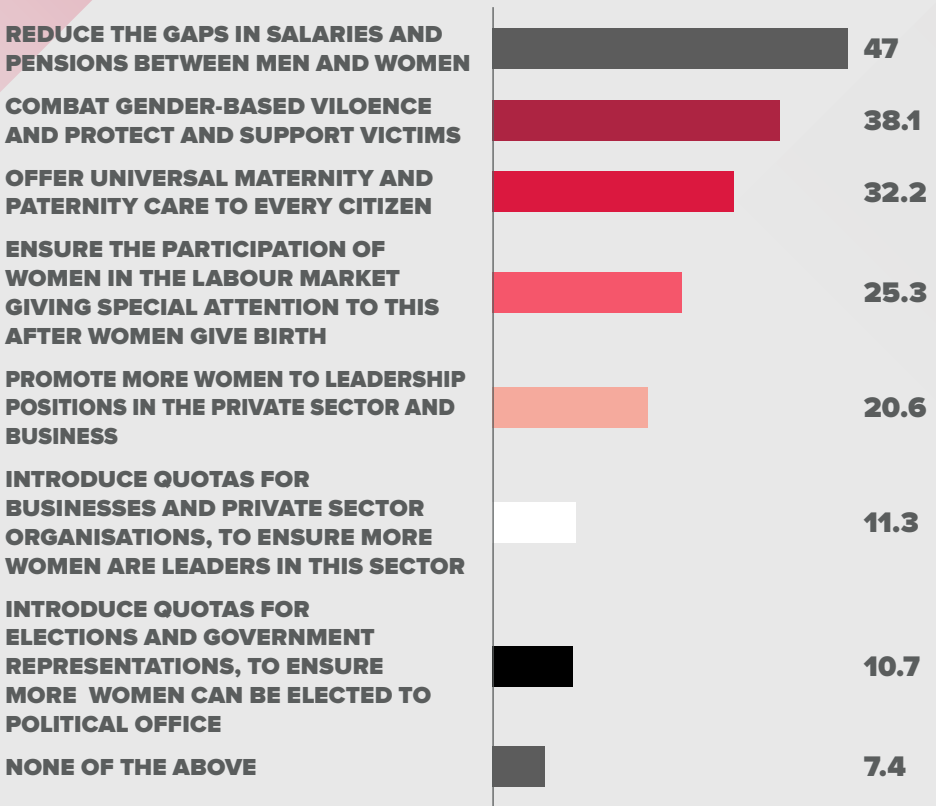
**Students vs. Workers**

	<b>ERASMUS SHOULD PRIORITISE STUDENTS AND THOSE IN TRAINING</b>	<b>ERASMUS PROGRAMMES SHOULD BE MORE AVAILABLE TO YOUNG WORKERS TO GAIN INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE</b>	<b>THE CURRENT PROGRAMMES AVAILABLE FOR YOUNG WORKERS (E.G. ERASMUS FOR YOUNG ENTREPRENEURS) ARE ENOUGH</b>
<b>BELGIUM</b>	26%	55%	19%
<b>FRANCE</b>	36%	49%	15.5%
<b>GERMANY</b>	30%	55%	15%
<b>GREECE</b>	59%	25%	16%
<b>HUNGARY</b>	19%	63%	18%
<b>ITALY</b>	45%	42%	13%
<b>POLAND</b>	24%	51%	25%
<b>PORTUGAL</b>	52%	19%	29%
<b>SPAIN</b>	48%	35%	17%
<b>SWEDEN</b>	41%	40%	19%

Interesting differences in opinion emerged between countries. Millennials in Hungary (63%), Germany (55%) and Belgium (55%) want Erasmus to be more open to workers. Whereas Millennials in Greece (59%) and Portugal (52%) prefer the programme to focus on students and those in training.

This divide may reflect the especially high unemployment rate in Southern Europe. Without jobs, many young people could not benefit from worker exchanges. This may explain why Millennials in the South favour the student and trainee exchanges.

**CHOOSE THE TWO BEST WAYS FOR THE EU TO IMPROVE GENDER EQUALITY IN EUROPE (%)**





“Equality is not about making women more like men, but about creating an environment where both sexes have equal choices and fully participate in social, work and family life”, said Věra Jourová, European Commissioner for Justice, Consumers and Gender Equality.<sup>35</sup> In an era of #MeToo, women and their allies across Europe are calling on government with fury to deliver on this promise, with campaigns on women and pensions, and equal pay to name a few.<sup>36</sup>

The EU has adopted many Directives to improve gender equality over the years, including with the European Pillar on Social Rights. But progress is still too slow.

What are the two best ways for the EU to improve gender equality? Millennials gave the top spot to reducing gaps in salaries and pensions.

Working women in Europe are understandably frustrated. In 2015, the female employment rate reached an all-time high of 64.5%. But women on average still receive less pay, earnings and pensions than their male counterparts. Millennials want the EU to say “Time’s Up” on the status quo and demand equality in the workplace.

Millennial’s second priority for the EU: combating sexual based violence and protecting and supporting victims. The #MeToo movement has increased awareness about the prevalence of sexual violence and the plight of victims, both men and women alike. Victims and their allies want more justice and accountability. They are demanding more support for their emotional and physical recovery. Our survey suggests Millennials are looking to the EU to blaze this path forward.

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<sup>35</sup>European Institute for Gender Equality, Gender Equality Index 2017: Progress at a snail’s pace. News Article, 11 October 2017, retrieved 14 November 2018, <https://eige.europa.eu/news-and-events/news/gender-equality-index-2017-progress-snails-pace>

<sup>36</sup>PES, Campaigns. Party of the European Socialists & Democrats, retrieved 19 November 2018, <https://www.pes.eu/en/pes-women/campaigns/>

The least popular remedies dealt with quotas for women leaders in business and government. This is a blow to the European Commission's recent push for a 40% quota for women on corporate boards.<sup>37</sup>

**‘ We cannot rely on people becoming more progressive and things developing on their own. Politics and legislation must take things into its own hands. ’**

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<sup>37</sup>Claire Zillman, The EU is Taking a Drastic Step to Put More Women on Corporate Boards. Fortune, 20 November 2017, retrieved 15 November 2018, <http://fortune.com/2017/11/20/women-on-boards-eu-gender-quota/>



**CHAPTER 4:  
WINDOW ON THE  
WORLD**

The world outside Europe's borders looks increasingly unstable and insecure. Violence continues to plague North Africa and the Middle East, sending refugees to Europe's doors. Terrorism and violent extremism know no borders, neither does climate change.

Russia has flagrantly challenged the European security order and continues to destabilise democratically elected governments. Feuds with the United States, once unthinkable, mount at a frenzied pace on matters from trade to defence.

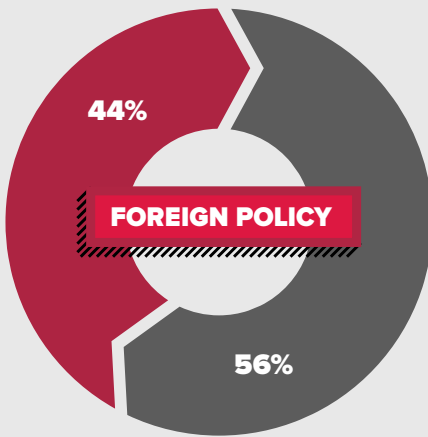
"None of our countries has the strength nor the resources to address these threats and seize the opportunities of our time alone. But as a Union of almost half a billion citizens, our potential is unparalleled", said Federica Mogherini, the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy.<sup>38</sup>

This 'stronger together' message has inspired Member State governments to cede increasing power to the EU over foreign affairs. In a fragile and rapidly globalising world, citizens too increasingly look to the EU for leadership on international affairs.

What do Millennials think about the EU's global role? How do they judge the EU's performance on the world stage? We asked all the tough questions on everything from migration and refugees to trade and climate change. This final window shows a view of Millennials that is not nearly as inward looking as popular culture might lead you to believe.

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<sup>38</sup>European Union Global Strategy, 'Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe'. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign And Security Policy, June 2016, p.3.



**● THE EU SHOULD NOT ACT AS THE SINGLE VOICE OF EUROPE ON THE WORLD STAGE. EACH COUNTRY SHOULD REPRESENT ITSELF**

**● THE EU SHOULD HAVE MORE POWERS TO REPRESENT EUROPE WITH A SINGLE VOICE ON THE WORLD STAGE**

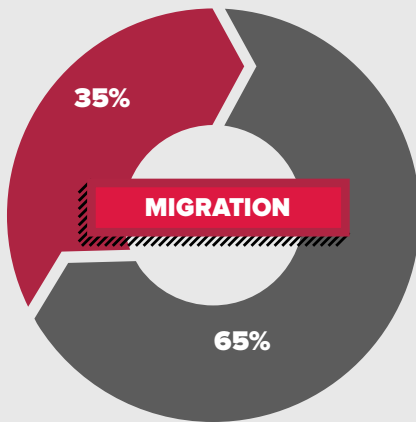
**‘ If European foreign policy functioned [well], then people who are now frustrated with the EU might see that it can deliver results. For example, if it successfully intervenes in a crisis. ’**

**‘ I’m critical of the EU’s “common voice”. Not everyone has the same opinion of the world. ’**

Should Member States cede more power to the EU on foreign policy matters? This question is at the very heart of the debate over the EU’s global role. Since the Lisbon Treaty, Member States have moved closer to embracing Brussels and the role of the European External Action Service (EEAS) in managing European foreign affairs.

The Millennials we surveyed appear to support this trend. Over half (56%) believe that the EU should have more powers to represent Europe with a single voice on the world stage.

Focus groups revealed some frustration with its performance so far, however. With better results, they believe it could inspire greater confidence in the EU. Among those critical of the EU’s foreign policy role, participants frequently questioned its ability to represent the diverse interests of Member States.



