

Aid policies for young people in Europe and the OECD countries

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*Olivier Thévenon*¹

Abstract: The paper examines how European countries are helping young adults to enter into adult life, i.e. to leave parental home and to become economically self-sufficient. To do so, we examine the way in which public aid is broken down into the areas mentioned above (education, housing, employment, and social and child benefits) to result in a more or less diversified and coherent set of aid more or less able to foster the transition to adulthood. A particular attention is paid to the existence or non-existence of aid in these areas and the extent to which this aid covers the most vulnerable. Our analysis highlights different configurations which only partly correspond to the usual geographical divisions distinguishing social welfare regimes. Considerable differences are observed between Nordic countries, as well as between some English-speaking countries. France stands also out through its similarity to some Nordic countries and difference with most Continental European countries.

Keywords: Youths; policies for young adults; transition to adulthood; NEETs

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1. Introduction

Patterns of transition to adulthood have changed substantially in most western countries from the late 1960s onwards (Modell et al., 1976; Billari and Liefbroer, 2010; Lesnard et al., 2010; Buchman and Kriesi, 2011; Furstenberg Jr., 2013; Wagner and Thévenon, 2015). The traditional markers of the transition to adulthood, like leaving home, marriage and parenthood, no longer have the same occurrence that they once had. Most of these events occur much later than a few decades ago, and the transitions between different states take longer nowadays. This has led many young people to experience a prolonged period of “semi-autonomy” during which they don’t live completely on their own as they have not necessarily completed their education or secured their position in the labour market nor having entered into an official partnership union.

The reasons for such changes are multiple. First, changes in values and norms have induced the "de-standardization" of pathways towards adulthood which has become increasingly diverse. As a consequence, education is still completed before entering in the labour market in most cases, but marriage no longer necessarily precedes childbirth, nor is it a necessary condition for young men and women to leave parental home and to establish themselves in a separate home.

The globalization of the market economies is a first factor impacting particularly educational systems, labour markets, and therefore pathways to make the transition from school to work. Globalization has so induced a greater competition between students to get the best diplomas; it also encourages employers to look for a flexible workforce which young people stepping in the labour market are likely to provide. All this creates a very uncertain environment for young adults to set up in the labour market and to make decision in their personal life. As a result, moving towards self-sufficiency has become a longer process for youths, a process which often comprises several episodes of unemployment and family support. Summing up these different developments Billari and Liefbroer (2010) accurately described the changes in transitions to adulthood that have marked industrialized nations over the last decades as moving from a pattern that is "early, contracted and simple" to one that is "late, protracted and complex".

Uncertainty is, of course, exacerbated during periods of economic recession, and this is why the young adult population is one of the most heavily impacted by the 2008 economic crisis. The unemployment rate for 15-24 year-olds in the European Union rose from an average 15.7% in 2007 to 23.4% in 2013. Young people with relatively modest educational

qualifications are particularly hard hit, with a higher unemployment rate (30%) and a considerably higher risk of being hired on temporary contracts. In France for example, nearly 40% of 15-29 year-olds have a fixed-term work contract, up from 35,6% in 2007. In parallel, the percentage of 16-29 year-olds neither in training nor employment rose by an average of nearly 2.7% in the EU between 2007 and 2011, with particularly significant increases in Greece (+13.4 percentage points), Spain (+9.7 points) and Italy (+8.1 points), compared with just +1.2 points in France.

The crisis appears to have led more young adults to not leave their parental home. Owing to problems entering the job market, young people are staying longer in the education system, putting off the start of their working lives and remaining at their parents' home (Aassve et al., 2013). In other words, the crisis seems to have had particular impact on "youth", i.e. the intermediate period between childhood and adulthood in which three types of transitions (Galland, 2011) occur: the "occupational" transition from the completion of education to employment, the "residential" transition with the departure from the parental home, and the "family" transition with the formation of couples and, for some, the arrival of a first child.

In this context, the early years of adulthood have become more and more critical for many aspects of the adult life. First, this period encompasses the years during which youths complete their education and realize their transition from school to work. Young people face, however, variable opportunities to get the best diplomas, to receive training while being student, and to make a successful entry in the labour market. These opportunities depend greatly on the support young adults can get from their families and from policy programs that accompany the different areas of the transition to adult life, in order to leave parental home and to start to live independently, to complete their education and to find a suitable job.

How youths' behaviours regarding education, personal life or labour market participation are actually impacted by all the circumstances mentioned above depends crucially on the institutional and policy context. One of the key roles of these institutions is to moderate the uncertainty that is channeled towards specific social groups (Blossfeld et al., 2005). Policies also provide resources can make these decisions less dependent on family assets and on other socio-demographic characteristics. Then, cross-national differences in 'transition to adulthood' patterns mirror the policy characteristics regarding youth and the transition to adulthood in European countries (Vogel, 2002; Van de Velde, 2008).

Against this backdrop, different "regimes" of youth transitions have been distinguished in comparative research to broadly characterize the interplay between socio-economic structures, institutional arrangements and cultural patterns which legitimates behaviour and which they

constantly reproduce (Breen, 2002; Walther, 2006). Buchmann (Buchmann, 1989), for example sees differences in the extent to which countries' institutions promote "individualism" as key to understanding cross-national differences. Three areas of institutional arrangements are of particular importance for explaining why differences between different countries might persist: 1) the nature of educational system, and in particular how it facilitates or not the transition from school to work and creates or reduces inequalities among young people making this transition; 2) the regulation of the labour market, and the extent to which young people can benefit from specific support and labour market policies to enter the labour market and to secure their employment; 3) the overall Welfare regime, which in particular sets how social policies coordinate with the family and with markets to facilitate the transition to work and towards the achievement of self-sufficiency.

The welfare state plays a central role in this respect, but can also have impacts that run counter to life paths (Leisering, 2006). It tends to separate transitions to adulthood by helping families to provide for young people more than the young people themselves. As such, leaving the parental home is predicated on successfully entering the job market. The role of the welfare state, then, is to integrate and secure life paths by directly helping young people and bringing them sufficiently diverse aid.

Yet public aid for young adults is often fragmented and rarely part of a coordinated national action plan, because very few countries identify youth as a specific action sector requiring strong coordination from the players involved (Schizzerotto & Gasperoni, 2001). In addition, the development of aid for young people is often entrusted to regions and local authorities, while it is more rooted in the implementation of national action programmes in other countries. A further difference lies in the fact that young people sometimes benefit from specific, targeted programmes but may also benefit from general programmes addressing the entire working population.

Further differences, in addition to those stemming from governance policies, result from the ways in which public aid is organized in terms of solidarity and private transfers. Various policy approaches to "de-familialization" make it more or less possible for young adults to leave their parental home and/or start a family as well as completing their education and/or moving from school to work.

The role played by institutional contexts in the transition to adulthood has already been identified widely in research. This work underlines the importance of welfare state systems as well as training systems and how they link up to the job market. The differences observed

concern a broad range of policies touching on education, employment and social policies. But most of the comparative work completed thus far is based on examples from particular countries that illustrate very different forms of commitment and public intervention principles. The aim of the present work is to add to the literature by comparing policies for young adults across a large set of economically advanced countries. More precisely, we examine how countries are helping young adults to enter into adult life, i.e. to live out of parental home, pursue their studies, enter the labour market and getting access to economic independence. To do so, we examine the way in which public aid is broken down into the areas mentioned above (education, housing, employment, and social and child benefits) to result in a more or less diversified and coherent set of aid more or less able to foster the transition to adulthood. A particular attention is paid to the existence or non-existence of aid in these areas and the extent to which this aid covers the most vulnerable.

To that end, considerable work has been carried out on compiling data on aid systems for young people and their characteristics and coverage. Four main aid areas are addressed: (i) the state's contribution to financing education, and tertiary education in particular; (ii) housing aid, to facilitate the departure from the parental home; (iii) professional integration aid; and (iv) social assistance systems. The analysis also takes account of the political environment, characterized by data on the living conditions of 15-29 year-olds. Differences in public aid for young people are compared with differences in the age at which people leave their parental home, their situation in terms of education and work, and the aid at their disposal.

We carry out a principal component analysis, of which the aim is to figure out how these forms of support are combined all together if they are and in which countries. Different patterns of support can be identified on the basis of the wide range of the policy characteristics taken into account.

Our aim in particular is to determine the complementarity of private and public resources in facilitating the entry into adult life, speeding up the process and enabling young people to achieve their goals in terms of education, professional integration and private or family life. To do so, we examine the way in which public aid is broken down into the areas mentioned above (education, housing, employment, and social and child benefits) to result in a more or less diversified and coherent set of aid more or less able to foster the transition to adulthood. We compare how countries help young people, paying particular attention to the existence or non-existence of aid in these areas and the extent to which this aid covers the most vulnerable.

The main dimensions of aid for young people demonstrating the greatest differences from one country to the next are identified by analyzing the principal components. Policies are

defined by many characteristics and each area of policies and their variable design across countries can be grasped by several indicators. In this context, principal component analysis is useful to identify and select those characteristics of policies that are most meaningful for contrasting countries' policy orientations. Principal component analysis can also be used to determine the combinations of characteristics on which contrasting policy configurations are structured, and to identify similarities between countries and what separates them into groups. A key consideration here is establishing whether countries stand out through certain forms of complementarities between different types of aid and, as a result, whether they provide comprehensive aid starting from the beginning of tertiary education, given that aid for education may be combined with aid for professional integration, housing access or the guarantee of a minimum income independent of the private transfers from which young people may benefit.

This type of analysis can, of course not, be free of any theoretical reference guiding the identification of policy characteristics and cross-national differences. To understand these differences, an approach based on regulation systems can be used to take account of the varying breakdowns between public aid, family solidarity and job market access (McNeisch and Loncle, 2003; Wahlter and Pohl, 2005). The institutional systems observed reflect configurations whose underlying philosophies – those that structure the transition to adulthood – vary in a qualitative manner. Those philosophies are important to our understanding of the different ways in which young people become adults in different countries and the varying paths that emerge more or less specifically to each context. Some institutional configurations are, as stressed by Kohli (2007), favourable to the “institutionalization” of “typical paths” that gradually become “dominant” and accepted as the standard reference over generations. The institutional environment obviously does not generate a complete standardization of life courses but it does lay out a set of constraints and resources that make these courses more or less heterogeneous and more or less sensitive to certain social and economic characteristics and certain events. Ultimately, identifying the different regulatory systems at play in the entry into adult life increases understanding of their intrinsic coherence and allows us to interpret the differences that can be brought to light between countries in terms of the situation of young adults.

As a result, one needs for this to go back to the foundations of policies, to the principles and logics making that countries establish different priorities, articulate differently the different policy area, and design specifically their policies (or lack of policies) towards young adults. We carry out such a discussion in the next section that will help for the interpretation

of the cross-national differences presented in the following sections. We will assess countries' relative distance to "ideal-types" of policy configuration; but this should not be limitative in the sense that, as we will see, country policies are much more diverse than what "ideal-types" would lead us to predict.

Two properties of the institutional context are to be taken into particular account in the effort to link this context to the situation of the young adults and the characteristics of their entry into adult life. The first of these is "institutional integrity", relating to the coherence of a set of institutions and policies whose effects may or may not extend in the same direction and, therefore, accrue or not (Clemens and Cook, 1999; Lee, 2012). This means practically that we figure out which countries develop policies touching one or several areas of young adults' life, and which countries do not or do develop policies in only one area (education, employment, social assistance, housing, etc.). How these policies actually affect or not the transition to adulthood strongly depends on how comprehensive is the range of policy supports young people can get in their different areas of life, and on the degree of complementarity between these types of support. In the present case, we assess this coherence through the existence or lack of aid that young people in a range of areas benefit from to finance their education, set up an independent home, enter the job market or receive a minimum income if they have problems finding work. Put another way, institutional integrity qualifies the form of *horizontal coherence* that may be achieved by different sections of aid policies for young people. This coherence will be greater in countries attempting to develop an "integrated" approach aimed at coordinating sector-based policies implemented for young people, particularly on apprenticeships, employment and social aid (Bois-Reymond & Lopez Blasco, 2003; Walther, 2003). Consequently, it may be expected that the greater and more institutionally established the coherence, the more easily young adults can combine their studies, an initial work experience and the departure from their parents' home.

The alignment of institutions then considers the level of coherence between the institutions affecting different population categories. The resources and sets of constraints faced by young people vary in line with their socio-economic status, their situation relative to education and employment, and their family status. In the same country, different socio-occupational categories may have different access to aid or are not in a position to access certain forms of aid. Here the aim is to assess the *vertical coherence* of institutions and policies that may target more or less explicitly some categories or be of varying accessibility for the least favoured categories. That being so, particular focus needs to be placed on policies addressing young people coming out of the education system and not yet established in the

job market, constituting a population category that is often targeted by some programmes. A further important point is the difference in access to aid between boys and girls, which may vary in line with contexts more or less favourable to gender equality.

2. The foundations of aid policies for young adults

The place reserved for young adults in social and employment policies varies considerably from one country to the next. These variations are rooted in philosophies that inform the development of social protection systems through different forms of complementarity between the different “spaces” occupied by young people making their entry into adult life. The distinction established between different social system “regimes” since the work of Esping-Andersen has helped to explain the nature of the different principles structuring the aid that the state can bring to the roles played respectively by the job market and family solidarity (Esping-Andersen, 1999; Thévenon, 2006). The forms of social welfare are distinguished in particular by the way in which the state intervenes to facilitate access to the job market, “de-familialize” care for dependent children (and parents) and thereby make inequalities in living standards less dependent on the immediate situation of individuals in the job market or their family situation.

