

Youth Study from



YOUNG EUROPE 2025

**This is how people between
16 and 26 years of age think**

Young Europe 2025

Youth Study from



Young Europe 2025: About the study S. 3

1. How do young people perceive the EU? S. 5

2. The EU on the global political stage S. 30

3. Polarisation among young people in Europa S. 41

4. To what extent do young people support democracy? S. 58

5. How do young people feel in 2025? S. 67

Imprint S. 85

Young Europe 2025: About the study

- TUI Stiftung has carried out the “Young Europe” study since 2017 to better understand the living environment, identity and political attitudes of young people across Europe.
- Between 23/04/2025 and 19/05/2025, young people were surveyed in the following countries: Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Greece, Poland and the United Kingdom. A total of 6.703 young people aged between 16 and 26 were surveyed online in 2025:
- In previous years, 6.000 (2017), 6.080 (2018), 6.192 (2019), 6.011 (2020), 6.253 (2021), 6.228 (2022), 7.085 (2023), 5.874 (2024, without UK) young people from Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Spain, Italy, Greece and Poland were surveyed.
 - Participants were recruited on a representative basis in each country based on age, gender and education, taking actual distribution within each country into account.
 - Results were also weighted based on age, gender and education for analysis in order to balance out minor deviations. Results shown across all countries were additionally weighted such that each country is given the same weighting.
- This report presents results both for the individual countries and across all seven countries (“overall”). As the perspective of young people from the UK is fundamentally different to that of young people from EU member states for some questions relating to the EU, some questions were not asked in the UK and were only asked in EU member states.



Young Europe 2025: Who took part in the study?

Where were the participants in the study recruited?

- All participants were recruited from YouGov's in-house online panels.

What is an online panel?

- It is possible to register for a YouGov panel by entering an email address and additional personal data. These people are then regularly invited to online surveys via email.
- In principle, anyone can register to become part of a YouGov panel. Panel members are the sampling frame for recruiting target groups and samples.
- YouGov uses different channels to gain members for the panel (e.g. public relations, search engines, email campaigns, co-registration, word-of-mouth recommendations or similar). In addition, YouGov also targets people from under-represented population segments within the panel.
- Panel members use email and double opt-in to identify themselves. Panel quality is also ensured based on technical measures and on response behaviour.

How was the sample recruited?

- Quota samples are recruited in this study.
- People are recruited for the sample using a representative quota scheme. The quota scheme is prepared based on official statistics (basis for representative recruitment: EUROSTAT, <https://ec.europa.eu/CensusHub2/>).
- Samples in each country are carried out representatively based on age, gender and education.
- Participants are invited via email. A fully automated, randomised process (turbo-sampling) is used that takes individual participant behaviour into account when selecting participants.

How do young people perceive the EU?

Desire and Reality in Europe

Young people think European

Young people in Europe see themselves as Europeans: Just under three out of five young people (59%) describe themselves as at least partially European. In some countries, the number of young people who describe themselves as European is even increasing – most notably in Germany (2025: 68%, 2024: 62%). In the United Kingdom, just under half (49%) describe themselves as at least partly European, approximately a third (35%) identify only with their own country.

But the differences between the countries are significant: Young Italians, Spaniards and Germans identify most strongly with Europe. Young Poles (48%) and French people (30%) on the other hand often identify only with their own country. The number of young Poles and French people who define their identity exclusively in national terms, however, is decreasing compared to 2024 (Poland 2024: 55%, France 2024: 33%).

The membership of their country in the EU is not up for debate for most young people: Two thirds (66%) rate EU membership positively. The number of young people who view the EU positively is particularly high in Germany (80%). Also, many Britons (73%) would support their country's EU membership. Overall, in all countries, more than half of those surveyed consider their country's membership to be a good thing. Compared to the previous year, the proportion of those who

rate EU membership positively has significantly increased in all countries: In 2024, 56% rated EU membership positively.

More Europe?

Young people are in favour of stronger EU integration: 4 out of 10 young Europeans (42%) desire a closer connection between EU countries and more competencies for the EU. However: There are significant differences between them. While 53% each in Italy and Germany advocate for stronger EU integration, the approval in France (27%) and Poland (31%) is the lowest.

And differences also show up in a comparison over time. In Germany, Spain, Italy, and Greece, the desire for stronger integration has declined in recent years. This year, this trend is reversing, do young people in these countries again want more Europe? In France and Poland, however, the number of young people who want to maintain the status quo has significantly increased compared to the previous year.

There is a large gap between desire and (expected) reality when it comes to the topic of EU integration: 42% of young Europeans desire stronger integration, but only 27% believe that it will actually happen in the next five years. Over the years, this gap has become increasingly larger (2024: 9% points, 2025: 15% points).

What the European Union should do differently

More Europe? (cont.)

This gap exists – again with the exception of France and Poland – in all countries. While in France desire and expectation coincide, in Poland the gap reverses: While every fifth person (20%) wants less integration, only 15% assume that the EU will actually return responsibilities to the member countries in the next five years.

The British-European Spring

2 out of 5 young Europeans (47%) want closer relations between the EU and the United Kingdom. Especially in Germany (59%), Spain (46%) and Italy (45%), young people hold this opinion. Young French people are the most reserved (32%). The majority of young Britons want a closer relationship with the EU (75%).

However: Even on the issue of the British-European relationship, young people are sceptical. Only 28% of young Europeans expect that the connections between the EU and the United Kingdom will become closer (gap: 19% points). In the United Kingdom, at least every second person (50%, gap: 25% points) expects that the British-European relationship will become closer.

Immigration dominates the European agenda of young people.

As in the previous year, the topic of "Migration and asylum" dominates the list of issues that young people consider important for the EU. For 37%, this topic is one of the three most important issues, followed by "Economy and financial policy" (33%). More young people consider "Foreign policy and defence" important (28%, compared to the previous year: 22%). Among the top 4 topics is also "Environmental and climate protection" (28%).

In the United Kingdom, young people most frequently mention "Economy" (46%) as a topic for British politics, followed by "Healthcare policy" (42%) and "Infrastructure" (33%).

What the EU must do differently from the perspective of young people

Europe and the world have been confronted with multiple crises in recent years: The COVID pandemic, the Russian war in Ukraine, the climate crisis and a changing global political order have also shaped the everyday lives of young people. How well or poorly has the EU performed in these situations from the perspective of young people?

Around half (52%) are indifferent and believe that the EU has reacted partly correctly and partly incorrectly. 19% believe that the EU has responded correctly, almost as many (17%) believe that the EU has responded incorrectly. This image appears, albeit to varying degrees, in all countries.

The European Union – well-intentioned, but poorly executed?

What the EU must do differently from the perspective of young people (cont.)

It is noteworthy that in France (22%) and Poland (23%) the number of those who think that the EU has responded correctly is highest, although – or precisely because – young people in these countries are most critical of the EU.

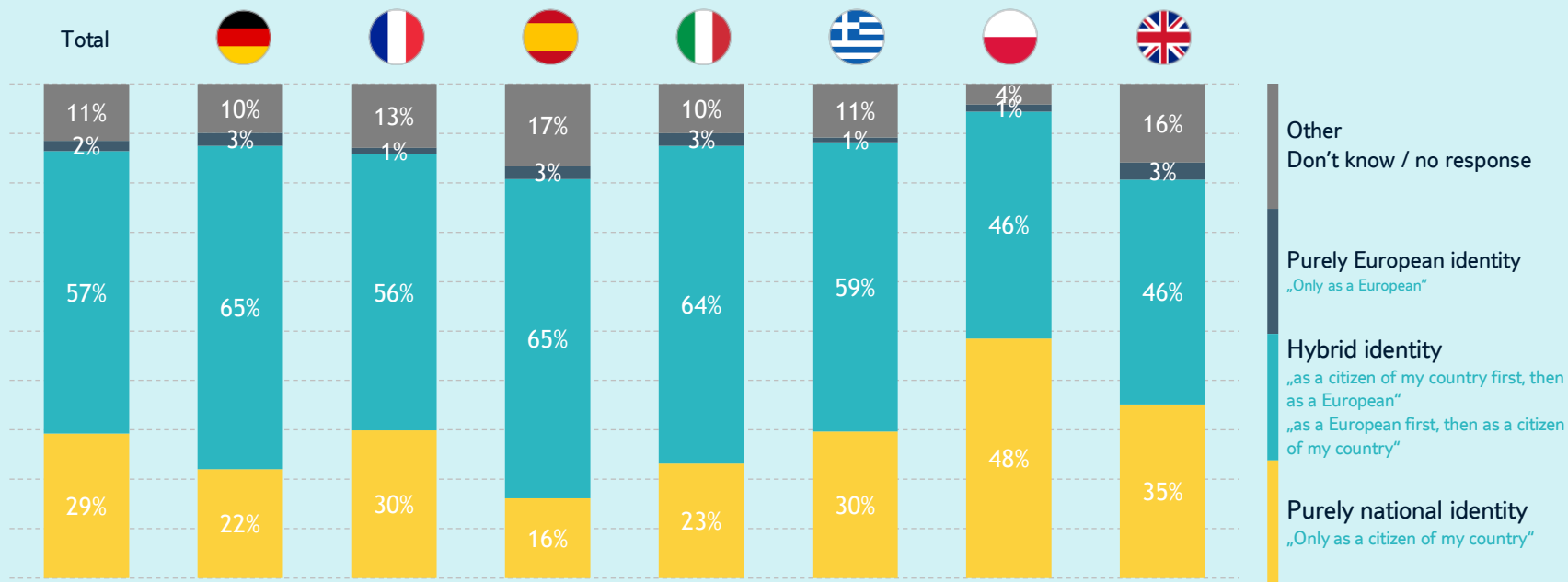
From the perspective of young Europeans, the EU should primarily ensure that "living costs and prices are affordable for everyone" (38%). Young Germans (36%), Britons (34%) and French (28%) also consider the focus on "climate protection" an important factor. In Greece (30%) and Poland (27%), respondents also want the EU to focus more on "economic growth".

In all countries, young people believe that "protection against external threats" (24%) should be a priority for the EU. For young people in Greece (23%), Germany (27%) and the United Kingdom (24%), the regulation of "immigration and asylum" is important. Only a few young people consider the global political stage to be important: Only 16% of respondents believe that the EU should play a larger role in the world order to address current crises.

The EU has a democracy and information deficit to resolve: Nearly 4 out of 10 young Europeans (39%) believe that the EU is not particularly democratic. Many young people cannot accurately explain how the EU and its institutions work (46%). Around every second person (53%) believes that the EU is too preoccupied with trivial issues. And half of the young people (51%) believe that the EU is a good idea, but very poorly implemented. All this suggests that the EU should place more emphasis on a common "North Star" that determines the direction of the EU's development, or on a common narrative.

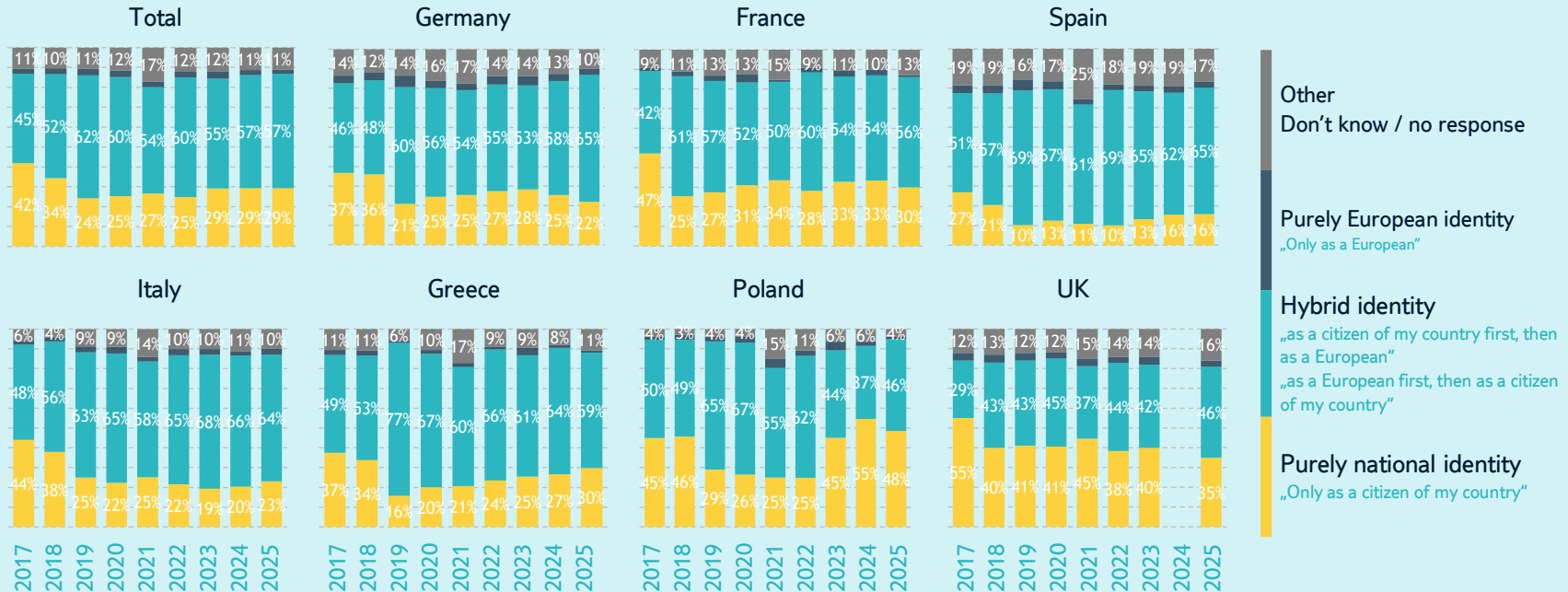
In almost all countries, most young respondents feel at least partly European.

How would you be most likely to describe yourself?



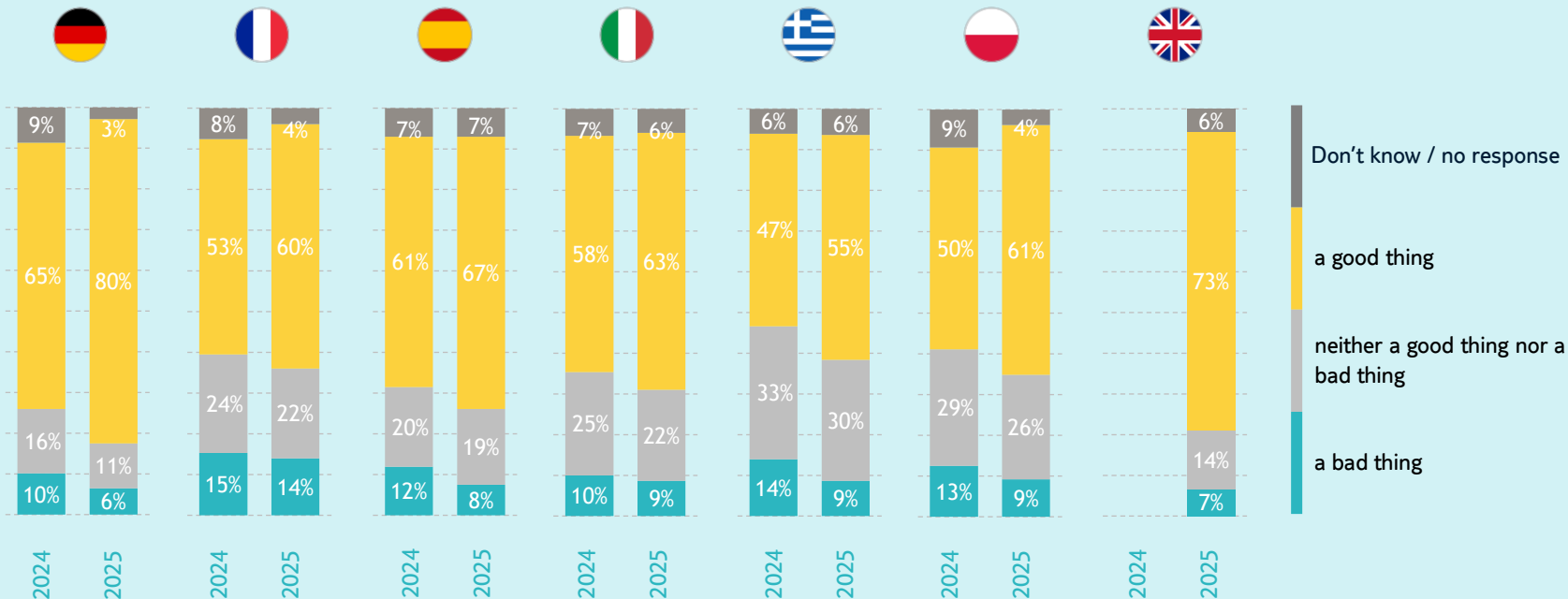
Young Germans often feel at least partly European, with purely national identification decreasing. This trend is reversed in Greece.

How would you be most likely to describe yourself?



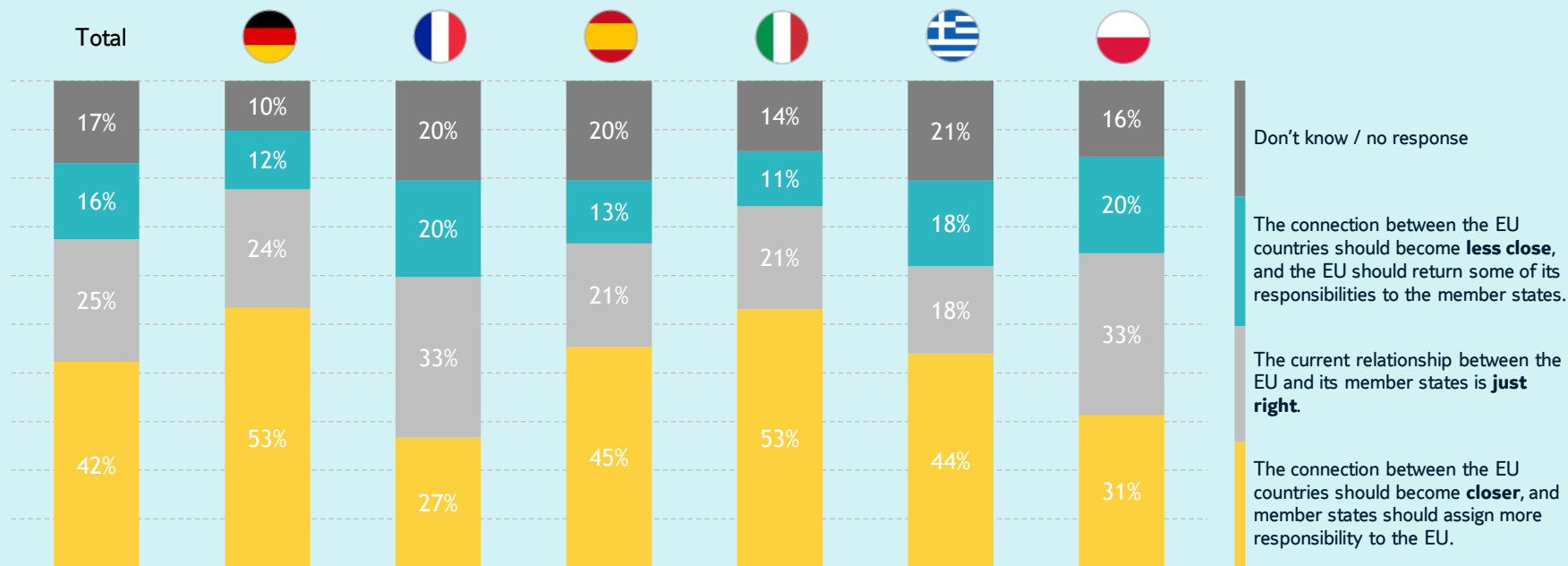
Four out of five young Germans currently consider EU membership a good thing. Young people in the United Kingdom view the EU positively.

Generally speaking, do you think that [COUNTRY]'s membership of the EU is...? (Question text in the UK: „In your opinion, would the UK's membership of the EU be, in general...? “)



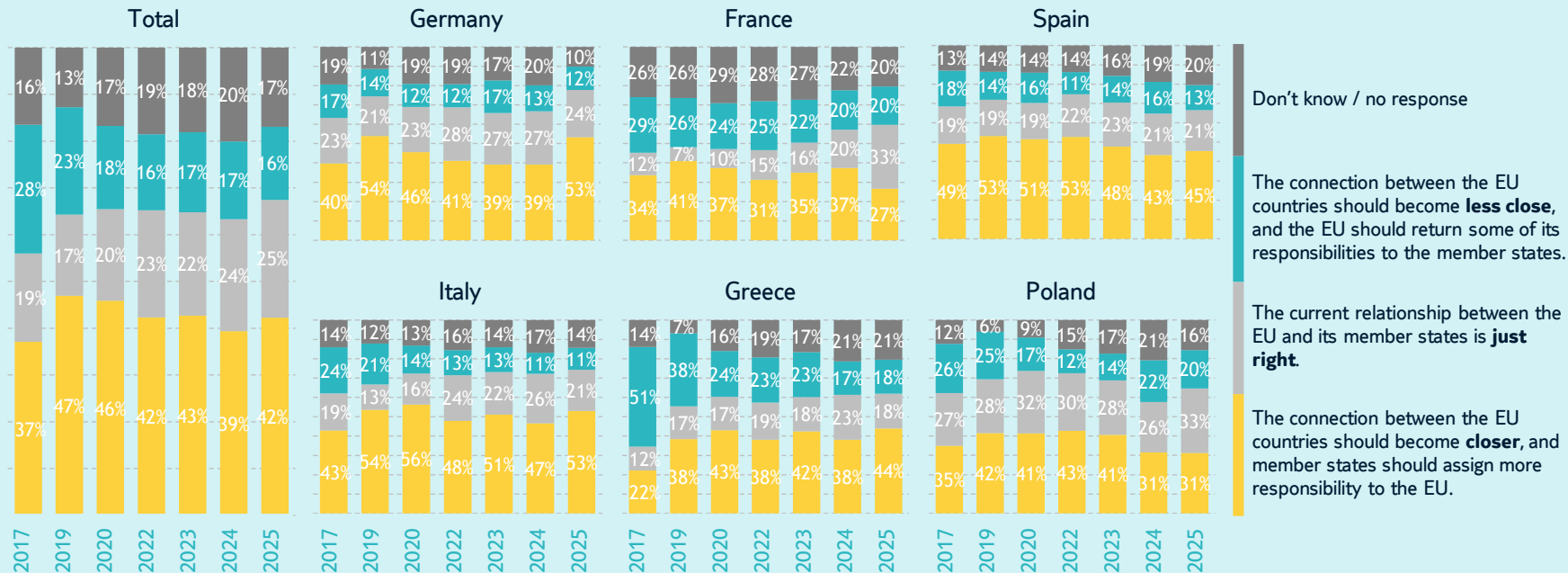
Four out of ten young respondents wish for closer connections between the member countries. A quarter rate the existing relationship as just right.

When you think about the relations between the EU and its member states: Which of the following statements do you most agree with?



