

The Movers of Tomorrow?

How Young Adults
in Europe Imagine and
Shape the Future



Country Report Greece

**ALLIANZ
FOUNDATION**

The Movers of Tomorrow?

Young adults in Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland and the United Kingdom share a deep sense of anxiety about the future. Eight out of 10 openly question whether their generation should have children, as many believe their societies will become less livable in the future.

They feel that their countries are becoming less equal, less safe and more divided, and they want to have a say in how these issues and other pressing concerns are addressed.

But how are they making their voices heard? The vast majority are taking individual and everyday actions, such as voting and changing what they eat and how they shop and travel. However, only few of them have so far chosen to amplify their individual voices and exert more pressure on decision-makers through collective action, for example by joining a social movement.

Allianz Foundation Next Generations Study 2023

To learn more about how young adults imagine and shape a livable future society, the **Allianz Foundation** commissioned the **SINUS Institute** with conducting a representative survey among 10,000 young adults (aged 18 to 39) in **Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland and the UK** – five countries that reflect Europe's diverse realities on much-discussed issues such as minority rights, anti-democratic tendencies and climate action.

All findings from the five-country study can be accessed at allianzfoundation.org/study.



The Future Young Adults Want

Although Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland and the UK differ in terms of their economic conditions, political landscapes and historical trajectories, the young adults surveyed in these countries show **more similarities than differences**. This “European” perspective also extends to what young adults see as a desirable future society.

- > Nearly three out of four strongly agree that a **robust social welfare state** and an independent justice system should be the fundamental building block of a future society.
- > Fifty-two percent of young adults seek a **fair and eco-friendly future** with equal opportunities for minorities and the less privileged, not only in education and employment, but also in sharing the responsibilities of the green transition.
- > **Strong democratic institutions**, including a free press and a participatory political system are prioritized by 47% of young adults.
- > Overall, there is less agreement among young adults when it comes to **personal wealth, military strength and traditional values**. While some identify these as a priority (35%), most do not. Personal wealth, in particular, is a highly divisive issue.

The Future Young Adults Expect

By and large, young adults want to live in a future society that is safe, affordable, eco-friendly and fair. Yet, they feel that the conditions for building that future are under threat. Although there is some cautious optimism regarding ecological developments and opportunities for migrants and other minorities, in most other regards all five countries are expected to decline over the next 10 years.

Green, Yet Less Equal

The trend about which young adults are most hopeful is climate action, for example promoting the use of renewable energies. The majority of young adults support today's green transformation agenda and expect their countries to become more eco-friendly over the next 10 years. Close to

two thirds feel cautiously hopeful that the fight against climate change can be won (except in Germany, where only 38% agree that that will be the case).

Besides this trend (though this is mostly not directly connected to climate action) many fear that the gap between rich and poor will grow (59%), in part due to rising energy, food and transportation costs, which two out of three young adults expect. These perceived risks likely explain why a robust social welfare state remains crucial for most.

Militarized, Yet Less Safe

Young adults have conflicting feelings about their country's ability to defend them from threats from beyond their national borders. Close to 60% of respondents agree that Russia's war in Ukraine could spread to their country. Yet, about the same number rejects the idea of compulsory military service outright.

Despite their reluctance to serve in the military, many young adults expect their country's armed forces to expand over the next 10 years (40% vs. 23% who think otherwise). However, this higher protective wall is not reassuring to them. In fact, more young adults agree than disagree that their countries will become less safe in the future, not only because of geopolitics but also because of an eroding justice system, which 30% predict, especially in Greece (41%) and Poland (37%).

Diverse, Yet More Divided

Despite their grim economic outlooks many young adults expect the future to bring better opportunities for migrants, the LGBTQI+ community and other minority groups in particular. These opportunities extend beyond the job market to areas such as the education system. At the same time, notably more young adults agree than disagree that social cohesion will suffer in the years to come, and that the rift between different groups in society will widen.