State aid for young people takes a range of forms, the meaning of which is given by the perceptions that structure the way young people “have to” forge their independence through the use of the resources provided by the state and the family or acquired in the job market (Breen and Buchman, 2002; Voguel, 2002; Van de Velde, 2008). Practically speaking, public policies can aim to directly help the young people themselves or instead help the family as a whole, giving it the responsibility of making the necessary transfers itself. State aid may also aim to make access to tertiary education less dependent on family resources by co-financing studies through limited tuition fees or the provision of grants and loans. Public aid may also serve to facilitate departures from the parental home by helping young people to obtain or finance housing when they leave the parental residence to finish their studies or start their professional lives. Access to social assistance services therefore varies according to the targeting of certain populations, in line with the assistance policies that may be developed for the population as a whole. The way in which these forms of aid are or are not developed is another dimension that varies from one country to the next. The complementarity that may emerge between these forms of aid explains some of the differences that can be observed in the paths taken by individuals as they enter into adult life.

To shed light on these differences, a summary characterization can be made of public intervention approaches concerning young adults that vary in quality according to the “world” they apply to, be it liberal, social-democrat or corporatist.

2.1 Becoming a financially responsible adult: liberal perspective

In the liberal “world”, the individual gains independence by becoming “financially responsible” as early as possible. Young people have a duty to become independent. This encourages them to quickly enter the job market by opting for shorter tertiary-education courses or, for those extending their education, combining studies with a part-time job (Breen and Buchman, 2002; Van de Velde, 2008). Holding a job while still at school is seen as a way of preparing young adults for their entry into professional life. It also provides access to resources that loosen the ties of dependence the young person has with their family. As their own resources are limited, young adults remain largely dependent on family solidarity.

Market mechanisms play a central role in matching educational supply and demand and employment supply and demand. The job market and the education system have to be sufficiently flexible in terms of hours and salaries so as to enable the rapid integration of young people with modest qualifications and initial work experience for students. The situation of young people from disadvantaged backgrounds depends in particular on local job market dynamics, the risk being that they will be required to accept a low-quality job (Bois-Reymond & Lopez Blasco, 2003). But the state also plays a role in this respect, intervening at two levels. It helps to finance education and in particular helps deserving young people to enter tertiary education establishments commensurate with their aptitudes, in keeping with the principle of equal opportunities that it defends. But the aid provided by the state takes a particular form, because while the aim is to enable young people to start their adult lives on a level playing field, the state must in no way usurp the individual responsibility to be demonstrated by young people in their entry into adult life. As such, the state supplements individual or family resources through the use of “guaranteed” loans and/or preferential rates rather than grants, the idea being that a loan engages the responsibility of holders and thereby prepares them for adult life. Students obliged to leave their parents’ home to continue their studies may also request aid or loan supplements to finance their housing needs.

The state also provides social aid aimed at helping disadvantaged individuals excluded from the education system or employment to find an activity and the individual independence that comes with it. Young people who “drop out” of the education system but are unable to

find a job are particularly targeted by training and social aid programmes intended to give them a fresh outlook, helping them to project themselves into the future and take hold of that future by finding a place in the employment market in the long term. The prevention of dropping out and exclusion is also a central objective of social policies for disadvantaged individuals entering adult life on an unequal footing.

Furthermore, aid is granted in the Beveridgian tradition to people unable to hold a position of employment or whose job provides insufficient resources. The individual's age is not a decisive qualifying criterion in this respect, so young people can, often before their age of majority, apply for such aid if they are in a situation in which neither their job nor their family provides the resources necessary to lift them out of poverty.

The state here, then, serves to supplement the resources procured by the family, which nevertheless play a decisive role in the way that young people approach their transition to economic and family independence. Whatever the case, it is supposed here that youth is a transitory phase before the establishment, as quickly as possible, of economic independence relative to the state and the family.

Young people are encouraged to leave the parental home relatively early on average, but considerable disparities are to be expected in the timeline of the transition depending on the socio-economic situation of the parents and the young person's situation in terms of education and employment. A relatively high unemployment rate for under-25s is also to be expected, accompanied by a high rate of students holding a job while completing their tertiary education.

The Welfare States in English-speaking countries are largely based on liberal principles that are described here. While they share some characteristics, the analysis will show however that all Anglophone countries provide a comprehensive support to the most deprived young adults.

2.2 Becoming an independent citizen: social-democrat context

The Nordic countries typically illustrate the social-democratic "world". Here, the aim of public policies is to enable citizens to make decisions without depending on family resources and constraints and without the inequalities stemming from the play of markets constituting an obstacle to entering into professional life. Entry into adult life here is clearly identified as a period in which the individual acquires a twofold independence, first from their parents and then from public aid. In contrast, the state acts as a guarantor of the economic independence

of young people entering adult life (Van de Velde, 2008). Public aid is explicitly expected to help individuals reconcile different roles – as student, young professional or parent – and different transitions at the same time.

Consequently, the state intervenes on a massive scale with young people, with access to education and autonomy being seen as a collective responsibility and a basic element of citizenship. Public intervention is initially aimed at making tertiary education as financially accessible as possible, including when the young person has to leave the parental home to complete their studies. State-financed education leads to low tuition fees for tertiary education establishments so that the living standards of families pose no hindrance to tertiary education. Also, grants are awarded to all or a considerable majority of students so that all of them have a common base of resources. Grants are preferred to loans, which are associated with the unequal resources of young people since the amount of the authorized loan depends on the present and future guarantees that the young people and their families can supply. The grant system is also preferred because it is a way of eliminating the need for students to work to provide for themselves (Van de Velde, 2008).

The state is duty bound to guarantee equal resources to young adults by providing them with aid directly rather than through their family. At welfare level, individual rights are embedded in collective social responsibilities. Linked to citizenship, the right to social assistance applies to young people from their majority regardless of the socio-economic status of their families. Social aid is both multi-dimensional and diverse, so as to cover the broad range of needs of young people in terms of access to education, housing, employment or minimum income. Aid is also granted in an extremely broad or “universal” manner to foster equal treatment.

From a social-democratic standpoint, the entry into adult life is not seen as a linear and perfectly harmonious process in society. Instead it is considered as resulting from a process in which individuals “find themselves” (Van de Velde, 2008). Movements back and forth between studies and jobs are seen as a possible path, as education and professional life are not necessarily two distinct periods. This is why work-study programmes are encouraged, as they are seen to facilitate the transition to professional life while giving young people a chance to try out their initial choices.

The state is also highly active in helping young people enter the working population, supporting their training and job search needs where necessary. This support is provided through strong coordination between the social services and job placement services. In addition, gender equality is an integral part of the policies supporting the path to

independence. As such, it is the state's role to enable all parents of young children to access quality childcare. The organization of an extensive public childcare service is preferred to market initiatives because of the guarantees on the service quality and price levels set by the state itself. Access to childcare is as broad as possible and ideally does not depend on the activity of the parents, which allows students, the unemployed and employees to benefit from the service without having to fall back on family solidarity. Reconciling occupational and family life, this broad access to childcare services also serves to reduce differences in the age at which men and women become parents.

The social-democratic context, then, brings young people a certain level of security by supporting them in the numerous aspects involved in the transition to adult life. The idea is to provide an environment favourable to taking risks regarding the choices that present themselves on the transition to adult life, facilitating these changes even though future prospects and life conditions remain undetermined. But the context has an ambiguous effect on the development of young people because it creates the possibility for individuals to combine different events constituting the transition to adult life within a relatively short period of time. It also creates conditions more favourable to the exploration of lifestyles and, as a result, to the spreading out over time of the different transitions. The conditions help young people leave the parental home at a relatively early age and take on several roles (or transitions) in the same time period, combining education with occupational experience, leaving the parental home, and even becoming a parent while studying and making the transition to adult life. But the conditions are also conducive to leaving the parental home and setting up as a "single" person, which encourages the exploration of different lifestyles and possible movements back and forth between different situations before establishing a lasting family life with the formation of a couple and family. This situation makes possible what the psychologist Arnett (2000) describes as an "emerging" period of adult life in which young people seek to find themselves, a period marked by instability and the accumulation of a range of experiences. Offering a broader set of resources, this context as a whole appears more conducive to the "de-standardization" of life courses, providing greater diversity and reducing the role played by the social and economic characteristics of families in determining and differentiating these life courses.

The support guaranteed by the state leads to a somewhat paradoxical situation in which young people assume the risk of poverty that comes with leaving the parental home and as such frequently find themselves in a situation of precariousness or poverty, viewed here as a "transitory" period.

2.3 Keeping in the family: conservative context

The corporatist “world” is governed by the principle of subsidiarity whereby the family not the state is responsible for preparing young people for the transition to adult life (Millar, 1996). It is the parents’ duty to provide for their children’s needs by transferring resources within the family, with the legal framework setting out mutual support obligations for as long as young people lack a stable status. The welfare state is built around the “Homo familius” figure, who, through his economic and social stability, provides for the needs of his family. The state intervenes only where families are unable to provide for their children, particularly for education costs, for as long as the young people themselves lack the required stability to be autonomous.

This situation leads to an emphatic “familialization” of the aid (indirectly) available to young people. Families including young adults, in tertiary education or not, receive aid for the young people in the household but decide themselves on how to use it. Public aid is also granted habitually on the basis of social and income criteria. But overall the welfare state invests very little in young adults, the focus being on consolidating the situation of the “worker and head of family” by insuring him against the risk of unemployment and ensuring a pension system that reduces the need to save for old age, thereby freeing up resources for intra-family transfers that may benefit young adults (Masson, 2009).

Family solidarity is also a widespread phenomenon before the young adult enters into professional life and establishes a stable position in the job market. The state spends comparatively little on social aid for young people, but it does invest massively in education, because it is by acquiring qualifications and skills in their studies that young people will be able to establish themselves in the job market over the long term.

The “corporatist” context also tends to chop the youth period into sequences that are more distinct than in the social democratic context, with more emphatic boundaries between the different ages of youth than those existing in reality in the path to adulthood. The period of education and professional integration here logically precedes departure from the parental home, and couples are formed and give birth to children only when the personal and occupational situations of the individual have stabilized. Young adults leave the parental home later in this environment, which in theory is ill-conducive to the combination of different roles, for example working while studying or becoming a parent before achieving a certain occupational stability. In addition, young people from the wealthiest families tend to leave their parents later in this context, as if the income were being used to postpone the

departure, whereas high parent incomes tend to speed up the departure in other contexts (Iacovou, 2011).

The closer links established in some countries between occupational training and the job market may attenuate this condition, while high unemployment rates and job market dualism may in contrast lend the search for prior stability more weight, as seen in southern European countries (Breen and Buchman, 2002). The high degree of “familialization” of aid leads to a significant stratification of the timeline of entry into adult life and the statuses occupied in line with family resources.

Most of European Continental countries share the characteristics of conservative Welfare States but the way educational systems are organized introduces important differences in the access to tertiary education and in the support youths get to pursue their studies and to enter the labour market. A further configuration, linked to Mediterranean countries, is generally identified as another regime. It is characterized primarily by a weak and under-protective welfare state and a dual job market, making it difficult for young people, and young women specifically, to enter into professional life (Esping-Andersen, 1999). As a consequence, youths strongly rely on family support to face the high degree of uncertainty that the labour market segmentation and the low state support contribute to establish. The “choices” of young people in terms of education, employment and housing and family transitions depend overwhelmingly on the resources of their family (Walther, 2006). But to our mind, this configuration does not constitute an “ideal type” distinct from the conservative model because rather than being based on different normative principles it illustrates a polar form of that model.

Post-socialist countries depart from the former patterns with a strong prevalence of universalistic principles in providing welfare benefits encouraging both egalitarian relationships between the sexes, generations, and a de-familiarization of welfare. However, the end of communism and the introduction of market economy have produced a shock with no comparison in other countries, setting levels of uncertainty at highest levels while the Welfare State did not respond to provide a comprehensive support.

3. Data and methodology

The previous section characterized the main logics underpinning the range of possible political approaches to young adults. “Ideal” figures were described to suggest the variable forms of coherence that can be established theoretically between family solidarity, public aid

and job market-related resources, and the corresponding political and institutional specificities. In reality, few countries share all the characteristics of an “ideal type” because their policies and the diversity and expectations of their population change over time (Rice, 2013). As such, we can expect significant diversity in the positioning of countries between the polar figures that some of them may represent. The important thing, then, is to identify the diversity of configurations, paying close attention to countries that share some traits with a group but differ in certain aspects.

To identify those differences, 39 highly diverse indicators have been collected in four relevant fields for our analysis:

- (i) The situation of young people in relation to education – particularly tertiary education – and the aid they may receive to finance their studies (public and private spending, availability and coverage of grants and loans). Differences on holding a job while in school are also taken into account.
- (ii) Employment situation and aid to enter in the labour market and assist their professional integration; access and coverage of unemployment insurance is also included.
- (iii) The co-residence of young people with their parents and the housing support received if they live outside the parental home.
- (iv) The social aid obtained, varying in line with the family situation and the status of young people in terms of age, education and employment. It includes information on the age limit to receive and on the coverage of social assistance, family benefits by family status; inter-household transfers received by youths out of parental home are also included¹.

