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Intergenerational Fairness

How to build a world that works for young people and future generations



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Executive Summary

"Intergenerational fairness is a cross cutting topic - it affects all of us, but especially young people".1

> President of the European Commission, Ursula Von der Leyen, September 2024

An intergenerationally fair world has to ensure that the challenges, realities and ideas of young people are recognised and therefore that their rights, opportunities and resources are at the centre of policy-making.

This policy paper sets out the European Youth Forum's vision for this intergenerationally fair world.

In order to realise this vision for an intergenerationally fair world, decision makers and wider society at all levels must uphold the following six key principles:

- 2. **Generational recognition**: Prioritise and solve the challenges specific to this generation of young people;
- Youth Rights: Improve the experience of being young and remove all intersecting and systemic forms of discrimination, including those on the basis of age;
- 4. Futures Thinking: Embrace futures thinking and ensure the decisions taken today especially in areas such as public spending, environmental protection, and threats to human rights do not jeopardise the chances of a decent life for future generations;
- Eliminate Inequality: Address all forms of inequality - including economic, social and political - among people within the same generation;

- Fair Investment: Move away from short termist thinking and fairly invest with young people, future generations and a long-term agenda in mind;
- 7. Intergenerational Connection: Encourage and provide funding opportunities - including for representative youth organisations - for intergenerational connection, dialogue and understanding.

Now is the moment to act to ensure that young people and future generations are at the heart of an intergenerationally fair society and planet. We must use the momentum at the Council of Europe level, with the references in the Reykjavik Declaration to future generations in reform thinking; at the UN level, sparked by the adoption of the Pact for the Future and upcoming appointment of a Special Envoy on Future Generations: and at the EU level. provided by the appointment of the first ever **Commissioner for Intergenerational Fairness** and the upcomina Intergenerational Fairness Strategy.

https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Young_people - social_inclusion#:~text=ln%202022%2C%20 17.4%20million%20young.severe%20material%20and%20social%20deprivation

Introduction - Intergenerational Unfairness

For centuries, young people as generations have been on the sharp end of society's most intense challenges, disproportionately affected by specific issues which have limited and continue to limit access to their social, economic and political rights and first entry into the labour market. Young people additionally remain significantly more likely than the general population to be at risk of poverty and social exclusion.² Ageist perceptions and attitudes are also prevalent - with younger and older people at risk of not being taken seriously by society and those in positions of power simply for being too young, or too old. Older generations experience different challenges. such as access to pensions and quality social care, which will ultimately become the challenges of current younger generations as they age, if they are not addressed.

However, other concerns are markedly different and distinctive for today's young generation compared to generations that came before. These challenges are not mere transitory lifecycle effects but clear intergenerational inequalities. Affordable home ownership is an increasingly impossible dream for young people. Unpaid internships have become a widespread exploitative practice almost entrenched as a 'rite of passage'. The COVID-19 pandemic - including through forced isolation and serious mental health implications - has significantly negatively affected young people³ in the longer term. Europe's youth is battling a chronic mental health crisis. The climate emergency is especially threatening for the young generation now and in the future, particularly as they have the longest to live with the implications if they are not urgently addressed. Young people are already facing the consequences of the damage done, with many highlighting the state of the climate as a reason behind their plans not to have children.⁴ The combination of the COVID-19 pandemic, financial crisis, austerity measures and stagnating real wages has led to a new multi-pronged economic challenge that younger generations have to bear.⁵ All of this combined means that young people are far less likely to think that the next generation will be better off than this one⁶ - a huge step change to a narrative that generations had begun to take for granted.

