
The Repercussions of the Economic Recession in Greece on Adolescents and their Families

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THE REPERCUSSIONS OF THE ECONOMIC RECESSION IN GREECE ON ADOLESCENTS AND THEIR FAMILIES

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Abstract. *Background:* Greece is among the countries hit most severely by the recent global economic crisis. Given that poverty in childhood and adolescence can have lifelong implications, investigation of the impact of the crisis on various aspects of adolescents' well-being is critical for guiding prevention policies.

Objective: To examine the impact of the crisis on adolescents' lives in Greece, along with the trends – before and during the crisis – in sociodemographic and well-being indicators.

Methods: Data were drawn from three successive waves (2006, 2010 and 2014) of the HBSC survey in Greece. Stratified probability samples of between 3,600 and 4,900 students aged 11, 13 and 15 years old answered an anonymous questionnaire in their classrooms under the supervision of trained researchers. Data were compared by X2 tests taking account of the complex survey design.

Results: The impact of the economic crisis is reflected in the increase of parental unemployment, tensions and fights within the family, constraints on going on holidays, and in fewer private lessons. Student's life satisfaction has fallen. Older students report effects of the crisis more than younger ones. While an increase was noted in cannabis use among boys, smoking and alcohol consumption decreased in both genders.

Conclusions: Findings enhance our understanding of the impact of the economic crisis on adolescents and families in Greece. These data may aid the shaping of policies to protect families and their offspring from the repercussions of the current crisis.

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Keywords: adolescents, economic crisis, well-being, Greece

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1. INTRODUCTION

The financial crisis that hit the world economy in 2008–2009 has transformed the lives of many individuals and families, even in developed countries, where millions of people fell, or are currently at risk of falling, into poverty and exclusion (Otker-Robe & Podpiera, 2013). Crises can hit hard the weakest members of society; particularly the poor, elderly, and children, and their effects on physical as well as mental health can be severe.

Greece is one of the countries hit most severely by the economic recession. Increased unemployment, job insecurity and austerity measures such as cuts in health expenditures and welfare programmes are among the commonest repercussions of the crisis. Such conditions are found to have a significant impact on health and well-being indicators (Yurýev et al., 2013). Since 2008, suicide rates have increased in most European countries (Stuckler et al., 2011), with an increase of 36% in Greece between 2009 and 2011 (Economou et al., 2011).

Within families, understanding the links between a crisis situated at a macro and often international level, and outcomes that affect children at a micro level is a complex procedure, as the pathways of the impact of the crisis are many, non-linear and operate at different levels (Harper & Jones, 2011). Some household responses to crisis mitigate the effects in terms of household stress, since parents absorb the impact of shocks as far as they can by working longer hours, by adapting their income sources and reducing their expenses, and by asking for the help of social networks. Hossain and McGregor (2011) highlight that these strategies are costly in terms of time and effort, and many are reported to be having direct – and likely negative – implications for the children, their care and well-being. Research findings further indicate that adverse economic conditions, through the disruption of normal family processes and parenting, put children’s mental health at risk, also making them more susceptible to engaging in risk behaviours (Carlo et al., 2011; Solantaus et al., 2004).

In the light of powerful evidence confirming that poverty in childhood and adolescence has lifelong effects and that stressful events can alter a child’s physical and neurological development with subsequent implications throughout life (Shonkoff and Phillips, 2000), the exploration of links between the current economic crisis and children’s and adolescents’ health and well-being is of great importance for the development of policies aiming to protect children and adolescents from the detrimental outcomes of the crisis.

The aim of the current report is to examine the impact of the economic crisis in Greece on the health and well-being of adolescent students and their families. It is based on data from the Greek arm of the Health Behaviour in School-Aged Children (HBSC) survey. The HBSC survey, a WHO collaborative cross-national study, has been carried out every four years since 1982 on 11, 13 and 15-year-old students in more than 35 countries (Currie et al., 2012). Its purpose is to collect self-reported information on health-related behaviours and lifestyles among adolescents by means of anonymous questionnaires distributed in the classroom.

The HBSC survey is conducted in Greece by the University Mental Health Research Institute (UMHRI) and has been implemented since 1998. For the purpose of the present report, data from the 2014 survey were compared to those from the past surveys of 2006 (three years before the beginning of the Greek crisis) and 2010 (around the beginning of the crisis).

2. METHODS

Sample

A clustered probability sample was drawn in all three surveys (2006, 2010 and 2014) with stratification by a) 10 geographical regions (NUTS II¹) and b) school type (comprehensive, technical, public, private). The sampling frames consisted of official lists of all schools of all types, with the number of students in each grade. The primary sampling unit was the school class. All registered students present in class on the day of the survey participated in the survey, subject to their own agreement and parental permission.

In the 2006 and 2010 surveys, samples consisted of 3,690 (47.3% boys) and 4,899 (48.5% boys) students, respectively.

