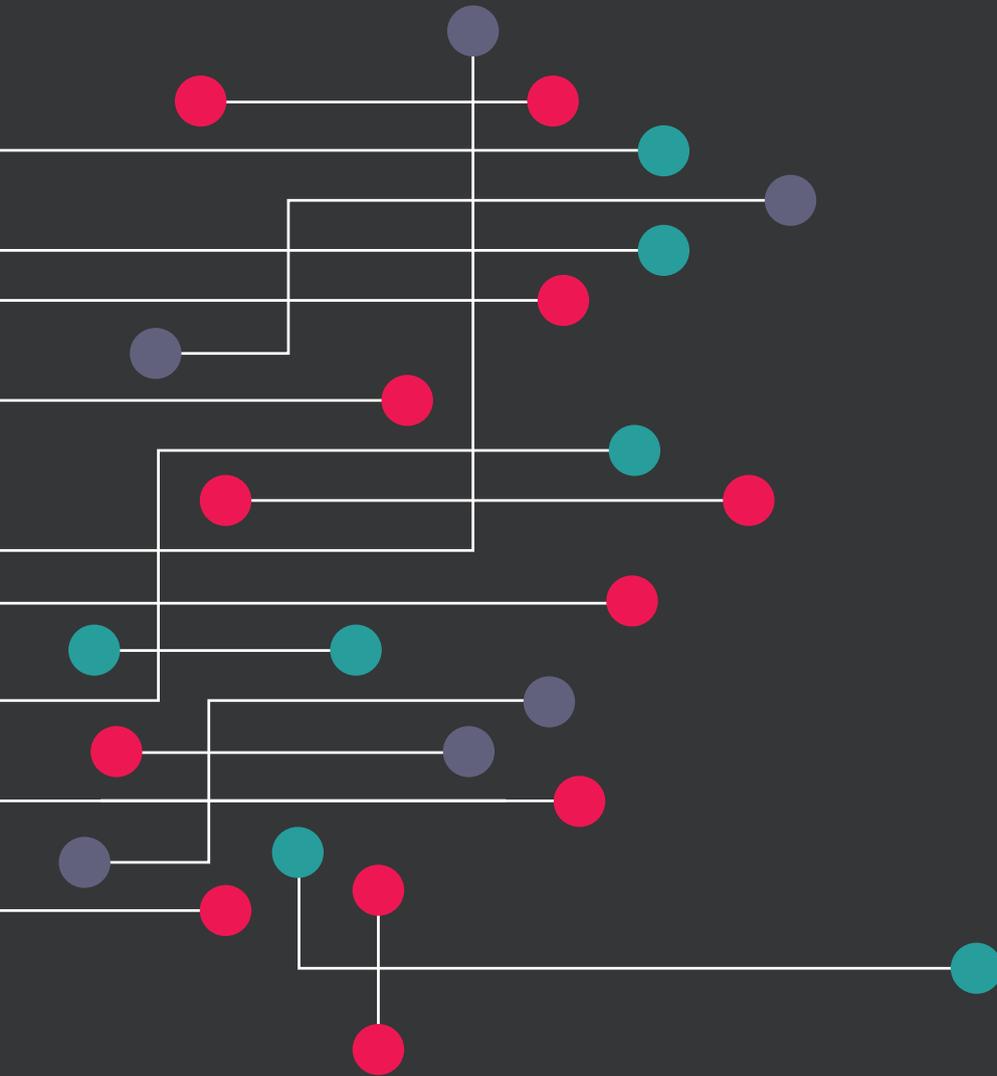


# THE MILLENNIAL DIALOGUE REPORT



FOUNDATION FOR EUROPEAN  
PROGRESSIVE STUDIES  
FONDATION EUROPÉENNE  
D'ÉTUDES PROGRESSISTES



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**THE MILLENNIAL DIALOGUE REPORT**  
*A Pilot Study*

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**GERMANY**

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**ITALY**

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**POLAND**

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**POLAND**

*“If Poland were to explode into revolution, we would soon have lots of ‘likes’ on Facebook but no real revolutionaries in the streets”*



**ITALY**

*“I have been without a job for three years now, and with it my dream to buy a house. I was living at home with my parents, and I shelved the idea of getting married and having children because even my partner is not working... At what age we will have children? NEVER! It will never happen... and right now, we are too busy looking for work in order to start a family. And the years pass...”*



**GERMANY**

*“The internet is gaining in popularity on mobile phones and recently even wristwatches, but unfortunately instead of being used to inform young people, we are playing with senseless apps like Dubsplash”*



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01

# OVERVIEW

*Starting with a brainstorming session at FEPS, in conjunction with Global Progress, a questionnaire was agreed which, in December 2014, was administered to 3,000 Millennials in three selected pilot territories, namely: Italy, Poland and Germany.*

The total sample comprised 1,000 15-34 years olds in each territory and the focus of the questions concerned attitudes and behaviours in relation to political engagement.

With the benefit of the initial survey analysis, 120 respondents (40 per territory) were recruited to take part in a week-long, online, qualitative insights forum. On the basis of the quantitative data, we were able to ensure that in each territory we had a balance of: (i) the politically engaged; (ii) the politically disengaged/disaffected; and (iii) the mainstream (who were neither particularly engaged nor disaffected).

It is the intention for the data to promote discussion amongst all interested parties and for commentaries to be submitted in response to the data, which will collectively begin to build a better understanding of the issues, and dynamics involved in attempting to better engage Millennials with political systems. It is also hoped that discussion around the data which

have emerged from this pilot phase of research will help to fine-tune the project as it extends into additional territories across Europe and North America.

The following paragraphs are intended as a simple summary of some of the key outtakes from the data:-

Overall, less than one-fifth (17%) of Millennials in the pilot study emerged as being currently engaged with politics (i.e. claiming to be "very interested"). In contrast, significantly more than half of the sample (56%) stated that, compared with their parents' and grandparents' generations, they and their peers were less interested in politics. It was of particular interest that in the qualitative discussions with both the Polish and German Millennials, there existed a pervading sense that their parents' and grandparents' generations had lived through an era of greater political significance – in Poland the demise of communism and in Germany the dismantling of the Berlin Wall.

Despite a level of concern as to the perceived threat of Russian aggression in Poland, German and Polish Millennials tended to feel that they lived at a time where it was less important to keep abreast of the political situation than was the case in recent history. In Italy, it was more of a sense of disillusionment with politicians and political systems, per se, which drove young people to feel less of a connection with politics than had been the case with their

immediate predecessors.

Across the sample, there was a definite shared sense that a major contributing factor to the lack of engagement between young people and politics stemmed from their reality that they consistently have more 'important' and/or more immediately rewarding things that they can do with their time. If they were not studying or trying to secure or maintain a good job, then they would spend more of their time with friends & family, keeping up multiple hobbies and interests or indulging in an ever-expanding range of online distractions.

Despite the apparently low levels of interest in politics, as measured amongst Millennials, when they were asked if they would vote tomorrow, the majority (72%) said that they would vote, given the opportunity. A general lack of trust in politicians was the key reason offered by those who claimed that they would not vote.

Just 11% of the sample stated that, on occasion, they sometimes took part in protests/demonstrations and, at 8%, an even smaller percentage reported occasionally taking part in political meetings.

In the qualitative discussions, one participant said that young people are now much happier to click on an online campaign or petition to offer their support to an issue but that they would rarely, if ever, actually do anything to help the cause in the real world.



## ITALY

In Italy, 5 Star Movement (at 31%) and Partito Democratico (at 29%) took the lion's share of the Millennial 'vote', as conducted within the present research study. It was 5 Star Movement that secured the highest ratings for all of the qualities which Italian Millennials deemed to be of most importance for a political party. They achieved particularly high scores for "honesty" (44%) and "a stance against corruption" (43%). In a further private voting session amongst the Italian qualitative community, there were several people who asserted that they would vote for 5 Star Movement, primarily because they were seen to be offering a break from the corruption and broken promises of the past.

The mood of those with concerns about 5 Star Movement was summed up by the comment that they would vote for a party like 5 Star Movement but with more concrete policies and a more serious leader.



## POLAND

In our Polish Millennial 'election', Civic Platform (40%); Congress of the New Right (21%) and Law and Justice (19%), collectively amassed 80% of all votes. The proportion voting for Congress of the New Right was all the more pronounced, given that the party remained unknown to almost one-third of Polish Millennials and their perceived overall popularity in Poland was relatively low.

Of key importance for the current study, Congress of the New Right was the party most likely to be thought of as having "an understanding of younger people" (32%). Many of those who claimed that they would vote for them stated that, in reality, they would only be selecting the "least worst" option, with none of the options really appealing to them strongly. It is worth noting that many of the Polish Millennials cast their vote on the basis of party leader rather than a particular affinity with any given political party.



## GERMANY

In the German Millennial 'election' CDU/CSU emerged as the top party with 30% of the vote. The second party was SPD with 22%. If one compares the results within the present study to recent opinion polls amongst all adults, it appears that young people in Germany are, compared to the total electorate, more likely to vote for the Greens and less likely to vote for Die Linke. In the qualitative insights community, several participants noted that CDU/CSU, SPD and the Greens were the parties rated most highly on the dimensions that they held to be most important, such as: "honesty", "trustworthiness" and the "ability to listen to others". CDU/CSU was the party most likely to be thought of as "good in a crisis". The Greens and the Pirate Party were deemed to be the top parties for "an understanding of younger people". Angela Merkel was rated very positively by young Germans, per se.

Overall, German Millennials reported being happy with their existing political system, as well as with its current leader. Politicians in Germany were considered to be delivering well across the board, from "ensuring equality of opportunities for all" (95%) through to "investing in technology" (88%) and "ensuring the well-being of the elderly" (91%).

In sharp contrast, Millennials in Italy and Poland, clearly felt hugely let down by politics and politicians. The only thing that Italian Millennials considered politics and politicians were delivering on was ironically the lowest ranked issue in terms of their own perceived list of priorities, i.e. "building and maintaining a strong military force". For all other measures, the firm consensus was that Italian politics and politicians were failing to deliver. This was particularly evident when it came to "ensuring the best possible future for young people" whereby there was a huge void between perceived priority and delivery.

In Poland, less than half of Millennials (45%) claimed that politics and politicians delivered on "ensuring the best possible future for young people" and just 42% felt that they were delivering on "improving and maintaining good medical care". The one thing that politics and politicians, in Poland, were generally considered to be delivering on was "forging closer ties with Europe" (85%).

*Looking forward, when asked what they would rather be in the future (Musician, Lawyer, Doctor, Academic etc.), the desire to be a Business Owner/Founder, came top of the overall Millennial wish-list, applying to over one-fifth of the total sample.*

This compared very sharply with the desire to be a Politician, which applied to just 4% of participants. Of the three territories studied so far, it was the Polish Millennials, followed by the Italians, who emerged as the most likely to state that they wanted to be a Business Owner/Founder. It is perhaps worthy of note that the lesser desire to be a Business Owner/Founder encountered in Germany, may be something of a reflection of Germany being (out of the three) the country with the least unemployment and the greatest perceived security when it came to a belief in attaining a good job.

Italian and Polish Millennials were the most likely to think that their national economic situation would have a very big affect on their future and quality of life. Whilst Millennials in Germany were also likely to think that the economy was going to be important, the factor that they were more concerned with was "the state of the environment". Millennials clearly think that "new developments in technology and connected devices" are going to have a major impact on their future and the quality of their lives.

In general, Millennials were far more likely to think that traditional media such as TV, radio and newspapers would be the likely sources of information and potential influence on their voting behavior, as opposed

to new media such as YouTube and social networks. However, this was very much a reflection of where they expect the debate to take place rather than an indication of the best way to engage with Millennials, per se. Politicians and political parties have historically focused on traditional, mainstream, media and, despite the significance and clear preference amongst Millennials for social media, their expectation remains that traditional media will continue to have more prominence.

When asked how politicians should engage with their generation, the overwhelming response amongst Millennials was that by far the best and most effective route would be to exploit social media to the full, both communicating with, and listening to, younger people via the internet, social media and social networks. In the German discussions, one of the suggestions that was particularly well supported was that politicians should communicate via social media themselves rather than employing others to do this on their behalf. Many young people stressed that the key to successful social media communication was to see it very much as a two-way process, listening and interacting with the people, as opposed to just broadcasting at them as if they were a passive audience.

# INTRODUCTION

*Many democracies around the world are today characterised by low or falling voter turnout and a decline in political party memberships.*

Most evident amongst the politically disaffected or politically disengaged across the democratic world are the 'Millennial' generation, often referred to as 'Generation Y' or 'Digital Natives'. Whilst there is no exact age parameter attached to the term 'Millennial', the most commonly agreed definition is those who reached young adulthood around or since the year 2000. This cohort was born into a world of digitisation, maturing alongside the growth and influence of social networks, social media and connected technology. Across the democratic world, this same generation has grown up facing hostile labour markets and domestic austerity measures. A widely voiced assumption is that these conditions have significantly added to, if not directly caused, the disengagement of the Millennial generation from established political systems.

The sense of disillusionment among Millennials, symbolised in part by the mass demonstrations in Europe of the 'outraged young' (the 'indignados') against youth unemployment and political corruption and the Occupy movement, against the excesses of capitalism, has created an environment where new 'outsider' political parties, promising a fresh style of citizen-centred democracy and populist 'common sense' solutions, have been

able to capture the imagination of the electorate and win support.

The aims of this pioneering, 'pilot' research project were to apply new 'connected research' technologies to the engagement and understanding of Millennials, across the democratic world, starting with three key territories, identified by the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) in conjunction with Global Progress, namely: Italy, Germany and Poland. Following the dissemination of findings reported here, it is the intention to replicate the methodology in a number of other European and North American territories both to provide insights at country level and to contribute to a greater collective understanding of the new, cognitively distinct, Millennial generation.

The survey employed an innovative methodology (detailed below) in order to engage with Millennials and to obtain deep initial insights into their attitudes towards politics and existing political systems. It also explored, in depth, the ways in which political parties, politicians and public officials could start to engage with this generation and, most importantly, build trust.

# METHODOLOGY

*Audiencenet Ltd. is a fully-accredited, full service consumer research agency, with a difference.*

Audiencenet possesses a highly proven track record of engaging with Millennials across a huge variety of topics. Most notably, Audiencenet conducts research in areas such as: music; entertainment and technology. Audiencenet also engages with young people to assist educators and government data services in developing tools of engagement with Millennials.

The unique Audiencenet method of research combines a solid understanding of quantitative sampling and statistical segmentation with qualitative engagement and insights. The starting point is to measure the attitudes and behaviours of a given target audience (in this case the 15-34 year old populations of Italy, Germany & Poland). Next, the audience or target group is segmented in accordance with the quantitative data, to determine specific subgroups (in this case: the 'politically engaged'; the 'politically disengaged or disaffected' and the 'mainstream' i.e. all others). Having, in this way, identified the size and structure of key sub-groups in the wider population, Audiencenet builds bespoke, interactive, online communities populated by representatives of each sub-group, in each territory. These communities are then moderated, 24/7, for an agreed period by qualified, qualitative, researchers and are

simultaneously translated in real-time by native speaking translators, all of whom are themselves from the Millennial generation. With offices in the UK (London) and Australia (Melbourne), Audiencenet is able to run its qualitative insights communities on a genuine 24/7 basis, such that respondents can contribute to the requisite research tasks and discussion topics at anytime that suits them, day or night, and will be guaranteed to gain a response.

The key to engagement is that Audiencenet research is conducted with the use of state-of-the-art online technology. Particularly in keeping with the lifestyles of the Millennial generation, respondents can participate via any combination of connected devices including: smart phones; tablets; laptops; PCs etc. When one respondent comments on another participant's contribution, the originator receives a notification across their devices, with the ability to immediately click through to that point in the discussion and continue the conversation. The ease of interaction, accompanied by continuous input from the moderators makes for extremely rich engagement and qualitative insight 24/7.

04

# RESEARCH DESIGN

*The design of the pilot study for the Millennial dialogue project involved three distinct stages, as follows:*

## 01 INITIAL BRAINSTORMING PHASE

*Initial Brainstorming Session at FEPS in conjunction with Global Progress: To kick off the project an initial brainstorming session was held at FEPS, co-ordinated by David Kitching and attended by the following:*

**Luis Arroyo**  
President, Asesores de Comunicación Publica

**Frederik Beck**  
Spokesperson in the Office of the Secretary General, German Social Democratic Party (SPD)

**Matt Browne**  
Senior Fellow, Center for American Progress

**Rocio Cervera Crespo**  
Project Manager, International Union of Socialist Youth

**Ben Fowler**  
Research Director, Audiencenet

**Bruno Jeanbart**  
Deputy Managing Director, Opinion-way. Board member, Terra Nova

**Merja Jutila**  
Project Researcher, Kalevi Sorsa Foundation

**David Kitching**  
Policy Advisor, Foundation for European Progressive Studies

**David Lewis**  
Founder and CEO, Audiencenet

**Thomas Maes**  
Secretary General, Young European Socialists

**Marcus Roberts**  
Deputy Secretary General, Fabian Society

**Christophe Sente**  
Lecturer, Université Libre de Bruxelles

**Ernst Stetter**  
Secretary General, Foundation for European Progressive Studies

The outcome of the brainstorming session saw Italy, Germany & Poland as the countries selected for the pilot study and a long list of question areas and potential topics for inclusion within the study.

Immediately following the brainstorming session, Audiencenet's Ben Fowler and David Lewis drew up a set of questions aimed at Millennials of all ability levels and circulated them to the original members of the brainstorming session for review, amends and final approval.

## 02 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH PHASE

During the week of 1st December 2014, Audiencenet administered the Millennial Dialogue questionnaire to 3,000 Millennials, in accordance with the following structure:



In all three countries, quotas were set to ensure that the respondents were statistically and demographically representative of all 15-34 year olds in terms of: age; geographical region; household income and educational attainment levels.

All respondents were incentivised to take part in the research ensuring an equal motivation to complete the survey from young people of all backgrounds and interests. In order not to skew the results to those with a particular interest in politics, the survey was introduced as a general exploration of the lives and interests of young people, as opposed to being concerned with 'politics', per se.

