

The EU's youth initiatives

Closing the gap between education and employment

SUMMARY

Currently nearly 20% of young people (aged 15-24) in the EU-28 are unemployed. This represents one in five young Europeans; and nearly one in two in Spain and Greece, where youth unemployment rates are particularly high.

Although the most promising way of providing opportunities for young people is through restoring growth and employment, specific measures focused on youth are essential. In this context, different EU initiatives have been put in place to improve the learning paths, mobility, and employability of young people.

The Europe 2020 Strategy (launched in 2010) has a strong focus on young adults, with a headline target of reducing early school-leaving from 15% to 10%, and increasing the share of higher education graduates from 31% to at least 40% by 2020. The Youth Employment Package (2012) triggered the creation of a Youth Guarantee to ensure that all young people under the age of 25 receive a good-quality offer of employment, education, an apprenticeship or a traineeship within a period of four months of becoming unemployed or leaving education. To help Member States step up national policies in combating youth unemployment, the Council established a Youth Employment Initiative (YEI) in 2013. The more than €6 billion available under this initiative will be used to reinforce and accelerate measures outlined in the Youth Employment Package and in particular, in the Youth Guarantee. All operational programmes funded through the YEI are currently being implemented. However, recent reviews reveal some common drawbacks with regard to conceptual design, the nature of the envisaged measures, and the sustainability of the schemes.

This briefing substantially updates an [earlier one](#) of October 2014.



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Background: why demographics matter

At a time when nearly [20%](#) of young Europeans remain unemployed, finding the most efficient ways for their transition from education to employment remains more than ever a priority. Labour market integration of young people is essential for social inclusion and economic growth. This, however, requires careful consideration of future demographic developments.

In January 2014, almost [90 million](#) young people (aged 15-29) lived in the European Union (EU). This represents an average of 18%, but the proportion varies across countries. Worryingly, the decline in the young population which started 30 years ago has continued to increase. Between 2010 and 2014, the 15-19 year-old cohort was the most affected, with an [average decrease](#) of 7%.

Central, eastern and southern EU countries suffered the largest drops (see Figure 1).

Long-term projections [suggest](#) that, while the young population is expected to decrease further, to reach 16% in 2050, the share of those aged 65 and over will rise substantially (from 18.5% in 2014 to 28.7%). The steady ageing of the EU population is the most significant outcome of this situation, which, in turn, may result in a dwindling workforce across the EU.

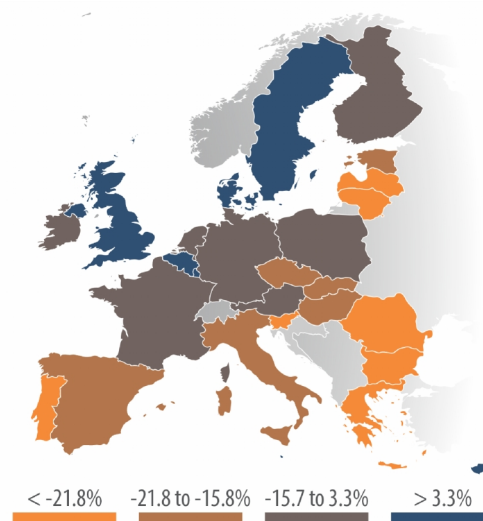
Even though projecting future economic trends is a challenging analytical exercise, growing more complex and uncertain as the length of the projection period extends, these demographic projections raise [concerns](#) about the EU's future growth rate at a time when significant additional resources will be required to meet the needs of an increasing elderly population. Similarly, the sustainability of the current welfare state seems problematic, in particular, if EU countries continue experiencing difficulties in raising overall employment levels.

Youth unemployment: features and drivers

Youth unemployment rates are generally much higher than unemployment rates for the broader population. The on-going economic crisis has further aggravated this situation. Between 2007 and 2013, the average [youth unemployment](#) rate in the EU (for those aged 15-24) reached record highs, jumping from 15.9% to 23.7% – more than twice the overall unemployment rate, which stood at 9.5% at the end of 2013. However, economic recovery seems to be gaining ground, and recent figures show a slight reduction in youth unemployment to 20.5% in 2015. Nevertheless, some EU countries still experience difficulties. The hardest hit in 2015 were Spain (53.2%), Greece (52.4%), Croatia (45.5%), Italy (42.7%), Cyprus (36%), and Portugal (34.7%) (see Figure 2).

