

FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADULTHOOD: the growing diversity of youth

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This publication is devoted to the demographic pathways of young people: from childhood, adolescence and entry into adulthood, through to the settling into working life and family life. The central finding is the diversity of ways in which young people enter life: children and young adults, women and men, graduates and non-graduates, natives and immigrants, linguistic and cultural groups - everything contributes to making youth in Luxembourg a multi-faceted subject.

Diversification and the gradual extension of youth into older age groups are trends that are being confirmed. Two major aspects of this transition to adulthood are analyzed: entry into working life and family life. On the one hand, we consider completion of studies, entry into working life and employment, and on the other, leaving the parental home, settling down as a couple and raising children. Today, these entry thresholds are delayed, and some become optional. This is why the window of observation, which used to stop at the age of 25 to qualify youth, is here opened up to the age of 39, to better grasp the diversity of realities: between a more traditional model marked by early entry into adult life through work and the founding of a family, more widespread in Portuguese-speaking families, and more complex, deferred and diversified models.

The contribution of this approach is to emphasize that young people are not simply an age group, but also complex generations that are already foreshadowing the future of Luxembourg society.

Inset: which young people?

In the 1970s, by the age of 25, almost all young people had ceased their studies, and a large majority were independent, living in their own homes, with a stable job (more often for men) or managing the household, most often as part of a family with at least one dependent child. Youth, then established as a period of transition between childhood and adulthood, was experienced early and ended early, with the arrival of professional and family responsibilities, most often before the age of 25.

Today's youths are more diversified and complex, with delayed thresholds (finishing school, taking a job, leaving parents, living as a couple, having children, etc.), less coherent and less irreversible than in the past. Here are the main stages generally distinguished:

From 0 to 11: Childhood, then from 12 to 17: Adolescence.

A period marked by learning, until the end of compulsory schooling and entry into majority at age 18. We speak of infancy (0-5 years), childhood (6-11 years) and adolescence, marked by physical, emotional and identity-related upheavals. It's a key period for socialization, experimentation and the development of physical and intellectual capacities.

18 to 24: Young adults in training (also known as adulescents)

Young people are often still dependent on their families, pursuing their studies and beginning to enter the job market. It's also a time for exploring life choices. Whereas in previous generations, youth stopped at the end of this stage, professional and family instability, and the postponement of the present generation's life choices to later ages, pushes back the old thresholds well beyond the age of 25, which goes hand in hand with a certain image of immaturity of eternal adolescents, hence the sociological debate on the emergence of a new social group, the "adulescents", neither adolescents nor adults, who would postpone their entry into life indefinitely.

25 to 29 years: Entering adult life

Most young people in this age bracket have entered working life, and are becoming independent, especially when it comes to housing. They are discovering the often contradictory constraints of social and economic responsibilities. Couples are in the majority from the age of 28 for women and 31 for men.

30 to 39: Consolidation of adult life

This age group is often associated with professional and personal stability (stable employment, property purchase, parenthood), but contemporary realities are more complex: the process of learning and exploring before reaching a "stable adult life" sometimes extends indefinitely.

The result of these transformations is growing fragmentation, with some adults opting for a rapid entry into life based on a somewhat "traditional" model, and others opting for a more fluid lifestyle. Inequalities also mark these pathways: precariousness, access to education and working conditions have a strong influence on the passage to adulthood. Institutions and the legal system tend to adapt to the changes observed: while the change in the legal age of majority from 21 to 18 in 1972 establishes a clear and stable threshold, other systems, such as the family allowance system of the Caisse pour l'avenir des enfants (CAE), extend to age 25 for students.

1.

Youth that diversifies over time

Over the intercensal period 2011-2021, Luxembourg's population experienced strong migratory dynamics, increasing the proportion of foreign-born people from 38.9% to 49.2% of the population. The total population increased by more than 130,000 people, representing growth of over 25%, which is considerable (Docquier et al., 2023).

Luxembourg's young people have not escaped this dynamic (Table 1): in ten years, the population under 40 has risen from 263,512 to 325,473, an increase of 61,961 people. In 2021, the under-40s will account for just over half of Luxembourg's residents, or 50.5%, down slightly on 2011, when they represented 51.4% of the population. This slight decline, as a share of the population, can be observed in all developed countries, and is explained by gains in longevity and the dynamics of migration, which benefit the older age groups, and by the relative decline in fertility (Allegrezza, 2024).