When we think of generational specificity, it is also not enough that we consider generations that are currently alive today. Extreme weather events such as floods, extreme wild fires and droughts, the rising temperatures set to breach 1.5 degree long term warming⁷ and significant food and water shortages are all signs that the climate crisis is worsening. If left unchecked, the climate crisis increasingly threatens future generations' very existence. Examples of democratic backsliding, breaches of the rule of law and shrinking civic space8 are also alarming warning signals that the respect for democracy, human rights and pluralism that we began to take for granted, will not be the norm for future generations, unless current generations act. Short term thinking, incentivised by election cycle politics, and often fuelled by populism, has contributed to future generations being neglected by our political systems. However, future generations also need to form part of our thinking today - otherwise we risk

² https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Young_people - social_inclusion#:~text=ln%202022%2C%20 17.4%20million%20young.severe%20material%20and%20social%20deprivation

³ https://www.youthforum.org/files/European20Youth20Forum20Report20v1.2.pdf

⁴ https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2023/nov/09/more-people-not-having-children-due-to-climate-breakdown-fears-findsresearch

⁵ https://www.oecd.org/en/publications/risks-that-matter-for-young-people_62b44423-en.html

⁶ https://www.pewresearch.org/short-reads/2022/08/11/large-shares-in-many-countries-are-pessimistic-about-the-next-generations-financial-future/ / https://fra.europa.eu/en/publications-and-resources/data-and-maps/2021/frs

⁷ https://www.bbc.com/news/articles/cd7575x8yq5o

⁸ https://monitor.civicus.org/globalfindings_2024/

leaving a society and planet that jeopardises the right to a decent life for future generations.⁹

Discussions on intergenerational fairness should also not mask intragenerational unfairness. It is limiting and disingenuous to regard a generation as a homogenous group. Instead, young people represent a wide range of backgrounds, social groups, ages and intersectionalities, including those who are living in vulnerable and marginalised situations.¹⁰ Not everyone within a generation shares the same experiences or advantages. Inequalities that diverge from assumed generational norms should still be prioritized to ensure fairness for all members of each generation. This should include breaking the cycle of inherited poverty and social exclusion.

Finally, we are currently 'living more separately by age than we have at any time in human history'¹¹ - with younger and older people frequently occupying different physical and online spaces. Ageist stereotypes - including those perpetuated by the media - frequently focus on dividing generations rather than bringing younger and older people together. To realise an intergenerationally fair society, it is essential to rebuild and enhance intergenerational connection, dialogue and understanding, including with and through youth organisations.

Now is the moment to act to ensure that young people and future generations are at the heart of an intergenerationally fair society and planet. We must use the momentum at the UN level, sparked by the adoption of the Pact for the Future and upcoming appointment of a Special Envoy on Future Generations; the Council of Europe level, with the references in the Reykjavik Declaration to future generations in reform thinking and at the EU level, provided by the appointment of the first ever Commissioner for Intergenerational Fairness and the upcoming Intergenerational Fairness Strategy.

⁹ Article 3 of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) notes that 'protect[ing] the climate system for the benefit of present and future generations'

¹⁰ These intersectionalities encompass various ethnicities, races, religions, socioeconomic statuses, sexual orientations, gender identities, abilities, and neurodiversities, and more.

¹¹ https://ise.org.uk/knowledge/insights/411/do_you_need_a_gen_z_or_intergenerational_workplace_strategy/

Six Key Principles for an intergenerationally fair society that works for young people and future generations

Creating an intergenerationally fair society that works for young people and future generations can only be achieved through **a political and societal step change**. Decision makers and wider society at all levels should uphold the following six key principles in order to realise a world that is truly intergenerationally fair:

Principle 1: Generational Recognition	Solve the challenges specific to this generation of young people!
	Vision: Other generations should recognise that some of the concerns Millennials and Generation Z are experiencing are different to generations that came before- and prioritise solutions to these concerns in policy interventions and programmes to avoid these being challenges that future generations of young people have to bear.
Principle 2:	Improve the experience of being young!
Youth Rights	Vision: All people irrespective of their age or generation should reflect on their experiences of being young, the frustrations and challenges that came with this life stage and decide that these experiences can be improved, including through removing age-based discrimination and other intersecting forms, and moving beyond ageist stereotypes.
Principle 3: Futures Thinking	Be a 'Good Ancestor'!
	Vision: All generations should commit to the approach of being 'a good ancestor' and ensure that they do not jeopardise the right to a decent life for future generations or unfairly burden them, particularly in the context of the climate crisis and growing examples of threats to the rule of law and democratic backsliding.
Principle 4: Eliminate Inequality	Address intragenerational inequality!
	Vision: All generations should aim for a just system that is equitable. There should be equal access to opportunities and equality within generations. 'Youth' is not a homogenous group and particular attention should be given to ensuring support for vulnerable groups of young people.
Principle 5: Fair Investment	Invest fairly and sustainably!
	Vision: Investing today in the infrastructure of tomorrow.
	The future health and prosperity of our society depend on the timely and effective deployment of investments for economic transition and the maintenance of our collective infrastructure. The cost of timely action is lower than the cost of inaction.
Principle 6: Intergenerational Connection	Bring generations together!
	Vision: We need to encourage the coming together of different generations through fostering greater intergenerational connection, dialogue and understanding.