These projected divisions can not only be attributed to an ongoing cultural shift from traditional to secular, individualistic values – which some embrace and others despise – as they also reflect deep disagreement over so-called wedge issues, especially those related to diversity. For example, while 69% of young adults, on average, support the right of same-sex couples to adopt children, only 39% do so in Poland.

Deep Mistrust in Established Institutions

Although 62% of young adults cope with these insecurities by remaining cautiously optimistic about their own personal future, young adults perceive their societies as being in a state of transition – in a **waiting room to the future that is marked by profound uncertainties and in which the old ways of doing things no longer seem to work and new forms of “making” the future have yet to prove effective**.

These “old ways” apparently include the current policymaking processes: While young adults do acknowledge today's politicians as de jure leaders, they also regard them with mistrust. For 55%, this mistrust runs so deep that they agree with the provocative statement that politicians are “puppets of powerful, shadowy elites”. In the same vein, industry is often regarded as a barrier to change, especially when it comes to the green transition. The mainstream media, too, are widely accused of pursuing their own agendas rather than reporting the facts.

Conversely, young adults express some excitement about old and new forms of grassroots politics, such as social movements, citizens' initiatives and new collaborations with artists and the cultural sector. However, there is a gap between interest and participation. A total of 57% of young adults are in favor of street-level protest, yet most have never taken part in any.

Room for Growth: Civic Action by Young Adults

Most young adults want to have a say in their country's future. And a clear majority of them already do have a say in individual ways, such as by voting and having political conversations. Yet, young adults are more hesitant when it comes to amplifying their individual voices and collectively pressuring decision-makers and the public.

Individual Everyday Actions Preferred

Civic engagement has many faces – ranging from more formalized acts such as voting to more “hands-on” collective actions like joining a protest march to less visible everyday efforts like shopping and travelling in ways that are less harmful to people and the planet. While all modes of engagement can potentially impact policies and public sentiments, well-coordinated collective actions are often more effective.

On an individual level, a clear majority of young adults in all five countries are already active. Many vote (76%, on average), donate money or things (63%), boycott products with a bad ecological footprint (45%) and share their political opinions with those in their social circle and at work (60% and 44%, respectively).

Compared to these individual actions, team efforts are few and far between, though: **On average, more than 70% of young adults have never joined in a protest march, a sit-in or citizens' initiative, even though the majority of them call for more grassroots efforts. When addressing this ambivalence and asking about their willingness to get involved, about a quarter of the population express an interest in doing so – in addition to the 25% to 30% who are already active, thus growing the potential recruitment pool for collective action to about 50% of young adults in Germany, Greece, Italy, Poland and the UK, an invaluable asset for a resilient civil society.**

Yet, given young adults' deep anxieties about their country's future, these numbers beg the following questions:

- > Does their current involvement align with their concerns about pressing issues such as climate change, social inequality and material insecurity?
- > Are the current modes of engagement suitable for an age group which more than any other "lives" online and is used to being given ample opportunities for co-creation?
- > And, most importantly: Why do young adults take civic action? Why not?

The Why: A Call of Duty and Personal Growth

In particular, young adults get involved when they sense a moral duty or a chance for personal growth. Forty-five percent say they invest their time, treasure and talent because they want to be sure, in the future, that they did everything they could, and about four out of 10 simply see it as their "duty" as citizens. For 41%, civic engagement is spurred by a desire for personal development, such as learning about conscious consumption or gaining new skills while planning a political event.

Across the five countries, young adults tend to prioritize purpose over personal gain. Many have moved toward civic engagement due to their profound worry about a specific problem. **Climate change, discrimination and racism exert**

a particular pull: At least 60% of those who are deeply concerned about one of these issues have already taken some form of action.

The Why-Not: No Clue, No Desire, Too Risky

It cannot be assumed that all young adults want to get more involved in civic engagement, but simply lack the knowledge and time (32% and 29%, respectively, identify these as major barriers). In fact, around 50% are either unwilling or unsure about going on a protest march, joining a citizens' initiative or another form of collective action; one in four prefers not to talk about political issues and one in 12 does not plan to vote. Ever.