- **THE EU SHOULD FURTHER OPEN ITS BORDERS TO NON-EUROPEANS**
- **THE EU SHOULD FURTHER PROTECT ITS BORDERS TOWARDS NON-EUROPEANS**

For over four years, migrants at Europe’s shores have stoked a political crisis that has threatened to overwhelm the EU. Although the number of arrivals today is a fraction of 2015 figures, the issue has mobilised a wave of support for anti-immigrant political parties across the bloc.<sup>39</sup>

EU leaders are struggling to reform the asylum system and the EU’s overall immigration policy. The High Representative of the European Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy Federica Mogherini has described this crisis as putting ‘our identity to the test’.<sup>40</sup>

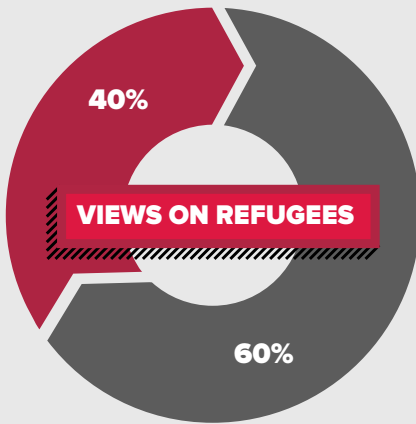
As anti-immigrant groups rise to power across Europe, negotiations are likely to grow even more complex.

How do Millennials feel about migration and the EU’s response? They have grown up in Europe’s melting pot of cultures and languages. They are the most racially and ethnically diverse in European history. As well as the most educated.

And yet, just 34% believe that the EU should further open its borders to non-Europeans. Instead, the majority (65%) want further protection at the external border of the EU with countries who are not Member States.

<sup>39</sup> Joanne Lu, The Number of Refugees and Migrants Coming to Europe is Now Dropping. Here’s Why. UN Dispatch, 11 January 2018, retrieved 15 November 2018, <https://www.undispatch.com/number-refugees-migrants-coming-europe-now-dropping-heres/>

<sup>40</sup> European Union External Action Service (EEAS), The refugee crisis puts our identity to the test – Federica Mogherini in the EP. 1 June 2016, retrieved 19 November 2018, [https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/2559/the-refugee-crisis-puts-our-identity-to-the-test—federica-mogherini-in-the-ep\\_en](https://eeas.europa.eu/headquarters/headquarters-homepage/2559/the-refugee-crisis-puts-our-identity-to-the-test—federica-mogherini-in-the-ep_en)



- **THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR REFUGEES TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE**
- **THE EU DOES ENOUGH FOR REFUGEES AND SHOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY MORE THAN WE ALREADY DO**

Not all migrants are refugees. Refugees are people who are forced to flee their homes. Economic migrants often have a choice.

A majority of people in several European countries say they support taking in refugees who are fleeing violence and war, according to a Pew Research Center survey.<sup>41</sup> However, most people in these countries disapprove of the way the EU has dealt with the refugee issue.

What do Millennials think?

The majority (60%) think the EU is already doing enough and should not accept any more refugees. Only 40% think the EU should make it easier for refugees to live and work in Europe.

There was widespread agreement in focus groups that the EU and national governments alike can do better to manage the refugee crisis. Some described the moral obligation to support refugees, and frustration with leaders who are bullied by anti-immigrant groups into taking hard-line positions.

<sup>41</sup> Philip Connor, A Majority of European favour taking in refugees, but most disapprove of EU's handling of the issue. Pew Research Center, 19 September 2018, retrieved 15 November 2018, <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/09/19/a-majority-of-europeans-favor-taking-in-refugees-but-most-disapprove-of-eus-handling-of-the-issue/>



**‘ I do not think we should refrain from asylum policies [in Germany] just because more people will join Alternative for Germany [AfD] party. This shouldn’t stop us from accepting more refugees. ’**

**‘ I honestly think Sweden has the resources to accept refugees, for sure, but it hasn’t been handled well. ’**

**‘ We need a better European migration policy, so that refugees can have a real chance at a future. ’**

### National Views on Refugees

	<b>THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR REFUGEES TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE</b>	<b>THE EU DOES ENOUGH FOR REFUGEES AND SHOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY MORE THAN WE ALREADY DO</b>
<b>BELGIUM</b>	34%	66%
<b>FRANCE</b>	44%	56%
<b>GERMANY</b>	40%	60%
<b>GREECE</b>	48.5%	51.5%
<b>HUNGARY</b>	16%	84%
<b>ITALY</b>	47%	53%
<b>POLAND</b>	13%	87%
<b>PORTUGAL</b>	52%	48%
<b>SPAIN</b>	54%	46%
<b>SWEDEN</b>	47%	53%



A high percentage of Millennials in Southern European countries, notably Spain and Portugal, believe that the EU should make it easier for refugees to live and work in Europe.

In focus groups, participants described the need for leaders to cut through the misinformation and hysteria in the media with real facts and information about Europe's refugee plan.

**‘ People are afraid of migration because they are not well informed ’**

**‘ More information could avoid this extremism, radicalism, and xenophobia. ’**

Reflecting the anti-immigrant mood in their countries, 84% of Millennials in Hungary and 87% in Poland do not want the EU to accept more refugees. Focus groups revealed a frustration with the EU's leadership role and style, while also sympathy for the plight of refugees.

**‘ The EU’s decision to re-locate refugees here was imposed on us. Taken outside of Poland, without considering our voice ’**

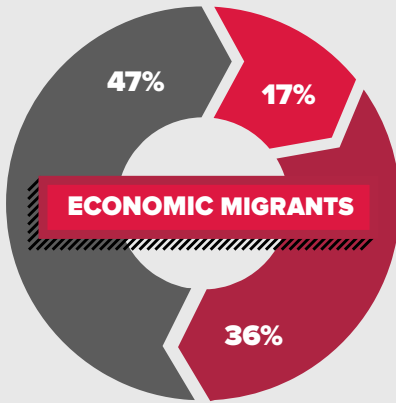
**‘ We cannot sink “the ships” that come to us [in Poland], we must accept these people ’**

### **Age Group Views on Refugees**

<b>AGE GROUP</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR REFUGEES TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE</b>	<b>THE EU DOES ENOUGH FOR REFUGEES AND SHOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY MORE THAN WE ALREADY DO</b>
<b>18-26</b>	45%	55%
<b>27-35</b>	35%	65%

Age also reveals differences in opinion. Millennials between 18 and 26 are more in favour of making it easier for refugees to live and work in the EU than those aged 27 to 35.

Older Millennials (65%) are also more inclined to believe that the EU does enough for refugees and should not accept more.



Economic migrants who come seeking opportunities make up a considerable number of the people flows into Europe. If they are fleeing persecution and violence, they can claim asylum. Otherwise, they must apply to live and work in Europe like anyone else. But many choose to enter.

Critics of economic migrants argue that they unfairly take jobs, drain taxpayer resources and represent a security threat among other concerns. Supporters believe that they fill critical labour shortages and make Europe a more vibrant, multi-cultural society. Regardless of individual perceptions, viewing migration from a single-sided perspective reinforces the 'us versus them outlook', with information being manip-

- **THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR ECONOMIC MIGRANTS TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE**
- **THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR ECONOMIC MIGRANTS TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE**
- **THE EU'S CURRENT MIGRATION POLICIES ARE WORKING WELL**

ulated or misrepresented.<sup>42</sup> Understanding and accommodating different perspectives is therefore important to forge a more inclusive response to the reality of migration.

What do Millennials think? Should the EU embrace or reject economic migrants?

On this matter, Millennials proved more balanced. About 36% support making it easier for economic migrants to live and work in Europe. A surprising 17% even think the current EU migration policies work well.

Less than half (46%) hold the more critical view that the EU should make it more difficult for economic migrants to live and work in Europe.

<sup>42</sup>FEPS, 'UNited for a Different Migration: 10 Points of Reference for a Progressive Narrative on Migration. FEPS Global Migration Group.

Overall, the data suggests that Millennials appear slightly more willing to accept refugees over economic migrants.

Some in focus groups want the EU to counter the idealistic and unrealistic view of Europe that drives so many economic migrants to make the treacherous journey to its shores.

**‘ Economic migrants want to come here because they’re looking for a better place to live. They perceive Europe as the perfect place. ’**

**National Views on Economic Migrants**

	<b>THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR ECONOMIC MIGRANTS TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR ECONOMIC MIGRANTS TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE</b>	<b>THE EU’S CURRENT MIGRATION POLICIES ARE WORKING WELL</b>
<b>BELGIUM</b>	26%	55%	19%
<b>FRANCE</b>	36%	49%	15%
<b>GERMANY</b>	30%	55%	15%
<b>GREECE</b>	59%	25%	16%
<b>HUNGARY</b>	19%	63%	18%
<b>ITALY</b>	45%	42%	13%
<b>POLAND</b>	24%	51%	25%
<b>PORTUGAL</b>	52%	19%	29%
<b>SPAIN</b>	48%	35%	17%
<b>SWEDEN</b>	41%	40%	19%

At the country level, Millennials in Greece emerged particularly supportive of economic migration (59%). With so many young Greeks fleeing unemployment at home for more prosperous EU countries, they are potentially a more sympathetic group.

Millennials in Hungary (63%), Belgium (55%) and Poland (51%) hold the top spots for the more critical view on economic migration.