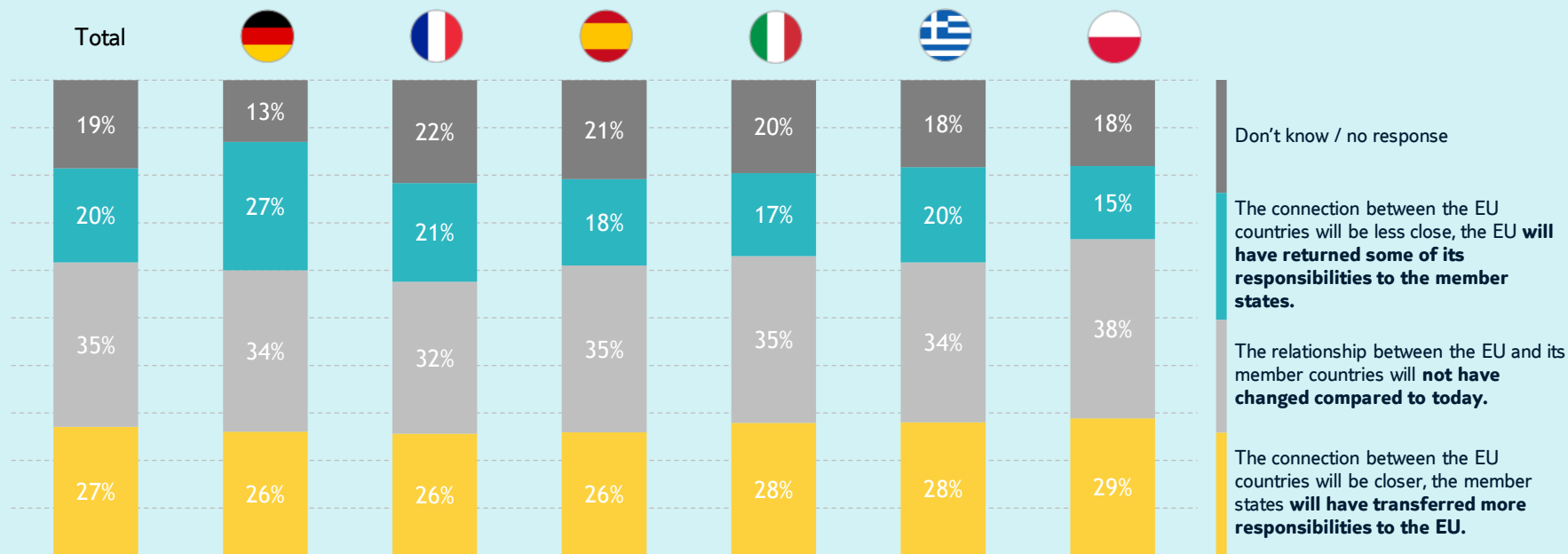
Compared to the previous year, the desire for closer ties between EU countries is increasing, especially in Germany, Italy and Greece.

When you think about the relations between the EU and its member states: Which of the following statements do you most agree with?



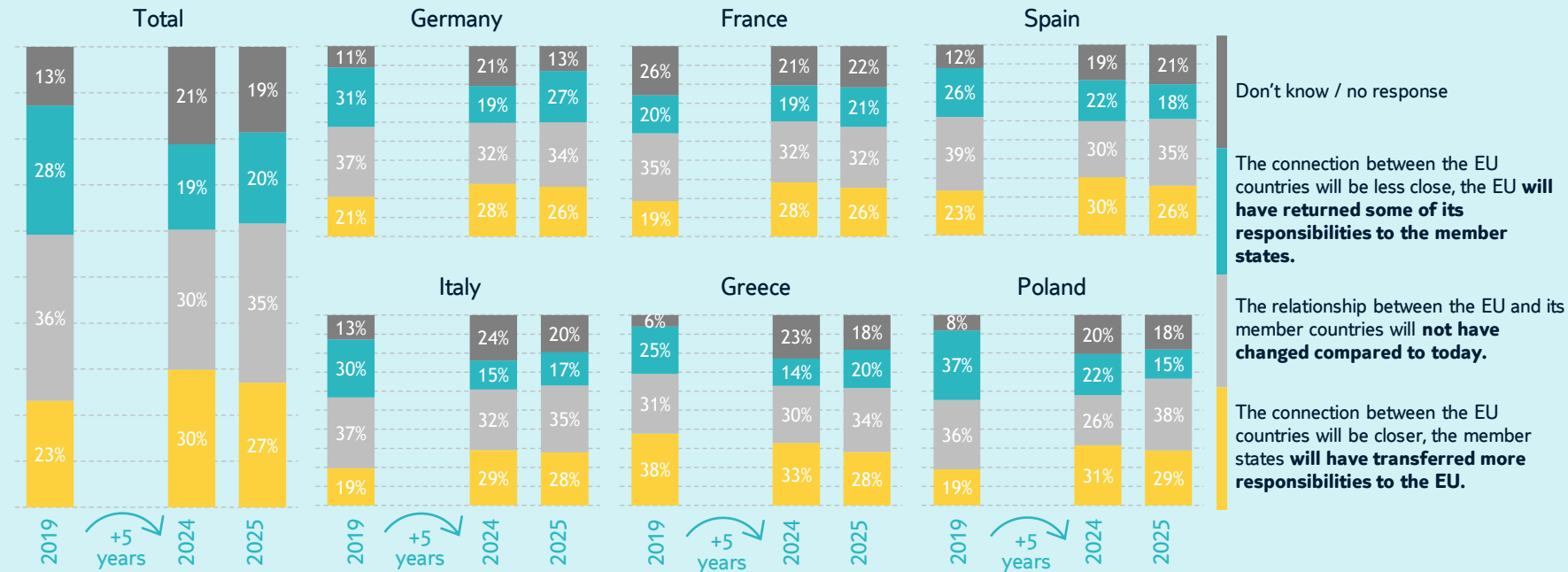
Although four out of ten Europeans want the EU to grow closer together, not even three out of five believe that this will happen.

If you think about the EU in five years: What do you think the state of the EU will be in five years' time?



Compared to 2024, the number of young Europeans who believe that the EU will not grow closer together is increasing.

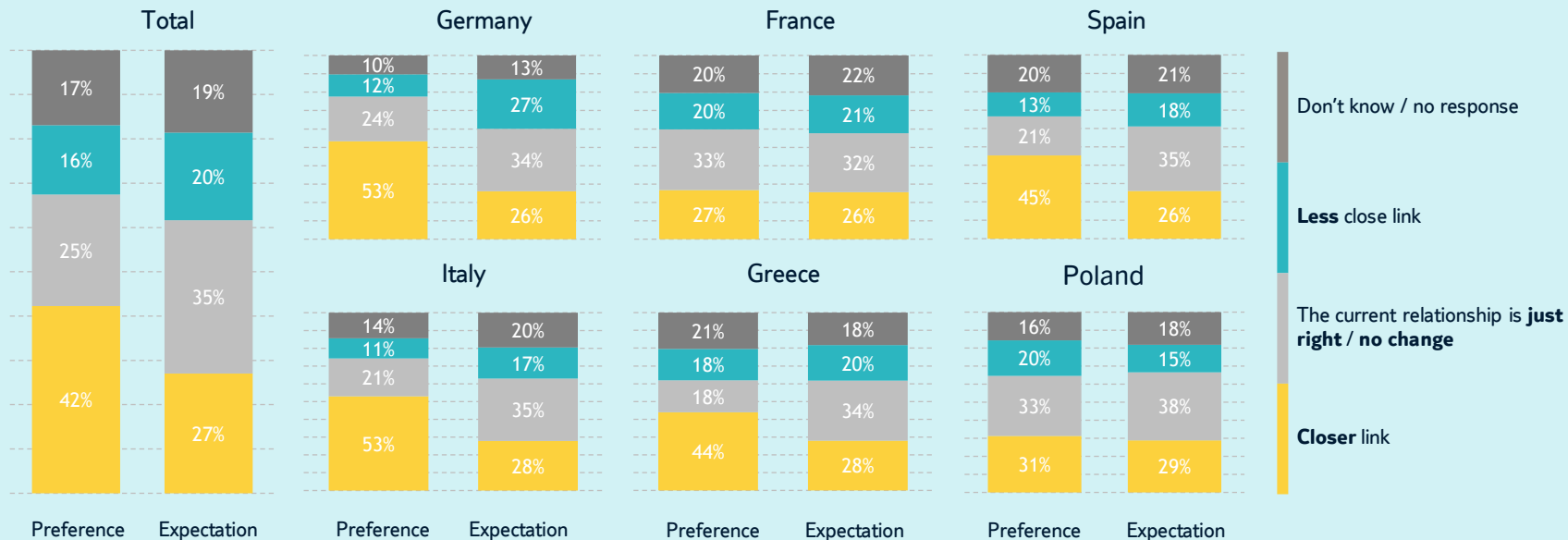
If you think about the EU in five years: What do you think the state of the EU will be in five years' time?



Gap between desire and expectation: High discrepancy between the desired and expected development of connections between the EU member countries.

Left (**Preference**): When you think about the relations between the EU and its member states: Which of the following statements do you most agree with?

Right (**Expectation**): If you think about the EU in five years: What do you think the state of the EU will be in five years' time?



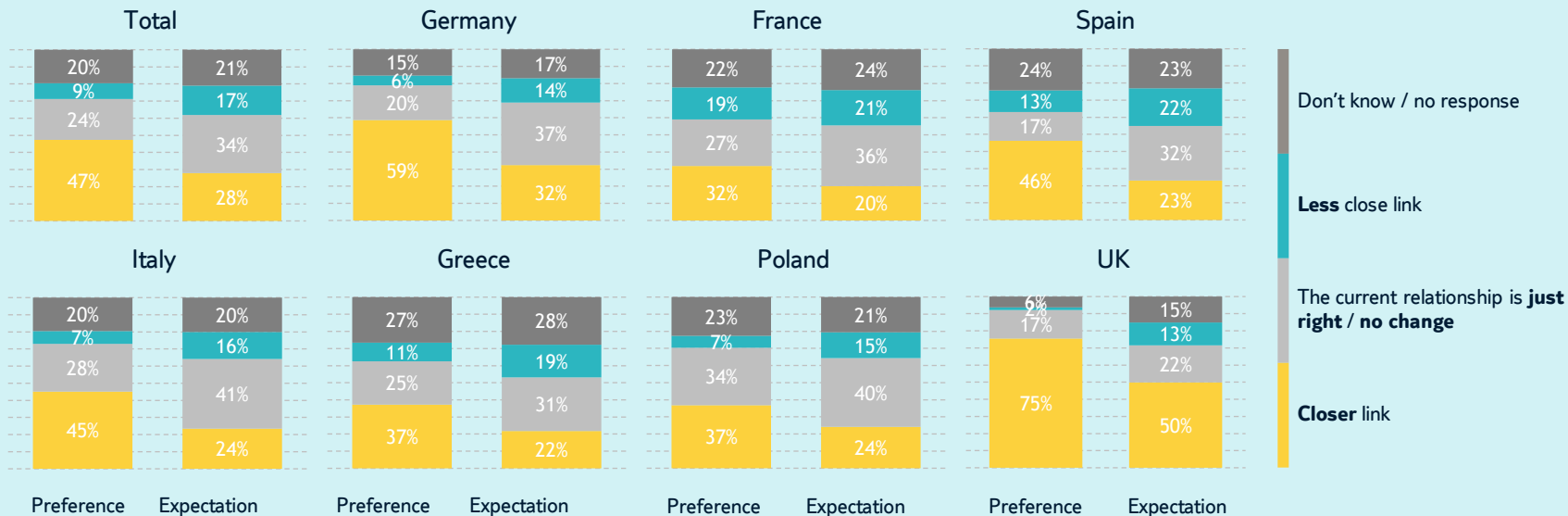
Base: all respondents, n=5.653;

Response option **Expectation**: "The connection between the EU countries will be closer [...]",
 "The relationship [...] will not have changed compared to today",
 "The connection between the EU countries will be less close [...]"

Even in terms of the relations between the EU and the United Kingdom, the expectations of the young respondents deviate from their ideal conception.

Left (**Preference**): When you think about the relationship between the EU and the UK: Which of the following statements do you most agree with?

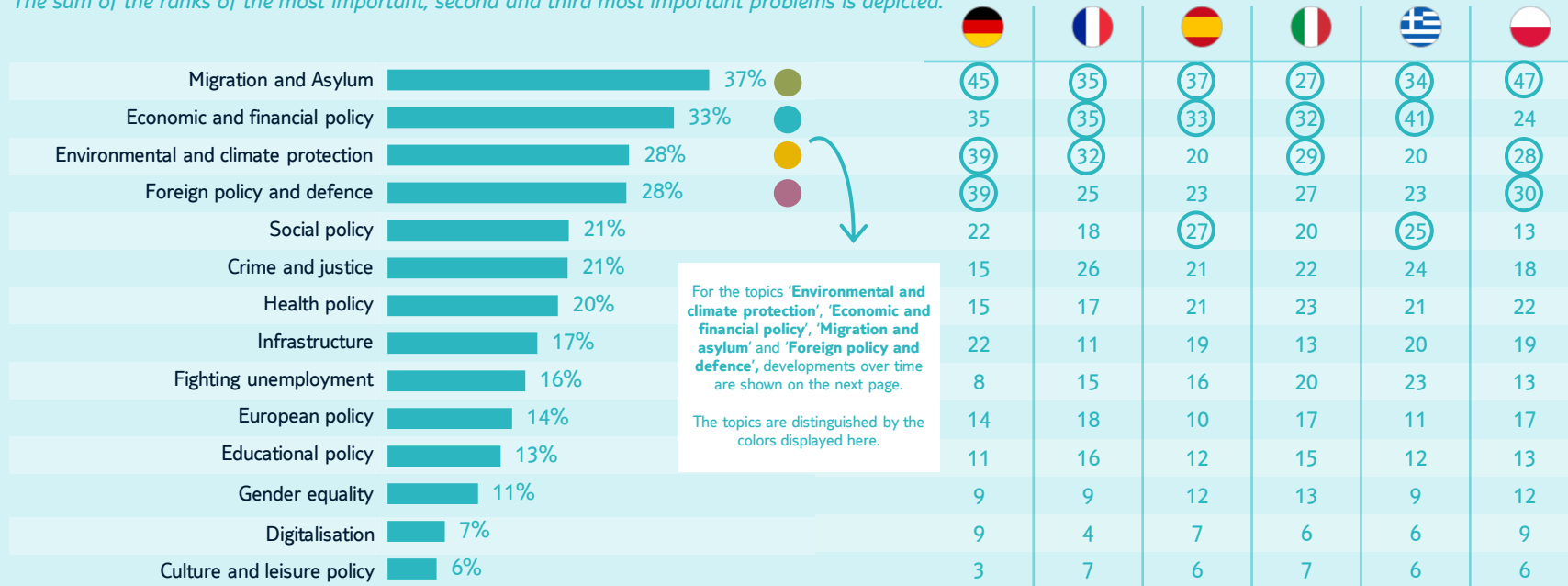
Right (**Expectation**): When you think about the relationship between the EU and the UK in five years' time: Do you think the relationship between the EU and the UK will be closer or less close in five years' time – or will it remain unchanged?



At EU level, migration is the most important issue, closely followed by economic policy. Also important are environmental issues, as well as foreign policy and defence.

What are the most important current political problems in the EU in your opinion? Please first select the single most important problem and then the second and third most important problem.

The sum of the ranks of the most important, second and third most important problems is depicted.

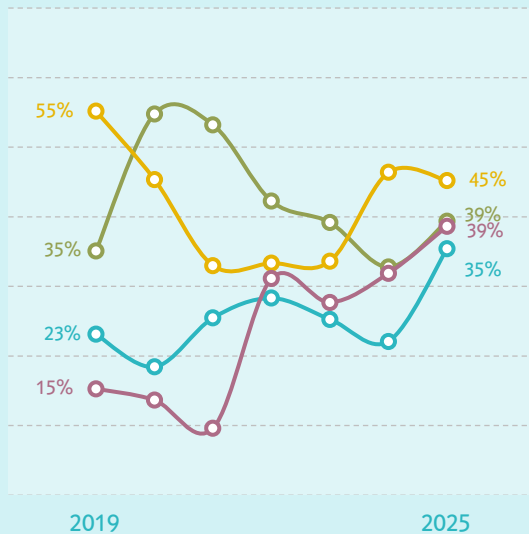


Economy and climate protection are again more important for young people in Germany and France in 2025.

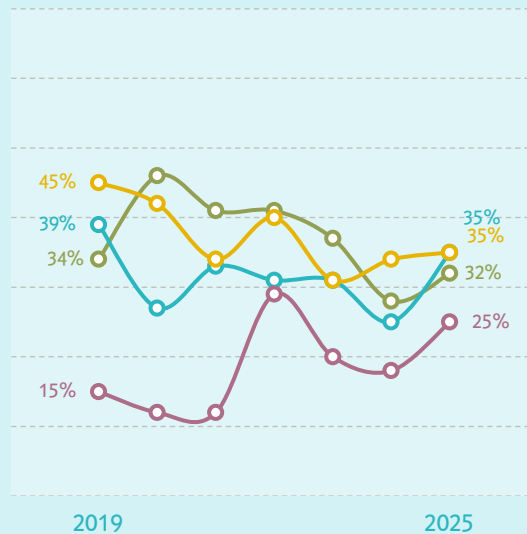
What are the most important current political problems in the EU in your opinion? Please first select the single most important problem and then the second and third most important problem.
The sum of the ranks of the most important, second and third most important problems is depicted.

- Migration and Asylum
- Environmental and climate protection
- Economic and financial policy
- Foreign policy and defence

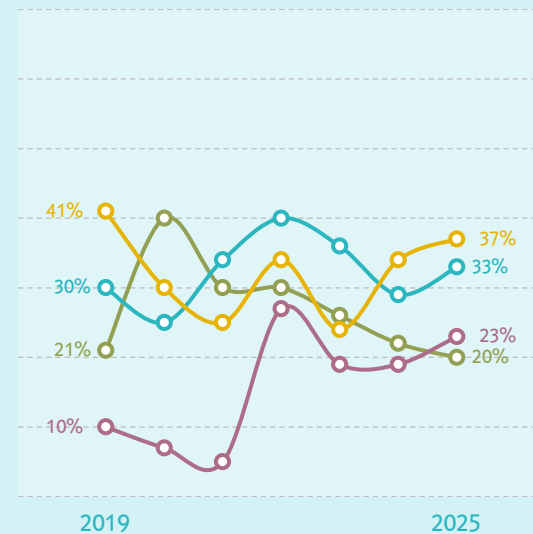
Germany



France



Spain

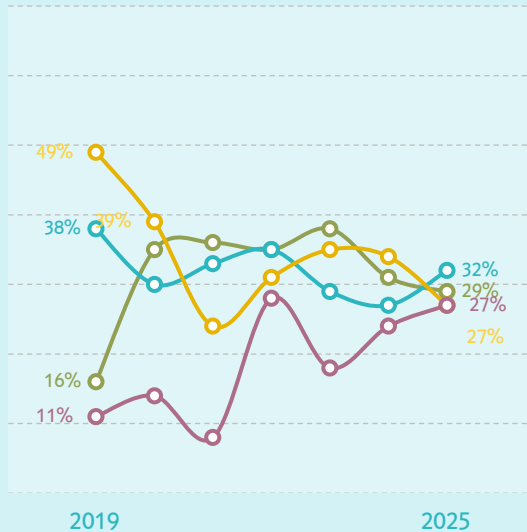


In Italy and Greece, economic and financial policy for young people is the top issue for the EU.

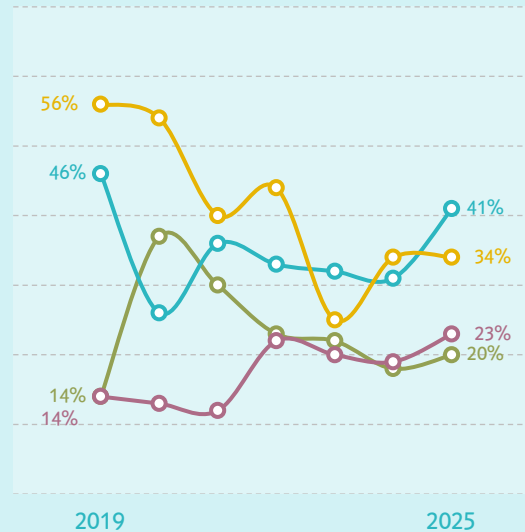
What are the most important current political problems in the EU in your opinion? Please first select the single most important problem and then the second and third most important problem.
The sum of the ranks of the most important, second and third most important problems is depicted.

- Migration and Asylum
- Economic and financial policy
- Environmental and climate protection
- Foreign policy and defence

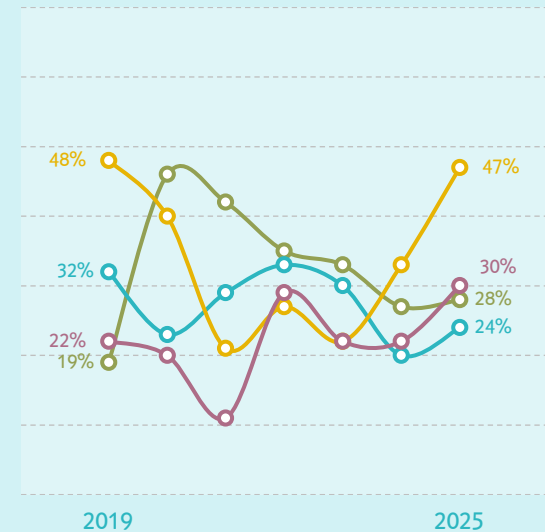
Italy



Greece



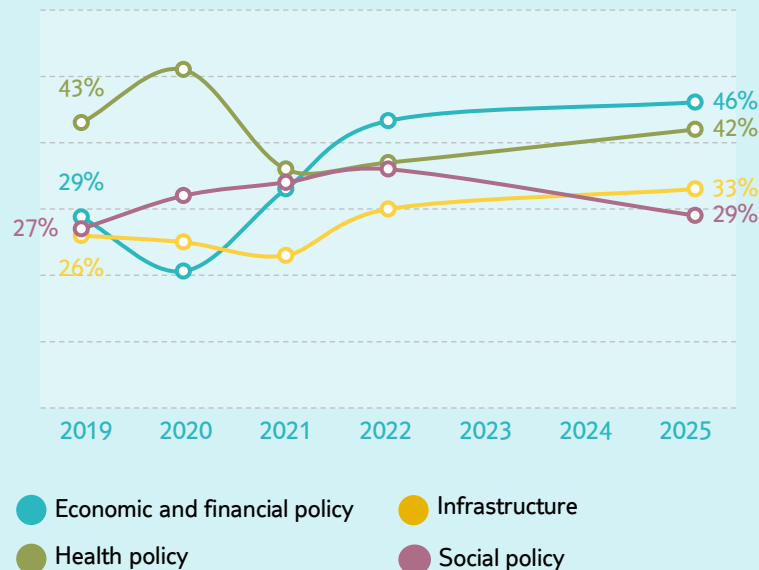
Poland



Since Brexit in 2020, young Britons mainly name economic and financial policy as the most pressing issue in their country.

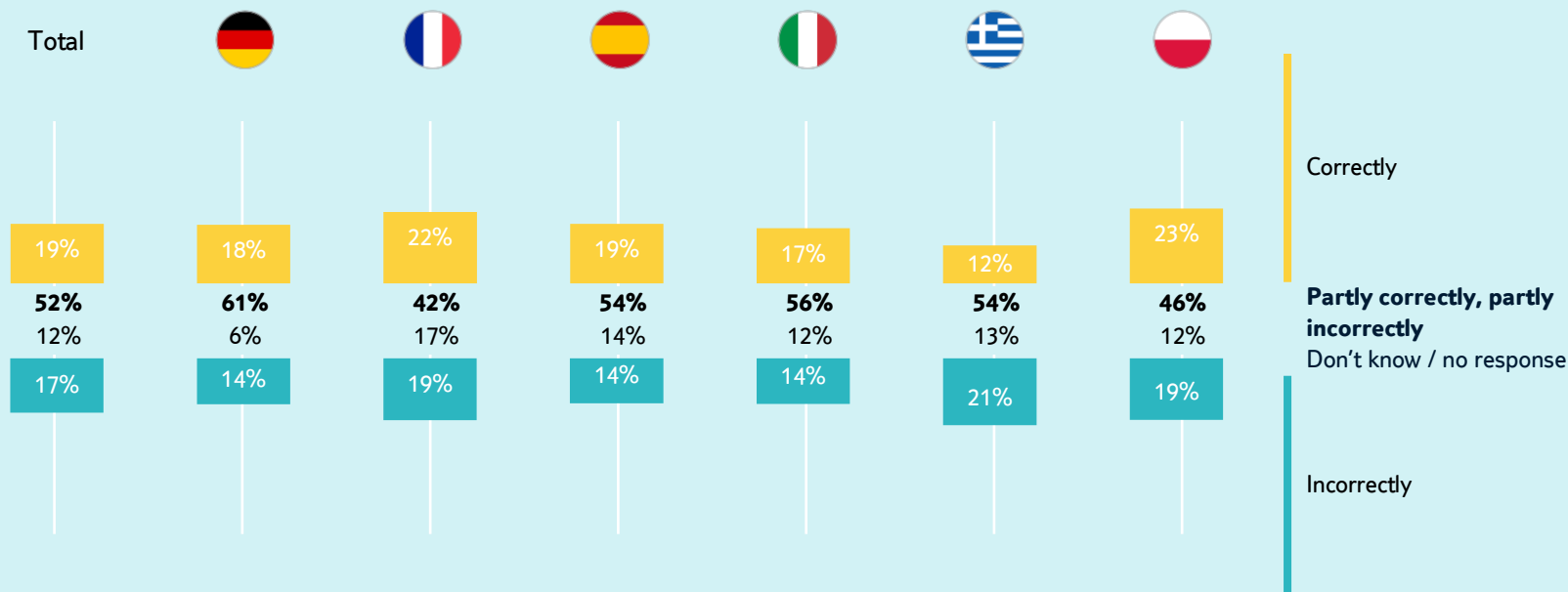
What are the most important current political problems in the United Kingdom in your opinion? Please first select the single most important problem and then the second and third most important problem.