This reluctance does not always signify a lack of interest, but also a concern about the potential downsides of getting involved in hot-button issues: Numerous young adults say they do not have the courage to take civic action, and between 54% and 69% agree that, in their country, doing so could expose them to several risks – including physical harm, hate speech (especially online) or even legal consequences. While many can put up with conflicts with friends and family, stress and frustration, less than one third would be willing to face economic, physical or legal risks, even if they strongly believe in the cause.

The Movers of Tomorrow?

Are young adults truly the "movers of tomorrow"? The answer is "yes" – potentially. But they cannot single-handedly change the course their societies will take. Not least because of the risks and disadvantages that to this day prevent many young adults from getting involved.

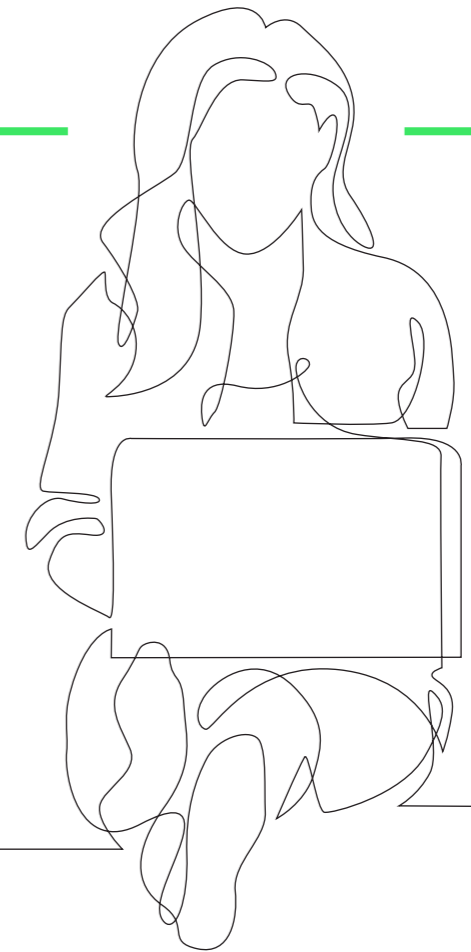
To learn more about what exactly is needed to unleash the civic potential of young adults, the Allianz Foundation invited 78 leading voices from civil society, the arts and journalism to seven interactive Future Labs in seven European cities – Athens, Berlin, Istanbul, London, Palermo, Warsaw and Prizren in Kosovo. Valuable lessons emerged from them, including the need to craft more compelling change narratives, address burnout, create and defend safe spaces and foster dialogue among young adults, civil society and its public and private funders. All the insights and recommendations are detailed in the Allianz Foundation Future Labs report, which is available to download at allianzfoundation.org/study.