## 03 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH PHASE

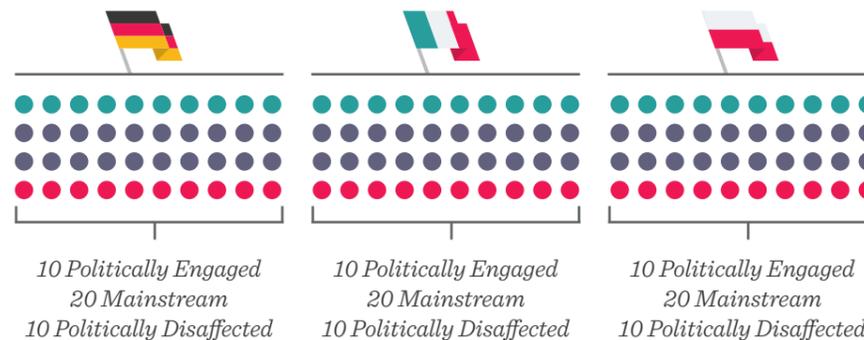
With the benefit of the quantitative data collected via Phase 2 (above), the respondents, within each country, were segmented into the following key groups:

**The Politically Engaged**  
(those who were very interested in politics)

**The Mainstream**  
(those who were neither very interested nor totally disinterested in politics)

**The Politically Disaffected**  
(those who were totally disinterested in politics).

For the purpose of deriving in-depth qualitative insights, 120 respondents who had taken part in Phase 2 (above) were selected and recruited into bespoke, online, insights communities. Each community comprised of 40 respondents, with the following structure:



Throughout the full week of 15-19th December 2014, Audiencenet's team of qualitative researchers worked directly alongside native Millennial Italian, German & Polish translators to moderate in-depth discussion with the Millennial representatives in each country.

## KEY FINDINGS & AVAILABLE SUMMARIES

The report that follows pulls together the key findings of the pilot Millennial Dialogue project and provides an overview of the Millennial perspective, across Italy, Germany and Poland.

Other documents available from FEPS and Global Progress include:

**THE MILLENNIAL DIALOGUE**

**GERMANY Summary**

**ITALY Summary**

**POLAND Summary**

Each of these documents summarises the core findings from the research for that country.

The full data tables are also available.

05

# MILLENNIALS TODAY

## ARE THEY HAPPY?

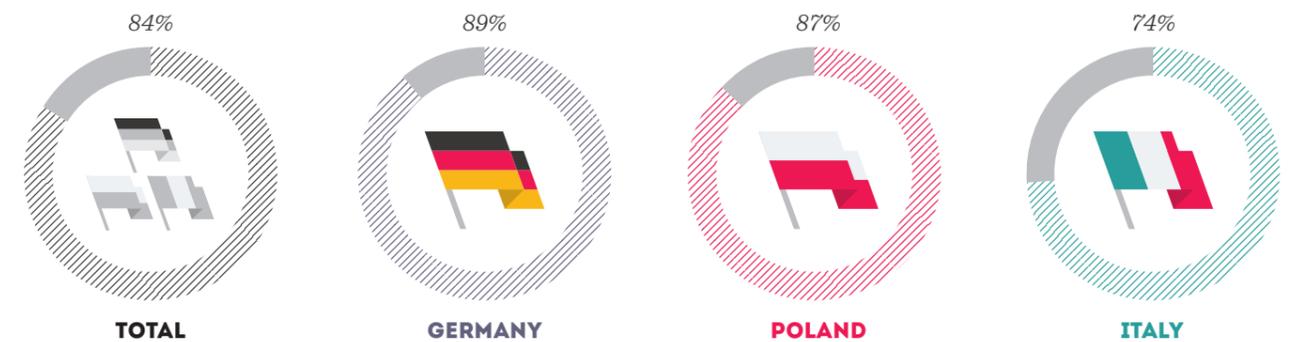
*Despite the well-documented challenges facing Millennials today (unemployment, austerity, housing etc.), the majority of young people are, taking all things into consideration, happy.*

Overall, 17% reported being “very happy” with their life right now, 68% were “fairly happy”, 14% were “fairly unhappy” and just 2% were “very unhappy”.

Of the countries so far surveyed, German Millennials were the most likely to be happy with their life right now with 89% saying they are “fairly happy” or “very happy”, compared to 87% in Poland and 74% in Italy (see Fig 1).

The trend today for many young people to continue living with their parents into their late twenties/early thirties appears to be having something of a negative impact on happiness levels. Whilst 90% of those living with a partner and 93% of those living with their friends reported being happy, this number declined to 77% amongst those Millennials still living at home.

**FIGURE 1:** Taking all things into consideration, how happy are you with your life right now?



## MEDIA CONSUMPTION

When we asked the participants in the qualitative community to detail their typical media consumption, it quickly became apparent that the internet and social media are by far their preferred means of consumption.

While many Millennials said that they do consume traditional media such as newspapers, radio and TV, it was clear

that they welcome the general shift away from 'broadcaster to audience' media and towards a more social and interactive media environment. The mobile phone is clearly very central to Millennials' lives and was by far the device mentioned most frequently in the media discussions.

A further consistent insight that came out of the media discussions was that, compared with online media, TV, radio and newspapers were perceived as being more prone to bias.

*My favourite media is, of course, the internet, including social media such as Facebook and blogs. The internet allows me to immediately access unlimited information. TV, radio and newspapers select information and publish them in a way they like... these media create their own commentary around every piece of news, which very often distorts the information. I don't like it when someone tells me what I should think about something.*

### POLAND

*"I mostly use the internet. Then the newspaper follows (but only because my parents have subscribed) and sometimes I watch television... after work, I watch video on demand and/or surf the internet... young people now prefer Youtube instead of watching TV... likewise, newspapers, radio and print magazines are very few and far between in my daily life. Once in a while I play games on the PC or Xbox360."*

### GERMANY

*"I mainly use websites and social media through my smartphone, since it is quicker and most of the communication happens there nowadays."*

### ITALY

## KEY INFLUENCES

Prior to conducting the research, we hypothesised that, with connected devices and social media playing such a big part in the lives of Millennials, they may well be more likely to be influenced by their friends and immediate peers than by their parents.

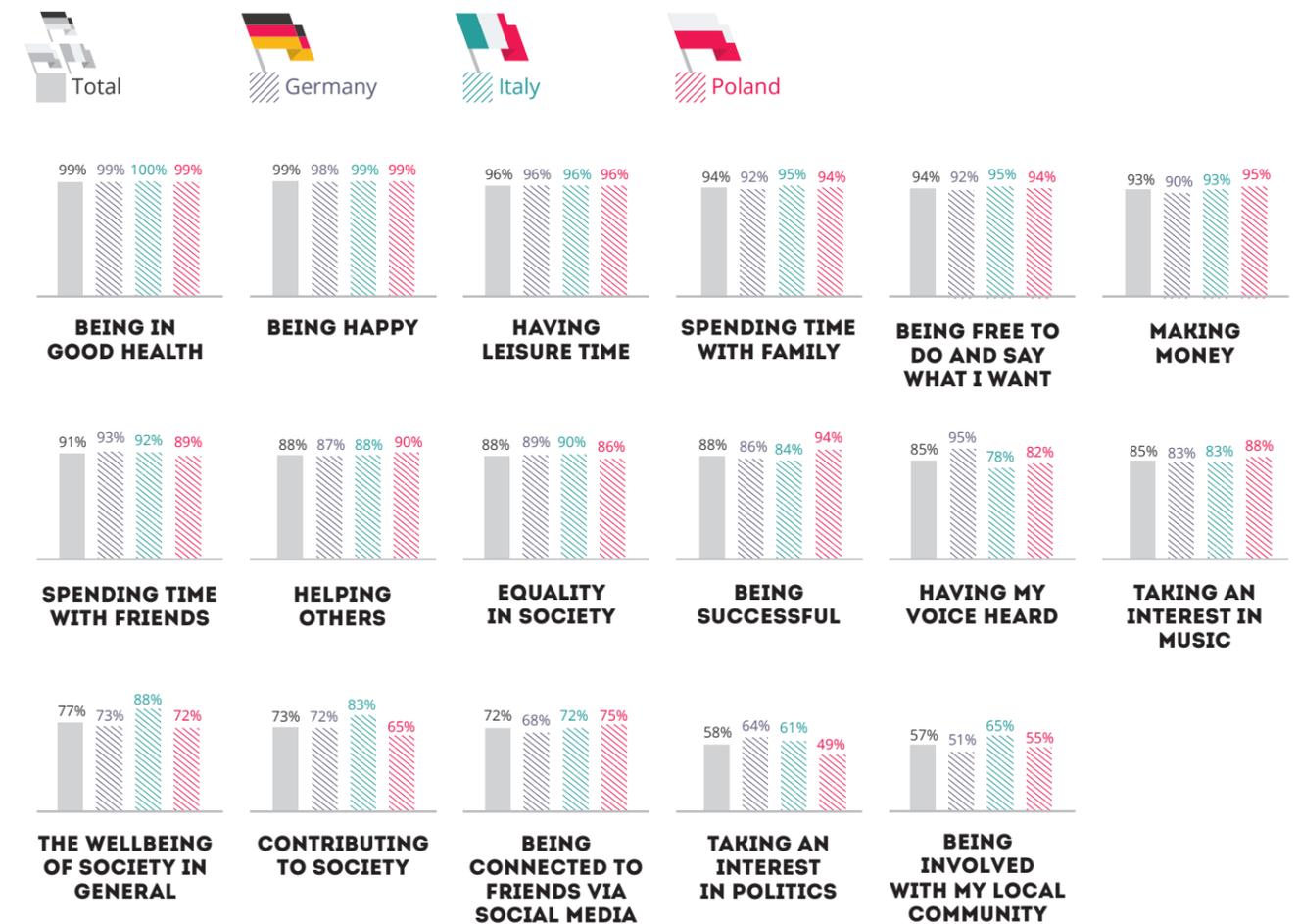
The data (shown here in Fig 2), however, disputes that hypothesis, revealing that overall two thirds of Millennials rank their parents as the number one source of influence in their day-to-day lives, with friends a distant second at 21%. Looking at the individual country data, parents were especially likely to be the number one influence in Italy (73%), compared with 61% in Germany and 63% in Poland.

**FIGURE 2:** Please rank order the following in terms of how much you feel they influence choices and decisions you make in your day-to-day life, starting with the most influential at the top of your list and ending with the least influential at the bottom of your list. (Top rank % shown here).



## WHAT DO MILLENNIALS THINK IS IMPORTANT?

**FIGURE 3:** How important to you personally are each of the following? (net: "very important" or "fairly important")



When the Millennials were asked what was important to them, they gave a clear indication that they consider many other aspects of life to be more important than politics (see Fig 3). "Being in good health" and "being happy" (both 99%) were the top two things most likely to be seen as "very important" or "fairly important", while "taking an interest in politics" was down towards the bottom of the list at 58% (19% said "very important", 39% said "fairly important").

One explanation for this could be that Millennials simply don't have or make sufficient time for politics, since they are too busy focussing on other

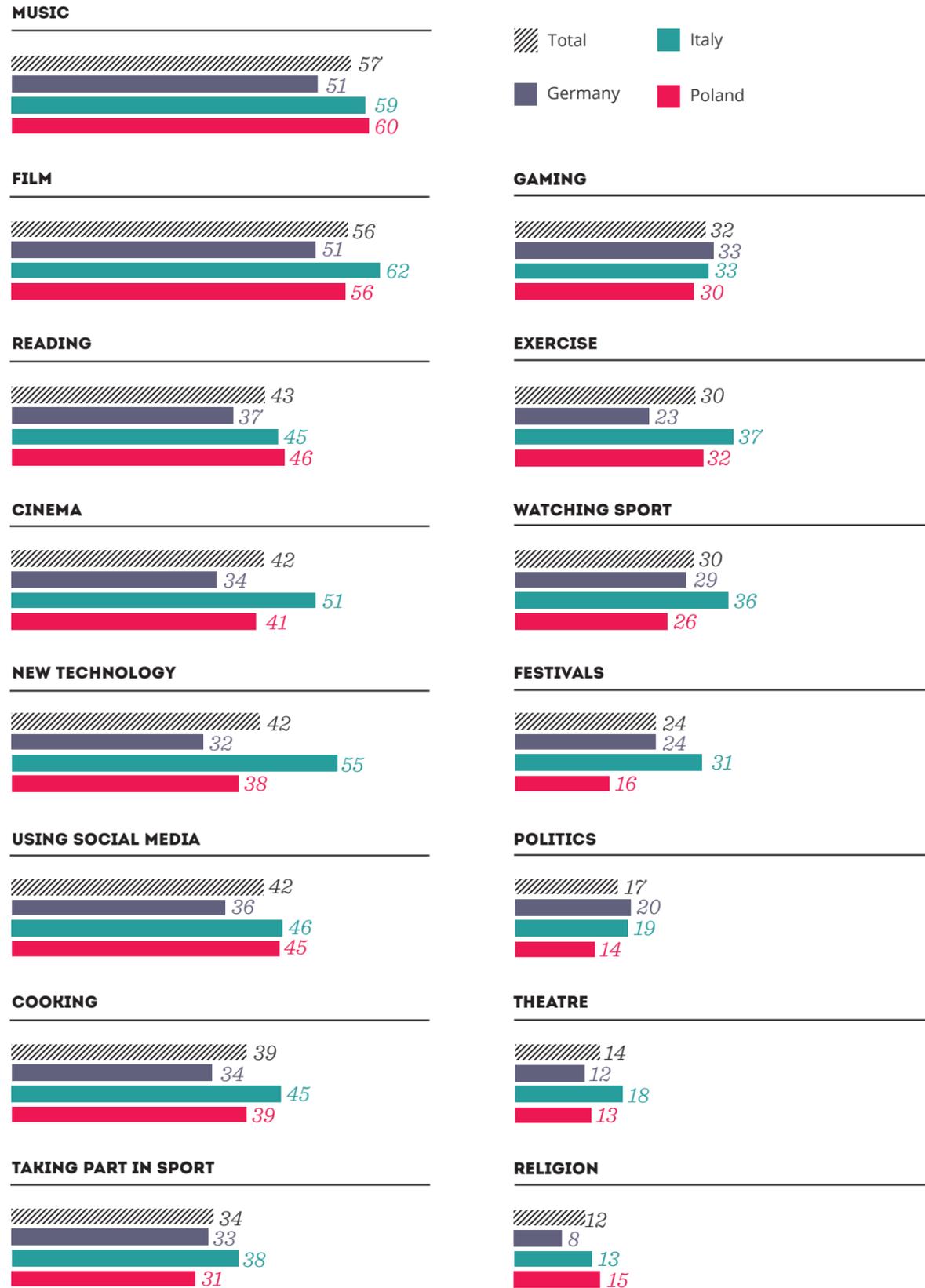
things which they hold as being more important: "Having leisure time": 96%; Making their way in the world; "Making money": 93%; "Being successful": 88%; "Taking an interest in music" 85%; "Being connected to friends via social media": 72%.

Looking at the differences by country in Fig 3, it would appear that the word "society" (società) resonated particularly well in Italy. 88% of Italian Millennials rated "the well being of society in general" as being important, compared to 73% in Germany and 72% in Poland. Italian Millennials were also more likely to think that "contributing to society" is important.

German Millennials were slightly more likely to value "Having my voice heard". Young people in Poland were more likely to say that "Being successful" is important.

This lack of interest in politics was confirmed when, during the quantitative phase of the research, we asked the Millennials how interested they were in a list of various hobbies and interests. Just 17% said they were "very interested" in politics (see Fig 4).

FIGURE 4: How interested are you in each of the following? (“Very Interested” %)



At the outset of the qualitative online community discussions, the participants were asked to introduce themselves and to say what they were particularly interested in and what they found important in life. Of the 120 participants (30 of whom had been selected on the basis of being “very interested

in politics”), just one person mentioned, unprompted, that they had an interest in politics. Millennials have a wide range of hobbies and interests. If politics is on their list of priorities in life, it is generally towards the bottom of the list.

*“Currently looking for a job and I live with my family, I love listening to different types of music, particularly pop music. I really like technology and finding out about all the latest innovations.”*

**ITALY**

*“I’m 21 years old, studying English and psychology. I’ve got many interests including music (singing, playing the guitar), art, movies, travel, photography, style (Scandinavian interiors).”*

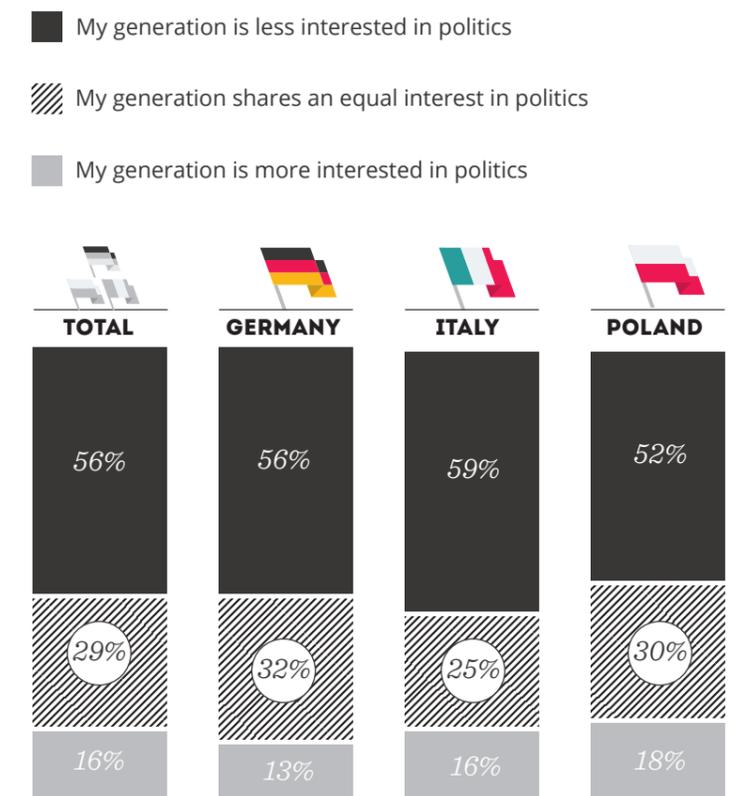
**POLAND**

*“I’m 16 and my hobbies are football, scuba diving, trumpets, and in winter of course skiing. I am a student in the 11th grade and interested in everything that has to do with the aerospace industry. My major courses are maths, physics and geography.”*

**GERMANY**

When asked how their personal interest in politics compared to that of their parents’ and grandparents’ generations, the consensus amongst Millennials was that their parents’ generation was more interested in politics.

FIGURE 5: Compared to your parents’ and grandparents’ generation, to what extent do you think people of your age are interested in politics?



As Fig 5 shows, 56% stated that their own generation was less interested in politics, compared with 16% who said that their own generation was more interested in politics.

We explored this topic in more detail in the qualitative community phase, where we asked the participants to imagine that they could observe their parents’ / aunts’ / uncles’ generation when they were younger and discuss whether they thought that, compared with themselves and their friends, younger people then were more, less or equally interested in politics.

Mirroring the quantitative data, the majority of participants in the qualitative communities thought that their parents’ generation were more interested in politics. When pressed as to why this might have been the case, there were a few ideas that ran across the sample.