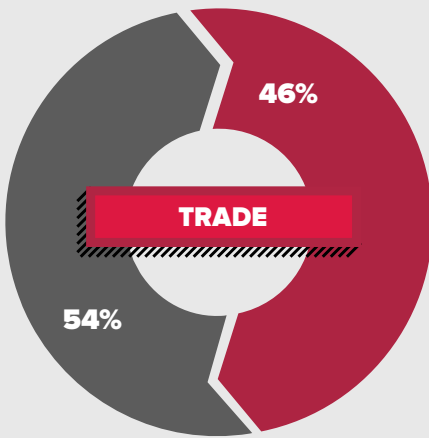
Across countries, only between one in ten and three in ten Millennials believe the EU's current migration policies are working well.

### Age Group Views on Economic Migrants

AGE GROUP	THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR ECONOMIC MIGRANTS TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE	THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR ECONOMIC MIGRANTS TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE	THE EU'S CURRENT MIGRATION POLICIES ARE WORKING WELL
<b>18-26</b>	40%	41%	20%
<b>27-35</b>	34%	51%	15%

Similar to the results we saw for refugees, the data shows younger Millennials aged 18 to 26 are more sympathetic to economic migrants than their older counterparts, aged 27 to 35.

Just over half of older Millennials think the EU should make it more difficult for economic migrants compared to younger Millennials (41%).



- **THE EU SHOULD FURTHER PROTECT EUROPEAN PRODUCERS FROM COMPETITION BY NON-EUROPEAN COMPANIES**
- **THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR EUROPEANS TO BUY PRODUCTS PRODUCED IN NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES**

The EU is the largest economy in the world and the largest trading block.<sup>43</sup> It has achieved this strong position by acting together with one voice on the global stage, rather than with 28 separate trade strategies.

The trade deals that the EU has negotiated have made it easier today for Europeans to produce, buy and sell goods around the world than ever before in history. Yet, these same deals have also led Europeans to lose jobs, especially in manufacturing, and deepened some trade deficits.

Populist parties have risen to power with the promise of greater protection from globalisation and its discontent. ‘Take back control’ of everything from trade to foreign affairs has become a frequent rallying cry.<sup>44</sup>

Rather than shrink back, however, EU leaders are energetically seeking new or upgraded deals for Europe. Their defence of free trade becoming more strident in response to US President Trump’s protectionist measures.

<sup>43</sup>European Commission, EU position in world trade. 2 October 2014, retrieved 15 November 2018, <http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/eu-position-in-world-trade/>

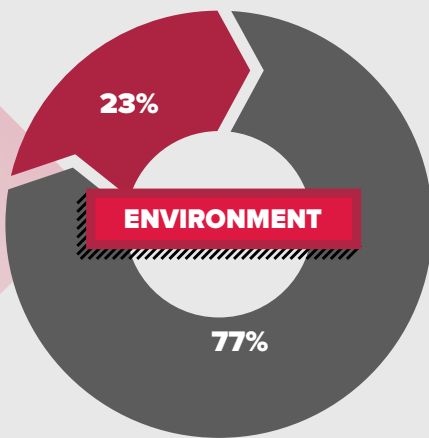
<sup>44</sup>Paul Taylor, Brexit – When taking back control means giving up control. Politico 9 December 2017, retrieved 16 November 2018, <https://www.politico.eu/article/brexit-taking-back-control-united-kingdom-giving-up-control/>



Do Millennials want the EU to promote free trade? Or put on the brakes?

We found that Millennials are just about split; 54% favour further protections for European producers from competition by non-European companies,

The EU has some of the world's highest environmental standards. It is a world leader on climate change, passing ambitious regulations to reduce domestic greenhouse gas emissions by at least 40% by 2030, compared to 1990 levels.<sup>45</sup> If realised, the EU's recent Circular Economy



- **EU INSTITUTIONS ARE NOT DOING ENOUGH TO FIGHT CLIMATE CHANGE AND PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT**
- **EU INSTITUTIONS ARE DOING ENOUGH TO FIGHT CLIMATE CHANGE AND PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT**

and 46% believe the EU should make it easier for Europeans to buy products produced in non-European countries.

Package will transform waste management and recycling throughout the Union.<sup>46</sup>

Where other countries have failed to act on the environment, the EU has taken a stand. And yet Millennials are clearly unsatisfied with the EU's performance: 77% believe it is not

<sup>45</sup>European Commission, Climate strategies & targets. Retrieved 15 November, [https://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/strategies\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/strategies_en)

<sup>46</sup>European Commission, Circular Economy: 2018 Circular Economy Package. 23 July 2018, retrieved 15 November 2018, [http://ec.europa.eu/environment/circular-economy/index\\_en.htm](http://ec.europa.eu/environment/circular-economy/index_en.htm)

doing enough to fight climate change and protect the environment. Millennials appear to want ‘real’ policy action at the European level. Some even went so far as to suggest a special European court to defend and protect the environment.

**‘ The EU must make progress on climate protection... so far it is more appearance than substance. ’**

**‘ Just as there is a European Court of Human Rights, there should exist a court just for the environment. ’**





**CONCLUSION**

With the European elections ahead, 2019 will inevitably be a 'year of change' for Europe. Will Millennial voices be heard? Will Europe's leaders listen?

The four windows presented in this landmark research offer more than just windows into Millennial views. They are windows of opportunity for engagement. For dialogue. For real and lasting change in the way Millennials relate to the EU.

### **1. Window on democracy**

It is a win for Europe that 80% of Millennials believe in the value of the EU. Now, European leaders need to win their trust, restoring confidence in the EU's legitimacy and credibility. Millennials do not want more white papers and speeches. Especially not when some Member States are brazenly defying EU leaders and law.

Millennials want to see action. Action on the issues they care about. Action they can touch and feel in their own communities. They are even willing to cede new power to the EU if it means delivering results. Improving the economy is on the top of their 'to do' list, and they want a greater say on how 'it' is done.



## 2. Window on integration

The preamble of the EU's founding treaty makes 'ever closer union' a goal of the EU. While a surprising majority of Millennials are willing to become 'ever closer' on defense by building the first EU army, integration still provokes significant scepticism and anxiety among them.

With so many different national histories and cultures, many question whether deeper integration is possible or even desirable. A troubling number believe that more Member States will leave the EU à la Brexit in the near future. If the EU can improve European prosperity – across ALL, not just some countries – the prospect of an 'ever closer Union' looks better from their view.

### 3. Window on society

While Member States have vigorously stood guard over their social policies, Millennials appear open to greater EU authority over this coveted sphere of public life. With chronic unemployment and the digital economy transforming entire classes of jobs, proposals for EU-wide unemployment benefits and a minimum wage have Millennials interested.

If it means improving gender equality, they are even willing for the EU to engage in policy surrounding salaries and pensions... Sacrosanct areas for national governments. Upending convention again, they favour expanding Erasmus with more exchanges for workers instead of for students and trainees.

**EUROPE,**



# ARE YOU LISTENING?

## 4. Window on the world

In an increasingly unstable and insecure world, Millennials appear to support the notion that EU countries are 'stronger together'. A clear majority want the EU to have more power to represent Europe on the world stage. On foreign trade, they want the EU to defend their interests. On the environment, they implore the EU to step up.

All this support, even when EU leaders have so thoroughly frustrated and disappointed them in response to the migration and refugee crisis. Millennials appear to want to give the EU the benefit of the doubt. Rather than abandon the European project, our research suggests they want to see the EU live up to its potential.



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## Frequency Tables

Did you vote in the 2014 European Parliament elections?

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>YES</b>	5724	56.3	59.9	59.9
	<b>NO</b>	2100	20.7	22.0	81.0
	<b>NO, I WASN'T ELIGIBLE TO VOTE</b>	1726	17.0	18.1	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	9549	94.0	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T KNOW</b>	473	4.7		
	<b>I DON'T WANT TO ANSWER</b>	138	1.4		
	<b>TOTAL</b>	611	6.0		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

Are you aware that the next European Parliamentary elections will be held in 2019?

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>YES</b>	6957	68.5	68.5	68.5
	<b>NO</b>	3203	31.5	31.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

Do you intend to cast a vote in the 2019 European Parliamentary elections?

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>I WILL VOTE</b>	7761	76.4	89.7	89.7
	<b>DON'T INTENDED TO VOTE</b>	666	6.6	7.7	97.4
	<b>I'M NOT ELIGIBLE TO VOTE</b>	224	2.2	2.6	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8650	85.1	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NOT SURE / I DON'T KNOW</b>	1509	14.9		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

To what extent are you well informed on the following topics?  
How the voting system for European Parliament elections works

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY UNINFORMED</b>	1248	12.3	12.3	12.3
	<b>MOSTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1322	13.0	13.0	25.3
	<b>SLIGHTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1650	16.2	16.2	41.5
<b>NEITHER INFORMED NOR UNINFORMED</b>	<b>COMPLETELY INFORMED</b>	1469	14.5	14.5	56.0
	<b>SLIGHTLY INFORMED</b>	2421	23.8	23.8	79.8
	<b>MOSTLY INFORMED</b>	1571	15.5	15.5	95.3
	<b>COMPLETELY INFORMED</b>	478	4.7	4.7	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent are you well informed on the following topics? -  
The political groups of the European Parliament (EPP, S&D, ALDE, ECR, etc.) and their priorities

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY UNINFORMED</b>	2045	20.1	20.1	20.1
	<b>MOSTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1689	16.6	16.6	36.7
	<b>SLIGHTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1961	19.3	19.3	56.1
<b>NEITHER INFORMED NOR UNINFORMED</b>	<b>COMPLETELY INFORMED</b>	1415	13.9	13.9	70.0
	<b>SLIGHTLY INFORMED</b>	1826	18.0	18.0	88.0
	<b>MOSTLY INFORMED</b>	954	9.4	9.4	97.3
	<b>COMPLETELY INFORMED</b>	270	2.7	2.7	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	



To what extent are you well informed on the following topics? -  
How the EU makes laws and policies