Generation Z vs. Millennials: Only minor differences

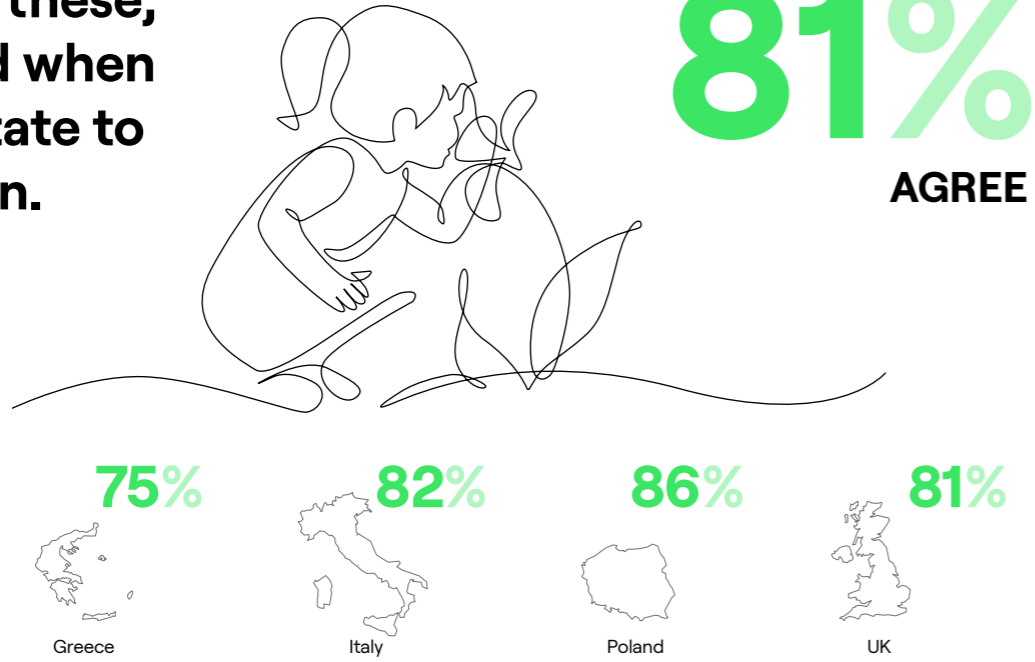
The focus of this study is on two generations of young adults: the so-called Generation Z (whose adult members are currently aged 18 to 26 years) and Generation Y, also known as Millennials (currently aged 27 to 39 years). In the coming years and decades, these young adults will shape the direction their countries take, and some are already doing so today.

More interest has recently been shown in understanding and comparing each generation. This interest often comes with the temptation to label a given age cohort as uniformly "woke" and "climate anxious" (Generation Z) or as "self-absorbed" and "non-committal" (Millennials), just to name a few traits. However, our analysis shows that the differences between the two groups are mostly small, measuring only a few percentage points in the following areas:

- > Survey participants classified as Generation Z are, on average, slightly more optimistic about the future, slightly more concerned about the climate, diversity issues and social justice, slightly more willing to take civic action and slightly more willing to take risks.
- > The surveyed Millennials are, on average, slightly more concerned about freedom of the press, somewhat more conservative when it comes to migration, slightly more conscious about traditional values, somewhat more concerned when it comes to energy and living costs and even more disappointed by the political leadership.



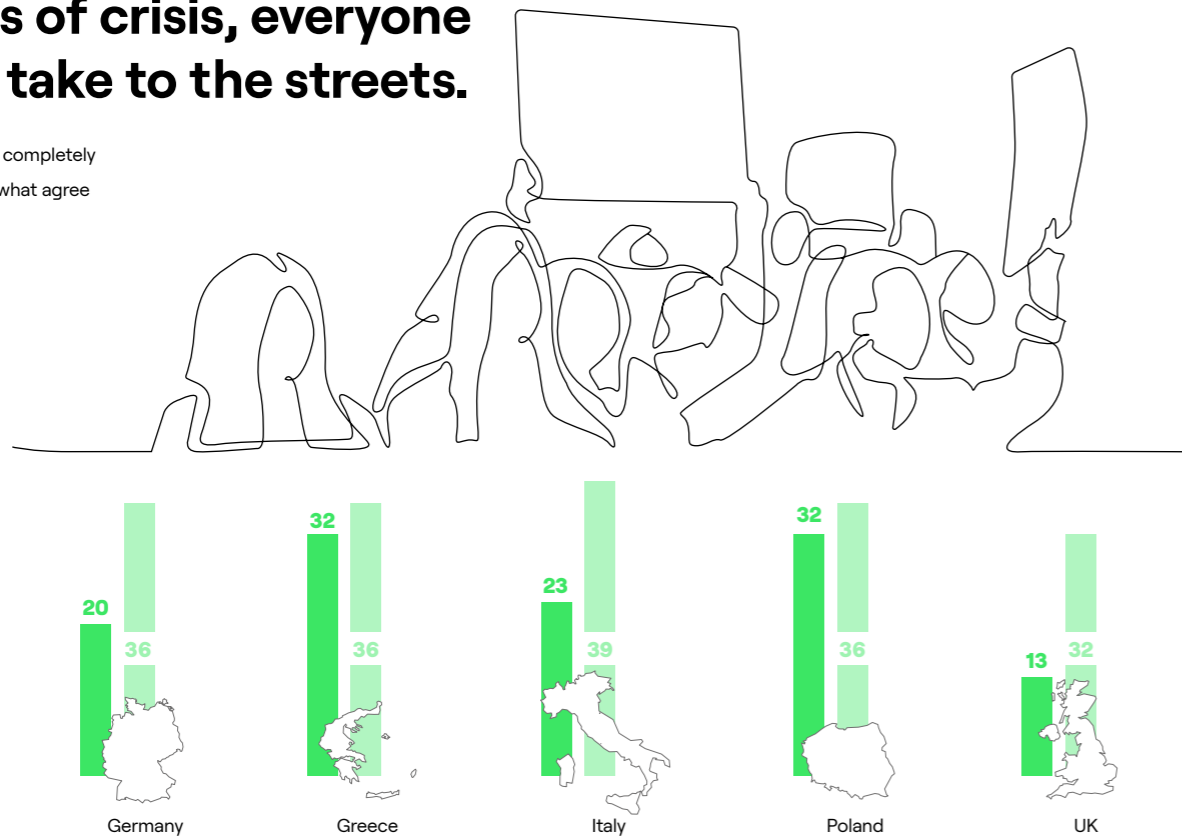
In times like these, I understand when people hesitate to have children.