If we focus on the under-20s, the direct migratory contribution is lower than for the rest of the population. In 2021, less than a quarter of the under-20s (23.9%) were born abroad: the vast majority of young people attending school were born in Luxembourg. With the influx of immigrant labor, the proportion of foreign-born people increases, especially from the age of 30 onwards. This does not mean, however, that immigration is a marginal phenomenon among young people (Docquier et al., 2023), who are often second-generation immigrants (i.e. born in Luxembourg to immigrant parents), since in 2021, 68.9% of young people under 20 have a foreign-born mother, compared with 60.2% in 2011.

Table 1: Characteristics of young people in 2011 and 2021

2011

	Population (Total)	Share in Total Pop. (%)	Born Abroad (Number)	Born Abroad (%)	Mother Born Abroad (%)
Total resident population	512 353	100.0%	199 507	38.9%	59.1%
0-14 year old	88 637	17.3%	14 954	16.9%	62.1%
0-19 year old	119 173	23.3%	22 391	18.8%	60.2%
0-29 year old	185 680	36.2%	50 977	27.5%	60.8%
0-39 year old	263 512	51.4%	97 128	36.9%	64.3%

2021

	Population (Total)	Share in Total Pop. (%)	Born Abroad (Number)	Born Abroad (%)	Mother Born Abroad (%)
Total resident population	643 941	100.0%	316 731	49.2%	62.5%
0-14 year old	102 574	15.9%	21 748	21.2%	68.9%
0-19 year old	135 997	21.1%	32 496	23.9%	68.9%
0-29 year old	223 444	34.7%	74 097	33.2%	69.7%
0-39 year old	325 473	50.5%	140 695	43.2%	71.6%

Evolution 2011/2021

	Population (Total)	Share in Total Pop. (%)	Born Abroad (Number)	Born Abroad (%)	Mother Born Abroad (%)
Total resident population	131 588	0.0	117 224	+10.2	+3.4
0-14 year old	13 937	-1.4	6 794	+4.3	+6.7
0-19 year old	16 824	-2.1	10 105	+5.1	+8.6
0-29 year old	37 764	-1.5	23 120	+5.7	+8.9
0-39 year old	61 961	-0.9	43 567	+6.4	+7.3

Source: STATEC, RP2021, RP2011

Note: this table only includes people who indicated their age and country of birth.

Note for the reader: at the time of the 2021 census, 325,473 residents were under 40, or 50.5% of the total population. Of these, 140,695 were born outside Luxembourg, i.e. 43.2% of those under 40, and in 71.6% of cases, the mother was born abroad.

Similarly, an analysis of youth components by major age group and country of origin (Table 2) highlights certain shifts in the migratory profile of young people. Here again, absolute numbers are generally on the rise due to Luxembourg's general demographic acceleration, but relative numbers reveal contrasting accelerations and slowdowns.

Thus, among the under-40s, the number of Luxembourg-born is growing rapidly in absolute terms, rising from 166,384 in 2011 to 184,984 in 2021. However, as foreign-born young people experience even faster growth, we see the relative decline of Luxembourg-born from 63.1 to 56.8% of the under-40s (Table 2).

The different countries of birth provide an insight into changes in migration flows. In particular, there has been a decline, in absolute numbers and even more so in relative share, of young people born in Portugal, whatever the age group, and particularly among children under 10, whose numbers have halved. On the other hand, young immigrants from France and Italy are experiencing strong growth. The strongest growth is among "other countries", i.e. those not included in the top 15 most represented populations in Luxembourg.

This description confirms that one of today's challenges is to prepare for the arrival, particularly in schools, of populations whose diversity is growing far beyond neighboring countries, and even beyond European borders.