The sum of the ranks of the most important, second and third most important problems is depicted.



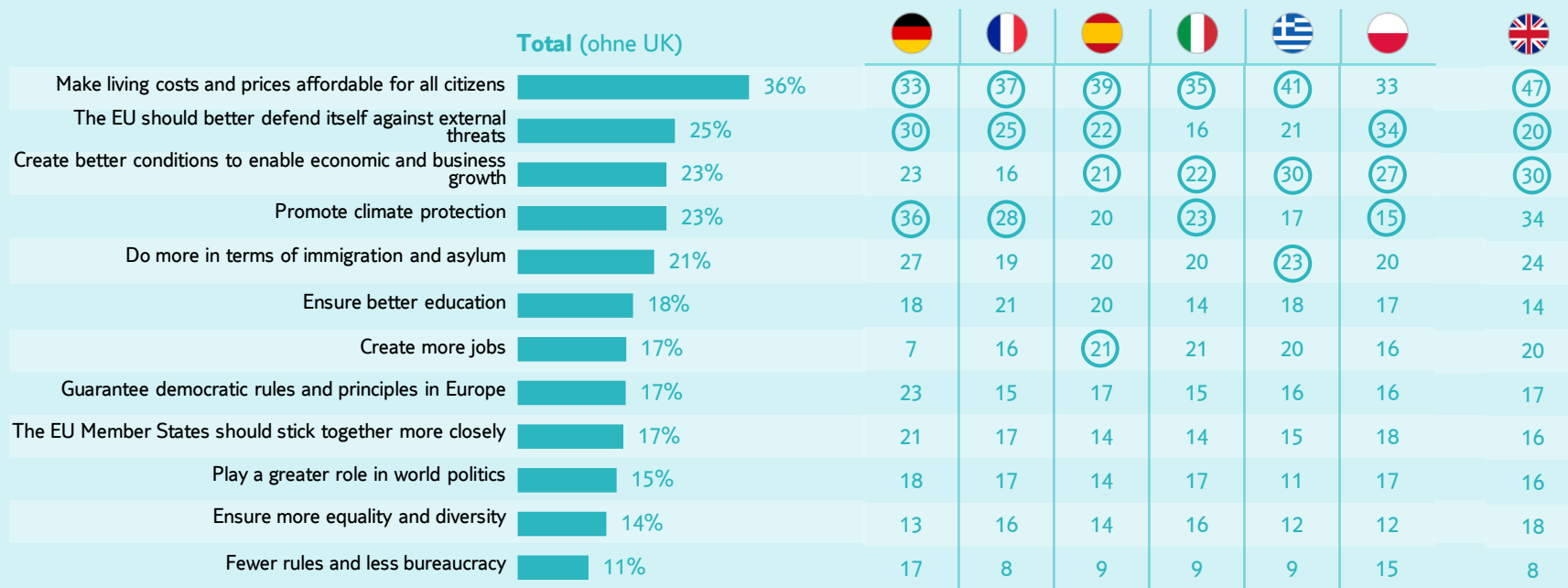
Light and shadow: Young respondents largely believe that the EU has not unequivocally responded correctly to the challenges and crises of our time.

In your opinion, has the EU overall responded to the challenges and crises of our time...



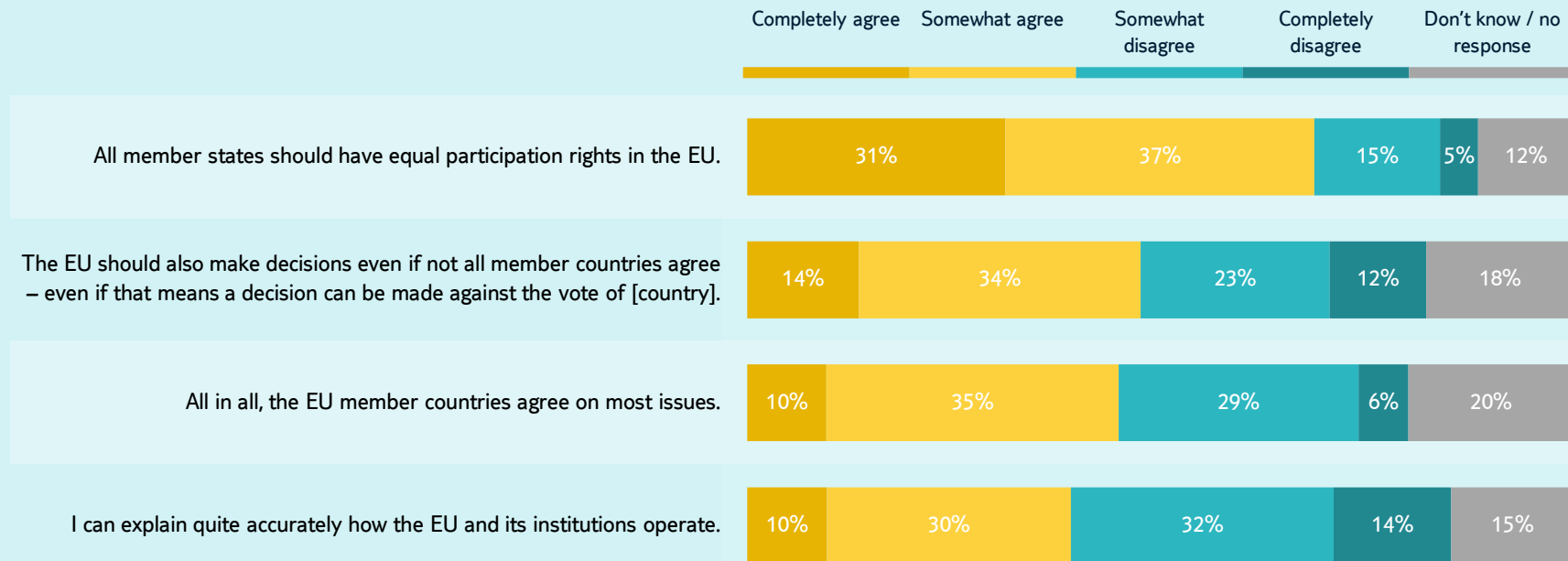
Young people in the EU primarily see the EU as responsible for the issues of cost of living, defence, economy and climate.

And in your opinion, what issues should the EU prioritise in response to the challenges and crises of our time? Please choose up to three topics.



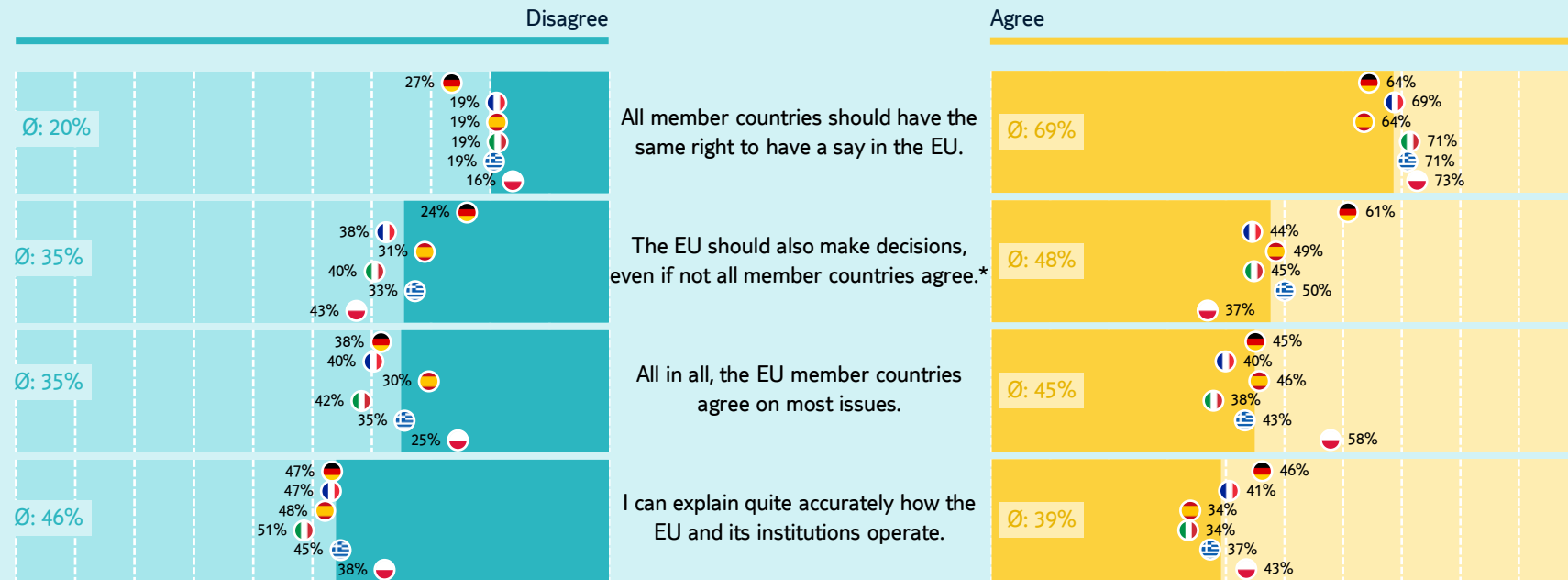
More than two thirds of young Europeans believe that all member countries should have the same right to have a say.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?



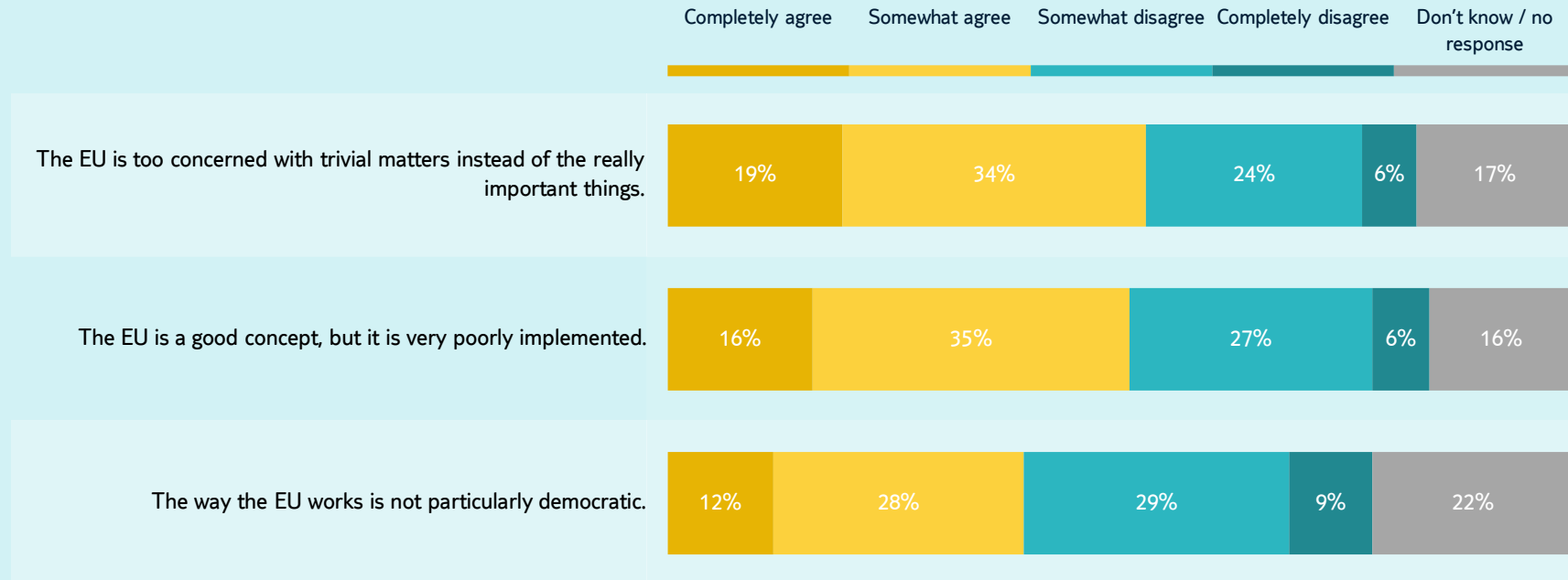
Three out of five young Germans believe that the EU should make decisions even if not all member countries agree.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?



Every second young European believes that the EU is a good idea, but can be optimised in its implementation.

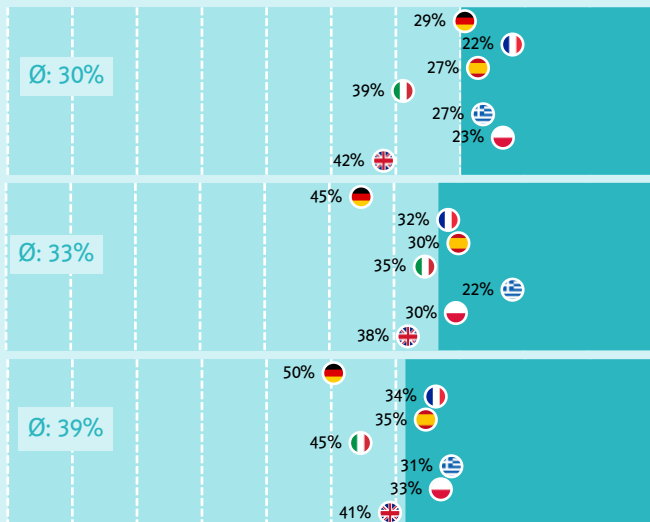
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?



36 percent of Germans think that the EU is not particularly democratic – however, every second German respondent disagrees with this statement.

To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Disagree

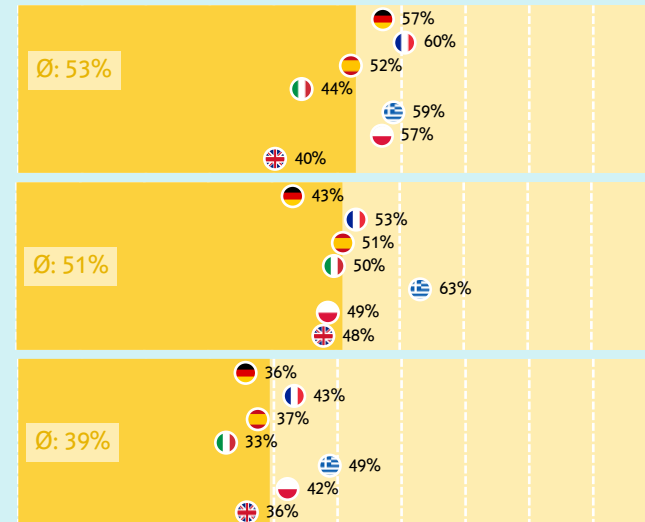


The EU is too concerned with trivial matters instead of the really important things.

The EU is a good concept, but it is very poorly implemented.

The way the EU works is not particularly democratic.

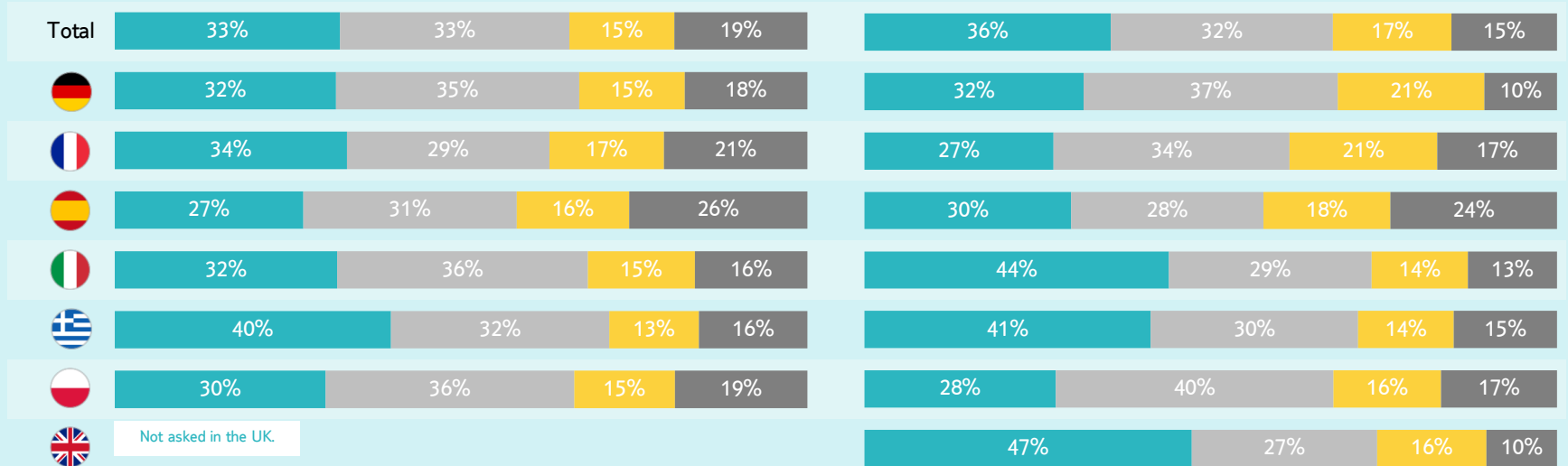
Agree



Lack of representation: In Germany, only one in five young people feel represented by the Bundestag, and even fewer, one in six, feel represented by the European Parliament.

When you think about the European Parliament: To what extent do you feel that you and your interests are being represented?

When you think about the Parliament of [country]: To what extent do you feel that you and your interests are being represented?

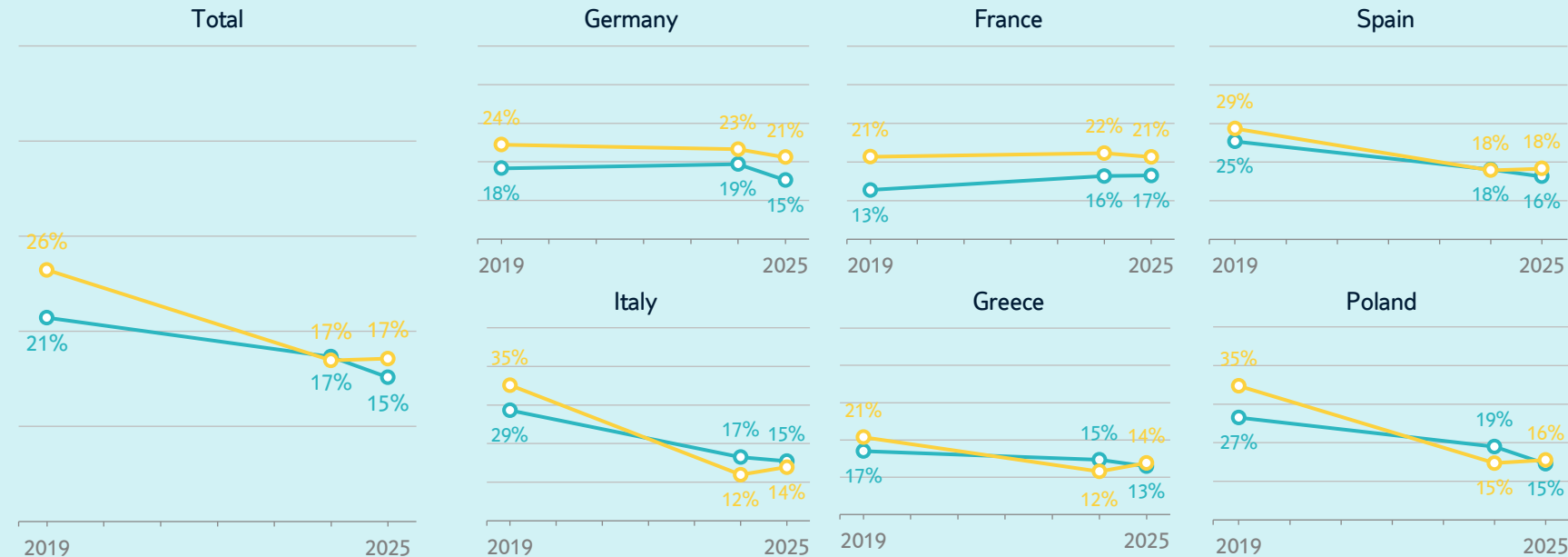


The number of young people who feel represented by the European Parliament continues to decrease compared to the previous year.

When you think about the European Parliament and the Parliament of [country]: To what extent do you feel that you and your interests are represented?

Presentation of the response options "Strong" + "Very strong"

● European Parliament ● National Parliament



The EU on the global political stage

The EU on the global political stage

How does the EU fit into the global political order?

The USA dominates world politics – at least that is how young Europeans perceive it: 83% believe that the USA is one of the three most powerful countries. Approximately every second respondent believes that the USA is the most powerful country. Three quarters of young people (75%) name China as one of the three most powerful global political actors, more than half (57%) think the same of Russia.

And what role does the EU play? Only two out of five young Europeans (42%) believe that the EU is one of the three most powerful global political players – usually in third place behind the USA and China. It is noteworthy that the internal and external perspectives differ: Most frequently, young Britons name the EU as one of the three most important actors in world politics (50%).

However, young Europeans see potential for the EU to take on a more important role: While a quarter (25%) are already convinced that the EU plays a role similar to that of the USA, China or Russia in the world today, half (51%) believe that the EU can participate in the concert of major global political actors if it changes fundamental things. Only one in ten is fundamentally sceptical and believes that the EU will never play a similarly large role.

What should the EU change? Two things are central from the perspective of young people: (1) Economic success and (2) cohesion among the member countries. Approximately one third of young Europeans cite the creation of better conditions for economic growth (35%) and the improvement of cohesion between member countries (34%) as the most important aspect that the EU would need to change in order to play a larger role in the world. Around a quarter (28%) think that the EU should represent its own interests more confidently.








Young people from the United Kingdom view the EU from the outside. They particularly often think that the EU should engage more strongly in international organisations such as the UN and should appear more assertively on the world political stage (33%).

The EU has potential








Not even every second young person sees the EU among the three most powerful global political actors.

Which of the following players do you think has the most power in the world at present? Please rank the players in descending order, starting with the player you currently ascribe the most power to in the world right at the top, followed by the player with the second most amount of power, and so on, right down to the player with the least power.