Policy Recommendations

The following areas of policy focus should be taken forward at the appropriate levels of decision making in order to address our core six principles to achieve a generationally fair world. These policies are based on the European Youth Forum's extensive and existing policy papers and positions on these topics which outline each policy area in greater levels of detail.

Principle 1: Generational Recognition

Recommendations

- Housing:¹² Make housing affordable for young people and explore intergenerational housing options.
- Labour Market:¹³ Ban unpaid internships and ensure access to remuneration for interns, guaranteeing that their work is recognised and valued and that everyone can access these types of work placements regardless of their background.
- Support for young people not in employment, education or training (NEETs):¹⁴ Allocate enough resources and improve the implementation of the EU Youth Guarantee.
- Mental Health:¹⁵ Tackle the Youth Mental Health Crisis, including through addressing precarious work.

Principle 2: Youth Rights

Recommendations

- Recognise youth as a life stage:¹⁶ Adopt a binding UN Convention on Youth Rights to account for young people's universal rights, and mainstream the rights of young people across all UN Human Rights Processes.
- Youth representation in decision making:
 - Lower the Voting Age for all elections to 16.¹⁷
 - Increase the number of young people in political positions at all levels.
- Meaningful and inclusive youth participation:
 - Remove barriers to young people's and youth organisation's meaningful participation at all levels, including through the establishment of meaningful participatory mechanisms linked to decision-making processes.
 - Consult with youth organisations in the upcoming appointment of a UN Special Envoy on Future Generations and ensure the rights of young people and future generations are at the centre of their mandate.

- 14 Youth Guarantee: How to support young people finding a pathway, European Youth Forum Policy Paper, April 2025, <u>https://www.youthforum.org/policy-library/youth-guarantee-how-to-support-young-people-finding-a-pathway</u>
- 15 Always on standby: How precarious work impacts young people's mental health, European Youth Forum Policy Paper, March 2024, https://www.youthforum.org/policy-library/always-on-standby-how-precarious-work-impacts-young-peoples-mental-health
- 16 Position Paper on the universal recognition of the rights of young people, European Youth Forum Policy Paper, March 2024, <u>https://www.youthforum.org/topics/youth-rights</u>
- 17 https://www.youthforum.org/topics/lower-the-voting-age

^{12 &#}x27;More than a Roof - European Youth Forum's Position on Housing', April 2025, <u>https://www.youthforum.org/policy-library/more-than-a-roof</u>

¹³ Quality Charter on Internships and Apprenticeships, November 2023, https://www.youthforum.org/files/231122-BUI-charter.pdf

- Workers' rights:¹⁸ Create a new framework for workers' rights that no longer privileges certain segments of the labour market, but provides the same safety net and benefits for all.
- Youth inclusive social welfare: Ensure social welfare systems are fair and inclusive for young people by removing age-based eligibility criteria and tailoring services to their specific needs and life circumstances.¹⁹
- Age disaggregated data: Collect more harmonised and better age and generally disaggregated data to allow for better policy interventions designed around young people and specific groups of young people.
- Youth organisations and age discrimination:
 - Provide funding at all levels for youth organisations to raise awareness of age discrimination amongst young people - encouraging them to recognise and enjoy their rights.
 - Increase outreach and resources to ensure young people's access to justice at all levels.

