



NEXT GENERATION

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> FOREWORDS

The Deutsche Kinder- und Jugendstiftung (DKJS) welcomes this report. More than 2,000 Germans aged 18–30 from across our country tell us in this study what they cherish today and what they wish for tomorrow to ensure a good life in the future. It's great to have these insights directly from those who are most affected by the rapid changes in our societies – the next generation of Germany. But what follows from this? Where do we take it from here? As the DKJS, we want to pick up two particularly striking results from the report and suggest how to take them forward.

The first issue is that almost 60 per cent of young Germans tell us they feel insufficiently prepared for the future. They are convinced that German key competencies like diligence, mechanical precision and solidity will be rapidly replaced by the new need for creativity, speed and light-touch exploration in the digital age.

These competencies can be trained. They are like a muscle that can grow if it has sufficient opportunities. In our *25next* initiative, the DKJS looks at the year 2044, and what will be needed to lead a good life then. And we deliberately look at leading a good (not just a productive) life. The so-called 21st century skills of creativity, critical thinking, collaboration and communication play a key role. But we also have to build agency, and support wellbeing and connectedness with others and nature. The good news is there are already many great examples out there today of how to nurture these competencies. We need to spot them, learn from them, link them up and make them grow into a collective movement.

The second striking issue in this report is that young people would like to get more engaged in politics, if – yes, *if* – the topics, language and formats of engagement were more akin to their personal lives. Let's ensure we turn this energy into action. This is all the more important, as young people in the study also share their great concerns about an increasingly divisive political discourse in Germany.

In our programme *OPENION* we work with youth in more than 200 schools across Germany to support their local democracy projects. In our *Jugendhearings* we consult several hundred youth on what is needed exactly for them to get more engaged. In other programmes we support youth engagement in local policies. Our key lesson: youth are much more competent than we adults tend to think. Youth engagement in politics can only be co-created with them – not for them. Done in the right way, this is not only rewarding, but also fun for both sides.

Thanks to the British Council for providing German youth with this opportunity to speak up. The DKJS greatly looks forward to collectively working with politicians, young people and all others who wish to engage in improving key future skills and the political engagement of our youth for a better future.

Karenina Schröder
Deutsche Kinder- und
Jugendstiftung

The British Council's Next Generation series continues to develop, engaging young people globally around how they are affected by social and political change. The research now turns to Germany, listening to the reflections of young people on their lives and their thoughts on the future. As the UK's international organisation for cultural relations and educational opportunities, the British Council has been building friendly knowledge and understanding between the people of the UK and Germany since 1959. The results of this research have informed us about the concerns and aspirations of 2,000 people aged 18–30 from across Germany, using a range of tools including surveys and interviews, to help describe how they feel about their lives. Hearing about the hopes and fears of the younger generation is not only useful for informing policy and practice in the youth sector, but is also key to understanding how the British Council can engage more meaningfully with young people, in a world that is so deeply affected by social, political and economic changes.

So what have we found out? The biggest piece of news, and perhaps the best news of all, is that young people in Germany feel generally positive about their own lives, especially about their upbringing and childhood. Perhaps the only surprise here is the lack of regional variation; one might have expected to see differences between east and west, as well as between north and south. Regarding the future more broadly,

however, young people are concerned about the future direction of Germany and are worried about the lack of stability in the economy, as well as new challenges that have come about as a result of a more turbulent Europe in the wake of the migration crisis and the increase in populism.

This research has bridged an era of extreme uncertainty in Europe as the Brexit debate goes into its third year and continues to dominate headlines on both sides of the Channel.

Unsurprisingly, young people view Brexit negatively and feel that it will be the UK that bears the adverse consequences of leaving the EU. Besides Brexit, it seems that the next generation's view of the UK is characterised by the Queen, and drinking tea and beer! This is a clear sign to the British Council that we need to widen our channels of engagement with young people, enabling them to see a more current version of the UK as well as the positive things it has to share with Germany and all the things our two countries have in common. Next Generation research has shown that young Britons and Germans share concerns about their employment prospects, professional lives and the fact that their education doesn't prepare them adequately for life beyond school.

As well as similarities, this research shows differences. Young Germans define themselves by a variety of characteristics and different identities – regional and European – whereas young Britons are more focused on

their British nationality. Is this inclusive, diverse approach to identity in Germany something that the UK can learn from? And as we aim for young Germans to have a more current understanding of the contemporary UK, can we also strive for the UK to have a better understanding of young Germans?

As we move into a new era of UK–German relations, the importance of understanding and appreciating one another in all our diversity and uniqueness, while also realising the equality of shared stories and ambitions, has never been more apparent. This report will be of great help for the British Council and our valued partners in gaining this understanding. We look forward to using it as a platform in Germany and in the UK for the exchange of ideas, stories and ambition that will guide our work with the next generation, now and into the future.

Rachel Launay
Director Germany, British Council

> EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report presents the findings from mixed-method research exploring the contexts, attitudes and aspirations of German youth aged 18–30, on behalf of the British Council's Next Generation research programme. This series explores young people's needs, daily lives and outlooks in countries undergoing significant change, with the aim of ensuring their voices in relation to these changes are heard and put at the forefront of youth policy.

Our findings are drawn from an initial online qualitative 'language pilot', a nationally representative quantitative survey of more than 2,000 young people, online ethnography with 24 youth participants, and six in-depth interviews.

The quantitative portion of this research spoke to a nationally representative sample of respondents. We set quotas on age, gender and region, ensuring we captured a mixture of both urban and rural locations. We also captured a mixture of students and respondents in employment, speaking to those with differing educational backgrounds (see Appendix 1 for a full breakdown of demographics).

Our research was iterative in nature: the quantitative survey provided a representative overview of youth's attitudes, aspirations and concerns, and our qualitative research was used to understand these views in more depth, fill gaps in our existing understanding, and allow us to see the issues in the context of youth's own voices.

Research was conducted by independent expert youth research agency 2CV, with the input of the British Council's Next Generation team and the Advisory Board.

Summary of findings

Overall, young people in Germany reported a high degree of positivity about their own lives and personal futures, regardless of where in the country they lived. They felt Germany has historically excelled at providing young people with the building blocks to build a good life for themselves: free and high-quality education, relatively low income inequality, and a strong social support system. Some 69 per cent reported feeling 'very positive' or 'positive' about the future, with slightly lower figures for participants from lower socio-economic groups (66 per cent) and students (67 per cent) – with no significant regional differences.

However, despite this overall positivity about their personal lives and contexts, young people felt less certain about the direction in which Germany is heading, and about whether Germany will be able to offer the continued security and stability that its youth desire. Young people reported concerns and anxiety about a range of perceived 'new challenges' emerging in recent years, including high levels of immigration, rising house prices, and a perceived less stable and/or changing economy. They reported feeling that the government has been slow and ineffective in responding to these challenges, taking a reactive rather than proactive approach. German youth also reported worries that Germany's historical strengths – a striving for excellence, and a focus on technological and engineering prowess – may lose relevance in the rapidly evolving global economy. Only 50 per cent of participants reported that they think these issues will improve in the future.

This ongoing tension between youth's general positivity about their personal lives and futures, and their concerns and anxieties about whether Germany will be able to provide them the lives they desire in the future, sits at the heart of our findings.

The report is structured according to the themes that emerged as most critical for young people in Germany, exploring:

- **their day-to-day worlds:** What is it like to be a young person in Germany today? What do they think the future holds? How do they view Germany and their place in it? What do they want from their personal futures?
- **their global outlook:** How do young people view Germany's place in the world? How do they view the EU and the UK? How do they see global trends and opportunities influencing their own identities and trajectories?

Below we summarise the key findings emerging within each theme.

Identity and identification

German youth are not very nationalistic in how they identify – our quantitative sample were more likely to identify with their city (77 per cent) or local area (74 per cent) over Germany (68 per cent). Similarly, most of our qualitative participants cited personal, local or European identities before a German one. Only 40 per cent of participants reported feeling proud of Germany, even though they spoke with great pride about their local areas: the nightlife, neighbourhood bars, good universities and social networks that made their part of the country feel like home.

Some young people told us that, as Germans, they consciously de-emphasise national identities due in large part to the historical baggage

associated with pride in Germany. Some of these participants also raised wider hesitations about German-focused identification, telling us that for them, being highly nationalistic in today's world can be associated with political polarisation and potentially more extreme political views.

Despite this relatively low reported pride at a survey level, in our qualitative conversations young people listed ample things Germany excels at: praising its engineering prowess; its ability to offer its citizens relative stability and security; and its skill in building durable, high-quality products that last – the 'German way'.

However, youth were also aware that the global economy is changing rapidly – with digitisation, the rise of the innovation economy and globalisation demanding more creative, dynamic and adaptive thinking. While some welcomed this change, others felt anxiety that these demands might be out of pace with the 'German way' of doing things. Many participants in our qualitative sample expressed fear that Germany will fall behind other countries, that its focus on excellence and quality may not be what is called for in a global environment increasingly demanding pace, adaptability and innovation.

Education and employment

Our youth sample provided somewhat contradictory views about education and employment, in keeping with the core tensions outlined above.

On the one hand, young Germans expressed pride in their high-quality, free and accessible education system – and expressed positivity about their current employment opportunities and job experiences. Some 68 per cent of the young people we spoke to who were in employment were satisfied in their current roles.

On the other hand, young people also expressed anxieties: 41 per cent of young people we surveyed felt that there was room for improvement in the way their education had prepared them for work – a finding that tallies with other Next Generation countries.¹ Despite levels of relative satisfaction right now, young people feared for their education and employment outcomes in the future – with a rising cost of living causing worry about maintaining job satisfaction and the work–life balance they desire moving forward. Young people in our qualitative sample were also eager to see Germany taking a leading role to integrate technology, more innovative learning approaches and practical skills (such as financial literacy) into its curriculum.

Financial security

Our youth sample viewed financial security as a critical component of a good life. They characterised financial security as the gateway to attaining the things that matter to them most in life: spending ample time with friends and family; enjoying the entertainment and culture their local area offers; and having a nice home to come back to and perhaps starting a family.

In an economic and sociopolitical environment increasingly tinged with uncertainty, financial security emerged as a key and highly emotive priority for young people: 59 per cent of our quantitative sample selected financial security as a current challenge facing young people, the second highest challenge after affordable housing.

They also told us that they view the government as playing an important enabling role in helping them prosper and achieve their goals. While our youth participants recognised that the German government offers a considerable amount of support to young people,

including in comparison to other countries, they felt more can and should be done to help young people thrive in uncertain times.

They were particularly eager to see more proactive policy action to solve perceived issues in relation to ensuring affordable housing provision for the next generation – an area of increasing concern for young Germans. The majority of young people who felt owning a property was important for their future remain positive that they will achieve this. However, around 27 per cent of them stated that owning a property was not achievable for them in the future – a big barrier to feeling financially secure.

Immigration

Across all regions included in this research, German youth expressed complex and emotionally charged views on the topic of immigration. Age, life stage and nationality played more of a factor in attitudes than geographical region: younger people (18–24) were more open to immigration than the older people we spoke to (25–30). In line with this, so were students (versus employed people) and those with dual nationality.²

Qualitative findings suggested that people in this research were broadly welcoming of *immigrants* as individuals, but that many nonetheless worried about how the country will cope with *immigration* as a perceived driver of population growth and change. Given the uncertainty many young Germans are feeling about the economy and potential negative impact on their own futures, some are worrying that recent newcomers to Germany have put considerable strain on the German system, which they worry will lead to instability and uncertainty. Specifically, many young people in our qualitative sample felt immigration has increased

¹ > Including the UK, Colombia and Turkey.

² > Dual nationality was self-defined, captured using the following question: 'Which of the below statements best describe your nationality?' Respondents could select one of two responses: 'I only have German nationality' or 'I have dual nationality'.

competition for housing, thereby increasing house prices and making it harder for young people to find an affordable place to live. This was perceived as an issue across the regions explored in this research, with minimal geographic differences.

Many in our qualitative sample also reported feeling that the German government has not done enough to aid integration into German society and listed examples of when a lack of integration has affected them on a personal level. Most did not blame immigrants for this directly; rather, they saw it as a failure on the part of the German government to support effective transition of new people into the country.

Finally, for some young people in our qualitative sample there was a strong feeling that the number of immigrants that came into Germany compared to other European nations is unfair. They told us that they feel that Germany sometimes acts like the 'martyr' or 'Samaritan' for all of Europe and that Germany's stance on immigration is presenting challenges for its own citizens. Young people would like to see Germany present a clear and visible plan on how it will ensure the lives of young people are not negatively affected in the future.

Perceptions of violence and safety

When spontaneously asked to identify the challenges that are most pressing for German youth, violence and safety were not commonly raised issues. Youth also told us that in their own lives, they continue to feel that Germany is a very safe and comfortable place to live; our participants only very rarely reported any direct lived experience of violence or concerns about their personal security.

However, when asked to rank challenges that they see Germany potentially facing in the future, violence and safety were prominent issues as ranked by our quantitative sample. Many young Germans also told us that they felt violence in Germany has risen in recent years. Given the disconnect between current lived experience and this rating of concern for the future, these views may largely be driven by media reporting on relatively isolated events and wider fears about change and unrest, rather than a sense that youth's own neighbourhoods and environments are becoming less safe.

Expressed fears about violence and safety typically revolved around two separate but interrelated concerns, both of which are largely fuelled by the media:

- a perception that the added pressure an influx of immigrants has put on the German system has led to more crime, sexual harassment and general unease on Germany's streets
- a perception that a rise in right-wing ideology, largely fuelled by anti-immigrant rhetoric, is 'destabilising' Germany, causing uncertainty and leading to political polarisation and widespread unrest.

Regardless of how pressing violence and safety are for youth in their daily lives at present, our youth sample told us that they would like to see the government address these issues head-on, recognising the concerns that its young citizens have, and clearly outlining a plan to ensure that Germany continues to be a safe and secure place to live.

Voice and representation

Overall, our findings suggest that more can be done to encourage civic and political engagement among German youth – and there is a need to show them that politics is welcoming of them and represents their interests. Women particularly feel less engaged currently: slightly more than half (53 per cent) of men feel 'somewhat engaged' or 'very engaged', compared to just over a third (32 per cent) of women.

Lack of engagement seemed to be driven by a variety of factors. Only a third (31 per cent) reported believing that the German political system is effective, with a similar proportion (35 per cent) citing its ineffectiveness. Less than a quarter reported trust (24 per cent) or faith (22 per cent) in the German government, with nearly half having little or no trust (41 per cent) or faith (46 per cent). Furthermore, 22 per cent reported feeling the government represents 'none' of what matters to them, with 51 per cent stating it reflects only some of the things that matter to them. Attitudes were somewhat more negative in East than West Germany, and for women versus men.

When we asked our qualitative sample what they wished the government would focus on more, issues like housing affordability, immigration and a plan for the changing economy came out as top priorities. In our qualitative data, associations of the government as 'older and male' among some female participants suggests that associations about who is represented in the political sphere may not be particularly inclusive.

When asked why they are not engaged currently, there was a sense that platforms and opportunities – both on a local and national level – are limited. Few young people we spoke to knew *how* to engage and many felt that their concerns are not a priority for the current government. When asked what would encourage them to become more engaged, young people reported that it would help if German politics more closely mirrored what matters to them (45 per cent); if political engagement was encouraged at school to a greater extent (35 per cent) and if politics were easier to understand (35 per cent).

Germany and the rest of the world

Young Germans reported feeling that the rest of the world still links German identity with the Second World War, which limits the role that Germany can play on the world stage. There is a sense that Germany has to seek consensus before it can give its opinion for fear of being accused of trying to dominate.

Perceptions of the UK were quite limited and largely driven by stereotypes rather than deep cultural relationships or associations: bad weather, bad food, driving on the left, the Royal Family and a love of tea dominated how young Germans view the UK.

Brexit is something almost all young Germans were aware of (91 per cent) and was largely seen as a disappointment and a mistake for the UK. In our sample, 82 per cent believed it would have an impact on Germany, and of those who felt it would have an impact, 62 per cent believed it would be negative. However, young people found it hard to articulate exactly how this impact would manifest or impact their lives – they loosely referenced decreased trade with the UK and diminished travel opportunities to the UK, but outside of these, Brexit was not seen to have an impact on the daily lives of young people in Germany. In fact, among our qualitative sample, the consequences of Brexit were seen to weigh more heavily on the UK, in that it will isolate itself from Europe and from trade. Brexit has not dampened most young Germans' faith in the EU – and the young people in our qualitative sample reported continuing to see Germany as a strong driving force in Europe.

> INTRODUCTION

Germany: a nation at the heart of Europe. As the largest European economy and with global political clout, Germany arguably remains the engine that drives the European project. For example, *Time* magazine's cover even declared Angela Merkel as the 'Chancellor of the Free World' (Gibbs, 2015).

The Federal Republic will turn 70 this year, a landmark birthday that will take place in a European and world context characterised by rapid evolution and change. Like many of its European counterparts, Germany faces a range of challenges with the potential to threaten stability. Issues are complex and wide-ranging: the lingering effects of the European debt crisis; the so-called 'migrant crisis' and associated extensive media coverage; a changing EU landscape – most pointedly signalled by the UK's impending 'Brexit'; and, at the time of writing, a proposed deadline for the departure of Merkel by 2021. It has also seen the rise of a new right-wing party, *Alternative für Deutschland* (Alternative for Germany – AfD), which challenges the established political order and has rapidly grown to be the third largest party in the Bundestag (the German federal parliament).

Despite these challenges, Germany brings to the table a range of strengths to help it weather these new currents. Its economy is strong, running a large current account surplus in the years up to 2017 (Jones, 2018); youth unemployment is low³ and indeed has steadily decreased since 2005 (Dietrich et al., 2018), and historically, the Federal Republic has proven it can survive as it did when it absorbed its eastern neighbour as the *neue Bundesländer*

(new federal states). This should provide a strong platform for the future of Germany as it faces these current crises.

The question for this report is what does this mean for our younger generations of Germans? Amid all this change and uncertainty, what are the attitudes, aspirations and concerns that now define the German context – in particular, the perspective of Germany's younger generations? How do Germany's young people feel about their own lives and futures, and about the role their nation plays in the world? And ultimately, how well does the next generation of citizens see Germany meeting the needs of its young people?

This report explores the findings of a multi-method investigation of German youth experience, focusing on 18- to 30-year-olds. Generationally, these are the Germans who straddle the Generation Z and Millennial divide. For this group of young people, the reunification of Germany lives largely in memory rather than lived experience; the earlier weaknesses of the German economy for the most part affected their youth rather than employment years (Economist, 1999); and Merkel is the only chancellor many of them remember. They are a complex set of young people, some already with young children of their own, while some are just at the beginning of adulthood.

In this report we attempt to understand the views and needs of these younger generations of Germans, aiming to give voice to their experiences and bring to life what it is like for them to live in today's Germany.

Who are the young Germans in this report?

For the purposes of this research investigation, 'young people' and 'young Germans' were defined as those who are 18–30 years old, currently living in Germany and holding German citizenship.⁴

The federal nature of Germany means that we had to look at a wide audience if we were to get a true picture of the lives of young people in Germany (see Appendix 1 for a full sample breakdown). Our research covered all the federal states, allowing us to see whether there are any differences between the 'old' (formerly West German) and the 'new' (formerly East German) federal states. It also gave us the opportunity to see whether the traditional divisions between the 'Catholic south' and 'Protestant north' hold true, especially in the current economic climate where southern federal states are edging ahead of the northern ones (Berlin, 2017).

What methods were used in this research?

Our approach was iterative and multi-method, with research taking place over four key stages:

- **an initial online 'language pilot'** with 18 young participants, which focused on exploring the specific language that young Germans use around politically sensitive topics such as 'national pride' and 'immigration' – to ensure a sensitive and fit-for-purpose survey approach. It also helped us gather initial findings on young people's views about some of the key issues explored in later

3 > In recent years, the unemployment rate of young people (5.1–5.3 per cent) is below the unemployment rate of the general workforce (5.7–6.1 per cent) – see Dietrich and Möller (2015).

4 > The quantitative survey sampled for variety across regions, socio-economic status, disability, dual versus single nationality, and urban and more rural locations.

stages, shaping our quantitative survey content

- **a nationally representative quantitative survey** with more than 2,000 young people covering all federal states (covering both urban and rural locations), informed by our research brief from the British Council, our digital language pilot, a brief literature exploration, and the content of other Next Generation research instruments
- **online qualitative ethnography** with 24 young people, selected to represent a spread of youth demographics and contexts.⁵ The qualitative ethnography involved around two to three hours per person of data gathering, spanning open-response questions, multimedia upload, and moderator-prompted follow-up questioning – thus allowing for more concentrated individual contributions to the evidence base than the equivalent sample size via a focus group or one-hour in-depth interview approach. Taking an online approach also allowed an efficient and effective way to gather evidence across a geographically dispersed sample (who lived in or within commuting distance of Hamburg, Cologne, Berlin, Leipzig and Munich). This phase was not intended to provide a representative qualitative evidence base or to act as a stand-alone evidence base on the issues. Rather, it served as explanatory evidence for some of the patterns identified in the quantitative research, particularly where the ‘why’ behind a particular survey characteristic was unclear

- **face-to-face qualitative depth interviews** with six young people from the online phase, carefully selected to follow up on remaining key question areas of interest arising from previous stages of research, and to gather photographic data to bring the issues to life.

Our analysis approach across this piece of research was iterative in nature, and the research team worked with the British Council to evolve our questioning and approach in light of learning at each stage. Analysis for both phases of qualitative research was thematic in nature, combining elements of content analysis and more creative group brainstorm research. Our quantitative analysis focused on identifying statistically significant patterns in the data and on understanding regional and audience differences. Where similar questions had been asked in previous Next Generation reports from other nations, we used the existing evidence to put these research findings in context.

Quotes from all three qualitative phases (the digital language pilot, online ethnography and in-depth interviews) have been included in this report to provide a sense of individual youths’ experiences of some of the issues under exploration. Quotes were included if they expressed a majority rather than minority view, and where this was not the case, we have indicated this in the quote attribution. While our quote attributions list the city nearest to the respondent, it is worth bearing in mind that not all of our qualitative sample lived in urban centres but were also drawn from surrounding areas or ‘suburbs’ around the city.

A note on regional differences

The young people we spoke to in this report expressed relatively uniform views about their daily lives and key areas of concern, regardless of where in Germany they lived. In fact, there were no substantive, significant differences when looking at the data from a north–south lens. When we looked at the data from an East–West perspective, however, some regional differences did emerge.

While young people in the East were equally positive about their own lives and futures as those in other parts of the country, there are a few key areas where young people in Eastern Germany expressed different and often slightly more negative views about life in Germany than their West German counterparts.⁶ However, all of these are slight exacerbations of trends that we saw across the national sample, and were not unique to East Germany. Conversely, there was slightly higher negativity among West German participants about the UK in relation to Brexit.⁷ Otherwise, regional views were broadly consistent.

We have summarised these differences here for ease, but we draw the reader’s attention to these in relevant chapters throughout this report. Generally, where any major demographic or regional differences were worth noting, we draw these out in the report.

5 > The qualitative sample included a mix of socio-economic status, education levels, and more urban and suburban participants who lived in or within commuting distance of Berlin, Hamburg, Leipzig, Munich and Cologne.

6 > For example, our East German participants in the quantitative survey tended to be slightly less proud of Germany than their West German counterparts; be less certain that education had adequately prepared them for working life; and more likely to cite financial security as a current challenge.

7 > While awareness of Brexit is universal across Germany, there was greater concern and negativity about Brexit from those in West Germany compared to East Germany. Those in West Germany were significantly more likely to feel negatively towards a country leaving the EU, and specifically feel more negative towards the UK as a result of Brexit.