Proportion of young people who see the following countries as **the most powerful** geopolitical players:

	Total							
USA	51	58	51	39	52	50	48	58
China	20	21	18	30	17	20	15	19
Russland	9	6	10	7	7	10	12	8
EU	8	6	9	6	7	8	10	7
Indien	2	1	2	2	2	3	2	1

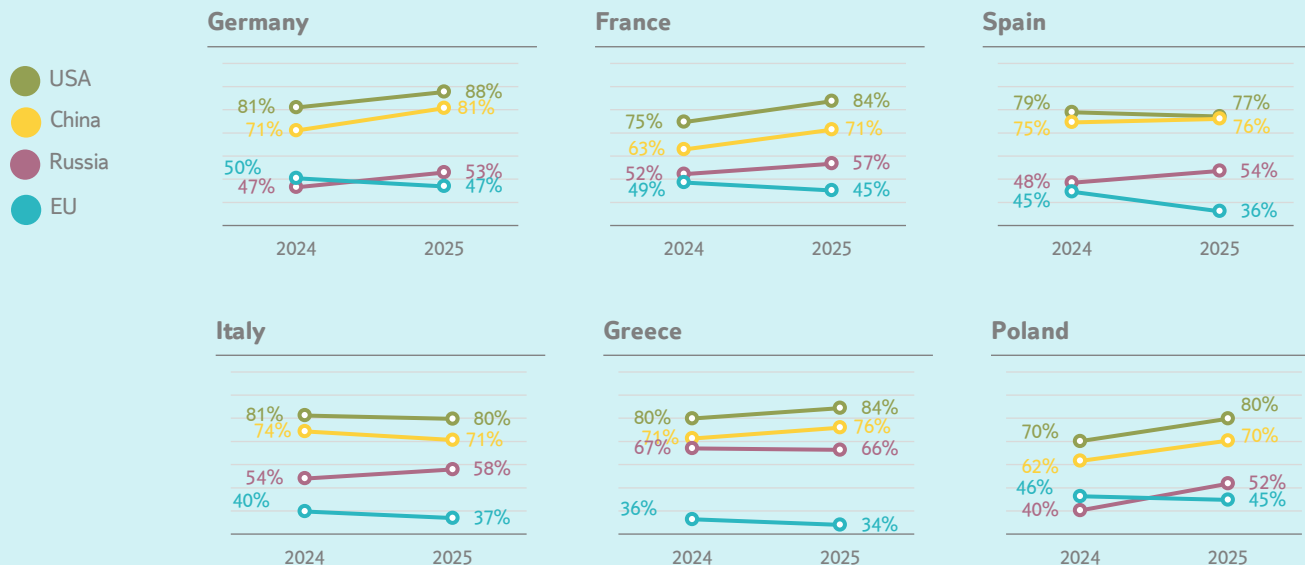
Proportion of young people who see the following countries as **one of the three most powerful** geopolitical players:

	Total							
	83	88	84	77	80	84	80	88
	75	81	71	76	71	76	70	80
	57	53	57	54	58	66	52	57
	42	47	45	36	37	34	45	50
	10	7	12	10	12	11	12	7

The USA, China and in some countries even Russia are gaining geopolitical relevance in the eyes of young people – the EU, on the other hand, is losing relevance.

Which of the following players do you think has the most power in the world at present? Please rank the players in descending order, starting with the player you currently ascribe the most power to in the world right at the top, followed by the player with the second most amount of power, and so on, right down to the player with the least power.

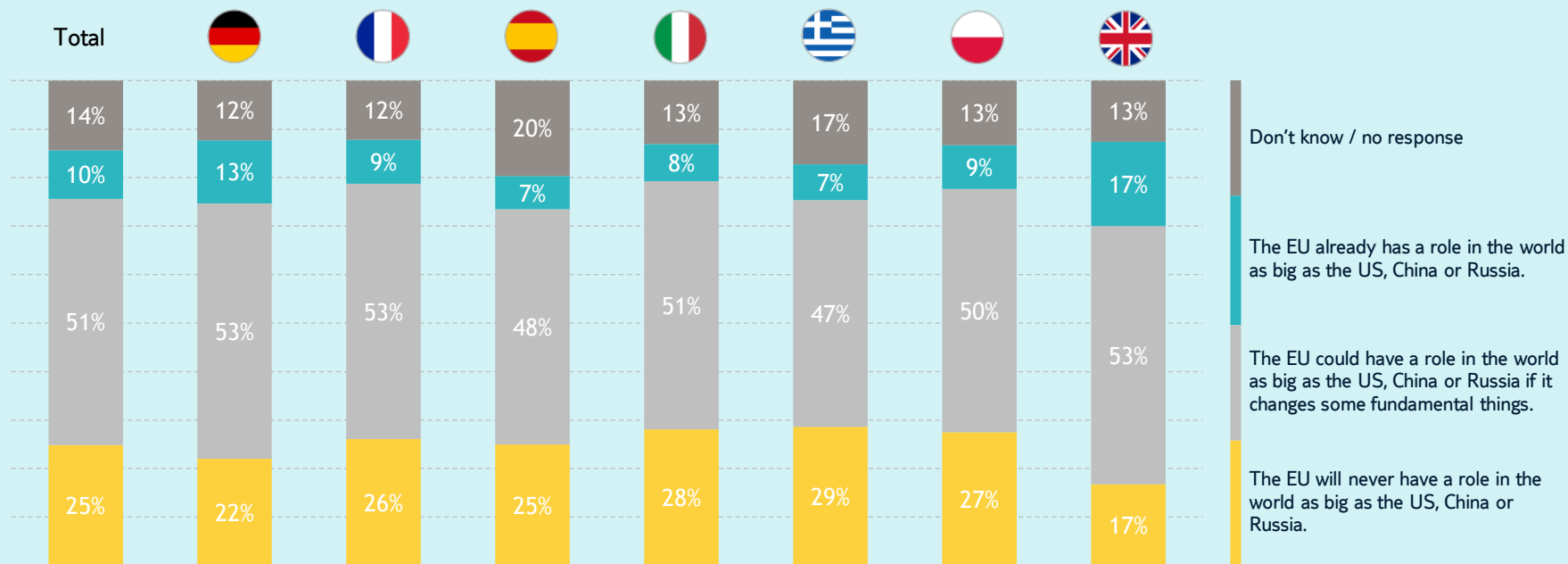
Proportion of young people who see the following countries as **one of the three most powerful geopolitical players**:



Base: all respondents, n=6.703, „Don't know / no response“ and „India“ not shown

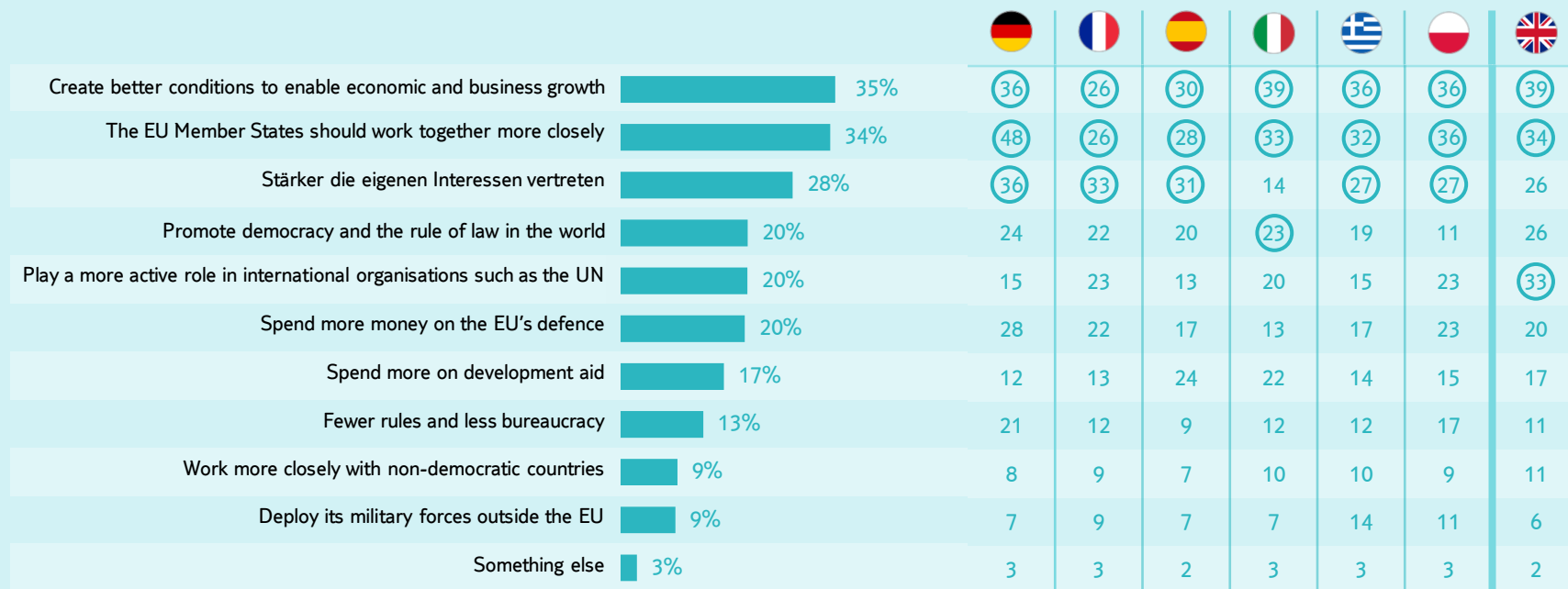
The majority of respondents see potential for the EU to take on a role as significant as the USA in the international framework, if it changes fundamental things.

Which of the following statements regarding the EU's role in the world do you most agree with?



The EU should strengthen the economy and businesses, as well as the cohesion of the member countries, in order to play a larger role in the international structure.

And what do you think the EU should do to play a greater role in the world? Please choose up to three topics.



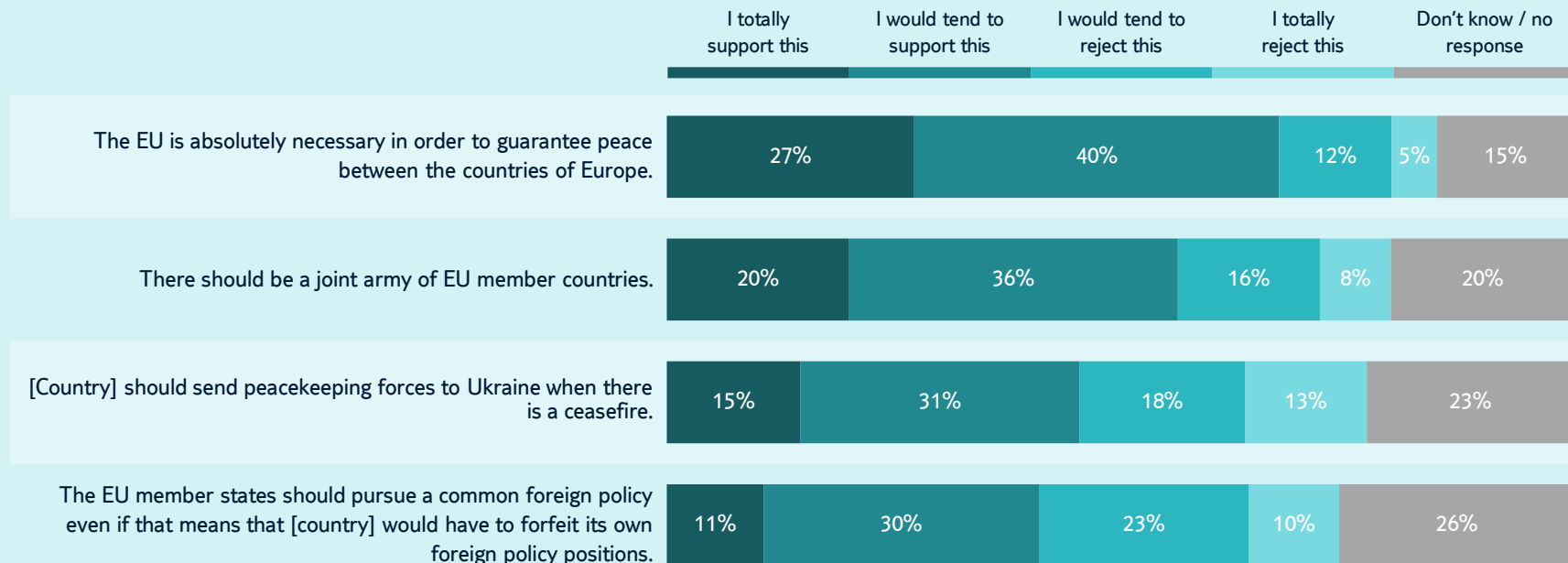
Three out of five young Europeans believe that their country should insist on a diplomatic solution in Russia's war against Ukraine.

To what extent, if at all, do you agree or disagree with the following statements with regard to Russia's attack on Ukraine?



More than two thirds of the young respondents believe that the EU is fundamental for a guarantee of peace between European states.

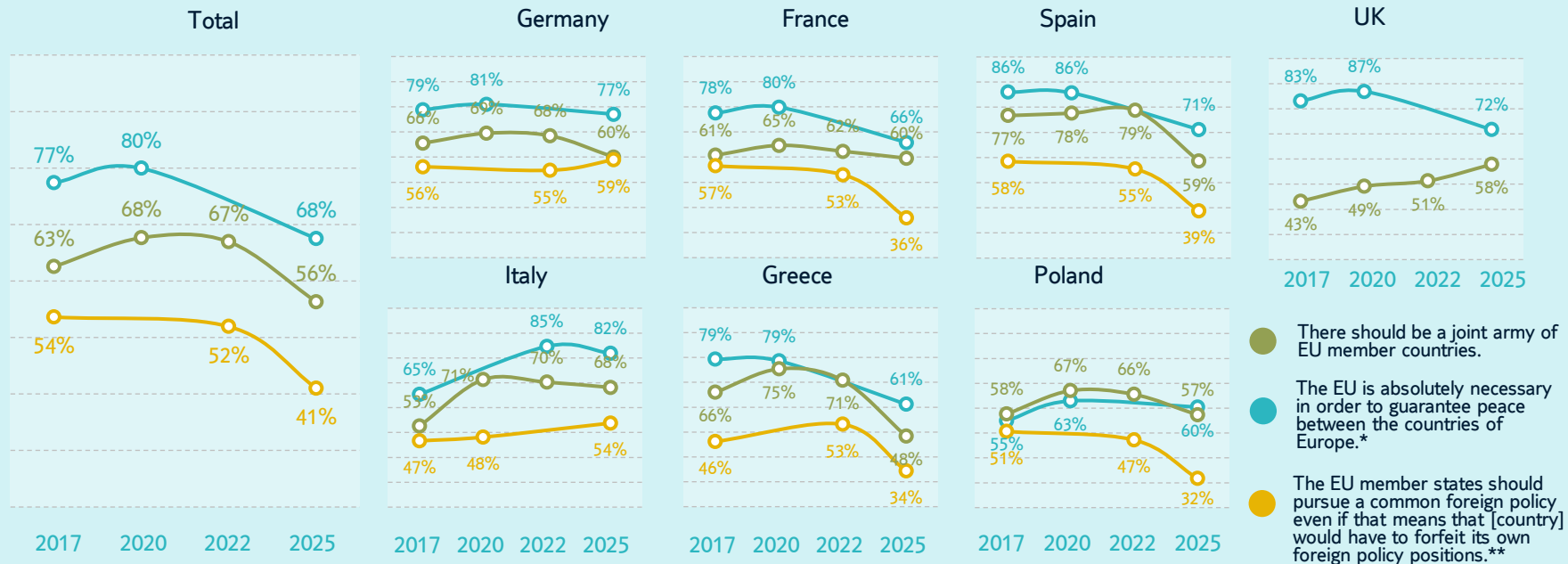
Do you support or reject the following statements about the European Union (EU)?



The number of young people who are in favour of a joint European army is decreasing in all countries, except for in the UK and France.

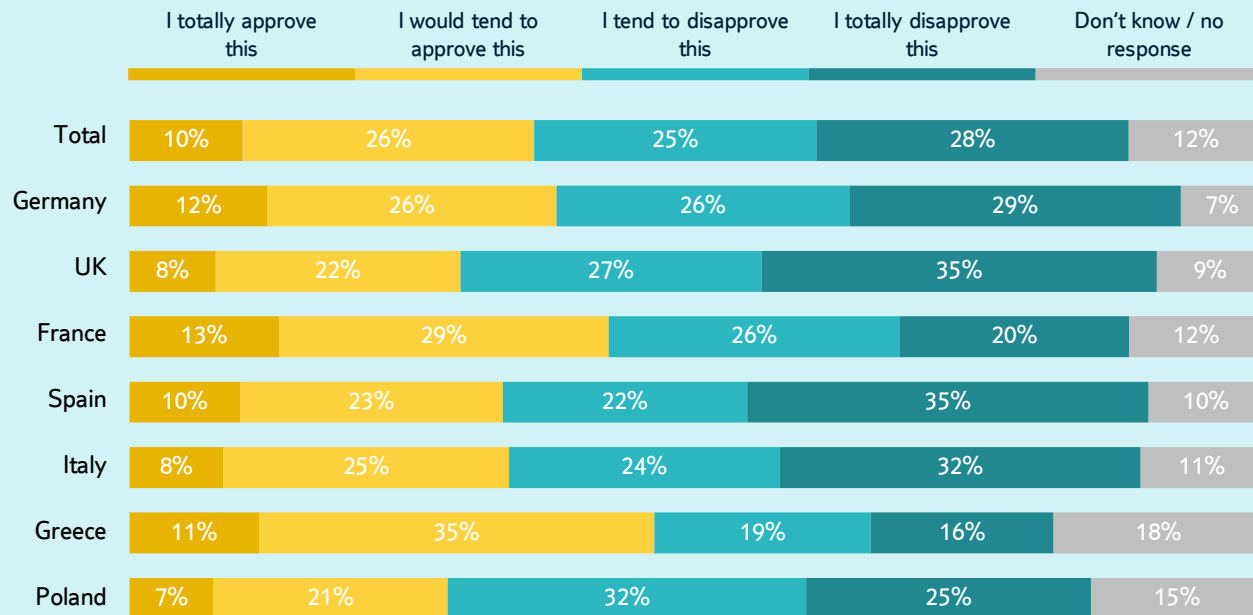
Do you support or reject the following statements about the European Union (EU)?

Displayed is the sum of "I fully support" and "I mostly support".



In France and Germany, most young people agree to mandatory national service, while in Poland and the United Kingdom, the approval is the lowest.

Would you approve or disapprove of the introduction of a compulsory national service in [country]? By "compulsory national service" we mean that all citizens carry out military service or an alternative charitable activity.

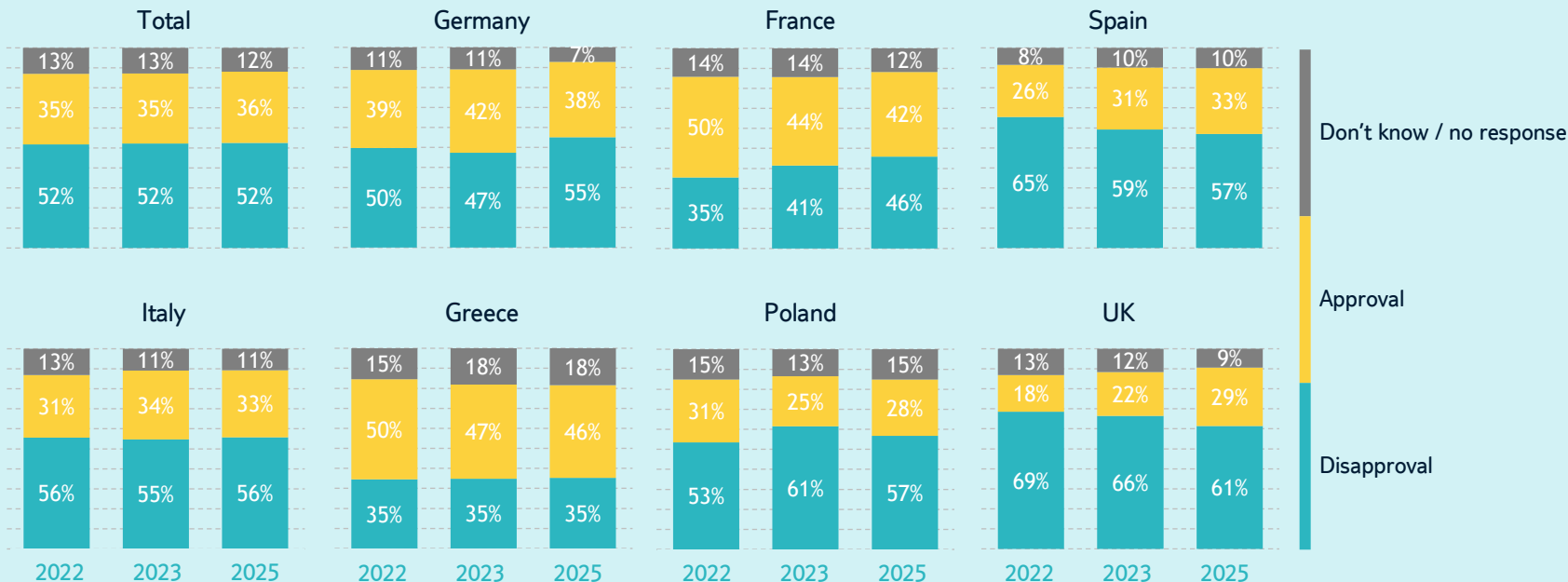


In Greece, men between the ages of 18 and 45 are subject to compulsory military service. For this reason, a different question was asked in Greece: "Would you be in favour of or against the introduction of compulsory military service in Greece instead of the existing compulsory military service? By "general compulsory service" we mean that all citizens perform military service or an alternative community service."

Due to the legal framework and the associated valuation basis, which differs from the other countries, the Greek results cannot be compared 1:1 with the results of the other countries.

Approval for mandatory national service is highest in France, although lower than in previous years; endorsement in the UK is significantly increasing over time.

Would you approve or disapprove of the introduction of a compulsory national service in [country]? By "compulsory national service" we mean that all citizens carry out military service or an alternative charitable activity.



Polarisation among young people in Europe

How divided – if at all – are young Europeans?

We have examined in the TUI Youth Study 2025 whether and in what way young people in Europe differ in their positions on the topics of **"immigration"**, **"climate protection"**, **"equality"** and **"redistribution"**. In order to make a statement about how strongly young people oppose different positions, we have additionally measured **affective polarisation**.

What is affective polarisation?

Affective polarisation describes a phenomenon in which emotions and feelings towards groups of people who share one's own political opinions or preferences are strongly positive, while feelings towards groups of people who represent opposing political opinions or preferences become strongly negative.

Affective polarisation therefore describes that people develop a positive identification with their own group, while at the same time showing emotional distance or even rejection towards other groups.

How did we measure affective polarisation?

We asked young people about their views on the topics of immigration, climate protection, equality and redistribution.

Following each topic, we asked how young people feel about other people who, for example, (1) are in favour of limiting immigration and (2) are in favour of allowing more immigration.

We have measured this perception on a feeling thermometer – a response scale on which respondents can grade their feeling from "-5 = very cold and negative" to "+5 = very warm and positive".

What do the values mean?

We then subtracted the feeling thermometer value for one group from the feeling thermometer value for the other group. We refer to this difference as a measure of polarisation. It shows how strongly one group perceives another group with a different opinion negatively. The polarisation measure can lie between the values "0" and "10".

Because it describes the perception of a group with a different opinion, we always show values for groups that represent a certain opinion (e.g. "Young people who are in favour of limiting immigration" compared to "Young people who are in favour of allowing more immigration").

Is the youth moving to the right?

Young people are shifting to the right – or aren't they?

At the latest since the European elections 2024 and the presidential election in the USA 2024, the public in Germany and other Western democracies has been discussing whether young people have shifted politically to the right. The results of these elections suggest such a finding.

Indeed, the number of young people who identify themselves as right of centre has increased since 2021: In Germany from 8% to 14%, in France from 15% to 21%, in Spain from 15% to 22%, in Greece from 14% to 20%, and in Poland from 16% to 21%. In Italy (from 16% to 18%) and the United Kingdom (from 14% to 17%), this trend is less pronounced than in other countries.