The different situations of young people regarding education are understood through a range of information on the proportion of students obtaining a tertiary education degree, general or occupational, and those working a job either full- or part-time during the school year. The way studies are financed, public or private, the average public expenditure per student in tertiary education and the consequences of funding the payment of tuition fees are also taken into account. The awarding of grants or loans at preferential rates, subsidized or guaranteed by the state, are also included, taking account of average amounts and the share of beneficiary students

¹ Most of the data used for this category are taken from Carcillo *et al.*, (2013). Some of them have been updated in Carcillo *et al.* (2015).

The aid provided to young job seekers is factored in through the percentages of young people benefitting from support in their search for employment, in the form of placement assistance services, occupational training, access to subsidized or public employment or aid in the creation of a business. The size of the state budget allocated to these programmes also illustrates the state's commitment to helping young people integrate the professional world.

Aid for the unemployed comes in different shapes and sizes, including unemployment compensation, unemployment benefits, and assistance services. Access to this aid also varies. Unemployment compensation depends on the period of prior contributions necessary to obtaining it, while the amount of compensation received by young people also depends on the length of the compensation period, which differs considerably from one country to the next. These two parameters may in part explain variations in the coverage rate of young unemployed people by unemployment benefits. Access to social assistance services may also be limited by age and family income.

Several variables can also be used to distinguish countries where support is provided directly to young people from those where aid goes through the family. The first such variables indicate the way social law reflects the possible "familialization" of aid, by limiting to a varying extent the right of young people themselves to benefit from these services. For example, differences in the minimum age required to receive these social services reveal differences in the norms, set out in social law, concerning the responsibility of young people as regards their financial autonomy. The minimum age is more advanced the more the family is responsible for providing for the needs of the young person more than the young person himself, considered in contrast as financially dependent. Age limits can be set in line with family services or the tax advantages of parents with young adults at home, students or not, which sheds light on the supposed responsibility of young adults regarding their financial situation. That these advantages are obtained until the child reaches an advanced age illustrates the familialization of the rights of young adults, serving to keep them in a situation of financial dependency. The legal requirements binding parents and children in the event of economic necessity also highlight the differences between countries in terms of the familialization of the financial situation of young adults.

Other variables are used to measure the empirical reach of the familialization of aid for young adults. The proportion of young adults living in a household receiving a social or family allowance can reflect the weight of the familialization of public aid, while the prevalence of private transfers to young adults not residing at their parental home illustrates that private solidarity systems are maintained after young adults leave the parental home.

Private solidarity is also taken into account through information on the proportion of under-30s receiving financial transfers from another household and the average amount of such transfers.

Aid that may be targeted at certain populations, particularly young adults coming out of the education system, is analyzed on the basis of a calculation of the coverage rate of social benefits for all 18-29 year-olds and for NEETs (individuals not in education, employment or training) and young single parents.

Also included is contextual information on the residential and occupational situations of young people. The residential situation is characterized by the average age at which the young person leaves the parental home and the percentage of 18-29 year-olds living outside the parental home. The question of housing aid received is assessed on the basis of the proportion of young adults living with or without their parents in a residence receiving housing benefit. The risk of excessive housing costs, defined by a housing cost exceeding 40% of available income, is also taken into account.

The differences marking the transition to employment, and any problems encountered in that process, are identified by the proportion of 20-24 year-olds and 25-29 year-olds with jobs and by the unemployment rate of young people and the average length of time between the end of their studies and their first job. The relative difficulty of finding a stable employment situation is also assessed on the basis of the rate of temporary-contract employment.

Last but not least, all the data collected are for the period after the onset of the economic crisis, which means that the differences we identified can partly reflect the variations in the effect of the crisis on youths or in the responses countries have had since in addition to the structural and longstanding differences of the Welfare State systems.

Table 1: The main characteristics of aid for young adults according to the welfare state regime

	Social-democratic model	Liberal model	Conservative model	Indicator used
Financing for tertiary education	Significant public financing for tertiary education. Access to tertiary education facilitated by limited tuition fees and the widespread awarding of grants.	Significant share of private spending the financing of studies. Individual loans guaranteed by the state; sizeable grants on merit but awarded on the basis of social criteria.	Combination of major public and private spending on education. Limited tuition fees to ensure widespread access to tertiary education.	Financing breakdown. Average annual school fees. Percentage of students exempt from tuition fees for tertiary education. Percentage of students with public grants. Average total of public grant per student. Availability of student loans.
Studies/job combination	Integrated view of education and professional integration periods, with systems facilitating back-and-forth between studies and employment. Considerable percentage of students working a job during their studies.	Positive view of combined studies/job to make young adults more responsible. High percentage of students working a job during their tertiary education.	Dichotomous view of periods of education and entry into adult life. Low percentage of students with jobs, apart from occupational training.	Percentage of young people combining studies and job (part- and full-time).
Leaving the parental home	Relatively early departure from parental home and large share of young people living alone without a family. Important rental housing stock for students. Broad access to housing aid (universal), including increased grants and loans for students requiring housing.	Relatively early departure from parental home. Development of private rental housing stock for students; some students receive aid to access housing. Students strongly urged to live in shared housing owing to high rents. Housing benefit targets young people with low incomes, students or young professionals or job seekers.	Late departure on average from parental home and lower percentage of young people living alone in a household. Tax benefits for parents with adult child living at home. Comparatively low coverage of housing aid for young adults, owing to extended stay at parental home and to aid attribution criteria, which can limit access for young people.	Average age of departure from parental home. Percentage of 15-29 year-olds living in a residence other than their parents'. Proportion of young people living alone or in a household receiving housing benefit. Excessive housing costs (i.e. over 40% of available income).

Professional integration aid for young people	Extensive aid in the shape of subsidized jobs, individual support and training programmes. Same minimum wage for young people. Stable employment found soon after education.	Employment aid favours reduced working costs of young people (through reduced taxes social contributions for businesses hiring young people) and financial incentives that make employment financially stable. Part-time work the most common access to the job market if full-time work isn't possible.	Temporary jobs are the most common form of employment in a highly dualistic job market. Creation of public jobs for young adults. Long period between end of studies and first job.	Share of temporary contracts and part-time work with young adults. Average period between end of studies and first job. Existence of a minimum wage for young working people. Share of young adults in integration and job search-assistance programmes.
Social aid for young people	Unemployment compensation eligibility relatively unrestricted for young people. Aid open to all citizens, including young adults.	Special unemployment compensation rules for young people with little professional experience.	Unemployment compensation eligibility restricted for young people without professional experience. Access to social aid limited by criteria on minimum age and/or parents' income.	Percentage of young people benefitting from unemployment benefit or social aid, depending on their family situation and activity status.
Work/children balance	Broad access to affordable childcare services.	Flexible working hours. Access to private childcare.		
Young adult recognized as beneficiary	Young people benefit from rights from their majority, linked to the citizen status of individuals.		No status regarding social security; individual acknowledged with first job.	Average age of access to social rights. Status of young people when social rights begin (notably whether social aid is universal or only for young professionals.)
Focus of public aid	Public aid for the independence of students and young people seeking to enter the job market. Aid favouring the flexibility between education and employment, but in all cases fostering the independence of young people.	Public aid for young people mainly focused on professional integration and financial independence. A certain degree of flexibility between education and the job market, allowing young people to become financially independent as early as possible.	Aid inherent to the job market and status as professional. Public aid based on economic activity, which marks the true passage to adulthood and acknowledgment as an individual.	Age of the young person (student or not) at which family allowances are no longer paid.

Table 1 summarizes most of the indicators used in our comparison and describes the main differences to be expected in aid policies for young adults in different policy regimes. We should also stress the constraints on the choice of indicators arising from the need to have comparable and available information for as many countries as possible. Some potentially

relevant information is unfortunately not available for all countries or available with definitions that vary by country and as such are not comparable. Among the main sets of incomplete information, data on grants and loans awarded to students are not available for the USA, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. In contrast, some data can be used to assess the situation of OECD countries without covering all EU countries.

The following section presents these variables and the main differences between OECD countries. We then proceed with an analysis of the main components to identify the dimensions in which the main differences arise between countries.

The indicators in the following section are presented according to the breakdown adopted earlier. We begin with data on the status of students and the financing of tertiary education, followed by indicators on the job market situation of young people and the aid they receive to help them find employment. Next come the data comparing the moment of departure from the parental home and access to housing aid, after which we look at the data on the social benefits received by young people in addition to private transfers. The complete list of compiled information is provided in the appendix (section2).

4. Principal component analysis

The aim of principal component analysis (PCA) is to identify the characteristics that differentiate to the greatest extent the situation of young people and the policies supporting them in their entry into adult life. With that aim in mind, the analysis is based on a highly diverse set of indicators comparing the public or private resources available to young adults as a whole and in different countries for financing their studies, integrating the job market, leaving the parental home and staying out of poverty. PCA produces large correlation matrixes from which one can derive a small set of components as orthogonal axes that best represent the contrasts. The characteristics taken into account are then projected in a factorial axes so as to select the variables contributing the most to differences between countries and situate each country in terms of the set of variables (Figure 66). Doing so allows us to identify both the variables constituting the differences and the complementarities between different types of aid.

Some information on the context and situation of young people is included in the analysis not to determine analysis axes but to verify whether or not some of the certain political arrangements identified are implemented in certain contexts.

In all, the analysis includes 39 variables compiled for 36 countries (European Union 28 countries, together with Australia, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the United States). Details on the variables used to determine the axes are included in the appendices (seven on financing education, eight on housing issues, seven on professional integration and available aid, and thirteen on social assistance).

An examination of the contribution of the PCA axes to the information (i.e. the inertia) contained in the indicators suggests that the two main factorial projection axes suffice to represent the contrasts between the countries. These two axes alone explain 34.1% of the scatter plot inertia (20.65% for the horizontal axis and 13.44% for the vertical axis), while the contribution of the following axes is much lower (respectively 10.8%, 7.4 and 7% for the next axes). There is no straightforward rule to decide how many axes to take into account, but the first two capture a substantial part of the data structure – therefore summarizing much of the relevant information on contrasting country situations.

Strong contrasts are shown between two groups of countries relative to these axes: the countries of Northern Europe, along with France and some countries in Continental and Central Europe (Ireland, Belgium, Austria and Germany); and English-speaking countries and those in Southern and Eastern Europe.

Identifying the variables that largely determine the axes increases our understanding of the nature of this contrast. The main contrast is represented by the horizontal axis, which combines a set of variables from different aid categories. This contrast suggests that some countries stand out *through the diversity and extensive coverage of aid* for young adults in the financing of education, leaving the parental home, integrating the job market and helping young people having left the education system but without having found a job. The countries situated in the extreme western quadrant of the graph are as a whole distinguished by considerable public spending per student and more comprehensive awarding of grants. The employment rate of young people is higher overall, particularly for under-25s, and the period between the end of studies and the first job is shorter than in the other regions. Young people also leave the parental home more frequently and earlier, and more of the individuals having done so receive housing aid. In addition, social assistance coverage is higher for young people having left the education system but without having found employment (NEETs). In all, the youths receive a complementary set of support regarding the different aspects of the transition to adult life education. The wider support received regarding education, housing, the integration in the labour market, and social assistance goes hand in hand with transitions to

employment and independent housing that are more rapid and occur earlier in life than in other regions.

In contrast, the countries in the eastern quadrant of the graph are characterized by young people leaving the parental home at a later age² and a much lower proportion of young people receiving housing benefit. Public spending in education per student is lower, while the share of household budgets spent on education is much lower than in the other countries and a greater proportion of students in tertiary education pay tuition fees.

The average period of time between the end of studies and the first job is also longer, and young job seekers more frequently receive unemployment benefits. However, NEETs more frequently receive no benefits, regardless of their family situation. In other words, public aid appears to be less comprehensive here than in the former case since a much lower fraction of youths and their families receive here some aid from the State to cover education and/or housing costs, while safety net measures hardly reach those youths who are no longer studying nor employed. Staying in parental home may provide some insurance in a context where the transition from school to work takes also a longer period.

The vertical axis contrasts above all the hard core of English-speaking countries with those in Continental and Eastern Europe. This axis is first and foremost determined by strong differences in spending in education and the coverage of social and family allowances. The countries in the southern quadrant of the graph have comparatively high rates of public and private investment in education and social aid is mainly provided in the form of assistance benefits. Paradoxically, the countries in this region are home to both a high percentage of young adults receiving just one form of social benefit and a high rate of NEETs receiving no benefits at all. In contrast, the countries to in the northern quadrant are characterized by low social-benefit coverage and more frequent indirect aid through family allowances paid to the families of the young adults. The pivotal role in solidarity played by parents is also reflected in the fact that family allowances continue to be paid to families with a young adult until this last attains a relatively advanced age. That aid is also received more by families than by young people can also be seen in the aid provided to young people who themselves become parents, with single-parent status, as the large majority of individuals in this case receive family allowances.

² For example, the average age of young people leaving the parental home is 29.7 in Australia, Greece, Slovenia and Slovakia, located to the extreme right of the graph, or 3 years older than the overall average.