Table 2: Number of young people by age and country of birth (broken down by the 15 most represented countries in 2021) in 2011 and 2021

			2011						2021				Relative Change
Country of Birth	0-9 Years	10-19 Years	20-29 Years	30-39 Years	Total (0-39 Years)	%	0-9 Years	10-19 Years	20-29 Years	30-39 Years	Total (0-39 Years)	%	2011/2021
Luxembourg	49 387	47 395	37 921	31 681	166 384	63.1%	56 660	46 848	45 933	35 543	184 984	56.8%	-6.3
Germany	641	832	1 278	2 132	4 883	1.9%	741	1 019	1 656	2 224	5 640	1.7%	-0.1
Belgium	641	1 037	1 635	3 146	6 459	2.5%	788	1 236	2 091	2 607	6 722	2.1%	-0.4
Brazil	78	242	406	546	1 272	0.5%	235	381	813	1 523	2 952	0.9%	+0.4
Cape Verde	45	444	661	1 096	2 246	0.9%	83	329	1 164	1 839	3 415	1.0%	+0.2
China	36	84	398	451	969	0.4%	195	267	604	1 447	2 513	0.8%	+0.4
Spain	167	171	263	653	1 254	0.5%	455	732	1 100	1 297	3 584	1.1%	+0.6
France	1 232	1 642	4 895	7 210	14 979	5.7%	1 761	2 922	7 150	9 816	21 649	6.7%	+1.0
Greece	65	81	134	243	523	0.2%	208	286	518	953	1 965	0.6%	+0.4
India	74	85	195	275	629	0.2%	376	184	655	2 007	3 222	1.0%	+0.8
Italy	257	279	924	1 874	3 334	1.3%	650	1 056	2 477	3 745	7 928	2.4%	+1.2
Poland	134	133	523	1 105	1 895	0.7%	151	286	514	1 461	2 412	0.7%	+0.0
Portugal	2 231	4 513	9 194	13 672	29 610	11.2%	1 099	4 391	7 796	11 979	25 265	7.8%	-3.5
Romania	61	123	468	705	1 357	0.5%	203	350	632	2 058	3 243	1.0%	+0.5
United Kingdom	304	369	413	763	1 849	0.7%	542	606	553	756	2 457	0.8%	+0.1
Other Countries	2 362	4 028	7 199	12 280	25 869	9.8%	4 260	6 697	13 791	22 774	47 522	14.6%	+4.8
Total	57 715	61 458	66 507	77 832	263 512	100.0%	68 407	67 590	87 447	102 029	325 473	100.0%	+0.0

Source: STATEC, RP2021, RP2011

Note: this table only includes people who indicated their age and country of birth.

Note for the reader: at the time of the 2021 census, there were 25,265 people under 40 born in Portugal, or 7.8% of this age group; in 2011, there were 29,610, or 11.2% of the under-40s. The proportion of Portuguese under 40s fell by 3.5 points between 2011 and 2021.

This growing diversification of youth in the broadest sense can also be gauged by the complexity of the link between young people's place of birth and nationality (Table 3): many young people, even those born in Luxembourg, are not Luxembourgish by nationality, at least before they come of age. Changes in the legal system for access to Luxembourg nationality (Docquier et al., 2023) have, however, enabled a greater number of young people born to foreign mothers to become Luxembourg nationals, as shown by the strong growth over the intercensal period from 64.2% to 85.3% in access to nationality for 20-39 year-olds born to foreign mothers. Nevertheless, the major changes in the population's migratory profile over the past decade may have led to significant changes in the way new communities acquire Luxembourg nationality. This is the case for young people of Chinese or Indian origin, who were rare in the past, but are now more numerous and more recent arrivals, and whose percentage of holders of Luxembourg nationality has fallen.

These comparisons confirm the extreme diversity of Luxembourg's young people in terms of origins and futures. These diverse young people are also characterized by complex forms of independence, corresponding to two main modalities: on the one hand, entry into working life, and on the other, the construction of a family life.

Table 3: Percentage of residents with Luxembourg nationality by age and country of birth (broken down by the 15 most represented countries in 2021) in 2011 and 2021