This situation reflects the difficulties faced by young people. Indeed, youth unemployment is more sensitive to the economic cycle than overall unemployment¹ for [several reasons](#). In general, young people are less experienced, and are more easily laid off. During an economic downturn, companies stop hiring, which affects young people in particular.

Figure 1 – Demographic change 2000-2014, EU27 population aged 15-29



Data source: [Eurostat](#) 2015.

In a context with limited job opportunities, companies usually prefer older workers, as the younger workers lack experience. If a downturn persists and companies need to lay off workers, this will mostly have an impact on young workers,² as they lack experience and often induce lower severance payments. Moreover, research [shows](#) that being unemployed for long periods when young can have scarring effects on future employment prospects, and mental health.

That said, unemployment figures deserve a cautious interpretation, since many young people are studying full time and are therefore neither working nor looking for a job. In other words, they are not part of the labour force, which is the starting point for calculating the unemployment rate. For this reason, youth unemployment [ratios](#) are also calculated based on the share of unemployed in the whole population. Youth unemployment ratios in the EU are much lower than youth unemployment rates; however they have also risen since 2008 due to the effects of the crisis on the labour market.

[Drivers](#) of youth unemployment can differ substantially due to the different situations of national labour markets. While in some countries young people are unable to find work after graduation (e.g. Czech Republic), in others, they remain jobless due to substantial lay-offs (e.g. Spain). Levels of youth unemployment are also influenced by structural characteristics of labour markets, such as hiring costs or active labour market policies (e.g. public employment services and training schemes), as well as by the quality of education and training systems. While a brighter economic outlook will help improve young peoples' job prospects, it will not solve all the difficulties they are facing.

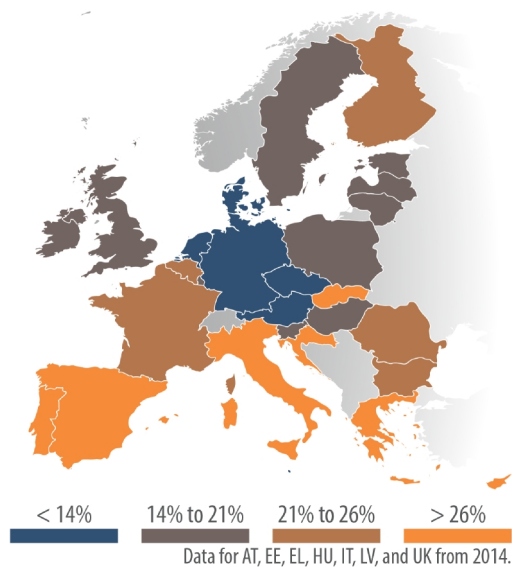
There is no crowding out between young and old workers

According to the 'lump of labour theory', the demand for labour in the economy is fixed and consequently needs to be divided among different population groups. The introduction of the 35-hour work week in France in 2000 represents an example of a policy based on this theory; the premise being that a reduction in working hours would create more jobs and reduce unemployment. However, a growing number of economists [question](#) the validity of this theory. [Opponents](#) argue that there is no empirical evidence for a fixed amount of labour. Apart from particular circumstances in certain firms or sectors with low labour mobility, there seems to be no competition for jobs between young and old workers, given the limited substitutability of the two age groups due to differences in sectors, occupations, experiences and skills.

Designing a system that works

Currently, nearly one in five young people in the EU is [unemployed](#), and one in four is at [risk of poverty or social exclusion](#). Analysis [shows](#) that over the past 25 years, youth replaced the elderly as the group with the highest risk of income-induced poverty. The social cost of the economic crisis continues to weigh heavily, and the [gaps between the richest and the poorest](#) are increasing.³ In this context, [NGOs](#) warn that economic growth

Figure 2 – Unemployment rate 2014/2015, EU28 population aged under 25 (annual average)



Data source: [Eurostat](#) 2016.

is not enough to foster social progress,⁴ especially if the gains from growth are not shared equitably.