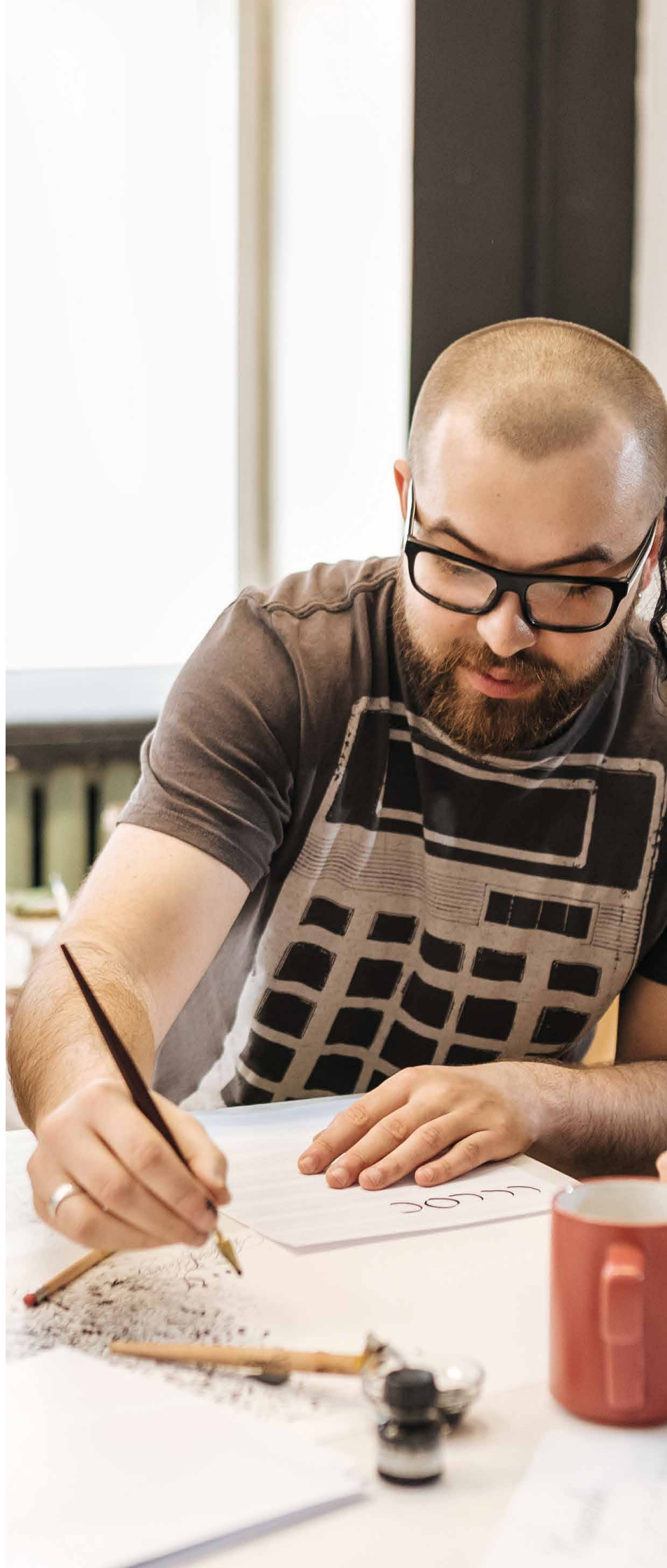
A note for the reader

Much of the fieldwork for this research took place against a backdrop of relative uncertainty – for example, Merkel announced her proposed 2021 resignation as CDU leader just prior to the quantitative fieldwork. It is important to keep this in mind while reading through the results presented in this report.

On the whole, German youth raised many points of pride in their nation and in the daily lives it afforded them. However, they also raised serious concerns and anxieties about the future. While it was clear in our qualitative research that many of these concerns are long-standing for German youth (and many have been validated by other previous research efforts), the results seen here may also reflect these concerns during a period of heightened uncertainty. These findings represent a snapshot of opinion in one moment of time – a moment that turned out to be a particularly uncertain one.

Cutting across the detailed findings presented in the thematic sections to follow is a sense of *Unbehagen* or unease. This manifests itself in the research in the lower rates of confidence youth have in the future, even though they feel relatively positive about their personal lives.

In general, we found that even where negativity was high, our youth participants were more worried about ‘what might happen’ than about ‘what is happening to me’. The potential challenges they saw on the horizon had not affected them on a day-to-day level in most cases, and yet caused worry for many, as they wondered if and when things might change. Where findings suggest pessimism from German youth, we ask the reader to explore them with this context in mind. As one of our respondents in Berlin told us: *‘Wir jammern auf hohem Niveau’* – ‘We’re complaining from a place of comfort.’





CHAPTER 1:

LOCAL POSITIVITY AMID GLOBAL UNCERTAINTY

In this chapter, we explore a core conundrum at the heart of our findings throughout this research: why did the young people in this study report concerns and anxieties about life in Germany, even as they told us that they felt reasonably positive about their own lives and futures?

Below we explore, in summary terms, the consistent tension we saw in the evidence between youths' general positivity about their own lives and futures, and yet a range of concerns and anxieties about whether Germany will be able to continue to offer them the lives they desire in the future.

In general, youths told us that modern life for young people in Germany continues to be positive. However, they were aware of emerging challenges that they see as potential threats to their long-term opportunities and happiness.

A good life

When asked about the things they value in life, the German youth we spoke to in our qualitative research consistently referenced wanting 'a good life'. For them, this wasn't about collecting the latest tech gadgets or travelling the world; their estimations of what constitutes a 'good life' were more circumspect: positive family

relationships, financial security, close friends and having a 'good job' were all seen as essential ingredients to a fulfilling life.

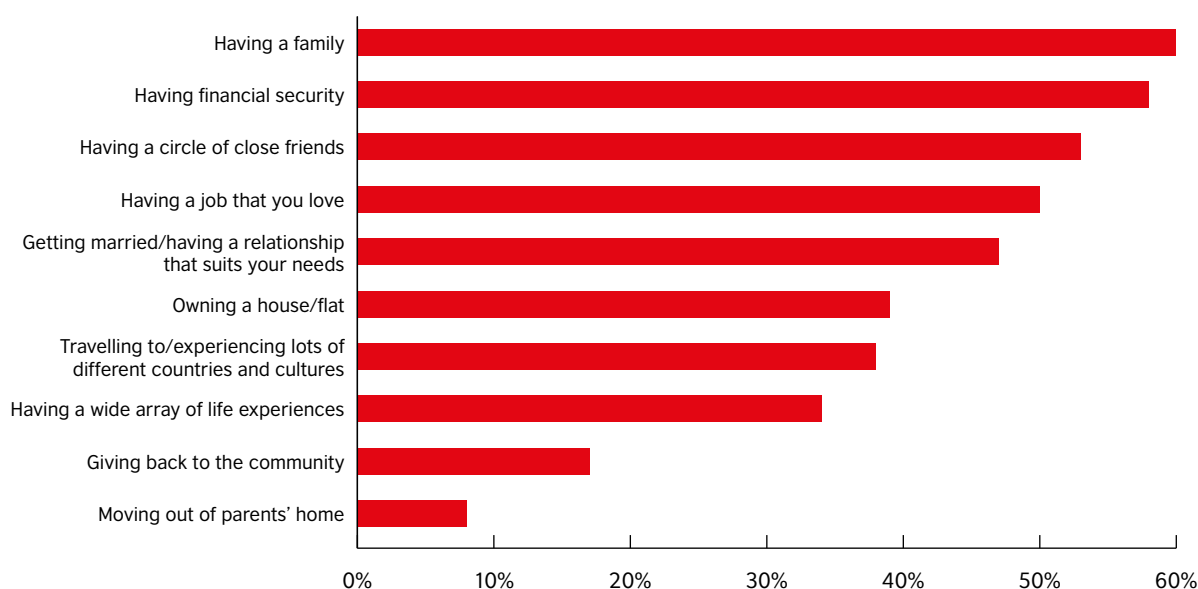
'I uploaded a picture of a rollercoaster with many people.⁸ This reflects my family and my loved ones, there is always something going on here and our life is like a wild but very fun rollercoaster ride.'

Female, Cologne, age 28

'My mom is my role model. She is always there for me and I would not be the person I am today without her.'

Female, Leipzig, age 25

Figure 1: When thinking about personal success and happiness (both now and in the future), which of the below do you think contribute to this? Please think about your own personal success and happiness



Question B2: Prompted list of 11 codes (top ten shown)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

8 > This is a reference to a task in the qualitative phase of fieldwork, where respondents were asked to upload a photo of something that matters to them.

The importance of social relationships and family came out very strongly and consistently across our youth sample. In our sample, 60 per cent believe that 'having a family' contributed to their personal success and happiness, as well as 'having a close circle of friends' (53 per cent). These findings are generally in line with previous research on German youths' aspirations: good relationships with family (90 per cent), good friendships (89 per cent) and good partnerships (85 per cent) have previously been rated as of top concern for young people (Mathias et al., 2015; TUI-Stiftung, 2018). The 2015 Shell Study indicated that young people were eager for both a secure job (95 per cent) and sufficient time for family and leisure time (91 per cent) (Mathias et al., 2015).

Achieving a positive work–life balance was highly valued by our youth sample. While young people felt work was important, it was largely seen as an enabler of a 'good life' spent with friends and families – a 'work to live', rather than a 'live to work' attitude prevailed. That said, many young people agreed that having financial security (58 per cent) and having a job that you love (50 per cent) were important contributors to success and happiness, and as we'll see in Chapter 4, this was an increasing concern for many young people.

Daily lives and local realities

The young people we spoke to lived relatively local lives; many reported having been born in the same town or city they were living in now, and feeling secure in the knowledge that their friends, family and other support networks were nearby. We saw little evidence of widespread desire for travel and global experiences – or even for travel within Germany – as a critical ingredient for 'the good life.' Among our quantitative sample, 24 per cent stated they would not move within or outside of Germany, and 34 per cent stated they would only move within Germany. For those who said they would not move at all, 61 per cent stated this was because their family is close and they would not want to leave them.

'My whole life is in this city. Family, friends, working life – everything takes place here.'

Male, Cologne, age 22

'I want to be close to my parents and my extended family – there are many of us and I would miss them too much if I left!'

Female, Munich, age 24

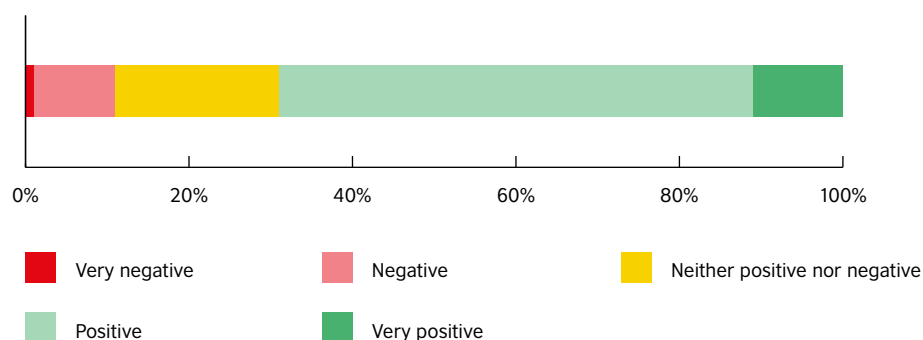
German youths had positive things to report about their day-to-day existence and about the benefits of living in Germany. They expressed pride in their local area and, to some extent, their local communities. Across the board, there was a sense that every town and city in Germany is well catered to. They told us that good universities, restaurants, bars, nightlife and culture are easily accessible across the country – and that there are very few life essentials that young people risk missing out on, regardless of where in the nation they live.

'In my view, the Munich Maxvorstadt (a central borough of Munich) is one of the most beautiful and liveable for young people. Nestled between two universities, numerous pubs, bars and restaurants, there is lots to do to relax.'

Male, Munich, age 23

'I'm a "geborene Berliner" (native Berliner) and I can't imagine living anywhere else.'

Female, Berlin, age 30

Figure 2: How do you currently feel about your personal future?

Question B1: five-point scale (single code)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Personal futures

Overall, most youth in our sample reported feeling positive about their personal futures, with 69 per cent saying that they felt ‘very positive’ or ‘positive.’

This positivity was echoed in our qualitative research, with most young people expressing a strong desire to stay in Germany in the long term; when German youth thought about their future lives, they primarily imagined life in Germany rather than life outside it. When thinking about their futures, many imagined they would be able to enjoy their lives – the beautiful nature, the

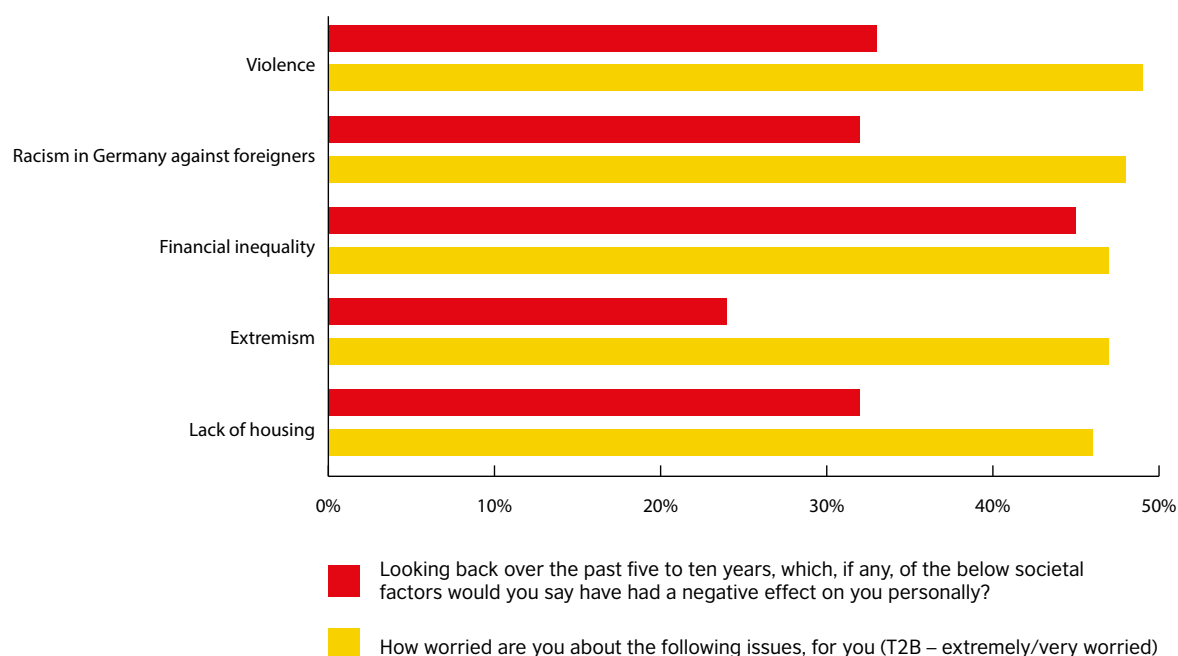
relatively generous social benefits, and the relative safety and security Germany offers. The young Germans we spoke to felt and told us that, compared to other places in the world, their lives are good.

Although this positivity for the most part stretched across our youth audience, there were some statistically significant differences:

- **socio-economic group:** 75 per cent of youths from higher socio-demographic groups (ABC1⁹) felt positive about the future – dropping slightly to only 66 per cent of youths from lower income groups (C2DE)

- **employment status:** employed young people also felt significantly more positive about the future than students (73 per cent versus 67 per cent feeling very positive or positive, respectively).

It is worth noting that overall, across regions, we saw a large degree of consistency in young people’s positivity towards the future. While there are some minor differences found by region, any differences seen were not statistically significant. This indicates that regardless of where young people live in Germany, they feel relatively positive about their personal futures.

Figure 3: Societal issues – impact and concern

Question: two separate questions (C7 – prompted list of 16 statements, and C8 – five-point scale asked per issue)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Challenges facing the nation

Despite mostly reporting that life feels positive at present – and projecting this positivity into the future – our participants also indicated a host of concerns about some of the broader challenges facing their nation, at times also reporting a direct negative impact on their own lives. Violence, racism, financial inequality, extremism and housing issues came out top of the list in terms of spontaneous issues raised.

In our qualitative research, when we asked young Germans to translate these statistics into the tangible things they were worrying about, they expressed a fear that the ‘good life’ that has previously been attainable to anyone, regardless of the ‘type’ of job they have,

is under threat. Despite expressing pride in their local areas, there was a sense from many of these participants that things are changing rapidly, and not always for the better. There was a clear sense of rising anxiety among young people that things are getting harder for young people, and that the government is failing to acknowledge this – a sentiment that stretches across the themes we discuss in this report.

While not emerging spontaneously as a major concern in our quantitative data, the young people we spoke to also raised concerns about climate change – particularly, a worry that Germany is not taking enough of a leadership role in tackling global warming and switching to green energy sources.

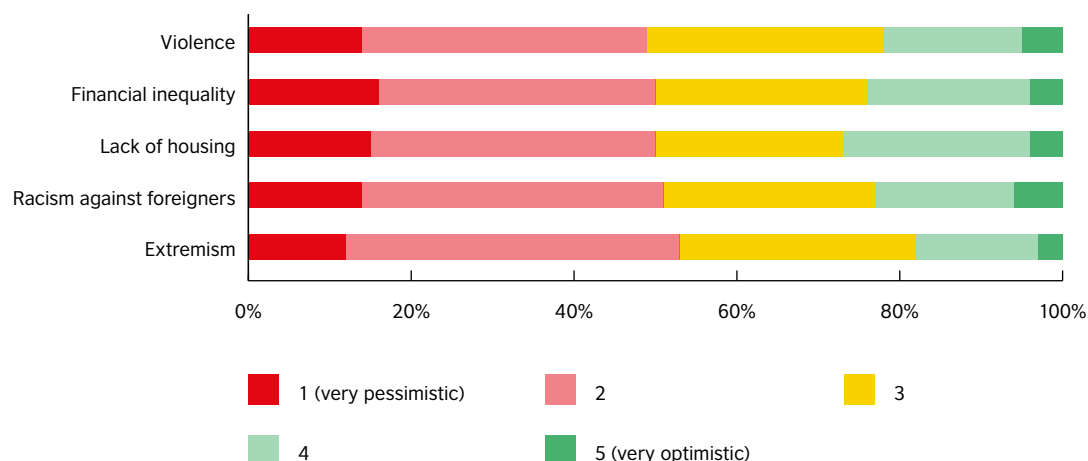
‘I am concerned about the way the world is going, especially with regards to the climate situation and the ignorance of the masses. Many people seem to put their own needs and greed above that of the community, which is not good in the long term.’

Female, Hamburg, age 22

There was also little sense of faith among our German youth sample that the concerns they raised will get better in the future, with approximately 50 per cent pessimistic that any of these issues will be improved across all of the issue areas explored in the survey.

‘Gone are the days when children can run freely on the streets unsupervised and gone are the days that everyone knew their neighbours.’

Female, Cologne, age 30

Figure 4: Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved?

Question: Five-point scale pessimistic <-> optimism for each selected at C7

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

In the remaining chapters of this report, we ask the reader to keep this core tension of overall positivity ‘right now’ mixed with real concerns about the future in mind. As we’ll see, this tension presents itself across the key themes we discuss in this report, across areas like **identity, education and employment, financial security, immigration and racism, violence and safety, voice and representation, and Germany and the wider world**. We explore general perceptions of Germany’s direction and future more widely and how youth experience these issues at a personal level.

A note on audience differences

Overall, we found that personal experiences of these issues were largely consistent across regions, with no significant differences seen when exploring the data by either north or south divisions, or East or West. However, some key demographic differences did emerge:

- women were significantly more likely than men to report having been negatively affected by all three of the top issues and be worried about them in the future (violence, racism against foreigners and financial inequality)

- racism is an issue that was more worrying to our younger participants and dual-national participants:
 - dual nationals were more likely to have been negatively affected by racism in the past (60 per cent for dual nationals versus 30 per cent for single nationals). Dual nationals were also significantly more likely to be worried about racism in the future (66 per cent versus 47 per cent ‘extremely/very worried’) with over a third stating they are ‘extremely worried’
 - the younger cohort of young people surveyed (18–24) were more likely to be worried about racism compared to those aged 25–30 (52 per cent versus 44 per cent were ‘extremely/very worried’).



CHAPTER 2: IDENTITY AND IDENTIFICATION IN TIMES OF TRANSITION

In this chapter, we explore how the German youth define themselves and Germany in a time of political uncertainty and rapid global change. Overall, German youths are not highly nationalistic: they are proud of their culture but focus primarily on personal, regional or even European characteristics, rather than national ones. They also told us that they feel keenly aware that some of Germany's historical strengths – a striving for excellence, its technological and engineering prowess, and its ability to offer stability and security – may be less valuable in a rapidly shifting global economy. We discuss the impact this is having on how young Germans see their place in the global marketplace.

Local, regional and national identities

Our quantitative data shows that young Germans are more likely to identify with their city or region than their country and are almost as likely to identify with a European identity as they are with a German one. When asked how young Germans self-identify in our qualitative research, many listed attributes that defined their sense of self (e.g. artist, musician, father, athlete) or offered up local (Berliner, Hamburger, etc.) or European identities before citing a 'German' one. As one of our respondents from Berlin told us:

'Being German only becomes part of my identity when someone from abroad asks me about it. I am not defined by where I from, it's about what I do – I am also a Berliner before I am a German!'

Male, Berlin, age 26

This is different from what we have seen in some other Next Generation markets; *Next Generation UK* (2017) highlighted that English and Scottish young people were much more likely to identify with their respective nations rather than their local community or Europe. Note that East German youth are less likely to identify strongly with their country (62 per cent) than their West German counterparts (69 per cent).

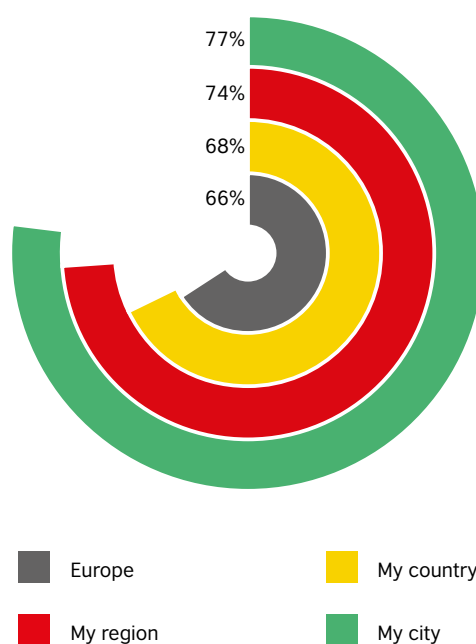
Only 40 per cent of our sample reported feeling proud of Germany – even though they could list many examples of the things they were proud of in their local area: the food, local breweries, world-class universities, etc. In some cases, youths we spoke to in our qualitative research explicitly told us that they were conscious to de-emphasise national identity, or pride in 'being German' – in stark contrast to the clear national pride seen in some other Next Generation research, like Kenya, for example.

Figure 5: How strongly do you identify with...

Question P1AMP: 2CV amplifier behavioural science tool used

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018



The data indicated that those from East Germany were significantly less likely to say they were proud of Germany, versus those from West Germany (39 per cent versus 45 per cent saying they feel 'proud/very proud'). Young people told us that their reticence in nationalistic identification was in large part due to historical baggage associated with German 'pride' in national identity. The youth we spoke to also reported a sense that in today's world, national pride is increasingly associated with divisive politics and, in some cases, extremist views. They did not want to be associated with having these kinds of attitudes.

'I'm suspicious of people who have a lot of national pride. I think it makes them less welcoming and less open to other cultures.'

Male, Munich, age 20

'I think national pride, especially in Germany, but also in the rest of Europe, is increasingly associated with right-wing views.'

Male, Berlin, age 19

'I feel European. I think that in today's world that is more important than feeling nationalistic about the place you were born.'

Female, Hamburg, age 22

Nonetheless, young Germans did have clear pride points about their nation – speaking passionately and eloquently about the things that make them German, and the things that make Germany, Germany. These pride points tended to closely link with what Germany *does* rather than what Germany *is*. Young people told us, with a hint of self-deprecation, about continued cultural strengths of punctuality, stability,

approaching things systematically – and of their pride in 'quality' and 'durable' German products.

For example, one of our respondents from the suburbs of Hamburg referenced the term '*Benzin im Blut*' (literally: gasoline in the blood). This referred to the (specifically in this case, male) obsession with cars, but more broadly, a pride in exceptional engineering: knowing the ins and outs of how something works and building things to last – the German way.

Germany's focus on providing stability and security for its citizens was something that the youth took very seriously, and, as we will see in the chapters to follow, something they were very eager for Germany to maintain.

'The German way' in a global economy

Across our sample, German youths were aware that the global economy is changing – with digitisation, the rise of the innovation economy¹⁰ and globalisation all seen as demanding more creative, dynamic and adaptive thinking to achieve success. Some welcomed this change, or simply viewed it as inevitable: where the world was heading, and where they personally must try to follow.

However, for others this rapidly shifting global context drove anxiety that the 'German way' of doing things would no longer guarantee a competitive advantage in our rapidly changing, global world.¹¹ Trends for pace and innovation and a 'start-up' mentality felt, to these youth participants, at odds with the more slow-moving, deliberate German mindset, focused on achieving excellence, stability and certain outcomes. The skills needed to engineer

the perfect BMW – an exercise in perfection via studious application of marginal gains – seem quite at odds with the skills of today's tech entrepreneurs, rushing to push their own 'minimal viable product' out to market, 'fail fast' and then rapidly test and iterate. The youth in this study worried about Germany's ability to respond to this shift quickly:

'I worry that we are losing ground to countries like China and Korea, who are innovating at a very rapid pace. There is not a lot of tech innovation happening in Germany, we seem to be pretending it isn't important.'

Male, Hamburg, age 26

'In my opinion, the government is far too slow in responding to broadband deployment, data protection, development, the energy transition and the promotion of modern research. Wherever I think the term internet is new territory for all of us, Germany is falling behind compared to other countries like China and Korea.'