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID COMPLETELY UNINFORMED</b>	1218	12.0	12.0	12.0
<b>MOSTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1346	13.3	13.3	25.2
<b>SLIGHTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1656	16.3	16.3	41.5
<b>NEITHER INFORMED NOR UNINFORMED</b>	1422	14.0	14.0	55.5
<b>SLIGHTLY INFORMED</b>	2619	25.8	25.8	81.3
<b>MOSTLY INFORMED</b>	1524	15.0	15.0	96.3
<b>COMPLETELY INFORMED</b>	375	3.7	3.7	100.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent are you well informed on the following topics? -  
How EU legislation works and is implemented

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID COMPLETELY UNINFORMED</b>	1340	13.2	13.2	13.2
<b>MOSTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1338	13.2	13.2	26.4
<b>SLIGHTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1666	16.4	16.4	42.8
<b>NEITHER INFORMED NOR UNINFORMED</b>	1417	13.9	13.9	56.7
<b>SLIGHTLY INFORMED</b>	2595	25.5	25.5	82.2
<b>MOSTLY INFORMED</b>	1410	13.9	13.9	96.1
<b>COMPLETELY INFORMED</b>	393	3.9	3.9	100.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent are you well informed on the following topics? -  
The priorities of the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY UNINFORMED</b>	2205	21.7	21.7	21.7
	<b>MOSTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1627	16.0	16.0	37.7
	<b>SLIGHTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1825	18.0	18.0	55.7
<b>NEITHER INFORMED NOR UNINFORMED</b>	<b>SLIGHTLY INFORMED</b>	1479	14.6	14.6	70.2
	<b>MOSTLY INFORMED</b>	1846	18.2	18.2	88.4
	<b>COMPLETELY INFORMED</b>	922	9.1	9.1	97.5
	<b>COMPLETELY INFORMED</b>	257	2.5	2.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent are you well informed on the following topics? -  
The role and work of charities and other civil society organisations at the EU level

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY UNINFORMED</b>	1466	14.4	14.4	14.4
	<b>MOSTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1548	15.2	15.2	29.7
	<b>SLIGHTLY UNINFORMED</b>	1780	17.5	17.5	47.2
<b>NEITHER INFORMED NOR UNINFORMED</b>	<b>SLIGHTLY INFORMED</b>	1619	15.9	15.9	63.1
	<b>MOSTLY INFORMED</b>	2339	23.0	23.0	86.1
	<b>COMPLETELY INFORMED</b>	1095	10.8	10.8	96.9
	<b>COMPLETELY INFORMED</b>	313	3.1	3.1	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

Our politics are often defined by ‘left’ and ‘right’. In general, where do you place yourself on this spectrum?

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>FAR LEFT</b>	504	5.0	5.9	5.9
	<b>CENTRE LEFT</b>	2298	22.6	26.8	32.7
	<b>CENTRE</b>	1928	19.0	22.5	55.2
	<b>CENTRE RIGHT</b>	1955	19.2	22.8	78.0
	<b>FAR RIGHT</b>	657	6.5	7.7	85.7
	<b>NOT SURE</b>	1224	12.0	14.3	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8567	84.3	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NONE OF THE ABOVE</b>	927	9.1		
	<b>I DON'T WANT TO ANSWER</b>	666	6.6		
	<b>TOTAL</b>	1593	15.7		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on voting and elections? - Voting in elections makes a difference

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	1002	9.9	9.9	9.9
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	599	5.9	5.9	15.8
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	969	9.5	9.5	25.3
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	1435	14.1	14.1	39.4
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2074	20.4	20.4	59.8
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1895	18.6	18.6	78.5
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	2186	21.5	21.5	100.0
<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0		

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on voting and elections? - Not voting is neglecting my duty as a citizen

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	623	6.1	6.1	6.1
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	412	4.1	4.1	10.2
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	637	6.3	6.3	16.5
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	1335	13.1	13.1	29.6
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2001	19.7	19.7	49.3
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1910	18.8	18.8	68.1
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	3242	31.9	31.9	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on voting and elections? - I'm interested in the politics of my country

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>		403	4.0	4.0	4.0
	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	421	4.1	4.1	8.1
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	678	6.7	6.7	14.8
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	1478	14.6	14.6	29.3
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	2683	26.4	26.4	55.7
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2322	22.9	22.9	78.6
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	2175	21.4	21.4	100.0
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	
<b>TOTAL</b>					

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on voting and elections? - I'm interested in European politics

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	688	6.8	6.8	6.8
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	658	6.5	6.5	13.2
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	1076	10.6	10.6	23.8
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	2101	20.7	20.7	44.5
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2904	28.6	28.6	73.1
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1701	16.7	16.7	89.8
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	1032	10.2	10.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on voting and elections? - Charities, campaigners and pressure groups play an important role in democracies

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	381	3.7	3.7	3.7
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	474	4.7	4.7	8.4
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	865	8.5	8.5	16.9
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	2396	23.6	23.6	40.5
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	3010	29.6	29.6	70.1
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1957	19.3	19.3	89.4
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	1077	10.6	10.6	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on voting and elections? - Demonstrations, strikes and protests are an effective way of challenging governments

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	586	5.8	5.8	5.8
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	661	6.5	6.5	12.3
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	1133	11.1	11.1	23.4
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	2127	20.9	20.9	44.4
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2716	26.7	26.7	71.1
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1800	17.7	17.7	88.8
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	1138	11.2	11.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and their role in society? - I trust Members of the European Parliament to make the best decisions for Europe

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	1355	13.3	13.3	13.3
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	1087	10.7	10.7	24.0
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	1639	16.1	16.1	40.2
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	2526	24.9	24.9	65.0
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2094	20.6	20.6	85.6
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1017	10.0	10.0	95.6
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	443	4.4	4.4	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and their role in society? - I trust our national politicians to make the best decisions for my country

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	2006	19.7	19.7	19.7
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	1281	12.6	12.6	32.4
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	1773	17.5	17.5	49.8
<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>		2055	20.2	20.2	70.0
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	1793	17.7	17.7	87.7
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	826	8.1	8.1	95.8
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	425	4.2	4.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and their role in society? - Politicians and political parties don't care about the needs and opinions of young people

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	404	4.0	4.0	4.0
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	552	5.4	5.4	9.4
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	1282	12.6	12.6	22.0
<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>		2282	22.5	22.5	44.5
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2631	25.9	25.9	70.4
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1618	15.9	15.9	86.3
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	1390	13.7	13.7	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	



To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and their role in society? - Politicians prioritise the needs of older people above younger people

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	1033	10.2	10.2	10.2
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	837	8.2	8.2	18.4
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	1707	16.8	16.8	35.2
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	3427	33.7	33.7	68.9
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	1708	16.8	16.8	85.8
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	942	9.3	9.3	95.0
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	506	5.0	5.0	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and the way they represent... - Politicians are the most suitable actors to make important decisions for the people

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	1501	14.8	14.8	14.8
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	1037	10.2	10.2	25.0
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	2028	20.0	20.0	44.9
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	2701	26.6	26.6	71.5
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	1702	16.8	16.8	88.3
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	792	7.8	7.8	96.1
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	399	3.9	3.9	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and the way they represent... - I would rather be represented by a citizen like me than by politicians

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	389	3.8	3.8	3.8
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	427	4.2	4.2	8.0
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	865	8.5	8.5	16.5
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	2294	22.6	22.6	39.1
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2335	23.0	23.0	62.1
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1818	17.9	17.9	80.0
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	2033	20.0	20.0	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and the way they represent... - Elected officials talk too much and take too little action

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	196	1.9	1.9	1.9
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	287	2.8	2.8	4.8
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	483	4.8	4.8	9.5
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	1546	15.2	15.2	24.7
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2490	24.5	24.5	49.2
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	2311	22.7	22.7	72.0
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	2846	28.0	28.0	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and the way they represent... - In a democracy it is important to make compromises on different views

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	186	1.8	1.8	1.8
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	228	2.2	2.2	4.1
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	484	4.8	4.8	8.8
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	1829	18.0	18.0	26.8
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	3221	31.7	31.7	58.5
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	2491	24.5	24.5	83.1
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	1721	16.9	16.9	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and the way they represent... - Politicians should lead rather than follow the people

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	1196	11.8	11.8	11.8
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	898	8.8	8.8	20.6
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	1601	15.8	15.8	36.4
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	2679	26.4	26.4	62.7
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	1726	17.0	17.0	79.7
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1250	12.3	12.3	92.0
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	810	8.0	8.0	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and the way they represent... - Today's politicians are not representing the people

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	244	2.4	2.4	2.4
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	352	3.5	3.5	5.9
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	874	8.6	8.6	14.5
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	1991	19.6	19.6	34.1
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2394	23.6	23.6	57.6
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1899	18.7	18.7	76.3
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	2406	23.7	23.7	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and the way they represent... - Better decisions would be made if experts, instead of politicians, made them

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	270	2.7	2.7	2.7
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	288	2.8	2.8	5.5
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	679	6.7	6.7	12.2
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	2227	21.9	21.9	34.1
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2745	27.0	27.0	61.1
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	2102	20.7	20.7	81.8
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	1848	18.2	18.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and the way they represent... - New political parties are more attentive to the needs of citizens like me, than older ones

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>COMPLETELY DISAGREE</b>	977	9.6	9.6	9.6
	<b>MOSTLY DISAGREE</b>	811	8.0	8.0	17.6
	<b>SLIGHTLY DISAGREE</b>	1302	12.8	12.8	30.4
	<b>NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE</b>	3229	31.8	31.8	62.2
	<b>SLIGHTLY AGREE</b>	2154	21.2	21.2	83.4
	<b>MOSTLY AGREE</b>	1124	11.1	11.1	94.5
	<b>COMPLETELY AGREE</b>	563	5.5	5.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	10160	100.0	100.0	

In general, do you believe in the value of the European Union?