During the same period, however, the number of young people identifying themselves as left of centre has also increased in Germany, France and Italy: in Germany from 32% to 43%, in France from 21% to 28%, and in Italy from 25% to 34%. In these three countries, therefore, the group of young people is more strongly divided in terms of world view.

In Spain (from 39% to 31%) and the United Kingdom (from 43% to 38%), the number of young people who identify themselves as left of centre is decreasing, while in Poland (from 29% to 28%) and Greece (from 19% to 21%), it remains largely unchanged. Young people in these societies have indeed shifted ideologically to the right over the past 4 years. However: With the exception of Greece, in these countries too, more young people identify themselves as left

rather than right of centre.

Men to the right, women to the left?

Young women in Germany, France and Italy are more progressive today than they were four years ago. The number of young women who identify themselves as left of centre is significantly increasing in these countries. In Spain and the United Kingdom, more young women are positioning themselves in the middle today. In Poland and, to a lesser extent, in Greece, young men are becoming more conservative. The number of young men who identify themselves as right of centre is increasing significantly, especially in Poland. It is noteworthy that the political orientation of young women in Poland has hardly changed at all compared to 2021.

Are "right" and "left" still the correct categories?

In an era when party systems are becoming increasingly pluralistic and citizens appear to be more flexible in choosing their political views, the question arises whether "right" and "left" are still categories that young people can relate to.

In Germany, most young people can classify themselves on a scale from left to right (93%). In Greece (77%), France (81%) or Italy (81%), this is more difficult for young people – a sign that the mere distinction between "left" and "right" does not reflect the political-psychological reality of young people everywhere.

Immigration & climate protection

Societal conflict lines among young people

In the federal election of 2025, 21% of voters under 25 voted for the AfD.¹ In the US presidential election, among others, young men voted for Donald Trump more than average.² Is there a movement towards right-wing populist themes and beliefs among young people?

In the TUI Youth Study, attitudes towards the topics of immigration, climate protection, equality and redistribution have been measured repeatedly in recent years. Therefore, the TUI Youth Study can show whether and how the political positions of young people have changed over the past few years.

Immigration

For young people from EU member states, "Migration and Asylum" has been one of the two most important EU topics since at least 2024. And compared to 2022, their opinion has also changed: They have become more sceptical. In Germany, the proportion of young people who want to further limit immigration has risen from 24% to 37%. In Poland (from 20% to 51%) and Spain (from 21% to 44%), even more young people have become sceptical towards immigration. In all countries except the United Kingdom, by 2025 the majority of young people are in favour of limiting rather than expanding immigration.

The immigration issue is primarily a divisive topic for young Europeans who politically align themselves to the right of centre. In Germany, France, Spain,

Greece and Poland, the number of young people who align themselves to the right and are simultaneously highly polarised is high. In Poland, 47% of young people who identify as right wing, are opposed to those with differing views on this issue. Only in Italy do left- and right-oriented young people not differ in the degree of their polarisation.

Climate protection

The importance of the topic "Environmental and climate protection" has steadily decreased for young people in EU member countries since 2020. Still, more young people prioritise climate protection over economic growth (32%) than vice versa (23%). Compared to 2021, the number of climate protection advocates has decreased in all countries except Greece.

In Germany, by 2025 approximately twice as many young people are sceptical about prioritising climate protection as in 2021 (13% vs. 25%). In the same period, the proportion of climate protection supporters has decreased from 47% to 39%.

¹<https://www.tagesschau.de/wahl/archiv/2025-02-23-BT-DE/umfrage-alter.shtml>

²<https://www.dw.com/de/us-wahl-2024-wer-hat-donald-trump-gew%C3%A4hlt-alter-geschlecht-latinos-schwarze/a-70715875>

Equality & redistribution

Climate protection (cont.)

Climate protection is primarily an emotive issue for progressively thinking young people. In France, Spain, Italy, Greece and the United Kingdom, left-wing young people are more hostile towards those with different opinions than right-wing young people. In Germany, young people are equally polarised to the left and right of the centre. In Poland, on the other hand, the issue polarises more to the right of centre than to the left of centre.

Equality

Equality is named as a relevant issue for the EU by approximately one in ten young Europeans. Even if they prioritise other topics on their agenda, equality is the issue that emotionally moves young people the most.

Around 4 out of 10 young people (38%) believe that government equality measures do not go far enough. These are approximately the same number as in the year 2024 (36%). In Germany (from 34% to 44%), Poland (from 30% to 37%) and Greece (from 37% to 41%), more young people believe that equality has not yet gone far enough. In Italy (from 45% to 41%) and Spain (from 30% to 28%), the same or fewer young people held this opinion as in 2024. Except in Spain, where supporters and opponents of equality measures are balanced, in all other countries more young people are in favour of more equality measures.

Equality is the issue that particularly emotionalises and polarises young

Europeans to the left of centre. Among young people from Germany, France, Italy, Greece and the United Kingdom, the number of those who are strongly opposed to people who are against equality is high. In Poland, young people who align themselves politically to the right are more polarised than in other countries.

Welfare state

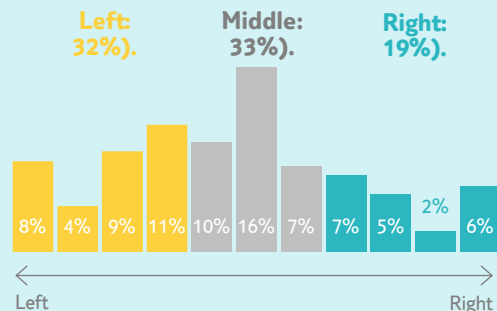
Around four out of ten young people (38%) are of the opinion that the EU should take care of making the cost of living affordable. Nevertheless, young people are ambivalent in their attitude towards welfare state measures. Approximately the same number of young people are in favour of more welfare state (24%) as are in favour of less welfare state (27%). In Germany, 28% are in favour of more social welfare and 26% are in favour of less social welfare. Compared to 2024, the overall picture in Germany has changed only slightly (more welfare state: 23%, less welfare state: 27%). In Poland, Greece, Italy, and France, more young people are in favour of less welfare state than more welfare state.

On the topic of the welfare state, young people in Europe are least strongly polarised compared to the three other topics.

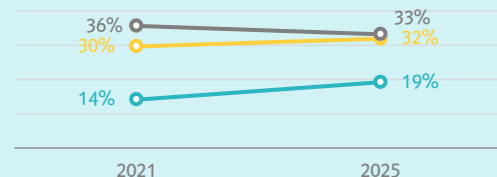
Compared to 2021, more young people describe themselves as right wing. In Germany, however, the proportion of young people who identify themselves to the left of centre is particularly increasing.

In politics, there is often talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself politically?

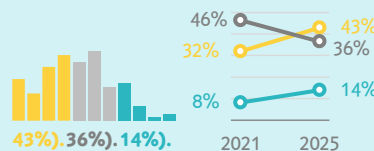
Total



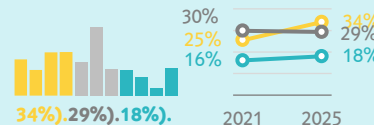
Development of the proportion of young people who rate themselves as **Left or Right**:



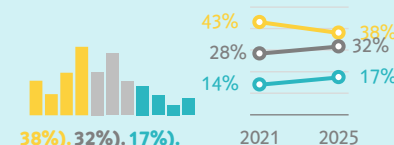
Germany



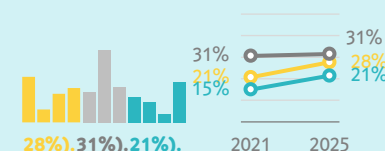
Italy



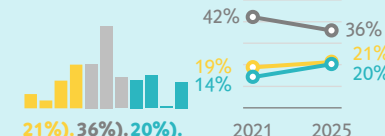
UK



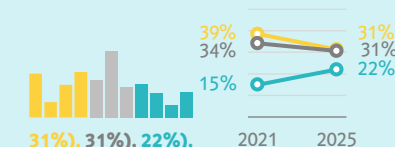
France



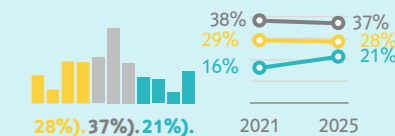
Greece



Spain



Poland



- Young people who rate themselves as left
- Young people who rate themselves in the middle
- Young people who rate themselves as right

Base: all respondents, 2025: n=6.703, 2021: n=6.253;
„Don't know / no response" not shown

Young women in Germany, France and Italy today often align themselves more to the left, young men in Poland and Greece more to the right than four years ago.

In politics, there is often talk of "left" and "right". Where would you place yourself politically?

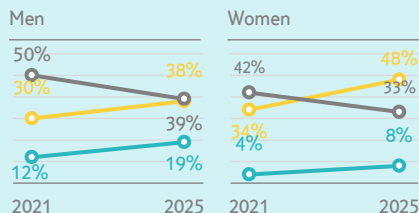


Young people who rate themselves as left

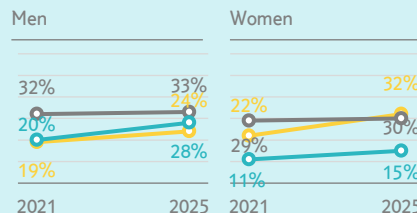


Young people who rate themselves as right

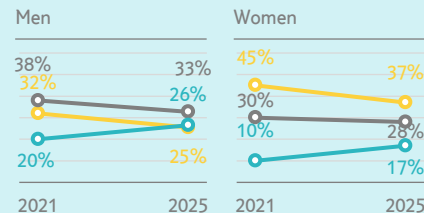
Germany



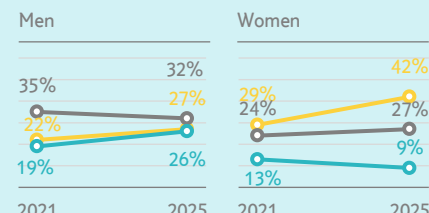
France



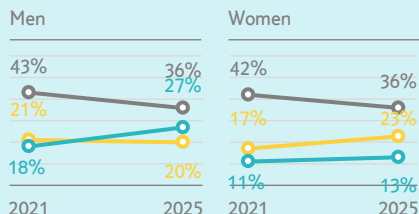
Spain



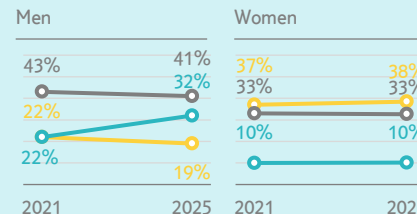
Italy



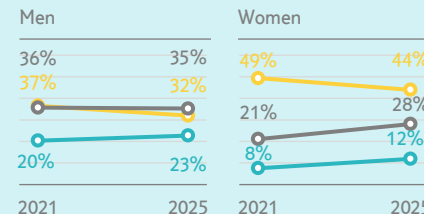
Greece



Poland



UK

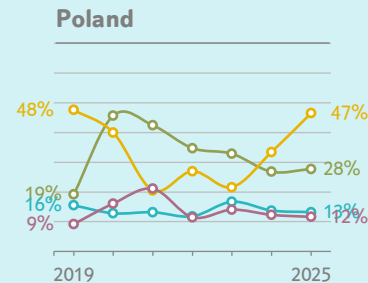
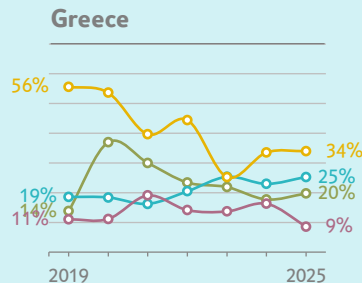
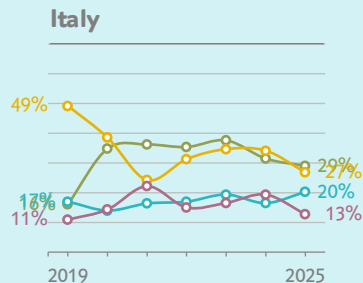
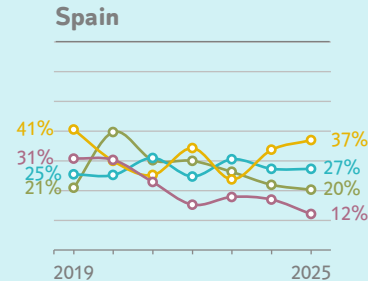
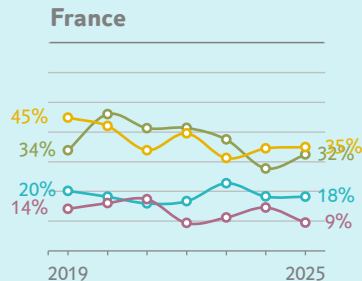
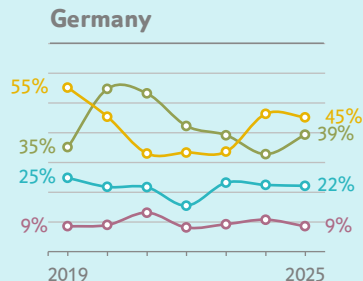


Migration and asylum are seen by young people in all countries as being at the top of the EU's agenda. Equality and social policy are secondary issues for the EU.

What are the most important current political problems in the EU in your opinion? Please first select the single most important problem and then the second and third most important problem.

The sum of the ranks of the most important, second and third most important problems is depicted.

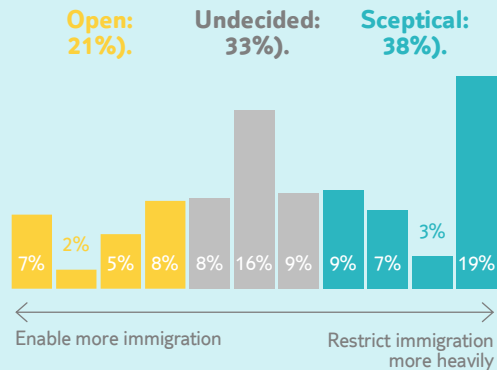
- Migration and Asylum
- Environmental and climate protection
- Social policy
- Gender equality



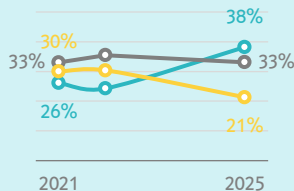
Young people have become more sceptical about immigration. In Germany, more than a third are sceptical, a quarter are open to immigration.

In your opinion, should [country] enable more immigration or restrict immigration more heavily?

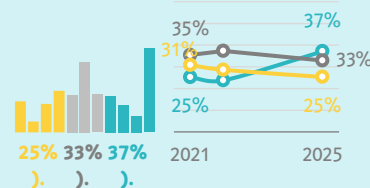
Total



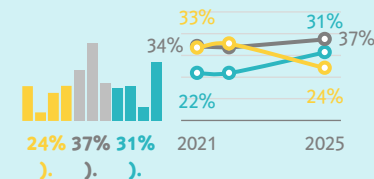
Development of the proportion of **immigration-sceptical** and **immigration-open** young people in Europe:



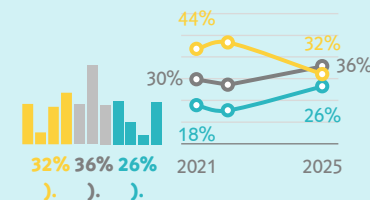
Germany



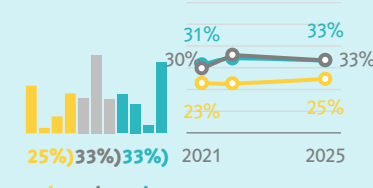
Italy



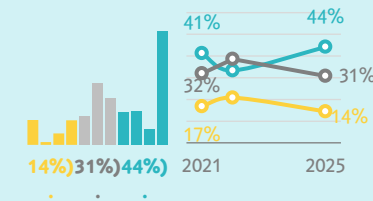
UK



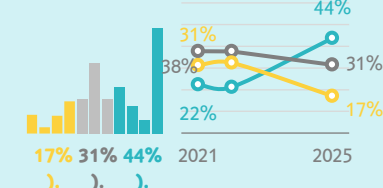
France



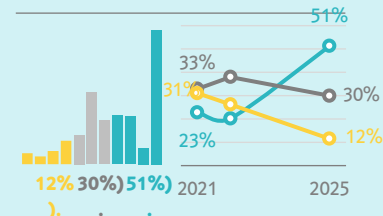
Greece



Spain



Poland



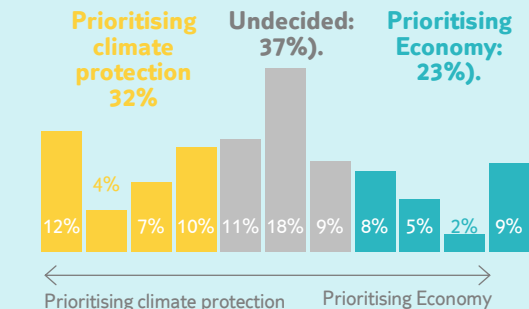
- Young people who are open to immigration
- Young people who are undecided
- Young people who are sceptical about immigration

Base: all respondents, 2025: n=6.703, 2022: n=6.228, 2021: n=6.253:
Don't know / no response not shown

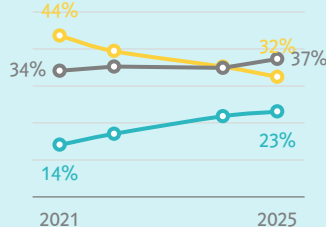
Young people continue to prioritise climate protection over growth, but, compared to 2021, fewer young people prioritise climate protection.

Some think that fighting climate change should definitely take priority even if this damages economic growth. Others think that economic growth should definitely take priority even if this makes fighting climate change more difficult. What is your opinion on this topic?

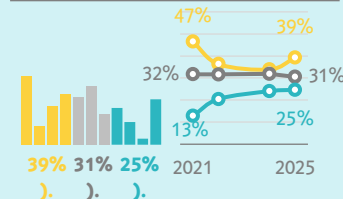
Total



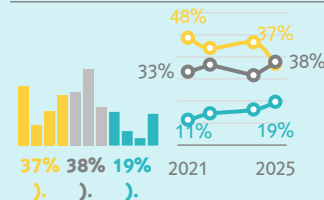
Development the proportion of young people who prioritise climate protection and growing the economy:



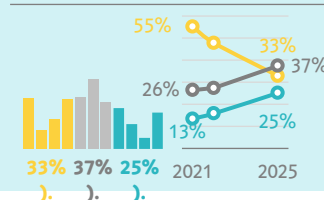
Germany



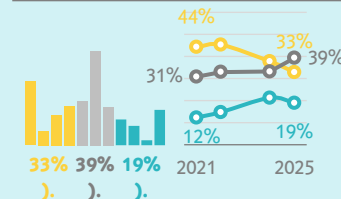
Italy



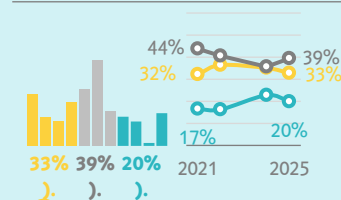
UK



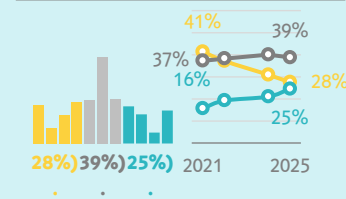
France



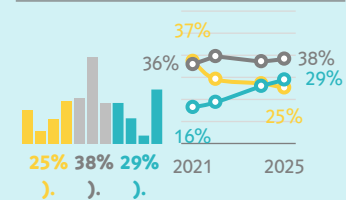
Greece



Spain



Poland



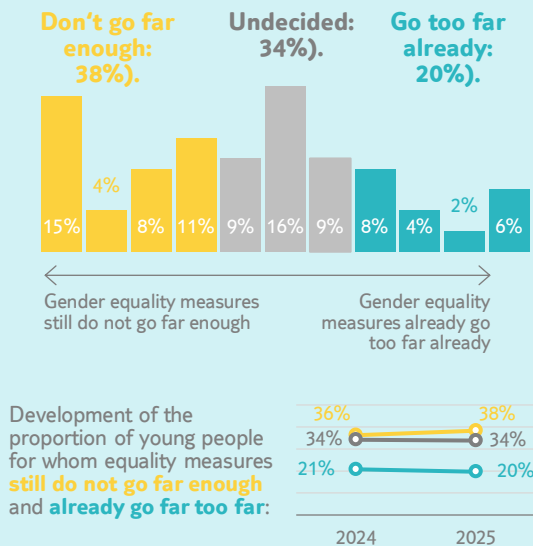
- Young people who prioritise climate protection
- Young people who are undecided
- Young people who prioritise economy

Base: all respondents, 2025: n=6.703, 2024: 5.874, 2022: 6.228, 2021: 6.253;
Don't know / no response not shown

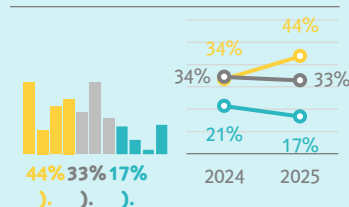
Young people in Europe would like the state to do more for equality. Above all, in Germany and Poland, more equality measures are approved.

We would now like to know what you think about government measures to promote equality for women in society. Some people think that government equality measures don't go nearly far enough, others think that they are already going much too far. What is your opinion on this topic?

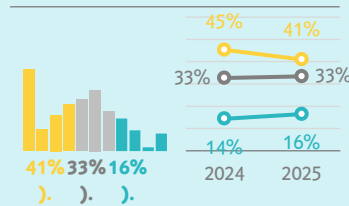
Total



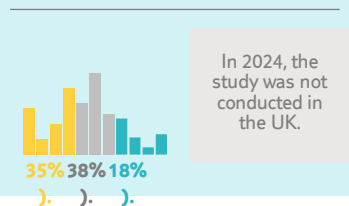
Germany



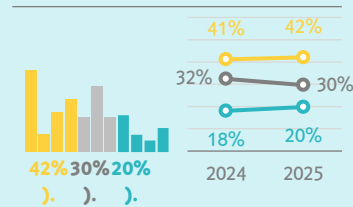
Italy



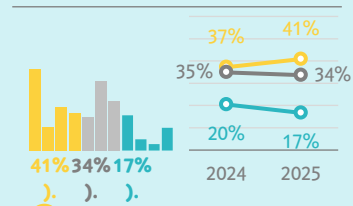
UK



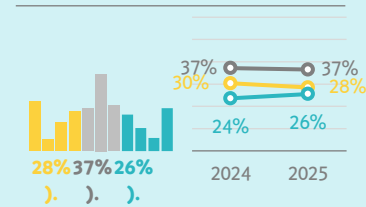
France



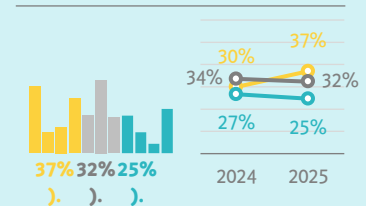
Greece



Spain



Poland

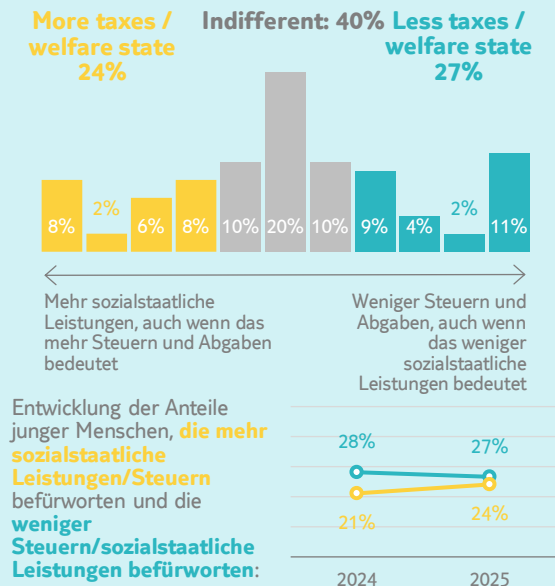


- Young people who think equality measures don't go far enough
- Young people who are undecided
- Young people who think equality measures already go too far

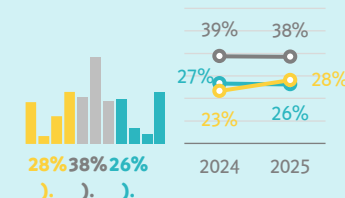
In Germany, young people who are for and against a larger welfare state are evenly balanced.