Male, Munich, age 30

This anxiety that the traditionally 'German' way of doing things is falling out of favour is something that touches many areas of life. As we'll see in the next chapter, young people worry that Germany could be doing more to adapt to this global shift and ensure Germany keeps its spot on the world stage.

¹⁰ > For example, see McKinney (2017).

¹¹ > These nuanced views that the uniquely German way of doing things is falling out of favour were largely expressed by our qualitative sample. Our line of questioning in the quantitative survey did not get to these views; however, they were expressed so strongly by our qualitative sample across ages and regions that we felt it was important to include it here.

> CHAPTER 3: EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT AND SKILLS

In this chapter, we discuss the key tension in young people's perception of the German education system. On one hand, young people felt proud that they have high-quality, free, accessible education; on the other hand, they worried that this system is not preparing them for the working world as well as they would like, especially in a context of increased global competition.

Below, we discuss how these perceptions played out for young people in their day-to-day lives, and how they influenced the way they reflect on their past decisions and behaviour regarding education. We also discuss how this feeling of 'unpreparedness' is playing out in the employment space and discuss why, despite being relatively satisfied in their careers, some young people are feeling anxious about their future employment prospects.

Pride in the quality of national education

The young people we spoke to in our qualitative research reported feeling proud that, regardless of where they live in Germany, they could rest assured that they are getting the same level of education as the rest of the country. Not a single person we spoke to reported needing to travel far from their home town to get a 'quality education'. In fact, most had gone on to pursue further study or training not too far from their home town, enabling them to keep in touch with friends and family easily. This was also reflected in the quantitative sample, with young people across regions going on to higher education in equal numbers.

Our young German participants in our qualitative sample felt especially proud of this when comparing themselves to other countries like the UK and the

USA, where education was seen to be more 'elitist' and profit-driven than in Germany:

'My parents aren't millionaires, but because I did well at school (Gymnasium), I was able to go to university. My parents do help me out financially, but I also get help from the state (BAföG) to support me financially while I study.'

Male, Munich, age 23

'There is no such thing as Oxford or Cambridge in Germany. All universities here are quite good and all of them are relatively affordable compared to other countries.'

Male, Leipzig, age 28

Shifting the focus of education

Following the 'Pisa shock' of 2000,¹² Germany quickly mobilised to evolve its school systems – largely reforming its three-tier system and giving more students the opportunity to get their *Abitur* (a specific type of high school diploma that allows access to universities, rather than only apprenticeship-based training) and attend university. Historically, this was only possible for students who attended the most prestigious of the three tiers: the *Gymnasium*.

While it is now possible for students to get their *Abitur* and attend university without going to a *Gymnasium*, many of the young Germans we spoke to in our qualitative research felt that the relative importance of having this diploma has risen significantly in the last ten to 15 years. While having an *Abitur* used to be a big advantage – something to set you apart and guarantee a good

job – it is now, our participants told us, increasingly a basic requirement to get a foot in the door.

Among the young people we spoke to who had not received an *Abitur* in secondary school, many expressed regrets that they had not taken their studies more seriously or worked harder during a critical period of their youth:

'I wish I'd studied more when I was younger and gotten my Abi (Abitur).'

Male, Munich, age 26

'I wish I'd studied harder, so I could get a better job.'

Male, Munich, age 28

'I wish I would have taken school more seriously when I was younger.'

Female, Leipzig, age 26

In addition to the basic structure of the secondary school system changing, university education has also seen reforms in recent years, largely as a result of the Europe-wide Bologna process. Many of the young people we spoke to applauded the aims of the Bologna process: to establish internationally accepted degrees, improve the quality of courses of study and enhance employability.¹³

However, some young people complained that this reform has devalued bachelor's degrees in Germany, with many companies now requiring a master's as a prerequisite for employment. A three-cycle university degree structure has replaced a historically two-cycle structure, which has had two key consequences for young people: 1) they have to re-apply to university to get their master's degree, which they didn't have to do

¹² > The Pisa shock refers to results of the first International School Performance Study of the OECD, which found that many German schoolchildren scored well below average in international comparison. See Waldow (2009) for more information.

¹³ > For more on the Bologna process, see Federal Ministry of Education and Research (n.d.).

in the old system, and 2) the time they spend at university is shorter, compared to previous generations of Germans, bringing them in line with the rest of Europe. Some young people in our qualitative sample complained about feeling 'rushed' through their education, in a way that is unique to their generation:

'The broad German system has become a narrower process, as part of the Bologna reforms. It offers less scope to follow our educational interests.'

Female, Berlin, age 30

Given that finding a good job now requires higher degrees and qualifications, some young people in

our sample complained that student life has become less fun. For their parents' generation, university life (for those that took the university route) was a time for self-exploration and education for 'education's sake'. If our sample is any indication, many of today's young people in Germany feel that, to a certain extent, this privilege has been taken away from them. The conditions of the marketplace have forced them to approach their studies more practically, with longer-term and employment goals in mind.

Preparation for working life

Despite the initial positivity of our sample about the German education system, our sample raised concerns about the adequacy of the current

educational system in helping youth achieve security for their futures.

Among the young people we surveyed as part of the quantitative fieldwork, less than half (41 per cent) felt their education prepared them for work 'very well' or 'extremely well'. This was perceived to be more of an issue for young people in East Germany than West Germany, with 34 per cent in East versus 43 per cent in West Germany saying their education had prepared them for work 'extremely/very well'. Following on from this, only around a third felt that their education had prepared them well for 'general life', with 31 per cent saying either 'very well' or 'extremely well' when asked about this.

Figure 6: How well do you think your education has prepared you for work?

Question A15: five-point scale
(single code)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date:
29 October – 29 November 2018

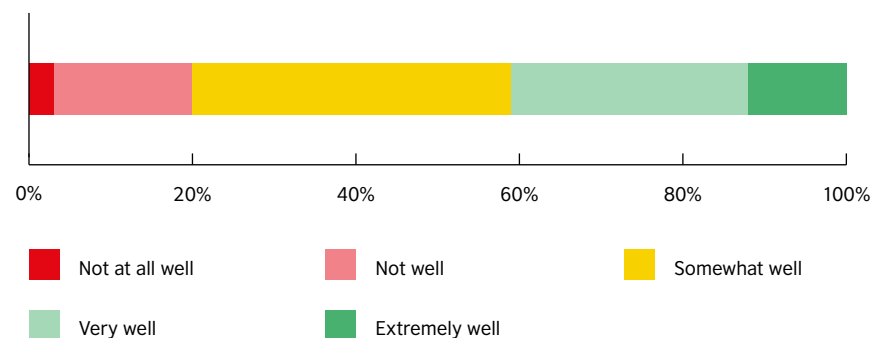


Figure 7: How well do you think your education has prepared you for general life?

Question A16: five-point scale
(single code)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date:
29 October – 29 November 2018

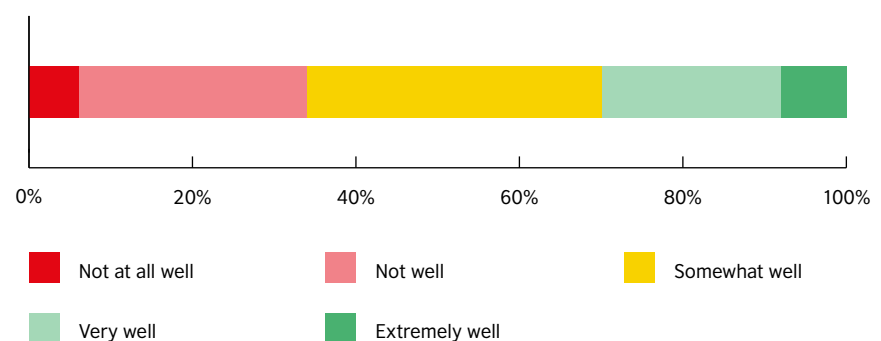
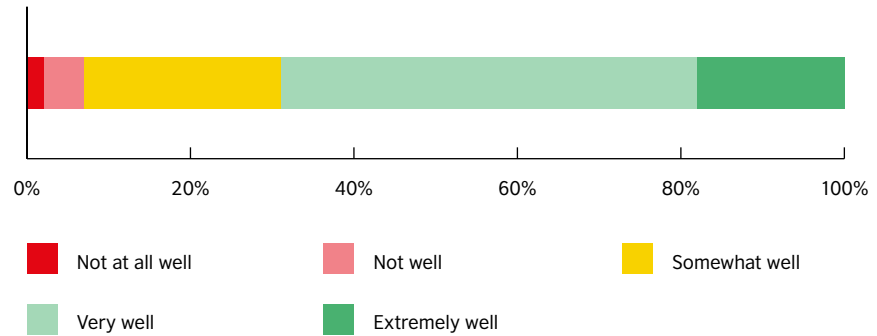


Figure 8: How satisfied are you in your current job role?

Question A17: five-point scale
(single code)

Base: n=1,058 respondents who
are currently working aged 18–30,
full country representation across
regions (including urban versus rural)
and nationally representative on
education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date:
29 October – 29 November 2018



When we explored the reasons for this concern in our qualitative research, the survey findings were largely explained by the same general anxieties previously discussed in Chapter 1 – particularly the youth’s feeling that Germany is falling behind other nations in fields like fast-paced innovation and digitisation – rather than a feeling that German education specifically is failing or problematic. Qualitatively, it was also driven by a sense that being financially savvy is going to be increasingly important for youth facing a potentially less certain future economy than the one their parents’ generation enjoyed, and that schools should be doing more to integrate financial literacy into the curriculum. Young people also expressed wanting more digital skills in their curriculum because, as mentioned in Chapter 1, digital skills were seen as increasingly important to compete in a global world.

‘As a student you are not really living in the real world. You are studying for the sake of getting an education. But I think looking back maybe I should have studied something more practical. I worry about unemployment in the future.’
Female, Leipzig, age 25

‘Topics such as pension, taxes, etc. should be taught to students earlier, as it is something they will have to deal with throughout their life. In my opinion, you can do without an hour or two of religion, philosophy or art. I think children would be very interested in getting a better financial education, as many parents, in my opinion are not equipped to prepare their children financially for the real world.’
Male, Leipzig, age 28

‘I would find it very interesting if, at an early age, the importance of a financial security is included in the school “education”. I think young people should be taught how to save and invest their money wisely.’
Male, Hamburg, age 26

There was a sense among some of the young people we spoke to that there is a need for an evolution in how schools teach young people. Not only did they want digital skills to become more of a focus in the core curriculum, they also called for more integration of technology into the methods schools used to teach. Many of our participants in our qualitative sample worried about the continued use of blackboards in schools and the ‘old-fashioned’ model of having a teacher stand in front of a class lecturing, while students diligently take notes:

‘Lecturers do not use PowerPoint and we’re not encouraged to use technology – when you compare us to other countries we are behind. It’s even worse in school.’
Female, Berlin, age 30

As we’ve seen in previous sections, this criticism was not centred around a feeling that things are bad ‘right now’; rather, it seemed to tap into young Germans’ greater fear that Germany needs to continue to evolve how it operates to remain a key player in Europe and beyond.

Levels of satisfaction

Despite these concerns, the majority of young employed people in our quantitative sample reported feeling satisfied with their current role, with over half claiming that they were not planning to leave or change jobs in the next four years. This is supported by what we heard from the qualitative sample respondents, none of whom cited employment security or satisfaction as a priority concern.

However, as we've seen elsewhere, despite feeling that things are good 'right now', young people reported concerns that the 'quality education' that they were so proud of may not be sufficient to protect their employment into the future. Many participants told us they feared they would not be able to hang on to the current levels of comfort and happiness they feel in their current roles. They also worried that the rising cost of living will mean they will have to work harder, and put in more hours, for the same or only marginally more money – that is, that the work–life balance they reported as so important to them would be threatened over time:

'I worry that if house prices keep going up the way they are, I will have to find a better-paying job.'

Male, Munich, age 30

'I'm worried about the future, losing my job, not finding anything new, becoming lethargic. My insecurity can partly influence the day strongly, on other days completely forgotten.'

Male, Berlin, age 26

As has been a recurring theme in this report, these findings suggest an ongoing tension: young people are relatively happy with both their education and employment 'right now' but worry they will not be able to hang on to this in the future. They want the German education system to take more of a proactive leadership role in making reforms (especially where financial literacy and digital skills are concerned), to ensure the German system does not fall behind.



> CHAPTER 4: FINANCIAL SECURITY

Financial insecurity, and more specifically housing insecurity, was an area of real concern for the young people we spoke to.

The German youth in our sample viewed financial security as the gateway to attaining the things that matter to them most in life: spending ample time with friends and family; enjoying the entertainment and culture their local area offers; having a nice home to come back to and perhaps starting a family. In an economic and sociopolitical environment increasingly tinged with uncertainty, financial stability emerged as a key and highly emotive priority for young people.

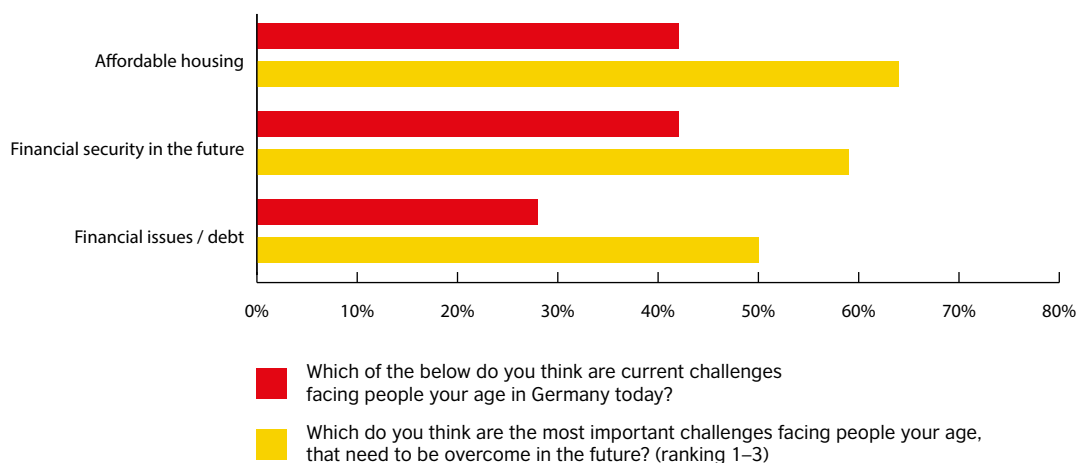
For young people in this study, the government was viewed as playing an important enabling role in helping them prosper and achieve their goals. While young people recognised that the German government offers a considerable amount of support to young people – especially, in their view, in comparison to other countries – they felt more can and should be done to help young people thrive in these uncertain times.

This was a universal concern across all regions in our quantitative sample, ranking in the top two challenges faced by young people, irrespective of their region. However, this was more of a

concern among those in the East (66 per cent versus 58 per cent in West Germany felt this was a current challenge facing young people). Those in the East were also significantly more likely to cite financial issues/debt as a current challenge for young people (57 per cent versus 49 per cent).

In this chapter we discuss what ‘financial security’ means for young people; how achievable they feel it is; the support they expect and desire from the government to help them get there; and the daily impact on their lives, including the strategies they use to help their money stretch further.

Figure 9: Challenges facing young people – now and future



Question: two separate questions (D4 – prompted list of 16 statements and D7 – ranking questions – only codes selected at D4 shown to respondents)

D4: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

D7: base sizes differ across codes, with a minimum of 135 Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Not just desirable but essential

For many young Germans, money, savings and financial security were a key point of anxiety for many. Attaining a certain level of financial security was perceived by 59 per cent of young people to be a current challenge facing young people today, and ranked highly as an issue that needs to be overcome in the future (42 per cent ranked this in their top three). When asked why this is so important, young people talked about the importance of being able to take care of their family, buy their own home and achieve a healthy work–life balance:

‘I want to be able to enjoy my life – buy a little house with a garden maybe in the countryside and go for long walks with my dogs and my children in the future. I don’t want to constantly be worrying about money.’

Male, Leipzig, age 28

‘To me it is very important to achieve financial security in the next two to three years. I want to be able to enjoy my life and continue to put my family and friends before my job. Some of my friends now are working more than one job to make ends meet. It makes me really sad that this is the case – it wasn’t always like this in Germany.’

Male, Cologne, age 28

Young Germans reported that a lot of their beliefs of what constitutes a ‘good life’ stem from the example that was set by their parents: their generation worked hard and are now reaping the fruits of their labour. As one young man put it:

‘My role model is my father. He worked very hard for many years and worked his way to the top of his company. He has just retired and is now taking lots of time for his hobbies. I hope to be able to follow in his footsteps.’

Male, Cologne, age 20

Interestingly, while many young people reported concerns about financial security and listed it as a top concern for young people in Germany, most still believe that they will be able to achieve financial security for themselves in the future (65 per cent say this feels ‘very achievable/achievable’). Often, this type of contradictory pattern of data suggests the influence of an ‘optimism bias’; when an individual holds concerns on behalf of ‘other people’, but believes (or hopes) that their own futures will be positive.¹⁴

A mutually supportive relationship with government

Young Germans expect the government to play a supportive role in their life: not one young person we spoke to in the qualitative phase of this project felt it was solely their responsibility to carve out a financially secure future for themselves. Rather, young people saw this more as a mutually supportive relationship between them and the government.

When asked what sort of support they received from the government, young people talked positively about schemes like BAföG,¹⁵ Kindergeld,¹⁶ good health insurance and free travel for students. However, while there was a sense that this may have been adequate ten to 20 years ago, young people felt government support is not adapting to the changing socio-economic landscape young Germans find themselves in today. While financial support during education is appreciated, many felt this is not enough for them to live comfortably, with many having to pull in additional support from other sources, such as parents or part-time jobs.

14 > This refers to a cognitive bias that causes someone to believe they themselves will have more positive outcomes compared to their peers. See Sharot (2011) and <https://www.behavioraleconomics.com/resources/mini-encyclopedia-of-be/optimism-bias/> for more detail.

15 > State funding on a needs basis to support young people through university education.

16 > A monthly payment by the German government to parents with children under 18.

There was also a sense from young people (50 per cent of our quantitative sample) that financial issues and debt are on the rise, especially as there are no guarantees of full-time employment after graduating, due in part to needing increasingly 'more' and 'better' diplomas to secure a good job:

'I received BAföG during my studies. That was a certain relief, but in no way contributed to a sense of security, since it comes with all sort of requirements you have to fulfil – like achieving a certain amount of credits, attending regular study periods, etc., and thus it has a direct impact on how I had to live my life, which made me feel quite restricted.'

Female, Berlin, age 30

'I find that the government helps too few young people, many students for example are put in big debt after their studies. And you do not have the opportunity to find a well-paying job

these days. The government should therefore create better and fairer opportunities for students to avoid debt after graduation.'

Male, Munich, age 23

'I received BAföG but I still needed financial support from my parents on top of it.'

Female, Berlin, age 29

'It is important to financially support young people, particularly when it comes to education and job hunting. The government is happy to spend billions on road investment, and not enough on education and providing financial security for the German people, in my opinion.'

Male, Hamburg, age 24

Adding pressure to this sense of increased financial hardship is the fact that German house prices have risen by 60 per cent since 2010, according to

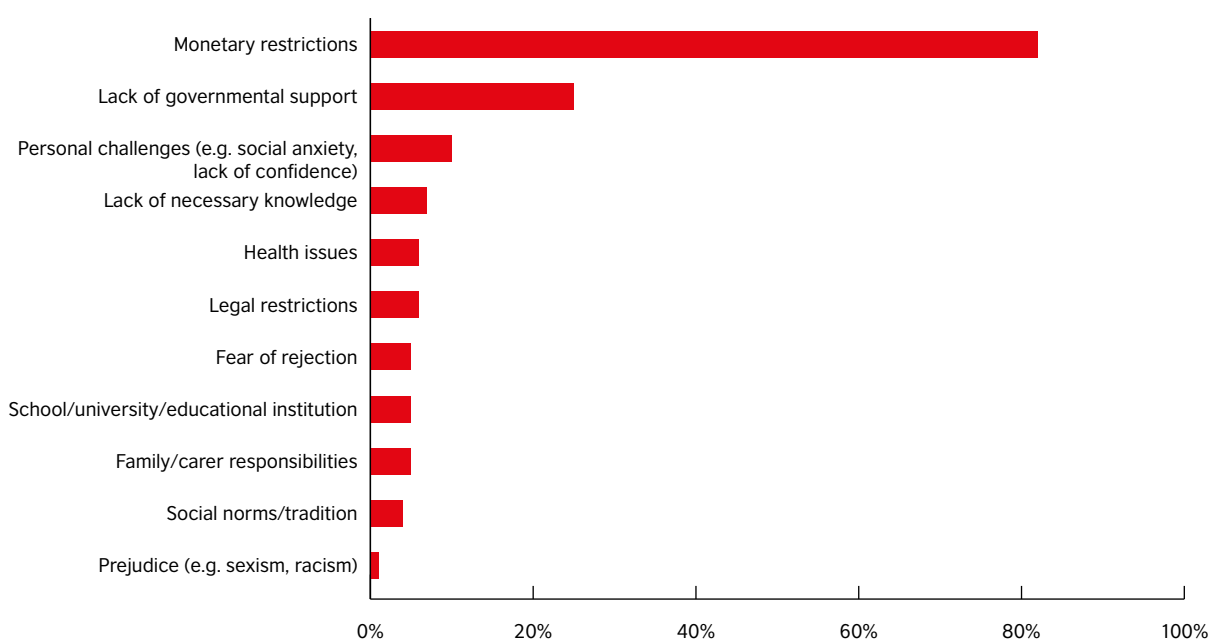
Fitch Ratings (2018). Young people reported feeling that the government has done very little to support them in being able to buy, or in some cases even rent a home in an environment with considerable price inflation. They expressed anger at the perceived 'housing crisis' and the failure of the government to address it.

In fact, when asked about the biggest issues facing young people today, affordable housing consistently came out as a top concern (65 per cent) and 25 per cent of those who felt that owning a house/flat was unachievable saw a lack of government support as a contributing factor:

'Munich needs more affordable homes for us young people. At the moment, there just isn't enough. We should be able to be in homes we can easily afford without giving up our freedom entirely.'

Female, Munich, age 24

Figure 10: Why do you think this is unachievable – 'Owning a house/flat'



Question B5: Prompted list of 12 codes (above list excludes 'other' code)

Base: n=212 Germans who think owning a house/flat is unachievable, aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

'Everything I have requested from the state (e.g. housing benefit) was rejected or was so low, €80 grant... I think it's a joke... with €80 you can't be expected to survive for a whole month in Munich, especially when rent and other costs are on the rise.'

Female, Munich, age 28

Savings

Most of the young people we spoke to reported saving at least some of the money they earned for future use. In fact, some even showed us entire spreadsheets with budgets outlining details of fixed and variable costs broken down by months.

When asked why it was important to save now, our participants reported this was partly 'common sense' and what they had been 'taught to do' but also that this was partly anxiety-driven. There was a sense from young people that they have very little idea of what the

future holds for them. Our participants told us that in their view the government has no clear strategy in place for tackling the issues (rising house prices, rising cost of living, diminished job opportunities) young people are faced with. Some noted that people they know are now are taking it upon themselves to save for a 'rainy day':

'I'm the type of person that plans ahead, my fixed costs remain stable each month and I make an estimate and give myself an allowance for my variable costs. I spend some of my money, and I save some of it. Personally, for me, money isn't THAT important, but I know that it's important to have it to be comfortable when I am older and everything costs so much these days and you never know when something unplanned might happen.'

Female, Cologne, age 30

'Interest rates have fallen to a minimum. Pensions have been declared a private issue. The alignment of East and West is still not done. Land prices have skyrocketed.'

Male, Leipzig, age 30

'I am the generation of uncertainty, I'm not taking any risks with my money.'

Male, Leipzig, age 30

While many young people reported putting money aside every month, they wished they'd had more guidance on how to deal with money responsibly when they were in school. Things like learning how to invest money wisely, managing credit cards, and doing taxes emerged as priority areas young Germans wished they knew more about.





> CHAPTER 5: IMMIGRATION

More than 1.6 million asylum seekers, mainly from Middle Eastern and African countries, have entered Germany since 2014 according to the Federal Statistics Office (John, 2018). When young Germans spoke to us about the current state of play in Germany, immigration was clearly a hot topic – as it continues to be across Europe. In both our qualitative and quantitative work, immigration was something that young Germans think about and, often, worry about.

Both in our quantitative and qualitative fieldwork, German youths expressed complex and emotionally charged views on the topic of immigration. While views varied, we only saw minor demographic differences in how young people view immigration. In particular, younger people (18–24) were more open to immigration than their slightly older counterparts (25–30). In line with this, students were also more open to immigration, as were those with dual nationalities. These patterns are generally consistent with the audience differences that we tend to see in other nations.