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>YES</b>	6813	67.1	79.8	79.8
	<b>NO</b>	1727	17.0	20.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8541	84.1	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW</b>	1619	15.9		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

Are you proud of either your national identity or your European identity?

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>PROUD OF BOTH NATIONAL AND EUROPEAN IDENTITY</b>	3948	38.9	41.5	41.5
	<b>PROUD OF NATIONAL IDENTITY</b>	2924	28.8	30.8	72.3
	<b>PROUD OF EUROPEAN IDENTITY</b>	1472	14.5	15.5	87.8
	<b>NOT PROUD OF EITHER</b>	1159	11.4	12.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	9503	93.5	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW</b>	657	6.5		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

In general, in your opinion, is the European Union heading in the right or wrong direction?

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>RIGHT DIRECTION</b>	3232	31.8	46.5	46.5
	<b>WRONG DIRECTION</b>	3723	36.6	53.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	6955	68.5	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW</b>	3205	31.5		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

People have many different opinions about Europe and the European Union. Pairs of statements will be presented below. Please choose the statement you agree with most.

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>POLITICIANS NEED TO BETTER COMMUNICATE TO CITIZENS WHAT THE EU IS DOING AND HOW IT IMPACTS DAILY LIFE</b>	8156	80.3	89.5	89.5
	<b>POLITICIANS SPEND ENOUGH TIME COMMUNICATING TO CITIZENS ABOUT THE EU AND ITS IMPACT ON DAILY LIFE</b>	959	9.4	10.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	9116	89.7	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1044	10.3		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

People have many different opinions about Europe and the European Union. Pairs of statements will be presented below. Please choose the statement you agree with most.

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>EU INSTITUTIONS ARE NOT DOING ENOUGH TO FIGHT CLIMATE CHANGE AND PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT</b>	6715	66.1	76.5	76.5
	<b>EU INSTITUTIONS ARE DOING ENOUGH TO FIGHT CLIMATE CHANGE AND PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT</b>	2068	20.4	23.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8783	86.4	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1377	13.6		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD HAVE MORE POWERS TO REPRESENT EUROPE WITH A SINGLE VOICE ON THE WORLD STAGE</b>	4775	47.0	55.8	55.8
	<b>THE EU SHOULD NOT ACT AS THE SINGLE VOICE OF EUROPE ON THE WORLD STAGE. EACH COUNTRY SHOULD REPRESENT ITSELF</b>	3784	37.2	44.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8558	84.2	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1602	15.8		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

People have many different opinions about Europe and the European Union. Pairs of statements will be presented below. Please choose the statement you agree with most.

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD HAVE STRONGER POWERS TO CHALLENGE AND PREVENT MEMBER STATES FROM BREAKING EU LAWS</b>	5472	53.9	65.5	65.5
	<b>THE EU HAS JUST ENOUGH POWER OVER MEMBER STATES</b>	2876	28.3	34.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8348	82.2	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1812	17.8		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>EUROPEAN CITIZENS SHOULD BE ABLE TO HAVE MORE CONTROL OVER THE ECONOMIC DECISIONS THAT EU INSTITUTIONS TAKE</b>	7007	69.0	81.8	81.8
	<b>EUROPEAN CITIZENS HAVE ENOUGH CONTROL OVER THE ECONOMIC DECISIONS THAT EU INSTITUTIONS TAKE</b>	1563	15.4	18.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8570	84.3	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1590	15.7		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		



People have many different opinions about Europe and the European Union. Pairs of statements will be presented below. Please choose the statement you agree with most.

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>EU INSTITUTIONS ARE NOT DOING ENOUGH TO FIGHT CLIMATE CHANGE AND PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT</b>	6715	66.1	76.5	76.5
	<b>EU INSTITUTIONS ARE DOING ENOUGH TO FIGHT CLIMATE CHANGE AND PROTECT THE ENVIRONMENT</b>	2068	20.4	23.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8783	86.4	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1377	13.6		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD HAVE MORE POWERS TO REPRESENT EUROPE WITH A SINGLE VOICE ON THE WORLD STAGE</b>	4775	47.0	55.8	55.8
	<b>THE EU SHOULD NOT ACT AS THE SINGLE VOICE OF EUROPE ON THE WORLD STAGE. EACH COUNTRY SHOULD REPRESENT ITSELF</b>	3784	37.2	44.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8558	84.2	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1602	15.8		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD HAVE STRONGER POWERS TO CHALLENGE AND PREVENT MEMBER STATES FROM BREAKING EU LAWS</b>	5472	53.9	65.5	65.5
	<b>THE EU HAS JUST ENOUGH POWER OVER MEMBER STATES</b>	2876	28.3	34.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8348	82.2	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1812	17.8		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>EUROPEAN CITIZENS SHOULD BE ABLE TO HAVE MORE CONTROL OVER THE ECONOMIC DECISIONS THAT EU INSTITUTIONS TAKE</b>	7007	69.0	81.8	81.8
	<b>EUROPEAN CITIZENS HAVE ENOUGH CONTROL OVER THE ECONOMIC DECISIONS THAT EU INSTITUTIONS TAKE</b>	1563	15.4	18.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8570	84.3	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1590	15.7		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

People have many different opinions about Europe and the European Union. Pairs of statements will be presented below. Please choose the statement you agree with most.

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>BETTER-OFF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES SHOULD CONTRIBUTE MORE TO FINANCIALLY SUPPORT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES GOING THROUGH...</b>	5140	50.6	60.9	60.9
	<b>BETTER-OFF EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CONTRIBUTE ENOUGH TO FINANCIALLY SUPPORT EUROPEAN COUNTRIES GOING THROUGH...</b>	3298	32.5	39.1	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8439	83.1	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1721	16.9		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>ALL EU COUNTRIES SHOULD MERGE THEIR ARMIES INTO A SINGLE EUROPEAN ARMY</b>	4406	43.4	54.7	54.7
	<b>EU COUNTRIES SHOULDN'T MERGE THEIR ARMIES</b>	3651	35.9	45.3	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8056	79.3	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	2103	20.7		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD ENSURE A MINIMUM WAGE FOR EVERYONE WORKING IN THE EU</b>	7332	72.2	82.6	82.6
	<b>THE EU SHOULD NOT ENSURE A MINIMUM WAGE FOR EVERYONE WORKING IN THE EU</b>	1549	15.2	17.4	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8881	87.4	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1279	12.6		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD ENSURE AND CONTRIBUTE TO FAIR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS FOR ALL EUROPEANS</b>	5245	51.6	58.9	58.9
	<b>NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS, NOT THE EU, SHOULD OVERSEE BENEFITS FOR UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE</b>	3653	36.0	41.1	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8898	87.6	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1262	12.4		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

People have many different opinions about Europe and the European Union. Pairs of statements will be presented below. Please choose the statement you agree with most.

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD BE INVOLVED IN PROVIDING FINANCIAL BENEFITS/AID TO CHILDREN</b>	6935	68.3	80.7	80.7
	<b>THE EU SHOULD NOT BE INVOLVED IN PROVIDING FINANCIAL BENEFITS/AID TO CHILDREN</b>	1661	16.3	19.3	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8596	84.6	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1564	15.4		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD INVOLVE AND EMPOWER MORE YOUNG PEOPLE IN EUROPEAN PUBLIC AFFAIRS</b>	7262	71.5	84.7	84.7
	<b>THE EU IS DOING ENOUGH TO ENGAGE MORE YOUNG PEOPLE IN EUROPEAN PUBLIC AFFAIRS</b>	1312	12.9	15.3	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8574	84.4	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1586	15.6		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD FURTHER OPEN ITS BORDERS TO NON-EUROPEANS</b>	2920	28.7	34.5	34.5
	<b>THE EU SHOULD FURTHER PROTECT ITS BORDERS TOWARDS NON-EUROPEANS</b>	5535	54.5	65.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8455	83.2	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1705	16.8		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR EUROPEANS TO BUY PRODUCTS PRODUCED IN NON-EUROPEAN COUNTRIES</b>	3845	37.8	45.5	45.5
	<b>THE EU SHOULD FURTHER PROTECT EUROPEAN PRODUCERS FROM COMPETITION BY NON-EUROPEAN COMPANIES</b>	4613	45.4	54.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8458	83.3	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1702	16.7		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

How would you prefer to see your country's government relationship with the European Union?

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>SUPPORTING AND REINFORCING COMMON EU POLICIES AND PRIORITIES</b>	2364	23.3	28.2	28.2
	<b>STANDING UP FOR YOUR COUNTRY'S NATIONAL PRIORITIES IN THE EU CONTEXT</b>	2457	24.2	29.3	57.5
	<b>WORKING CLOSER TOGETHER ON SOME ISSUES, BUT CONSTRUCTIVELY DISAGREEING ON OTHERS</b>	3563	35.1	42.5	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8384	82.5	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NONE OF THE ABOVE</b>	543	5.3		
	<b>NOT SURE / DON'T KNOW</b>	1233	12.1		
	<b>TOTAL</b>	1776	17.5		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

Following the withdrawal of the UK from the EU, do you think other countries will also choose to leave over the coming five years?

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>IT IS LIKELY THAT MORE MEMBER STATES WILL LEAVE THE EU IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS</b>	4909	48.3	57.9	57.9
	<b>IT IS UNLIKELY THAT MORE MEMBER STATES WILL LEAVE THE EU IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS</b>	3567	35.1	42.1	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8476	83.4	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW</b>	1684	16.6		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

People have different opinions on how closely EU Member States should work together on different areas, including on social and economic policy, defence, or on managing migration...