Figure 1: OECD countries by type of policy supporting young adults as gauged by the two first principal components

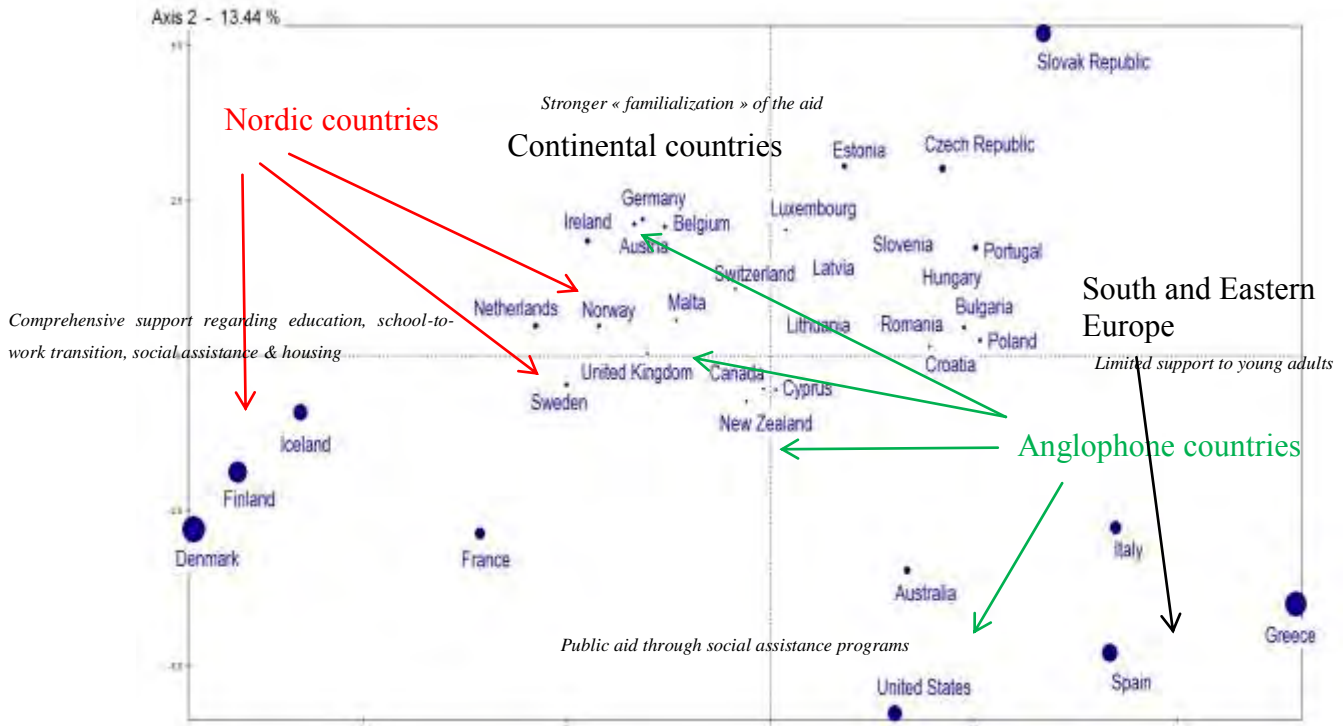


Table 4: Variables constituting the horizontal axis of the PCA

Panel A. Variables correlaetd with the west corrélées avec le cadran ouest

	% of NEETs ¹ receiving housing benefits	Young adult households receiving housing benefits only	Young adults not in training receiving housing benefits only	% of young adults not living in parental home	% of NEETs ¹ receiving unemployment benefits	Maximum duration of unemployment benefits (in months)	Public expenditure on education (% GDP)	Proportion of students receiving public grants	Employment rate for 20-24 year-olds	Employment rate for 25-29 year-olds
Australia	0	0	0	na	3.1	Na	na	na	na	na
Austria	8.4	1	4	35.7	14.4	5	5.89	17.00	69.1	82.5
Belgium	1.4	0	1	39.9	23.1	Unlinited	6.57	na	42.9	75.9
Bulgaria	na	na	na	22.5	na	Na	4.10	18.00	35.4	63.7
Canada	0	0	0	41.7	15.3	11	na	na	na	na
Croatia	na	na	na	na	na	Na	4.27	4.00	28.8	62.3
Cyprus	na	na	na	25.4	na	Na	7.92	12.00	48.8	74.4
Czech Republic	4.4	1	2	26.4	5.2	5	4.24	1.00	42.2	72.3
Denmark	23.8	14	17	63.2	27.2	24	8.80	100.00	63.7	71.8
Estonia	2	0	1	42.3	4.8	6	5.68	17.00	50.7	73.3
Finland	37.2	25	30	62.2	24	23	6.84	100.00	60.5	74.8
France	42.9	13	36	49.4	17.7	12	5.86	35.00	47.1	74.9
Germany	10.1	3	5	33.1	20.2	6	5.08	25.00	64.1	77.6
Greece	1.3	1	1	24.2	4	6	na	1.00	23.7	53.6
Hungary	12.2	2	10	21.1	9.4	3	4.88	37.00	33.4	67.3
Iceland	50.1	19	49	47.0	13.4	36	7.60	0.00	71.0	75.1
Ireland	28.7	1	15	29.0	16	9	6.47	44.00	46.0	67.7
Italy	3.5	1	2	19.7	16.2	8	4.50	7.50	32.2	57.3
Latvia	na	na	na	31.2	na	na	5.01	11.50	47.1	74.4
Lithuania	na	na	na	30.8	na	na	5.38	13.00	38.9	75.7
Luxembourg	10.4	1	7	27.9	7	12	na	na	36.7	78.7
Malta	na	na	na	15.5	na	na	6.74	100.00	65.9	82.6
Netherlands	22.7	8	14	45.6	5.1	3	5.96	na	72.8	83.4
New Zealand	na	na	na	NA	na	na	na	na	na	na

	% of NEETs ¹ receiving housing benefits	Young adult households receiving housing benefits only	Young adults not in training receiving housing benefits only	% of young adults not living in parental home	% of NEETs ¹ receiving unemployment benefits	Maximum duration of unemployment benefits (in months)	Public expenditure on education (% GDP)	Proportion of students receiving public grants	Employment rate for 20-24 year-olds	Employment rate for 25-29 year-olds
Norway	11.1	1	3	62.4	8.3	12-24	6.87	55.50	66.8	80.0
Poland	4.7	0	3	25.6	3	6-12	5.17	19.80	41.9	73.1
Portugal	7.5	3	5	22.1	6.2	5	5.62	15.00	40.3	71.0
Romania	na	na	na	22.3	na	na	3.53	29.00	35.6	67.8
Slovak Republic	0.4	0	0	10.6	3.1	6	4.22	11.50	34.9	68.0
Slovenia	1.9	0	1	16.3	6.4	3	5.66	29.00	42.3	72.9
Spain	3.5	2	2	23.4	14	4	4.97	27.00	31.0	58.9
Sweden	15.4	4	8	59.2	12.3	14	6.98	67.00	58.1	77.2
Switzerland	na	na	na	36.4	na	9	5.22	10.00	71.8	84.2
Turkey	na	na	na	na	na	10	na	30.00	42.9	57.6
United Kingdom	24.7	2	10	40.9	4.2	6	6.22	60.00	62.9	76.9
United States	0	0	0	NA	4.3	23	5.49	na	na	na
Average	12.63	3.92	8.69	34.0	11.07	10.38	5.72	30.92	48.42	72.09

1) Young people who are neither in education nor in employment – percentages reported here for those who are not living in their parental home.

2) The average is calculated as the unweighted average for OECD countries for which data is available. Countries are categorised in “above” (in green) or “below” (in blue) groups if they are at least half a standard deviation above or below the average.

Panel B. Variables corrélées avec le cadran est

	NEET with parents receiving no social transfers	NEET living alone receiving no social transfers	Age difference for receiving family allowances with a student or not	Number of young people receiving social assistance only	Number of young single parents receiving social assistance only	Percentage of students paying tuition fees	Unemployment benefits for young people not in training	Time period between completion of education and first job	Mean age when leaving parental home	Number of young single parents receiving social assistance only
Australia	36	45	4	13	2	na	2	na	na	2
Austria	16	16	8	1	0	0	12	3.4	25.6	0
Belgium	15	15	7	1	0	na	16	3.7	24.9	0
Bulgaria	na	na	2	na	na	100	na	4.6	29.7	na
Canada	32	28	0	5	0	na	13	na	na	0
Croatia	na	na	na	na	na	25	na	na	32.7	na
Cyprus	na	na	na	na	na	0.00	na	4.5	26.9	na
Czech Republic	35	11	11	1	0	100	5	3.1	27.0	0
Denmark	21	25	0	0	0	0	23	3.5	21.1	0
Estonia	29	21	3	3	0	na	4	2.2	24.3	0
Finland	22	3	0	2	0	0	19	3.3	21.9	0
France	20	10	0	3	1	65	17	4.4	23.5	1
Germany	7	12	7	0	0	100	13	na	23.8	0
Greece	75	74	4	2	na	0	4	7.3	29.1	na
Hungary	23	9	4	1	0	43	9	3.5	28.7	0
Iceland	19	8	2	2	0	100	11	1.8	na	0
Ireland	7	9	3	0	0	60	21	2.7	25.4	0
Italy	48	42	0	1	15	88.4	20	6.1	29.7	15
Latvia	na	na	4	na	na	55	na	2.0	27.9	na
Lithuania	na	na	0	na	na	48.2	na	2.8	26.0	na
Luxembourg	26	18	9	2	0	na	4	3.7	26.2	0
Malta	na	na	5	na	na	0	na	3.8	30.4	na
Netherlands	27	20	0	3	0	na	4	2.1	23.6	0

	NEET with parents receiving no social transfers	NEET living alone receiving no social transfers	Age difference for receiving family allowances with a student or not	Number of young people receiving social assistance only	Number of young single parents receiving social assistance only	Percentage of students paying tuition fees	Unemployment benefits for young people not in training	Time period between completion of education and first job	Mean age when leaving parental home	Number of young single parents receiving social assistance only
New Zealand	na	na	0	na	na	NA	na	na	na	na
Norway	32	17	0	2	2	0	6	2.5	na	2
Poland	42	36	3	1	2	93	3	3.7	28.5	2
Portugal	46	37	8	1	0	100	4	3.5	28.8	0
Romania	na	na	0	na	na	40	na	5.0	29.1	na
Slovak Republic	24	8	10	2	0	100	3	3.8	30.9	0
Slovenia	22	17	8	7	1	20	5	3.4	29.1	1
Spain	72	61	0	3	6	70	11	4.2	28.9	6
Sweden	41	33	4	2	0	0	10	3.3	19.9	0
Switzerland	na	na	9	na	na	100	na	na	na	na
Turkey	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	5.9	27.2	na
United Kingdom	19	12	3	1	0	100	4	2.9	23.9	0
United States	40	31	na	14	17	na	4	na	na	17
Average	30.4	23.4	3.69	2.81	1.84	52	9.5	3.68	26.71	1.84

	Young people receiving social assistance only	Young single parents receiving social assistance only	Young people not in training receiving social assistance	NEET with no parents receiving no social transfers	NEET with parents receiving no social transfers	Per student spending in tertiary education	Private spending in education	Maximum duration of unemployment benefit (in months)	Percentage of 15-29 year-olds living outside the parental home
Australia	13	2	5	77	74	na	na	na	na
Austria	1	0	4	16	16	11,895	0.52	5	0.4
Belgium	1	0	3	15	15	11,691	0.34	Unlimited	0.4
Bulgaria	na	na	na	na	na	3,763	0.63	na	0.2
Canada	5	0	9	28	32	na	na	11	0.4
Croatia	na	na	na	na	na	5,233	0.26	na	na
Cyprus	na	na	na	na	na	9,933	1.61	na	0.3
Czech Republic	1	0	3	11	35	5,881	0.57	5	0.3
Denmark	0	0	0	25	21	14,617	0.44	24	0.6
Estonia	3	0	3	21	29	5,038	0.41	6	0.4
Finland	2	0	10	3	22	12,874	0.15	23	0.6
France	3	1	10	10	20	11,606	0.64	12	0.5
Germany	0	0	5	12	7	12,357	0.74	6	0.3
Greece	2	na	6	74	75	na	na	6	0.2
Hungary	1	0	7	9	23	na	na	3	0.2
Iceland	2	0	3	8	19	6,723	0.75	36	0.5
Ireland	0	0	6	9	7	na	0.48	9	0.3
Italy	1	15	1	42	48	7,379	0.46	8	0.2
Latvia	na	na	na	na	na	4,315	0.57	na	0.3
Lithuania	na	na	na	na	na	5,066	0.69	na	0.3
Luxembourg	2	0	4	18	26	na	na	12	0.3
Malta	na	na	na	na	na	11,719	1.31	na	0.2
Netherlands	3	0	10	20	27	13,219	1.04	3	0.5
New Zealand	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na