Despite some differences, one thing all young people in our sample could agree on is that compared to other countries in the world, it is particularly difficult for Germans to have frank conversations about immigration. One young woman in Berlin explained why she thinks this is:

'It is hard to talk about immigration as a German person because of our history. I think it is a tough space for us to navigate because we are worried that people will call us a Nazi if we express views that could be construed as right wing. And this makes it hard for us to have honest and constructive conversations about the influx of refugees and asylum seekers into our country.'

Female, Berlin, age 30

Nonetheless, young people in this research widely called for more honest and frank conversations about immigration, unencumbered by Germany's past. Many young people worried that the government has no real strategy to deal with the influx of immigrants and is failing to acknowledge the impact this might have on the daily lives and potential futures of young Germans. And they were concerned that although young Germans are worrying about immigration-related issues, they do not always feel comfortable raising their concerns publicly.

In this chapter, we discuss young people's complex relationship with immigration – both the richness and diversity that being a *'multikulti'* (multicultural) nation brings, as well as some of the challenges that the youth felt are often harder and more sensitive to articulate openly in public.

A note on language

Going into this study, our research team knew that the topic of 'immigration' would be hotly debated and likely to stir passions on both sides of the political spectrum. In order to avoid introducing any bias into the research, we wanted to ensure we used culturally sensitive and neutral terms – and terms that matched the language used by young people. Prior to our primary quantitative survey, online ethnography and in-depth interview research we asked a panel of young people in the language pilot to give us the words they used when discussing immigration-related issues.

Working through the myriad terms used, there were two key groupings that emerged:

- words related to 'migration and immigration': *Einwanderung*, *Zuwanderung*, *Einwanderer*, *Migranten*, etc.
 - these words tended to be used by those who had more neutral or negative perspectives. For

example, the focus of responses using these words in our 'language pilot study' tended to be around challenges facing Germany from an integration point of view, or the economic impact of immigration

- terms related to 'refugees': *Flüchtling*, *Flüchtlingskrise*, etc.
 - these words tended to be used by participants referring to the migrants from Syria and those part of the 'migrant crisis'. The discussions using these words tended to be neutral to more positive about Germany's role in providing a safe haven for people.

In exploring these results from the language piloting phase, it became clear that the most neutral way to talk about immigration was to talk about 'people who had come to Germany'. This helped to avoid any unintended political overtones, negative or positive, as to why the people in question were coming to Germany and avoided any implications of whether or not these individuals were 'legal'.

It was clear that movement of people within the EU was explicitly excluded from the discussion of migration/immigration to Germany. Therefore, for the purposes of this English-language report, we have used the term 'immigrant' to refer to mainly those asylum seekers and refugees stemming from Middle Eastern and African countries.

Welcoming but worried

Many of the young Germans in our qualitative research told us that they pride themselves on being part of an open and progressive country; for example, some cited improvements in gender equality and diversity as evidence that Germany is and continues to be a positive example for the rest of Europe in how it creates a welcoming space for all.

An openness to immigration was seen by many as an extension of this progressive ethos – a sense that Germany is a place where people can come and build better lives for themselves and be welcomed into a society:

'I think Germany has always been able to reinvent itself and bounce back. I think we should be proud of the stance we have taken by welcoming so many refugees. I see it as a mostly positive thing.'

Female, Cologne, age 19

'I believe that open borders are desirable – purely from the human point of view. It could also be argued from an economic point of view – to

compensate for the demographic change of an ageing society and a shortage of skilled labour as well as the occupation of unpopular jobs.'

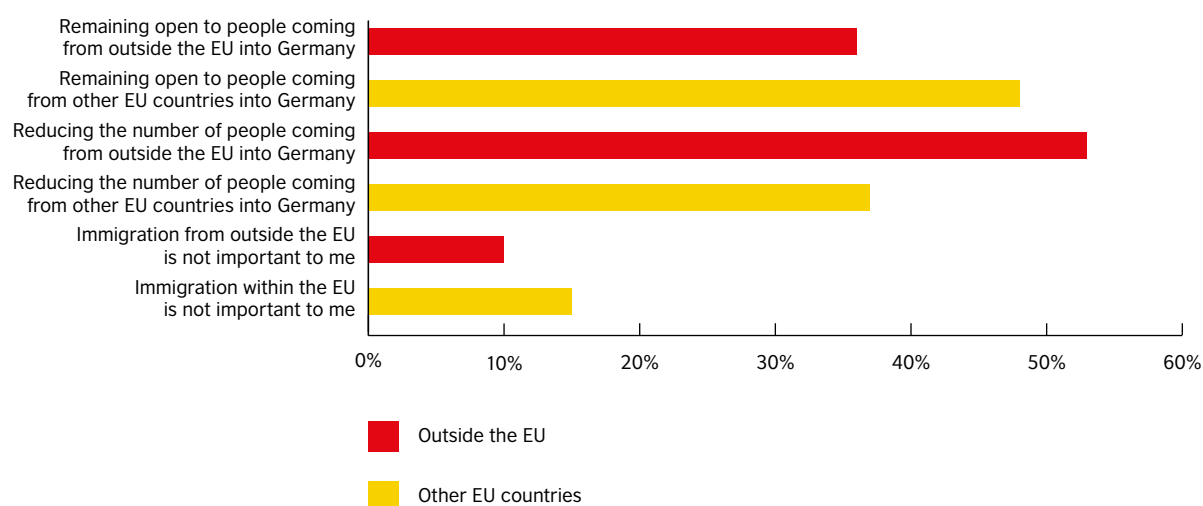
Female, Berlin, age 30

However, despite the openness to immigrants as people, young people also raised concerns about the influence of immigration as practice on their nation. Most of the young Germans we spoke in our qualitative research questioned the practicalities of Merkel's controversial 'open door policy', which resulted in Germany accepting over one million refugees in 2015–16 (De La Baume, 2017). Given the uncertainty many young Germans are feeling about the economy – in particular, their own financial future and their ability to carve

out a comfortable life for themselves – some worried that the large quantities of newcomers to Germany have put considerable strain on the German system, in their view contributing to instability and uncertainty.

In the quantitative sample, we uncovered a range of attitudes when we asked young people about the political policies that were important to them with regards to immigration. A significant proportion of the sample remain open to immigration, with around one-third open to immigration from outside of the EU, and almost half open to immigration from within the EU. However, a large proportion of young people place importance on reducing these numbers.

Figure 11: Which of the below political policies are important to you?



Question G8: Prompted list of six policy statements (three prompted statements within each policy). Respondents able to select one of three statements for each policy

Base: n=2,018 young Germans, aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Media coverage of anti-immigration sentiment has also been consistently and visibly present in the media. The CDU and CSU came to a head last summer over the issue, nearly resulting in a breakdown of the government (Chazan, 2018); Mesut Özil, a footballer of Turkish descent on Germany's national team, quit after alleging racism from team members and fans, leading to discussions about just how prevalent everyday racism is in Germany, and in late August of 2018, video footage emerged of far-right sympathisers rioting in Chemnitz, a town in the East German state of Saxony (Schultheis, 2018). Even where young people had not seen any negative impact of immigration in their own lives and communities, media coverage of immigration 'problems' surfaced in the majority of our qualitative discussions and seemed to cause real concern:

'I think the biggest challenge facing Germany at the moment is the solution of the refugee issue. Personally, it does not affect me, but I still think it's necessary and urgent to find a solution, because it is unfair that we should have to take all the refugees, while the rest of Europe is just watching. I worry that this is putting strain on us – we have to provide a better life for Germany's old people and we have to make sure young people have enough job opportunities.'

Female, Cologne, age 28

'Except for more fears/prejudices of immigrants and the endorsement of everyday racism, I have noticed no changes in Germany in the past few years.'

Female, Berlin, age 30

Immigration emerged as an ever-present topic for young Germans, with very little regional variation in attitudes. Below, we explore how young people in our qualitative research are feeling the impact of immigration across multiple areas in their lives.

Housing and competition

As discussed in Chapter 4, housing was a big topic of concern for most young people. They reported worrying about being priced out of the cities and towns they know and love, and about high prices making it increasingly hard to save money or achieve financial and housing security.

While the German youth we spoke to did not blame immigrants for these problems directly (and recognised that there are multiple factors at play), there was a sense among most young people in our qualitative sample (especially those living in urban centres) that increased numbers of people inevitably results in increased competition for housing and price inflation:

'You have to stand in a queue to be able to see a house in Munich now. It wasn't always like this. Germany has too many people now, and not enough houses to put them all!'

Female, Munich, age 24

'I think that it is good to take these people and to help them but unfortunately our government seems to forget that German people need help too. It affects my current life because I can't get a flat in Munich because all the refugees are favoured.'

Female, Munich, age 20

Fairness and balance

While immigration and the 'refugee crisis' was seen as a Europe-wide challenge, young Germans felt that the scale of the issue is much greater in Germany than in the rest of Europe. There was a sense from some young people that other countries in Europe are still expecting Germany to 'pay' for the past and are now unfairly making immigration Germany's problem:

'I don't think the state does enough to protect its citizens. The police are completely overwhelmed and understaffed. Germany is not the 'Samaritan of the world' – just because Hitler committed terrible crimes over 70 years ago does not mean we have to be constantly reminded of that and certainly not be the protector and carer of the whole world or be responsible for paying the world's debts. We have enough state debt to deal with and can barely pay these off, so why should we need to pay the debts of other countries too? EU or no EU, the state should always concern itself with the needs of its own citizens first, before worrying about anyone else!'

Male, Leipzig, age 30 (minority view)

Integration and values

On a more emotional level, young Germans in our qualitative sample worried that the influx of immigrants has led to a decrease in 'community' in many parts of Germany. Many young people mourn the loss of a sense of closeness and shared values with neighbours, perceiving that high numbers of newcomers has led to increased anonymity and a perceived loss of security and safety in many parts of Germany.

These kinds of concerns are not unique to Germany; our team has heard similar concerns in the UK and elsewhere. What did feel unique to Germany was how participants framed these concerns. The young people we spoke to did not blame the immigrants themselves for cultural integration issues. Rather, they saw it as a failure on the part of Germany to provide newcomers with the tools to succeed in a German context. Unlike other countries in which immigration is a hot-button issue, young Germans rarely raised any concerns about immigrant people or cultures per se; where they did arise, they tended to focus on instances of perceived cultural conflict with progressive German values (e.g. actions seen as sexist):

'Female doctors are not allowed to treat certain patients because of their gender. There are also highly educated men with university degrees who do not accept instructions from women. I think that this should not happen in a modern country like Germany. We are also facing problems that nobody wants to see and nobody dares to speak about.'

Male, Leipzig, age 28

More specifically, young people felt the government could be doing more to facilitate integration of immigrants into German society, both on a language level but also, importantly, on a cultural level. Some young people felt that the government has been too lax, and has never really had a plan in place for what to do with immigrants once they arrive at the German border. The young people we spoke to listed ample examples from their personal lives of when they felt let down by a lack of planning and support for successful integration of immigrants into their communities:

'This area has low rents so there have been quite a few refugee families moving in. In Germany we have to sort our rubbish into different bins, which is difficult even for us to do, but they just dump their rubbish out of the window. Rather than train them how to sort their rubbish, the local area organised groups of schoolchildren to pick up the rubbish. If we keep doing this, they will never learn.'

Female, Hamburg, age 29

'They just don't know the rules. At the local Kita [Kindergarten], they saw the children playing there and just lifted their children over the fence and left them there. They did not understand the process of enrolling their children and they don't speak German for us to explain it to them.'

Female, Hamburg, age 29

As we've outlined in this chapter, young Germans have complex views towards immigration. The overwhelming sentiment is that the current system has not given newcomers to Germany enough tools to succeed in a German context. Young people called widely for the German government to outline a clear plan for how it plans to deal with the influx of newcomers into the country now and in the future.

CHAPTER 6:

PERCEPTIONS OF VIOLENCE AND SAFETY

The topics of violence and safety were chosen for inclusion in this work for comparative reasons, mirroring the content of other Next Generation research efforts, and because we evidenced some reported concerns about violence and safety during our digital language piloting.

Violence and safety issues did not feature prominently in the quantitative data in terms of the issues youths raised when asked to rank their priority concerns for young people in Germany – and in our qualitative data youth also noted that they experience their daily lives as safe.

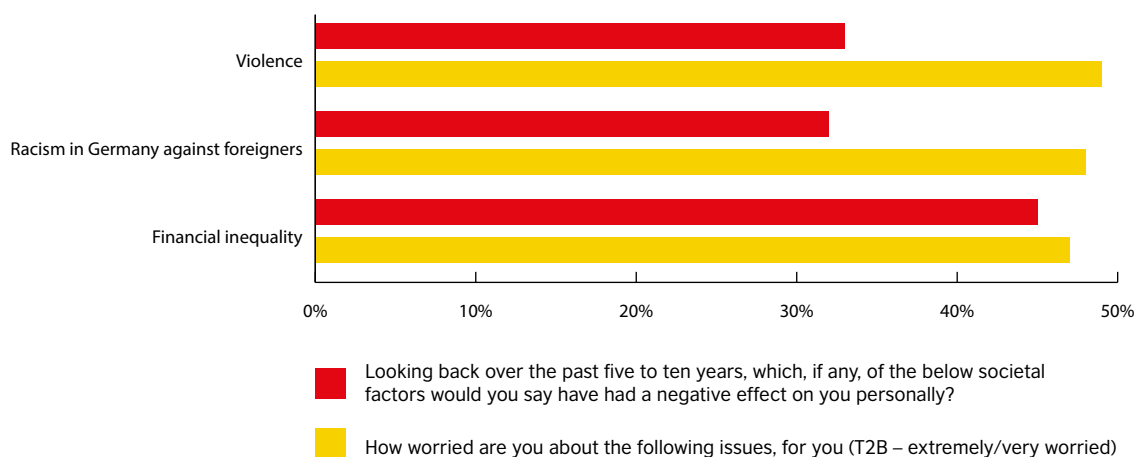
However, when youth responded to prompted questions about violence, a slightly more complicated picture emerged. In this prompted question, 33 per cent of young Germans felt they had been negatively affected by violence in the last five to ten years, and 49 per cent told us that they are worried about violence as an issue – above all other topics included in this survey question.

Upon qualitative questioning, this was a reflection of young people's sense that violence is an increasing issue in Germany – more a product of media coverage of violent incidents than any personal experience. Young Germans told us that news reports about violent crime and terrorist attacks have seen an

upward trend, but when we asked about personal experience, only a handful of people (with a strong female skew) reported having been negatively affected by a rise in violence personally.

Despite these concerns, most young people still feel Germany is one of the safest countries to live. A lot of their concerns were thus qualified by sentences like *'I think Germany is very safe, but I worry that...'* We thus ask the reader to bear this in mind when reading this section. Nonetheless, unease, uncertainty and fear are in themselves stressful experiences, and fear of crime is known to lower overall life satisfaction – so young people's fears should not be dismissed and deserve to be taken seriously.¹⁷

Figure 12: Societal issues – impact and concern



Question: two separate questions (C7 – prompted list of 16 statements and C8 – five-point scale asked per issue)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

¹⁷ > For example, see Hanslmaier (2013).

Broadly, fears about violence and safety revolved around two separate but interrelated concerns:

- a perception that the added pressure an influx of immigrants has put on the German system has led to more crime, sexual harassment and general unease on Germany's streets
- a perception that a rise in right-wing ideology, largely fuelled by anti-immigrant rhetoric (and the increased popularity of Germany's right-wing political party, the AfD), is destabilising Germany, causing uncertainty and leading to political polarisation and widespread unrest.¹⁸

In this chapter, we discuss each of these views in turn, and discuss the implications for young people's daily lives and perceptions of the future.

Violence and immigration

In our qualitative questioning about violence and safety, young people often raised immigration issues as their way of answering our questions; these issues often linked together in their answers.

It is important to note that very few of our youth participants were implying a direct correlation between immigrants and an increase in violence and crime. Rather, they felt a lack of a solution to some of the challenges (e.g. lack of integration and competition for housing) is stirring unease and tension among young people, regardless of their background.

Some young people talked about increased attacks on public transport, sexual harassment of women and an increase in petty theft on Germany's streets as evidence that Germany is becoming less safe. While a minority of our respondents (mostly young women)

could cite personal experience of violence in their cities (e.g. experiences with sexual harassment and pickpockets), most young people cited media reports as evidence that things in Germany are getting worse. It is thus likely that media coverage of 'high-profile' attacks in Europe (like the 2016 Berlin lorry attack (BBC News, 2016) and the Strasbourg Christmas market shooting in 2018 (Willsher, 2018)) are in large part responsible for the perception that safety in Germany is on a downhill trajectory. Many young people raised this link themselves, blaming the media for inciting fear:

'We report on violence committed by immigrants excessively. But Germans are also violent. This is reported differently by the media and has the consequence that a part of the German population don't treat foreigners very well. I think the media is partly to blame for rise of the AfD.'

Male, Hamburg, age 26

'With the non-stop reporting on terror and attacks, it is easy to get the picture that Germany has become unsafe.'

Female, Berlin, age 30

'It's all over the news now, not just Germany but the rest of Europe too. Terrorist attacks on Christmas markets and other public places. These things stick with you, they are hard to forget.'

Male, Hamburg, age 24

Political polarisation

For many of our young participants in the qualitative phases of work, our conversations about violence and safety also included discussion of what they

perceived as a shifting tone towards immigrants in Germany.

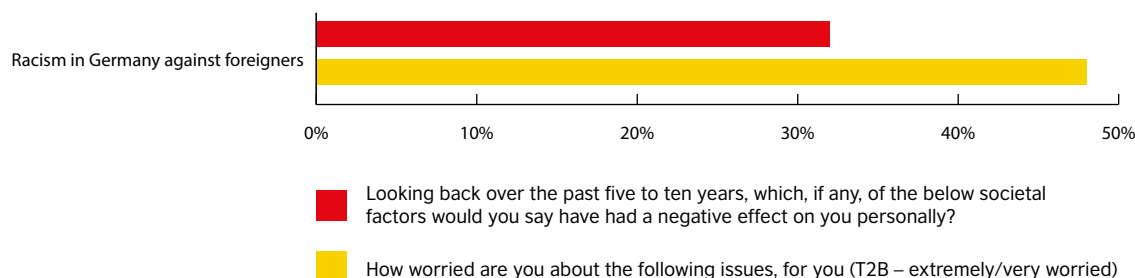
Many young people we spoke to lamented the perceived rise of 'casual racism' towards foreigners in Germany in recent years; some explicitly tied their concerns about violence and safety to concerns that Germany is becoming more polarised around immigration-related issues, and that if German people are feeling that life is getting 'harder', this may result in violent reactions.

'In recent years there has clearly been more violence in Germany, which is due to political polarisation. Many people are afraid of the refugees and of being disadvantaged themselves. Combined with social inequality, this creates violence. But I do not think that Germany is generally unsafe.'

Female, Hamburg, age 30

They felt these views have been normalised by the rhetoric of the right-wing party AfD, who regularly spread anti-immigrant sentiment. Among our quantitative sample, 32 per cent reported feeling they had been negatively affected by racism against foreigners in Germany in the last five to ten years, which rose to 48 per cent when asked if they worried about being affected by this in the future. Dual nationals were more likely to have been negatively affected by racism in the past (60 per cent versus 30 per cent for single nationals). Dual nationals were also significantly more likely to be worried about racism in the future (66 per cent versus 47 per cent, with over a third stating they are 'extremely worried').

18 > Note: these views were not predictable by socio-economic group, age or location.

Figure 13: Personal impact and concern about racism

Question: two separate questions (C7 – prompted list of 16 statements and C8 – five-point scale asked per issue)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

'A big challenge is the rise of the right wing, which is taking place worldwide, but also in Germany. People become racist out of fear, ignorance and dissatisfaction with their own lives – it is history repeating. I am not sure what we can do to tackle this challenge. I think it is probably about education, enlightenment and adhering to our fundamental values, even if that makes you unpopular.'

Male, Berlin, age 23

'German society is currently extremely politically divided. The trigger was in my opinion, not only the refugee crisis, but it definitely contributed to the outbreak of this problem. Perhaps a stable government, which is not itself completely divided and ambivalent, could solve the problem. I even notice this political split in my circle of friends and family.'

Male, Berlin, age 19

Strongly related to this was a perceived increase in political polarisation in Germany, and the rest of the world; 23 per cent of our quantitative sample reported having been negatively affected by this in the past, which rises to 39 per cent when thinking about the future. The young Germans we spoke to for our qualitative research felt it is increasingly difficult to have productive conversations about important topics, even with friends and family, without being labelled or judged. They see this as a global trend which isn't necessarily unique to Germany, but one that they worry about nonetheless:

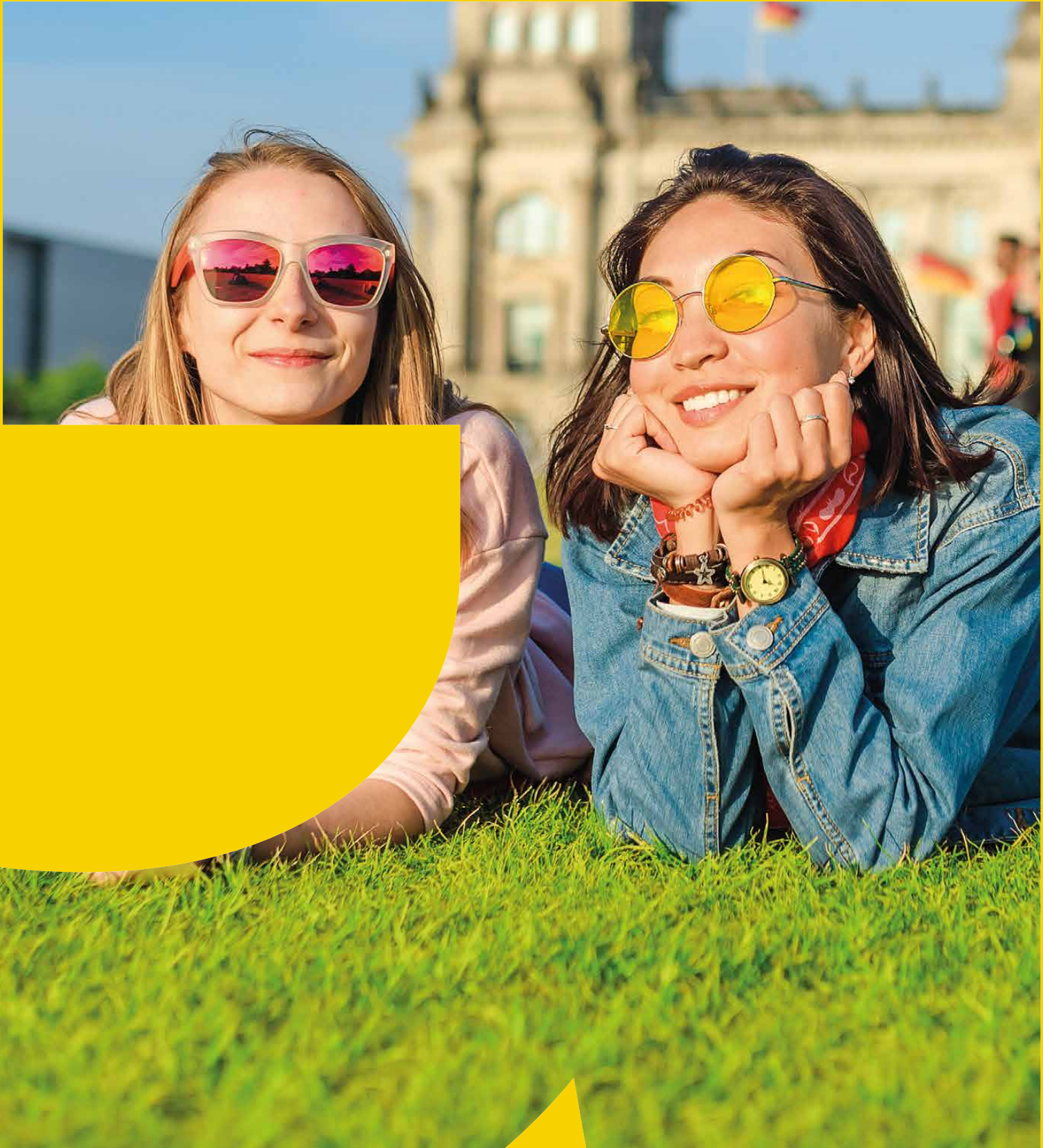
'Sometimes my friends will say racist things like calling someone a Schwarzkopf (black head) and they think it is funny. I don't agree with them when they do things like that, but it is hard to have conversations about these things because it gets very emotional.'

Male, Berlin, age 23

'I myself have noticed a divide within my family. It is best to avoid talking about politics at family events!'

Female, Cologne, age 19

In our conversations with young Germans it became clear that concerns about violence and safety are largely driven by media narratives and a fear of what might happen in the future if political polarisation continues to divide people and if Germany fails to find a satisfactory solution to the influx of newcomers into the country. Nonetheless, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, fear of a threat 'on the horizon' is known to lower overall life satisfaction and should thus not be dismissed.