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>EU MEMBER STATES SHOULD WORK TOGETHER MORE CLOSELY ON AS MANY ISSUES AS POSSIBLE</b>	3612	35.5	40.8	40.8
	<b>EU MEMBER STATES SHOULD WORK TOGETHER ON SOME ISSUES, BUT OTHERS ARE BEST DECIDED BY EACH COUNTRY ALONE</b>	4370	43.0	49.4	90.2
	<b>EU MEMBER STATES SHOULD NOT PURSUE FURTHER INTEGRATION ON ANY AREA OF EU POLICY</b>	866	8.5	9.8	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8847	87.1	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NOT SURE / DON'T KNOW</b>	1312	12.9		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

People who want to come to the EU from foreign countries because of risks to their health or safety in their own countries are called refugees. Which statement comes closest to your view?

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR REFUGEES TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE.</b>	3459	34.0	39.8	39.8
	<b>THE EU DOES ENOUGH FOR REFUGEES AND SHOULD NOT ACCEPT ANY MORE THAN WE ALREADY DO.</b>	5232	51.5	60.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8691	85.5	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	1469	14.5		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		



Over the past three years, many people have arrived at the EU as refugees. Some EU countries, including Italy, Greece, Germany and Sweden, have received a larger number of arrivals than others...

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>EU MEMBER STATES SHARE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MANAGING EXTERNAL BORDERS AND THEREFORE REFUGEES SHOULD BE...</b>	2319	22.8	25.6	25.6
	<b>EU MEMBER STATES SHOULD SHARE REFUGEES BETWEEN THEM, BUT NATIONAL PREFERENCES ON MIGRATION SHOULD BE TAKEN...</b>	1190	11.7	13.1	38.8
	<b>BETTER-OFF COUNTRIES SHOULD TAKE MORE REFUGEES THAN COUNTRIES GOING THROUGH AN ECONOMIC DOWNTURN, BECAUSE THEY...</b>	1850	18.2	20.4	59.2
	<b>REFUGEES SHOULD BE HOUSED IN THE FIRST COUNTRY IN WHICH THEY ARRIVE, BUT MORE EU FUNDING SHOULD BE GIVEN...</b>	831	8.2	9.2	68.4
	<b>THE EU SHOULD HAVE TOUGHER EXTERNAL BORDER CONTROLS TO STOP REFUGEES FROM ENTERING.</b>	2863	28.2	31.6	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	9051	89.1	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NOT SURE / DON'T KNOW</b>	1109	11.9		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

People who want to come to the EU from foreign countries to improve their economic situation are called economic migrants. Which statement comes closest to your view?

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT EASIER FOR ECONOMIC MIGRANTS TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE</b>	2909	28.6	36.4	36.4
	<b>THE EU SHOULD MAKE IT MORE DIFFICULT FOR ECONOMIC MIGRANTS TO LIVE AND WORK IN EUROPE</b>	3712	36.5	46.5	83.0
	<b>THE EU'S CURRENT MIGRATION POLICIES ARE WORKING WELL</b>	1360	13.4	17.0	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	7980	78.5	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS</b>	2180	21.5		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

Over the past three years, many people have arrived at the EU as economic migrants. Some EU countries, including Italy, Greece, Germany and Sweden, have received a larger number of arrivals than others...

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>EU MEMBER STATES SHARE THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MANAGING EXTERNAL BORDERS AND THEREFORE ECONOMIC MIGRANTS SHOULD...</b>	1906	18.8	22.7	22.7
	<b>EU MEMBER STATES SHOULD SHARE ECONOMIC MIGRANTS BETWEEN THEM, BUT NATIONAL PREFERENCES ON MIGRATION SHOULD BE...</b>	1233	12.1	14.7	37.3
	<b>BETTER-OFF COUNTRIES SHOULD TAKE MORE ECONOMIC MIGRANTS THAN COUNTRIES GOING THROUGH AN ECONOMIC DOWNTURN...</b>	1669	16.4	19.9	57.2
	<b>ECONOMIC MIGRANTS SHOULD BE HOUSED IN THE FIRST COUNTRY IN WHICH THEY ARRIVE, BUT MORE EU FUNDING SHOULD BE...</b>	768	7.6	9.1	66.3
	<b>THE EU SHOULD HAVE TOUGHER EXTERNAL BORDER CONTROLS TO STOP ECONOMIC MIGRANTS FROM ENTERING.</b>	2830	27.9	33.7	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8405	82.7	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I DON'T HAVE AN OPINION ON THIS.</b>	1754	17.3		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

The EU's core principles of freedom of movement, goods, capital and services have benefited businesses as well as citizens. At times, the EU has been accused of putting the interests of big business...

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>THE EU IS FOCUSED ON THE BENEFIT OF ALL EUROPEANS</b>	1302	12.8	16.1	16.1
	<b>BIG BUSINESS HAS TOO MUCH INFLUENCE OVER THE EU, AT THE EXPENSE OF CITIZENS</b>	4278	42.1	52.9	69.0
	<b>IN GENERAL, THE EU IS RUN FOR THE BENEFIT OF ALL EUROPEANS, BUT AT TIMES FOR BIG BUSINESS</b>	2510	24.7	31.0	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8090	79.6	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW</b>	2070	20.4		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

The EU is made up of 28 diverse Member States, of different sizes, and with different levels of economic strength. Do you feel that some Member States benefit more from the EU than others?

		FREQUENCY	PERCENT	VALID PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
<b>VALID</b>	<b>ALL MEMBER STATES BENEFIT FROM THE EU</b>	2317	22.8	29.4	29.4
	<b>MEMBER STATES WITH THE STRONGEST ECONOMIES RECEIVE MORE BENEFITS THAN OTHERS</b>	3665	36.1	46.4	75.8
	<b>MEMBER STATES WITH SMALLER ECONOMIES RECEIVE MORE BENEFITS THAN OTHERS</b>	1912	18.8	24.2	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	7893	77.7	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>NOT SURE/ DON'T KNOW</b>	2266	22.3		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

The Erasmus programme allows many young Europeans to spend time in another country for some months. Should the Erasmus programme be just for students and those in training, or should more opportunities be given to young professionals.

		<b>FREQUENCY</b>	<b>PERCENT</b>	<b>VALID PERCENT</b>	<b>CUMULATIVE PERCENT</b>
<b>VALID</b>	<b>ERASMUS SHOULD PRIORITISE STUDENTS AND THOSE IN TRAINING</b>	2328	22.9	28.8	28.8
	<b>ERASMUS PROGRAMMES SHOULD BE MORE AVAILABLE TO YOUNG WORKERS TO GAIN INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE</b>	4516	44.4	55.9	84.7
	<b>THE CURRENT PROGRAMMES AVAILABLE FOR YOUNG WORKERS (E.G. ERASMUS FOR YOUNG ENTREPRENEURS) ARE ENOUGH.</b>	1233	12.1	15.3	100.0
	<b>TOTAL</b>	8077	79.5	100.0	
<b>MISSING</b>	<b>I'VE NEVER HEARD OF THE ERASMUS PROGRAMME</b>	877	8.6		
	<b>NOT SURE / DON'T KNOW</b>	1206	11.9		
	<b>TOTAL</b>	2083	20.5		
<b>TOTAL</b>		10160	100.0		

# Questionnaire

## Demographic Questions

- a) What is your year age?  
[Screen out < 18 and > 35]
- b) What is your gender?
- Female
  - Male
  - Other
- c) What is your nationality?
- List of EU28 nationalities
  - Other (outside the EU)
- d) In what region to you currently live in?  
[List of regions per country]
- e) How would you judge your personal financial situation?
- Struggling financially
  - Fair
  - Comfortable
  - Very comfortable
  - Prefer not to say
- f) Do you currently have a Bachelor's degree, a Master's, or a PhD?
- No
  - Yes
- g) What is your current occupation?  
[Randomise order of statements, keep "other" always as the final option]
- Paid work
  - Studying
  - Other
- If respondent replies 'paid work': In general, how satisfied are you with your job, considering your salary, working hours, the tasks you perform, and experience you have gained?
- Very satisfied
  - Rather satisfied
  - Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
  - Rather dissatisfied
  - Very dissatisfied
- If respondent replies 'studying': In general, how satisfied are you with your education, considering the content of your courses and how well you feel it will prepare you for future employment?
- Very satisfied
  - Rather satisfied
  - Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied
  - Rather dissatisfied
  - Very dissatisfied
- If respondent replies "other": How do you spend the majority of your time?
- [Randomise order of statements, keep "other" always as the final option]
- Supporting my family
  - I am an unpaid intern or trainee
  - Sports, leisure, music or personal projects
  - Volunteering or working in an unpaid capacity
  - I have an illness or disability
  - Other.

## Civic Engagement and Political Views

**1. Did you vote in the 2014 European Parliament elections?**

- Yes
- No
- No, I wasn't eligible to vote
- I don't know
- I don't want to answer

**2. Are you aware that the next European Parliamentary elections will be held in 2019?**

- Yes
- No

**3. Do you intend to cast a vote in the 2019 European Parliamentary elections?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “not sure/don't know” always as the final option]

- I will vote
- I don't intend to vote
- I'm not eligible to vote
- Not sure / don't know

**4. To what extent are you well informed on the following topics? Please use a scale from 1 to 7 to indicate your answer.**

[ Labels: 1) Completely uninformd 2) Mostly uninformd  
3) Slightly uninformd 4) Neither informed nor uninformd  
5) Slightly informed 6) Mostly informed 7) Completely informed].

[Randomise order of statements.]