Principle 3: Futures Thinking

Recommendations

- Climate Action:²⁰ Implement urgent and binding climate action plans aligned with the latest science, recognising that the 1.5°C threshold has already been breached.
 - National governments must commit to phase out fossil fuels, including by shifting fossil fuel subsidies to renewable energy by 2030 at the latest, and an accelerated just and sustainable transition to a 100% renewable energy supply, that is clean, affordable and does not lead to energy poverty.
 - The EU must reduce emissions by at least 65% by 2030 and support Member States in accelerating a just and equitable transition to climate neutrality.
 - The EU, its Member States and other European governments should collaborate closely and take an active role in international climate negotiations to push for more ambitious global climate action beyond Europe's borders.
- Resource justice: Adopt the principles of Sustainable Resource Management including through the introduction of binding material footprint targets in line with planetary boundaries.

¹⁸ Workers' Rights for the 21st Century, European Youth Forum, European Youth Forum policy Paper, December 2024, <u>https://www.youthforum.org/policy-library/workers-rights-for-the-21st-century</u>

¹⁹ Ibid. 10

²⁰ Sustainable Resource Management in the EU, European Youth Forum joint paper, 2024, https://www.youthforum.org/topics/climate

- Economic model: Adopt an alternative economic model which looks at progress beyond economic growth and centres on the wellbeing of people and the planet.
- Green Taxation:²¹ Reform tax systems to promote environmental sustainability.
- Shrinking Civic Space:²² Guarantee a strong civic space for young people, in which youth organisations can operate autonomously and free from any interference and retribution.

Principle 4: Eliminate Inequality

Recommendations

Age Discrimination:

 The European Parliament and the Council of the EU should not accept the proposed withdrawal of the Horizontal Anti-Discrimination Directive from the Commission Work Programme and instead push for the text to finally be adopted to protect Europeans from all forms of discrimination - including based on age.

Equality Strategies:

 The EU institutions should use the inputs of representative youth organisations to inform the successors to the gender equality strategy, the antiracism action plan, the Roma strategic framework, the strategy for the rights of LGBTIQ persons, the strategy for the rights of persons with disabilities and the EU Strategy on combating antisemitism and fostering Jewish life. National Governments should establish strategies and action plans to tackle different forms of discrimination, including based on age, through a bottom-up approach, in direct consultation with youth, civil society organisations, communities, and other actors responsible for addressing the different types of discrimination.

Inclusivity in EU Youth Programmes:

 The EU institutions should support the continued creation of inclusion strategies for Erasmus+ and European Solidarity Corps in the design of the next programmes and advocate for a 5 times increase of the budget for both programmes, including to enable additional accessibility and inclusion.

Fair Taxation:23

 National Governments should advocate for and adopt fair and just tax systems that are well-balanced and distribute the fiscal effort equitably based on the taxpayer's ability to pay.

Rural Youth:

- National governments should prevent brain drain and improve the generational balance in rural communities by:
 - Incorporating youth views into the vision for Generational Renewal in agriculture - including in the design of the next Common Agricultural Policy
 to ensure that young people are supported to take over family farms;
 - Ensuring investments in local areas to ensure that essential services

^{21 &#}x27;Empowering Youth through Fair and Green Tax Policy', European Youth Forum Policy Paper, November 2024, https://www.youthforum.org/policy-library/fair-and-green-tax-policy

^{22 &#}x27;Safeguarding Civic Space for Young People in Europe', European Youth Forum Policy Paper, April 2022, <u>https://www.youthforum.org/</u> policy-library/safeguarding-civic-space-for-young-people-in-europe

^{23 &#}x27;Empowering Youth through Fair and Green Tax Policy', European Youth Forum Policy Paper, November 2024, https://www.youthforum.org/policy-library/fair-and-green-tax-policy

that young people require and youth infrastructure is supported.

Cultural Identity

 National governments should support minority language rights and cultural identity by including access to education in minority languages, including sign language, funding for cultural projects, and representation of minority cultures in public spaces.

Poverty and social exclusion

- National governments should address poverty and social exclusion through policies, strategies and targeted funding.
 - The EU institutions should take into account the inputs of representative youth organisations in the development of the upcoming EU Anti-Poverty Strategy - and include recommendations to tackle socio-economic discrimination.