	20	011	20)21	Change		
Country of Birth	0-19 year old	20-39 year old	0-19 year old	20-39 year old	0-19 year old	20-39 year old	
Luxembourg	66.4%	87.1%	67.5%	93.9%	+1.2	+6.8	
(if mother born in Lux)	98.5%	99.2%	99.3%	99.7%	+0.8	+0.5	
(if mother born abroad)	37.0%	64.2%	46.6%	85.3%	+9.6	+21.1	
Germany	25.5%	20.4%	40.4%	29.0%	+14.9	+8.6	
Belgium	18.9%	14.0%	25.6%	22.5%	+6.7	+8.4	
Brazil	15.0%	13.0%	24.4%	18.8%	+9.4	+5.7	
Cape Verde	8.4%	19.0%	9.2%	17.4%	+0.8	-1.5	
China	11.7%	21.1%	7.4%	11.3%	-4.3	-9.8	
Spain	6.5%	3.6%	7.2%	4.5%	+0.7	+0.9	
France	8.4%	4.8%	13.2%	8.6%	+4.8	+3.8	
Greece	5.5%	2.7%	7.7%	5.8%	+2.2	+3.1	
India	37.7%	23.2%	13.8%	8.0%	-24.0	-15.2	
Italy	3.7%	5.0%	6.7%	4.6%	+3.0	-0.4	
Poland	6.0%	5.0%	9.2%	9.9%	+3.2	+4.8	
Portugal	2.8%	6.8%	3.2%	15.6%	+0.4	+8.8	
Romania	35.9%	10.0%	6.9%	11.0%	-29.0	+1.1	
United Kingdom	5.8%	4.1%	15.2%	17.5%	+9.4	+13.4	
Other Countries	22.2%	16.3%	17.1%	17.3%	-5.0	+1.0	
Total	56.3%	47.4%	54.9%	48.6%	-1.5	1.2	

Source: STATEC, RP2021, RP2011

Note: this table only includes people who indicated their age and country of birth.

Note for the reader: In 2021, 15.6% of 20 to 39 year-olds born in Portugal had Luxembourg nationality, compared with just 6.8% in 2011, an increase of 8.8 points.

Becoming economically independent: leaving school, starting work and access to employment

Entry into working life is marked by a succession of stages: first, leaving school; then, after a possible gap period or other situation of inactivity, the transition to the active population (people in employment or looking for work); then obtaining a proper job. In 2021, the median school-leaving age (the age at which the curve crosses the 50% threshold) for men is around 22.5 years, compared with 23.5 for women, who therefore study longer (Chauvel et al., 2024a). Below the age of 30, the curves for leaving school, entering the workforce and entering employment are close together and parallel, following a fairly tight schedule.

After the age of 30, only 3% of men do not enter the workforce, mainly for medical or disability reasons; in the case of women, the 10% of inactive women over

the age of 30 (Figure 1) are mainly mothers looking after their children, a choice more frequently made by expatriate families living in Luxembourg.

Employment rates are deduced from activity rates minus the proportion of people looking for work, which is around 3% of the over-25 age group (see Fusco et al., 2024). Consequently, in 2021, the issue of "Neets" (an acronym for "Not in Education, Employment, or Training", young people outside the education, training or employment system), which is particularly visible in many southern European societies, remains a residual social problem in Luxembourg. At the age of 25, activity rates exceed 60%, rising to 90% by the age of 30. By the age of 30, a large majority of Luxembourg residents are engaged in working life.

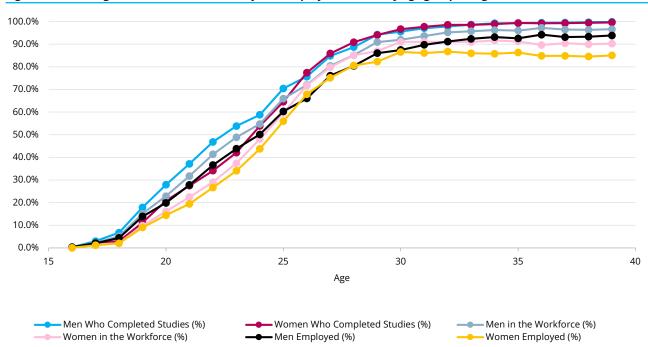


Figure 1: Percentage of school leavers, activity and employment rates by age group and gender in 2021

Source: STATEC, RP2021

Note for the reader: at the age of 25, 60% of men are in employment and 70% have left school. People in employment are those who are working or looking for work.

3.From childhood to adulthood : household types by age

Beyond the thresholds of entry into working life, transitions are also family-based, and can be understood through transformations in household types along the life course from birth to adulthood (see Chauvel and Le Bihan, 2024b). Depending on age group, the changes are considerable, particularly between the ages of 20 and 35.