- How the voting system for European Parliament elections works.
- The political groups of the European Parliament (EPP, S&D, ALDE, ECR, etc.) and their priorities.
- How the EU makes laws and policies
- How EU legislation works and is implemented
- The priorities of the President of the European Commission, Jean-Claude Juncker
- The role and work of charities and other of civil society organisations at the EU level

**5. Our politics are often defined by ‘left’ and ‘right’. In general, where do you place yourself on this spectrum?**

- Far left
- Centre left
- Centre
- Centre right
- Far right
- Not sure
- None of the above
- I don’t want to answer

**6. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on voting and elections? Please use a scale from 1 to 7 to indicate your answer.**

[ Labels: 1) Completely Disagree 2) Mostly Disagree  
3) Slightly Disagree 4) Neither agree nor disagree 5) Slightly Agree  
6) Mostly Agree 7) Completely Agree].

[Randomise order of statements.]

- Voting in elections makes a difference.
- Not voting is neglecting my duty as a citizen.
- I’m interested in the politics of my country.
- I’m interested in European politics.
- Charities, campaigners and pressure groups play an important role in democracies.
- Demonstrations, strikes and protests are an effective way of challenging governments.

**7. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and their role in society? Please use a scale from 1 to 7 to indicate your answer.**

[ Labels: 1) Completely Disagree 2) Mostly Disagree  
3) Slightly Disagree 4) Neither agree nor disagree 5) Slightly Agree  
6) Mostly Agree 7) Completely Agree].

[Randomise order of statements.]

- I trust Members of the European Parliament to make the best decisions for Europe.
- I trust our national politicians to make the best decisions for my country.



- Politicians and political parties don't care about the needs and opinions of young people.
- Politicians prioritise the needs of older people above younger people.

**8. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements on politicians and the way they represent citizens? Please use a scale from 1 to 7 to indicate your answer.**

[ Labels: 1) Completely Disagree 2) Mostly Disagree  
3) Slightly Disagree 4) Neither agree nor disagree 5) Slightly Agree  
6) Mostly Agree 7) Completely Agree].

[Randomise order of statements.]

- Politicians are the most suitable actors to make important decisions for the people
- I would rather be represented by a citizen like me than by politicians
- Elected officials talk too much and take too little action
- In a democracy it is important to make compromises on different views
- Politicians should lead rather than follow the people
- Today's politicians are not representing the people
- Better decisions would be made if experts, instead of politicians, made them
- New political parties are more attentive to the needs of citizens like me than older ones

### **European Union**

Now, we will ask you questions about the European Union, also known as the EU. The European Union is an economic and political union between 28 Member States. Many of its institutions are headquartered in Brussels, Belgium.

**9. In general, do you believe in the value of the European Union?**

- Yes
- No
- Not sure/don't know

**10. Are you proud of either your national identity or your European identity?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep "not sure/don't know" always as the final option]

- Proud of both national and European identity
- Proud of national identity
- Proud of European identity
- Not proud of either
- Not sure/don't know

**11. In general, in your opinion, is the European Union heading in the right or wrong direction?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “not sure/don't know” always as the final option]

- Right direction
- Wrong direction
- Not sure/don't know

**European Union Policies and Priorities**

**12. People have many different opinions about Europe and the European Union. Pairs of statements will be presented below. Please choose the statement you agree with most.**

[Randomise order in which the pairs are presented.]

“Politicians need to better communicate to citizens what the EU is doing and how it impacts daily life.”	“Politicians spend enough time communicating to citizens about the EU and its impact on daily life.”	I don't have an opinion on this.
“EU institutions are not doing enough to fight climate change and protect the environment.”	“EU institutions are doing enough to fight climate change and protect the environment.”	I don't have an opinion on this.
“The EU should have more powers to represent Europe with a single voice on the world stage.”	“The EU should not act as the single voice of Europe on the world stage. Each country should represent itself.”	I don't have an opinion on this.

<p>“The EU should have stronger powers to challenge and prevent Member States from breaking EU laws.”</p>	<p>“The EU has just enough power over Member States”</p>	<p>I don’t have an opinion on this.</p>
<p>“European citizens should be able to have more control over the economic decisions that EU institutions take.”</p>	<p>“European citizens have enough control over the economic decisions that EU institutions take.”</p>	<p>I don’t have an opinion on this.</p>
<p>“Better-off European countries should contribute more to financially support European countries going through an economic downturn.”</p>	<p>“Better-off European countries contribute enough to financially support European countries going through an economic downturn. “</p>	<p>I don’t have an opinion on this.</p>
<p>“All EU countries should merge their armies into a single European army.”</p>	<p>“EU countries shouldn’t merge their armies.”</p>	<p>I don’t have an opinion on this.</p>
<p>“The EU should ensure a minimum wage for everyone working in the EU.”</p>	<p>“The EU should not ensure a minimum wage for everyone working in the EU.”</p>	<p>I don’t have an opinion on this.</p>
<p>“The EU should ensure and contribute to fair unemployment benefits for all Europeans”</p>	<p>“National governments, not the EU, should oversee benefits for unemployed people”</p>	<p>I don’t have an opinion on this.</p>
<p>“The EU should be involved in providing financial benefits/aid to children.”</p>	<p>“The EU should not be involved in providing financial benefits/aid to children.”</p>	<p>I don’t have an opinion on this.</p>
<p>“The EU should involve and empower more young people in European public affairs.”</p>	<p>“The EU is doing enough to engage more young people in European public affairs.”</p>	<p>I don’t have an opinion on this.</p>

“The EU should further open its borders to non-Europeans”	“The EU should further protect its borders towards non-Europeans”	I don't have an opinion on this.
“The EU should make it easier for Europeans to buy products produced in non-European countries”	“The EU should further protect European producers from competition by non-European companies”	I don't have an opinion on this.

**13. How would you prefer to see your country's government relationship with the European Union?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “not sure/don't know” always as the final option]

- Supporting and reinforcing common EU policies and priorities
- Standing up for your country's national priorities in the EU context
- Working closer together on some issues, but constructively disagreeing on others
- None of the above
- Not sure / don't know

**14. Following the withdrawal of the UK from the EU, do you think other countries will also choose to leave over the coming five years?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “not sure/don't know” always as the final option]

- It is likely that more Member States will leave the EU in the next five years
- It is unlikely that more Member States will leave the EU in the next five years
- Not sure/don't know

**15. People have different opinions on how closely EU Member States should work together on different areas, including on social and economic policy, defence, or on managing migration. Which of the following comes closest to your view?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “not sure/don't know” always

- as the final option]
- EU Member States should work together more closely on as many issues as possible
- EU Member States should work together on some issues, but others are best decided by each country alone
- EU Member States should not pursue further integration on any area of EU policy
- Not sure/don't know

**16. People who want to come to the EU from foreign countries because of risks to their health or safety in their own countries are called refugees. Which statement comes closest to your view?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “I don't have an opinion on this” always as the final option]

- The EU should make it easier for refugees to live and work in Europe.
- The EU does enough for refugees and should not accept any more than we already do.
- I don't have an opinion on this.

**17. Over the past three years, many people have arrived at the EU as refugees. Some EU countries, including Italy, Greece, Germany and Sweden, have received a larger number of arrivals than others. Which statement comes closest to your views?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “I don't have an opinion on this” always as the final option]

- EU Member States share the responsibility for managing external borders and therefore refugees should be distributed fairly between them.
- EU Member States should share refugees between them, but national preferences on migration should be taken into consideration.
- Better-off countries should take more refugees than countries going through an economic downturn, because they have the capacity to integrate them better.
- Refugees should be housed in the first country in which they arrive, but more EU funding should be given to processing and housing them.
- The EU should have tougher external border controls to stop refugees from entering.
- I don't have an opinion on this.

**18. People who want to come to the EU from foreign countries to improve their economic situation are called economic migrants. Which statement comes closest to your view?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “I don’t have an opinion on this” always as the final option]

- The EU should make it easier for economic migrants to live and work in Europe.
- The EU should make it more difficult for economic migrants to live and work in Europe.
- The EU’s current migration policies are working well.
- I don’t have an opinion on this.

**19. Over the past three years, many people have arrived at the EU as economic migrants. Some EU countries, including Italy, Greece, Germany and Sweden, have received a larger number of arrivals than others. Which statement comes closest to your views?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “I don’t have an opinion on this” always as the final option]

- EU Member States share the responsibility for managing external borders and therefore economic migrants should be distributed fairly between them.
- EU Member States should share economic migrants between them, but national preferences on migration should be taken into consideration.
- Better-off countries should take more economic migrants than countries going through an economic downturn, because they have the capacity to integrate them better.
- Economic migrants should be housed in the first country in which they arrive, but more EU funding should be given to processing and housing them.
- The EU should have tougher external border controls to stop economic migrants from entering.
- I don’t have an opinion on this.

**20. The EU’s core principles of freedom of movement, goods, capital and services have benefited businesses as well as citizens. At times, the EU has been accused of putting the interests of big business ahead of citizens. Which is closest to your views?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “not sure/don’t know” always as the final option]

- The EU is focused on the benefit of all Europeans
- Big business has too much influence over the EU, at the expense of citizens
- In general, the EU is run for the benefit of all Europeans, but at times for big business
- Not sure/don't know

**21. The EU is made up of 28 diverse Member States, of different sizes, and with different levels of economic strength. Do you feel that some Member States benefit more from the EU than others?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “not sure/don't know” always as the final option]

- All Member States benefit from the EU
- Member States with the strongest economies receive more benefits than others
- Member States with smaller economies receive more benefits than others
- Not sure/don't know

**22. The Erasmus programme allows many young Europeans to spend time in another country for some months . Should the Erasmus programme be just for students and those in training, or should more opportunities be given to young professionals?**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “not sure/don't know” always as the final option]

- Erasmus should prioritise students and those in training
- Erasmus programmes should be more available to young workers to gain international experience
- The current programmes available for young workers (e.g. Erasmus for young entrepreneurs) are enough.
- I've never heard of the Erasmus Programme
- Not sure / don't know

**23. Choose three priorities in the list below for the European Union to focus on during the next 5 years.**

[Randomise order of statements.]