> CHAPTER 7: VOICE AND REPRESENTATION

Overall, our research findings suggest that young Germans have an appetite for political engagement and involvement, but that more can be done to engage them and convince them that politics represents their interests and is welcoming of their involvement.

It should be noted that this pattern is typical of the findings overall in the Next Generation series; youth across Next Generation research efforts have, to varying degrees, reported that they would like to be more represented and included in their nation's political decision-making.

Political engagement

Less than half of our sample (41 per cent) said they feel engaged with politics, with substantial portions of the sample reporting to have taken specific actions in the last year – such as discussing political issues with family and friends (47 per cent), voting in federal elections (40 per cent), voting in local elections (38 per cent), watching or listening to political media (38 per cent), or signing petitions (26 per cent). Reported engagement levels were slightly higher among males (53 per cent); although we cannot directly

explain this statistical difference, we explore some potential reasons for this below. There were no differences seen on the level of political engagement from those living in East and West Germany.

'I am engaged politically in the things I care about – I have done some volunteering with refugees to help them learn German. But national politics feel very complex and out of reach, it is good to do small things where you can.'

Female, Berlin, age 30

Figure 14: How engaged would you say you are personally with politics in general?

Question G1: five-point scale (single code)

Base: n=866 males and 1,013 females (n=2,018 in total) aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date:
29 October – 29 November 2018

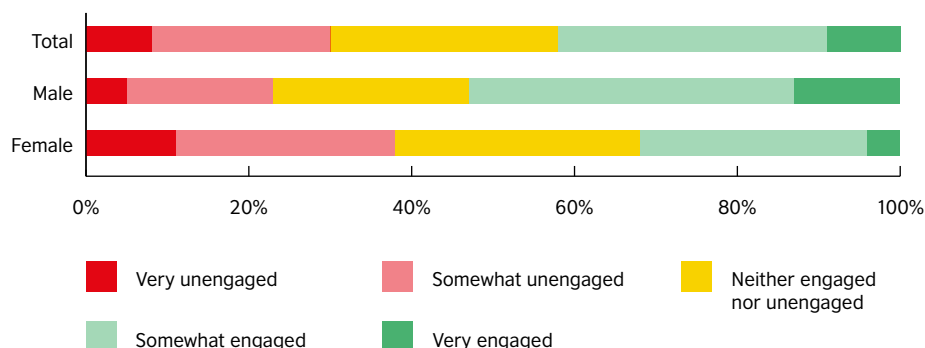
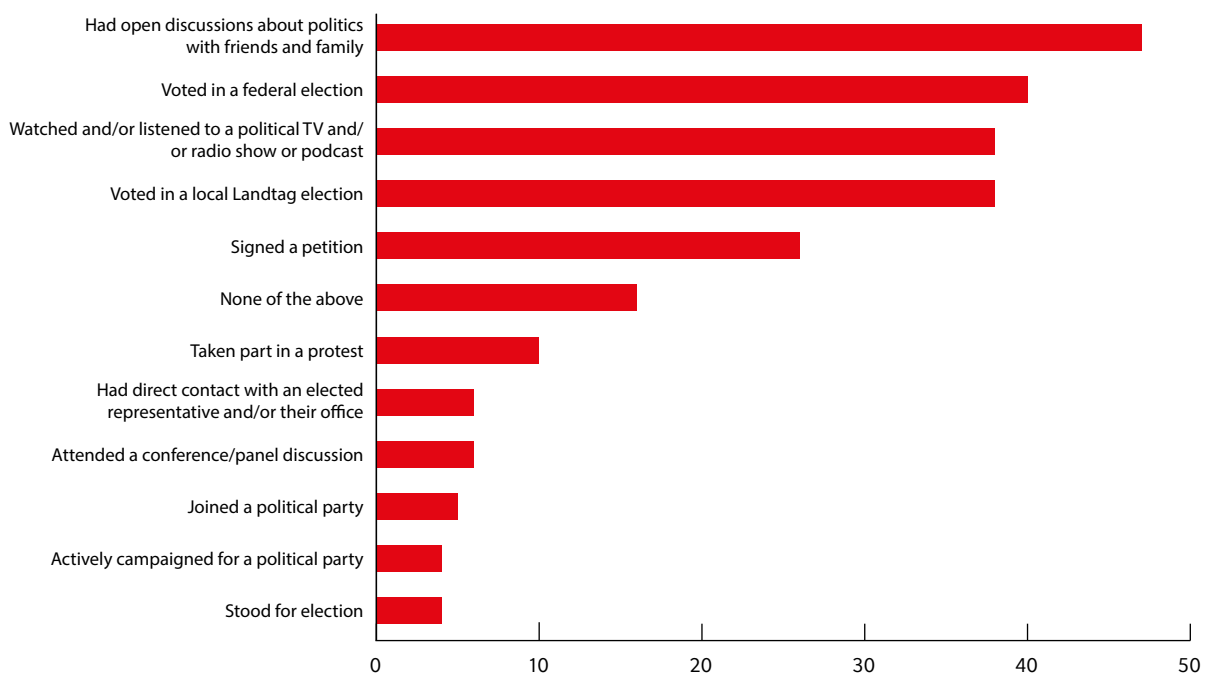


Figure 15: Which of the following political activities have you taken part in, in the last 12 months?



Question G2: prompted list of 13 codes (above list excludes 'other' code)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Political systems and leadership

Overall, both the qualitative and quantitative evidence suggest that a sizeable percentage of German youth are not particularly positive about their political systems, government and/or leadership.

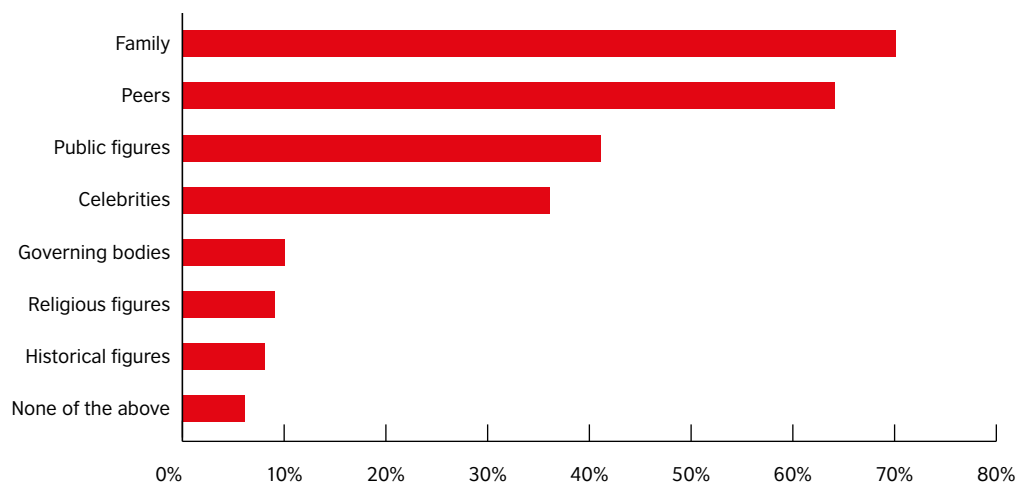
Over a third (35 per cent) reported that they feel the German political system is ineffective; 41 per cent report having

little or no trust in the government, with a slightly larger percentage reporting little/no faith (45 per cent). While in all three of these questions a majority of young people reported more positive or neutral views, these findings suggest there is nonetheless room for improvement in terms of fully engaging the youth audience.

Additionally, government was generally not seen as powerful source of influence

in young people's lives; when we asked young people to choose the figures that they found personally influential, the government did not feature prominently, with only 10 per cent citing government as an important source of influence for young people. In contrast, young people rated personal social contacts and other public figures much more highly, choosing family (70 per cent), friends (64 per cent), public figures (41 per cent) and celebrities (36 per cent).

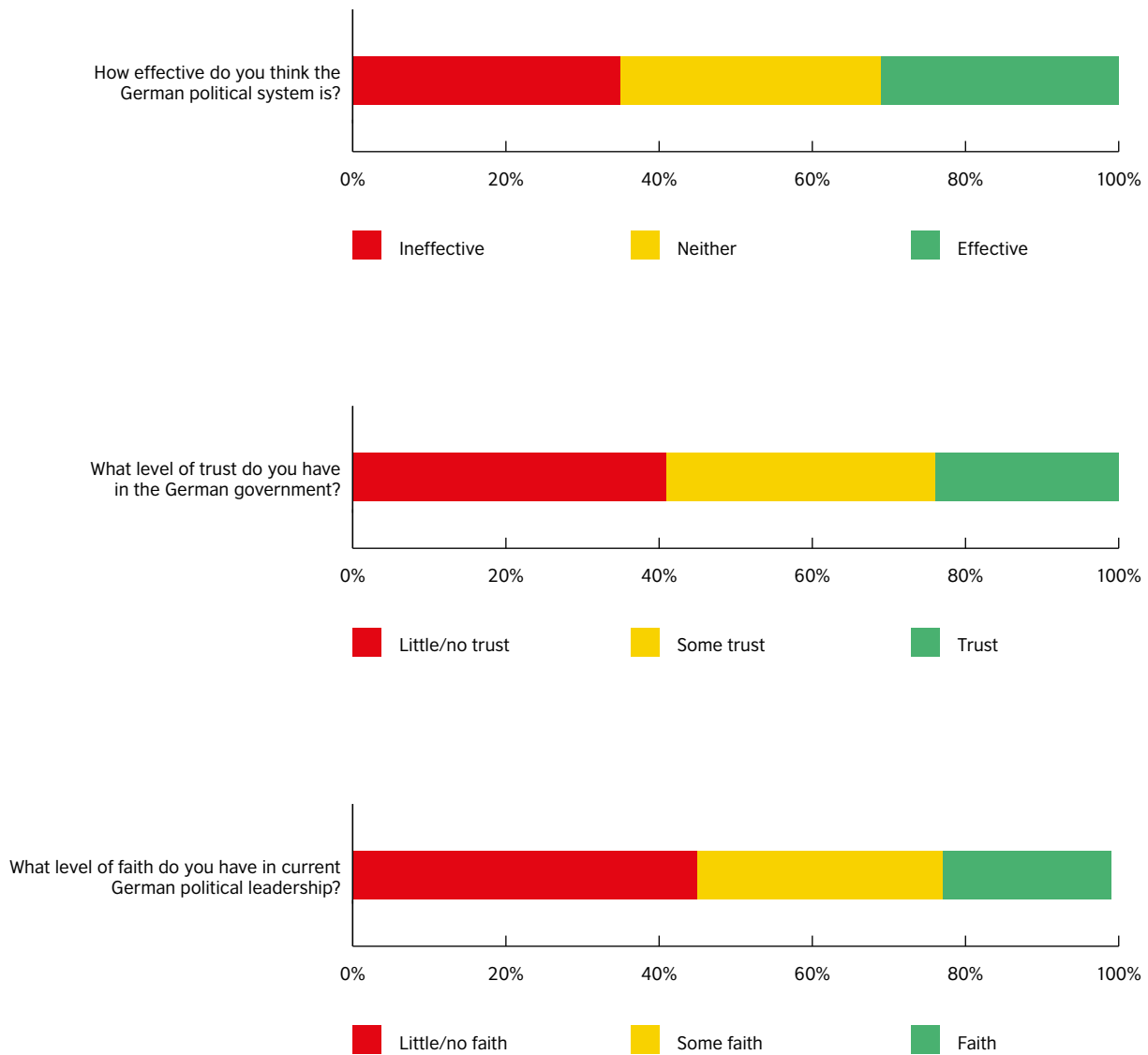
Figure 16: What and/or who are the most important sources of influence for young people in Germany?



Question D2: Prompted list of nine statements (above list excludes 'other' code)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Figure 17: Perceptions of German political system, leadership and government

Question G4, G5, G5a: three separate questions (five-point scale)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Gaps in engagement

We explored what, if anything, could help the youth feel that they have more voice, agency and engagement with politics in both our quantitative and qualitative research.

There was a general sense that the government does not reflect what matters to young people; 51 per cent of survey participants said German politics reflects only some of what matters to them, and 22 per cent say it reflects none of what matters to them. Attitudes were more negative overall in East than West Germany¹⁹ and for women versus men.²⁰

'This current government does not care about young people or even the elderly in Germany, they are too focused on in-fighting.'

Male, Leipzig, age 26

Articulating why something does not feel engaging to you is difficult; engagement is often automatic rather than a 'rational' calculation, and these kinds of emotional and implicit reactions can be hard to verbalise. In our qualitative sessions, we thus included projective exercises to help us understand the youth's associations with the government. We asked young people to imagine the government was a person and describe or use their own imagery to show to us what sort of person he or she would be. Copyright issues mean we cannot include the images here, but they included a game of Jenga, multiple layers of squiggly lines, a torn up photo, and a cartoon of four rows of birds, with each descending row containing more birds and increasing amounts of guano on their heads.

Attitudes varied widely, but overall the views expressed in this exercise suggest that the government feels somewhat 'other' to the youth audience – somewhat 'cold' and not necessarily open to and welcoming of youth's views. Some female participants also raised associations of 'maleness' that potentially partially explain the somewhat more negative survey responses about faith and trust in government from this group.

'The German government is a man who wants to be respected and talks a lot about all sorts of plans but he doesn't practise what he preaches. He is like a teacher who stands and preaches to students instead of listening to them.'

Female, Leipzig, age 25

'The Federal Government is a 62-year-old civil servant... It stands for stability, punctuality and reliability. Not for ideas, creativity and willingness to compromise.'

Male, Munich, age 23

'The German government is a man who likes to act like a diva when things do not go as planned. I imagine he is around 40 to 50 years old and in the midst of a mid-life crisis. Outwardly, he would appear 'put together', with life experiences and open-minded, but, actually he would be cocky and self-centred in every way. Outwardly, he would have a confident and unselfish attitude, but really he'd only be acting in his own self-interest. I wouldn't be friends with someone like that, these are not the values I try to live by.'

Female, Cologne, age 28

'The current government is like a mountain peak. When viewed from afar, it's enormous and untouchable, but when seen close-up, it's uneven, cold and broken.'

Male, Berlin, age 19

'It's that famous expression – we can do it! – but often things are talked about but you have to wonder under what conditions or circumstances or even if it gets done at all. Here is a picture of the manager of the national team, Jogi Löw, dressed as Angela Merkel. He didn't think that Germany would be so quickly out of the World Cup, just as Merkel did not think the refugee policy would take such a dramatic turn.'

Male, Berlin, age 23

'It's too easy for those in power in the government, but we little people have to put up with and endure their decisions, even if we have a different opinion.'

Female, Munich, age 24

'Lots of pieces – nothing concrete or implemented.'

Female, Berlin, age 29

'A jumble that no one can see through any more. Many things are started, many goals are set, but no routes forward to resolve them.'

Male, Hamburg, age 24

'Because everything at the moment appears to be so unsure and unplanned.'

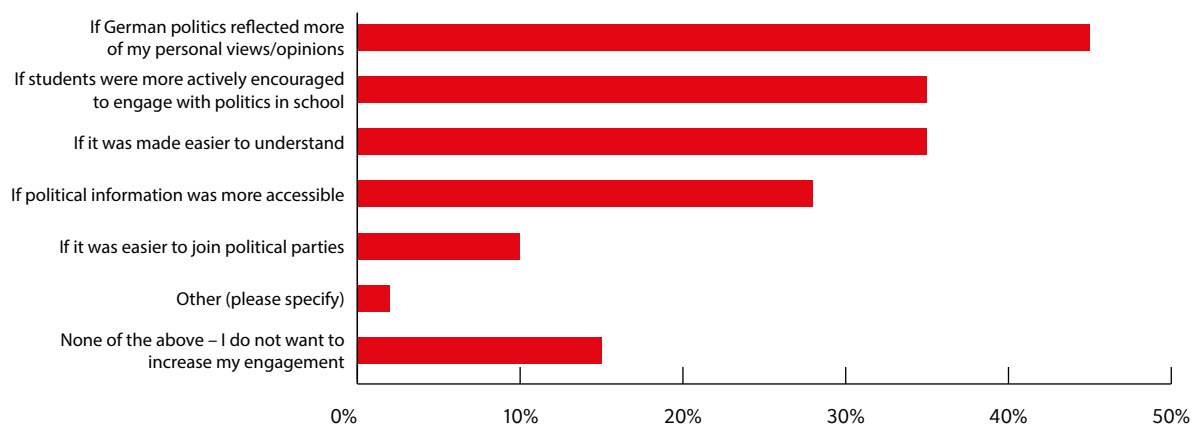
Female, Leipzig, age 25

'In my opinion, our government is unstable. It took nearly a year until it was decided who governs this country.'

Male, Leipzig, age 30

19 > Thirty-four per cent of those in the West stated that the German political system is 'very effective/effective' versus 23 per cent in East Germany.

20 > Twenty-four per cent feel that the German political system reflects all or most of what matters to them (versus 29 per cent of men).

Figure 18: Which of the below would encourage you to increase your engagement with German politics?

Question G7: Prompted list of seven statements

Base: n=1,850 respondents who are not engaged with politics aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Ideas for engagement

When we asked the youth in our survey and qualitative sessions what could be done to support increased engagement with politics, increased focus on issues of importance to them was by far the

most common response. Beyond this, 35 per cent felt encouragement from schools would help; and 35 per cent felt they would be more engaged if politics were easier to understand, or if information were more accessible (28 per cent).

Qualitatively, young people also told us that they'd feel more optimistic about the future if they felt the German government presented a united front with a clear mission and a clear inclusion of youth issues on the agenda.

CHAPTER 8:

LOOKING OUT – GERMANY AND THE WIDER WORLD

Our final area to explore is the place that young Germans feel they have in the wider world.

Overall, it seemed (primarily from our three phases of qualitative research) that the weight of history still weighs heavily on the minds of young Germans; they felt that other countries view them through the lens of the Second World War, which they felt impacts how Germany can operate on the international stage. Our participants told us they think that this forces Germany to take a secondary role in world events, positioning itself as a supporting nation, rather than the leading voice.

We also explored German youths' relationship to the UK. At the time of research, the Brexit debate had not yet seen the dramatic twists and turns of the debate in the UK Parliament reach their conclusion. As such, there was little 'new' to report at the time and this seemed to frame much of the youth's response to the topic. It is likely that as Brexit continues to unfold, the perceptions of it will change among young Germans, and consequently, we look at the sentiment around Brexit and the UK leaving the EU, rather than a specific response to the events.

Perceptions of Germany

Young Germans reported that many of their national characteristics would be recognised by the outside world: punctual, reliable, organised and so on. While some of the traits may seem clichéd to the outside observer, the young Germans we spoke to claimed that many of these traits are correct and were happy for the German character to be defined, in part, by what they saw as overall quite positive traits. Once again, we asked them to choose images to embody these traits - their images included road signs and clocks:

'I have chosen this image from the internet to show that Germans like their rules. Everything you do is bound by rules.'

Female, Hamburg, age 29

'German values are: punctuality, tidiness and having lots of rules.'

Male, Berlin, age 30

'The Germans are punctual and conscientious. You can rely on us.'

Male, Leipzig, age 30

'A man who puts a lot of emphasis on punctuality. That reflects German discipline for me.'

Female, Munich, age 20

They also felt that the world recognises the advantages that living in Germany gives to its citizens: that it is a rich country that looks after its citizens; where there is freedom to express yourself; provides opportunities for work; and is a stable country. As discussed previously, our participants also highlighted that Germany itself is beautiful, with historic cities, beautiful countryside and nice food.

However, we also saw that the young Germans in our qualitative phases had an acute sense that the image of their country is still linked to Nazism and the Second World War. In both the language and imagery that they chose to describe Germany, we saw that this side of the country's history was brought to the fore by many.

As a result, young Germans we spoke to felt that this limits how Germany can behave in the world. Many told us that they feel that as soon as Germany tries to take a position on global affairs or events that is different to other countries, they feel that they are 'accused of being Nazis' or 'wanting to take over':

'It's OK for us to pay, but as soon as we express a reservation about how the money is spent, we are accused of wanting to take over.'

Female, Hamburg, age 29

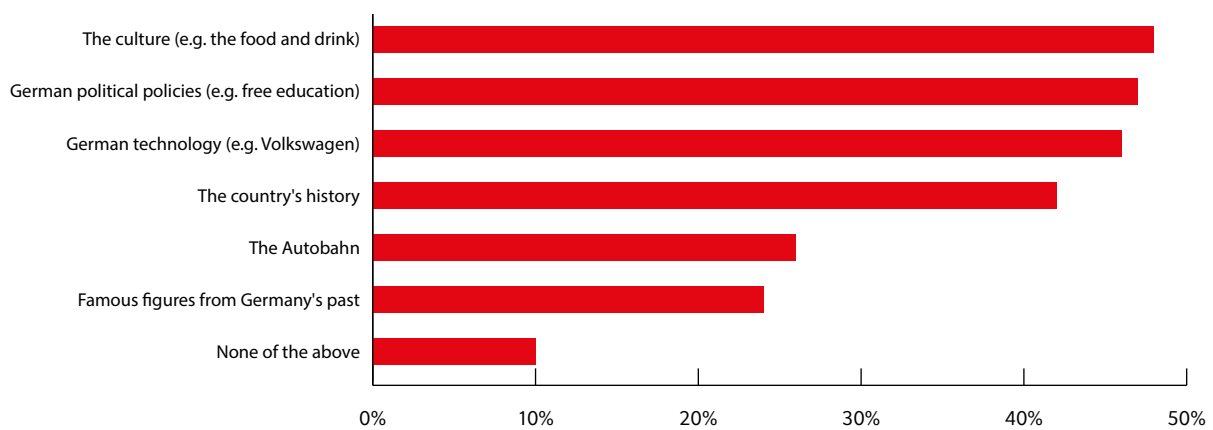
'Currently, Germany is the great source of money for the EU member states.'

Female, Munich, age 20

There was a clear desire from young people in this research for Germany to take a leadership position, but more importantly for that position to be respected. For them, this was typified by the response to the 'migrant crisis' where Germany acted unilaterally to open its borders to refugees; though the political consequences of this have been discussed elsewhere, there was a sense of pride in Germany taking this leading position.

However, our qualitative participants told us that the boldness of this move, for them, was dampened by the fact that Germany could not convince other countries to follow its position, and a sense of unfairness in the way that other countries expected Germany to shoulder the responsibility on its own. Some participants highlighted the Visegrad Group of countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia) in particular for not playing their part in the crisis.

Figure 19: And what types of images, people and/or things would they talk about?

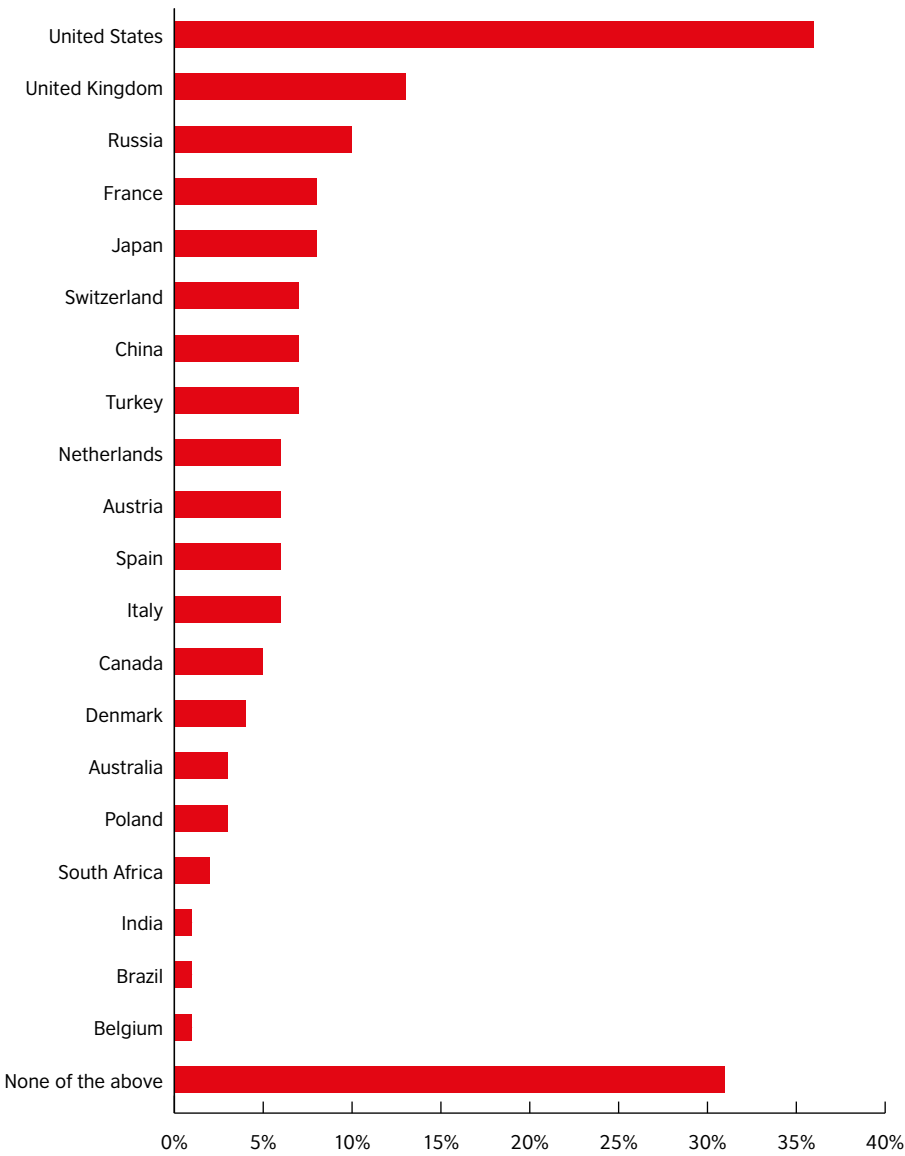


Question C12: Prompted list of seven statements

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Figure 20: Which of the following countries do you think are most influential to you personally?