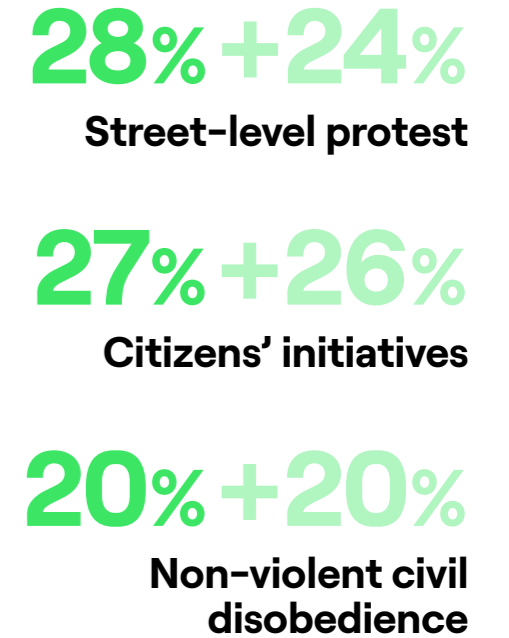
ATTITUDES TOWARD STREET-LEVEL PROTEST, IN %

In times of crisis, everyone should take to the streets.

█ % agree completely
█ % somewhat agree



Who has taken collective action?
Who else is willing?

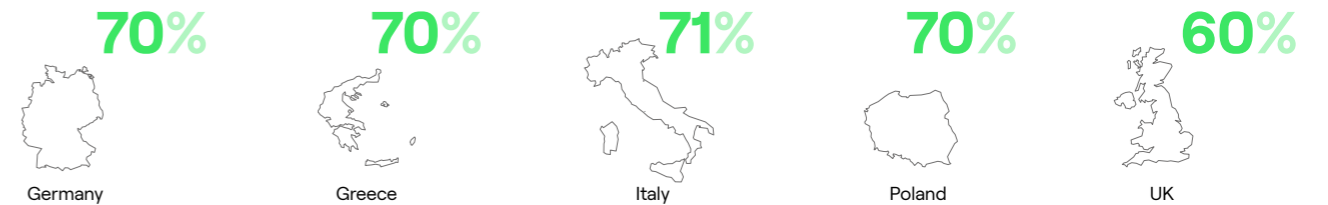
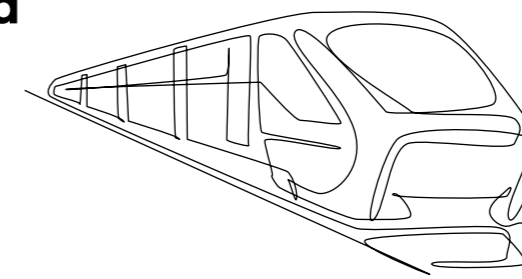