# INTEREST IN POLITICS

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## GERMANY

One theme that emerged consistently in discussion with Millennials in all three countries, but which was particularly common in the German community, was the influence of developments in media and technology. Many of the young Germans reasoned that today's vast choice of online distractions (Facebook, online games, apps etc) simply does not leave them with any time for politics. It was also suggested that before the internet age, newspapers and TV were more important (even 'special'), more focused on political issues and, compared to today's more superficial media, they investigated the key issues of the day in greater depth. The sheer importance of politics leading up to the collapse of the Berlin Wall was also mentioned as a reason why the previous generation of Germans had been more interested and involved in politics.

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*"The political interest of our parents was definitely bigger. At that time, there was significantly less distraction caused by media, who today don't explore the current issues or debates in depth - everything remains on the surface. The internet is gaining in popularity on mobile phones and recently even wristwatches, but unfortunately instead of being used to inform young people, we are playing with senseless apps like 'Dubsmash' or similar nonsense so you should not be surprised if the interest and background knowledge about politics disappears or is at least diluted."*

---

*"I can well imagine that in the evening they all watched television together and listened to the top politicians. There was much discussion about the government... today news and politics are not taken seriously as today other media is considered more important: smartphones, Playstation, social networks... it's sad but true. Young people are only concerned with themselves and the technology."*

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*"I think that young people were more interested in politics 20 to 30 years ago, because I think particularly when the Wall divided Germany still many wanted to change things."*

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*"Back then there was less media to consume, the television was something special and the newspapers were more focused on political issues... nowadays, everyone is so busy with all sorts of distractions that modern life offers us that less time remains for the political process."*

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## ITALY

In the Italian discussions the consensus was that voting made more of a difference 20-30 years ago and that nowadays it doesn't matter who is in power as nothing ever really changes. There was also a strong feeling voiced by the Italian community that current politicians are simply concerned with helping themselves and staying in power, rather than thinking about the genuine needs of the people. A few Italian Millennials also made the point that the rise of social media meant that it was now easier to hold politicians to account and share unbiased news stories.

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*"Before you had the feeling of being able to really change things, but now the situation for the people never changes, so why bother voting?"*

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*"It is certain that my parents, uncles etc, when they were young were more interested in politics because politicians of 20-30 years ago were deserving of respect. At that time you also had the impression that interest in politics meant to really change the country but now the impression is that of not being able to make a difference because our government wants to keep power and this discourages the young to approach politics."*

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*"20-30 years ago, young people were more interested in politics primarily because they felt they really can change things. Because, let's face it, people today are tired of having to hear every day the usual stories: "more sacrifices for Italians, more taxes, increases, petrol, gas. For years we make sacrifices, things never change."*

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*"Definitely a generation ago they were much more interested in politics, as they had thirty years less corruption, games and impropriety. At least without the continuous presence of the media the flaws were less evident. The political parties still had ideals and ideas, we are now running out into indifference and utter monotony."*

---

*"It's easier to think about fashion, entertainment or football rather than politics. It's too tiring to think that politics can influence our future."*

---



## POLAND

In Poland, several participants said that when their parents were young, society had bigger problems/issues to deal with, such as martial law and the end of communism. It was naturally more important for their parents to be interested in politics: there was more at stake. One Polish Millennial implied that younger people today are more selfish, more interested with their own lives and less concerned with the issues of their country. Another participant hinted at the rise of 'clicktivism' where people are now happy to click on an online campaign or petition but they won't actually do anything to help the cause in the real world.

---

*"Interest in politics was higher 20-30 years ago because of communism, state of war, riot police, less freedom of expression. A lot of young people were interested in politics then and created illegal political organisations."*

---

*"Of course, they were more interested. Then the goal was to overthrow communism and create a willingness to change."*

---

*"Our generation can talk on the internet a lot, but when it comes down to it, we don't have any courage in the real world. If Poland were to explode into revolution, we would soon have lots of 'likes' on Facebook but no real revolutionaries in the streets."*

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*"In my opinion, people 20-30 years ago were more interested in politics, these days everyone thinks only of himself and spends little time talking about politics."*

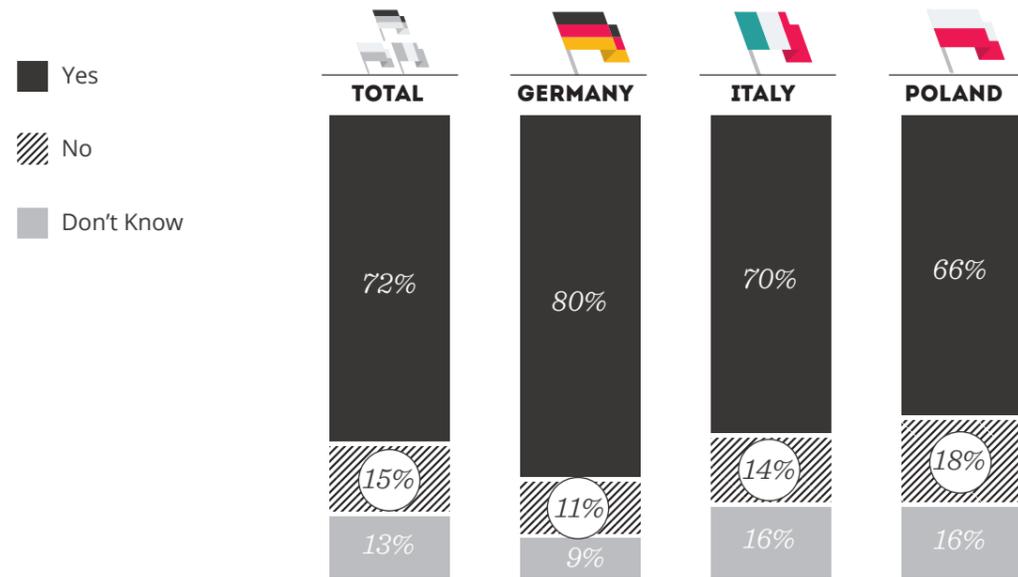
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*"I think that my parent's generation was more interested in politics than my generation. Today, everyone is in a hurry, and everyone thinks that "my vote does not count"."*

---

# POLITICAL ENGAGEMENT

**FIGURE 6:** *If there was an election tomorrow would you vote?*



Despite fairly low interest levels in politics, when the Millennials were asked if they would vote tomorrow, the majority (72% overall) said 'yes' they would vote (NB. those too young to vote were asked "If there was an election tomorrow that included your age group, would you vote?"). The German Millennials were especially likely to say they would vote: 80% selected 'yes', compared to 70% in Italy and 66% in Poland.

Everyone who stated that they would vote was subsequently asked why – what encouraged them to want to vote? In the German discussions and, to a slightly lesser extent, in the Italian discussions as well, they were largely positive and spoke about people power and shaping the future. The young Polish voters were generally the most passionate in giving their reasons for voting, with a few voices even calling for mandatory voting.

*"If there was an election tomorrow absolutely I would vote... if you do not vote, do not share your opinion then you definitely can't complain if things don't go well."*

*"Despite my disappointment I will never stop exercising my right to vote because I believe that the vote is the only tool that allows the people to choose their own rulers."*

## ITALY

*"Of course, I'd go to vote, because you need to vote in order to change, and change is needed."*

*"Of course I would vote - it's the duty of every citizen. It should be mandatory voting under penalty of some sort of fine from the state."*

*"Of course I'd go vote. The history of our country shows that it is our great privilege for which our forefathers shed their blood. Millions of people have died for this day so that I could go to the ballot box. I think that every person that fails to use this privilege is a disgrace to the fallen."*

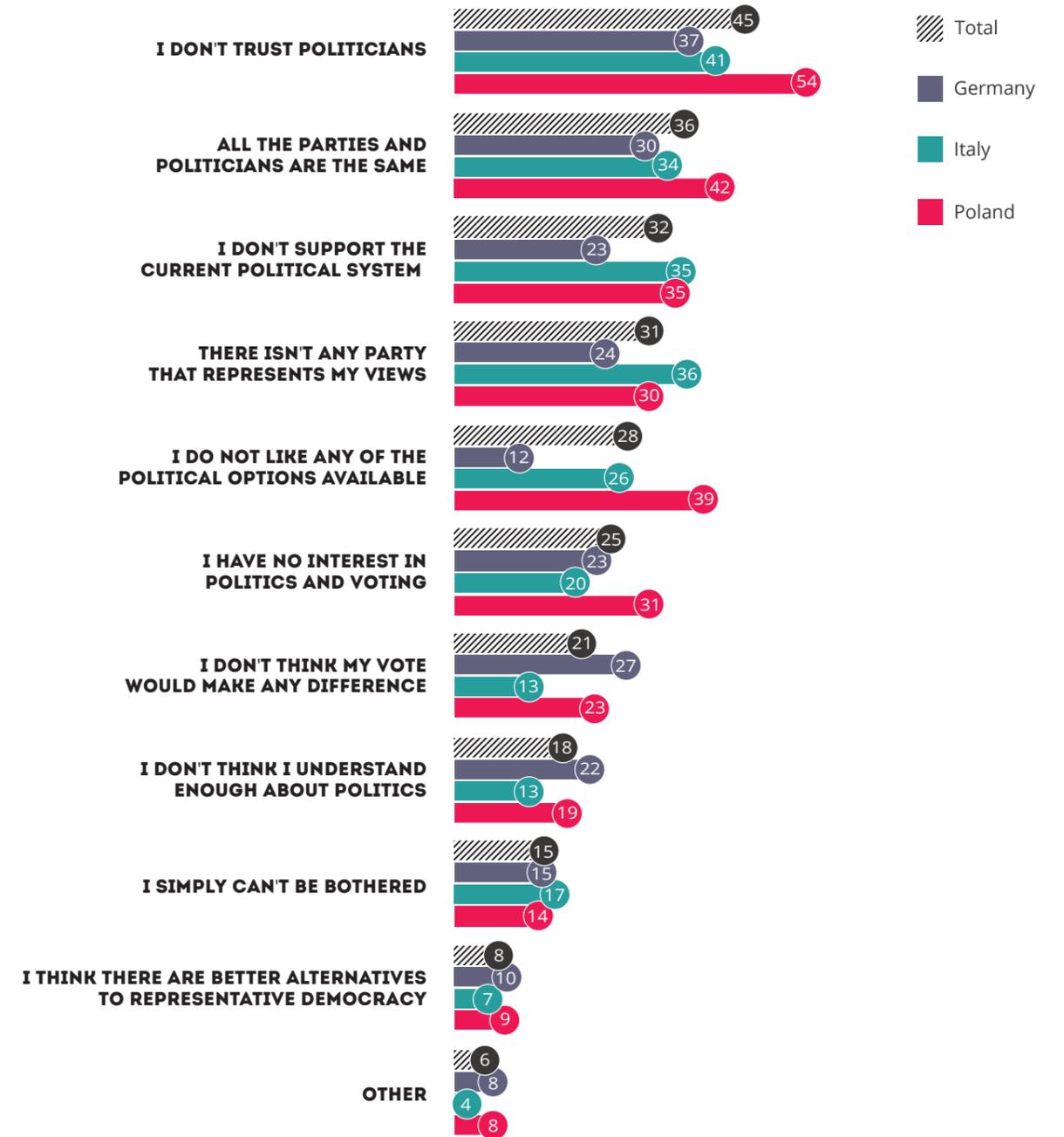
## POLAND

*"I would go to vote in any case, since democracy does not work otherwise. Each voice has meaning, and only with this way of thinking does the power stay with the people."*

*"Of course I would go to the polls, this is ultimately one of the ways to shape the future."*

## GERMANY

**FIGURE 7:** *(Asked of the 15% of Millennials who said that they would not vote) Why not?*



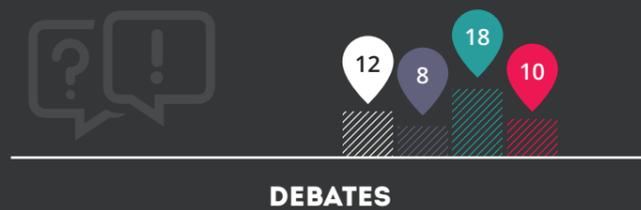
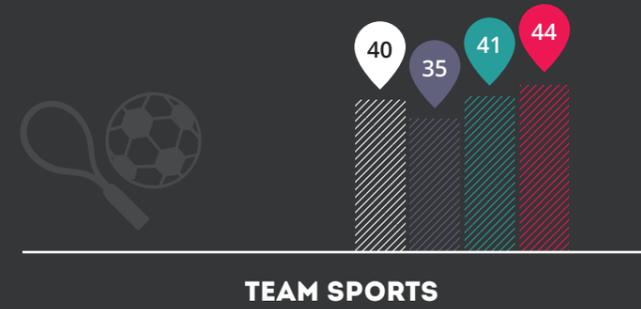
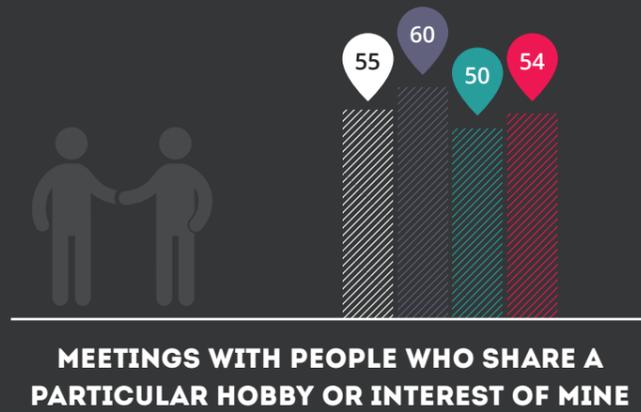
A lack of trust ("I don't trust politicians") emerged as the top reason for not wanting to vote, applying to 45% of the sample overall (and 54% in Poland). The Polish Millennials were also more likely to claim that "all the parties and politicians are the same" (42%) and "I do not like any of the political options available" (39%). Compared with the total,

the Italian Millennials were slightly more likely to agree with the statement that "there isn't any party that represents my views" (36%). Young non-voters in Germany were slightly more likely to select "I don't think my vote would make any difference" (27%).

# TAKING PART

**FIGURE 8:** Which if any of the following do you sometimes take part in?

Meetings with people who share a hobby or interest (55%) and team sports (40%) were the top activities in which the Millennials sampled participated. At the opposite end of the table, just 11% said they sometimes took part in protests/demonstrations and just 8% said that they took part in political meetings. The likelihood to take part in protests/demonstrations or political meetings was slightly higher in Italy at 14% and 10% respectively.

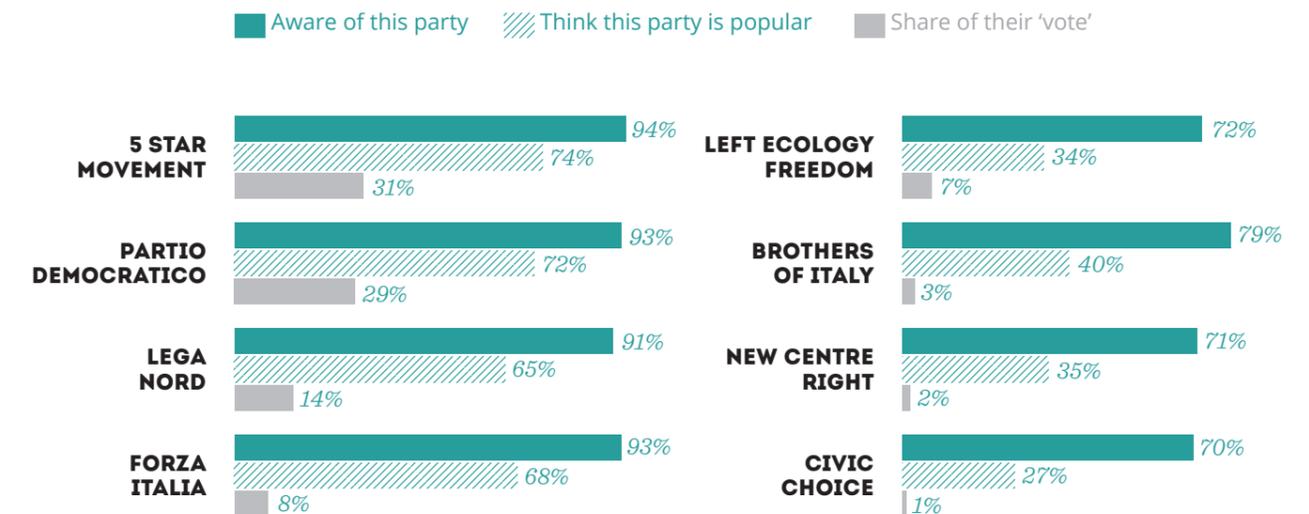


- Total %
- Germany %
- Italy %
- Poland %

# POLITICS IN ITALY



**FIGURE 9:** Political Parties: Awareness, Perceived Popularity & The Vote



Looking just at the awareness and popularity levels, it would appear that Italian Millennials see the political parties in two tiers with 5 Star Movement, Partito Democratico, Lega Nord and Forza Italia in the top tier (91%+ awareness levels and 65%+ popularity levels) and Left Ecology Freedom, Brothers of Italy, New Centre Right and Civic Choice in the bottom tier with relatively low awareness and popularity levels.

5 Star Movement and Partito Democratico took the lion's share of the 'vote' with 31% and 29% respectively. When you compare these results to recent national polls of all age groups it's clear that Millennials in Italy are more likely to vote for 5 Star Movement. Considering its low

awareness and popularity level, the Left Ecology Freedom party performed relatively well in this 'Millennial election', picking up 7% of the votes.