Although the most promising way to provide opportunities for young people is through restoring growth and employment, specific, focused measures are essential. Ultimately, [good education and the right skills](#) are the best unemployment insurance. In this context, facilitating young peoples' access to the labour market through efficient learning paths and support (adequate vocational training, job placement services, etc.) is crucial.

From education to employment: a critical intersection

The technological revolution has brought about various social and economic transformations, which, in turn, have changed the demand for skills. With low-skill tasks increasingly becoming automated, the need for basic craft skills is declining, while the demand for more complex skills is growing. Skills [forecasts](#) indicate that 35% of jobs in the EU are likely to require a higher education qualification by 2020. However, according to [Eurostat](#) in 2014, 31.7% of the EU workforce aged 25-54 held a degree. This [compares](#) with 44% in Korea, 45% in the United States, 49% in Japan, and 53% in Canada.⁵

Worryingly, the results from a survey on adults' skills, carried out in 2013, show that a significant number of adults achieve only the lower levels of proficiency in [literacy](#), [numeracy](#) and [problem-solving](#). According to the authors, further enhancement of skills through adult education and training for this group is also less likely. What is even more unsettling is the fact that advancement between younger and older generations is barely visible. For [example](#), while the United Kingdom (UK) is among the three highest-performing countries in literacy for 55-65 year-olds, the country ranks among the bottom three countries when comparing proficiency among 16-24 year-olds.

Another serious concern is the extent to which information-processing skills vary among individuals with similar qualifications. For example, Italy and Spain rank much higher in the proportion of 25-34 year-olds with [university degrees](#) than they do in [literacy](#) or [numeracy](#) proficiency among the same age group. Even more striking is the fact that, on average, Dutch 25-34 year-olds who have completed only high-school education [outperform](#) Italian or Spanish university graduates of the same age.

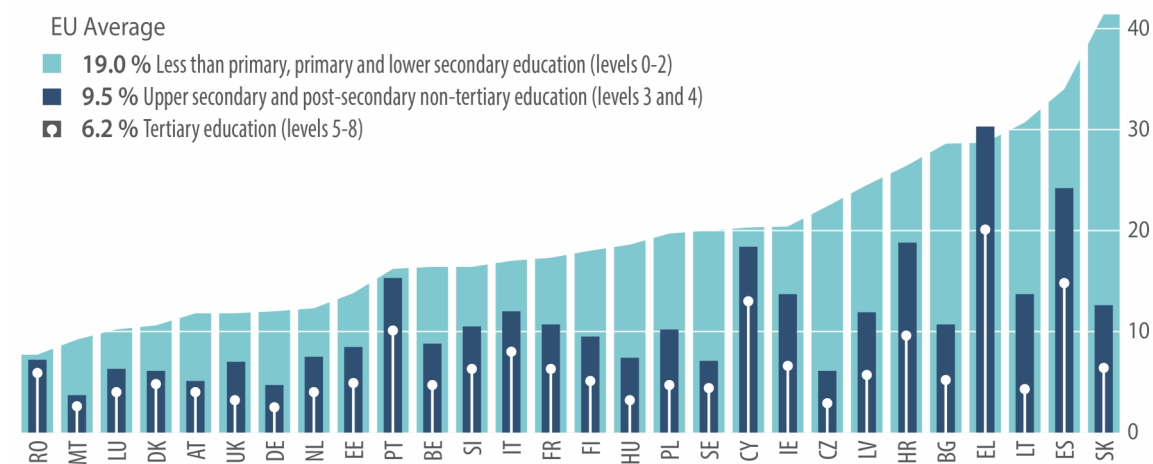
Most importantly, these results raise questions about the relevance and quality of formal education in some countries when compared internationally. Solid information-processing skills are essential, not least because they determine access to jobs and further education and training that could help young people maintain and develop their skills.

Statistical data show that good educational qualifications are still the best job guarantee in times of crisis; unemployment rates clearly decrease as the level of education attained rises (see Figure 3). This is observed in all EU countries, as the average unemployment rate in the EU-28 in 2014 was three times higher for those having lower secondary education (19%), compared to those having obtained higher education degrees (6.2%).