	Young people receiving social assistance only	Young single parents receiving social assistance only	Young people not in training receiving social assistance	NEET with no parents receiving no social transfers	NEET with parents receiving no social transfers	Per student spending in tertiary education	Private spending in education	Maximum duration of unemployment benefit (in months)	Percentage of 15-29 year-olds living outside the parental home
Norway	2	2	6	17	32	14,259	0.10	12-24	0.6
Poland	1	2	4	36	42	5,951	0.80	6-12	0.3
Portugal	1	0	2	37	46	7,742	0.43	5	0.2
Romania	na	na	na	na	na	2,956	0.12	na	0.2
Slovak Republic	2	0	6	8	24	5,318	0.73	6	0.1
Slovenia	7	1	21	17	22	7,296	0.68	3	0.2
Spain	3	6	2	61	72	10,301	0.81	4	0.2
Sweden	2	0	5	33	41	15,068	0.16	14	0.6
Switzerland	na	na	na	na	na	na	0.48	9	0.4
Turkey	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	10	na
United Kingdom	1	0	13	12	19	12,781	2.01	6	0.4
United States	14	17	34	31	40	21,140	2.25	23	na
Average	2.81	1.84	7	25	32.08	9486	0.70	10.38	0.3

	Young people receiving family allowances only	Young single parents receiving family allowances only	NEET with no parents receiving family allowances only	Difference between maximum age for family allowances for children students and non-students	Minimum employment/contribution period (in months)	Percentage of 20-24 year-olds in policies 8-9	Average age leaving parental home	Employment rate for 25-29 year-olds	Percentage of students paying tuition fees	Young people receiving disability benefits
Australia	5	29	6.1	4	na	na	na	na	na	2
Austria	57	82	48.4	8	6	6.20	25.6	82.5	0	0
Belgium	60	83	42.2	7	12	10.80	24.9	75.9	na	1
Bulgaria	na	na	na	2	na	0.95	29.7	63.7	100	Na
Canada	34	78	32.7	0	3	na	na	na	na	0
Croatia	na	na	na	na	na	na	32.7	62.3	25	Na
Cyprus	na	na	na	na	na	2.14	26.9	74.4	0	Na
Czech Republic	19	71	45.5	11	12	na	27.0	72.3	100	2
Denmark	33	41	27.8	0	12	3.87	21.1	71.8	0	0
Estonia	48	92	50.3	3	12	3.03	24.3	73.3	na	3
Finland	29	62	37.4	0	10	4.89	21.9	74.8	0	3
France	24	37	39.8	0	4	8.76	23.5	74.9	65	1
Germany	53	58	44.1	7	12	4.90	23.8	77.6	100	0
Greece	12	na	12.2	4	6	na	29.1	53.6	0	1
Hungary	43	61	53.3	4	12	5.54	28.7	67.3	43	1
Iceland	18	28	49.5	2	3	na	na	75.1	100	3
Ireland	49	54	58.7	3	24	26.70	25.4	67.7	60	5
Italy	29	35	32.7	0	12	1.58	29.7	57.3	88	2
Latvia	na	na	na	4	na	2.39	27.9	74.4	55	Na
Lithuania	na	na	na	0	na	1.68	26.0	75.7	48	Na
Luxembourg	45	68	51.3	9	6	2.23	26.2	78.7	na	1
Malta	na	na	na	5	na	4.92	30.4	82.6	0	Na
Netherlands	28	70	38	0	6	na	23.6	83.4	na	0
New Zealand	na	na	na	0	na	na	na	na	na	Na

	Young people receiving family allowances only	Young single parents receiving family allowances only	NEET with no parents receiving family allowances only	Difference between maximum age for family allowances for children students and non-students	Minimum employment/contribution period (in months)	Percentage of 20-24 year-olds in policies 8-9	Average age leaving parental home	Employment rate for 25-29 year-olds	Percentage of students paying tuition fees	Young people receiving disability benefits
Norway	37	70	36.5	0	na	2.17	na	80.0	0	7
Poland	24	48	34.6	3	12	0.90	28.5	73.1	93	2
Portugal	32	67	42.1	8	12	2.00	28.8	71.0	100	0
Romania	na	na	na	0	na	1.59	29.1	67.8	40	Na
Slovak Republic	64	87	56.7	10	24	0.65	30.9	68.0	100	1
Slovenia	52	66	55.1	8	9	0.55	29.1	72.9	20	0
Spain	2	11	7.4	0	12	5.40	28.9	58.9	70	1
Sweden	29	69	29.5	4	12	8.28	19.9	77.2	0	2
Switzerland	na	na	na	9	12	na	na	84.2	100	na
Turkey	na	na	na	na	20	na	27.2	57.6	na	na
United Kingdom	28	35	48.9	3	12	na	23.9	76.9	100	3
United States	19	12	37.1	na	5	na	na	na	na	0
Average	33.58	56.56	39.15	3.69	10.85	4.67	26.71	72.09	52	1.58

Looking beyond these general trends, national situations show considerable heterogeneity, as shown in the scattered position of countries in Figure 66. It appears that a simple geographical separation does not suffice to describe the heterogeneity of the situations in certain regions of the world. That heterogeneity is particularly clear in the Nordic countries and in all the English-speaking countries. In addition, France stands out from the other countries in Continental Europe, as it does on other aspects of social and family policies.

4.1. Strong commitment on education combined with a variety of social aid in Denmark and Finland

The **Nordic countries** stand apart from the other countries through more widespread and diverse state aid. But the Nordic countries as a whole do not form a harmonious set.

The Nordic countries (apart from Iceland) all have high rates of public spending in education, peaking at 8.8% of GDP in Denmark compared with an overall country average of 5.7%. In particular, the amount invested per student largely exceeds the average, totaling \$14,616 in Denmark and \$15,067 in Sweden compared with an average of less than \$9,500.

In return, the share of “private” spending in education is relatively low, as is the overall share of household spending in education.

Considerable differences exist in the form taken by aid for financing tertiary education in the Nordic countries. Denmark and Finland stand out first of all through the universal nature of aid, as no students in “standard”³ tertiary education pay tuition fees and all of them – not just students in standard tertiary degrees – receive a grant. Also, the state offers affordable loans to all students living outside their parental home, and to all students in Finland, a supplement being awarded to those not living with their parents. In Denmark, loan amounts may be increased for young parents, cohabiting or not. Grants are supplemented by state loans with long reimbursement periods (of between seven and fifteen years); these loans are taken out by half of the student population.

In Sweden and Norway, no students in the first cycles of tertiary education pay tuition fees. Grants and loans are awarded in the two countries, but coverage is lower than in the Nordic countries mentioned above, with roughly two in three students receiving a grant in Sweden and 56% in Norway. In Norway, this reduced coverage can be attributed to the breakdown between loans and grants, since state aid is initially offered in the form of a loan,

³ Only students in top-tier universities and international programmes are required to pay tuition fees, some of which can be considerable.

around 40% of which may be converted into a grant for students living outside the parental home and having passed their exams.

The system in Iceland is different in several respects. First, while state spending in education represents a high proportion of GDP, the level of spending per student is considerably lower (at \$6,722) than the average (\$9,485). The share of private expenditure is also higher than in the other Nordic countries, and a non-negligible proportion of students are required to pay (admittedly low) tuition fees. State grants, then, are not awarded on a universal basis, but some universities award grants on merit. State loans are also provided to a majority of students through the Icelandic Student Loan Fund for higher amounts than in other Nordic countries (OECD, 2014).

Denmark and Finland also stand out in terms of unemployment aid. Young job seekers benefit more frequently from unemployment benefits than elsewhere, at 16% of 15-29 year-olds in Denmark and 14% in Finland, compared with an average 8.3% and 7% in Sweden. These differences stem from the period during which unemployment benefits can be received. This period is much longer in Denmark and Finland, lasting up to two years compared with an average ten months.

Aid for young people leaving the education system without finding a job varies significantly from one Nordic country to the next. More of these individuals receive unemployment benefits in Denmark (27.2%) and Finland (24%) than in the other Nordic countries and compared with the overall average (11%). Housing aid is also more widespread in these two countries and in Iceland, particularly for young unemployed people having left the education system and the parental home. The proportion of young people covered by housing benefit in Sweden and Norway is lower and the number receiving such benefits is closer to the average. Above all, major differences exist concerning the number of NEETs receiving no aid at all. This rate is among the lowest in Finland and Iceland and below average in Denmark and Norway, while Sweden has one of the highest rates of young people receiving no aid at all.

That said, the proportion of 20-29 year-olds considered as in employment is similar between Nordic countries and comparatively high: the employment rate of 20-24 year-olds is 63.7% in Denmark, 58.1% in Sweden and 66.8% in Norway. Meanwhile, the employment rate of 25-29 year-olds is 80% in Norway, 74.8% in Finland and 77.2% in Sweden. Denmark and Iceland stand out from other Nordic countries through their high percentages of students in employment during their school year, whether or not the job is part of their training. This rate is 32% in Denmark and 26% in Iceland compared with an average 13%.

Nordic countries across the board have high rates of investment in education in general and in tertiary education in particular. High rates of public spending per student are combined with a major commitment on the part of the state through student grants and loans. Young people in the Nordic countries also receive more social aid than those in the other countries, although coverage is more varied. Young people leaving their parental home more frequently receive housing aid and also more frequently receive compensation as job seekers in Denmark and Finland. Aid supporting the entry into adult life and aid for education are more developed in these countries, enabling young adults to move into their own home while completing their education or starting out their professional careers. This aid is less widespread in Sweden, and the proportion of young people without jobs having left the education system covered by no aid is extremely high. In other words, Denmark and Finland rather than Sweden or Norway better embody the perception of the social-democratic world as presented in the introduction, with the state more strongly committed to making both access to tertiary education and the possibility of leaving the parental home not entirely dependent on family resources. With nearly one-third of students working a job during their school year, Denmark is, together with Iceland, one of the countries that most favours professional integration during education rather than entirely separating the two life periods.

As such, young people leave their parental home at a much later age than in other countries, and in Denmark and Finland the departure is associated with a strong increase in the risk of poverty (Aassve et al., 2006). Nevertheless, the system is geared towards encouraging young people to take on that risk through support for those leaving the parental home before finding stable employment.

4.2. Leaving the parental home accompanied by housing aid and the familialization of financial aid in France.

France is somewhat similar to the Nordic countries, which sets it apart from the other “continental” countries in a number of respects. The proportion of young adults living with their families (49%) is significantly higher than the average (34%), and the average age of departure from the parental home (23.5 years old) is lower than the average (26.7). The share of young adults as a whole receiving housing benefit is much higher than the average (36% compared with under 9% on average for young people leaving education), with a particularly strong difference for young people neither in education nor employment, 43% of them receiving housing benefit

compared with an OECD average of 12.6%. But housing benefit is the only benefit received by 13% of young adults – a much higher proportion than the overall 4% average.

Regarding education, France is close to the average from the standpoint of the share of national wealth invested in the education system, at 5.8% compared with the overall average of 5.7% and 6.8% in Finland, Norway and Sweden and 8.8% in Denmark. But the total investment in tertiary education per student, at \$11,605, is higher than the average \$9,485, though lower than that in the Nordic countries. The number of grant-holding students is higher than average – at 35% compared with 31% – while the payment of tuition fees is a more widespread practice.

The youth employment rate is close to the average, at 47.1% for 20-24 year-olds and 74.9% for 25-29 year-olds compared with an average 72.1%. The unemployment rate is also close to the average and young adults in France also more frequently receive unemployment benefit than the average (17% of young people having left the education system compared with an average 9.5%). This last phenomenon results from the relatively unrestrictive prior contribution period, with the minimum contribution period giving an individual the right to receive unemployment compensation being just four months in France compared with the average of eleven. As such, under-25s in France benefit widely from unemployment compensation, with 9% of them receiving benefits compared with the 4.7% average for countries excluding English-speaking countries.

France also stands out from the large majority of countries in Continental Europe by the fact that very few young adults having left the education system and without employment receive no state aid. Only 10% of young people in France living without their parents receive no social aid, compared with an average 25% in the other countries. However, the proportion of young adults receiving family allowances is lower in France, including for young single parents (37% compared with an average 56%). One of the reasons for this is that families in France receive no benefit for their first child, unlike in the majority of European countries. In contrast, the share of young people belonging to a household receiving several forms of aid is one of the highest of all the countries in the study, at 24% of 16-29 year-olds.

A final characteristic separating France from the Nordic countries lies in the important role played by the family vis-à-vis young people in the organization of solidarity. This is particularly true in terms of the tax advantages that parents continue to benefit from as long as their child remains a student and is aged under 25, *whether or not he or she lives at home*. The system is a rather ambivalent one, as it basically involves making up for part of the costs of looking after a young adult (whether a student or not) economically dependent on his or her

parents (the costs corresponding directly to household life, or family aid when the young person is living in an independent household) by leaving it up to the parents to transfer the necessary resources to the young adult⁴. Considerable uncertainty hangs over these transfers, in terms of their amount, nature and how far they correspond to what the young people themselves would hope to receive if they obtained the benefits directly.

The situation in France as a whole appears divided. The family plays an important role in providing for young people yet young people leave the parental home relatively early on average. Leaving the parental home is accompanied by broad access to housing benefits, while access to other forms of aid is much more limited. The social aid system covers a larger fraction of the young adult population than in most other systems in Continental Europe and provides an important safety net for the most vulnerable having left the education system but without having found a job. Social aid coverage is similar to that in Denmark or Finland but is provided in a different employment environment, since the employment rate of young adults in France is significantly lower than in the Nordic countries and, inversely, the unemployment rate is considerably higher (despite the strong presence of French young adults in assistance services for job seekers). Initial work experience in France also comes very often after young people complete their education, with fewer than 6% of students in France holding a job compared with 27% in Iceland and 33% in Denmark.