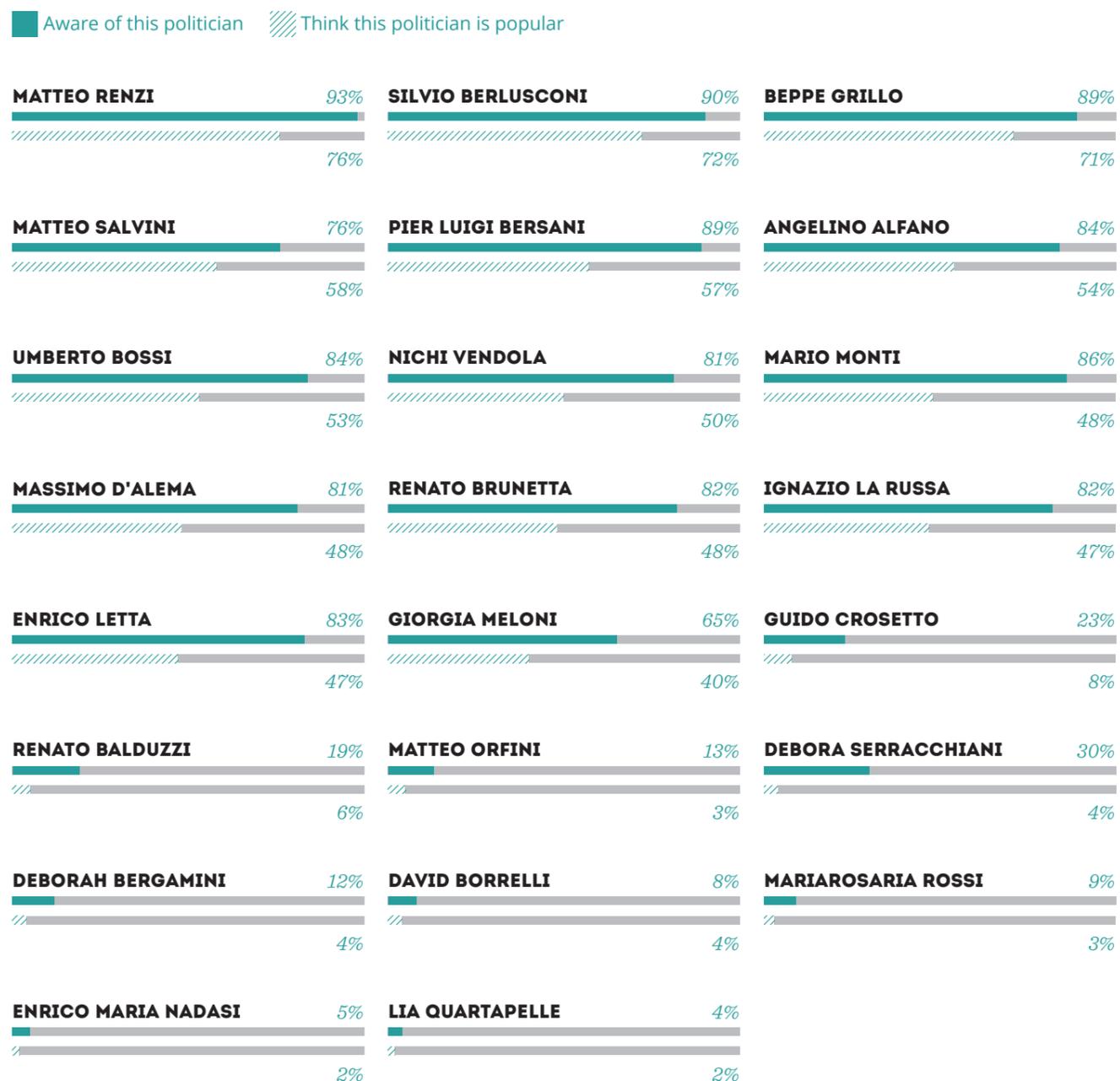
In a private voting section of the qualitative communities, there were several people who explained why they would vote for Five Star Movement – primarily because they are seen to be offering a break from the corruption and broken promises of the past. One participant captured the mood of those with concerns about Five Star Movement when they said they would vote for a party like Five Star Movement but with more concrete policies and a more serious leader.

*"I would vote for Five Star Movement because it's represented mainly by young people who have something to say, young people tired of an Italy that is falling apart, young people who are able to take the situation in hand. They seem like a party in which there is clarity and transparency."*

*"If there were elections tomorrow would vote the Democratic Party because I have a lot of confidence in the current leader, and I hope they will change the country."*

*"I would vote a party with some elements very similar to the party of the Five Star Movement, but that it is more serious, more rigorous, with a more precise identity and more concrete ideas, without a VIP with a past as a comedian at the head of the party, and able to give a good impression to all Italians and able to instil confidence and trust."*

**FIGURE 10: Politicians: Awareness & Perceived Popularity**



Of the 23 politicians listed in the question, 12 of them had an awareness level amongst Italian Millennials of over 80%. In terms of perceived popularity (who they think is generally popular in Italy), Matteo Renzi, Silvio Berlusconi and Beppe Grillo were the top three politicians. Matteo Salvini achieved quite a high popularity rating (58%) despite having a relatively low awareness level (76%).

As trust was considered to be such an important quality we asked the participants in the Italian online community which parties or politicians in Italy they found particularly trustworthy / untrustworthy. Approximately, half of the respondents said that they did not trust any of them – primarily because they are perceived as being corrupt. The Democratic Party and Renzi were often cited

as untrustworthy because, it was argued, they had failed to keep their pre-election promises. Opinion was split about Five Star Movement but the consensus was broadly one of cautious optimism.

*“Until a few months ago, I saw some possibility of recovery with the Democratic Party and Renzi, but the way he became Prime Minister, with his attitude so similar to the past premiers, disappointed me greatly. I will not even consider Forza Italia, due to the high number of members under investigation. Five Star Movement acted only as an outlet for the general malaise, but their programme is unrealisable and vague.”*

*“They are all the same, maybe a subtle difference can be detected in the Five Star Movement, since it is constituted by new faces not connected to political interests and networks.”*

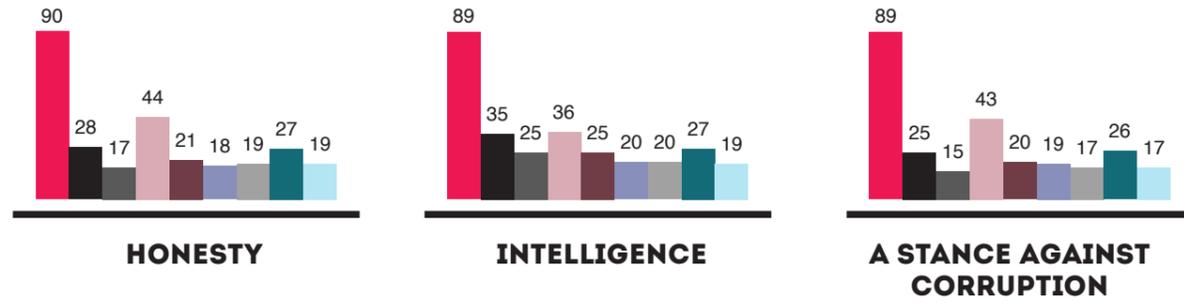
*“I gave up trusting any Italian politicians. I think that no one is able to be a good politician. They all just want to appropriate huge amounts of money, without thinking about the well-being of the people.”*

*“The only party that ‘maybe’ in Italy inspires me more confidence is the Five Star Movement. Although I’m not yet convinced of the real intentions of its ‘founder’.”*

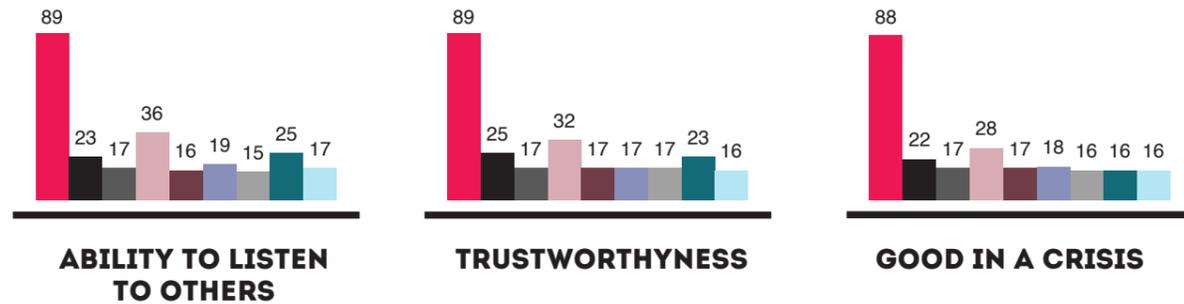
*“None of them inspire trust, they are all the same.”*

## QUALITIES BY POLITICAL PARTY

■ Important % 
 ■ Partito Democratico 
 ■ Forza Italia 
 ■ 5 Star Movement 
 ■ Civic Choice 
 ■ Lega Nord 
 ■ New Centre Right 
 ■ Left Ecology Freedom 
 ■ Brothers of Italy

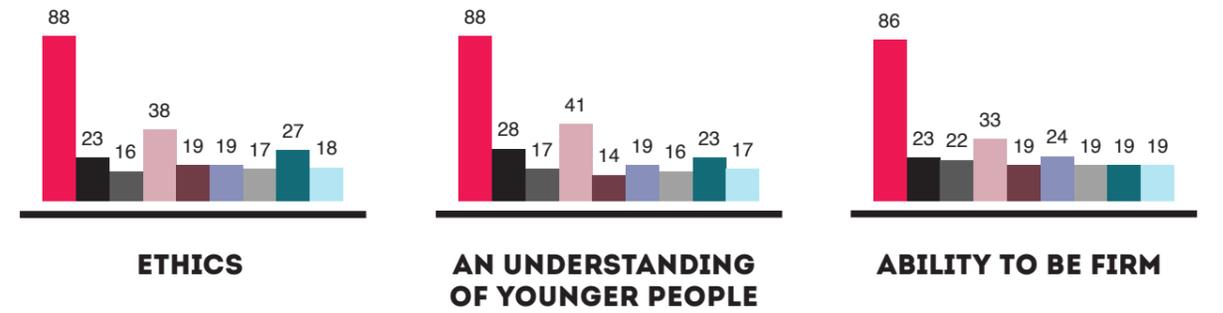


**5 STAR MOVEMENT SCORED HIGHEST FOR ALL OF THE QUALITIES DEEMED TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT FOR A POLITICAL PARTY, ACHIEVING PARTICULARLY HIGH SCORES FOR "HONESTY" (44%) AND "A STANCE AGAINST CORRUPTION" (43%)**

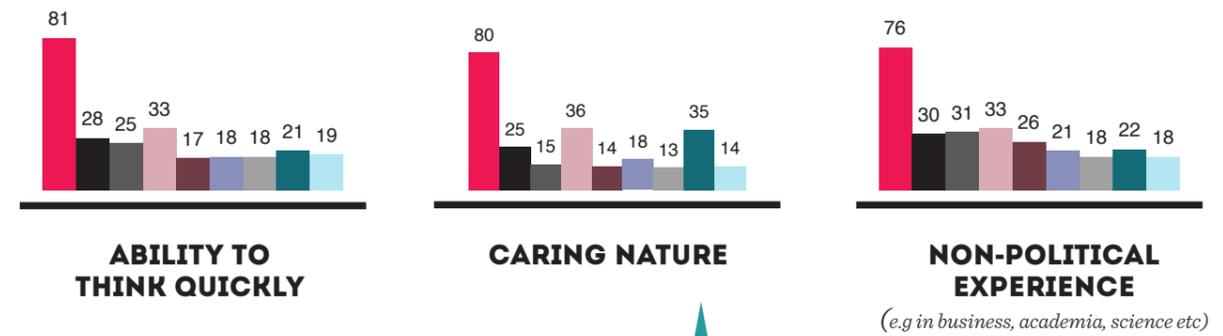


## QUALITIES BY POLITICAL PARTY CONTINUED

■ Important % 
 ■ Partito Democratico 
 ■ Forza Italia 
 ■ 5 Star Movement 
 ■ Civic Choice 
 ■ Lega Nord 
 ■ New Centre Right 
 ■ Left Ecology Freedom 
 ■ Brothers of Italy



**5 STAR MOVEMENT WAS AGAIN THE TOP RANKING PARTY FOR EACH OF THE NEXT 6 QUALITIES (BY ORDER OF IMPORTANCE). MOST IMPORTANTLY FOR THIS STUDY, 41% SAID THAT 5 STAR MOVEMENT HAVE "AN UNDERSTANDING OF YOUNGER PEOPLE".**

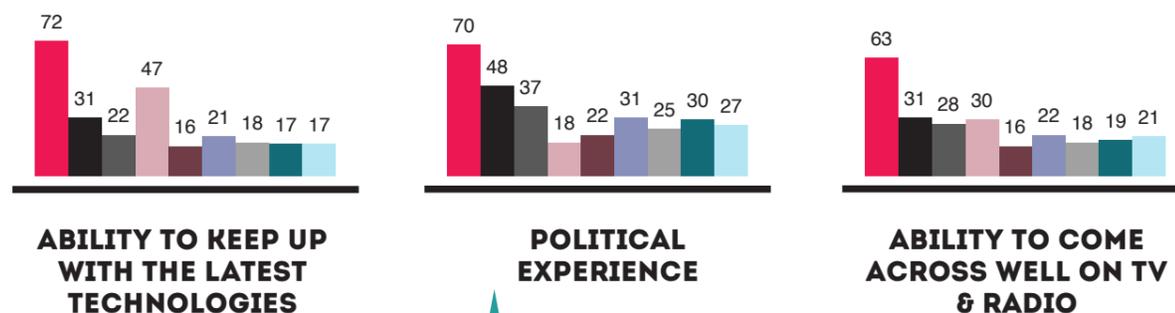


**OVER ONE THIRD (35%) THOUGHT THAT LEFT ECOLOGY FREEDOM HAD A "CARING NATURE."**

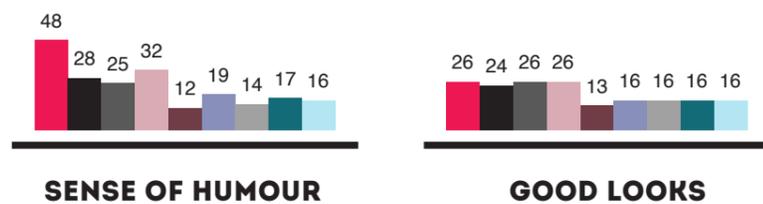
Q17. How important should it be for an elected politician to possess each of the following qualities?  
 Q18. To what extent do you think the top politicians in each of the following political parties possess each of these qualities?

Q17. How important should it be for an elected politician to possess each of the following qualities?  
 Q18. To what extent do you think the top politicians in each of the following political parties possess each of these qualities?

■ Important %  
 ■ Partito Democratico  
 ■ Forza Italia  
 ■ 5 Star Movement  
 ■ Civic Choice  
 ■ Lega Nord  
 ■ New Centre Right  
■ Left Ecology Freedom  
 ■ Brothers of Italy



**ALMOST HALF (47%) THOUGHT THAT 5 STAR MOVEMENT DO HAVE THE "ABILITY TO KEEP UP WITH THE LATEST TECHNOLOGIES" – THEIR TOP SCORING QUALITY OVERALL. MOST OF THE PARTIES, ESPECIALLY PARTIO DEMOCRATICO, WERE GIVEN RELATIVELY HIGH MARKS FOR "POLITICAL EXPERIENCE" APART FROM, TELLINGLY, 5 STAR MOVEMENT.**



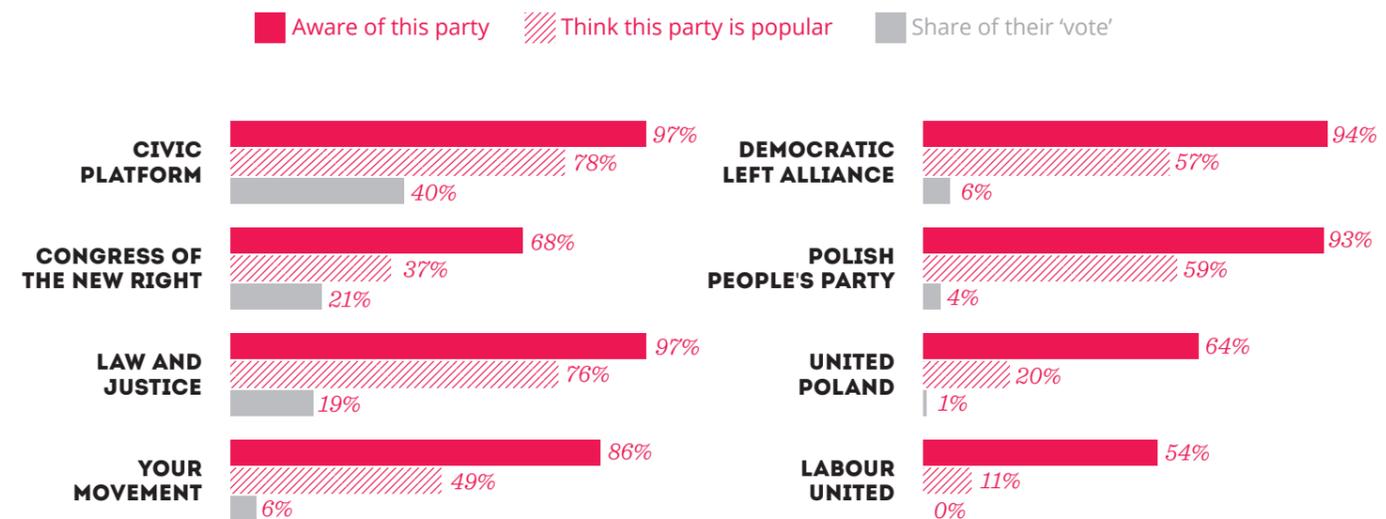
**JUST 12% THOUGHT THAT CIVIC CHOICE HAD A "SENSE OF HUMOUR." NONE OF THE PARTIES WERE DEEMED TO BE PARTICULARLY BLESSED IN REGARDS TO "GOOD LOOKS".**

Q17. How important should it be for an elected politician to possess each of the following qualities?  
 Q18. To what extent do you think the top politicians in each of the following political parties possess each of these qualities?

# POLITICS IN POLAND



**FIGURE 11:** Political Parties: Awareness, Perceived Popularity & The Vote



Awareness levels amongst Polish Millennials was highest for Civic Platform (97%), Law & Justice (97%), Democratic Left Alliance (94%) and the Polish People's Party (93%). 64% were aware of United Poland and just 54% were aware of Labour United. In terms of perceived popularity, Civic Platform (78%) and Law and Justice (76%) were the top two parties.

In the Millennial 'election', Civic Platform (40% of the votes), Congress of the New Right (21%) and Law and Justice (19%) amassed 80% of all votes between them. The proportion voting for Congress of the New Right was all the more pronounced, given the party's relatively low awareness (68%) and perceived popularity (37%).

In the Polish, qualitative community, private vote, the Civic Platform and the Congress of the New Right were again the most popular parties. Several people stated that they would not vote and many of those who would vote said that they would only be selecting the "least worst" option (i.e. none of the options really appealed to them). It's worth noting that many of the Polish Millennials cast their vote on the basis of party leader rather than their political party, and one person actually said they base their vote on the person, not the party.