Furthermore, the highest [employment rates](#) in 2014 were recorded for those who had graduated from tertiary education, while lower employment rates were registered for those with upper secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary education. Moreover, recent graduates with vocational upper secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary education systematically recorded higher employment rates than those with general upper secondary or post-secondary non-tertiary education. In addition to better job prospects, higher-education graduates can [earn](#) up to 60% more than adults with upper secondary education only.

That said, developing skills and making them available to the labour market will not result in better social and economic outcomes, if those skills are not used effectively.⁶ The fact that some countries report skills shortages during times of high unemployment indicates a strong [mismatch](#) between demand and supply and suggests that the investment made to develop those skills may be partly wasted.

Figure 3 – Unemployment rate by level of educational attainment (ISCED levels), 2014 (%)



Data source: [Eurostat](#) 2016.

Tackling inequalities

Importantly, the risks and disadvantages of low educational attainment and skills impact heavily not only on income and employment, but also on other social outcomes, such as health. [Analysis](#) shows a clear pattern, with self-perceived health status worsening among persons with lower levels of education. This implies that when a large number of individuals do not share the benefits available to highly skilled populations, the long-term effect on society will be a deterioration in social cohesion and well-being.

More worryingly, analysis [indicates](#) that young adults from low-educated families become increasingly excluded from the potential benefits of education in general, thus perpetuating a negative intergenerational spiral. The interaction between their disadvantaged backgrounds and the less-than-satisfactory education they receive, results in the kinds of educational outcomes that do not favour their upward social mobility.

Last but not least, young people who are neither in employment, nor in education or training – the NEETs – require particular attention. Analysis [suggests](#) that individuals belonging to this group frequently go back and forth between temporary jobs, unemployment and/or inactivity, even during periods of strong economic growth. In 2014, 12.5% of all young people aged 15-24 across the EU, and 20.4% of those aged 25-29, fell into this [category](#), even though there has been a slight year-to-year decline.

However, these average figures hide substantial differences.⁷ These youths usually cumulate several social risk factors (such as low education, ethnic minority background, living in a deprived neighbourhood). Eurofound – the EU Foundation for the improvement of living and working conditions – [estimates](#) that, in 2011, the cost of young people's unemployment or inactivity (i.e. those considered as NEETs) was the equivalent of 1.21% of GDP annually for the EU. The re-integration into employment of just 10% of these young people would create a yearly gain of more than €15 billion.

EU action in favour of youth employment

What is the EU scope of action

The inclusion of 'youth' in the EU legal order is a relatively recent phenomenon, having been introduced in 1993 with the Treaty of Maastricht. Currently the Treaty on the Functioning of the EU provides for the facilitation of vocational training ([Article 166](#)), youth exchanges, and the participation of young people in democratic life in Europe ([Article 165](#)). In addition to this, young adults benefit from EU objectives in other fields, such as education, training and health. Measures falling within the scope of these articles are adopted under the [ordinary legislative procedure](#).

In the field of youth policy there is no provision for harmonising different national legislation. Rather, the Council acts mostly through the adoption of recommendations. More specifically, actions supporting job opportunities for young people are considered as social measures and are primarily the responsibility of the Member States. The EU's powers and responsibilities in the fields of youth and social policy are limited and are mainly implemented through the [open method of coordination](#) (i.e. a form of intergovernmental policy-making that does not result in binding legislative measures and does not require EU countries to amend their laws.).

Overview of EU initiatives

In 2009, the European Commission [put forward](#) an **EU Youth Strategy for 2010-2018** with two [overall objectives](#): to provide more and equal opportunities for young people in education and in the labour market, as well as to promote active citizenship and social inclusion for all young people.

These objectives were further reinforced with the [launch](#) in 2010 of the **Europe 2020 Strategy**. It [focuses](#) strongly on young people, with a headline target of reducing early school-leaving from 15% to 10% and increasing the share of young graduates from 31% to at least 40% by 2020. Two other headline targets have a youth dimension – reducing the risk of poverty for at least 20 million Europeans and increasing the share of the population in employment to reach 75%.

While each EU Member State remains responsible for its own education and training systems, the EU **Strategic framework for education and training 2020** is [designed](#) to address common challenges through eight benchmarks. Among these, one target is specifically related to the employment rate of recent graduates. Introduced in 2012, it aims to see the share of employed graduates (aged 20-34, with at least upper secondary education attainment and having left education one to three years previously) reaching 82%.