- Tackling poverty and social and economic inequalities
- Strengthening environmental protections and promoting affordable



- renewable energies
- Promoting the emergence of innovative tech companies in Europe
- Building a more balanced and progressive trade policy to harness globalisation
- Enhancing the independence, efficiency of and cooperation between different EU justice systems, and preserving the rule of law
- Reforming EU migration policy
- Providing more aid to developing countries, especially during humanitarian crises
- Making the EU a stronger actor on the world stage, in terms of development, defence and humanitarian action
- Reducing corruption in the EU and member states
- Strengthening independent media and combatting ‘fake’ news
- Making the EU more democratic
- Strengthening the fight against state and business corruption

**24. Choose three priorities in the list below for European Union to focus on during the next 5 years.**

[Randomise order of statements.]

- Promoting healthier living and care for all ages
- Improving education standards
- Supporting gender equality
- Supporting lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, queer, and intersexual rights
- Improving the quality of jobs and salaries
- Supporting the rights and welfare of vulnerable children
- Reducing segregation and creating more inclusive societies

**25. Choose the one top initiative you think will encourage more young people to engage in political life in Europe.**

[Randomise order of statements.]

- Create more roles for young people in politics (youth advisors, youth councils, ambassadors, etc.)
- European civic lessons on EU history, governance, etc.
- Introduce online voting
- Lower the voting age to 16 years
- More personal contact between young people and politicians
- Encourage schools and universities to host mock elections and/or political debates
- Encouraging political parties and politicians to be more digitally connected

**26. Achieving greater gender equality is a priority for the European Union. Choose the two best ways you think we could improve gender equality in Europe.**

[Randomise order of statements, keep “none of the above” always as the final option]

- Promote more women to leadership positions in the private sector and business
- Reduce the gaps in salaries and pensions between men and women
- Offer universal maternity and paternity care to every citizen
- Combat gender-based violence and protect and support victims
- Introduce quotas for elections and government representation, to ensure more women can be elected to political office
- Introduce quotas for businesses and private sector organisations, to ensure more women are leaders in this sector.
- Ensure the participation of women in the labour market giving special attention to this after women give birth
- None of the above

**Thank you**

Thank you for participating in this survey on the European Union.

**Sara Carrer** is a public relations and communications expert. She is Senior Director for Europe & Africa at BCW, one of the world's largest full-service global communications agencies founded by the merger of Burson-Marsteller and Cohn & Wolfe. She is Senior Advisor and a member of the Board of ThinkYoung, the first international think tank that focuses on young people with offices in Brussels, Geneva, Madrid and Hong Kong. Sara is also a member of the founding board of RENA, an Italian association of Young Professionals which aims at promoting transparency, meritocracy and innovation at all levels in Italy.

**Andrea Danik** is a PhD student at the Stockholm University, within the department of Ethnology, History of Religions and Gender Studies. Her doctoral thesis, with the working title "Doing hip-hop. Music-making processes as practice and position", focuses on music-making processes within Swedish hip-hop. By focusing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Sweden among hip-hop artists, the battle rap scene, DJ's, music producers as well as hip-hop camps where young girls are taught how to make hip-hop music, her on-going doctoral research project aims at examining the relationship between practical music-making processes and subject positions.

**Maria Freitas** joined FEPS in April 2015 and is responsible for projects pertaining issues of democratic participation, populism and new political movements. At FEPS she is also leading the Millennial Dialogue, a global youth engagement initiative that aims to create a better understanding of the priorities and values of the Millennial generation and their interaction with politics, political systems and institutions. She has over 3 years experience in EU Affairs in Brussels, having worked at the European Parliament, first with Member of European Parliament, Luis Paulo Alves, representing the Azores and then with the Parliament's Chairman of the International Trade Committee, Vital Moreira.

Maria holds a law degree from the Lisbon University and a Master of Arts of European Political and Administrative Studies from the College of Europe in 2014. Maria brings on board significant experience in European Union policy and politics as well as advocacy outreach and engagement strategies. Before joining FEPS Maria worked at PaRR Global, the Financial Times' competition law consultancy as a junior analyst. Maria also worked at Vodafone where she covered the European Commission's Digital Single Market Strategy and Telecoms Single Market negotiations.

**Sophia Gaston** is a social and political researcher, who conducts international, citizen-focused projects on social and cultural crises, political change, the media and democracy - with a focus on threats to governance in Western nations. She is currently a Visiting Fellow at the LSE's Institute for Global Affairs and the Director of the Centre for Social and Political Risk, based at the Henry Jackson Society. Until June 2018, Sophia was the Deputy Director and Head of International Research at Demos think tank, where she produced a number of large-scale investigations into issues such as: the cultural and political influence of 'nostalgia' in Britain, France and Germany; the media and populism in the UK and Germany; and a six-country study into the rise of social, cultural and economic insecurity in Europe. She has formerly held research and strategic roles in a range of UK and international NGOs, the civil service, and private sector. She holds a First Class Honours master's degree in political communication and is a Fellow of the Royal Society of the Arts.

**Charles Howard** is the Research Manager at ThinkYoung, where he manages social and political research projects on youth rights and youth engagement. This includes a focus on youth employment and education, online civil liberties, children's rights and international development, health policy, social inclusion, and political and civic engagement. He also has

experience in multiple European based NGOs on EU policy and rights based issues including at the Open Rights Group and the Project for Democratic Union. This focussed more specifically on the right to privacy and free speech, where he authored numerous articles and analyses of European Court of Justice hearings on data protection.

He holds a degree in Law and Politics from Queen Mary, University of London and an MSc in Human Rights from the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE).

**Filip Pazderski** is lawyer and sociologist who after the University of Warsaw graduated from the European Master's Degree Programme in Human Rights and Democratisation in Venice. He is currently a PhD candidate at the Institute of Sociology and Philosophy at the Polish Academy of Science. Since 2010 he has been a Policy Analyst and Project Manager in the Civil Society and Democracy Program at the Institute of Public Affairs (IPA) in Poland, where he works on civic engagement, public participation, democracy and democratic processes, and social enterprise development. He also represents IPA on the Board of Directors at the European Civic Forum, is one of the co-founders and President of the Association for the Podlasie Land DRUMLA, and has contributed to policy documents within the Polish Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.

**Paulina Sobiesiak-Penszko:** PhD, graduate of the University of Warsaw, analyst and head of the Democracy and Civil Society Programme at the Institute of Public Affairs (Warsaw, Poland). For over a decade, she has been carrying out research projects on the functioning of democracy, civil society and social policy. She dealt with social and public participation in self-governments, civil dialogue, the situation of people with disabilities, demographic challenges, volunteering and social economy, as well as issues related to sustainable development. Author or co-author of over 40 publications in these areas.

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**ThinkYoung** is the first think tank that focuses on young people. It was founded in 2007 and has expanded to have offices in Brussels, Geneva, Madrid and Hong Kong. It is a not-for-profit organisation, with the aim of making the world a better place for young people, by involving them in decision making processes and by providing decision makers with high-quality research on key issues affecting young people. ThinkYoung conducts studies and surveys, makes documentary movies, writes policy proposals and develops education programmes: up to date, ThinkYoung projects have reached over 600,000 young people.



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**The Emile Vandervelde Institute (IEV)** is the centre for studies of the Belgian Socialist Party (PS). The Institute provides to the Party and its organisations a forward-looking analysis on economic, social, financial, administrative, political, ethical and legal issues. Managed by Gilles Doutrelepont, the Emile Vandervelde Institute works as a support of the PS President, its board and members of socialist parliamentary groups. The Emile Vandervelde Institute publishes informative dossiers for the general public, associations and PS board. The Institute also organizes debates, seminars and roundtables in order to spark reflection on issues facing society today and to feed debates on major

economic and societal concerns. The centre for studies is also working in liaison with external experts, associations, NGOs, other centres for studies or universities.

**Foundation Stichting Gerrit Kreveld** is a Reflection and Initiative Center for social democratic ideas. It wants to contribute in a stimulating way to the possibilities and limits of social democracy in the current social context. The Foundation is independent. The name ‘Reflection and Initiative Center for a Social Democracy’ points out that we want to make a stimulating contribution to the strengthening of Social Democratic ideas. The goal of the Foundation is to promote the study and promotion of social-democratic thinking, working and acting in their social, cultural and political dimension. To this end, it organizes (open and internal) discussion evenings. In 2000 the Foundation Stichting Gerrit Kreveld became the publisher of the Journal “Samenleving & Politiek” [Society & Politics, Independent Political Journal for a Social Democracy]. Since 2008 it is a member of the European think tank FEPS and in 2016 it co-founded the progressive Denktank Minerva [Thinktank Minerva].

**The Territories de la Mémoire Association**

is a centre for education in Resistance and Citizenship. To carry out remembrance work with children, young people and adults, the association is developing various initiatives to transmit the past and encourage the involvement of all in the construction of a democratic society guaranteeing fundamental freedoms. The association believes that remembrance work is indispensable to avoid reproducing the mistakes made in the past, to understand and decode the world around us and to participate in the construction of a more inclusive society that places human beings at the centre of all concerns.



# MILLENNIAL DIALOGUE ON EUROPE

**B**uilding on the insights originally gained in the FEPS 'Millennial Dialogue' project – 'Millennial Dialogue on Europe' focuses on the most pressing contemporary EU and global issues, and analyses the key policies, priority action areas, hopes and visions for the future of Europe according to European young people.

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*Think Young*  
We lobby for young people

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**bcw**

 Microsoft



ASBL  
TERRITOIRES  
DE LA MÉMOIRE



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