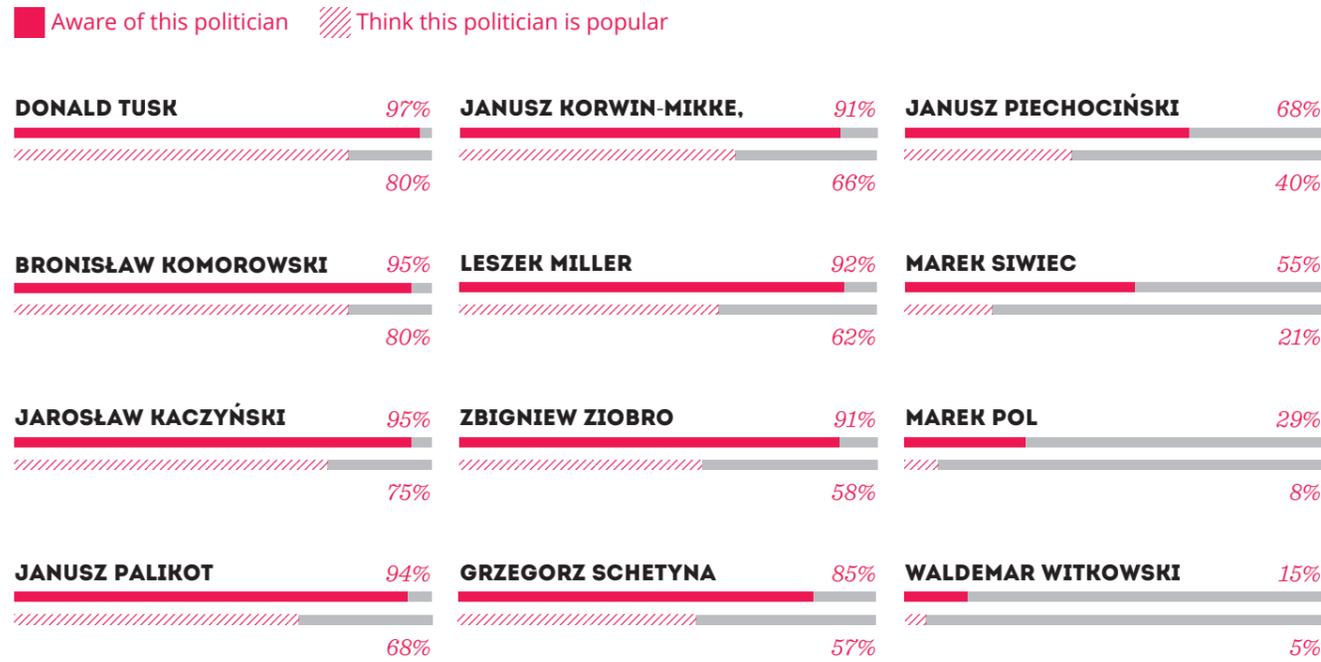
*"I would choose the lesser of two evils: Civic Platform instead of Law & Justice. Because I know that only those two parties count in politics, unfortunately."*

*Definitely Congress of the New Right - why? It's really the only true right-wing party. This party if it ever managed to get the authority would certainly seek to liberalise the economy."*

*"I try not to vote for political parties, but on the person."*

*"If there is indeed an alternative party to Law & Justice and Civic Platform I would like to vote for it."*

**FIGURE 12: Politicians: Awareness & Perceived Popularity**



There were 7 politicians with over 90% awareness amongst Polish Millennials. 29% were aware of Marek Pol and just 15% were aware of Waldemar Witkowski. For perceived popularity, Donald Tusk

and Bronisław Komorowski were the top two politicians (both 80%), shortly followed by Jarosław Kaczyński at 75%. As trust was considered to be such an important quality we asked the participants in the Polish online

community which parties or politicians in Poland they found particularly trustworthy / untrustworthy. The majority claimed that none of the current politicians or parties could be trusted.

*"In my opinion, on the political stage there is no trustworthy party or politician. Everyday we hear reports of how politicians break the rules."*

*"I generally do not trust politicians, there is not one who can be believed. So many times they promise things and it turns out that it was only for the purposes of the election campaign."*

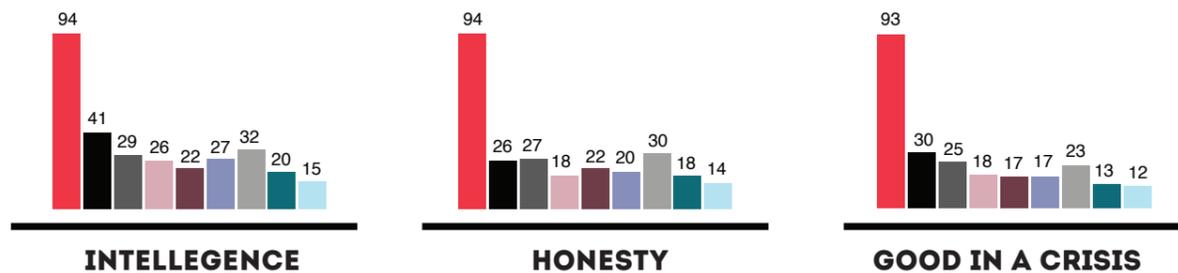
*"Unfortunately, no party (that I know) is trustworthy... this is the sad truth in our country. I would be more likely to trust a young politician."*

*"JKM (Janusz Ryszard Korwin-Mikke) – he always says what he thinks no matter how it will be received/ twisted... he doesn't change his views like most of the asses in parliament."*

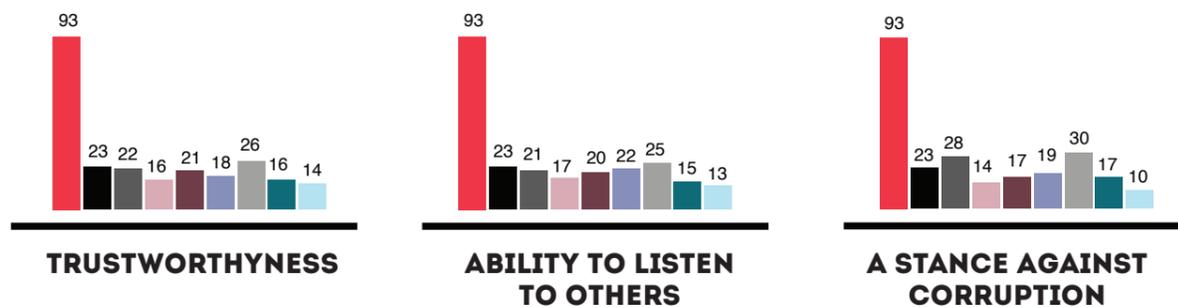
*"In my opinion, worthy of trust is the President of Poland Bronisław Komorowski. This is a reasonable man showing healthy views... he avoids excessive emotions, is calm and composed."*

## QUALITIES BY POLITICAL PARTY

Importance % Civic Platform Law and Justice Democratic Left Alliance Polish People's Party  
Your Movement Congress of the New Right United Poland Labour United



CIVIC PLATFORM WAS THE PARTY WHICH SCORED HIGHEST FOR "INTELLEIGENCE" (41%) AND BEING "GOOD IN A CRISS" (30%). CONGRESS OF THE NEW RIGHT WAS THE TOP PARTY FOR "HONESTY" (30%).

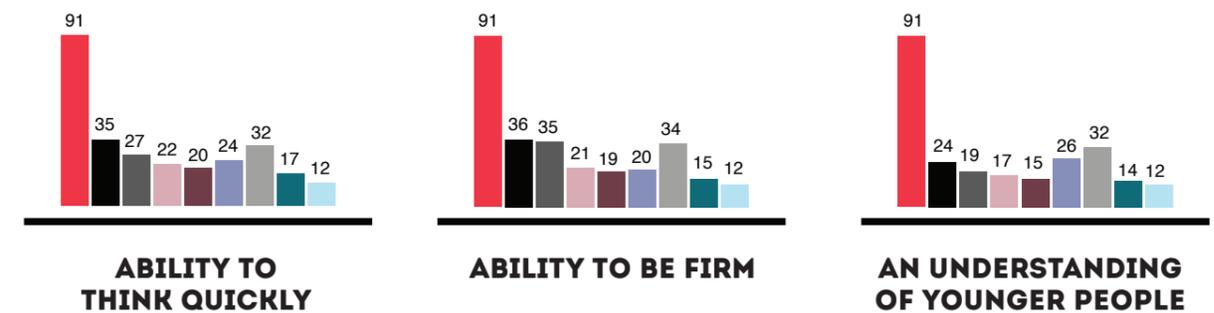


CONGRESS OF THE NEW RIGHT WAS THE TOP PARTY FOR "TRUSTWORTHYNESS" (26%), HAVING AN "ABILITY TO LISTEN TO OTHERS" (25%) AND A "STANCE AGAINST CORRUPTION" (30%). LAW AND JUSTICE ALSO SCORED RELATIVELY WELL FOR A "STANCE AGAINST CORRUPTION" (28%)

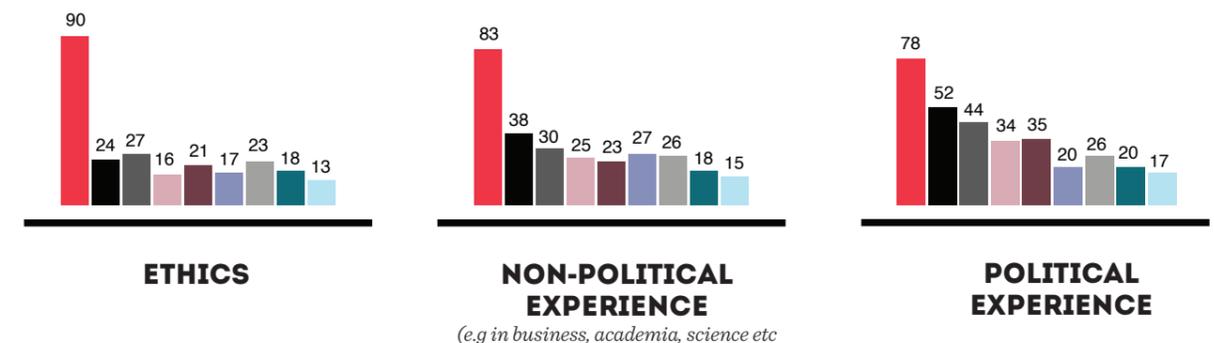
Q17. How important should it be for an elected politician to possess each of the following qualities?  
Q18. To what extent do you think the top politicians in each of the following political parties possess each of these qualities?

## QUALITIES BY POLITICAL PARTY CONTINUED

Importance % Civic Platform Law and Justice Democratic Left Alliance Polish People's Party  
Your Movement Congress of the New Right United Poland Labour United



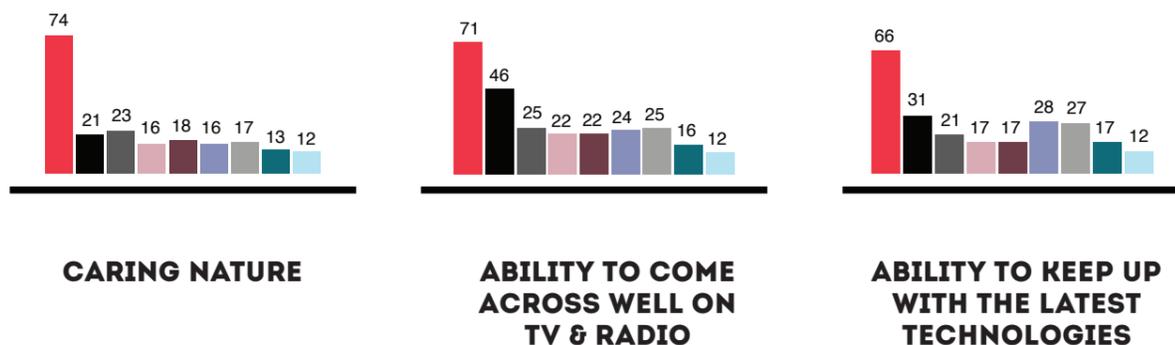
OF KEY IMPORTANCE FOR THIS STUDY, CONGRESS OF THE NEW RIGHT WAS THE PARTY MOST LIKELY TO BE THOUGHT OF AS HAVING "AN UNDERSTANDING OF YOUNGER PEOPLE" (32%).



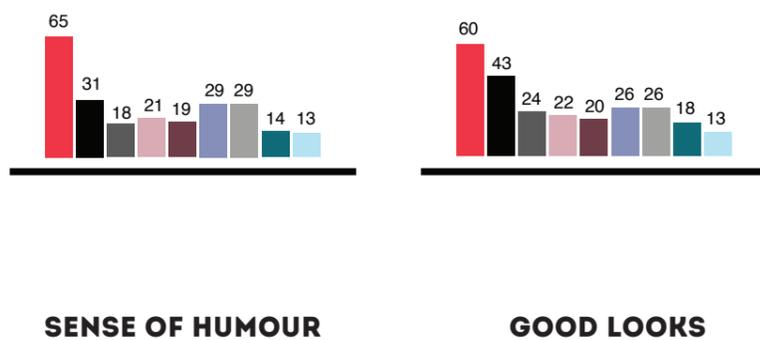
CIVIC PLATFORM AND LAW AND JUSTICE WERE CONSIDERED TO THE MOST EXPERIENCED PARTIES - BOTH IN TERMS OF POLITICAL AND NON-POLITICAL EXPERIENCE.

Q17. How important should it be for an elected politician to possess each of the following qualities?  
Q18. To what extent do you think the top politicians in each of the following political parties possess each of these qualities?

■ Importance % ■ Civic Platform ■ Law and Justice ■ Democratic Left Alliance ■ Polish People's Party  
 ■ Your Movement ■ Congress of the New Right ■ United Poland ■ Labour United



**ALMOST HALF (46%) THOUGHT THAT CIVIC PLATFORM HAS THE "ABILITY TO COME ACROSS WELL ON TV & RADIO". YOUR MOVEMENT SCORED RELATIVELY HIGHLY FOR HAVING AN "ABILITY TO KEEP UP WITH THE LATEST TECHNOLOGIES" (28%).**



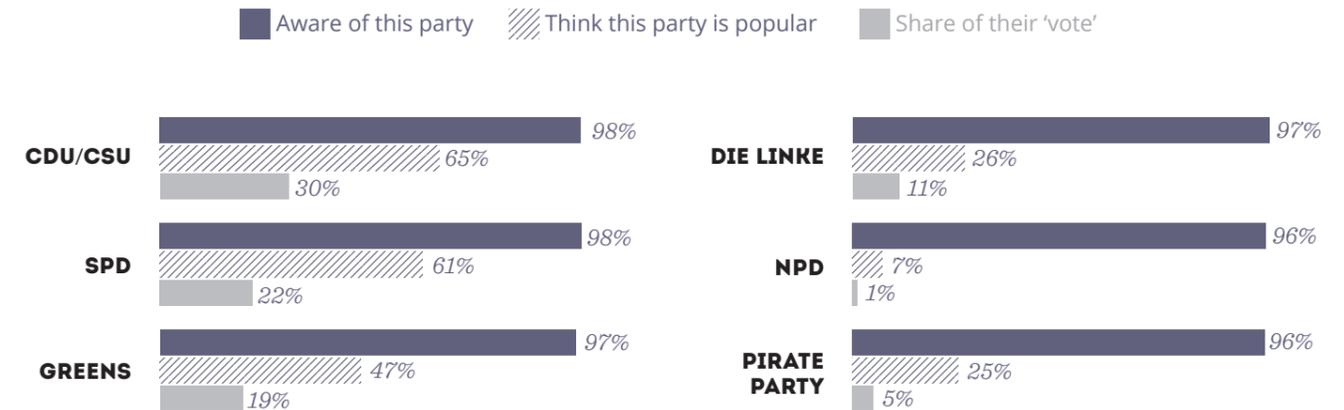
**CIVIC PLATFORM'S ABILITY TO COME ACROSS WELL ON TV & RADIO COULD PERHAPS BE RELATED TO THEIR PERCEIVED GOOD LOOKS (43%) AND SENSE OF HUMOUR (31%).**

Q17. How important should it be for an elected politician to possess each of the following qualities?  
 Q18. To what extent do you think the top politicians in each of the following political parties possess each of these qualities?

# POLITICS IN GERMANY



**FIGURE 13:** Political Parties: Awareness, Perceived Popularity & The Vote



Awareness of all of the main parties was high amongst German Millennials with over 95% awareness for all six of the parties included in the research. CDU / CSU and SPD were the top two parties in terms of perception of being generally popular.

In the Millennial 'election' CDU / CSU emerged as the top party with 30% of the vote. The second party was SPD with 22%. If one compares these results to recent opinion polls (which include all age groups) it appears that young people in Germany are, compared to the total electorate, more likely to vote Greens and less likely to vote for Die Linke.

In the qualitative community private vote the CDU again came out on top with several people noting that they like Angela Merkel.

*"I would vote for the CDU as my first vote because I think that Angela Merkel is doing a good job and is representing the nation well internationally"*

*"I would probably choose CDU because Angela Merkel is very personable and I'm generally not so dissatisfied with the decisions of the party."*

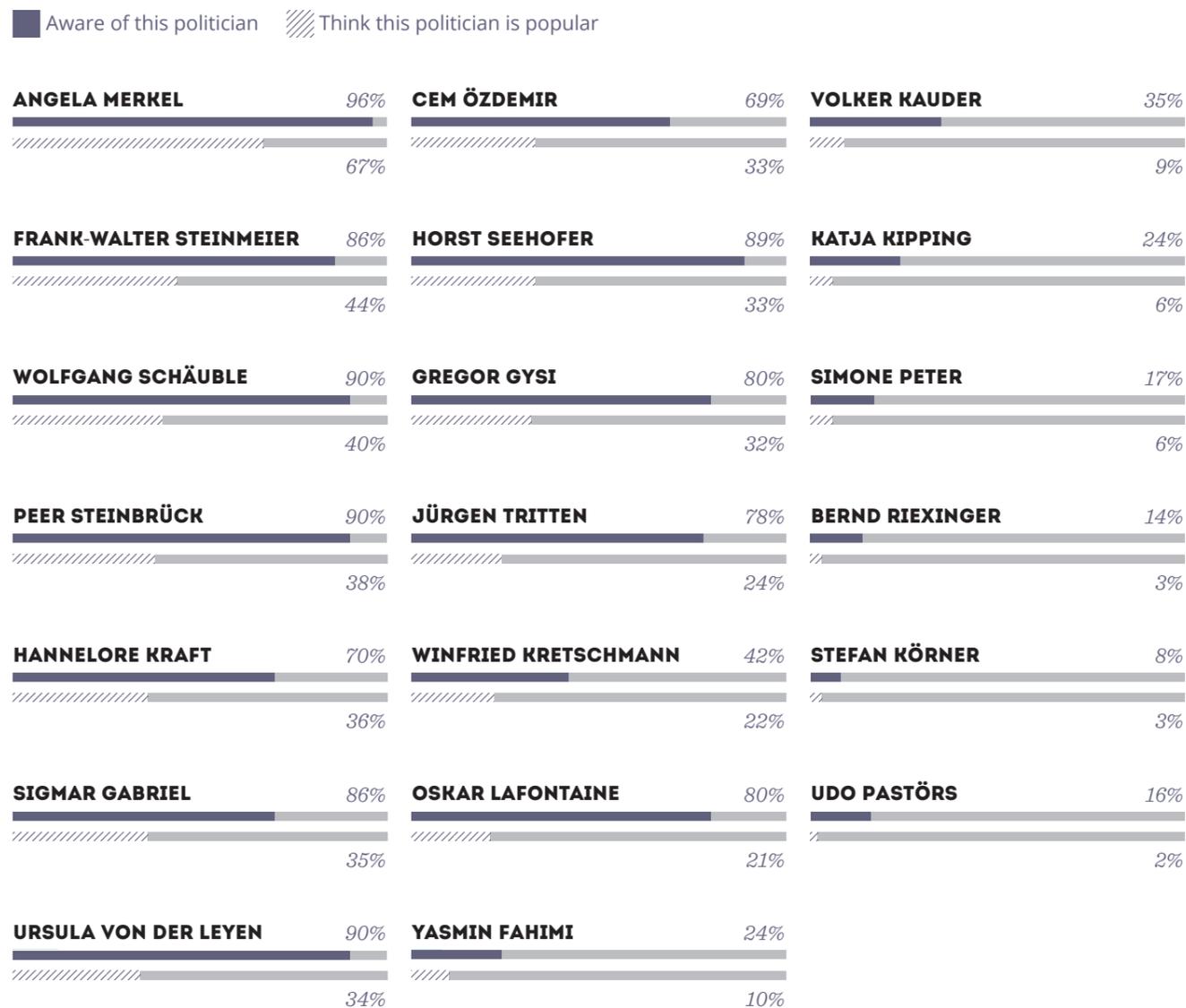
*"Personally I'd go for the CDU. They think realistically and pay attention to each generation"*

*"I would choose the SPD because, even if belatedly, they have kept their promises"*

*"I would just like always vote for the Greens. I think we need to pay more attention to sustainability and I also like their attitude with regard to military missions."*

*"I would choose the Pirate Party because there are lots of young people with the same interests representing me."*

**FIGURE 14:** Politicians: Awareness & Perceived Popularity



Of the 20 politicians included in the question, 12 had over 50% awareness. For perceived popularity, Angela Merkel was way out in front with 67%, followed by Frank-Waler Steinmeier on 44%. Oskar Lafontaine had the biggest gap between the awareness level (80%) and perceived popularity (21%).