█ Have already taken action
█ Have not taken action, but would consider it

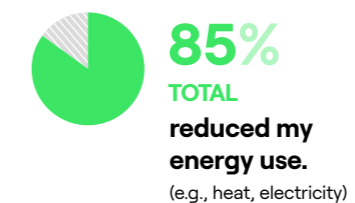
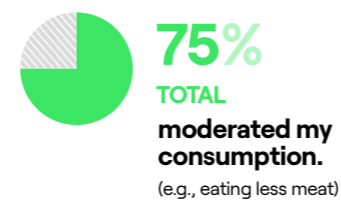
CHANGING PERSONAL HABITS

I have modified how I travel.

(e.g., less air travel)



I have...



Greece in International Comparison

Overall, the future outlooks and civic actions of young adults in Greece closely align with those of their peers in Germany, Italy, Poland and the United Kingdom, and they are more similar than they are different. In other words, the findings presented in the above also apply to 18- to 39-year-olds in Greece.

Nevertheless, there are a few areas in which young adults in Greece differ from those in the other countries surveyed.

Attitude Toward Institutions: Lack of Faith in the Status Quo

Across all five countries surveyed, confidence in established political and civil society institutions is low. Greece is the canary in the coal mine, with rock-bottom faith in government and the media. Thirty-eight percent strongly agree with the provocative statement that “politicians are puppets of powerful elites” (vs. 20% on average across all five countries) and a striking 58% strongly agree that the media pursue their own interests instead of reporting the facts (vs. 28% on average). It is not surprising, then, that merely a third believe that their own government will take a leading role in solving social and environmental problems (vs. 45% on average), with 16% saying the same in regard to the media (vs. 26% on average).

This widespread lack of faith in established institutions may be driving young Greeks to alternative channels of political expression. A larger percentage have taken part in protests than in the other countries surveyed (38% vs. 28% on average). Along with young Poles, young Greeks are also the most likely to have been motivated to start getting socially engaged engaged by taking part in a demonstration or protest. Belief in the political impact of the arts and culture is also highest in Greece, with 37% having been to a politically-oriented cultural event and 21% having been moved to take action themselves by artists, musicians and writers (vs. 13% on average).

Desired Future: Emphasis on Economic Well-being, But Not at the Expense of Fairness or the Environment

Generally, young adults in Greece want a secure, affordable, eco-friendly and fair future society. Indeed, as a general trend, they express more emphatic priorities than young adults in any other country surveyed. They place particular emphasis

on factors related to everyday livability and economic viability: child friendliness (80% vs. 56% across all the countries surveyed), high-paying job opportunities (78% vs. 54% on average) and high economic growth (69% vs. 47% on average). However, as in the other countries, only around one out of 10 prioritizes personal wealth. Moreover, social and environmental factors are also seen as critical: Seven out of 10 consider climate friendliness very important to the future they want to live in, and six out of 10 say the same as regards low social inequality.

Expected Future: Economic Decline and Democratic Backsliding

As in the other countries surveyed, young adults in Greece are concerned about the future of their country (66% are pessimistic) – though not as much as Italians (75%) or Poles (70%). Many believe that in the next 10 years, living costs will rise (68%) and job creation and economic growth will slow (50% and 45%, respectively). Their outlook as regards the climate is more positive but not to the same degree as their peers: Forty-one percent believe Greece will become greener, as compared to 50% across all the countries surveyed.

Young Greeks are also particularly anxious about threats to democratic institutions, for instance, fake news and media manipulation (67% vs. 41% on average) and the erosion of the justice system (59% vs. 36%). They are most likely to predict that the coming decade will bring worse rather than better governance (46% vs. 25%) and a less rather than a more independent justice system (41% vs. 24%) and media (46% vs. 26%).