Established in 2010, under Europe 2020, **Youth on the Move** is a comprehensive [package](#) of policy initiatives on education and employment for young people. It focuses notably on the development of '**Your first EURES job**' as a pilot project (see box), and the [creation](#) of a dedicated **Youth Opportunities Initiative**, targeting in particular unemployed young people who left education before finishing upper-secondary level.

'Your first EURES job' in figures

'Your first [EURES](#) job' is an EU job mobility scheme initiated in 2012. The ultimate target is to facilitate 5 000 job placements. By the end of the first quarter of 2015, the scheme reached 78% of the overall target corresponding to 3 887 placements.

In 2012, the Commission [put forward](#) a **Youth Employment Package** as a follow-up to the actions on youth laid out in the wider [Employment Package](#). It included in particular a proposal to Member States to establish a **Youth Guarantee**, which was eventually

[adopted](#) by the Council in 2013. Member States therefore committed to ensuring that all young people under the age of 25 receive a good-quality offer of employment, education, an apprenticeship or a traineeship within a period of four months of becoming unemployed or leaving education. EU funding backs the guarantee mainly through the implementation of the Youth Employment Initiative (see box).

The Youth Employment Initiative in a nutshell

The **Youth Employment Initiative** (YEI), [agreed](#) by the European Council in 2013, aims to help Member States improve national policies in combating youth unemployment in [regions](#) where it exceeds 25%, and in particular focuses on NEETs. It is one of the main EU financial resources to support the implementation of Youth Guarantee schemes in the period 2014-2020.

Out of its budget of over €6 billion, €3.2 billion comes from a dedicated Youth Employment budget line, complemented by another €3.2 billion from the European Social Fund ([ESF](#)). Given Member States' budgetary difficulties, only the ESF contribution requires a national top-up.⁸ Even so, many Member States were unable to gather the amounts necessary to co-fund projects. To boost the scheme, the European Commission offered exceptionally to increase the YEI pre-financing rate in 2015 from 1% to 30%, allowing thereby an [increase in pre-financing](#) of around €1 billion. This made it possible for the [20 Member States](#) participating in the YEI to receive a third of the €3.2 billion allocation immediately after the adoption of their Operational Programmes and to make this funding available through advance payments for projects.

Commission estimates indicate that without the increase, support would have been available to between just 14 000 and 22 000 young people, whereas the 30-fold increase in pre-financing, allowed for an increase of between 350 000 and 650 000 young people.

The implementation of Youth Guarantee [national plans](#) is now under way in all Member States. Monitoring is taking place through an [Indicator Framework](#) adopted by the Ministers of Employment. Although the schemes come at a cost for Member States, the price of inaction would be much higher. The International Labour Organization has [estimated](#) the cost of setting up Youth Guarantees in the euro area at €21 billion per year. However, the economic loss of having 7.5 million⁹ young people out of work or education or training has been [estimated](#) at over €150 billion in terms of paid benefits and lost output, in addition to the long-term costs of unemployment to the economy, to society and to the individuals concerned.

Several other EU initiatives complement the Youth Guarantee. The **European Alliance for Apprenticeships** [initiated](#) in 2013 aims to increase the quality and supply of apprenticeships across Europe. So far, 26 EU Member States and five non-EU countries have followed up by making [national commitments](#). In addition, more than 100 [pledges](#) have been made and nearly 200 companies support the initiative through the business-led [Alliance4Youth](#).

The **Quality Framework for Traineeships**, [adopted](#) by the Council in 2014, aims to ensure that traineeships outside formal education provide high-quality learning and fair working conditions. However, various youth organisations have [criticised](#) the Framework's weakness and non-binding nature. Indeed, the Framework does not provide for mandatory social security protection and (appropriate) remuneration. According to the [European Trade Union Confederation](#) (ETUC), in 2014 59% of trainees were not paid, and 38% did not have either a traineeship contract or an agreement. ETUC also [claims](#) that many internships look like apprenticeships without being properly regulated, which leads to abuse.

The **Public Employment Services Network** was [launched](#) in 2014 following a Council and European Parliament [Decision](#). One of its most pressing tasks consists of exchanging knowledge and successful practices on the implementation of the Youth Guarantee, as most public employment services are the designated national contact points for this important reform. However, due to diverging legal interpretations, Parliament and Council have not agreed on whether participation in the Network will be compulsory (the view of Parliament and the European Commission) or voluntary (Council's approach).