As trust is considered to be such an important quality, we asked the participants in the German online community which parties or politicians in Germany they found particularly trustworthy / untrustworthy. While there were some who said they don't trust any politicians or parties, the German Millennials were, on the

whole, more likely than the Italians or Polish to trust their politicians. There was a sense from several people that the bigger/more established parties were less trustworthy as they had a record of not keeping their promises.

*“As always, there are better and worse politicians. Particularly trustworthy in my view are FDP and the Greens because they give young people a chance. CDU/CSU and the Left, however, are so focused on the elderly, that they can hardly reach young people.”*

*“Angela Merkel is very personable and I generally agree with what she says. Nevertheless, no party or politician seems very trustworthy to me. How many times have you put trust in a party and then nothing happened?”*

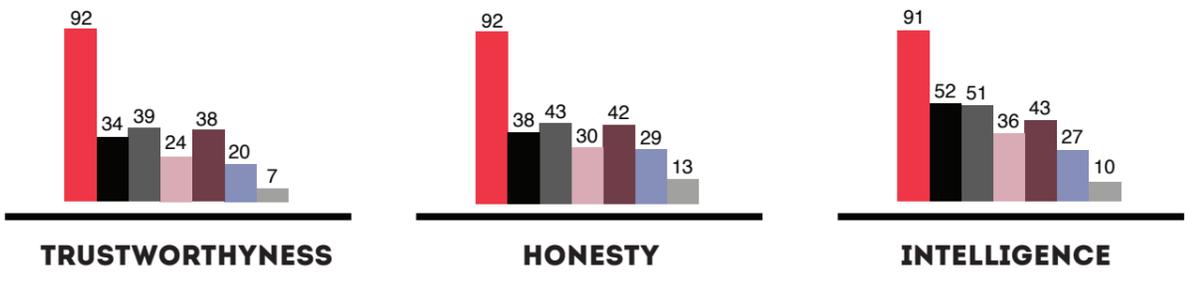
*“I think that the small parties are more trustworthy... they obviously stand for radical changes and really want to achieve something, with other (larger) parties you often can't be sure”*

*“Angela Merkel and the established parties are not trustworthy. Merkel said after the election that what is said before the election does not necessarily apply after the elections. Or in other words, she has admitted that many of the positions of the CDU are only election advertising and not incorporated into the actual program.”*

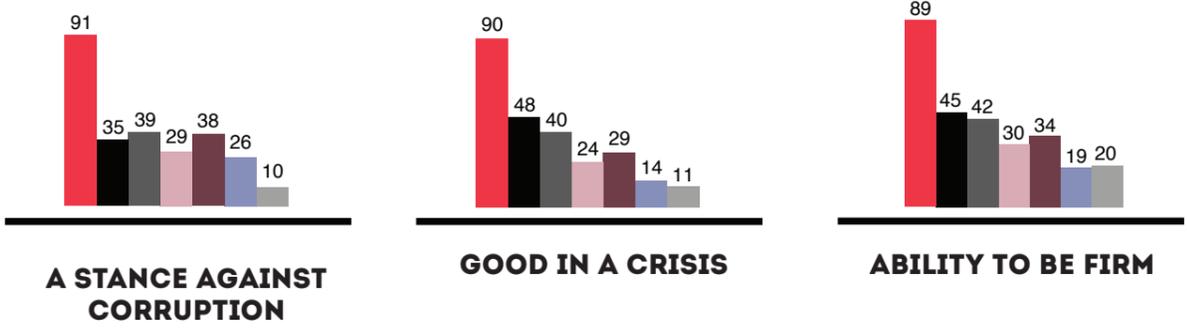
*“I find Peer Steinbrück and Steinmeier particularly congenial and convincing. They especially appeal to young people and it shows.”*

## QUALITIES BY POLITICAL PARTY

Importance %   CDU / CSU   SPD   Die Linke   Greens  
Pirate Party   NPD

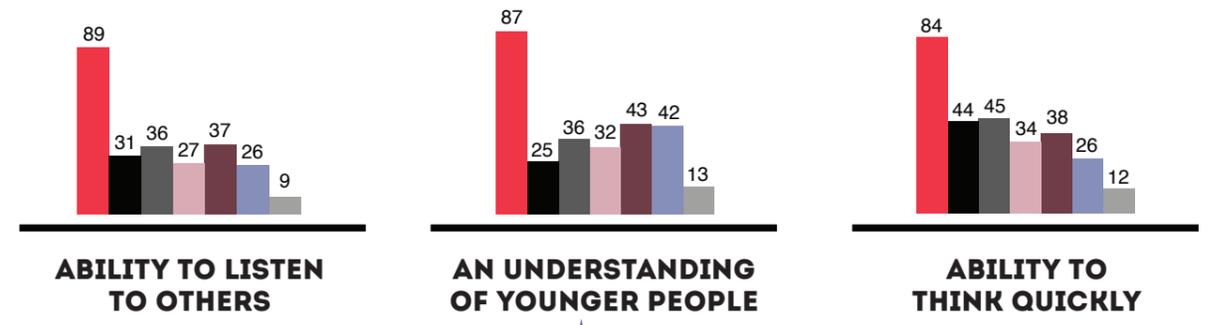


SPD AND THE GREENS WERE THE TOP RANKING PARTIES FOR MANY OF THE MOST IMPORTANT QUALITIES SUCH AS “HONESTY”, “TRUSTWORTHINESS” AND THE “ABILITY TO LISTEN TO OTHERS”. CDU / CSU WAS THE PARTY MOST LIKELY TO BE THOUGHT OF AS “GOOD IN A CRISIS”.

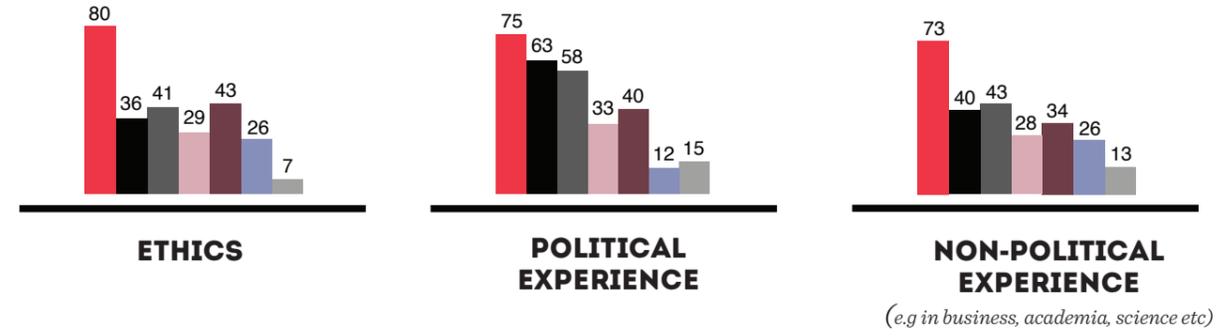


## QUALITIES BY POLITICAL PARTY CONTINUED

Importance %   CDU / CSU   SPD   Die Linke   Greens  
Pirate Party   NPD



OF PARTICULAR INTEREST FOR THIS STUDY, THE GREENS AND THE PIRATE PARTY WERE DEEMED TO BE THE TOP PARTIES FOR “AN UNDERSTANDING OF YOUNGER PEOPLE”.

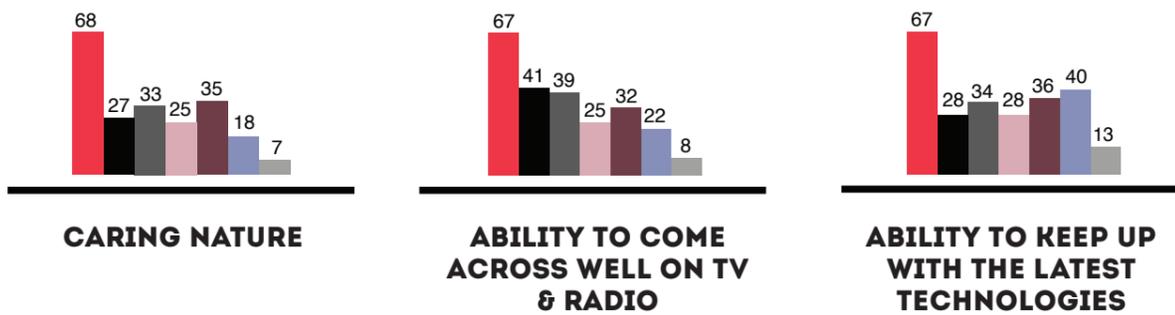


CDU / CSU AND SPD WERE THE PARTIES MOST LIKELY TO BE THOUGHT OF AS HAVING AN “ABILITY TO THINK QUICKLY” AND “POLITICAL EXPERIENCE”

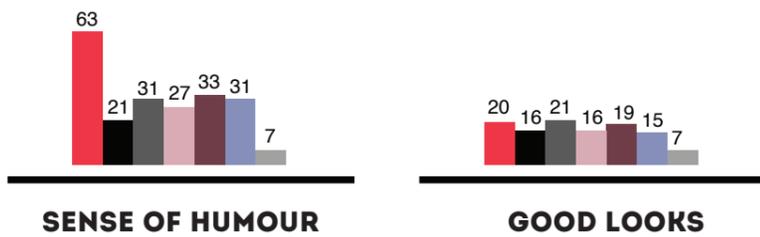
Q17. How important should it be for an elected politician to possess each of the following qualities?  
Q18. To what extent do you think the top politicians in each of the following political parties possess each of these qualities?

Q17. How important should it be for an elected politician to possess each of the following qualities?  
Q18. To what extent do you think the top politicians in each of the following political parties possess each of these qualities?

■ Importance % ■ CDU / CSU ■ SPD ■ Die Linke ■ Greens  
 ■ Pirate Party ■ NPD



**40% THOUGHT THAT THE PIRATE PARTY HAVE AN “ABILITY TO KEEP UP WITH THE LATEST TECHNOLOGIES”, COMPARED TO 28% FOR THE CDU / CSU AND PARTIE: DIE LINKE**



**NONE OF THE PARTIES REGISTERED HIGH SCORES FOR “SENSE OF HUMOUR” OR “GOOD LOOKS”.**

Q17. How important should it be for an elected politician to possess each of the following qualities?  
 Q18. To what extent do you think the top politicians in each of the following political parties possess each of these qualities?

# GOVERNMENT PRIORITIES

*When we asked the Millennials to imagine they were in Government, there were some interesting differences as to which issues they would give “very high priority”.*

In general the Polish Millennials were more likely to list several issues as top priorities, suggesting that there are lots of really pressing problems for their Government to tackle.

Healthcare and Education were in the top three priorities for all of the countries. Education in Germany (65%) was the top issue by some distance there with Healthcare following at 47%. In Italy and Poland “job creation” was much more likely to be seen as important with 72% listing this as a top priority. By comparison, only 34% selected job creation as a top priority in Germany. Over in the qualitative discussions, these disaffected and unemployed Italian Millennials conveyed their struggle to find a job:

*“I have been without a job for three years now, and with it my dream to buy a house. I was living at home with my parents, and I shelved the idea of getting married and having children because even my partner is not working... At what age we will have children? NEVER! It will never happen... and right now, we are too busy looking for work in order to start a family. And the years pass...”*

## ITALY

On a related note, many participants in the Polish online community mentioned the problems associated with emigration whereby many of the young talented Polish Millennials are looking abroad for better jobs and opportunities.

*“At a terrifying pace this country is losing all its specialists who study in Poland for 5 years so that they can earn just 2000 zł. Their studies were supposed to be the investment for a better life...”*

*“For people of my age, the most important thing is having a job. With it, you can live and raise a family. Currently, a lot of my friends had to go abroad, where despite having a good education, work in completely unrelated jobs. As a result, many families are separated or sometimes whole families move abroad, leaving Poland with a decreasing and aging population.”*

## POLAND

One of the most striking differences further down the list of overall priorities was that 41% of the Polish Millennials listed Defence as a top priority, compared to 16% in Italy and 12% in Germany. The reason for this strong support for Defence in Poland was touched upon in the qualitative discussions where there were a few unprompted mentions of the perceived threat posed by Russia.

*“I find myself at 26, having graduated in biology with honors, begging for unpaid internships”*

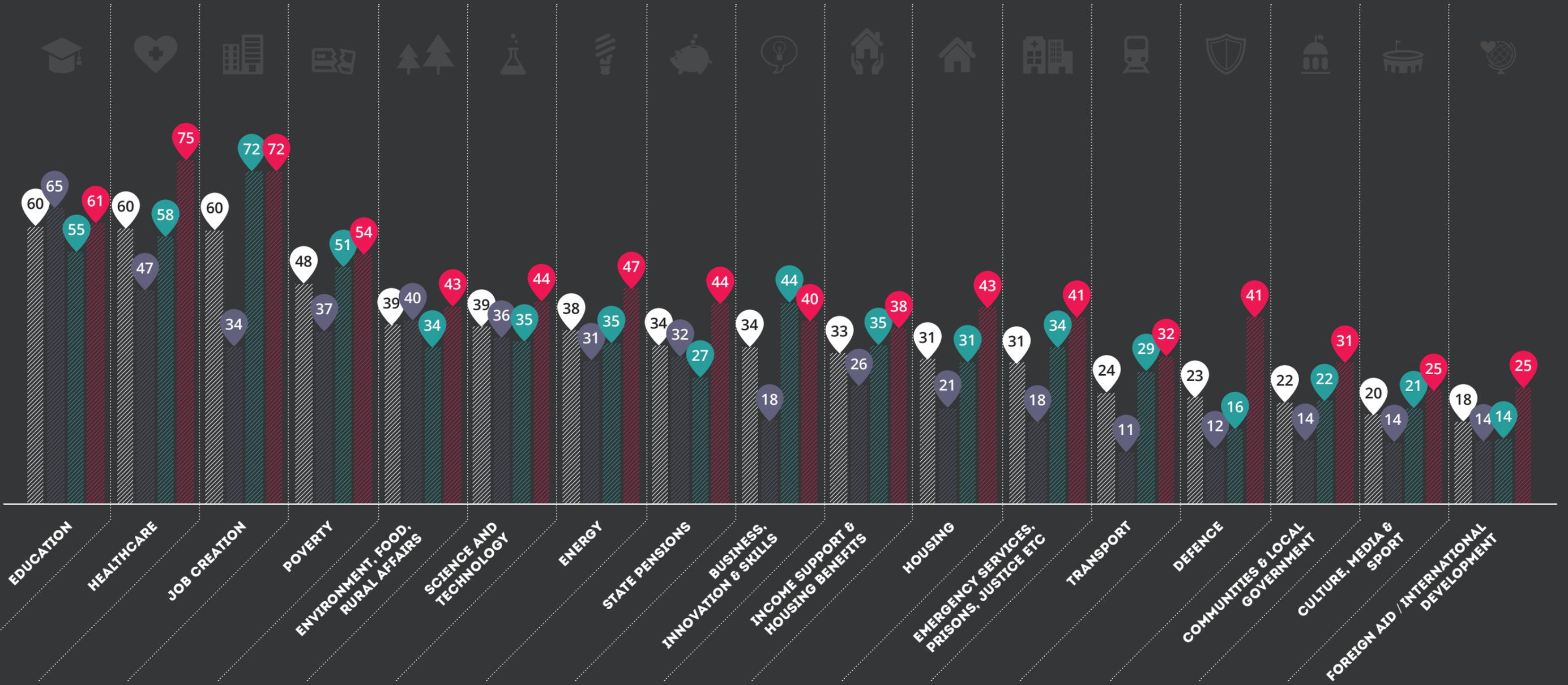
## ITALY

*“Well, if you compare the education system in Germany, or at least in Bavaria, with countries such as Finland, you’ll notice that the Finnish already spend a lot more money on education. The kids (in Finland) get every free meals provided but we need to buy expensive food in the cafeteria. The school days are also longer in Finland.”*

## GERMANY

**FIGURE 15:** *Imagine that you were in government, how much priority would you place on each of the following areas? (“Very High Priority” %)*

Total  
 Italy  
 Germany  
 Poland



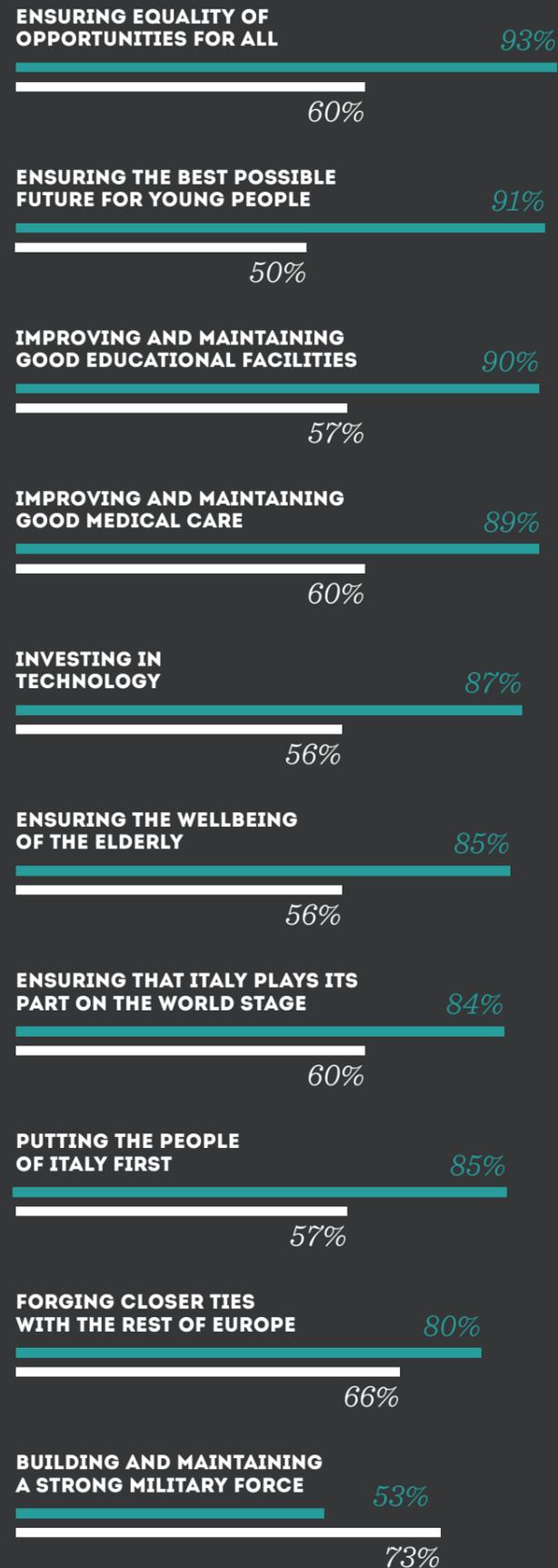
# POLITICAL PRIORITIES

To what extent do you feel politics and politicians should work towards the following?