Question D3: Prompted list of 20 countries

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

International influences

Overall, youths told us that the US is the most powerful influence on Germany youth – with the UK taking second place. We explore the youth's associations with the UK in more depth below.

When we asked youths to discuss Germany's relationships with other countries in our qualitative research, there was a sense among our young participants that Germany maintains good relations with both the East and West. However, this does not mean that these countries are above criticism, with the US singled out by some participants for being one of the largest polluting countries in the world. Though they were not seen as influential, there was a lot of respect from many of our young participants for the Scandinavian countries, a view that was especially strong in Hamburg. These countries were recognised for being rich and for giving a lot back to their citizens; they were also considered to be ahead of Germany in looking after the environment.

'It is not known how much the Scandinavian countries care about their own people. Through various subsidies, young people have various options.'

Male, Munich, age 30

'Sweden, Norway and Finland are more experienced in looking after the environment.'

Female, Leipzig, age 25

'Denmark is the model for Germany in environmental protection.'

Female, Hamburg, age 22

Associations with the UK

We explored the root of German youths' feelings about the UK in our qualitative work – and overall, there was little evidence of in-depth knowledge and strong cultural affiliation with the UK; positivity about the UK was more generalised. At a survey level, dominant associations were consistent across all areas and demographics and were rooted in culture and classic Britishisms (e.g. politeness, tea and the monarchy).

These relatively general associations were mirrored at a qualitative level; the overall perceptions of the UK that came through most clearly were stereotypes: rain, tea, fish and chips, politeness and the Queen. There was a sense that the British are loyal to the Royal Family. Recent events, such as the wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, the birth of their children, and the more recent wedding of the Duke and Duchess of Sussex, have reinforced this impression:

'Words that in my opinion describe UK: rain, tea drinkers, kingdom, Queen Elizabeth, courtesy in the first place, pound as currency.'

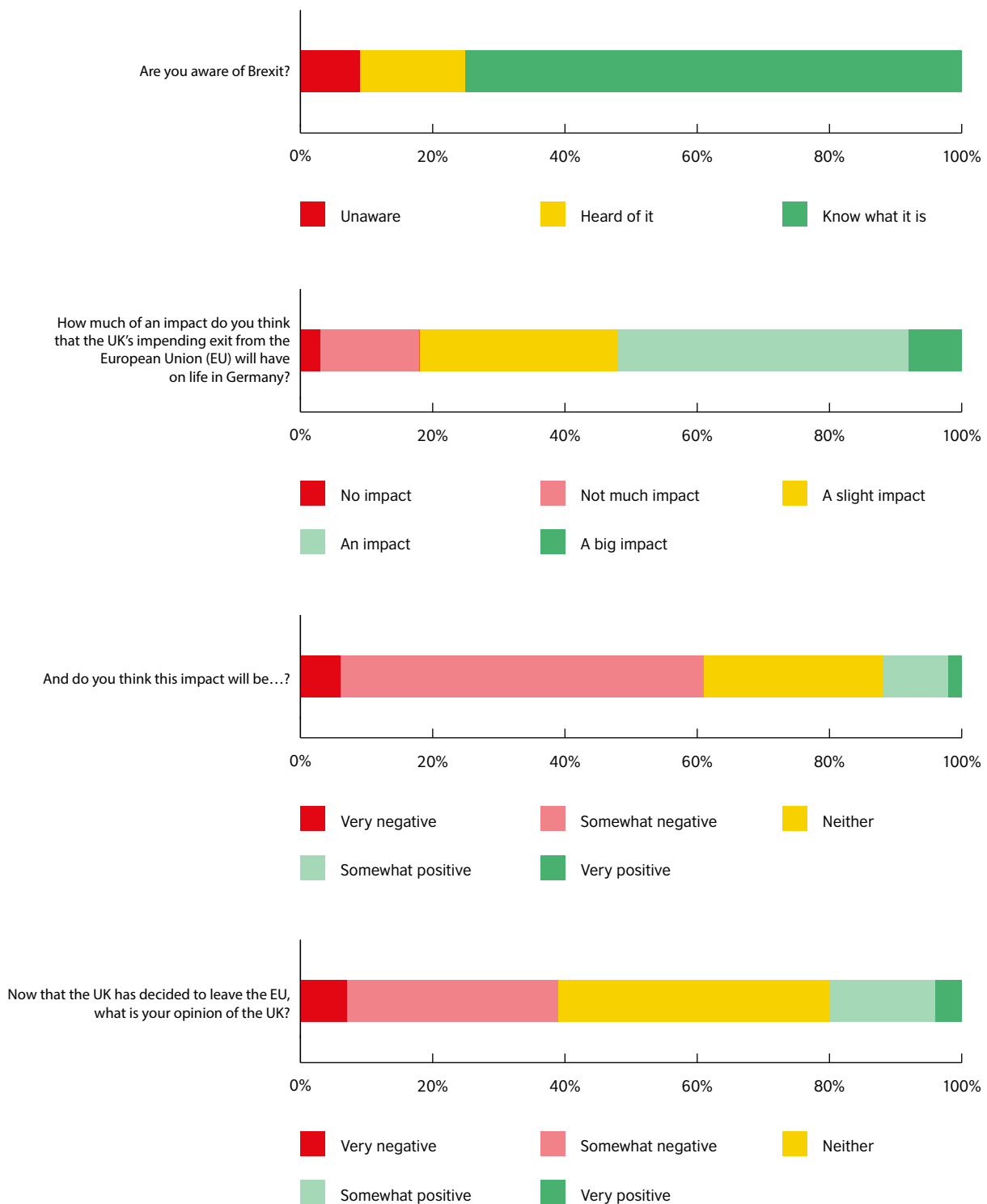
Female, Munich, age 20

'Loyalty towards the Royal Family. A friendly and joyful nation that values its traditions and its past.'

Female, Cologne, age 28

'The pound. Left-hand drivers. Tea drinkers. Beer guzzlers.'

Male, Munich, age 30

Figure 21: Awareness, perceived impact of Brexit and opinion of the UK

Question: four separate questions (four-point scale)

Base: n=2,018 young Germans aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Awareness of Brexit

Nine in ten of our sample were aware of Brexit, with increased awareness among households with higher income.²¹ The overwhelming sentiment from young Germans was that it is a shame that the UK is seeking to move away from the EU:

'I find it a shame that Brexit is coming to fruition.'

Male, Hamburg, age 26

'I find Brexit a great pity, especially on an economic level.'

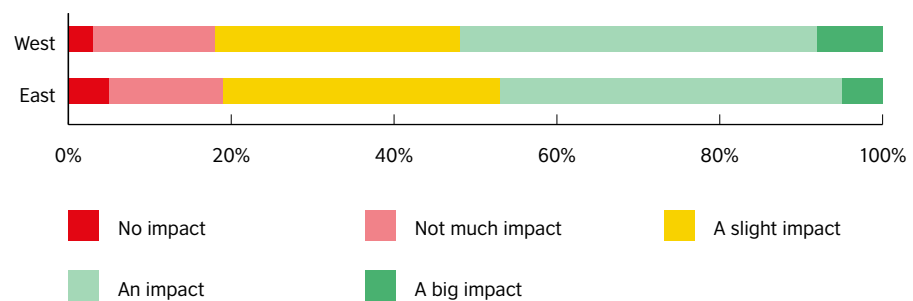
Male, Berlin, age 19

'Stupid. I think the British are only thinking now after they acted.'

Male, Cologne, age 24

Most expected there to be at least some impact on life in Germany, and for that impact to be somewhat negative rather than positive or neutral – with slightly greater negativity in West Germany.

Figure 22: How much of an impact do you think that the UK's impending exit from the European Union (EU) will have on life in Germany?

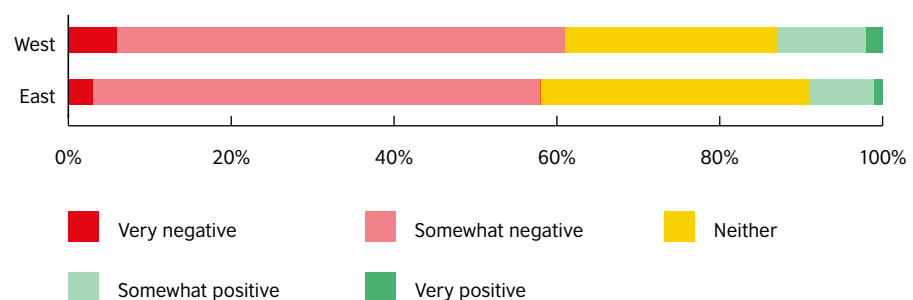


Question E4: five-point scale

Base: n=330 respondents from the East and 1,605 respondents from the West aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

Figure 23: And do you think this impact will be...



Question E5: five-point scale

Base: n=330 respondents from the East and 1,605 respondents from the West aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018

²¹ > Lower income of €20,000 or lower, 89 per cent, middle income of between €20,001 and €40,000, 91 per cent, higher income of €40,001 and above, 94 per cent.

When we explored these issues in the qualitative research, participants struggled to pinpoint exactly what this impact would be. Most loosely referenced a decrease in 'trade' and travel opportunities. However, many felt Brexit will have a bigger impact on the UK than on other countries, generally believing that the main impact would be financial, including increased costs to trade with other countries, especially those in the EU:

'I think Brexit will be a financial disaster for Great Britain and that the relationship with Germany will be weakened.'

Male, Cologne, age 20

Some participants felt more strongly and were clearly exasperated with the way that the British have handled the Brexit negotiations:

'What bothers me most about Brexit, is that they will eventually have to make up their minds, and if it were to come to a hard Brexit I worry that then everything will only get more expensive and complicated. When Brexit happens, it should be handled in such a way that nobody is impacted negatively – not the English nor the rest of Europe.'

Male, Munich, age 30

'I think the English hardly know themselves why they actually want Brexit, but now they are at a dead end and there is probably no way back.'

Male, Berlin, age 30

There was a sense that Brexit will lead to the UK isolating itself more in the world. Some participants worried that it will also make it more difficult for Germans to visit, study and live there as the right to free movement is being removed:

'The UK is isolating itself. Partnerships become more difficult when the trading partner has different rules.'

Female, Leipzig, age 25

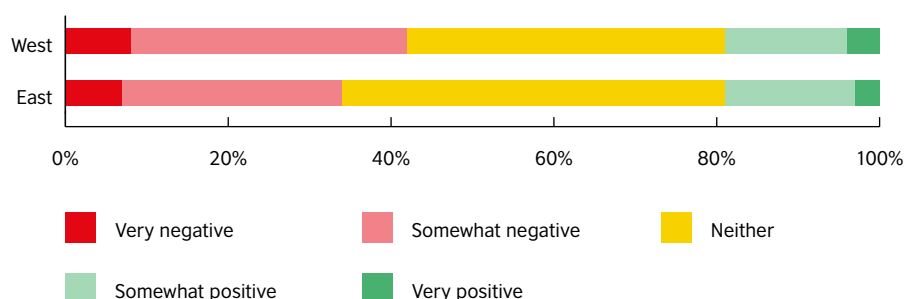
'Brexit could ruin relationships between Germany and the UK... there will be no more free movement, no more shared research, and it will be harder to study there.'

Male, Munich, age 23

There was also some evidence that Brexit itself was harming the youth's perceptions of the UK – with roughly a third of the sample saying that their opinion of the UK is 'very negative' or 'somewhat negative' now that the UK has decided to leave the EU. West Germans overall tended to hold slightly more negative views.

As outlined in this chapter, associations with the UK are quite surface-level and young Germans do not feel they are 'losing' a great deal as a result of the impending Brexit. While the UK exit is largely seen as negative, this loss is felt more on a cultural level (in terms of the history of the EU and what it represents) and is not projected to have a big impact on the daily lives of people in Germany. As we saw in Chapter 2, young Germans continue to identify with a European identity and many remain proud of Germany's leading role in Europe.

Figure 24: Now that the UK has decided to leave the EU, what is your opinion of the UK?



Question E7: five-point scale

Base: n=330 respondents from the East and 1,605 respondents from the West aged 18–30, full country representation across regions (including urban versus rural) and nationally representative on education, religion, income, region

Fieldwork date: 29 October – 29 November 2018



CHAPTER 9:

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

While the German youth we spoke to were generally positive about their personal spheres, they also had concerns about the direction in which Germany is heading and whether emerging social and economic issues would increasingly, negatively, affect their lives. Below, we summarise the key issues that young people would like to see action on across the key areas discussed in this report and the implications this has for policymakers.

The conclusions presented below have either been 1) suggested by the youth directly in our qualitative research stages; or 2) drawn by inference based on our combined analysis of the nationally representative survey data and qualitative research insights. Where these conclusions are inferential, we have indicated this. Where young people in our qualitative work made specific suggestions or requests in relation to meeting their needs, we have reported them here for further targeted investigation.

Across all of the areas identified below, there is arguably a case for policies that support locally focused initiatives if young people are to see and engage with the support offered. Ideally, national-level initiatives must ensure sufficient reach across the country to be 'felt' and experienced in a local context.

The British Council in Germany invites our partners, both local and national, to take conversations around the questions forward. We will work together to share the research with young people and to learn how institutions can best support them to build better futures for themselves.

Education, employment and skills

While young people are relatively positive about their education, they see clear opportunities for improvement and generally note a need for the German education system to continue to evolve in order to fit the rapidly shifting demands of the modern global economy.

Clearly, our participants' education had prepared them relatively well thus far, as evidenced by the in-work youths' relative satisfaction with their lives at present. However, the fact that only 41 per cent of our quantitative sample felt their education prepared them well for work – despite being happy in their current jobs and relatively untroubled about employability – does suggest that the youth are not, in general, totally positive about the modern education system.

We cannot directly claim cause and effect for what drives their relatively low levels of satisfaction for education in adequately preparing German youths; the concerns they did raise seem minor in comparison to the relative employment success that they enjoy. Inferentially, based on the types of concerns raised when we explored any dissatisfaction with the educational system during our qualitative sessions, we would suggest that wider unease and anxieties about the future are influencing these quantitative findings.

There was a sense among our youth sample, across qualitative stages, that what worked before won't work in the future – that Germany will need to train for the adaptability, digitalisation and entrepreneurial mindset the youth see as driving the modern economy. Many young people voiced concerns about financial security and expressed concern that their education had not equipped them with the financial skills required in adult life.

Our interpretation as researchers, in speaking with the young participants, was that a range of combined tensions and anxieties about future security are combining to make youth feel that something must change if Germany is to remain competitive and equip its citizens for positive lives.

Specific educational needs articulated by our sample

- More innovative and interactive lessons, to evolve the traditional model of a teacher 'lecturing' to students in front of a classroom – for example, more creative projects that call for teamwork, presenting skills, etc.
- More practical education around financial literacy, taxes, pensions, investment opportunities and the economy in secondary school.
- More career guidance from a young age to help young people hone the skills that will be most valuable in a competitive global market – including adaptability and skills evolution.

Although less commonly directly vocalised by our participants, there also seems to be a call for increased emphasis on digital skills and innovation as part of their core curriculum.

It should be noted that at the same time as the youth expressed some concerns about education in our survey, and in our qualitative sessions called for further evolution of the German education system, they were also sometimes critical of changes that had been made. Particularly for university-track students, it seemed likely from our conversations that any reforms aimed at ensuring market-readiness of university students will be met with some dismay; there was a marked sense of 'giving up' what they perceived as the more free and exploratory study of prior generations to more skills-focused study.

Financial security

This was an area of strong anxiety and insecurity for many young people in our research, and one where they felt they needed more support. As we've seen throughout this report, young people called for more government support to help them achieve their goals and aspirations, including helping them attain the security and stability they desire for the future.

Specific needs in relation to financial security raised by our sample

- Increased governmental support to help buy/rent a home and a guarantee that young people attending university will be prioritised for housing in that area.
- More governmental financial support for students and/or a loosening of the criteria needed to qualify for support such as BAföG.
- More transparency, reassurance and information around pensions.
- As above, inclusion of financial literacy and skills in the education system; we note that this topic was raised in the German media in the year proceeding our study.

More widely, the results of our research – including the clear sense of uncertainty and increasing need for adaptability in the global economy – suggests that there may be some need for supportive policies and initiatives that encourage adaptability to changing market conditions. This is not necessarily a Germany-specific issue;

the sense of increasing volatility and speed of change across Next Generation markets suggests a need to help ensure that youth feel able to adapt and respond to new challenges as they emerge.

Immigration

Young people are generally welcoming of new people into Germany, but also expressed worry that immigration might start to affect their ability to carve out a good life for themselves and their ability to access the stability and life security that the German government has historically been good at providing for its citizens. Young people feel that more national conversation about the issue is important; they want to feel that it is possible for German citizens, including young people, to have an open and honest national discussion about how to ensure that immigration policy results in positive outcomes both for immigrants and for German citizens.

To note, our qualitative research intentionally sampled a spread of views, including around immigration specifically. Even within this purposive sampling approach, only one participant in our qualitative phases raised negative views about immigrants themselves. Mostly, concerns centred around the wider social impact of immigration in terms of scale, integration practices, and the need for Germany to accommodate its new residents effectively and fairly.

Specific needs in relation to immigration issues raised by our sample

- More permission to have national conversations about immigration as a 'challenge to be tackled' – young people want a clear plan for how the well-run German social 'system' plans to accommodate immigration-related changes.
- A clear and visible government strategy on how Germany will deal with immigration now and in the future.
- A clear government-led integration programme – which includes more emphasis on cultural integration into Germany, and ensuring that recent arrivals understand the social 'rules' of day-to-day life (including quite 'small-scale' cultural moments: where the bins go and how school drop-offs work!).
- Increased co-operation with other European countries to tackle the challenges of immigration together – in a humane, responsible and fair manner.

Safety and violence

As part of this study, mirroring the content of previous Next Generation research, we asked German youths about their perceptions of physical safety and risk of violence – whether these were issues in their own lives, issues for youth specifically, or challenges facing Germany. Although violence and safety issues did not come up as issues that were pressing problems for German youth (and our qualitative sessions showed only very limited evidence of experiences of violence or safety issues at a personal level), violence and safety nonetheless came top of the list in our survey research as issues facing Germany as a society.

These reported concerns about violence and decreased safety in this research are likely to be largely media-influenced (that is, related to events that youth have seen reported in the media, rather than related to experiences in their local environments). Nonetheless, these issues were a real concern for German youth, as represented both by our nationally representative survey and in our qualitative sample. When we explored what drove these concerns, they seemed largely tied to wider anxieties: a sense that immigration is causing tension in German society; a sense that people may start to experience more financial pressure and instability; and a wider sense that things are 'changing'.

These kinds of anxieties, regardless of whether they accurately reflect actual risk or lived experiences, have been shown in the psychological literature to be experienced as stressful and potentially harmful – and thus merit attention.

Specific needs in relation to safety and violence raised by our sample

- 'Responsible' reporting on safety and violence from the German media – e.g. ensuring that things do not get exaggerated, or blamed exclusively on specific groups of people.
- Government to tackle increased political polarisation – reminding Germans of the values modern Germany was built on and cracking down on any extremist views.
- Increased CCTV footage in public spaces, such as public transport, to help reduce crime and sexual harassment.
- A minority of young people also called for increased government funding to go towards security, and increased police and security presence at public events.

We would recommend that the issue of safety and violence merits further investigation. For those perceiving a shift in safety in Germany, specifically what is driving this? Based on this, what can be done to ensure that youth feel safe from harm or violence?

Voice and representation

Most young people in this study did not feel the government stands for, or cares about, the things that matter most to them; it should be noted that this is a common finding in Next Generation reports, rather than specific to Germany.

Lack of engagement with the current government did not appear to be the result of a lack of interest or knowledge about the system, but rather a reflection of the youth's perceptions of the current political framework, which they felt is failing to visibly and persuasively address the issues they care about. In our qualitative sessions, when we asked about voice and representation, conversations tended to resolve around the government response to challenges like financial security (particularly housing), education and the way the government is dealing with the challenges of immigration.

Specific needs in relation to voice and representation raised by our sample

- A political agenda that more closely mirrors the things young people care about (e.g. housing, education, immigration).
- More encouragement to get involved/engaged with politics at school.
- More opportunities to get involved in local politics, on their terms.
- More platforms for young people to speak about the issues that affect them.
- A more united government, which has a united stance and clear voice about the issues affecting Germany – and which can communicate its needs more clearly to the rest of Europe.



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> APPENDIX 1: METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE

Great care was taken in developing a methodology that would allow us to paint a holistic and nuanced picture of the lives of young people in Germany today.

Brief literature review and stimulus development

Prior to drafting any of our primary research materials, we undertook a brief review of the existing literature across all of the key themes outlined in this report. Rather than aiming to be a stocktake of the current situation against these key themes, this review was specifically aimed at understanding regional differences in context that

should drive our sampling; trends and tension points that we might want to consider in our questioning; and identification of 'hot button' issues that needed more sensitive handling or inclusion in our language piloting phase.

Our draft materials were also informed by our local German qualitative and quantitative partners and discussions with the British Council team in Germany.

Language piloting

Prior to the quantitative survey work we conducted digital language piloting to ensure we were asking young people questions in a way that resonated with

them. We thus wanted to briefly pause and 'check in' with a small selection of youth participants to set the stage for the primary quantitative research.

This stage helped us:

- briefly explore key 'talking points' among young Germans – to ensure we didn't miss any hot-button issues from young people's perspectives
- identify the appropriate language to use in the quantitative survey in order to ensure our survey resonated with an 18- to 30-year-old youth audience
- pilot elements of the quantitative survey.

Table 1: Overview of language piloting

Respondents	Location	Gender	Age	Education and attitude	Ethnicity
1–5 (5)	Berlin	2 x male 3 x female	3 x 18–24 2 x 25–30	Mix of education levels and attitude	Two with migration background
6–9 (4)	Hamburg	2 x male 2 x female	2 x 18–24 2 x 25–30	Mix of education levels and attitude	One with migration background
10–13 (4)	Dresden or Leipzig	2 x male 2 x female	2 x 18–24 2 x 25–30	Mix of education levels and attitude	Aim for one with migration background if possible
14–18 (5)	Munich	3 x male 2 x female	2 x 18–24 3 x 25–30	Mix of education levels and attitude	Two with migration background

Nationally representative quant survey

We conducted a nationally representative 25 minute online survey resulting in 2,018 interviews with young people aged 18–30 who are German nationals currently residing in Germany. This sample size allows for an approximately two per cent margin of error at a 95 per cent confidence level. It also allowed us to explore a range of subgroups for analysis purposes –

essentially anything which is five per cent incidence within our population or above.

Our sample was sourced through our preferred partner, Research Now, which we've partnered with in Germany and many markets beyond for more than ten years. Its dedication to data quality matches our own, from maintaining a happy, engaged panel of respondents to targeting and incentives, through to quality-assurance procedures.

Respondents were given the choice of whether they wanted to complete on fixed or mobile platforms, and our data collection approach allows respondents to stop and start the survey around their busy lives without compromising on data quality. At 2CV we've built up a library of custom tools and techniques to maximise survey engagement. From respondent challenges and visual shortcuts to projective techniques, all are carefully designed to ensure respondents give fresh, honest answers.