Principle 5: Fair Investment

Recommendations

- NextGenerationEU: 2.0
 - The EU institutions should establish a successor to NextGenerationEU, centred around two principles:
 - A do-no-harm principle to ensure that funds are not mobilised to support fossil fuel or fossil fuel-dependent industries.
 - An intergenerational fairness principle to ensure the investments

provided by the fund make young people and future generations safer and more prosperous.

- Next MFF:²⁴ The EU institutions should mainstream young people and youth organisations in the next Multiannual Financial Framework across all programmes with a youth-relevant focus.
- Stability and Growth Pact: The EU institutions should replace the SGP by a Sustainability and Wellbeing Pact including an "Excessive Emissions Procedure", for member states that diverge from their Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC) paths and a similar procedure for countries unable to meet wellbeing targets.²⁵
- Youth inclusive budgeting: National Governments should enshrine youth participation in fiscal decision-making, through the involvement of youth organisations, in particular national youth councils, in the design of investment plans and governance of EU and national funds.
- The EU and national governments should mobilise adequate amounts of funding to tackle climate change mitigation and adaptation, including through an acceleration of the transition to clean modes of transportation (such as trains); support people and regions most affected by the transition to net-zero; and secure existing and create new infrastructure for youth, including funding for youth organisations and intergenerational community spaces.

²⁴ Mainstreaming Young People in the Next Multiannual Financial Framework 2028-34, European Youth Forum Policy Paper, May 2025, https://www.youthforum.org/policy-library/mainstreaming-young-people-in-the-next-multiannual-financial-framework-2028-34

²⁵ Fiscal Policy, European Youth Forum Policy Paper, February 2022, <u>https://www.youthforum.org/files/220420-Fiscal-Policy-Position-Paper.pdf</u>

Principle 6: Intergenerational Connection

Recommendations:

- Mentorship: As part of the design of the framework for the next European Solidarity Corps (ESC) Programme the EU institutions should include older volunteers and former ESC participants as part of a dedicated, more structured mentoring scheme run by National Agencies, which should also encourage intergenerational connection in the communities hosting young ESC participants.
- Exchange between representative organisations: Building on best practice examples,²⁶ National Youth Councils and their counterpart organisations representing different age groups should engage in dialogue and projects together to promote common understanding and cooperation.
- Intergenerational Activities: Local and Regional Authorities should provide funding for intergenerational activities in libraries and museums, cultural, sports or other associations and religious institutions.²⁷ These activities should include cultural exchange between generations, with a focus on minority and regional languages - particularly in rural areas, to ensure that these languages are passed on to future generations.²⁸
- Recognition of non-formal and informal learning: Governments at all levels should financially support and formally recognise the competences gained through non-formal and informal learning and volunteering delivered by youth

organisations that promote intergenerational learning moments and exchange between different age groups.

 Ageist stereotypes: Decision makers and individuals at all levels should debunk ageist stereotypes and showcase positive examples of cooperation between Europeans of different ages - for example, through the opportunity of the EU Day of Intergenerational Solidarity.

^{26 &}lt;u>https://duf.dk/nyhed/duf-og-aeldre-sagen-vil-styrke-den-digitale-samtale</u>

²⁷ https://cor.europa.eu/en/our-work/opinions/cdr-0369-2025

²⁸ Motion: Advocating for linguistic diversity to make Europe stronger, Adopted November 2024, <u>https://www.youthforum.org/policy-library/motion-advocating-for-linguistic-diversity-to-make-europe-stronger</u>

New EU instruments

In addition to a focus on specific policy areas, the following recommendations set out a new way of working for the EU in order to enshrine intergenerational fairness into EU decision making and working structures - with a specific focus on youth and future generations.