4.3. Social aid highly targeted in the English-speaking countries and incomplete in Australia and the USA

The English-speaking countries – Australia, Canada, the USA, Ireland, New Zealand and the UK – fail to form a harmonious whole and consequently do not represent a single “ideal type”.

Ireland stands out first of all from the other countries through its targeted aid for young people having left the education system and not found a job. Young adults receive a broad range of social aid, with only 7% to 9% of the total (depending on whether or not they live with their parents) not receiving any form of social aid⁵. Family allowance coverage is also comparatively broad, for NEETs and young people as a whole, but not many young people

⁴ This ambiguity is also illustrated by the fact that young people living out of parental home can apply for housing benefit, while their parents continue to benefit from a tax rebate due to the presence of dependent children – assuming so that parents continue to contribute to the living costs of children, although the child no longer lives with them.

⁵ Aid for young people with incapacities is also considerable in Ireland, with 5% of 16-29 year-olds receiving benefit for a work incapacity or infirmity compared with 1.58% overall.

receive housing benefit or social assistance. Last, a relatively high proportion of young adults benefit from unemployment aid (25% of 16-29 year-olds), even though the unemployment and employment rates of young people are comparatively limited.

The UK is closer to the overall country average, differing from Ireland through a relatively young average parental home-leaving age (under 24) and a much higher proportion of young adults living outside the parental home (41% compared with 29% in Ireland and 33% on average). The share of GDP spending in education is close to the average, but spending on tertiary education per student largely exceeds the average. All students in the first cycle of tertiary education pay tuition fees to universities but a large share of students receive a grant (50% of applications approved). Above all, this system is supplemented to a considerable extent by government loans, with four-fifths of all students making use of these facilities.

The youth employment rate is comparatively high at 62.9% for 20-24 year-olds and 76.9% for 25-29 year-olds, compared with the overall averages of 48.4% and 72%. In terms of aid, compensation for job seekers plays a very minor role, with just 4% of young people benefitting. Social aid largely targets “vulnerable” people. Unemployed young adults having left the education system receive housing aid twice as much (24.7%) as young people as a whole (12.6%), while 23.3% also receive social assistance for which other young people do not qualify and a full 48.9% of NEETs receive family allowances compared with an average 39.1%. In contrast, a relatively low proportion of this population is covered by no social benefits (12% of NEETs living without their parents) compared with the other English-speaking countries (excluding Ireland) and the overall average (25%).

Australia and the USA differ from the other countries primarily through lower social aid coverage for young people regardless of their activity status (as in Greece and Spain). The USA is a “polar” case, as shown by its position at the extreme south of the graph. The reasons for this are manifold. First, the percentage of public expenditure in tertiary education per student is extremely high, at \$21,140, compared with the average of \$9,485, while the proportion of national wealth spent in education as a whole is relatively low, at 5.5% of GDP compared with an average 5.7%. This public spending is accompanied by a particularly high level of private spending. The price of education, then, is high overall, which explains the extensive use made of student loans, taken out by 84% of full-time students.

However, social aid to young adults is much rarer in Australia and the USA than in the English-speaking countries mentioned above. Few young adults coming out of the education system receive unemployment compensation and housing aid is inexistent. Social assistance

benefits are often the only form of aid received by young people (13% in Australia⁶ and 14% in the USA compared with an average 3%). Many young people receive no form of aid. A large proportion of young adults, including those having left the education system without having found a job, receive no form of social aid, specifically 45% of NEETs in Australia living outside the parental home and 31% of the same population in the USA. As such, it is something of a paradox that assistance benefits are the main form of aid for young people considering that a large share of the most vulnerable population falls through the “safety net” in place.

4.4. Priority on employment and the familialization of aid in Germany, Austria and Belgium

The trio of **Germany, Austria and Belgium** stand out from the rest of Continental Europe. The three countries spend more national wealth than average on education, with higher than average spending on tertiary education per student (though not as high as the Nordic countries). However, the percentage of grant-receiving students is lower than the average, at 25% in Germany and 17% in Austria compared with 30.9% on average. The three countries have different approaches to financing education, with all students in Germany paying tuition fees and none doing so in Austria. The weight of private spending on education is also higher in Germany than in the two other countries.

The employment rate of 20-29 year-olds is much higher than the average in Germany and Austria – at levels comparable to those in the Nordic countries – while somewhat lower in Belgium. The proportion of young people having left the education system but not having found a job is much lower than the average, as in the Nordic countries. NEETs receive benefits on a broad scale, with only 16% of the population in Austria, 15% in Belgium and 12% in Germany having left the parental home receiving none at all, compared with the 25% average.

The three countries have some family-centric characteristics that the Nordic countries, for example, do not share. Young adults tend to leave the parental home later and the share of young people living without their parents is considerably lower. The percentage of young people receiving housing benefit is lower than the average, particularly in Belgium, where only a very small proportion of households of young adults receive such aid. A substantial

⁶ In Australia, under-16s who are not full-time students qualify for a youth allowance if looking for a job. The allowance is also available to young people not living in an independent household, depending on their resources and at a particular rate.

proportion of young people belong to a household receiving family allowances, and, more than in other countries, this is the only form of aid they receive. In contrast, assistance services are very rarely the only forms of aid received. Unemployment benefit plays a larger role here than average, with rates of young people receiving benefits much higher than the average, the unemployment rate being relatively low in Germany and Austria and much higher in Belgium.

4.5. Lower spending on education and an under-protective welfare state in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe

Most of the countries in **Central and Eastern Europe**, together with **Portugal**, share certain characteristics distinguishing them from other countries. Public and private spending on education is much lower than the average, with spending in tertiary education per student particularly low in Bulgaria (\$3,762) and Romania (\$2,955) and below average in other Eastern European countries and Portugal. The state's weaker commitment to education is also reflected in the low number of grant-holding students, accounting for just 1% of the student total in the Czech Republic. Access to tertiary education differs from one country to the next. All the students in the Czech Republic, Portugal and Bulgaria pay tuition fees, while not even a quarter of them do the same in Slovenia and Croatia. The proportion of under-35s with a degree in tertiary education nevertheless remains relatively small in eastern European countries. This is probably the result of a major selection process among families able to finance tertiary education, as reflected in the relatively high share of household spending reserved for education in these countries.

The proportion of young adults leaving the parental home before 30 is also comparatively low in this group of countries. The average home-leaving age ranges from an average 27 in the Czech Republic to a high of 32 in Croatia. This situation is directly connected to the low coverage of housing benefit for young adults living outside the family home. In the European survey on income and living conditions, no young people receive such benefit in Estonia, Poland and Slovenia.

Only a modest number of young job seekers receive unemployment benefits, the share totaling 3% in Poland, 8% in Hungary and 9.50% on average. Aid for NEETs varies from one country to the next but overall very few young job seekers receive no social aid: a little over one young person in three in Poland and Portugal (36% and 37% respectively) and roughly one in ten in Hungary and the Czech Republic (11%), compared with the average of one in

four. Family allowances constitute the main form of aid for young people (NEETs included), whether living with their parents or not. Social assistance is also comparatively common in Slovenia, where nearly one NEET in six benefits.

The percentage of young people covered by family allowance is high in Slovenia (52%) and Hungary (43%) compared with an average 33.6%. Aid is particularly consequential for young single parents, with 71% of young single parents in the Czech Republic receiving a family allowance compared with an average 56%. A substantial amount of aid transits via the family, as seen in the payment of family allowances to households with a young adult through to a relatively advanced age in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, and in Slovenia in the presence of a student.

Slovakia is a particularly polar case in this respect. Young people are extremely dependent on family transfers and receive relatively little aid from the state, with very few grant-holders and all students paying tuition fees. Housing benefit is also thin on the ground, which helps to explain why the average home-leaving age, at 30.9 years, is higher than the average. The employment rate of 20-24 and 25-29 year-olds is also relatively low, at 34.9% and 68% compared with an average 48.4% and 72.1% respectively. Young adults struggling to find employment receive relatively little aid, with just 3% receiving unemployment compensation compared with an average 8.31%. One of the reasons for this is a minimum contribution period of two years before receiving unemployment compensation. The family-centric nature of aid for young people is also marked by very low social assistance coverage and, inversely, a high proportion (two-thirds) of young people living in a household receiving family allowance (nearly twice as high as the average). The strong familialization of social aid is underscored by the substantial coverage of family allowance granted to young single parents (87% receiving this form of aid only).

Lastly, **Greece, Spain** and **Italy** share with the abovementioned countries fairly average rates of spending on education, lower than average youth employment rates and advanced home-leaving ages (with a higher than average rate of young people living with their parents). Above all, these countries – especially Greece and Spain – stand out through lower social aid coverage for young adults. The share of young adults receiving family allowances is lower and the proportion of NEETs receiving no social aid or family allowance is significantly higher than the average. In this respect, these countries resemble the USA and Australia, to which they are relatively close in figure 1.

5. Conclusion

Our analysis highlights significant differences between countries in the public aid provided to young adults to complete their education, set up an independent household, enter the job market and thereby make the transition to adult life. The large-scale analysis carried out here shows a great diversity of policies supporting the youths during their transition to adult life. These policies vary in the extent to which they combine or not support to complete tertiary education, make their transition from school to work, and to establish themselves in a separate home. The access to social benefits by the most fragile youths who are neither in formation nor in employment varies also greatly across countries, as well as the role of social assistance and the aid expected from the family.

Different configurations have been identified, suggesting that the combination of different forms of aid hinges on differing perceptions of what entering adulthood entails and the extent to which transitions involved in terms of activity and family life are seen as a whole (as part of which the transitions have to be balanced out and therefore assisted). These configurations are also based on varying conceptions of how public aid, family solidarity and the role of the market should be organized to help young people enter into adult life and acquire a certain amount of independence. In this respect, the philosophies of welfare states as identified by Esping-Andersen can be used to explain the principles underpinning the granting of public aid by determining the target, format and the fit with other entities (including the family and the job market) that provide access to economic resources in “ideal type” configurations. Our work confirms in part some of the typologies of the transition to adulthood, including those of Vogel (2002), Walther (2006) and Buchmann and Kriesei (2011). Our results supplement the literature through a detailed analysis of how making distinctions between different regimes can be used to explain the diversity of policies supporting young adults in the OECD countries.

The results reveal considerable differences between national situations and their relative resemblance to “ideal” cases. Specifically, while the distinction between ideal types can be used to understand differences between large groups of countries, we show that the country groups only partly correspond to the usual geographical divisions distinguishing social welfare regimes. Considerable differences are observed between Nordic countries, as well as between some English-speaking countries. France stands out through its similarity to some Nordic countries and difference with most Continental European countries.

Three aspects were stressed concerning the configurations identified in our study. First, we highlighted the more significant combination in some countries, notably Denmark and Finland, of different forms of aid for education, housing, job market access, social aid and family allowances. This combination suggests that these countries come the closest to a model of aid integration enabling young people to balance their transitions to employment, family and independent household by accompanying investments in education and employment policy with a diverse range of social aid. A complementary fit of different types of aid is more likely to emerge in the Nordic countries, where the transition to adult life is approached in a holistic manner, taking account of the multi-faceted aspect of the transitions (family, housing, education and professional life) to be made by young people (Bois-Reymond and Lopez-Balsco, 2003).

In contrast, we observed that the persistence of the “familialization” of aid plays an important role in some countries where parents continue to benefit from family allowances or tax benefits for young adults, whether students or not, and/or access to social aid comes later on in life because the family is seen as being the main provider for the needs of its members, including young adults. The configurations also differ in the extent to which aid targets the most vulnerable young adults. Social aid in countries such as Ireland and the UK provides modest coverage for young adults but broader aid to young people having left the education system but without finding a job. Meanwhile, the role played by social assistance to this population and young adults as a whole is much more limited in Australia and the USA.

These variations in context are key to understanding the differences affecting the entry into adult life in advanced economies, in terms of in which order and when the transitions are made and the diverse sets of behaviour in each country regarding the uncertainty of young people about their future. The complementarity of different forms of aid observed in some Nordic countries helps to balance out the different types of transitions rather than separating them into well-ordered sequences, which in contrast can serve to keep young people dependent on their parents. That complementarity can also offer young adults a sense of stability as they look to their future, ensuring them support regardless of their decisions on education, job market integration and family life. It explains why young people in Nordic countries leave their parental home at a relatively early age to set up an independent household, a move that exposes them to the risk of poverty – but a risk that they are more willing to assume.

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List of active variables in the Principal Component Analysis

The principle component analysis includes the following variables:

Education

- Total spending in education from public sources as a percentage of annual GDP (ed_sptot), 2010.
- Total spending in education from private sources as a percentage of annual GDP (ed_sppriv), 2010.
- Public spending in tertiary education per student (ed_ypster), 2010.
- Percentage of students obtaining public grants (ed_grantpc), 2013-2014.
- Household spending on education as a percentage of total consumption (ed_hhdsp), 2011.
- Percentage of students in tertiary education paying tuition fees (ed_tfpct), 2013-2014.
- Percentage of 15-29 year-olds in education, by occupational status, including part-time workers (ed_ws), 2011.
- Rate of tertiary graduates in general or vocational formation (ed_ter_grad), 2011.
- Percentage of young adults neither in employment nor education/training (ed_neet), 2012.