Table 2: Overview of quantitative approach and sample

The nuts and bolts of the study		Questionnaire flow
• A 25 minute online survey in Germany		Screener
• Sample sourced via 2CV's trusted panel partners		Personal profile and background
• Sample definition:		Aspirations for the future (personal)
• Aged 18–30		Germany and identity
• Minimum 45% in each of the two life stage age brackets: 18–24 and 25–30		German youth
• Full country representation across regions, urban versus rural		Political engagement and attitudes
• Nationally representative on education, religion, income, region		German/EU/world stage
• Fieldwork: 29 October – 29 November 2018		UK/EU/Brexit and the impact on Germany
Sample size		News and social media
Sample group	Sample size	Classification
Total full survey completes	2,018	

Quantitative quotas

Table 3: Demographic quotas

Demographic quotas			
Demographic		Quota %	Final number
Age	18–24	Minimum 45%	1,068
	25–30	Minimum 45%	950
Gender	Male	Minimum 45%	866
	Female	Minimum 45%	1,031
Region	Baden-Württemberg	13%	261
	Bavaria	15%	284
	Berlin	4%	83
	Hamburg/Bremen/Schleswig-Holstein/ Lower Saxony	16%	325
	Hesse/Rhineland-Palatinate/Saarland	14%	284
	Mecklenburg-West Pomerania/Brandenburg/ Saxony-Anhalt	8%	163
	North Rhine-Westphalia	22%	451
	Thuringia/Saxony	8%	167

Table 4: Current working status

Current working status	
Student – higher education (university, postgraduate, etc.) excluding training/apprenticeship	30%
Student – further education	8%
Training/apprenticeship	10%
Employed – full-time	43%
Employed – part-time	10%
Unemployed	6%

Table 5: Highest level of education completed

Highest level of education completed	
Primary school	1%
Secondary school	57%
College	18%
Undergraduate degree	17%
Postgraduate degree	5%
Prefer not to say	2%

Digital diaries

Following the survey research, we conducted primary qualitative research to dig into the quantitative findings in depth, add the 'why' behind the 'what', and capture rich, holistic data about how the issues we saw in the statistics play out for German youth day-to-day.

Overall, we asked young people

questions over a two-week period – with tasks to be completed in a time and place of the participants' choosing. We began with some contextual/background questions about who they are and gradually moved through a series of tasks designed to produce a well-rounded picture of their current place in German society and their day-to-day lives as young people living

during a time of political change and instability. It provided us with the opportunity to capture both the 'big' and the 'small', from their attitudes towards key political issues such as Germany's role in the EU, immigration, leadership and voting to the realities of day-to-day life and their hopes/fears/dreams as a young person trying to find their place in German society/the world.

Table 6: Demographic profile (qualitative sample)

Depth	Location	Gender	Education	Reason for inclusion	Focus topics in order of priority
1	Berlin	Male	Lower educational level	Berlin is an outlier city in the quant in terms of attitudes Berliners are less likely to say they're proud of Germany and more worried about availability of housing they can afford	1. Brexit 2. Germany and wider world 3. Finance/lack of affordable housing
2	Berlin	Male	Higher educational level		
3	Berlin	Female	Lower educational level		
4	Berlin	Female	Higher educational level		
5	Berlin	Male	Lower educational level		
6	Hamburg	Male	Lower educational level	Hamburg and Schleswig-Holstein have higher numbers of those having lived/studied abroad	1. Brexit 2. Germany and wider world 3. Financial future (affordable housing to a certain extent)
7	Hamburg	Male	Higher educational level		
8	Hamburg	Female	Lower educational level		
9	Hamburg	Female	Higher educational level		
10	Hamburg	Female	Higher educational level		
11	Leipzig	Male	Lower educational level	The new federal states/former East Germany align closely, so this will cover that point of view	1. Financial future (affordable housing to a certain extent) 2. Brexit 3. Violence
12	Leipzig	Male	Higher educational level		
13	Leipzig	Female	Lower educational level		
14	Leipzig	Female	Higher educational level		
15	Leipzig	Male	Higher educational level		
16	Munich	Male	Lower educational level	Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg are similar and can be representative of a south German point of view	1. Financial future 2. Brexit 3. Extremism
17	Munich	Male	Higher educational level		
18	Munich	Female	Lower educational level		
19	Munich	Female	Higher educational level		
20	Cologne	Male	Lower educational level		
21	Cologne	Male	Higher educational level	Western German federal states seem to align. Allows access to smaller surrounding towns for a distinctly less urban point of view	1. Financial future 2. Brexit 3. Violence 4. Extremism
22	Cologne	Female	Lower educational level		
23	Cologne	Female	Higher educational level		
24	Cologne	Female	Lower educational level		

Table 7: Highest level of attainment (qualitative sample)

Highest level of attainment	Count in sample	% of sample
Mittlere Reife/Hauptschulabschluss	10	43%
Abitur	8	34%
University	5	21%

Qualitative follow-ups

Following the digital diaries, we selected six participants across our sample (three in Berlin and surrounds; three in Hamburg and surrounds) to follow up with them on some of the key themes that were emerging from the online diaries – getting to know them in their world and seeing their lives in context.





APPENDIX 2: SURVEY RESULTS

Table 8: B1 part 1. How do you currently feel about your personal future?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very negative	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	2%	2%	1%	1%
Negative	10%	9%	11%	10%	10%	10%	13%	15%	10%	6%
Neither positive nor negative	20%	19%	21%	19%	21%	20%	18%	21%	22%	15%
Positive	58%	59%	57%	58%	58%	58%	55%	54%	56%	65%
Very positive	11%	13%	10%	12%	10%	11%	12%	9%	11%	13%
T2B (net)	69%	71%	67%	70%	68%	69%	67%	63%	67%	78%
B2B (net)	11%	10%	12%	11%	11%	11%	15%	16%	11%	7%
Mean score	3.7	3.7	3.6	3.7	3.6	3.7	3.6	3.5	3.7	3.8

Table 9: B1 part 2. How do you currently feel about your personal future?

		Employment status		SEG	
	TOTAL	Employed (e)	Unemployed (u)	ABC1 (a)	C2DE (b)
TOTAL	2,018	1,044	198	766	1,252
Very negative	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
Negative	10%	7%	9%	8%	11%
Neither positive nor negative	20%	19%	23%	17%	22%
Positive	58%	61%	54%	60%	56%
Very positive	11%	12%	13%	14%	9%
T2B (net)	69%	73%	67%	75%	65%
B2B (net)	11%	8%	10%	9%	13%
Mean score	3.7	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.6

Table 10: B2. When thinking about personal success and happiness (both now and in the future), which of the below do you think contribute to this? Please think about your own personal success and happiness

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Getting married/having a relationship that suits your needs	47%	40%	53%	46%	47%	46%	48%	42%	48%	51%
Having a family	60%	56%	64%	60%	60%	60%	61%	58%	61%	62%
Having a job that you love	50%	49%	53%	51%	50%	50%	56%	49%	51%	51%
Having financial security	58%	57%	60%	58%	58%	58%	61%	55%	58%	61%
Having a wide array of life experiences	34%	36%	33%	34%	34%	34%	41%	34%	34%	35%
Travelling to/experiencing lots of different countries and cultures	38%	34%	43%	41%	35%	37%	52%	36%	36%	44%
Giving back to the community	17%	18%	16%	17%	17%	17%	23%	19%	16%	18%
Having a circle of close friends	53%	51%	55%	57%	48%	52%	57%	57%	52%	48%
Owning a house/flat	39%	36%	42%	41%	36%	39%	41%	34%	39%	44%
Moving out of parents' home	8%	8%	9%	13%	3%	8%	19%	9%	7%	8%
Other (please specify)	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%
Average number	4.0	3.8	4.3	4.2	3.9	4.0	4.6	3.9	4.0	4.2

Table 11: B4. How achievable do you think these things are (T2B summary, floating base)

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601

Table 12: B4. How achievable do you think these things are (summary)

	Getting married/ having a relationship that suits your needs	Having a family	Having a job that you love	Having financial security	Having a wide array of life experiences	Travelling to/ experiencing lots of different countries and cultures	Giving back to the community
TOTAL	939	1,217	1,019	1,171	690	773	347
Not at all achievable	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%
Not very achievable	4%	2%	6%	6%	3%	5%	4%
Somewhat achievable	10%	8%	16%	20%	11%	19%	18%
Achievable	25%	25%	35%	44%	36%	38%	28%
Very achievable	27%	30%	25%	21%	38%	30%	35%
Already achieved this	33%	33%	17%	7%	12%	8%	16%
T2B (net)	52%	55%	60%	65%	74%	67%	62%
B2B (net)	5%	4%	7%	8%	4%	6%	4%
Mean score	4.1	4.2	3.9	3.8	4.2	4.0	4.1

Table 13: B4. How achievable do you think these things are (summary)

	Having a close circle of friends	Owning a house/flat	Moving out of parents' home
TOTAL	1,060	786	167
Not at all achievable	1%	2%	2%
Not very achievable	2%	8%	6%
Somewhat achievable	9%	17%	10%
Achievable	26%	32%	27%
Very achievable	29%	23%	46%
Already achieved this	32%	19%	9%
T2B (net)	55%	54%	73%
B2B (net)	3%	10%	8%
Mean score	4.2	3.8	4.2

Table 14: B5. Why do you think this is unachievable – ‘Owning a house/flat’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	212	82	112	105	107	195	17	51	73	63
Monetary restrictions	82%	79%	81%	81%	82%	82%	82%	88%	79%	81%
Lack of necessary knowledge	7%	10%	5%	7%	7%	6%	12%	8%	3%	11%
Family/carer responsibilities	5%	5%	5%	4%	6%	5%	6%	4%	4%	6%
Lack of governmental support	25%	27%	26%	21%	29%	25%	24%	24%	27%	21%
Social norms/tradition	4%	4%	4%	5%	4%	3%	18%	6%	5%	3%
Health issues	6%	5%	6%	4%	8%	6%	12%	8%	5%	5%
Personal challenges (e.g. social anxiety, lack of confidence)	10%	9%	12%	14%	6%	8%	29%	8%	11%	10%
Fear of rejection	5%	4%	6%	7%	4%	5%	6%	8%	0%	6%
Prejudice (e.g. sexism, racism)	1%	2%	1%	0%	3%	1%	6%	2%	0%	3%
Legal restrictions	6%	9%	4%	7%	6%	6%	12%	10%	4%	6%
School/university/educational institution	5%	6%	5%	7%	4%	4%	18%	6%	5%	3%
Other (specify)	3%	4%	3%	5%	1%	3%	0%	6%	1%	3%
Average number	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.5	2.2	1.7	1.5	1.6

Table 15: B7. As a young person living in Germany, if you had the opportunity to move location, either within Germany or to another country, would you take it?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Yes – I would only move within Germany	34%	35%	33%	34%	34%	34%	33%	36%	34%	35%
Yes – I would only move outside of Germany	9%	9%	8%	9%	9%	9%	13%	8%	8%	11%
Yes – I would move within and outside of Germany	33%	31%	35%	35%	31%	33%	38%	33%	35%	32%
No – would not move	24%	25%	24%	22%	25%	24%	17%	23%	24%	22%
Yes (net)	76%	75%	76%	78%	75%	76%	83%	77%	76%	78%

Table 16: B10. You said you would not move location if you had the opportunity. Why would you not choose to move?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	477	217	239	236	241	456	21	118	157	132
My family live here and I do not want to leave them	61%	56%	66%	57%	65%	61%	71%	57%	59%	67%
There are better job opportunities where I live now	19%	24%	15%	23%	15%	18%	33%	16%	18%	25%
It is cheaper where I live now	16%	18%	15%	15%	17%	16%	19%	14%	19%	17%
I like the current culture where I live now	36%	42%	31%	36%	36%	37%	19%	35%	40%	33%
I am settled where I live now – there is no reason for me to leave	58%	59%	60%	53%	63%	59%	48%	50%	60%	66%
There are better education opportunities where I live now	13%	13%	12%	18%	8%	13%	24%	13%	13%	13%
Other (please specify)	3%	2%	3%	3%	2%	2%	5%	4%	4%	1%
Average number	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.8	2.1	2.2





Table 17: C2 part 1. Thinking about Germany, what is your level of pride in the country?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Not at all proud	5%	4%	5%	5%	5%	5%	7%	7%	5%	3%
Not very proud	16%	16%	16%	15%	17%	16%	17%	17%	17%	14%
Somewhat proud	30%	25%	34%	31%	28%	30%	28%	31%	29%	27%
Proud	34%	38%	31%	34%	35%	34%	34%	32%	36%	40%
Very proud	9%	12%	7%	9%	10%	9%	9%	6%	10%	12%
Prefer not to say	6%	5%	6%	7%	5%	6%	5%	7%	4%	4%
T2B (net)	44%	50%	38%	42%	45%	44%	43%	38%	46%	52%
B2B (net)	21%	20%	22%	20%	22%	21%	25%	24%	22%	17%
Mean score	3.3	3.4	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.1	3.3	3.5

Table 18: C2 part 2. Thinking about Germany, what is your level of pride in the country?

		East/West divide	
	TOTAL	East (e)	West (w)
TOTAL	2,018	330	1,605
Not at all proud	5%	6%	4%
Not very proud	16%	17%	16%
Somewhat proud	30%	32%	29%
Proud	34%	31%	35%
Very proud	9%	8%	10%
Prefer not to say	6%	5%	6%
T2B (net)	44%	39%	45%
B2B (net)	21%	24%	20%
Mean score	3.3	3.2	3.3

Table 19: C7. Looking back over the past five to ten years, which, if any, of the below societal factors would you say have had a negative effect on you personally?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Poor living conditions	13%	13%	13%	12%	15%	13%	21%	17%	14%	11%
High unemployment rates	17%	14%	20%	17%	16%	16%	24%	21%	17%	11%
State corruption	14%	15%	13%	13%	16%	14%	19%	16%	14%	14%
High crime rates	27%	23%	30%	26%	29%	28%	21%	25%	30%	27%
Violence	33%	29%	36%	34%	32%	33%	39%	37%	33%	30%
Lack of access to healthcare	8%	8%	9%	9%	7%	8%	12%	10%	7%	9%
Extremism	24%	25%	24%	25%	23%	23%	29%	27%	22%	23%
Gender inequality	19%	8%	30%	22%	16%	19%	24%	21%	18%	18%
Financial inequality	45%	41%	48%	44%	45%	44%	47%	50%	47%	38%
Lack of access to higher education	12%	12%	12%	13%	12%	12%	19%	16%	12%	11%
Environmental issues	26%	27%	26%	27%	25%	26%	26%	29%	26%	24%
Lack of housing	32%	30%	33%	31%	33%	32%	29%	33%	33%	30%
Political polarisation	23%	24%	22%	22%	23%	22%	34%	27%	24%	21%
Racism in Germany against foreigners	32%	26%	38%	36%	28%	30%	60%	34%	33%	28%
Fake news	22%	24%	20%	22%	22%	21%	32%	25%	22%	21%
International affairs	15%	15%	14%	15%	15%	14%	21%	14%	14%	16%
None of these	9%	11%	7%	8%	9%	9%	4%	6%	8%	9%
Average number	3.6	3.3	3.9	3.7	3.6	3.6	4.6	4.0	3.7	3.3

Table 20: C8. How worried are you about the following issues, for you personally? Top two box Extremely/Very worried

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Poor living conditions	32%	29%	35%	32%	32%	32%	42%	36%	34%	28%
High unemployment rates	31%	27%	33%	32%	30%	30%	40%	34%	32%	27%
State corruption	34%	32%	33%	31%	37%	33%	43%	33%	35%	33%
High crime rates	44%	39%	47%	43%	45%	43%	50%	42%	47%	42%
Violence	49%	42%	55%	51%	47%	49%	54%	50%	49%	48%
Lack of access to healthcare	30%	28%	28%	31%	28%	29%	43%	34%	29%	28%
Extremism	47%	45%	48%	47%	46%	46%	61%	51%	46%	47%
Gender inequality	29%	19%	36%	33%	24%	28%	33%	30%	28%	28%
Financial inequality	47%	43%	50%	47%	48%	47%	54%	51%	49%	44%
Lack of access to higher education	29%	29%	28%	29%	30%	28%	44%	30%	32%	26%
Environmental issues	45%	42%	47%	47%	42%	44%	52%	47%	45%	44%
Lack of housing	46%	43%	47%	45%	47%	45%	59%	48%	49%	43%
Political polarisation	39%	40%	39%	38%	41%	38%	56%	40%	42%	38%
Racism in Germany against foreigners	48%	43%	52%	52%	44%	47%	66%	48%	47%	47%
Fake news	33%	34%	32%	35%	31%	32%	48%	36%	33%	32%
International affairs	31%	33%	29%	31%	32%	30%	44%	32%	34%	31%

Table 21: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Violence’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	14%	12%	15%	11%	17%	14%	13%	13%	16%	12%
2	35%	33%	37%	38%	32%	35%	34%	42%	33%	34%
3	29%	29%	31%	29%	30%	30%	23%	27%	28%	30%
4	17%	22%	14%	17%	18%	17%	21%	17%	18%	18%
Very optimistic	4%	5%	3%	5%	3%	4%	8%	2%	4%	6%
T2B (net)	22%	27%	17%	22%	21%	21%	29%	18%	22%	24%
B2B (net)	49%	45%	52%	49%	49%	49%	48%	55%	50%	46%
Mean score	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.5	2.6	2.7

Table 22: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Financial inequality’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	16%	19%	13%	13%	19%	16%	15%	18%	18%	14%
2	34%	32%	37%	34%	34%	34%	33%	38%	31%	34%
3	26%	24%	28%	27%	25%	27%	23%	24%	27%	25%
4	20%	21%	19%	21%	19%	20%	27%	18%	21%	21%
Very optimistic	4%	4%	3%	4%	3%	4%	2%	2%	3%	6%
T2B (net)	24%	25%	22%	26%	22%	23%	29%	20%	24%	28%
B2B (net)	50%	51%	50%	47%	53%	50%	48%	56%	49%	47%
Mean score	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.5	2.6	2.7

Table 23: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Lack of housing’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	15%	15%	15%	14%	17%	15%	18%	16%	16%	15%
2	35%	35%	37%	36%	34%	35%	36%	39%	36%	32%
3	23%	21%	25%	22%	24%	23%	18%	21%	23%	22%
4	23%	25%	21%	25%	22%	23%	22%	23%	21%	26%
Very optimistic	4%	5%	2%	4%	3%	3%	6%	2%	3%	5%
T2B (net)	27%	30%	23%	28%	25%	27%	28%	25%	24%	31%
B2B (net)	50%	50%	52%	50%	51%	50%	54%	54%	53%	47%
Mean score	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.7

Table 24: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Racism in Germany against foreigners’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	14%	10%	16%	15%	12%	14%	15%	16%	16%	10%
2	37%	34%	41%	40%	34%	36%	47%	42%	35%	35%
3	26%	28%	25%	23%	30%	27%	19%	22%	27%	26%
4	17%	21%	15%	17%	18%	18%	12%	16%	17%	20%
Very optimistic	5%	7%	3%	5%	6%	5%	7%	3%	5%	8%
T2B (net)	23%	28%	18%	22%	24%	23%	19%	19%	22%	28%
B2B (net)	51%	44%	57%	55%	46%	50%	62%	58%	51%	46%
Mean score	2.6	2.8	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.8

Table 25: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Extremism’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	12%	14%	10%	10%	13%	12%	11%	15%	11%	11%
2	41%	38%	44%	43%	38%	40%	45%	45%	42%	37%
3	29%	26%	31%	28%	30%	29%	21%	25%	29%	29%
4	15%	18%	12%	15%	16%	15%	19%	13%	15%	17%
Very optimistic	4%	4%	3%	4%	3%	4%	3%	2%	4%	5%
T2B (net)	19%	22%	15%	19%	19%	19%	22%	15%	19%	23%
B2B (net)	52%	52%	54%	53%	51%	52%	56%	60%	52%	49%
Mean score	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.4	2.6	2.7

Table 26: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Poor living conditions’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	5%	5%	5%	4%	6%	5%	6%	8%	5%	3%
2	25%	24%	25%	24%	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%	25%
3	34%	33%	35%	33%	35%	34%	22%	30%	36%	32%
4	31%	33%	29%	33%	29%	31%	38%	34%	29%	31%
Very optimistic	6%	5%	5%	6%	5%	5%	9%	3%	5%	9%
T2B (net)	37%	38%	34%	39%	34%	36%	47%	37%	34%	40%
B2B (net)	30%	29%	30%	28%	31%	30%	31%	32%	30%	28%
Mean score	3.1	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.0	3.1	3.2	3.0	3.0	3.2

Table 27: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘High unemployment rates’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	5%	5%	5%	5%	6%	5%	6%	8%	6%	4%
2	24%	23%	25%	24%	24%	24%	26%	28%	25%	21%
3	30%	26%	34%	29%	31%	30%	25%	27%	30%	30%
4	33%	37%	30%	35%	32%	34%	33%	31%	33%	35%
Very optimistic	7%	9%	6%	8%	7%	7%	10%	6%	7%	10%
T2B (net)	41%	46%	36%	42%	39%	41%	43%	38%	40%	45%
B2B (net)	29%	28%	30%	29%	30%	29%	32%	36%	30%	25%
Mean score	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.2	3.0	3.1	3.3

Table 28: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘State corruption’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	10%	11%	9%	8%	12%	10%	12%	11%	11%	9%
2	31%	29%	32%	31%	30%	30%	37%	35%	30%	28%
3	35%	30%	40%	37%	33%	36%	25%	33%	36%	34%
4	19%	21%	16%	18%	20%	19%	20%	17%	18%	22%
Very optimistic	5%	8%	3%	6%	5%	5%	6%	4%	5%	7%
T2B (net)	24%	30%	19%	24%	25%	24%	26%	21%	23%	30%
B2B (net)	41%	40%	41%	40%	42%	40%	49%	46%	41%	37%
Mean score	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.9

Table 29: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘High crime rates’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	12%	12%	12%	9%	16%	12%	15%	13%	14%	11%
2	33%	29%	36%	34%	31%	33%	32%	36%	32%	31%
3	29%	27%	33%	30%	28%	30%	25%	28%	27%	28%
4	22%	27%	17%	22%	22%	22%	22%	20%	23%	24%
Very optimistic	4%	5%	2%	4%	3%	4%	6%	2%	4%	5%
T2B (net)	26%	32%	19%	26%	25%	26%	29%	23%	27%	30%
B2B (net)	45%	40%	48%	43%	47%	45%	47%	49%	46%	42%
Mean score	2.7	2.9	2.6	2.8	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.8

Table 30: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Lack of access to healthcare’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	4%	4%	4%	3%	5%	4%	3%	6%	4%	2%
2	19%	20%	19%	19%	19%	19%	19%	24%	17%	19%
3	33%	32%	34%	30%	36%	33%	32%	29%	36%	31%
4	36%	35%	37%	38%	33%	36%	37%	34%	36%	37%
Very optimistic	8%	9%	7%	9%	6%	8%	9%	7%	7%	10%
T2B (net)	44%	44%	43%	48%	39%	44%	46%	41%	44%	48%
B2B (net)	23%	24%	23%	22%	24%	23%	22%	30%	21%	22%
Mean score	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.1	3.3	3.3

Table 31: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Gender inequality’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	5%	4%	5%	4%	5%	5%	5%	4%	5%	4%
2	16%	14%	19%	17%	15%	16%	17%	19%	17%	15%
3	29%	29%	30%	25%	33%	29%	21%	25%	30%	30%
4	38%	38%	37%	40%	36%	38%	44%	40%	37%	37%
Very optimistic	12%	15%	10%	14%	11%	12%	12%	13%	12%	13%
T2B (net)	51%	53%	47%	54%	47%	50%	56%	52%	49%	50%
B2B (net)	21%	18%	23%	21%	20%	21%	22%	23%	22%	19%
Mean score	3.4	3.5	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.4

Table 32: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Lack of access to higher education’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	4%	4%	3%	3%	4%	4%	5%	5%	4%	3%
2	20%	21%	18%	18%	22%	20%	18%	23%	19%	22%
3	32%	33%	33%	29%	36%	33%	25%	28%	34%	32%
4	36%	34%	38%	41%	31%	36%	43%	37%	37%	33%
Very optimistic	8%	8%	7%	9%	7%	8%	9%	7%	7%	10%
T2B (net)	44%	42%	46%	49%	38%	44%	52%	44%	44%	43%
B2B (net)	23%	25%	22%	21%	26%	23%	23%	28%	22%	25%
Mean score	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.2	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.3

Table 33: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Environmental issues’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	11%	12%	11%	12%	10%	12%	10%	14%	13%	8%
2	29%	28%	31%	31%	28%	29%	32%	33%	27%	30%
3	25%	24%	26%	22%	28%	25%	21%	21%	25%	26%
4	28%	28%	29%	29%	28%	28%	29%	28%	29%	27%
Very optimistic	6%	8%	4%	6%	6%	6%	9%	4%	6%	8%
T2B (net)	34%	36%	32%	35%	33%	34%	37%	32%	35%	35%
B2B (net)	41%	40%	42%	43%	38%	41%	41%	47%	40%	38%
Mean score	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.9	3.0