To what extent do you feel politics and politicians deliver the following? ("To a great/some extent" %)

- Should politics and politicians work towards this?
- Do politics and politicians deliver this?

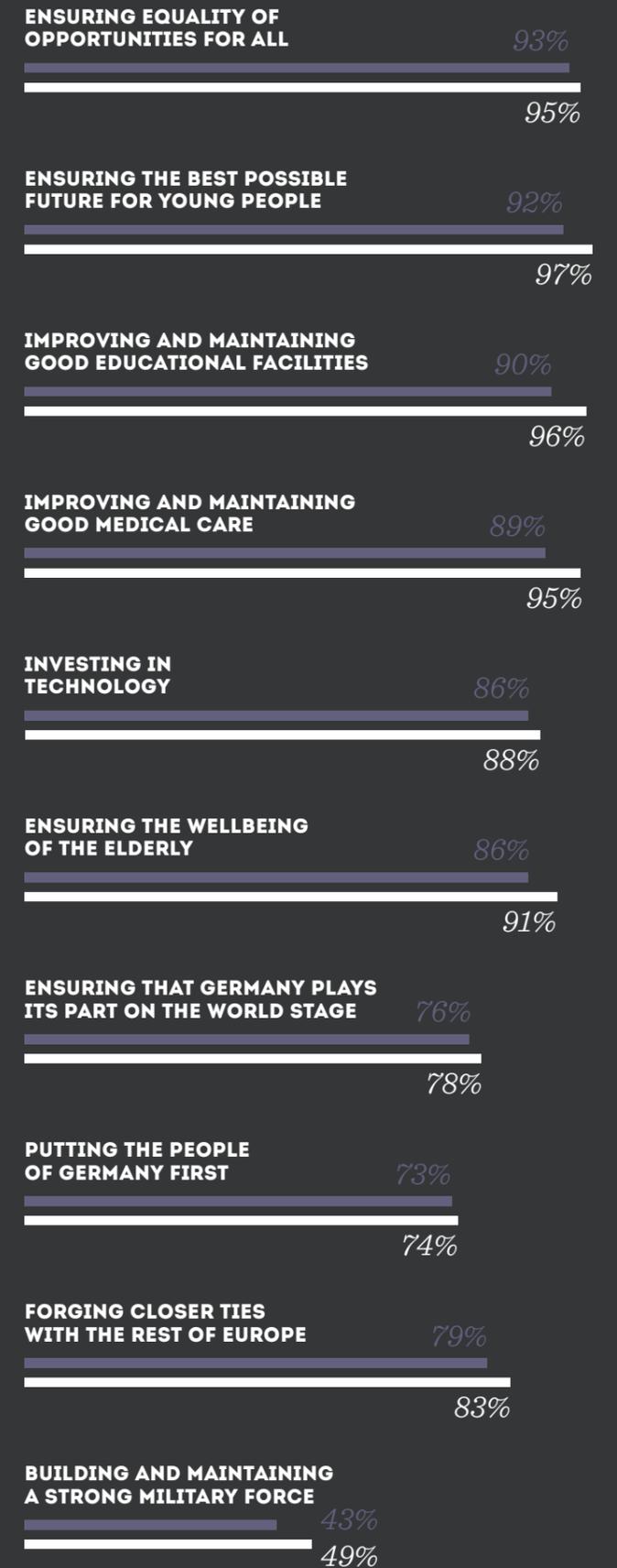
## ITALY FIGURE 16



## POLAND FIGURE 17



## GERMANY FIGURE 18



Young people in Germany are, on the whole, happy with their politics and politicians. Somewhat remarkably when one compares the German data to the Italian and Polish numbers, Millennials in Germany generally think that politics and politicians are, at least to some extent, delivering on each of the criteria listed.

Millennials in Italy, on the other hand, clearly feel let down by politics and politicians. The one thing that most Italian Millennials feel that politics and politicians are delivering on, i.e.

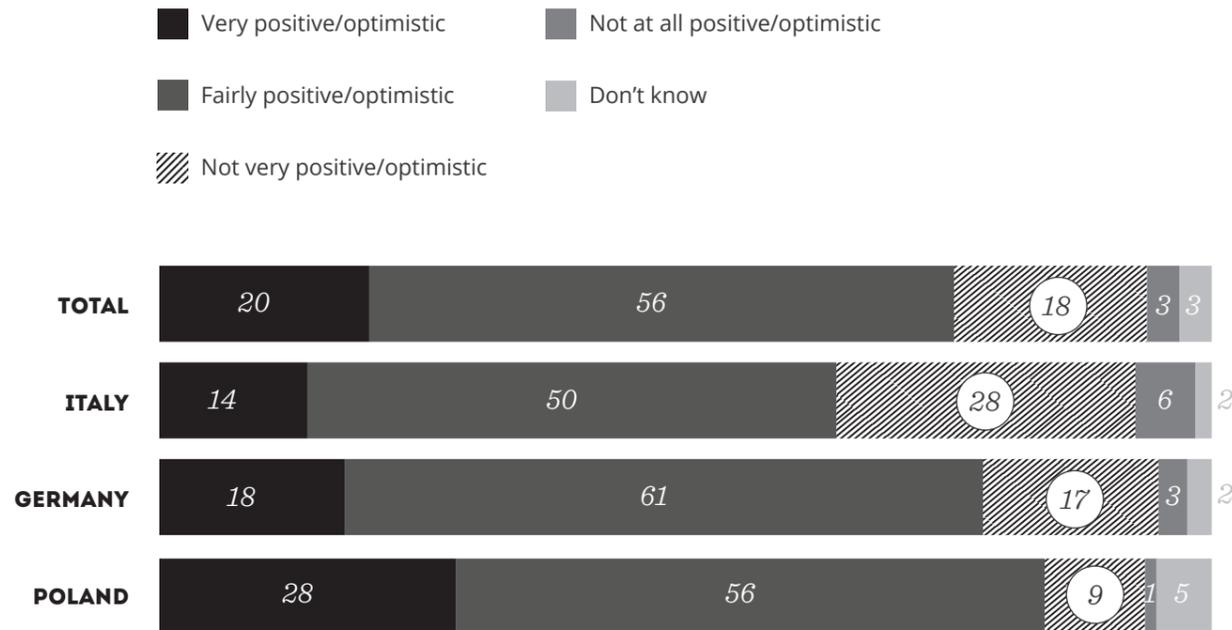
“building and maintaining a strong military force”, was by contrast the lowest ranked item on their list of priorities in terms of what they think politics and politicians should work towards. For every other measure, the consensus was that Italian politics and politicians are not delivering. This was particularly evident for “ensuring the best possible future for young people” – 91% think politics and politicians should work towards this but only 50% think that politics and politicians actually deliver this.

Young people in Poland appear to be similarly disillusioned with politics and politicians. For example, less than half (45%) think that politics and politicians deliver on “ensuring the best possible future for young people” and just 42% think that they are delivering on “improving and maintaining good medical care”. The one thing that politics and politicians are generally seen to be delivering on is “forging closer ties with Europe” (85%).

## THE ROAD AHEAD

What do Millennials think about their future?

**FIGURE 19:** Looking to the future and the things you might like to do and achieve in life, how positive/optimistic are you that you will get what you hope for?

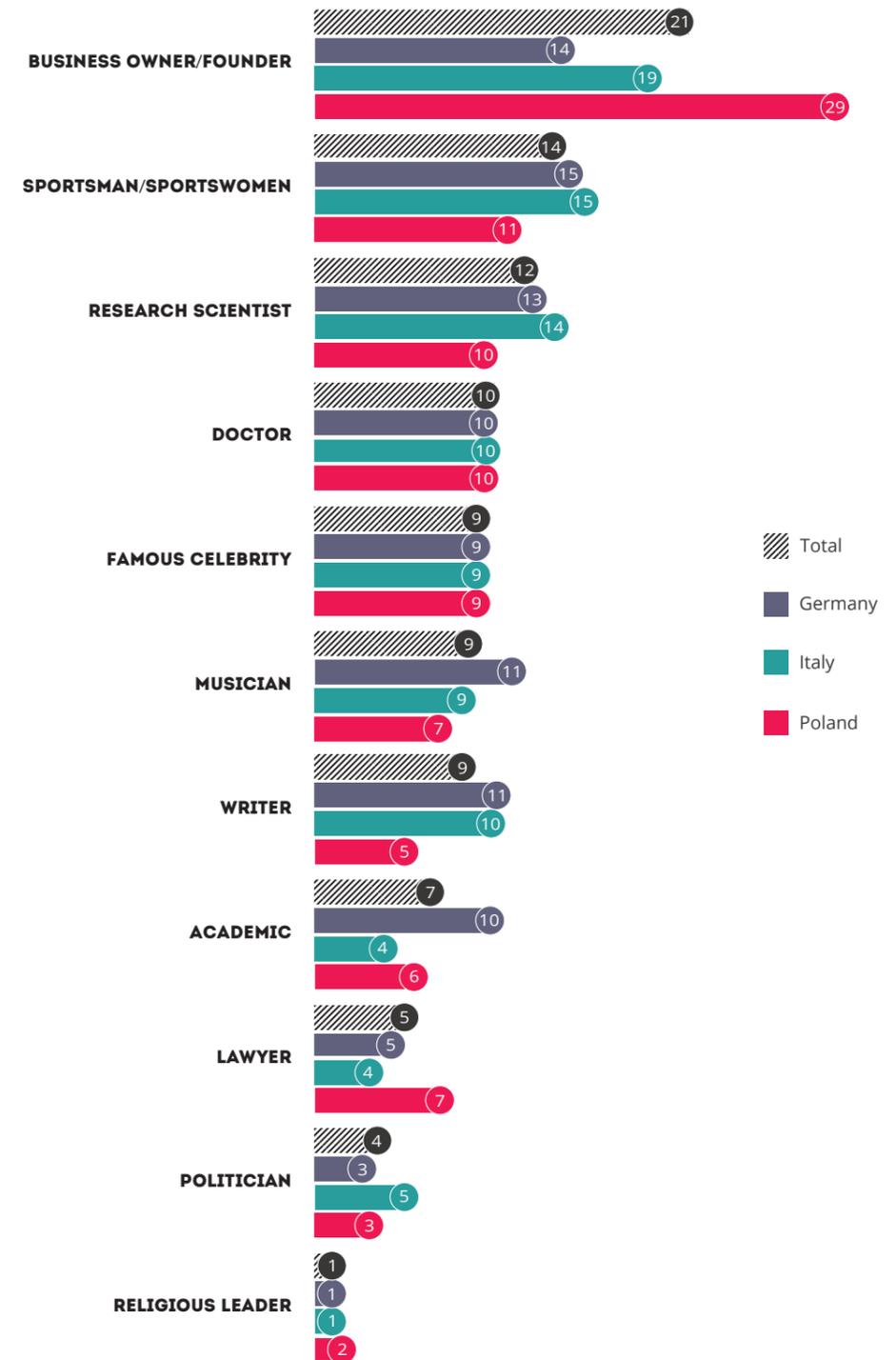


Despite much criticism of the political systems in both Italy and Poland, overall, three quarters (76%) of the 3,000 millennials surveyed remained positive/optimistic about their future. Of the three countries, it was the

Polish Millennials who emerged as being the most likely to be positive/optimistic, with more than a quarter (28%) saying that they were “very positive/optimistic”, compared to 18% in Germany and just 14% in Italy.

The Italians were the most likely to be pessimistic with a third (34%) saying that they were “not very positive/optimistic” or “not at all positive/optimistic”.

**FIGURE 20:** Which of the following would you personally rather be?



At 21%, the desire to be a Business Owner/Founder, came top of the overall Millennial wish-list. This compared very sharply with the desire to be a Politician, which recorded just 4%. The Polish Millennials were the most likely to say that they want to be a Business Owner/Founder (29% in Poland vs 19% in Italy and 14% in Germany). It is worth noting that the desire to be a Business Owner/Founder was relatively lower in Germany, the country with the least unemployment and where Millennials were less likely to list “job creation” as a top priority for government (Fig 15).

# LOOKING FORWARD

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## GERMANY

The German Millennials were, on balance, the most positive about the future. There was a broad range of predictions but one of the main threads of discussion was about hopes for further advances in technology and renewable energy.

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*“In 20-30 years time I will hopefully have a job that I can live well and allows me to have enough time for family and personal interests. It is hard for me to imagine how Germany will look then, I can hardly estimate the advances in technology. I do not think that is too much political change. There will probably be more economic crises, which will have an influence on economic policy. The shift to renewable energy will, hopefully, be advanced.”*

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*“I do not expect that the pension system will work then in a way that allows people to live on their pensions, which will result in the need to work longer and longer.”*

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*“In 20-30 years, I may have a family, a nice house and a steady job that I enjoy. Germany will, I think, be very influenced by new technologies, wind turbines will be available everywhere, and most people will drive electric cars.”*

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*“The two major parties will still exist, but the party system will be more and more fragmented. The elections will be influenced more and more by short-term events and the stupidity of the people’s mood in the country, the election results will have an extreme volatility with governments changing regularly. Germany’s population will have already fallen to about 70 million people, the issues of pension and unemployment will become the main focus. Economically, however, our country will continue to be among the strongest in Europe. However, like just about everyone else, we will be dependent on China, the new superpower.”*

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## ITALY

Following on from themes in earlier discussions, when looking to the future, having a good job is the key concern for Italian Millennials. They were generally optimistic about the future of their country but several people included a sceptical footnote/caveat saying that they doubt the future will actually be as bright as their hopes/dreams. A few of the participants argued that the necessary changes will only happen if younger people are put in positions of political power.

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*“I am very afraid to think of what awaits me in the future, first of all I hope I have completed my studies and I hope to have found a job, if not in Italy then abroad. I sincerely hope that Italy has recovered from the crisis and that the political class is very different, with better people who are more relevant to the communities around the country and not only interested in lining their own pockets.”*

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*“I really hope that when someone goes for a job interview they will not be asked to work for 400/500€ per month working 8.30 hours per day (Monday to Saturday), as happens now. I hope to see an Italy unique, productive, cutting edge and green!! All this thanks to a new political class. The parties are no longer as we know them today, but they are divided by age group, every minister has specific expertise in relation to its ministry and everything is more streamlined and functional. I started this with “I hope”... realistically though if something does not change now, I doubt you could achieve all this.”*

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*“I hope to have a good job, that is able to meet my needs and those of my family, and above all to be able to wake up in the morning with the urge to face the world without anxiety. I want to be optimistic; I think in 30 years there will be a different Italy, a country with economic growth and a country with greater employment opportunities. I am of the opinion that sometimes you have to hit bottom in order to be reborn and I think that this revival can start with the young.”*

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## POLAND

The finding that Polish Millennials were especially likely to want to start their own business was reflected in the online qualitative community, when we asked the participants to imagine their life in 20-30 years from now.