Labour market situation and support

- Average time between completion of education and first stable job for 18-34 year-olds and by gender (pro_transedwk), 2009.
- Rate of 20-24 year-olds in programmes on professional training, job incentives, the creation of direct employment, assisted and rehabilitation employment (pro_polp27T25), 2011.
- Rate of 20-24 year-olds receiving public income when not in employment (rpro_rat_polp89t25), 2011.
- Employment rate of 20-24 and 25-29 year-olds by gender (pro_emp), 2012.
- Rate of temporary employment for the 15-29 year-olds (pro_tempemp), 2012.
- Unemployment rate of 20-24 and 25-29 year-olds by gender (pro_unemp), 2012.

Family and private transfers

- Average age of young adults leaving parental home (log_quit), 2012.
- Percentage of 18-34 year-olds living with parents (log_par), 2012.
- Percentage of 15-29 year-olds receiving private income transfers (soc_cashrec_any), 2011.

Access to social policies and coverage

- Maximum age at which child receives family allowances (soc_fam_cb), 2011; and age difference when the child is student or not.
- Minimum age for qualifying for social assistance (soc_min_soc), 2010.
- Minimum employment/contribution period and benefit duration of unemployment insurance benefits (sic_uniben)
- Maximum duration of unemployment benefits (in months) (soc_maxben_dur)
- Percentage of youths receiving social assistance only (soc_othtrans), 2011
- Percentage of youths receiving housing benefit only (soc_othtrans), 2011
- Percentage of youths receiving family benefit only (soc_othtrans), 2011
- Percentage of youths receiving unemployment benefit (soc_trans), 2011
- Percentage of youths receiving disability benefit (soc_trans), 2011
- Percentage of NEETs receiving social assistance (soc_neettrans), average 2007-2011
- Percentage of NEETs receiving housing benefit (soc_neettrans), average 2007-2011
- Percentage of NEETs receiving family benefit (soc_neettrans), average 2007-2011
- Percentage of NEETs receiving unemployment (soc_neettrans), average 2007-2011
- Percentage of NEETs receiving disability benefit (soc_neettrans), average 2007-2011
- Percentage of NEETs (living with their parents) with no public aid (soc_neetnotrans), average 2007-2011
- Percentage of NEETs (not living with their parents) with no public aid (soc_neetnotrans), average 2007-2011

Variables determining axis 1

Name of variable	Coordinate	Weight	Average	Standard deviation
Employment rate 20-24 yr-olds (emp2t)	-0,770	31,000	48,600	13,535
NEETs receiving housing benefit (neet_transHB)	-0,754	26,000	12,627	11,986
Young people receiving housing benefit only (oth_tran	-0,719	26,000	3,923	5,524
Public spending in education (ed_sptot)	-0,714	30,000	5,725	1,109
Young people not in education receiving housing benefit (n	-0,691	26,000	8,692	10,359
Employment rate 25-29 yr-olds (empt3t)	-0,621	31,000	72,558	7,005
Rate of young people living outside parental home (out_ofhome)	-0,609	32,000	0,358	0,154
Rate of grant-holding students (ed_grantpc)	-0,606	28,000	30,957	26,280
NEETs receiving unemployment benefits	-0,596	26,000	11,073	6,122
Maximum period of unemployment benefit (maxben_dur)	-0,590	23,000	10,391	6,709
CENTRAL AREA				
NEETs receiving unemployment benefits	0,198	26,000	2,808	2,957
Young people receiving social assistance only (oth_trans	0,250	27,000	52,133	36,106
Rate of young people paying tuition fees (ed_tfpc)	0,253	32,000	3,688	3,325
Difference in age limit for receiving family allowances	0,363	25,000	1,840	3,701
Young parents receiving social assistance (oth_tra,	0,548	28,000	3,600	1,049
Length of education/employment transition period (trans_ed_wk3e)	0,596	26,000	21,308	5,290
Young people not in education receiving unemployment benefit (n	0,603	26,000	23,423	14,291
Unemployment rates of the 25-29 years old	0,609	28,000	17,850	5,823
NEETs receiving no aid without parents (neet_notransN)	0,652	26,000	30,962	14,252
Percentage of NEETs among the 20-24 years old	0,736	28,000	26,696	2,778
NEETs living with parents without aid (neet_notransNP)	-0,770	31,000	48,600	13,535
Parental home leaving age (log_quiT)	-0,754	26,000	12,627	11,986

Variables determining axis 2

Name of variable	Coordinate	Weight	Average	Standard deviation
Young parents receiving social assistance (oth_tra,	-0,585	25,000	1,840	3,701
NEETs outside parental home receiving no aid (neet_notransN)	-0,575	26,000	23,423	14,291
NEETs living with parents receiving no aid (neet_notransNP)	-0,548	26,000	30,962	14,252
Young people receiving social assistance only (oth_trans	-0,467	26,000	2,808	2,957
Rate of young people living outside parental home (out_ofhome)	-0,449	32,000	0,358	0,154
Public spending per student (ed_ypster)	-0,442	27,000	9485,800	3794,450
Maximum period of unemployment benefit (maxben_dur)	-0,402	23,000	10,391	6,709
Length of education/employment transition period (trans_ed_wk3e)	-0,397	28,000	3,600	1,049
Maximum age at which child receives family allowances (soc_fam_cb)	-0,346	32,000	16,594	1,431
Young people not in education receiving unemployment benefit	-0,316	26,000	21,308	5,290
CENTRAL AREA				
Employment rates of the 20-24 years old	0,075	31,000	48,600	13,535
Number of young people receiving disability benefits (soc_tr	0,083	26,000	1,577	1,438
Parental home leaving age (log_quiT)	0,106	28,000	26,696	2,778
Rate of young people paying tuition fees (ed_tfpc)	0,230	27,000	52,133	36,106
Employment rate 25-29 yr-olds (empt3t)	0,352	31,000	72,558	7,005
Minimum length of employment to receive income when not in employment	0,444	25,000	10,480	4,350
Difference in age limit for receiving family allowances	0,587	32,000	3,688	3,325
NEETs receiving family allowances (neet_transFB)s	0,746	26,000	39,150	11,900
Young parents receiving family allowances (oth_tra	0,771	26,000	33,577	13,964
Young people receiving family allowances only (oth_tr	0,791	25,000	56,560	18,795

List of indicators collected

Thématique	Nom de la variable	Définition	Source	Année	Pays couverts
Education	ed_upsec25	Upper secondary graduation rates for students under 25 : <i>sum of graduation rates for single year of age, by programme destination, programme orientation and gender.</i>	OECD, Education at Glance 2013 (Table A2.1b p.51, lien : http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932848229)	2011	OECD countries (EU 21 + Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States, Norway, Iceland, Turkey, Switzerland). <i>Missing countries (ed_upsec25T)</i> : Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, United Kingdom
Education	ed_dipsec	Percentage of people with at least an upper secondary degree, by age and by gender	Eurostat, Enquête éducation	2012	EU 28 + Turkey, Switzerland, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States
Education	ed_dipsup	Percentage of people with a Tertiary degree, by age and by gender	Eurostat, Enquête éducation	2012	EU 28 + Turkey, Switzerland, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries (ed_dipsup2024T)</i> : Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States
Education	ed_tergrad30	Graduation rates at tertiary level : <i>sum of graduation rates for single year of age, by gender and programme destination (below the age of 30)</i>	OECD, Education at Glance 2011 (Table 3.1.)	2009	OECD countries (EU 21 + Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States, Norway, Iceland, Turkey, Switzerland). <i>Missing countries (ed_tergrad30AT)</i> : Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, France, Greece, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Romania, Turkey, United States
Education	ed_ter_grad	Tertiary graduation rates : <i>sum of age specific graduation rates by gender and programme destination</i>	OECD, Education at Glance 2013 (Table A3.1a., lien : http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/88893284836)	2011	OECD countries (EU 21 + Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States, Norway, Iceland, Turkey, Switzerland). <i>Missing countries (ed_ter_gradBFT)</i> : Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, France, Greece, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Romania
Education	ed_rter	Share of the tertiary students (aged 20-24) among the population aged 20-24	Eurostat, Enquête éducation	2009	UE 28 <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Greece, Iceland, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United States
Education	ed_schleav	Age at which a person can leave the education system.	OECD, Enquête familles 2013	2013	OECD countries (EU 21 + Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States, Norway, Iceland, Turkey, Switzerland). <i>Missing countries</i> : Croatia
Education	ed_ws	Percentage of 15-29 year-olds in education by work status, including part-time workers.	OECD, Education at Glance 2013 (Table C5.3a. Lien : http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/888932851041)	2011	EU 21+ Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States, Norway, Turkey, Switzerland <i>Missing countries (ed_ws1)</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania
Education	ed_hhdsp	Households' expenses in education as share of their consumption.	Eurostat, Enquête éducation	2001-2011	EU 27 (missing countries : Croatia, United States, Iceland, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey) <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Iceland, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, United States
Education	ed_minfc	Minimum tuition fees in euros for first cycle tertiary students : <i>minimum annual fees for students enrolled in first cycle tertiary studies in public universities.</i>	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28 + Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Cyprus, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom, United States
Education	ed_maxfc	Maximum tuition fees in euros for first cycle tertiary students : <i>maximum annual fees for students enrolled in first cycle tertiary studies in public universities</i>	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, United States
Education	ed_avfc	Average annual fees in euros for students enrolled in first cycle tertiary studies in public universities.	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Switzerland, Turkey, United States
Education	ed_minsc	Minimum tuition fees in euros for second cycle tertiary students : <i>minimum annual fees for students enrolled in second cycle tertiary studies in public universities.</i>	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28 + Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Greece, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, United States
Education	ed_maxsc	Maximum tuition fees in euros for second cycle tertiary students : <i>maximum annual fees for students enrolled in second cycle tertiary studies in public universities.</i>	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, United States
Education	ed_avsc	Average annual fees in euros for students enrolled in second cycle tertiary studies in public universities.	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28 + Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, France, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Education	ed_tfpc	Percentage of tertiary students paying tuitions fees for tertiary education.	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Estonia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Turkey, United States

Education	ed_minnb	Minimum annual amount of need-based grants in euros for tertiary students : <i>the minimum amount of need-based grants that tertiary students can receive from state.</i>	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Czech Republic, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden, United Kingdom, United States
Education	ed_maxnb	Maximum annual amount of need-based grants in euros for tertiary students : <i>the maximum amount of need-based grants that tertiary students can receive from state.</i>	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, United States
Education	ed_minmb	Minimum annual amount of merit-based grants in euros for tertiary students : <i>the minimum amount of merit-based grants that tertiary students can receive from state</i>	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Slovak Republic, United States
Education	ed_maxmb	Maximum annual amount of merit-based grants in euros for tertiary students : <i>the maximum amount of merit-based grants that tertiary students can receive from state.</i>	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia Belgium, Canada, Greece, Hungary, Latvia, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, United States
Education	ed_tb	Availability of tax benefits : binary variable representing if tax benefits are available for parents with tertiary students.	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Lithuania, Netherlands, New Zealand, Switzerland, United States
Education	ed_fa	Availability of family allowances : binary variable representing if family allowances are available for parents with tertiary students.	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28 + Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Lithuania, Netherlands, New Zealand, United States
Education	ed_lo	Availability of students loans : binary variable representing if publics loans are available for tertiary students.	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Lithuania, Netherlands, New Zealand, United States
Education	ed_grantpc	Percentage of students receiving public grants : <i>percentage of tertiary students receiving need-based or merit-based public grants.</i>	European Commission (National Student fee and support system)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 28+ Turkey, Norway, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, United States
Education	ed_disfs	Distribution of financial aid to students compared to amount of tuition fees charged in tertiary type-A education, national students, first degree programme (percentage)	OECD, Education at Glance 2013 (Table B5.2., lien : http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/88893284993)	2013-2014 (scholar year)	EU 21 + Australia, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, United States, Turkey) <i>Missing countries (ed_disfs1)</i> : Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Spain, Turkey
Education	ed_pust	Public support for tertiary education : <i>public support for education to households and other private entities as a percentage of total public expenditure on tertiary education, by type of subsidy.</i>	OECD, Education at Glance 2013 (Chart B5.4.)	2010	EU 21 + Australia, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, United States, Turkey) <i>Missing countries (ed_pust1)</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Romania, Turkey
Education	ed_sptot	Total public spending in education : <i>total spending in education coming from public sources as share of annual GDP.</i>	Eurostat, Enquête éducation	2010	EU 28+ Norway, Turkey, Switzerland, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Greece, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Turkey
Education	ed_spriv	Total private spending in education : <i>total spending in education coming from private sources as share of annual GDP.</i>	Eurostat, Enquête éducation	2010	EU 28+ Norway, Turkey, Switzerland, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Greece, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Turkey
Education	ed_yspter	Total public spending in tertiary education in dollars : annual spending in public and private tertiary education per student (in PPS).	Eurostat, Enquête éducation	2010	EU 28+ Norway, Turkey, Switzerland, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey
Education	ed_neet	Percentage of young people not in education, employment or training (for 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 years old) ⁴	Eurostat	2012	EU 28 + Norway <i>Missing countries (ed_neet1519T)</i> : Australia, Canada, Iceland, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, United States
Housing	log_par	Proportion of the 18-34 years old living with their parents (by age and by gender).	Eurostat, Enquête SILC (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_lvps08&lang=fr)	2012	EU 28 + Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, Turkey, United States
Housing	log_stat	Percentage of the 18-34 years old living with their parents (by working status).	Eurostat, Enquête SILC (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_lvps09&lang=fr)	2012	EU 28 + Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, Turkey, United States
Housing	log_ct	Percentage of the 18-34 years old living with their parents (by type of working contracts).	Eurostat, Enquête SILC (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=ilc_lvps10&lang=fr)	2012	EU 28 + Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, Turkey, United States
Housing	log_sur	Housing costs overburdening rate by age, sexe and poverty	Eurostat, SILC data (lien :	2012	EU 28 + Norway, Switzerland, Turkey, Iceland <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Ireland,