Table 34: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Political polarisation’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	10%	11%	9%	8%	11%	10%	12%	12%	10%	9%
2	37%	37%	38%	37%	36%	37%	33%	44%	35%	35%
3	35%	33%	38%	37%	34%	35%	35%	31%	37%	33%
4	15%	16%	13%	15%	15%	15%	18%	12%	16%	18%
Very optimistic	3%	4%	2%	3%	3%	3%	2%	2%	3%	5%
T2B (net)	18%	20%	15%	18%	19%	18%	20%	14%	19%	24%
B2B (net)	46%	47%	47%	45%	48%	46%	45%	56%	45%	44%
Mean score	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.7	2.8

Table 35: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘Fake news’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	11%	12%	11%	12%	10%	11%	17%	14%	12%	10%
2	30%	30%	31%	30%	31%	30%	34%	35%	30%	28%
3	32%	30%	35%	31%	34%	33%	22%	30%	33%	31%
4	21%	23%	19%	22%	21%	21%	19%	18%	20%	25%
Very optimistic	5%	5%	4%	5%	4%	5%	8%	4%	4%	6%
T2B (net)	26%	28%	24%	27%	25%	26%	27%	22%	24%	31%
B2B (net)	42%	42%	42%	42%	41%	41%	51%	48%	42%	37%
Mean score	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.9

Table 36: C9. Looking ahead to the future, how optimistic do you feel that the below issues will be improved – ‘International affairs’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very pessimistic	7%	7%	7%	6%	7%	7%	6%	8%	7%	5%
2	33%	34%	35%	33%	33%	33%	35%	41%	31%	32%
3	36%	32%	41%	37%	36%	37%	29%	31%	38%	35%
4	21%	24%	17%	21%	21%	21%	25%	19%	22%	24%
Very optimistic	3%	4%	2%	3%	3%	3%	5%	2%	3%	4%
T2B (net)	24%	28%	18%	24%	24%	23%	30%	20%	24%	27%
B2B (net)	40%	41%	41%	39%	40%	40%	40%	48%	38%	37%
Mean score	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.7	2.8	2.9

Table 37: C12. And what types of images, people and/or things would they talk about?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
The culture (e.g. the food and drink, the architecture)	48%	46%	50%	50%	45%	48%	44%	49%	46%	47%
The country's history	42%	42%	43%	43%	41%	41%	52%	43%	44%	41%
Famous figures from Germany's past	24%	26%	22%	24%	23%	24%	21%	27%	22%	23%
German technology (e.g. Volkswagen and BMW)	46%	54%	40%	46%	46%	46%	48%	44%	46%	50%
German political policies (e.g. free education, climate and energy policies)	47%	48%	48%	48%	46%	46%	54%	50%	48%	47%
The Autobahn	26%	30%	23%	27%	25%	25%	38%	27%	24%	30%
Other (please specify)	2%	3%	2%	2%	2%	2%	4%	4%	2%	1%
None of the above	10%	8%	10%	9%	10%	10%	5%	10%	10%	6%
Average number	2.3	2.5	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.4

Table 38: P1AMP. How strongly do you identify with – ‘My city’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income			East/West divide	
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)	East (e)	West (w)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601	330	1,605
0–20	12%	10%	13%	12%	11%	11%	19%	15%	13%	8%	12%	12%
21–40	10%	7%	12%	11%	8%	10%	7%	11%	8%	8%	9%	10%
41–60	6%	5%	6%	5%	6%	6%	6%	5%	5%	5%	5%	6%
61–80	27%	26%	28%	27%	28%	28%	21%	25%	24%	30%	29%	27%
81–100	46%	51%	41%	45%	47%	46%	47%	43%	50%	48%	45%	46%
Strongly (50+ net)	77%	81%	73%	75%	79%	77%	71%	72%	78%	82%	78%	76%
Not strongly (0–49 net)	23%	19%	27%	25%	21%	23%	29%	28%	22%	18%	22%	24%
Mean score	69.4	72.4	66.1	68.7	70.1	69.6	65.3	66.0	70.5	72.3	69.2	68.9

Table 39: P1AMP. How strongly do you identify with – ‘My region’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income			East/West divide	
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)	East (e)	West (w)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601	330	1,605
0–20	12%	11%	13%	13%	11%	11%	18%	15%	12%	9%	11%	12%
21–40	12%	9%	14%	14%	9%	12%	13%	13%	13%	9%	13%	12%
41–60	8%	7%	9%	8%	8%	8%	10%	9%	5%	9%	9%	8%
61–80	28%	27%	30%	27%	28%	28%	17%	27%	26%	29%	30%	27%
81–100	40%	45%	34%	38%	43%	40%	40%	36%	43%	43%	36%	41%
Strongly (50+ net)	74%	77%	70%	71%	77%	74%	65%	69%	74%	79%	72%	74%
Not strongly (0–49 net)	26%	23%	30%	29%	23%	26%	35%	31%	26%	21%	28%	26%
Mean score	66.6	69.4	63.3	64.5	68.9	66.9	61.1	62.8	67.6	69.9	65.3	66.8

Table 40: P1AMP. How strongly do you identify with – ‘My country’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income			East/West divide*		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)	TOTAL	East (e)	West (w)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601	2,018	330	1,605
0–20	14%	13%	13%	12%	15%	13%	17%	15%	13%	12%	12%	16%	13%
21–40	14%	13%	16%	15%	14%	14%	13%	16%	14%	13%	12%	19%	13%
41–60	14%	12%	16%	15%	13%	14%	18%	13%	12%	15%	8%	14%	14%
61–80	25%	24%	26%	26%	23%	25%	14%	27%	25%	22%	28%	24%	25%
81–100	34%	38%	28%	32%	35%	34%	37%	30%	36%	37%	40%	28%	35%
Strongly (50+ net)	68%	69%	66%	68%	67%	68%	63%	64%	69%	70%	74%	60%	69%
Not strongly (0–49 net)	32%	31%	34%	32%	33%	32%	37%	36%	31%	30%	26%	40%	31%
Mean score	61.6	63.7	59.4	61.7	61.4	61.6	61.0	59.2	62.7	63.8	66.6	56.8	62.9

Table 41: P1AMP. How strongly do you identify with – ‘Europe’

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income			East/West divide*		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)	TOTAL	East (e)	West (w)
TOTAL	2018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601	2,018	330	1,605
0–20	12%	15%	9%	10%	15%	12%	13%	13%	14%	10%	12%	14%	12%
21–40	16%	17%	16%	16%	16%	16%	13%	15%	18%	15%	12%	19%	16%
41–60	14%	13%	16%	15%	13%	14%	11%	13%	13%	13%	8%	15%	14%
61–80	26%	24%	28%	27%	25%	26%	24%	27%	24%	29%	28%	26%	26%
81–100	31%	32%	30%	33%	30%	31%	39%	31%	32%	32%	40%	26%	33%
Strongly (50+ net)	66%	64%	69%	69%	64%	66%	71%	68%	64%	70%	74%	62%	67%
Not strongly (0–49 net)	34%	36%	31%	31%	36%	34%	29%	32%	36%	30%	26%	38%	33%
Mean score	60.7	59.1	61.9	62.6	58.5	60.4	64.7	60.7	59.9	62.9	66.6	57.0	61.4

*The combined total of respondents for the East/West categories do not include respondents from the Berlin area, due to using a particular geographical understanding of East Germany and West Germany.

Table 42: A15. How well do you think your education has prepared you for work?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income			East/West divide	
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)	East (e)	West (w)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601	330	1,605
Not at all well	3%	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%	2%	4%	4%	1%	4%	3%
Not well	17%	15%	18%	18%	15%	16%	22%	23%	14%	13%	17%	17%
Somewhat well	39%	37%	42%	39%	38%	39%	33%	40%	41%	34%	45%	37%
Very well	29%	31%	28%	27%	31%	29%	25%	22%	29%	37%	25%	30%
Extremely well	12%	14%	9%	12%	13%	12%	18%	12%	13%	14%	8%	13%
T2B (net)	41%	44%	37%	39%	44%	41%	43%	34%	42%	52%	34%	43%
B2B (net)	20%	19%	21%	22%	17%	19%	25%	26%	18%	14%	21%	20%
Mean score	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.4	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.3	3.5	3.2	3.3

Table 43: A16. How well do you think your education has prepared you for general life?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Not at all well	5%	6%	5%	6%	4%	5%	9%	8%	5%	3%
Not well	28%	27%	31%	31%	25%	28%	28%	31%	27%	26%
Somewhat well	36%	35%	38%	36%	36%	37%	31%	37%	36%	33%
Very well	22%	24%	19%	19%	26%	23%	21%	16%	24%	28%
Extremely well	8%	8%	6%	7%	8%	7%	11%	7%	8%	10%
T2B (net)	30%	32%	25%	26%	35%	30%	33%	23%	32%	37%
B2B (net)	34%	33%	37%	37%	29%	33%	37%	39%	32%	29%
Mean score	3.0	3.0	2.9	2.9	3.1	3.0	3.0	2.8	3.0	3.1

Table 44: A17. How satisfied are you in your current job role?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	1,058	490	497	349	709	1,003	55	142	427	414
Very dissatisfied	2%	3%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	4%	2%	2%
Dissatisfied	5%	6%	5%	5%	5%	5%	4%	6%	7%	4%
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied	24%	22%	28%	27%	23%	24%	25%	36%	23%	20%
Satisfied	51%	52%	50%	48%	52%	50%	56%	42%	51%	54%
Very satisfied	17%	18%	16%	18%	17%	18%	13%	13%	17%	20%
T2B (net)	68%	69%	66%	66%	69%	68%	69%	55%	67%	74%
B2B (net)	7%	9%	6%	7%	8%	8%	5%	9%	9%	6%
Mean score	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.8	3.8	3.8	3.7	3.6	3.7	3.9

Table 45: D2. What and/or who are the most important sources of influence for young people in Germany?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Public figures	41%	38%	45%	44%	38%	41%	52%	44%	41%	42%
Governing bodies	10%	12%	8%	10%	10%	10%	11%	8%	11%	12%
Celebrities	36%	37%	37%	38%	35%	36%	37%	35%	37%	36%
Peers	64%	61%	68%	67%	60%	63%	68%	70%	63%	59%
Family	70%	65%	75%	71%	69%	70%	71%	72%	72%	65%
Historical figures	8%	10%	5%	6%	9%	8%	10%	6%	9%	10%
Religious figures	9%	8%	9%	9%	9%	9%	15%	7%	10%	10%
Other (please specify)	2%	3%	2%	3%	1%	2%	2%	4%	1%	1%
None of the above	6%	6%	5%	4%	7%	6%	4%	5%	5%	5%

Table 46: D3. Which of the following countries do you think are most influential to you personally?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Poland	3%	3%	3%	4%	3%	3%	6%	4%	3%	3%
Austria	6%	9%	4%	6%	7%	6%	5%	4%	7%	8%
Italy	6%	7%	5%	5%	6%	5%	8%	5%	6%	6%
Japan	8%	10%	7%	8%	8%	8%	10%	8%	9%	6%
France	8%	9%	7%	8%	8%	8%	10%	8%	8%	8%
United Kingdom	13%	11%	15%	16%	9%	13%	13%	15%	13%	11%
China	7%	9%	5%	8%	6%	7%	9%	8%	7%	7%
Russia	10%	12%	8%	10%	9%	9%	19%	11%	10%	8%
United States	36%	40%	34%	40%	32%	37%	34%	37%	36%	38%
Spain	6%	5%	6%	5%	7%	6%	6%	5%	5%	7%
Switzerland	7%	8%	6%	6%	8%	7%	8%	5%	9%	8%
Denmark	4%	4%	4%	4%	5%	4%	1%	3%	4%	5%
Belgium	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%
Netherlands	6%	6%	6%	7%	6%	7%	5%	7%	7%	6%
Turkey	7%	7%	7%	8%	5%	6%	17%	5%	7%	9%
Australia	3%	4%	3%	3%	3%	3%	6%	3%	4%	3%
Canada	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%	5%	6%	6%	5%	5%
Brazil	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	1%	2%
India	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	2%	1%	1%	1%
South Africa	2%	2%	1%	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%
Other (please specify)	5%	6%	5%	6%	5%	5%	13%	7%	5%	5%
None of the above	31%	25%	37%	27%	35%	32%	16%	34%	28%	28%
Average number	1.4	1.6	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.4	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.4

Table 47: D4. Which of the below do you think are current challenges facing people your age in Germany today?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income			East/West divide	
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)	East (e)	West (w)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601	330	1605
Lack of access to sexual healthcare	7%	6%	6%	8%	5%	7%	10%	6%	7%	8%	7%	7%
Drug/alcohol abuse	42%	36%	46%	47%	36%	41%	53%	48%	43%	36%	49%	41%
Lack of employment opportunities	30%	27%	33%	29%	31%	29%	37%	34%	32%	24%	32%	30%
Societal pressure from peers/people your own age	37%	32%	41%	40%	33%	36%	42%	42%	37%	31%	43%	36%
Financial issues/debt (e.g. unaffordable education)	50%	43%	56%	49%	50%	49%	57%	58%	51%	41%	57%	49%
Violence	34%	31%	36%	32%	35%	34%	33%	33%	36%	32%	36%	34%
Domestic abuse	16%	13%	18%	16%	16%	16%	22%	19%	18%	14%	17%	16%
Financial security in the future	59%	54%	64%	58%	60%	59%	62%	61%	61%	54%	66%	58%
Affordable housing	64%	59%	70%	65%	64%	64%	66%	73%	65%	57%	68%	64%
Loss of national identity	21%	23%	20%	21%	21%	21%	29%	19%	23%	23%	22%	21%
Environmental issues	35%	37%	36%	36%	34%	35%	33%	39%	34%	35%	33%	36%
Societal pressure from the media (e.g. movies, TV, magazines)	40%	32%	49%	45%	35%	40%	47%	48%	37%	36%	42%	40%
Societal pressure from the older generation (e.g. parents, grandparents)	38%	32%	45%	45%	31%	38%	47%	44%	39%	32%	42%	38%
Mental health	50%	43%	58%	51%	48%	50%	54%	57%	50%	43%	55%	50%
None of the above	4%	5%	4%	3%	5%	4%	2%	4%	3%	4%	4%	4%
Average number	5.2	4.7	5.8	5.4	5.0	5.2	5.9	5.8	5.3	4.7	5.7	5.2

Table 48: D7. Which do you think are most important challenges facing people your age that need to be overcome in the future? (ranked 1st to 3rd summary)

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income			East/West divide	
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)	East (e)	West (w)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601	330	1,605
Lack of access to sexual healthcare	3%	3%	2%	4%	2%	3%	3%	2%	3%	4%	2%	3%
Drug/alcohol abuse	13%	13%	14%	16%	11%	13%	18%	13%	13%	15%	17%	13%
Lack of employment opportunities	14%	14%	15%	14%	15%	14%	20%	13%	16%	15%	12%	15%
Societal pressure from peers/people your own age	16%	15%	17%	17%	14%	15%	19%	16%	16%	14%	16%	16%
Financial issues/debt (e.g. unaffordable education)	28%	26%	30%	26%	30%	28%	29%	32%	30%	24%	31%	28%
Violence	13%	15%	11%	11%	16%	13%	13%	12%	14%	14%	14%	13%
Domestic abuse	6%	6%	5%	6%	6%	5%	9%	5%	6%	6%	4%	6%
Financial security in the future	42%	41%	43%	39%	46%	42%	40%	42%	43%	40%	46%	42%
Affordable housing	42%	39%	44%	40%	43%	42%	34%	45%	43%	37%	41%	42%
Loss of national identity	9%	12%	6%	6%	11%	9%	10%	5%	11%	12%	9%	9%
Environmental issues	18%	23%	15%	18%	19%	18%	14%	20%	16%	20%	13%	19%
Societal pressure from the media (e.g. movies, TV, magazines)	15%	12%	18%	18%	13%	16%	11%	17%	13%	15%	16%	15%
Societal pressure from the older generation (e.g. parents, grandparents)	15%	13%	18%	19%	11%	15%	17%	16%	15%	14%	15%	15%
Mental health	28%	24%	34%	30%	26%	28%	29%	32%	27%	25%	32%	28%

Table 49: E4a. Are you aware of Brexit?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Yes – I know what this is	75%	81%	71%	75%	75%	76%	63%	74%	73%	78%
Yes – I've heard of it, but I do not know what it is	16%	12%	19%	15%	16%	15%	23%	15%	18%	15%
No	9%	8%	10%	9%	9%	9%	13%	11%	9%	6%
Yes (net)	91%	92%	90%	91%	91%	91%	87%	89%	91%	94%

Table 50: E4. How much of an impact do you think that the UK's impending exit from the European Union (EU) will have on life in Germany?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
No impact at all	3%	4%	2%	3%	3%	3%	6%	3%	3%	2%
Not much impact	15%	20%	11%	13%	18%	15%	13%	19%	15%	13%
A slight impact	30%	29%	33%	31%	29%	30%	29%	31%	30%	27%
An impact	44%	40%	47%	45%	43%	44%	42%	39%	45%	47%
A big impact	8%	7%	7%	8%	7%	8%	10%	7%	6%	10%
T2B (net)	52%	48%	54%	53%	50%	52%	52%	46%	52%	57%
B2B (net)	18%	24%	13%	16%	21%	18%	19%	22%	18%	16%
Mean score	3.4	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.4	3.3	3.4	3.5

Table 51: E5. And do you think this impact will be...

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	1,958	830	995	1,035	923	1,839	119	506	634	586
Very negative	6%	6%	5%	6%	6%	6%	5%	6%	5%	7%
Somewhat negative	55%	52%	60%	59%	51%	56%	46%	58%	55%	52%
Neither negative nor positive	27%	27%	27%	25%	30%	27%	24%	28%	27%	24%
Somewhat positive	10%	13%	7%	9%	11%	9%	23%	8%	12%	13%
Very positive	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	1%	3%
T2B (net)	12%	15%	8%	11%	13%	11%	24%	9%	13%	16%
B2B (net)	61%	58%	65%	65%	57%	62%	51%	63%	60%	60%
Mean score	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.4	2.5	2.5

Table 52: E7. Now that the UK has decided to leave the EU, what is your opinion of the UK?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very negative	7%	10%	5%	6%	9%	8%	6%	8%	8%	8%
Somewhat negative	32%	35%	31%	34%	30%	32%	36%	35%	28%	33%
Neither negative nor positive	41%	33%	48%	43%	38%	41%	35%	42%	40%	36%
Somewhat positive	16%	17%	14%	14%	18%	16%	20%	13%	18%	18%
Very positive	4%	5%	3%	3%	5%	4%	4%	2%	5%	4%
T2B (net)	20%	22%	16%	17%	23%	20%	24%	15%	23%	23%
B2B (net)	39%	45%	36%	40%	39%	39%	41%	43%	36%	41%
Mean score	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.8	2.8

Table 53: G1. How engaged would you say you are personally with politics in general?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Very unengaged	8%	5%	11%	10%	7%	8%	7%	10%	8%	5%
Somewhat unengaged	22%	18%	27%	24%	21%	23%	18%	23%	21%	22%
Neither engaged nor unengaged	28%	24%	30%	29%	27%	28%	27%	26%	29%	28%
Somewhat engaged	33%	40%	28%	31%	35%	33%	41%	32%	34%	36%
Very engaged	8%	13%	4%	7%	10%	8%	6%	10%	8%	9%
T2B (net)	42%	53%	33%	38%	46%	41%	48%	41%	43%	45%
B2B (net)	31%	23%	37%	33%	27%	31%	25%	33%	29%	27%
Mean score	3.1	3.4	2.9	3.0	3.2	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.2

Table 54: G2. Which of the following political activities have you taken part in, in the last 12 months?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Voted in a federal election	40%	41%	41%	38%	42%	40%	38%	41%	41%	40%
Taken part in a protest	10%	12%	8%	10%	9%	10%	15%	11%	10%	10%
Had open discussions about politics with friends and family	48%	47%	52%	52%	44%	47%	58%	53%	48%	46%
Joined a political party	5%	7%	3%	4%	5%	5%	7%	4%	5%	7%
Watched and/or listened to a political TV and/or radio show or podcast	38%	42%	38%	38%	39%	38%	44%	44%	37%	39%
Had direct contact with an elected representative and/or their office	6%	7%	5%	6%	6%	6%	7%	6%	6%	7%
Voted in a local Landtag election	38%	39%	39%	38%	38%	38%	34%	40%	36%	41%
Stood for election	4%	4%	3%	4%	4%	4%	6%	2%	4%	6%
Actively campaigned for a political party	4%	5%	2%	4%	4%	4%	7%	4%	4%	5%
Signed a petition	26%	27%	26%	27%	25%	26%	25%	30%	25%	23%
Attended a conference/ panel discussion	6%	7%	4%	6%	6%	6%	9%	5%	6%	8%
Other (please specify)	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%
None of the above	16%	14%	17%	15%	17%	16%	16%	17%	16%	12%
Average number	2.2	2.4	2.2	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.3

Table 55: G4. How effective do you think the German political system is?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Not at all effective	7%	8%	6%	5%	9%	7%	10%	7%	8%	6%
Not very effective	28%	28%	28%	26%	30%	28%	28%	34%	27%	24%
Somewhat effective	34%	29%	39%	36%	31%	34%	33%	32%	34%	32%
Effective	29%	32%	25%	29%	28%	29%	28%	25%	28%	34%
Very effective	3%	4%	2%	3%	3%	3%	2%	2%	2%	4%
T2B (net)	31%	36%	27%	32%	31%	32%	29%	27%	31%	38%
B2B (net)	35%	35%	34%	32%	38%	35%	37%	41%	35%	30%
Mean score	2.9	3.0	2.9	3.0	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.9	3.1

Table 56: G5. What level of trust do you have in the German government?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
I have no trust in the German government	16%	16%	15%	13%	19%	16%	13%	16%	17%	13%
I do not have much trust in the German government	26%	26%	26%	25%	27%	25%	33%	29%	25%	22%
I have some trust in the German government	35%	32%	38%	37%	32%	35%	33%	35%	35%	35%
I have trust in the German government	19%	21%	18%	20%	19%	19%	18%	15%	20%	24%
I have a lot of trust in the German government	4%	6%	3%	5%	4%	5%	3%	5%	3%	6%
T2B (net)	24%	26%	21%	25%	22%	24%	21%	19%	23%	31%
B2B (net)	41%	41%	41%	37%	46%	41%	46%	46%	42%	35%
Mean score	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.9

Table 57: G5a. What level of faith do you have in current German political leadership?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
I have no faith in the current German political leadership	17%	17%	16%	14%	20%	17%	17%	18%	17%	14%
I do not have much faith in the current German political leadership	29%	29%	29%	29%	28%	29%	29%	33%	29%	26%
I have some faith in the current German political leadership	32%	28%	36%	34%	30%	32%	33%	33%	31%	31%
I have faith in the current German political leadership	17%	20%	15%	17%	18%	17%	16%	13%	18%	21%
I have a lot of faith in current German political leadership	5%	6%	4%	6%	4%	5%	5%	4%	4%	8%
T2B (net)	22%	26%	19%	23%	22%	22%	21%	17%	22%	29%
B2B (net)	46%	46%	45%	43%	48%	46%	46%	50%	46%	40%
Mean score	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.8

Table 58: G6. To what extent do you feel like German politics reflects what matters to you?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	2,018	866	1,013	1,068	950	1,892	126	524	656	601
Everything that matters to me is reflected in German politics	5%	6%	3%	5%	5%	5%	5%	3%	4%	8%
Most of what matters to me is reflected in German politics	22%	23%	21%	23%	21%	22%	23%	19%	21%	27%
Some of what matters to me is reflected in German politics	51%	48%	54%	54%	48%	51%	52%	54%	50%	46%
None of what matters to me is reflected in German politics	22%	23%	21%	19%	26%	22%	21%	24%	24%	18%
T2B (net)	27%	29%	24%	28%	26%	27%	28%	22%	26%	36%
B2B (net)	73%	71%	76%	72%	74%	73%	72%	78%	74%	64%
Mean score	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.3

Table 59: G7. Which of the below would encourage you to increase your engagement with German politics?

		Gender		Age		Nationality		Household income		
	TOTAL	Male (m)	Female (f)	18–24 (a)	25–30 (b)	Single (s)	Dual (d)	Lower (l)	Middle (m)	High (h)
TOTAL	1,850	754	968	997	853	1,732	118	474	601	547
If German politics reflected more of my personal views and opinions	45%	45%	46%	44%	46%	45%	42%	48%	45%	42%
If political information was more accessible	28%	30%	28%	30%	27%	28%	32%	30%	28%	28%
If it was easier to join political parties	10%	11%	9%	9%	11%	10%	8%	8%	12%	12%
If students were more actively encouraged to engage with politics in school	35%	34%	36%	40%	28%	34%	47%	36%	34%	35%
If it was made easier to understand	35%	29%	41%	38%	32%	35%	44%	36%	35%	36%
Other (please specify)	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	2%	1%	3%	1%	1%
None of the above – I do not want to increase my engagement with German politics	15%	15%	14%	12%	17%	15%	8%	13%	14%	14%
Average number	1.5	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.5

Table 60: G8. Which of the below political policies are important to you?

[illegible]



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