Most recently, in November 2015, a **European Pact for Youth** was set up with the aim to provide 100 000 new contracts for apprenticeships, placements or quality jobs, building on the European Alliance for Apprenticeships and the [European Business Network for Corporate Social Responsibility](#). It seeks to create a partnership between business and education, and improve opportunities for young people to find jobs.

The European Commission will provide the pact with technical assistance and present a progress report during the first summit between the business and education communities in December 2017.

Apprentice programme mobility

In an own initiative [report](#) on Erasmus+ (rapporteur Ernest Maragall, Greens/EFA, Spain) adopted in February 2016, Members of the CULT Committee pleaded for the introduction of quality standards for apprenticeships, in an effort to tackle any possible abuses occurring in this area. Their starting point is based on the observation that only 1% of young people currently in professional training are involved in a mobility programme. Therefore, they want the creation of conditions for more mobility in apprenticeships in the EU. They are also calling on the EU and Member States to ensure that apprenticeships are not used as a source of precarious work or a substitute for a full-time professional function.

Youth Guarantee implementation: mixed reviews

The Youth Guarantee has come under criticism. The European Youth Forum [regretted](#) its lack of sufficient financial resources and ambition. Some experts [argued](#) that the Guarantee cannot create jobs since the youth unemployment problem in the EU resides in scarce demand rather than in inadequate supply. Similarly, others [asserted](#) that as long as economic growth remains low, the scheme will not be sustainable and will merely provide 'a short-term band-aid solution'.

In contrast, the [review](#) by the International Labour Organization (ILO) of existing youth guarantee schemes in Europe shows their potential to bridge the gap until economic growth strengthens and the labour market recovers. Experts from ILO claim that they help in particular to keep young people connected to the labour market or in education, thus preventing the scarring effects arising from long-term unemployment.

The European Commission has [revealed](#) the first success stories of the Youth Guarantee. However, given the contrasting situations on the various national labour markets, the different starting points of each Member State/region and the heterogeneity of the NEETs group, the delivery of the Youth Guarantee has been fairly uneven on the ground. Disparities have not only been visible at country level but also at regional level, in particular in countries where employment and education policies are a regional competence.

In this context, experts comparing the regional implementation of the scheme across the EU have [identified](#) some common drawbacks. Astonishingly, most Member States do not have a definition of what a 'quality offer' is, leading to situations where young people have been offered precarious jobs. Moreover, monitoring and evaluation seem to be generally inexistent, with public authorities being more focused on the 'point of entry' rather than on future labour prospects.

The input provided by youth organisations and trade unions has reportedly been given a low level of consideration. Furthermore, specific measures aimed at the most vulnerable appear to be generally absent from most national plans. For example, the starting point for delivering the Youth

Guarantee to a young person is usually their registration with an employment service.

In the case of NEETs though, a corresponding starting point needs to be defined since they are not registered, which usually results in authorities targeting mainly those young people who are less cumbersome to reach out to. In addition, the national implementation plans show great reliance on employment services already stretched for staff and lacking the resources to provide adequate personal guidance. Finally, the long-term sustainability of Youth Guarantee schemes is disputed, leaving stakeholders sceptical about the structural reforms they can trigger, as well as the continuity of those measures once EU financial support will be over.

Comments much along the same lines have been [echoed](#) by the European Trade Union Confederation.

The key role of education and training to nurture new generations of entrepreneurs accounts for particular measures to help develop untapped human resources, especially amongst young people. One such initiative is **Erasmus for Young Entrepreneurs** (see box). Efforts to improve the learning mobility and employability of young people are also supported through the **Lifelong Learning** and **Youth in Action** programmes, which – from 2014 onwards – are superseded by **Erasmus+** (see box).

The impact of Erasmus on employability

[Erasmus+](#) brings together seven existing EU programmes in the fields of education, training, and youth, and aims to improve skills and employability, as well as modernise education and training. The programme's ambition is to allow over 4 million Europeans to study, train, and gain work experience abroad over a seven-year period (2014-2020) and has a budget of €14.7 billion (in current prices).