		status (18-24 &e 25-29 years old)	http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=lic_lmo07a&lang=fr		New Zealand, Turkey, United States
Housing	log_quit	Average age when leaving the parental household.	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=yth_demo_030&lang=fr)	2012	EU 28 + Norway, Switzerland, Turkey Iceland, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, United States <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada,
Professional integration	pro_transtdwk	Average time between the end of studies and first job for people aged 18 to 34 (for people that left school for 3 years and less and 5 years and less and for different level of school)	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do)	2009	EU 27 + Norway, Turkey, Iceland Germany, New Zealand, Switzerland, United States <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia,
Professional integration	pro_emp	Youth employment by sex, age and educational attainment (for people aged 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 years old)	Eurostat	2012	EU 28 + Norway, Turkey, Iceland, Switzerland Canada, New Zealand, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_emp1T)</i> : Australia,
Professional integration	pro_unemp	Youth unemployment by sex, age and educational attainment (for people aged 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 years old)	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do)	2012	EU 28 + Norway, Turkey, Iceland, Switzerland Canada, Lithuania, New Zealand, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_unemp1T)</i> : Australia,
Professional integration	pro_ltunemp	Rate of long-term unemployment youth (12 months or more, for people aged 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 years old) by gender and age.	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do)	2012	EU 28 + Norway, Turkey, Iceland, Switzerland Canada, Cyprus, Estonia, Finland, Hungary, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, New Zealand, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_ltunemp1T)</i> : Australia,
Professional integration	pro_tpsparinv	Involuntary part-time youth employment as a percentage of total part-time, by sex and age (for people aged 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 years old)	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=yth_empl_070&lang=fr)	2012	EU 28 + Norway, Turkey, Iceland, Switzerland Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, New Zealand, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_tpsparinv1T)</i> : Australia,
Professional integration	pro_emptemp	Young workers in temporary employment as a percentage of total employment, by sex and age (for people aged 15-19, 20-24 and 25-29 years old)	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=yth_empl_050&lang=fr)	2012	EU 28 + Norway, Turkey, Iceland, Switzerland Bulgaria, Canada, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, New Zealand, Romania, Turkey, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_emptemp1T)</i> : Australia,
Professional integration	pro_contemp2	Young employees (20-24 ans) with a temporary contract (in percentage of total employment)	Eurostat, OCDE	2013	UE 28 + pays de l'OCDE <i>Missing countries</i> : New Zealand, United States
Professional integration	pro_parcomp	Percentage of full-time employment and part-time employment for the 15-24 years old by sex, age and highest level of education or training attained.	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/submitViewTableAction.do)	2013 (the two first trimesters)	EU 28 + Norway, Switzerland, Turkey Australia, Canada, Croatia, New Zealand, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_parcomp1T)</i> :
Professional integration	pro_serv	Number of participants (aged less than 25 years and in general) in service policies on labor market	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=imp_partsumm&lang=fr)	2011	EU 27 + Norway Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, New Zealand, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_servT25)</i> : Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada,
Professional integration	pro_voc	Number of participants (aged less than 25 years and in general) in vocational training.	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=imp_partsumm&lang=fr)	2011	EU 27 + Norway Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_vocT25)</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_inc	Number of participants (aged less than 25 years and in general) in employment incentive policies.	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=imp_partsumm&lang=fr)	2011	EU 27 + Norway France, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Lithuania, New Zealand, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_incT25)</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Croatia,
Professional integration	pro_crea	Number of people (aged less than 25 years and in general) receiving direct job creation.	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=imp_partsumm&lang=fr)	2011	EU 27 + Norway Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_creaT25)</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus,
Professional integration	pro_polp89	Number of people (aged under 25 years and in general) receiving public income in the absence of employment in policy programs 8-9.	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=imp_partsumm&lang=fr)	2011	EU 27 + Norway Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_polp89T25)</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Iceland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_sup	Number of people (aged under 25 years and in general) benefiting from supported employment and rehabilitation.	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/setupDownloads.do)	2011	EU 27+ Norway Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Slovenia, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_supT25)</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Croatia,
Professional integration	pro_star	Number of people (aged under 25 years and in general) benefiting from start-up incentives.	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/setupDownloads.do)	2011	EU 27 + Norway Czech Republic, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Romania, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States <i>Missing countries (pro_starT25)</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus,

Professional integration	pro_deppu	Expenditure on the labor market by type of action (active policies and subsidies policies), in percentage of GDP.	Eurostat (lien : http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/hui/show.do?dataset=imp_expsumm&lang=fr)	2011	EU 27 + Norway <i>Missing countries (pro_deppu27)</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Greece, Iceland, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_polp27T25	Number of people aged less than 25 years involved in 2-7 public policies.	Eurostat	2011	EU 27+ Norway <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Greece, Iceland, Lithuania, New Zealand, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_pop2024	Number of 20-24 year-olds.	Eurostat	2011	EU 27+ Norway <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, New Zealand, United States
Professional integration	pro_ratsevt25	Percentage of 20-24 year-olds involved in service policies (among the population of the 20-24 years old)	Eurostat	2011	EU 27+ Norway <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech republic, Denmark, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, New Zealand, Portugal, Romania, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_ratvct25	Percentage of 20-24 year-olds involved in vocational training (among the population of the 20-24 years old)	Eurostat	2011	EU 27+ Norway <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_ratinct25	Percentage of 20-24 year-olds involved in incentive policies (among the population of the 20-24 years old)	Eurostat	2011	EU 27+ Norway <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, France, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Lithuania, New Zealand, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_ratcreat25	Percentage of 20-24 year-olds involved in direct job creation (among the population of the 20-24 years old)	Eurostat	2011	EU 27+ Norway <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Malta, Netherlands, New Zealand, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_ratsupt25	Percentage of 20-24 year-olds involved in supported employment and rehabilitation (among the population of the 20-24 years old)	Eurostat	2011	EU 27+ Norway <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Estonia, France, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_ratstart25	Percentage of 20-24 year-olds involved in start_up incentives (among the population of the 20-24 years old)	Eurostat	2011	EU 27+ Norway <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Romania, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_ratpolp27t25	Percentage of 20-24 year-olds involved in 2-7 public policies (among the population of the 20-24 years old)	Eurostat	2011	EU 27+ Norway <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Belgium, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Greece, Iceland, Lithuania, New Zealand, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Professional integration	pro_ratpolp89t25	Percentage of 20-24 year-olds involved in 8-9 public policies (among the population of the 20-24 years old)	Eurostat	2011	EU 27+ Norway <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Czech Republic, Greece, Iceland, Netherlands, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Social assistance	soc_minsoc	Minimum age to benefit from social assistance.	OECD, Social assistance 2010.	2010	OECD countries + Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania. <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Austria, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States
Social assistance	soc_famcb	Upper age limit of children for which the family receives child allowances, in general and for children that are students.	OECD, Family database (lien : http://www.oecd.org/social/soc/oecdfamilydatabase.htm#public_policy , Table Family cash benefits, PF1.3.A)	2011	OECD countries + Bulgaria, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania. <i>Missing countries</i> : Croatia, Cyprus, Turkey, United States
Social assistance	soc_uninben	Minimum employment/contribution period and benefit duration of unemployment insurance benefits for a 20 year-old with one year of employment record, living alone and without children, in 2012 (in months).	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	2012	OECD countries <i>Missing countries (soc_mincont)</i> : Australia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Norway, Romania
Social assistance	soc_benavun	Means-tested benefits available to the unemployed youth (aged 20) with no employment record (for instance those who just finished education or dropped out high school) by type of family responsibilities	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	2012	OECD countries <i>Missing countries</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Romania
Social assistance	soc_trans	Number of young people who received unemployment and/or disability benefits at any time over 2011 as percentage of the total number of youth (for the 16-29 years old)	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	2011	OECD countries <i>Missing countries</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey

Social assistance	soc_othtrans	Share of youths living in household who receive Social Assistance, Housing Benefits or Family Allowances only at any time over 2011, as percentage of total number of youths (for the 16-29 years old)	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	2011	OECD countries <i>Missing countries</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey
Social assistance	soc_othtransSP	Share of young single parent households who receive Social Assistance, Housing Benefits or Family Allowances only at any time over 2011, as percentage of total number of youths (for the 16-29 years old)	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	2011	OECD countries <i>Missing countries</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Greece, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey
Social assistance	soc_notintrans	Youths not in education (for young people aged 15-29 years old) that are covered by unemployment benefits, social assistance and housing benefits and youths affected by non-employment.	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	Average 2007-2011	OECD countries <i>Missing countries</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey
Social assistance	soc_edutrans	Low and high educated youth (for the 15-29 years old) that are covered by unemployment benefits, social assistance and housing benefits and those who are touched by unemployment.	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	Average 2007-2011	OECD countries <i>Missing countries</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey
Social assistance	soc_neettrans	NEETs living with/without their parents receiving unemployed benefits, social assistance, housing benefits, family benefits and their income decile (for people aged 15-29 years old)	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	Average 2007-2011	OECD countries <i>Missing countries</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey
Social assistance	soc_neetnotrans	Percentage of NEETs with/without parents who receive/do not receive social transfer (for people aged 15-29 years old)	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	Average 2007-2011	OECD countries <i>Missing countries</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey
Social assistance	soc_chnemprate	Change in the non-employment rates among those not in education over the period 2007-2011, non-employment rate variation (for people aged 16-29 years old)	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	Average 2007-2011	OECD countries <i>Missing countries</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey
Social assistance	soc_senrate	Sensitivity of benefiting rates to non-employment rates : in points of benefit receipt rate for 1 extra point of non-employment rate of each group (for people aged 16-29 years old).	OECD, Social Policies for youths : bridging the gap to independence scoping paper, november 2013	Period 2007-2011	OECD countries <i>Missing countries</i> : Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, New Zealand, Romania, Switzerland, Turkey
Social assistance	soc_allparents	Age until a child can benefit from a maintenance allowance : age at which parents no longer have legal financial obligations towards their children (qualitative data)	Multilinks Database (link : http://multilinks-database.wzb.eu/indicators/subtheme/20201/years/2004/indicators/2020110/2020120/countries/AT/BE/BG/CY/CZ/DK/EE/FI/FR/DE/GR/HU/IE/IT/LV/LT/LU/MT/NL/NO/PL/PT/RO/SK/SI/ES/SE/GB)	2004 (mais variable selon les pays)	UE 27 <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Iceland, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Social assistance	soc_allparentscode	Age until a child can benefit from a maintenance allowance : age at which parents no longer have legal financial obligations towards their children (quantitative data) Code : 1-No age limit, 2- Until adulthood + education, 3- Until adulthood	Multilinks Database (link : http://multilinks-database.wzb.eu/indicators/subtheme/20201/years/2004/indicators/2020110/2020120/countries/AT/BE/BG/CY/CZ/DK/EE/FI/FR/DE/GR/HU/IE/IT/LV/LT/LU/MT/NL/NO/PL/PT/RO/SK/SI/ES/SE/GB)	2004 (mais variable selon les pays)	UE 27 <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Iceland, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States
Social assistance	soc_othsupport	Legal obligations of other relatives to support children : are there other relatives of a (minor) child who have obligations to provide support in case the parents are not able to support their children?	Multilinks Database (link : http://multilinks-database.wzb.eu/indicators/subtheme/20201/years/2004/indicators/2020110/2020120/countries/AT/BE/BG/CY/CZ/DK/EE/FI/FR/DE/GR/HU/IE/IT/LV/LT/LU/MT/NL/NO/PL/PT/RO/SK/SI/ES/SE/GB)	2004 (mais variable selon les pays)	UE 27 <i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, Cyprus, Iceland, New Zealand, Switzerland, Turkey, United States
Social assistance	soc_outofhome	Percentage of 15-29 year-olds living alone independently (without their parents).	Youth_received by families, OCDE	2011	<i>Missing countries</i> : Croatia, New Zealand, Turkey, United States
Social assistance	soc_cashrec_any	Percentage of 15-29 living independently that receive any help from their family or other household.	Youth_received by families, OCDE	2011	<i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, New Zealand, Turkey, United States
Social assistance	soc_cashrec_med	Median amount of financial help received by young people living independently (15-29)	Youth_received by families, OCDE	2011	<i>Missing countries</i> : Australia, Canada, Croatia, New Zealand, Turkey, United States