Recommendations

We call on the European Commission to:29

- Elaborate and incorporate the 'EU Youth Check' into the Better Regulation Toolbox³⁰ to ensure comprehensive and transparent implementation, and further promoting the recognition of youth as a lifestage in its own right
- Make the safeguarding of youth and future generations' interests part of the mandate of the EU regulatory scrutiny board.
- Introduce indicators for the monitoring and benchmarking of current youth and future generations' wellbeing in the European Semester framework.
- Introduce a youth and future generations rule in future EU expenditure, subsidies and investments, and in the assessment of national medium-term fiscal-structural plans.
- Ensure international cooperation and EU thought leadership on future generations - through the Commissioner responsible for intergenerational fairness acting as a representative for future generations, including through their mandate of strengthening the use of Strategic Foresight within the College, and ensure close cooperation with the UN

Youth Office and ultimately the UN Special Envoy on Future Generations, following their appointment.

We call on all EU institutions to mainstream youth and future generations across all legislative decision making processes and budgetary decisions by:

- Including the rights of youth and future generations in the EU Treaties, including the recognition of an enforceable right to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment as well as the recognition of young people over the age of 18 as rights holders.
- Establishing a framework that defines the rights of youth and future generations, ensures coherence between current and future legislation, and incorporates procedural mechanisms for oversight and stakeholder engagement, including with representative youth organisations. This could be achieved through the adoption of an inter-institutional declaration on future generations.

We call on the European Parliament to:

- Appoint leads for future generations in all political groups and in every European Parliament committee to ensure that future generations are at the heart of all policy work and decisions.
- Institutionalise regular dialogue with representative youth organisations in all European Parliament Committees where youth-relevant policies are being discussed.

^{29 &}lt;u>https://www.greenpeace.org/static/planet4-eu-unit-stateless/2024/06/d61251e4-an-eu-agenda-for-youth-and-future-generations-greenpeace-eu.pdf</u>

³⁰ https://drive.google.com/file/d/1A319mDB0xDQ43kPIpzeZawSXmAq38ohh/view?usp=sharing

Intergenerational Fairness at UN level

In addition to a focus on intergenerational fairness at EU level - UN level activity should also support the realisation of an intergenerationally fair world with a particular focus on the rights of young people and future generations.

Recommendations

As part of the follow up to the Summit of the Future, we call on the Member States of the United Nations to:

- Implement the recommendations in the Pact for the Future - involving their National Youth Councils closely in this effort, and consider together how best to include these recommendations in their youth laws and youth strategies.
- Fund and support a National Youth Council-led UN youth delegate programme that is meaningful in its function, tied to the work of the National Youth Councils and independent from Government.
- Support the development and adoption of a UN Convention on the Rights of Young People and the mainstreaming of youth rights and future generations in all UN Human Rights processes (i.e. the UN Treaty Bodies, UN Special Procedures, and the Universal Periodic Review).
- Ensure consultation with representative youth organisations in the appointment of the upcoming UN Special Envoy on Future Generations, as per the UN Secretary-General's Common Agenda.³¹

Intergenerational Fairness at Council of Europe level

- We call on the Council of Europe to enshrine the 6 principles within this paper in its work; particularly in reforms following the Reykjavik Declaration, including the introduction of a Youth Perspective, the refocus on the European Social Charter and work towards enshrining the right to a clean, healthy and sustainable environment;
- The upcoming New Democratic Pact for the Council of Europe and the Declaration adopted during the Ministers of Youth Conference in Malta should include concrete commitments on youth and future generations.

Conclusion

Young people deserve an intergenerationally fair world where they have access to equal and extensive opportunities - without being hampered by structural, generational or ecological-related challenges. Following up on the Council of Europe's Reykjavik Declaration and the United Nations' Pact for the Future will be key in enshrining these principles of intergenerational fairness on a global level so that all young people and future generations can fully access their rights.

Within the framework of the European Union, Article 3(3) of the Treaty of the European Union (TEU) also states that the EU shall promote "solidarity between generations". However, there is no specific TEU provision that sets out how this solidarity should be achieved in practice.

The development of an Intergenerational Fairness Strategy at EU level presents a unique opportunity to build on this commitment within the Treaties and set out binding principles, mechanisms and policy changes to ensure that intergenerational fairness, and a focus on the rights of young people and future generations, are at the heart of European decision making.

COUNCIL OF EUROPE





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