Today, despite the increasing complexity of household forms, children most often (over 70% in all age groups under 19) live in a couple household. A minority (18.3% of the 15-19 age group) live in a single-parent family, and 6.1% in a multi-income household characterized by the presence of other adults

with no first-degree family ties: children of single parents thus remain in the minority, as do family complexifications.

After the age of 20, transitions between household types accelerate as children become independent. Between the ages of 25 and 34, there is a diversification of household types, with a strong presence of single people or people living in "multinucleus" households without children, mostly in apartments shared by students or young workers, as well as an increase in couples without children. Over the age of 30, couples with children gradually become the majority, even if other lifestyles continue.

Table 4: Situation of young people and household types by age (% in column) in 2021

	0-4 year old	5-9 year old	10-14 year old	15-19 year old	20-24 year old	25-29 year old	30-34 year old	35-39 year old	Total
Child of a couple	84.8	81.9	77.9	72.4	56.8	25.1	7.6	3.3	45.6
Child of a single parent	8.0	12.5	16.8	18.3	15.0	7.0	2.1	1.0	9.1
Child in a multi-core household	7.1	5.6	5.2	6.1	6.8	5.6	3.4	2.4	5.1
Lives alone	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6	5.7	15.2	16.7	13.7	7.6
Partner in a childless couple	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0	4.8	18.8	22.0	13.6	9.1
Partner in a couple with child(ren)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	10.0	32.6	53.0	15.1
Single parent	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	1.3	3.0	4.1	5.4	2.1
In a multi-core household without children	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	8.0	14.9	10.3	6.1	5.8
In a multi-core household with child(ren)	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.5	1.2	1.5	0.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: STATEC, RP2021

Note: between the ages of 20 and 24, 5.7% of people live alone, as do 13.7% of people aged 35 to 39.

90 80 70 60 50 40 30 20 10 0 10 20 25 35 15 30 40 —— Child of a couple Child of a single parent —— Child in a multi-core household Lives alone Partner in a childless couple Partner in a couple with child(ren) Single parent ■ In a multi-core household without children ■■ In a multi-core household with child(ren)

Figure 2: Situation of young people and household types by age (% in columns) in 2021

Source: STATEC RP2021

Note for the reader: In the 15 to 19 age bracket, 72% are children of a couple and 18% children of a single parent.

Even with the extensive conception of youth from 0 to 39 proposed in this report, the end of the transition to a family with children is not observed, as the movement continues well beyond the age of 40.



From independent living to life as a couple, and the birth of children

The thresholds for entry into family life are more extensive and complex than for working life: the sequence "independent housing" then "life as a couple" and finally "having one or more dependent children" is certainly logical and relatively coherent, but these thresholds are less directly linked than for access to employment above. These transition curves are much more spread out (Figure 3) than for working life, with the final plateaus far from the 100% maximum.

While women are less precocious than men when it comes to professional thresholds, men are clearly behind when it comes to family thresholds: the median age (the age at which the 50% threshold is reached) for independent living is 26 for women and 27 for men. Half of all women live as a couple around the age of 28, and it's not until the age of 31 that 50% of men live as a couple. Half of all women have at least one dependent child around the age of 32.5, compared with 35 for men.

For the "living in a home independent of parents" threshold, the transition is more or less complete before the age of 35 for a large proportion of the generation (over 90%, i.e. close to 100% saturation), men and women alike. The existence of at least one dependent child highlights a gentler, more spread-out slope, meaning that the transition is slower, and that 100% saturation is a long way off: the percentage of women in their forties with at least one dependent child peaks at 80%.

Another relevant factor, for women, is the relative dip in the cohabitation rate curve beyond the age of 35, signifying saturation around 80% of women living in couples, while the percentage of women with at least one dependent child continues to rise towards the end of the observation window: the crossover that begins explains the prevalence of single-parent households observed elsewhere (Chauvel and Le Bihan, 2024b).