Civic Engagement: Young Adults in Greece Most Likely to Take Collective Action

By comparison, young adults in Greece are proactive in their approach to social problems. Most have taken individual actions like adjusting their energy use or consumption, and significantly more than in other countries have taken action at work, for example by standing up for work issues (58% vs. 44% on average) or even choosing or changing their workplace on ethical grounds (37% vs. 22% on average). Donating money or goods (78%) and boycotting socially and environmentally irresponsible products (54%) are also more common in Greece than in the sample as a whole (63% and 45%, respectively).

Young Greeks are also more likely than their peers abroad to take to the streets. Thirty-eight percent have joined a protest (vs. 28% on average) and 35% have participated in a citizens’ initiative (vs. 27% on

average). Citizens’ initiatives show growth potential as well, with an additional +30% of young Greeks expressing interest in participating in the future. Signing petitions, on the other hand, is slightly less popular in Greece than elsewhere (46% vs. 57% on average).

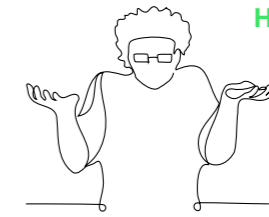
Appealing to both altruistic and intrinsic motives could be equally as effective when it comes to motivating potentially active citizens in Greece. As in the other countries surveyed, the majority of those who are already active say they are driven by a sense of civic duty and the desire to be sure they did everything they could. However, Greece also stands out insofar as six out of 10 respondents testify to being driven by a desire for personal growth.

When it comes to barriers to civic action, young Greeks are more convinced than their peers abroad that engaging in civic action could be associated with risks or disadvantages (68% vs. 61% on average), but they are also generally more willing to tolerate such risks, particularly stress and frustration (52% vs. 43% on average) and conflicts with friends or family (52% vs. 48% on average). Most draw the line at the risk of legal or physical conflict, as well as at the prospect of lost income or job opportunities.

Civic Action in Greece: Six Types of Young Adults

The Allianz Foundation Next Generations Study identified six engagement types in Greece and the other countries surveyed. Among those who have taken little to no civic action so far, 5% of young adults in Greece belong to the politically left-leaning group of **Hesitant Progressives** who have yet to act on their pronounced concerns relating to environmental and social justice. Members of the sizable **Quiet Mainstream** (23%) are also mostly inactive, but are less politically opinionated and interested. Their counterparts to the right are the **Passive Traditionalists** (7%), who despite their strong religious bent are not particularly involved in any social or environmental causes.

The smallest yet most organized of the three civically engaged groups are the **Conservative Campaigners** (11%), who through their actions seek to promote values of individual prosperity and national identity. The **Proactive Center** (37%) are less driven by any particular issue but nonetheless willing to be involved in shaping the future, preferably through individual actions. Finally, the **Progressive Movers** (17%) are the youngest and most left-leaning group, as well as the one with the highest overall level of civic engagement.



Hesitant Progressives (5%)

- > Pessimistic views of the future
- > Climate concerns
- > Focus: Social (and environmental) security
- > Often secular
- > Usually educated



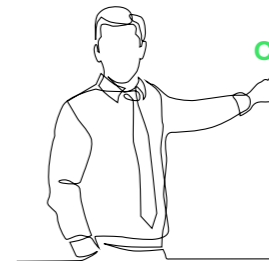
Quiet Mainstream (23%)

- > Usually lower or medium level of education
- > Focus: Own living costs and safety
- > Most likely to delegate responsibility to the state



Passive Traditionalists (7%)

- > Tradition-conscious, often rural
- > Eurosceptic
- > Focus: Costs and traditional values
- > Often over 30 years old



Conservative Campaigners (11%)

- > Second most frequently engaged type
- > Most organized type
- > Focus: Wealth, community, tradition
- > Often urban, religious
- > Some authoritarian tendencies



Proactive Center (37%)

- > Diffuse images of the future, strongly influenced by daily news
- > Somewhat more influenced by social media and companies



Progressive Movers (17%)

- > Most frequently engaged type
- > Focus: Eco-friendliness and social justice
- > Pessimistic view of own country
- > Often urban
- > Not as organized as Conservative Campaigners

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