Some want lower taxes and deductions, even if that means fewer social welfare benefits. Others want more social welfare benefits – even if that means higher taxes and deductions. What is your opinion on this topic?

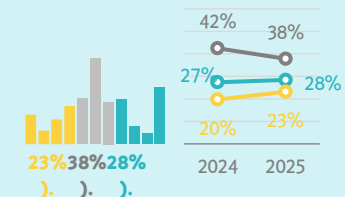
Total



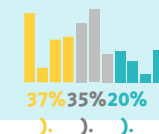
Germany



Italy

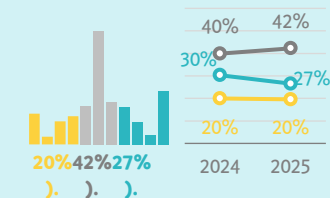


Großbritannien

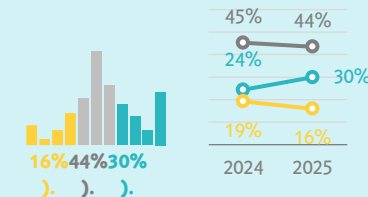


2024 wurde die Studie nicht in Großbritannien durchgeführt.

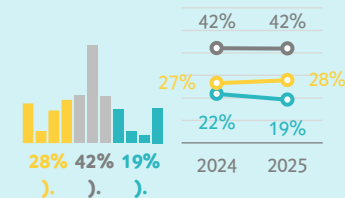
France



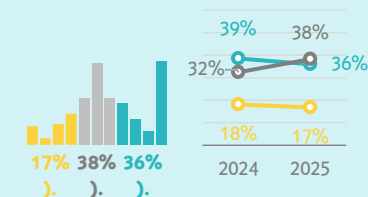
Greece



Spain



Poland

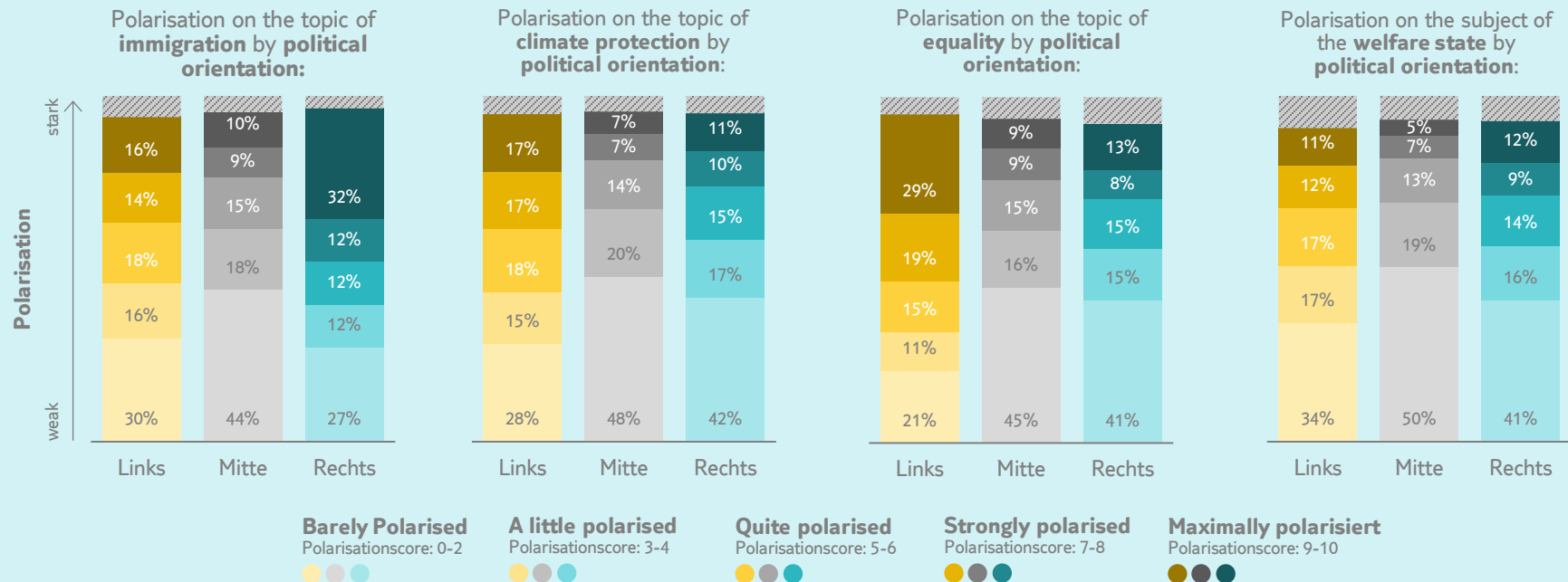


- Junge Young people who are for fewer taxes/social welfare benefits
- Young people who are undecided
- Young people who are for more taxes/social welfare benefits

Base: all respondents, 2025: n=6.703, 2024: n=5.874;
Don't know / no response not shown

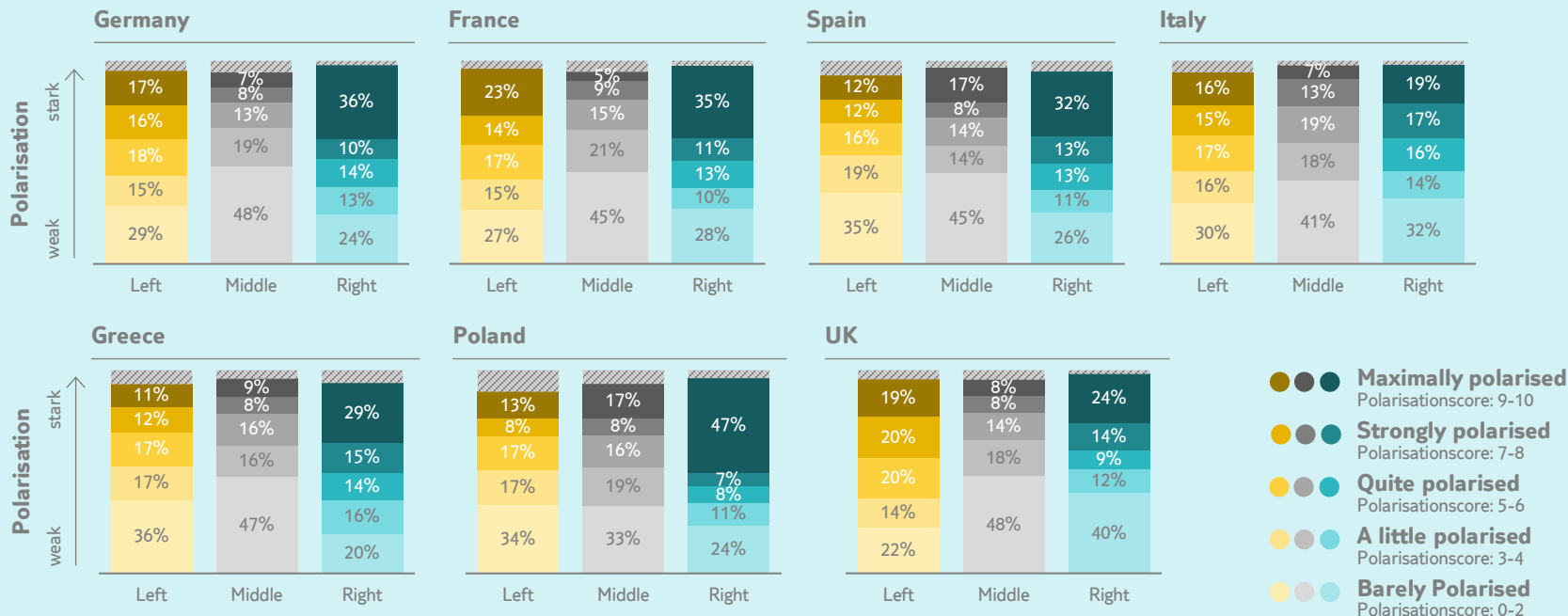
In terms of climate protection and equality, predominantly left-leaning young people are strongly polarised, while young people who are right-leaning are polarised on the issue of immigration.

Affective polarisation by topic



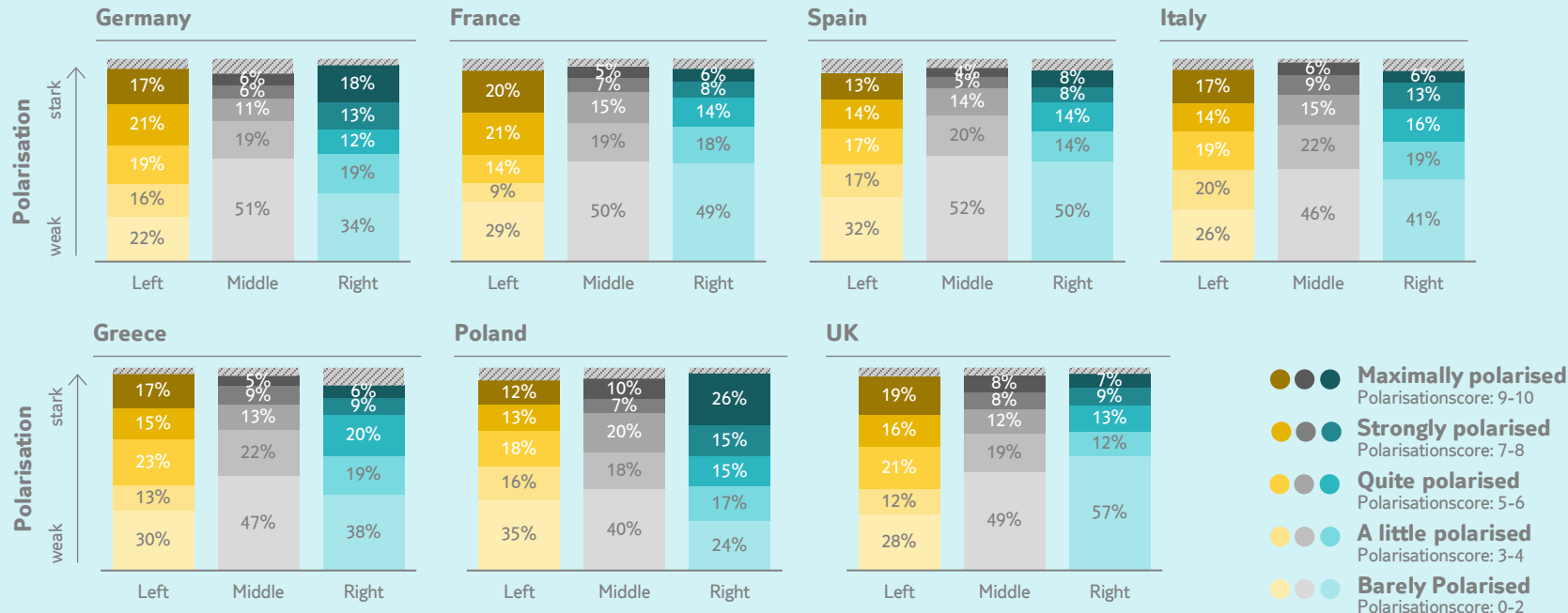
In Germany, France, Greece, and Poland, the number of young people who identify themselves to the right of centre and are strongly polarised on the issue of "Immigration" is high.

Affective polarisation on the topic of **immigration**



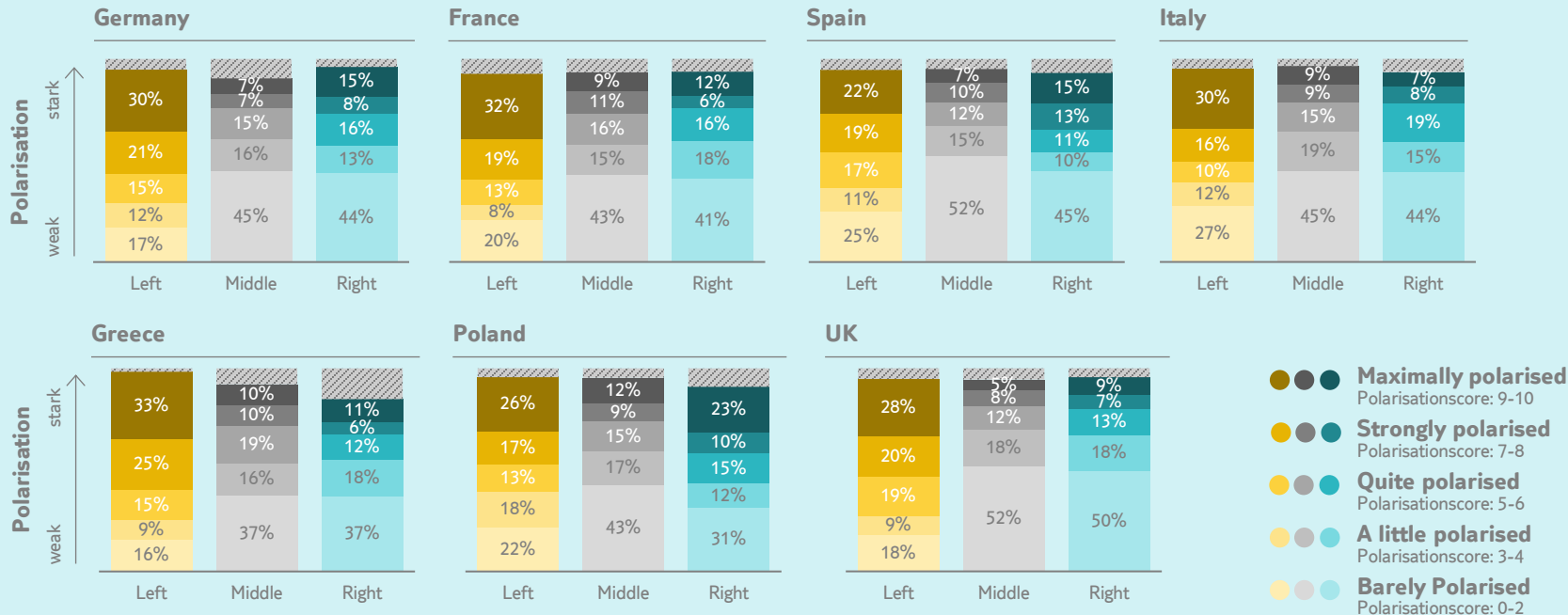
Young people to the left of centre are more polarised on the issue of "Climate protection" than young people to the right of centre – except in Poland.

Affective polarisation on the topic of **climate protection**



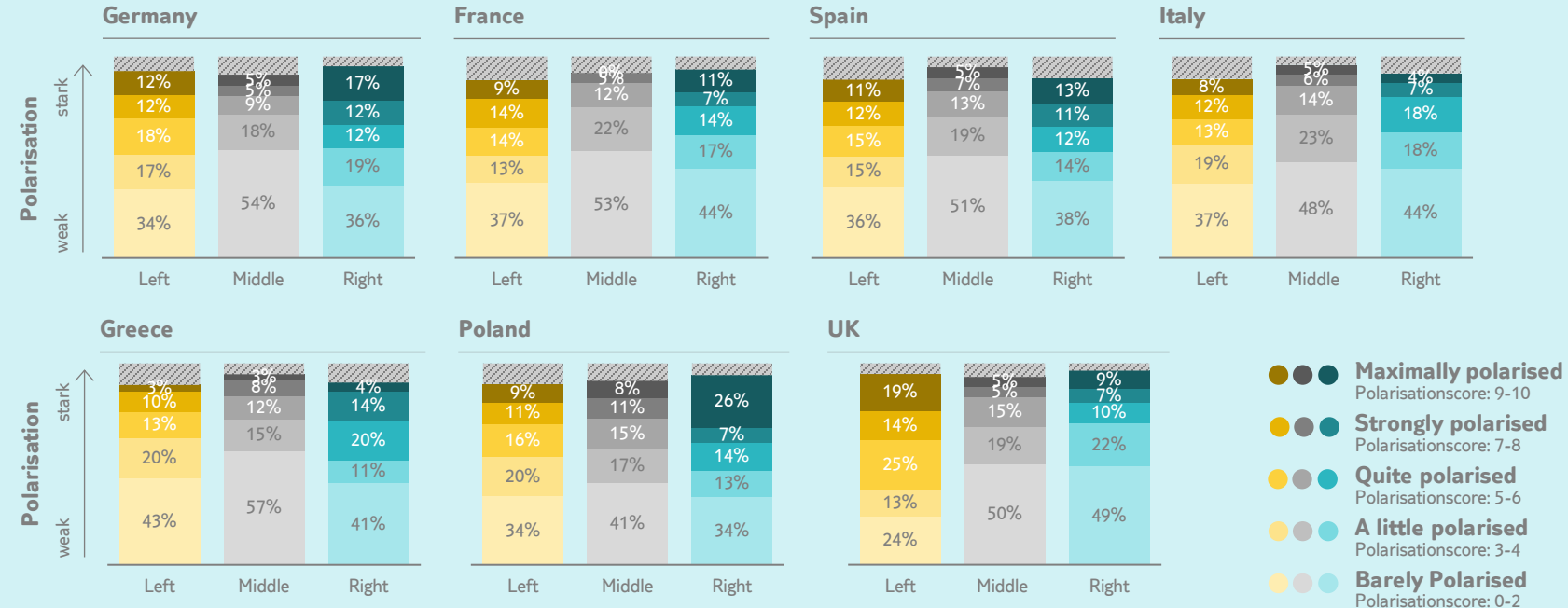
On the topic of "Equality", it is primarily young people to the left of centre who strongly reject people of opposing views.

Affective polarisation on the topic of **equality**



On the topic of "welfare state", young people in all countries are the least polarised.

Affective polarisation on the topic of **welfare state**



To what extent do young people support democracy?

How fragile is the fundamental democratic consensus among young people?

Young people are not satisfied with THIS democracy.

Many young people in Europe are not satisfied with the democracy as it is lived in their country. In France (26%), Spain (21%), Italy (17%), Greece (12%) and Poland (23%), only very few young people are satisfied with the current democratic system. Only in Germany (45%) and the United Kingdom (37%) is the number of satisfied young people higher. This image has been somewhat constant since 2019. Only between 2022 and 2023 was the dissatisfaction even greater as a result of the pandemic.

This finding becomes even clearer when young people assess how well or poorly democracy works as a political system. In no country do more than 1 in 10 young people say that the political system works perfectly well (across all countries: 6%). In total, 39% say that the political system works, but needs to be adjusted. One third (33%) of the respondents believe that the political system needs to be adjusted in many aspects, and another sixth (14%) even think that it needs to be completely changed.

To what extent do young people support democracy?

More than half (57%) unequivocally prefer democracy to other forms of government. In Germany, the number of these young people is the highest (71%), in Poland (48%), Spain (51%) and France (52%) the lowest. Around one fifth (21%) are open to other forms of government under certain circumstances. In Germany, the number of such young people is the lowest (15%), in France,

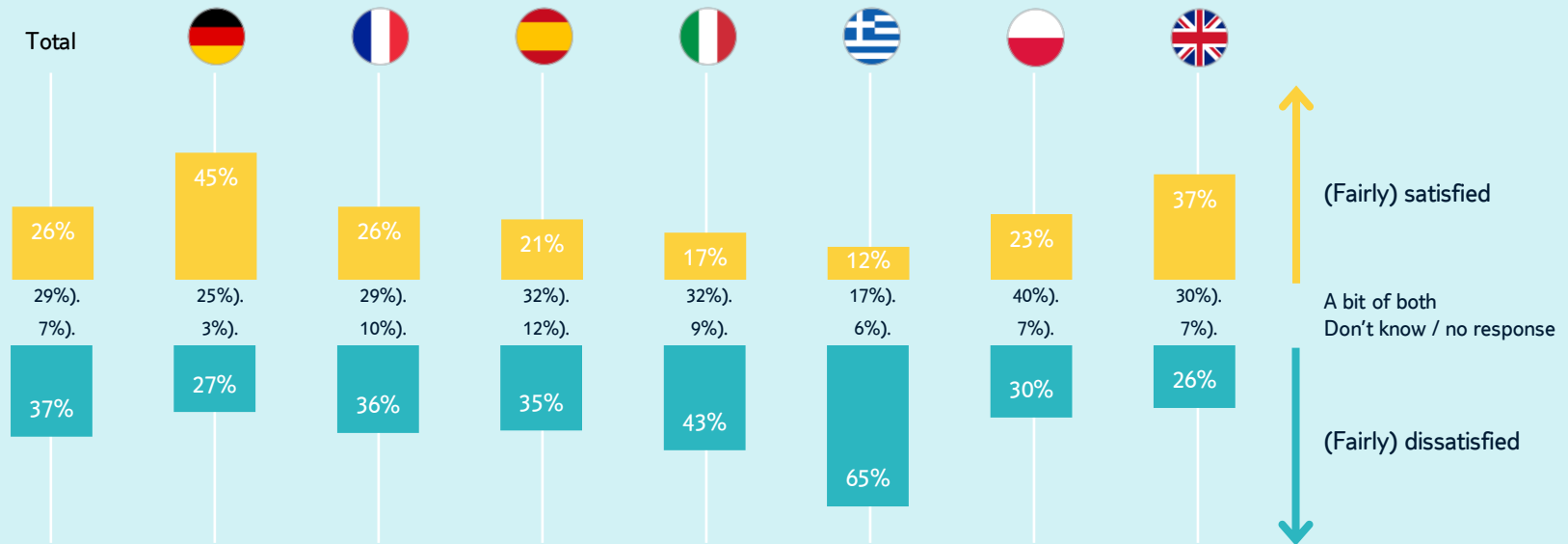
Spain, Italy, Greece and Poland, it is more than 20% of the young people who think this way. And: there is just under a tenth (8%) who do not care whether the form of government is democratic or not. There are just as many such young people in Poland (11%) as in the United Kingdom (10%).

The number of young people firmly committed to democracy in the year 2025 is therefore not so large, especially in Poland, Spain and France. In Germany, most young people still adhere to democracy.

Young people perceive this fragility even in the societies in which they live. Six out of ten young people (61%) in Germany see democracy at risk – this is 1 more than in the year 2024 (plus 13 percentage points). In Greece, 62% see democracy at risk, in France 52% and in the United Kingdom 47%.