A total of 4,141 students participated in the 2014 survey (49.8% boys); 34.0% were 11-year-olds enrolled in the 6th grade of primary education (Dimotikon), 35.2% were 13-year-olds in the 2nd grade of lower secondary education (Gymnasium) and 30.8% were 15-year-olds in the 1st Grade of upper secondary education (Lyceum). The vast majority (95.3%) of the students were born in Greece. One out of 4 students (23.3%) had at least one parent born outside Greece (19.5% of mothers and 15.6% of fathers). Half of the students (53.3%; N=2207) resided in the two largest metropolitan areas of Greece, Athens and Thessaloniki.

Measures

Students completed the HBSC questionnaire anonymously in their classrooms under the supervision of trained researchers. A few additional items devised by the Greek research team were included in the questionnaire with the aim of collecting more specific information on the issue of the repercussions of the economic crisis.

The socio-economic status (SES) of adolescents' families was assessed by the following items from the HBSC questionnaire:

Perceived family economic situation. "How well off do you think your family is?" The five response categories:

- not at all well off
- not so well off
- average
- quite well off
- very well off

were grouped as: "well-off / average" and "not well off".

Perceived economic situation of area of residence. "How well off is the area in which you live?" The five response categories:

- not at all well off
- not so well off
- average
- quite well off
- very well off

were grouped as: "not well-off", "average" and "well off".

Parents' occupational status. "Does your father/mother have a job?" The four response categories:

- yes
- no
- don't know
- don't have or see father/mother

were grouped as: "no", and "yes/don't know/ don't have or see father/mother".

Perceived repercussions of the economic crisis in Greece were assessed by the following addition to the Greek questionnaire: "Did the economic crisis in Greece cause any of the following problems to your family or yourself?" Students were asked to provide a "yes" or "no" response separately to the following statements:

- my father lost his job
- my mother lost her job
- we had to move to a smaller house or to a different area
- we had to move in with relatives (grandfather, grandmother, other relative)
- I had to change from private school to public
- I had to stop private lessons
- we had to stop going on trips/holidays
- we cannot afford to buy food
- it caused tension and fights within the family
- the economic crisis caused other problems (what?).

Risk behaviours (substance use and aggressive behaviour) were assessed by the following HBSC questions.

Substance use – Smoking: "On how many days (if any) have you smoked cigarettes in the last 30 days?" The seven response categories

- never
- 1-2 days
- 3-5 days
- 6-9 days
- 10-19 days
- 20-29 days
- 30 days or more

were dichotomized as: "never" and "at least 1-2 days". This question was not asked in 2006.

Substance abuse – Alcohol consumption: "On how many days (if any) have you drunk alcohol in the last 30 days?" The response categories were the same as for smoking and were dichotomized in the same way. This question was not asked in 2006.

Substance abuse – Cannabis use: "Have you ever used cannabis? If yes, how many times a) in your lifetime and b) in the last 30 days?" The seven response categories

- never
- 1-2
- 3-5
- 6-9
- 10-19
- 20-29
- 30 or more

were dichotomized as: “never” and “at least 1-2”. Eleven- and 13-year-olds did not answer this question.

Aggressive behaviour – Physical fight: “During the past 12 months, how many times were you in a physical fight?” The 5 response categories:

- I have not been in a physical fight in the past 12 months
- once
- twice
- 3 times
- 4 times or more

were dichotomized as: “less than twice” and “at least twice”.

Health and well-being: The following HBSC items were used as indicators of health and well-being:

Self-rated health: “Would you say your health is..?.” The 4 response categories:

- excellent
- good
- fair
- poor

were dichotomized as: “excellent/good” and “fair/poor”.

Satisfaction with life: “Here is a picture of a ladder. The top of the ladder ‘10’ is the best possible life for you and the bottom ‘0’ is the worst possible life for you. In general, where on the ladder do you feel you stand at the moment?” The response categories 0, 1, 2....10 were grouped as “8-10” (satisfaction) and “0-7” (dissatisfaction).

Satisfaction with relationships within the family: “In general, how satisfied are you with the relationships in your family?” The responses from 10 (“we have very good relationships in our family”) to 0 (“We have very bad relationships in our family”) were grouped as “8-10” (satisfaction) and “0-7” (dissatisfaction).

Feelings of school pressure: “How pressured do you feel by the schoolwork you have to do?” The 4 response categories:

- not at all
- a little
- some
- a lot

were dichotomized as: “not at all/ a little” and “some/a lot”.

Extra-curricular activities: The following two items were used to measure extra-curricular physical activity (from the core HBSC questionnaire) and private tutoring (added to the Greek questionnaire):

Physical activity: “Outside school hours: how often do you usually exercise in your free time to the extent that you get out of breath or sweat?” The 7 response categories:

- every day
- 4 to 6 times a week
- 2 to 3 times a week
- once a week
- once a month
- less than once a month
- never

were dichotomized as “once a week or less” and “at least twice a week”.

Hours spent for tutoring after school: “How many hours per week do you spend on evening tutoring sessions (either in a group of students or by yourself) for a) schoolwork, b) foreign languages, c) musical instrument?” This was an open question.