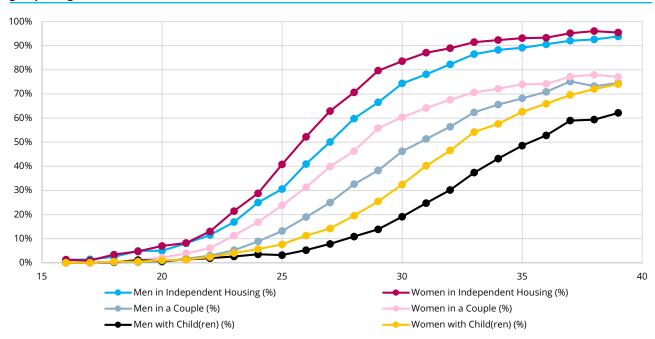


Figure 3: Percentage of people living in "independent housing", "in a couple", "with dependent child(ren)" by age group and gender in 2021

Source: STATEC, RP2021

Note for the reader: at age 35, 50% of men and 62% of women have at least one dependent child.

The census takes into account dependent children regardless of whether or not they are the biological children of the adults in the household.

5. Cultural differences in professional and family independence: Portuguese speakers more precocious than others

Using two main thresholds (on the one hand, "having a job" and, on the other, "having one or more dependent children"), it is possible to compare the different cultural groups in the Luxembourg population, here defined by their main language, the one they master best (see Fehlen et al., 2023).

These two thresholds are crossed at different median ages: "having a job" is measured between the

ages of 22 and 26 inclusive, and "having a child" between the ages of 33 and 37 inclusive. As observed below, men are slightly earlier than women in obtaining a job, except for German-speaking men, whose studies are often longer, and therefore their employment later. Conversely, women are earlier for the "having a child" threshold, with the differences between men and women being greater than for employment (Table 5).

Table 5: Comparison of the "has a job" threshold among 22- to 26-year-olds and "has a child" threshold among 33- to 37-year-olds by main language spoken in 2021

	% Having a Job (Ages 22-26)		% Having a Child (Ages 33-37)		
Main Language Spoken	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
Luxembourgish	57.3%	54.3%	55.8%	41.8%	57.3%	49.5%
French	57.1%	58.2%	57.7%	49.4%	65.7%	57.5%
German	42.8%	44.2%	43.5%	38.9%	52.4%	46.3%
Portuguese	76.5%	69.7%	73.0%	65.3%	78.1%	71.8%
Italian	72.6%	71.1%	71.9%	35.7%	50.1%	42.0%
English	51.1%	45.9%	48.4%	44.2%	48.8%	46.5%
Other	62.5%	52.3%	57.0%	52.9%	63.1%	58.8%
Total	59.8%	56.2%	58.0%	48.1%	62.0%	55.2%

Source: STATEC, RP2021

Note: Table based only on respondents to the question of main language spoken ("Other" includes cases where there are several main languages).

Note on the table: among men aged 22 to 26 with Portuguese as their main language, 76.5% are in employment, compared with 42.8% for German speakers. Among Portuguese-speaking women aged 33 to 37, 78.1% have at least one dependent child, compared with 50.1% of Italian speakers.

Generally speaking, in comparison with the population average, Portuguese-speaking populations are significantly earlier on both criteria, and conversely German-speakers show a slight delay on both criteria. As shown in Figure 4, the correlation between the "having a job" and "having a child" thresholds is imperfect, with a specific situation for Italian-speakers, presenting an early entry into employment, but a significant delay in crossing the parental threshold.

Figure 4: Comparison of the "has a job" threshold among 22- to 26-year-olds (horizontal axis) and "has a child" threshold among 33- to 37-year-olds (vertical axis) by main language spoken in 2021



Source: STATEC, RP2021

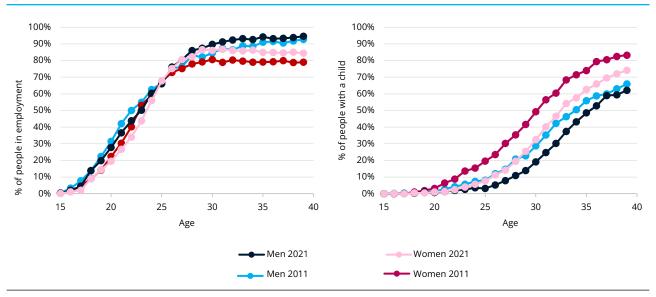
Note for the reader: Among young people with Portuguese as their main language, 73% have a job (in the 22-26 age bracket) and 72% have a child (in the 33-37 age bracket).