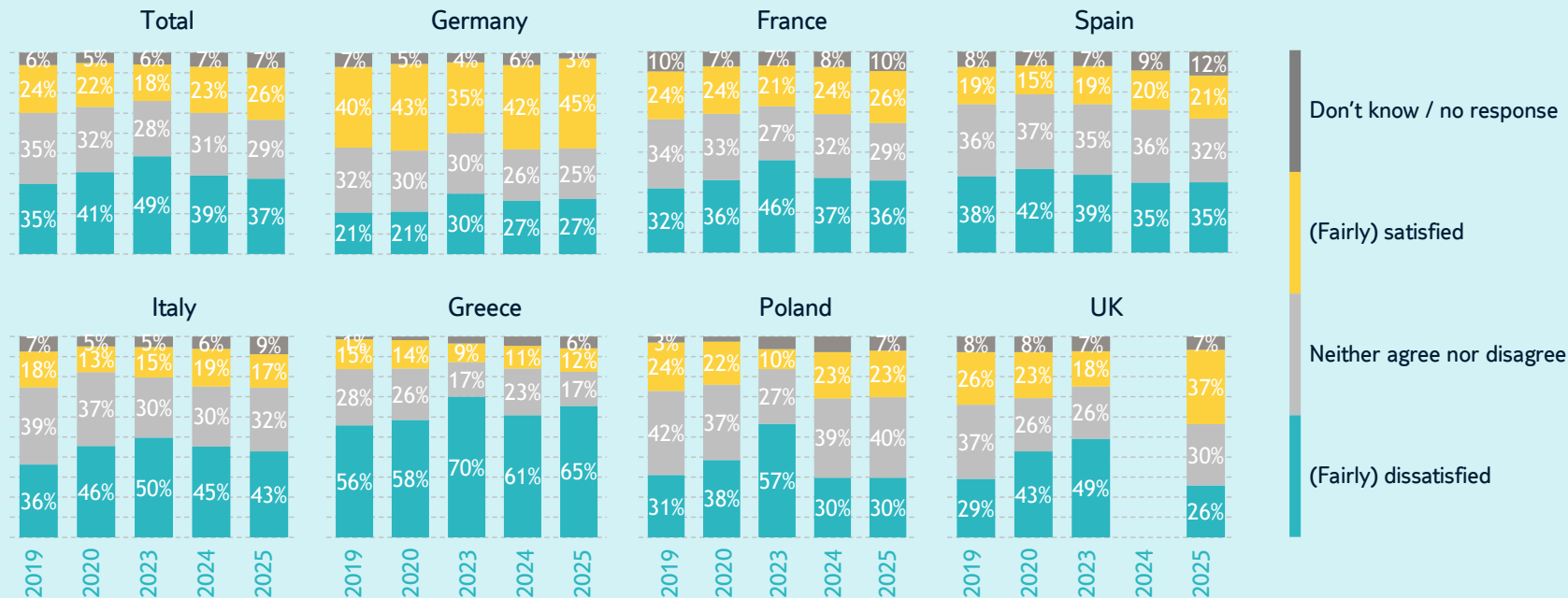
Young Germans are largely satisfied with democracy. Nearly two thirds of young Greeks are dissatisfied with the democracy in their country.

And how satisfied or dissatisfied are you, all in all, with democracy as it exists in [country]?



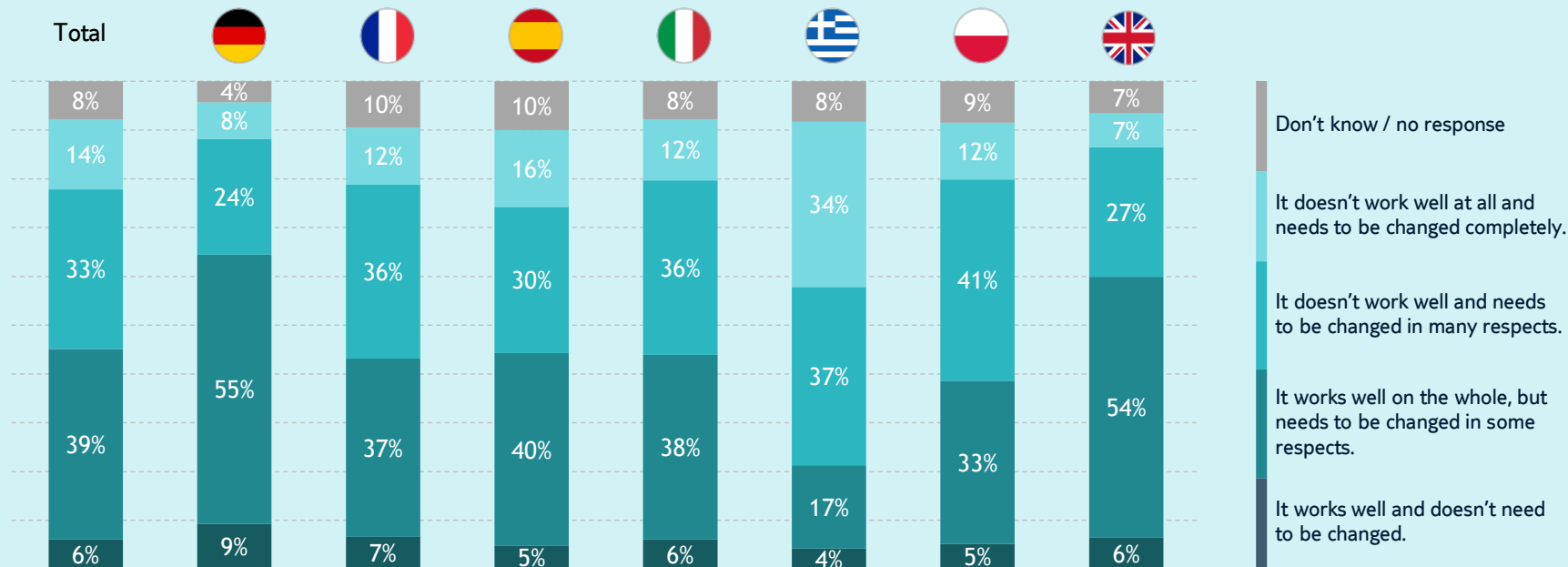
The satisfaction of young people with democracy tends to increase. Furthermore, in almost all countries, the majority of respondents are only partially satisfied.

And how satisfied or dissatisfied are you, all in all, with democracy as it exists in [country]?



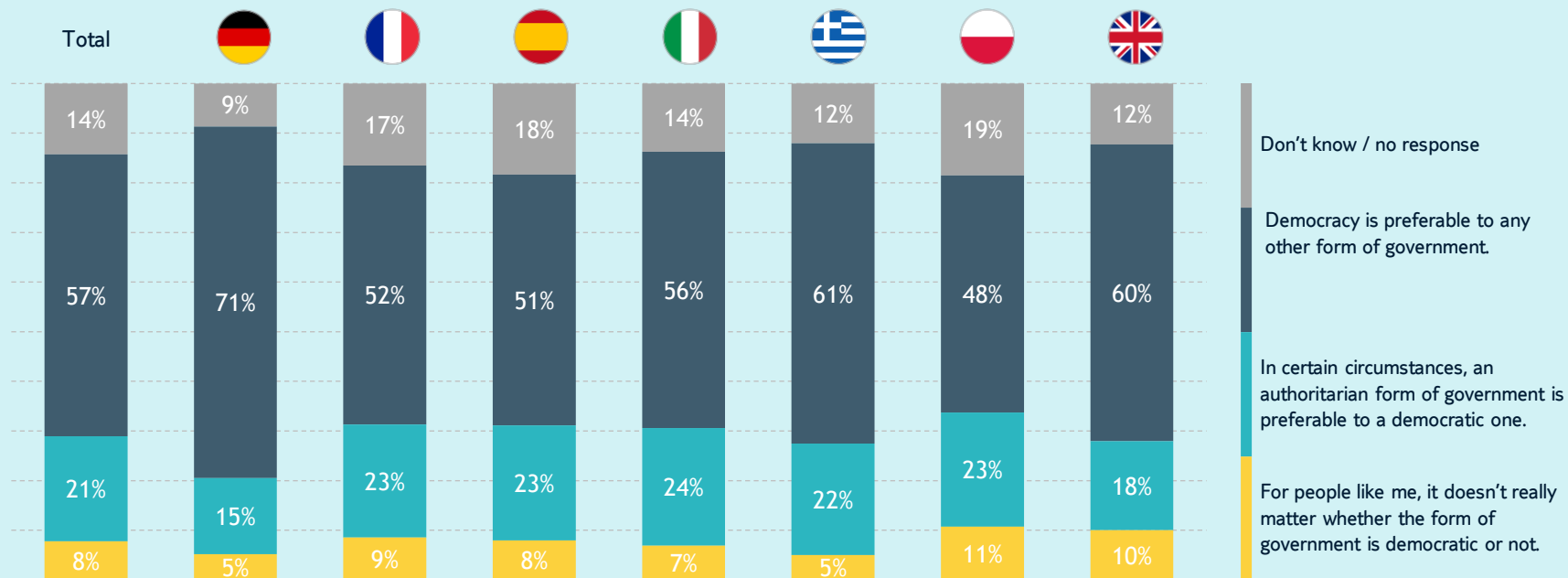
Only in Germany and the UK, the majority thinks that the democratic system works at least well on the whole.

All in all, how well or how poorly do you think our political system works today? Which of the following statements best represents your opinion?



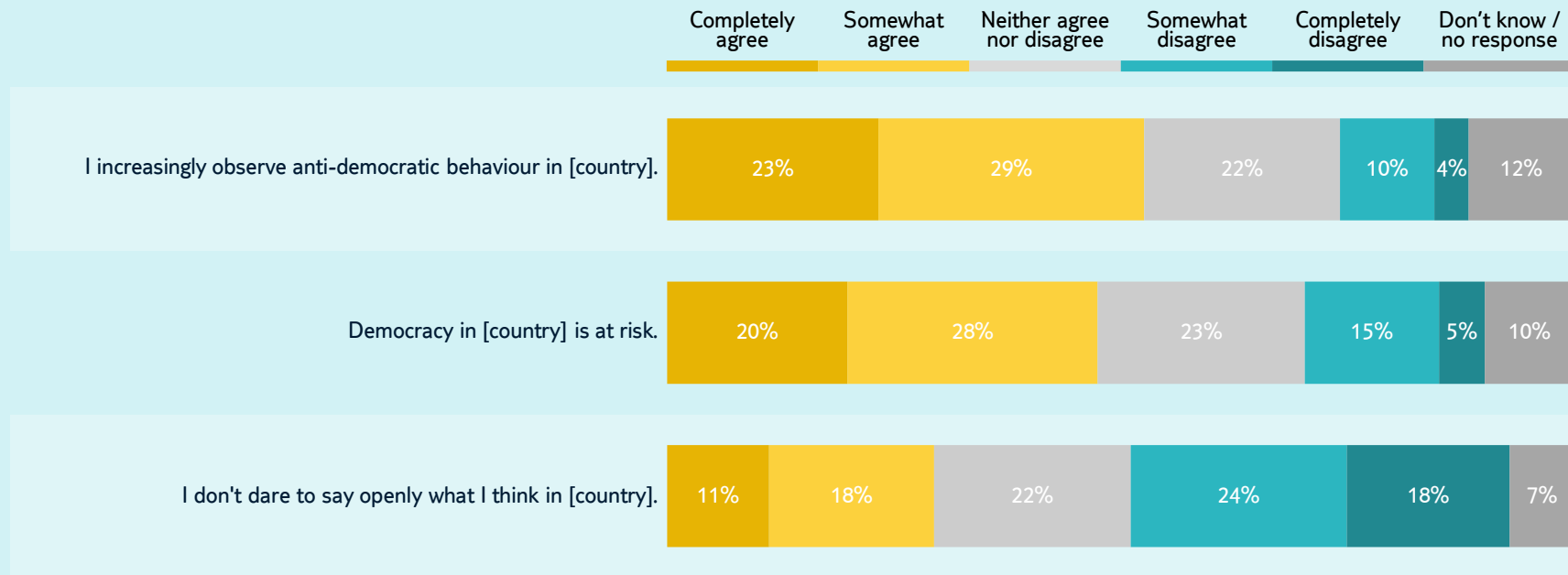
One out of five is open to an authoritarian form of government under certain circumstances. More than every second person always prefers democracy.

Which of the following statements best represents your opinion?



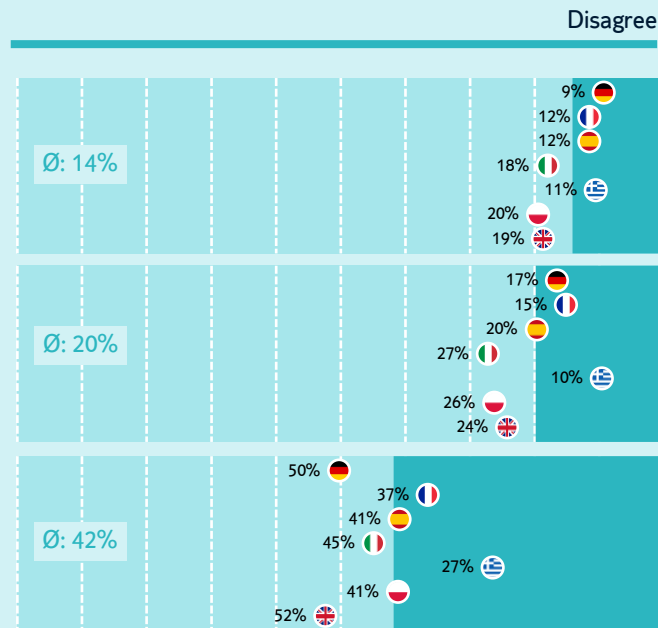
More than every second respondent observes behaviour hostile to democracy in their own country. Just as many see democracy in their country at risk.

Now we would like to know how you view democracy as it exists in [country]. You can agree more or less with the following statements. To what extent do you agree with the respective statement?



Above all, young Germans and Greeks see democracy in danger and observe behaviour hostile to democracy.

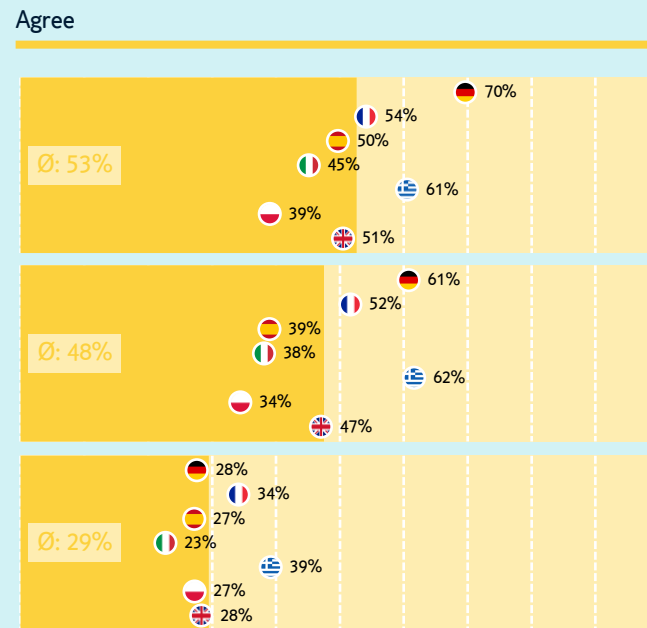
Now we would like to know how you view democracy as it exists in [country]. You can agree more or less with the following statements. To what extent do you agree with the respective statement?



I increasingly observe anti-democratic behaviour in [country].

Democracy in [country] is at risk.

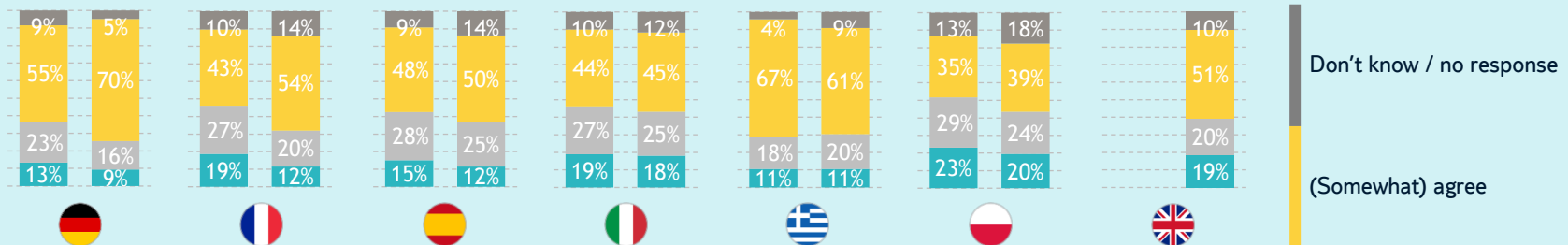
I don't dare to say openly what I think in [country].



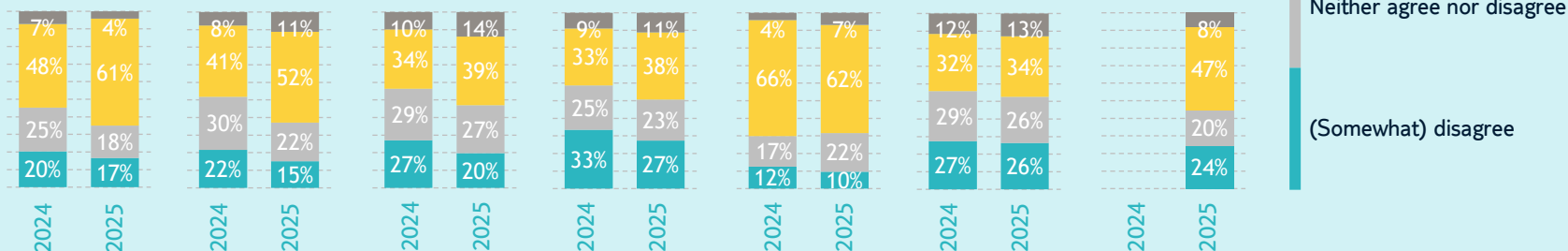
In Germany, more young people perceive anti-democratic behaviour in 2025 than in 2024.

Now we would like to know how you view democracy as it exists in [country]. You can agree more or less with the following statements. To what extent do you agree with the respective statement?

I increasingly observe anti-democratic behaviour in [country].



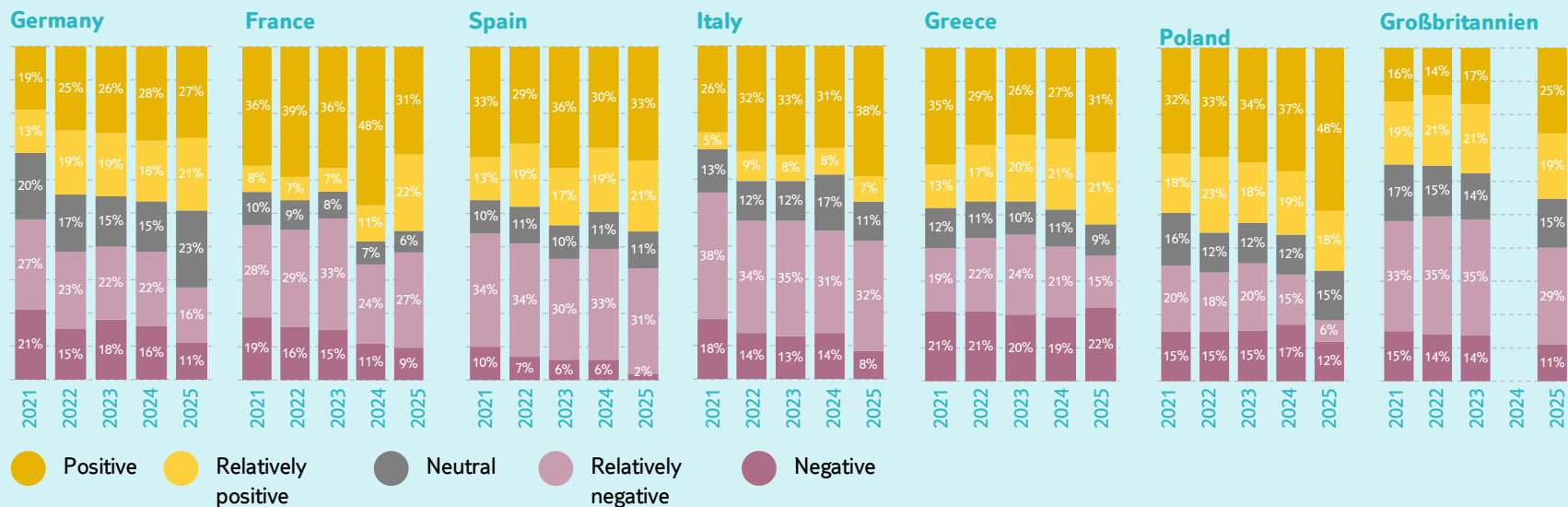
Democracy in [country] is at risk.



How do young people feel in 2025?

More young people describe their emotional state positively than in the previous year...

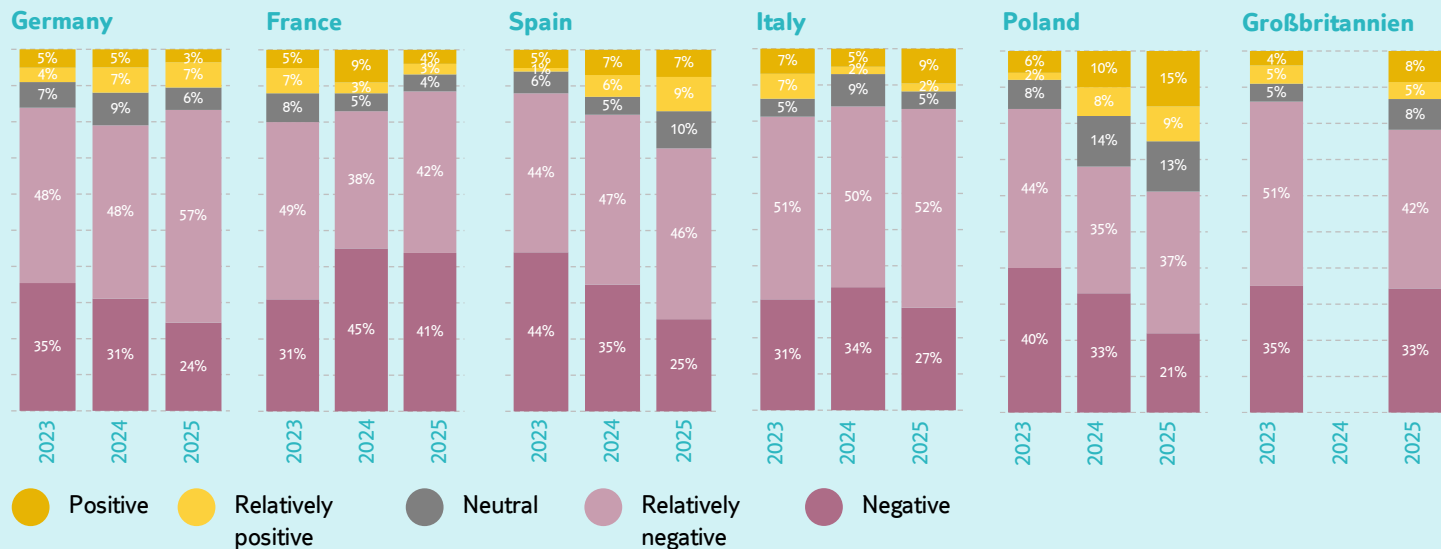
Please describe your current emotional state in one word! (Open question)



The open-ended answers of those surveyed have been evaluated by several coders whose first language is the respective national language with regard to their emotional state, and categorised as (relatively) positive, neutral or (relatively) negative. (Typing) errors were cleaned from the responses first, and words with the same meaning (e.g. "sad" and "sadness") were pooled.

...but still – with the exception of Poland – most describe the mood in their country as negative.

Please think about how most people in [country] feel at the moment. How would you describe the emotional state of most people in [country] in one word?



The open-ended answers of those surveyed have been evaluated by several coders whose first language is the respective national language with regard to their emotional state, and categorised as (relatively) positive, neutral or (relatively) negative. (Typing) errors were cleaned from the responses first, and words with the same meaning (e.g. "sad" and "sadness") were pooled.

This question was not asked in Greece.

This is how young Europeans assess their own emotional state in one word:

Please describe your current emotional state in one word! (Open question)



This is how young Europeans assess the emotional state of most people in their country in one word:

Please think about how most people in [country] feel at the moment. How would you describe the emotional state of most people in [country] in one word?



Base: all respondents, n=3.087, missings not shown; This question was not asked in Greece because of the smaller sample size.

This is how young people in Germany are feeling in one word:

Please describe your current emotional state in one word! (open-ended questions)

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	müde	neutral	56
2	glücklich	positive	54
3	gut	rather positive	47
4	entspannt	positive	30
5	neutral	neutral	25
6	zufrieden	positive	25
7	okay	rather positive	24
8	gestresst	negative	21
9	Angespannt	rather negative	9
10	erschöpft	rather negative	8

This is how young people describe most people in their country feel:

Please think about how most people in [COUNTRY] feel at the moment. How would you describe the emotional state of most people in [COUNTRY] in one word?