According to a 2014 [study](#), young graduates who have obtained skills and experience abroad through the Erasmus programme have much better opportunities, and improved skills, than students who have not gone abroad. The probability of them becoming long-term unemployed is reduced by half as compared to non-mobile students, and their unemployment rate five years after obtaining their degrees is 23% less than for their fellow students who chose to study only in their home countries.

The study indicates that the period spent abroad provides them with job-finding skills that are 70% higher than those of students overall, and improves their employability compared to the latter by 42%.

It appears that, amongst employers, 92% seek transversal skills in job-seekers (such as curiosity, problem-solving abilities, tolerance, open-mindedness, and self-confidence) which are improved through the Erasmus programme; 64% of them see international experience as an important advantage for recruitment purposes; and 64% believe that international experience paves the way to taking on more responsibility at work. Most importantly, Erasmus develops a spirit of enterprise. As illustrated by the study, 40% of former Erasmus students, as opposed to just 23% of non-Erasmus students, set up businesses abroad; 93% of them intend to do so (as opposed to 73%); and 33% (compared to 13%) live with a person of different nationality, with 27% of these cases having begun during a period spent abroad.

A spin-off of the programme, [Erasmus for Young Entrepreneurs](#) gives aspiring entrepreneurs the chance to learn from experienced counterparts running small businesses in other participating countries. Statistical data [show](#) that companies who took part in the programme are more resilient, grow more, and create more jobs, with more than a third (36.5%) of the aspiring entrepreneurs going on to create their own business after the exchange. Some 87% of the start-ups founded by the entrepreneurs who have participated in the programme are still running, while the average survival rate of start-ups in the EU after three years is only 57%. Likewise, 73% of the new entrepreneurs have developed new products or services, compared to an average of 35% of SMEs in the EU. Since its beginning in 2009 until mid-2015, nearly 3 300 exchanges have taken place, involving some 6 600 new or experienced entrepreneurs.

Main references

Chircop D., [An overview of the EU Youth Strategy 2013-2015](#), EPRS, European Parliament, January 2016.

[NEETs – Young people not in employment, education or training: Characteristics, costs and policy responses in Europe](#), Eurofound, October 2012.

[Situation of young people in the EU](#), European Commission, September 2015.

[Education at a glance](#), OECD, 2015.

[Skills outlook: First results from the survey of adult skills](#), OECD, 2013.

[Combining the entry of young people in the labour market with the retention of older workers](#), Policy Department A: Economic and scientific policy, European Parliament, April 2013.

Endnotes

¹ This, in turn, [explains](#) the negative impact of youth unemployment on fertility rates and demographics, possibly due to income uncertainty related to unemployment and subsequent decisions to delay starting a family.

² This phenomenon is known as the 'last-in first-out' rule.

³ On average [in the EU](#), the top 20% earned 5.1 times as much income as the bottom 20% in 2012.

⁴ The [Social Progress Index](#) 2015 ranks 133 countries covering 94% of the world's population based on their social and environmental performance across 52 indicators. Despite having the world's largest [GDP](#) in 2015, the USA for example ranks 16th behind other countries with lower GDP. On measures of health and wellness, the USA ranks lower than Peru, Bangladesh and Ethiopia.

⁵ Note that in this case the age bracket is wider: 25-64.

⁶ Over-skilled workers – those with higher skills than required by their jobs – tend to under-use their skills, resulting in a 'waste' of human capital, while under-skilled workers – those with lower skills than required by their jobs – have to work harder to accomplish their tasks, which could lead to stress and lower job satisfaction, with negative consequences for productivity. Young people are particularly affected by over-skilling, as the incidence of over-skilling generally diminishes with age.

⁷ The [percentage of NEETs](#) in 2014 varies between 5.5% in the Netherlands and 22.1% in Italy for those aged 15-24 and respectively 6.9% in Sweden and 39.5% in Greece for those aged 25-29.

⁸ ESF funding is always accompanied by public or private financing. Co-financing rates vary between 50% and 85% (95% in exceptional cases) of the total project costs depending on the relative wealth of the region.

⁹ The calculation is based on data from 2011, respectively 12.9% for those aged 15-24 and 19.8% for those aged 25-29.

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