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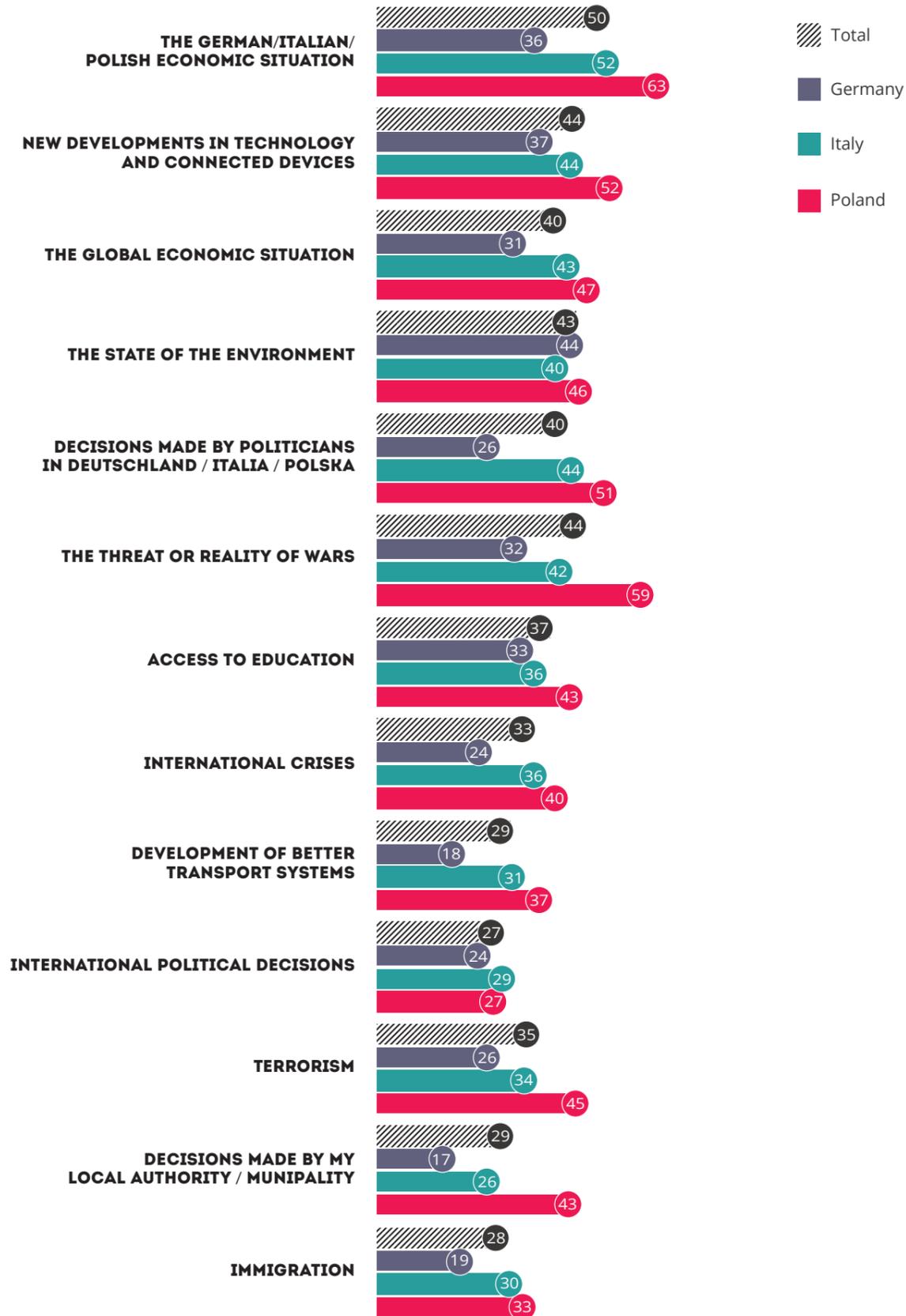
*“I imagine my life with a family (2 + 2), house / large apartment, family car, a job that allows you to live on a decent level and keep the whole family. I’m just at the beginning of my career in the IT industry, at some point I will own my own company. All this of course in Poland... very optimistic version - a little dreamy :)”*

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*“In 20-30 years – I would like to be running my own business in the field of financial advisory services. Poland will continue to be a country in which certain social groups have privileges, and the rest of them work with lower salaries than in Western Europe.”*

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**FIGURE 21:** To what extent do you believe that each of the following will affect your future and the quality of your life? (Very Big Effect %)



Italian and Polish Millennials were most likely to think that their national economic situation would have a very big affect on their future and quality of life. Whilst Millennials in Germany were also likely to think that the economy was going to be important, the factor that they were most likely to select was “the state of the environment”. Millennials clearly think that “new developments in technology and connected devices” is going to have a big impact on their lives – overall, it was second on the list, with 44% stating that it will have a very big effect.

Technology was frequently mentioned, on a spontaneous level, in the qualitative community discussions. While most of the discussion around technology centred on the impact it will have in the future, some of the Italian Millennials were complaining about the current situation saying:

*“One of the main issues I discuss with my friends is the lack of technological innovation and promotion... Italy has one of the worst broadband connections in Europe”*

**ITALY**

“The threat or reality of wars” was the second top factor for the Polish Millennials with 59% thinking that it will have a very big effect on their future and quality of life.

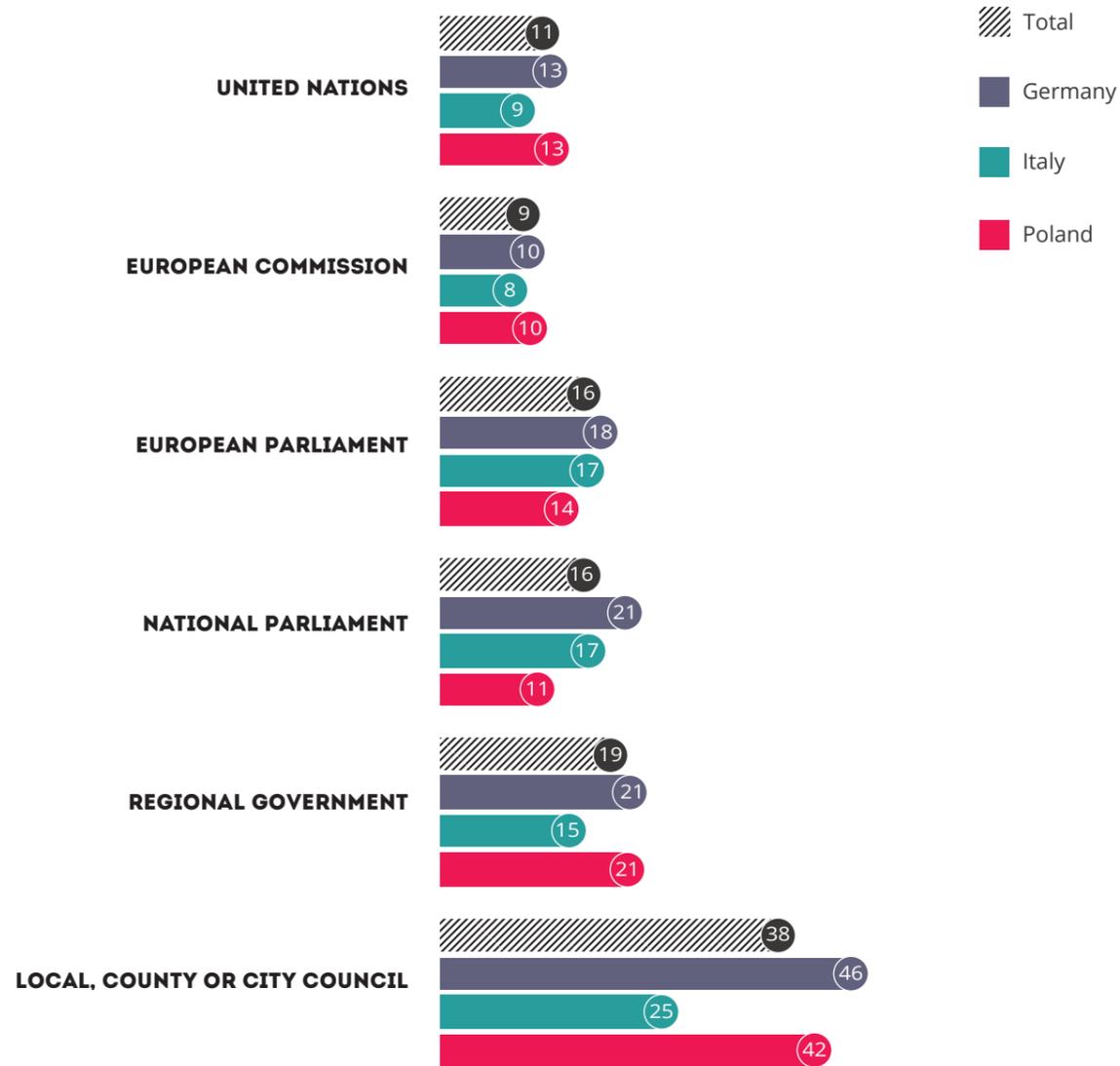
The rise in popularity of many of the new “anti-establishment” parties around Europe has often been attributed to their strong stance on the issue of immigration. However, the data here show that immigration was the factor likely to have the least impact with just 28% of Millennials thinking that immigration will have a very big effect on their future. While there were definitely some anti-immigrant comments in the qualitative discussions, these were certainly countered by the number of participants who said that they look forward to a more multi-cultural society. The only German Millennial to mention the anti-Islamic group PEGIDA, in the German discussions, argued that the supporters of these organisations were using migrants as a scapegoat for their own poor economic situation.

*“The knowledge will hopefully prevail that Germany is a country that supports immigration and refugees. Many people, especially in economically disadvantaged regions, as usual, place the blame for their situation on “strangers” and join together in PEGIDA-related associations, but I think that civil society in Germany is strong enough to prevent them from taking over the political majority.”*

**GERMANY**

## LOCAL, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

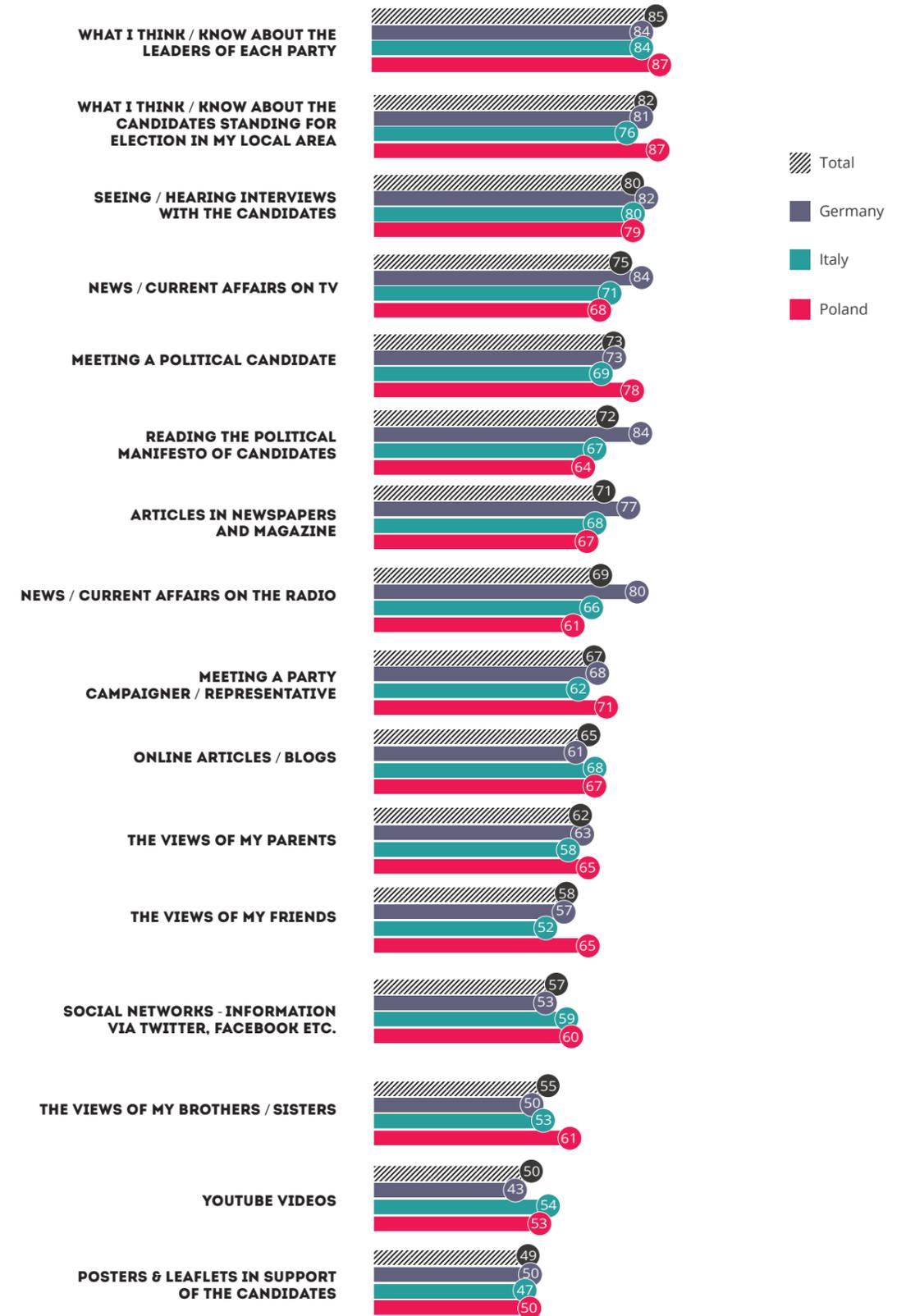
**FIGURE 22:** Which of the following institutions do you feel represent your voice?  
(Base: All those aware of that institution)



When we asked which institutions the participants felt represented their voice, there was a distinct correlation with proximity. German Millennials were particularly likely to think that their Local, Country or City Council represented their voice with almost half (46%) selecting "To a great extent" or "To some extent".

## ENGAGING YOUNG PEOPLE

**FIGURE 23:** If you did vote tomorrow, to what extent do you think each of the following factors would contribute to your decision as to who to vote for? (%)



In general, Millennials were more likely to think that traditional media such as TV, radio and newspapers would influence their vote rather than new media such as YouTube and social networks. However, this is more of a reflection of where they expect the debate to take place rather than an indication of the best way to engage with Millennials, per se. Politicians and political parties have historically focussed on traditional, mainstream, media and, despite the significance

and preference, amongst Millennials, for social media, their expectation remains that traditional media will continue to have more prominence.

When we asked the Millennials in the qualitative communities how politicians should engage with their generation, the overwhelming response was that the best route would be to both communicate and listen more using the internet / social media.

In the German discussions, one of the suggestions that was well supported by the other respondents was that politicians should communicate via social media themselves rather than employing someone to do this on their behalf. Many Millennials stressed that the key to successful social media communication is to see it as a two-way process, listening and interacting with the people, as opposed to just broadcasting.



*“Political parties should have a functional website with a questionnaire asking “what would you change?”*

*“The format of the political party websites could be more pleasant – so that it doesn’t discourage people at the first glance”*

*“For young people (but not only the young) there should be a physical and virtual (online) space where anyone can propose their ideas and explain their problems, and where to find solutions.”*

#### POLAND



*“They should copy Beppe Grillo: the first step should be to inform everyone about everything, telling the truth and all the facts. To communicate better they should start to use social networks.”*

*“Young people prefer to access the internet through their smartphones, rather than watch a TV programme or go to a public discussion in a piazza.”*

*“Twitter and Instagram, and the reason is simple: politicians able to communicate through new technologies are more likely to listen to the voice of young people... in that way they would guarantee ‘verbal’ democracy to the young Italian people, who would be able to contribute in a very simple way to political decisions.”*

*“Communication through social networks could help, and also they should surround themselves with young people, able to connect with their peers.”*

#### ITALY



*“Politicians or parties could safely reach young people better through social networks like Facebook. By their own profiles and, if at all possible, through PERSONAL (I mean really personal and not from any employees) answers to people’s questions.”*

*“I think politicians can reach young people well, especially through social media. In the US this is happening now with Reddit AMA (ask me anything). It is important to be in direct contact with young people and to give them the feeling that you are taking their opinions and concerns seriously.”*

*“For the best communications with young people you have to be on social networks and support the youth in what they want”*

#### GERMANY

## PROMOTING A NEW POLITICAL PARTY

The participants in the insights communities were asked what they would personally do if they were involved in promoting a new political party and wanted to engage with their peers. Once again, the core focus of ideas centred around use of the internet, social media and social networking. There was a suggestion in Germany that there

should be snap votes on Facebook and Twitter five minutes before a vote in parliament to give the people a chance to share their opinion. Many commented on the value of setting up a website as a space for everyone to express their opinions.



*“I would open a website as a space for dialogue on politics and current themes...a site where everyone could express their opinions.”*

*“The idea would be to utilise social networks such as Facebook and Twitter in order to connect them to politics and create a space for discussion.”*

#### POLAND



*“I would organise activities which involved young people directly, through the creation of a website, and advertising on the social networks, but also through interviews of the candidates, and increasing the possibilities where people and candidates meet.”*

*“I would visit high schools, and other technical schools to gain the support of young people and then use TV for the older people.”*

#### ITALY



*“I would open my party up, make it faster. Everyone should have the opportunity to contribute their opinion five minutes before the vote in Parliament, Skype or Twitter - this format really brings a lot of confidence with it, because if everyone has the opportunity to participate, they will really trusts the politicians. Possibly also a podcast would help, in which one makes the normal everyday life and curiosities public - just to show that politicians can be fun and not always just serious, important and unapproachable.”*

*“You should definitely take advantage of all communication channels. Not only the traditional media but also the “new media”. Then you would have time to consider how and what is important and do not make promises that are not kept. A mixture of experienced and young people is important so that everyone is addressed (and with young I do not mean 40 and under, which is what is often referred to in the Polzik in Germany as young)”*

#### GERMANY

## SHARING ON SOCIAL MEDIA

In the qualitative communities, we asked the Millennials about sharing content (articles, videos, images etc) on social media. Whilst many stated that they were just “passive” social networkers, amongst those who actively shared content, there were some common threads regarding the kind of content that most frequently gets shared. This content tends to be either positive and interesting or something that they think will be of benefit to their friends.

One of the implications for political parties is that they would be better off focusing their daily social media efforts on creating a lower number of really high quality “shareable” content, such as, positive/interesting blog posts, videos, animations, infographics etc. than churning out a higher volume of lower quality, less “shareable” content.

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*“I share only positive news on Facebook when I discover this, the other news I ignore.”*

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### ITALY

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*“Sometimes, when I find some interesting article, something useful then I share it with others on Facebook or another social network”*

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### POLAND

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*“If I find something that I think my friends might like, then I share from time to time on Facebook”*

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### GERMANY

## POSTER TASK

For the final task in the qualitative community discussions we asked the Millennials to work together to develop ideas for posters that would encourage young people to get engaged with politics. They were asked to come up with a headline for the poster and discuss the sort of language and imagery that should be used. Most of the participants clearly enjoyed this task and some even mocked-up some actual poster designs.

With regards to language, the clear consensus was that the communication style should be direct and clear with no difficult political/technical terms (but not so simple that it becomes patronising). When it came to imagery, the participants generally suggested positive images with, for example, an image of happy young people. Other ideas included using comparisons of life/public services showing scenes before and after changes or the struggle between good and bad/evil.

As well as posting their own ideas, participants were also asked to like/vote for each other’s ideas. One of the more popular ideas detailed a campaign strategy that would use the posters to encourage young people to join a big, open online discussion about a specific topic:

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*“Connect young people directly by creating large online communities for public discussion – one for each policy area. The campaign would develop with several posters with positive examples of things that are happening in Italy or different points of discussion about negative arguments but that can give stimulus to new solutions. Then using a hashtag or a link to Facebook or a QR code on the poster, young people would have the option to enter directly into the community via mobile devices... the imagery should just reflect the topic of discussion (e.g. health, education).”*

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### ITALY

The suggestion that campaigns should also include older people and encourage inter-generational dialogue was also well received:

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*“We need the help of everyone, including YOU! No matter if you are young or old: we need everyone’s help to build a future of prosperity and certainty. The future is ours.”*

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### GERMANY

The poster headline ideas were generally very positive messages, containing words like “hope” and “change”. Here are some more of the top rated suggestions:

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*“I would show a young person taking a ‘selfie’ inside parliament with the title: ‘I can be here, too.’”*

*“We are the future”*

*“Are you fed up with the current government? Are you fed up with pointless inter-party fights, which plunge our country into chaos? Would you like to work for decent money in Poland? If you answer “yes” to any of these questions, join us! It is you who we need to change our country!”*

*“We stand in defense of the future”*

*“Your ideas are wanted.”*

*“Your future - your choice”*

*“If you are indifferent, nothing will ever change”*

*“Don’t lose hope!”*

*“Young politicians wanted”*

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*“It’s time for changes!!!”*

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