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	unsicher	rather negative	49
2	besorgt	rather negative	38
3	unzufrieden	rather negative	30
4	verunsichert	rather negative	27
5	ängstlich	rather negative	27
6	angespannt	rather negative	18
7	gut	rather positive	17
8	frustriert	negative	14
9	schlecht	negative	10
10	unsicher	rather negative	49

This is how young people in France are feeling in one word:

Please describe your current emotional state in one word! (open-ended questions)

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	fatigué	rather negative	70
2	bien	rather positive	42
3	heureuse	positive	36
4	joyeuse	positive	25
5	calme	rather positive	24
6	stressé	negative	24
7	motivé	positive	14
8	inquiète	rather negative	9
9	anxieuse	rather negative	8
10	déterminé	positive	8

This is how young people describe most people in their country feel:

Please think about how most people in [COUNTRY] feel at the moment. How would you describe the emotional state of most people in [COUNTRY] in one word?

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	inquièt	rather negative	53
2	peur	negative	20
3	stressé	negative	17
4	aigri	negative	17
5	colere	negative	16
6	fatigué	rather negative	16
7	anxiété	rather negative	13
8	insécurité	negative	11
9	desespere	negative	10
10	pessimiste	negative	9

This is how young people in Italy are feeling in one word:

Please describe your current emotional state in one word! (open-ended questions)

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	felice	positive	80
2	tranquilla	positive	42
3	stanca	rather negative	40
4	serena	positive	26
5	triste	rather negative	24
6	normale	neutral	23
7	annoiata	rather negative	18
8	neutrale	neutral	14
9	ansiosa	negative	12
10	confusa	rather negative	12

This is how young people describe most people in their country feel:

Please think about how most people in [COUNTRY] feel at the moment. How would you describe the emotional state of most people in [COUNTRY] in one word?

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	deluse	rather negative	40
2	preoccupate	rather negative	28
3	triste	rather negative	27
4	insoddisfatta	negative	22
5	confuse	rather negative	20
6	ansiose	negative	19
7	frustrato	negative	18
8	stanche	rather negative	13
9	stressate	rather negative	11
10	povere	rather negative	10

This is how young people in Spain are feeling in one word:

Please describe your current emotional state in one word! (open-ended questions)

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	feliz	positiv	116
2	cansada	rather negative	50
3	bien	rather positive	45
4	tranquila	rather positive	30
5	normal	neutral	22
6	contenta	positiv	18
7	alegre	positiv	15
8	estable	rather positive	15
9	estresada	rather negative	14
10	triste	rather negative	116

This is how young people describe most people in their country feel:

Please think about how most people in [COUNTRY] feel at the moment. How would you describe the emotional state of most people in [COUNTRY] in one word?

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	cansada	rather negative	37
2	decepción	negative	27
3	feliz	positive	23
4	estresada	rather negative	18
5	bien	rather positive	18
6	triste	rather negative	17
7	mal	rather negative	16
8	normal	neutral	15
9	frustrada	negative	14
10	agobiada	rather negative	13

This is how young people in Greece are feeling in one word:

Please describe your current emotional state in one word! (open-ended questions)

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	καλά	rather positive	66
2	χαρούμενος	positive	33
3	Ήρεμος	positive	31
4	Μπερδεμένος	rather negative	20
5	χαρά	positive	18
6	Άγχος	negative	17
7	κουρασμένος	rather negative	15
8	έτρια	neutral	14
9	Ευχαριστημένος	rather positive	14
10	Αγχωτική	negative	12

This is how young people in Poland are feeling in one word:

Please describe your current emotional state in one word! (open-ended questions)

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	dobry	positive	127
2	stabilny	rather positive	29
3	szczęśliwy	positive	25
4	zmeczenie	neutral	22
5	spokój	rather positive	21
6	ok	rather positive	16
7	smutek	negative	16
8	neutralny	neutral	15
9	radość	positive	11
10	średni	neutral	11

This is how young people describe most people in their country feel:

Please think about how most people in [COUNTRY] feel at the moment. How would you describe the emotional state of most people in [COUNTRY] in one word?

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	dobry	positive	41
2	niepewność	rather negative	32
3	średni	neutral	23
4	niepokój	rather negative	17
5	smutek	negative	13
6	zły	negative	13
7	zmęczenie	rather negative	11
8	ok	rather positive	9
9	zagubieni	rather negative	9
10	spokój	rather positive	8

This is how young people in UK are feeling in one word:

Please describe your current emotional state in one word! (open-ended questions)

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	happy	positive	79
2	stressed	rather negative	34
3	content	rather positive	29
4	tired	rather negative	28
5	calm	rather positive	24
6	fine	rather positive	22
7	stable	neutral	16
8	anxious	negative	15
9	sad	rather negative	15
10	neutral	neutral	13

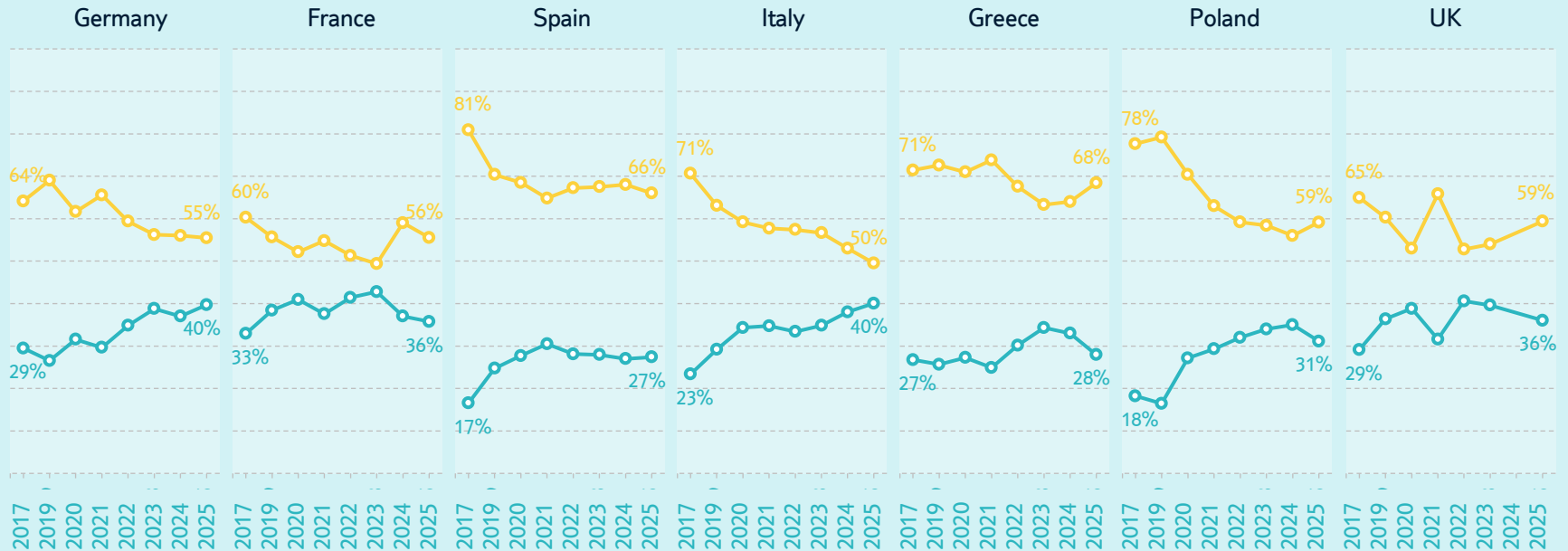
This is how young people describe most people in their country feel:

Please think about how most people in [COUNTRY] feel at the moment. How would you describe the emotional state of most people in [COUNTRY] in one word?

Rank	Word	Rating	Frequency
1	depressed	negative	40
2	frustrated	rather negative	28
3	stressed	rather negative	25
4	anxious	negative	24
5	worried	rather negative	21
6	tired	rather negative	19
7	sad	rather negative	15
8	happy	positive	13
9	good	positive	8
10	bad	rather negative	9

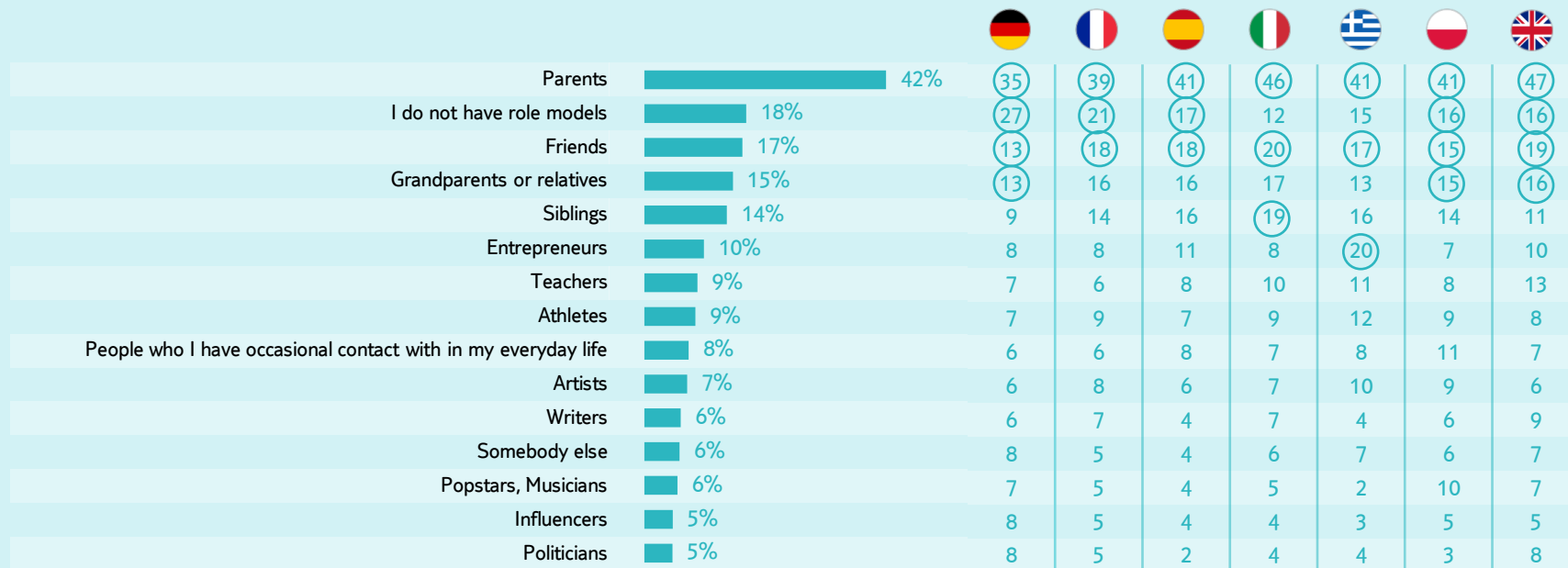
Slightly positive outlook in Greece, Poland and UK – overall, young respondents in Europe look to the future with little optimism.

When you think about the future, are you generally optimistic or generally pessimistic about your personal situation?



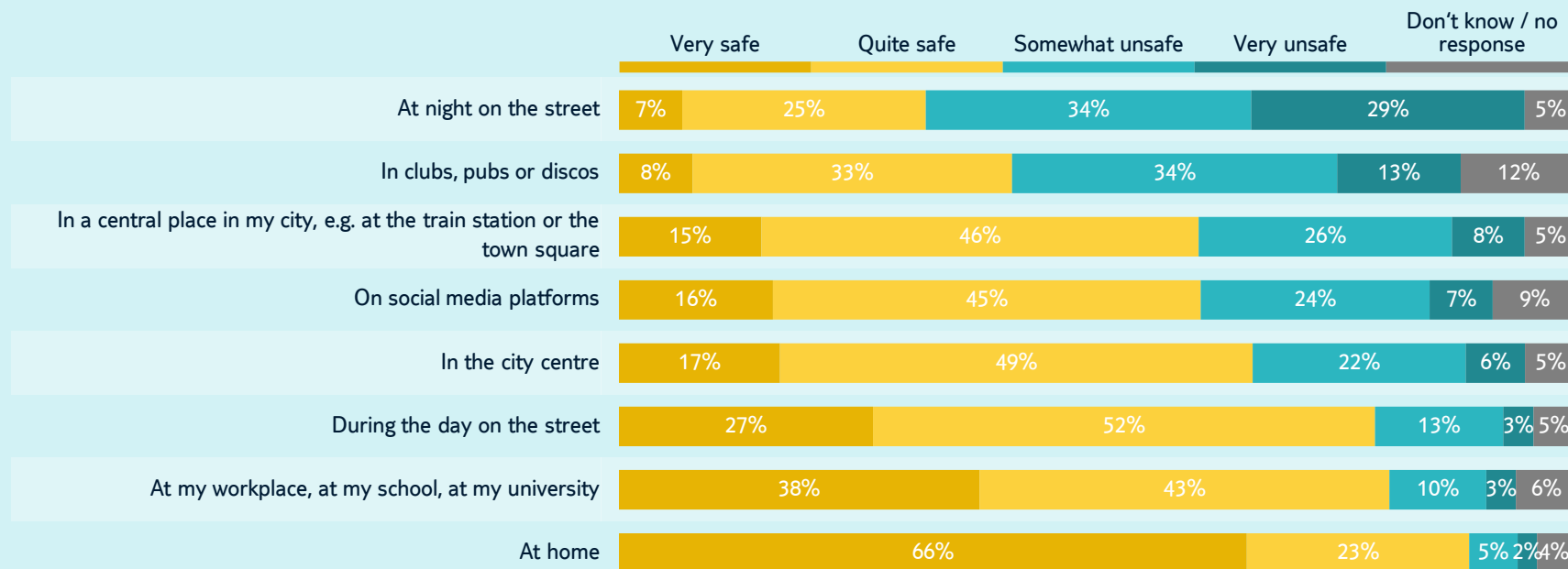
Most young people have role models, especially their own parents – however, in Germany, about a quarter have no role models.

Some people have role models, others don't. How about for you: do you have role models? If so, to which group or groups of people do the people who are role models for you belong? You can choose up to three groups.



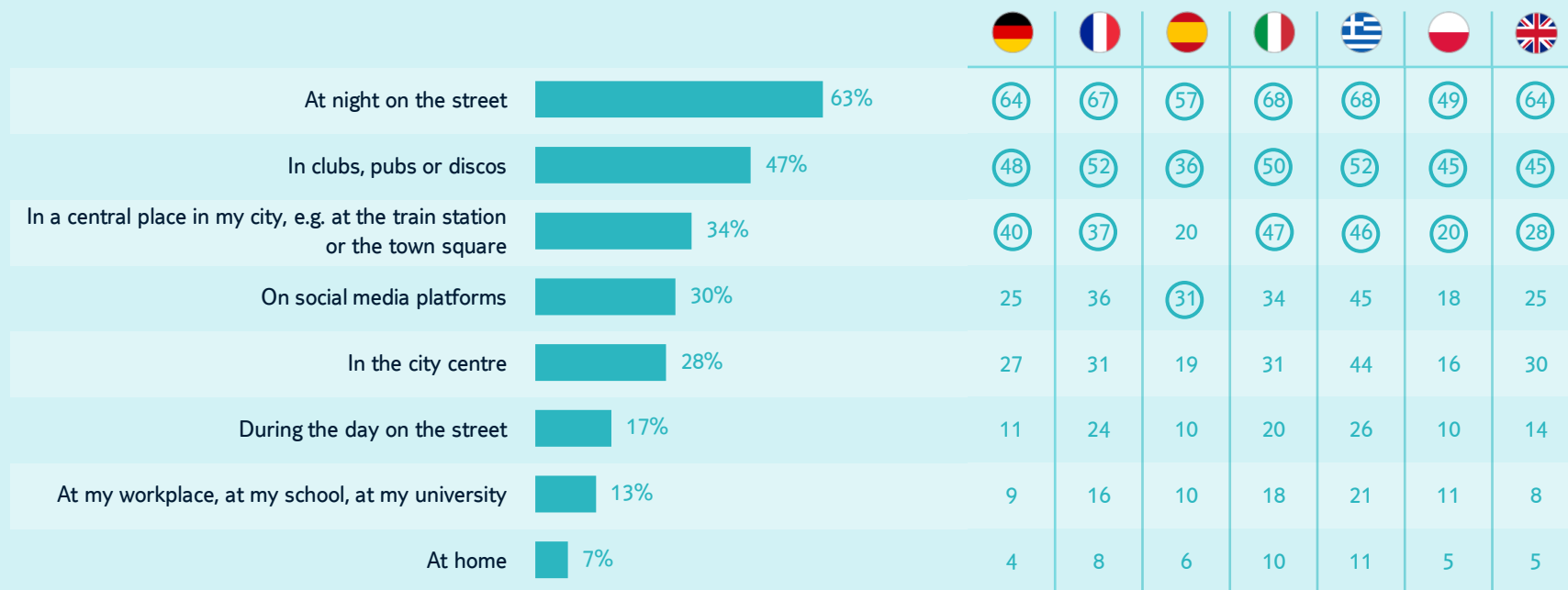
The young respondents feel safest at home, and least safe in public places.

To what extent do you feel safe or unsafe in the following places or situations?



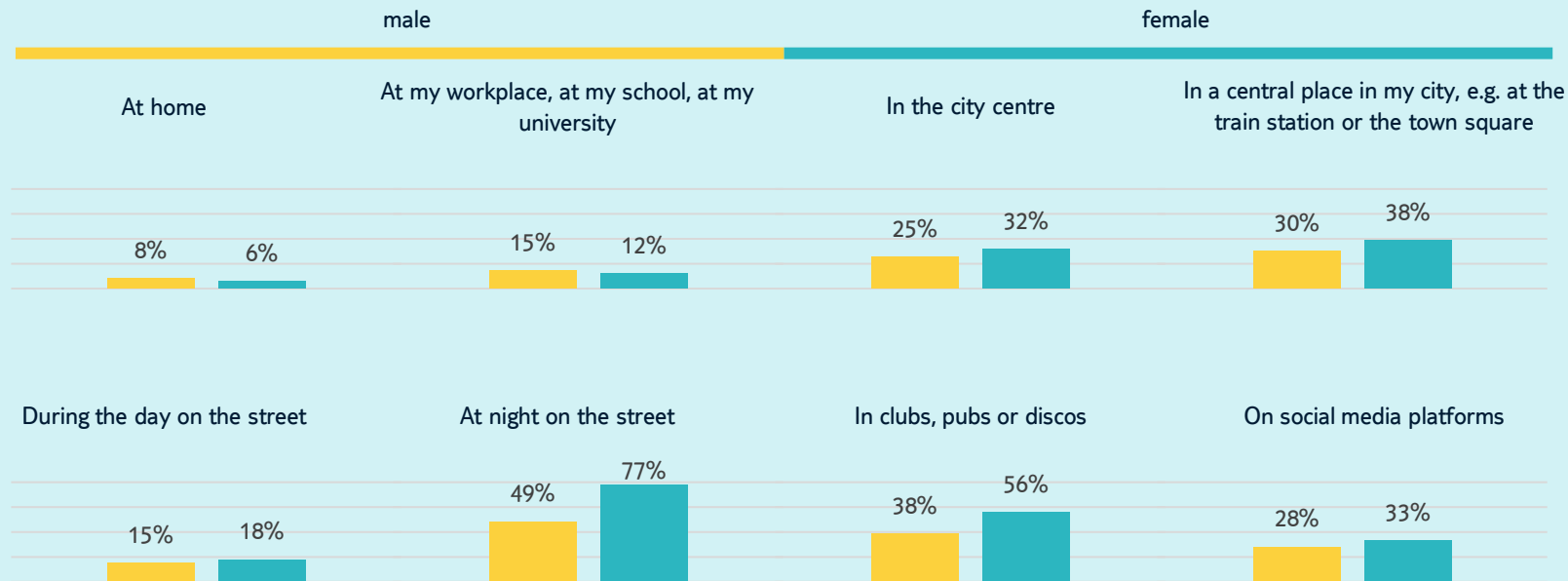
The perception of insecure places is similar in all countries – young people in Poland feel the least insecure.

To what extent do you feel safe or unsafe in the following places or situations? – showing "somewhat unsafe" + "very unsafe"



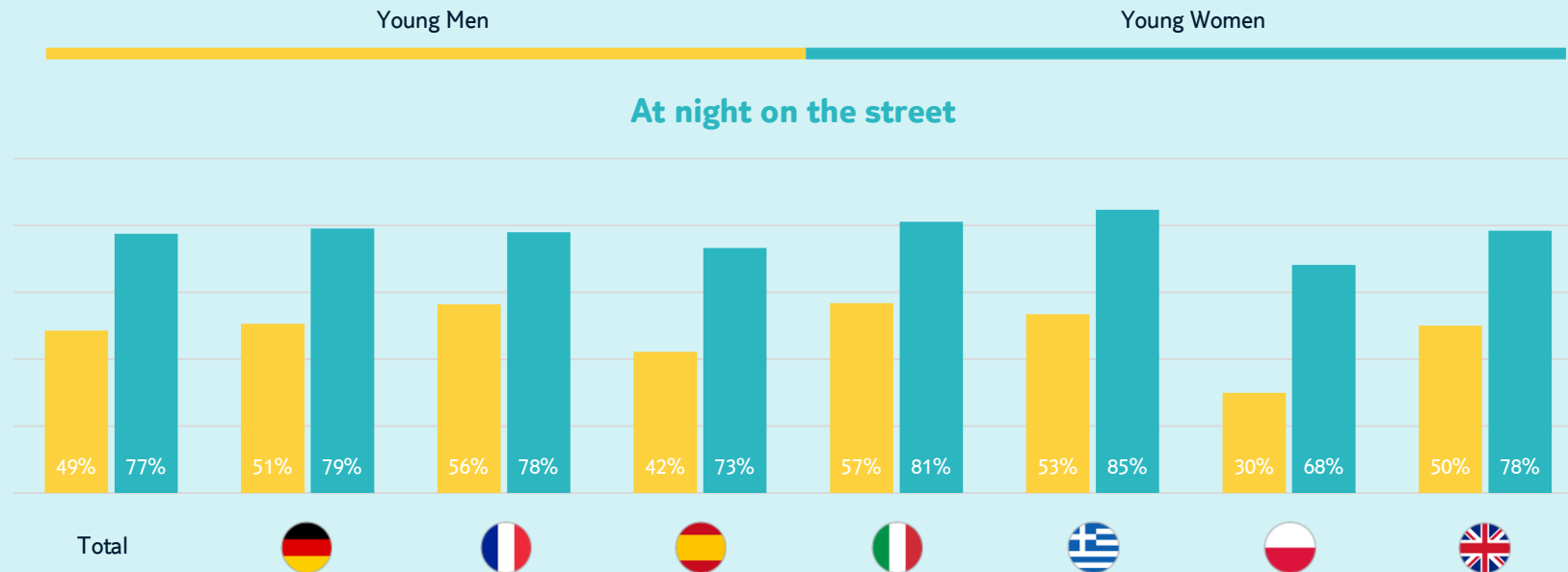
Women feel significantly less safe than men at night on the streets and in clubs, pubs and discos.

To what extent do you feel safe or unsafe in the following places or situations? – showing "somewhat unsafe" + "very unsafe"



More young women feel unsafe on the streets at night in all countries than young men – and the difference is more than 20 percentage points everywhere.

To what extent do you feel safe or unsafe in the following places or situations? – showing "somewhat unsafe" + "very unsafe"



Imprint

Publisher:

TUI Stiftung
Karl-Wiechert-Allee 23
30625 Hannover

The TUI Stiftung promotes and carries out projects all about “Young Europe”. The aim is to reinforce the European idea in general. This is why they undertake long-term investment in regional, national, and international projects focussing on education, training, as well as individual and professional development. Their headquarters are in Hannover and is committed to acting in the public interest as an independent, charitable foundation.

Further information on work and projects carried out by the foundation can be found at:
www.tui-stiftung.de

Study was carried out by:

YouGov Deutschland GmbH
Tunisstraße 19-23
50667 Köln

www.yougov.de