6. Postponement of thresholds for entry into professional and family life: trends between 2011 and 2021

Taking the two main thresholds ("having a job" and "having at least one dependent child"), trends over the intercensal period 2011-2021 (Figure 5) show that entry into working life and family life is occurring later. For employment, transitions take place around a year later than in 2011, and two years later for the arrival of the first child. This is particularly clear at the beginning of the curves, for the earliest ages. The professional threshold highlights the fact that the transition takes place between the ages of 22 and 23, whereas for the family threshold, the transition is now beyond the age of 30, with a delay of one year for the median of men and two years for women. For access to employment, the end of the transition extends to more people, especially women: the old model of the mother devoted to running the household is now very much in the minority. In 2021, the transition to employment shows a steeper slope: the timing of entry into working life is tighter between the first and last to enter employment, with a relatively homogeneous norm. On the other hand, the family threshold of "having at least one dependent child" is not only postponed to higher ages, but also more spread out over a longer timeframe, with a possible erosion of the curve's maximum point.

Figure 5: Comparison of "has a job" (left) and "has a child" (droite) thresholds by age group and gender in 2011 and 2021



Source: STATEC, RP2021, RP2011

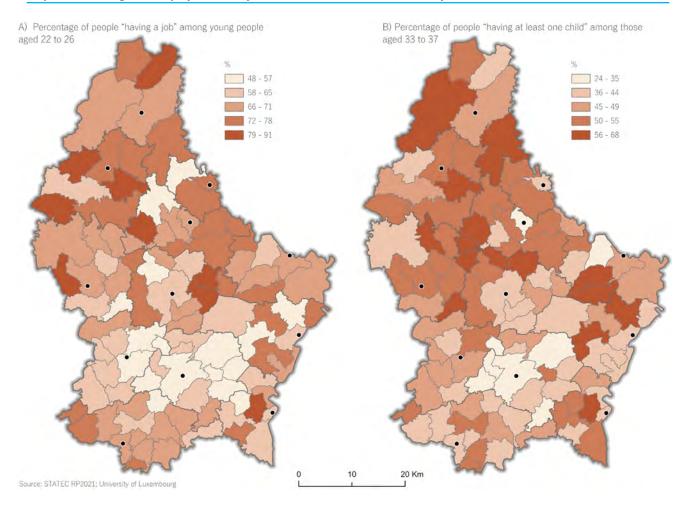
Entry into adulthood and geographical aspects

By focusing on the same two main thresholds, it is possible to explore the complexity of the Luxembourg territory. In both cases, by focusing on the five years surrounding the transition to adulthood, it is possible to contrast communes according to their level of precocity. In 2021, for the "have a job" threshold, the relevant age range is 22 to 26, while for the "have a child" threshold, the age range 33 to 37 is the most relevant.

The earliness of the job entry threshold corresponds above all to municipalities where young people attend school for shorter than average periods. The communes located closest to the capital, characterized by a high general level of education, are also those where the employment entry threshold is crossed later. Conversely, the rural north of Luxembourg, as well as the communes close to the south and east, are marked by a more precocious access to employment.

For the "having a child" threshold, we recognize a structure already identified in previous work (Paccoud et al, as well as Chauvel and Le Bihan E., 2024b): we recognize territorial structures close to the map of the percentage of single-family homes (as opposed to apartments) as well as that of "complete families". These are typically intermediate-density communities, marked by a housing quality/price ratio that is still accessible to working adults. These two maps highlight a strong centrifugal effect in relation to the capital, where it is clear that settling into adult life is slower or even more difficult than elsewhere.

Maps 1: Percentage of "employed" 22-26 year-olds (A) and "with child" 33-37 year-olds (B) in 2021



8. Extended and more complex youth in Luxembourg

Taken together, these transformations confirm that Luxembourg society remains in transition, with a lengthening of entry into adulthood, particularly from the family point of view, and a diversification of household types and social models of independence. These findings underline the fact that many of the trends observed in most European countries from the 1980s onwards are continuing today: the

lengthening of adulthood, the fragmentation of family life models, the relative fragility of couples, but also their recomposition, are all social facts that need to be monitored in the years to come. While some sociologists see the development of a new age group, the "adulescents", we observe above all, through the transformations of youth (in the plural), a complexification of family models.



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