Statistical analysis

The significance of changes in the study variables across the three surveys (2006, 2010 and 2014) and between the three age groups (11, 13 and 15 years) was investigated using Pearson’s chi-squared test of independence. All analyses took into account the effect of clustered sampling, with class as cluster. Design weights were used to allow for unequal sampling probabilities in the 2006 survey. Cases with missing data were excluded from each analysis. All analyses were performed using IBM SPSS Statistics 19 software.

3. RESULTS

Detailed results for the socio-economic variables and health outcomes (percentages for categorical data and means with standard deviations for quantitative measures) in each survey year separately can be found in the tables as follows: Table 1 presents results for the total samples and by gender, for all three age groups combined; Table 2 presents the corresponding information separately for the three age groups. Blank spaces in these tables correspond to questions that were not asked in the particular survey year. Table 3 shows results for the question on impacts of the economic crisis, which was asked only in 2014, for the total sample and by gender and age group.

Perceived socioeconomic situation of the family

Whereas two-thirds of students in 2006 and 2010 regarded their family as relatively well off, the percentage fell to 48% in 2014 with a corresponding significant increase in the percentage of adolescents who reported that their family is not well off (from 7.2% to 14.5%). There was a similar increase in the perception of living in an area that is not well off (from 22.2% to 29.5%). These changes were similar for both genders and in each age group (Table 1). However, there was a significant difference between the three age groups in perceiving their family as not well off; this perception increases with age (from 9.5% in the 11-year-olds to 13.0% for the 13-year-olds and to 21.1% for the 15-year-olds in 2014; Table 2).

Rates of students reporting parental unemployment showed a clear upward trend from 2006 to 2014. In 2014, one in 8 adolescents (13.0%) report having at least one unemployed parent compared to only 3.5% in 2006 and 6.0% in 2010. Father’s unemployment was reported at 6.2% in 2014 compared to 1.6% in 2010 and 0.5% in 2006, and mother’s unemployment stood at 7.9% in 2014 compared to 4.7% in 2010 and 3.0% in 2006 (Table 1).

Students’ health and well-being

No significant changes were found between surveys in the proportion of children and adolescents evaluating their health as fair or poor (6.0% in 2006, 6.4% in 2010 and 6.8% in 2014; Table 1). However, from 2006 to 2010 and thence to 2014, there was a fall in the percentage expressing satisfaction with life (69.0%, 64.1% and 60.1%, respectively). This trend was significant for both

genders and all three age groups, but was more evident for the 13- and 15-year-old students than for the 11-year-olds. In contrast with satisfaction with life, satisfaction with family relationships did not show any decline in 2014 compared to 2010, after a small decrease from 2006 to 2010 (Table 2).

The percentage of respondents who reported feeling under pressure from school fell sharply to 32.0% in 2014, from 39.0% and 40.4% in 2006 and 2010, respectively. A decrease was observed for both genders and each age group, although it was smaller for girls than boys and for 15-year-olds than for younger students. Outside school, significantly less time was reported as spent on private tutoring for schoolwork and foreign languages, almost one hour less on average weekly. Adolescents increased their free time physical activity, the percentage who said that they exercised more than once a week increasing from about 70% in 2006 and 2010 to 74% in 2014 (Table 1 and 2).

Substance use and other risk behaviour

From 2010 to 2014 there was a downward trend in adolescents' current smoking (from 11.4% to 8.2%), and current alcohol consumption (from 41.5% to 30.1%). In contrast, lifetime prevalence of cannabis use doubled over the interval from 2006 to 2014, from 3.7% in 2006 to 7.0% in 2010 and 9.6% in 2014. A similar increase was noted for prevalence of cannabis use over the last month, from 2.2% in 2006 to 4.0% in 2010 and 4.9% in 2014, mainly for boys (Table 1).

Finally, from 2010 to 2014, a rather large decrease was noted in the percentage reporting that they had engaged in physical fights more than once in the past year (from 28.1% to 17.5%). This fall appeared in both genders and all age groups.

Perceived repercussions of the economic crisis on students and their families

The commonest consequences of the economic crisis reported by students (Table 3) were that they had to stop going on trips and holidays (27.9%) and that the crisis caused tension and fights within their families (27.3%). Both these responses were more common among girls than boys, and much more common among older students than younger ones. Stopping holidays was reported by 39.3% of 15-year-olds compared to only 15.6% of 11-year-olds, and tension and fighting within the family by 41.0% of 15-year-olds compared to 14.0% of 11-year-olds. One in five adolescents (21.3%) reported that at least one of their parents had lost their job (13.1% of fathers and 12.3% of mothers). This percentage also increased with the age of the student, from 17.8% of 11-year-olds to 25.1% of 15-year-olds. One in ten students (10.5%) reported that they had to stop private lessons, 8.2% reported moving house and 3.0% that they had to switch from a private school to a public one. Finally, 5.4% of the students reported that the family had difficulty in buying food (7.5%, 5.3% and 3.6% for 15-, 13- and 11- year olds, respectively).

4. DISCUSSION

The findings in the present report derive from the HBSC surveys carried out in Greece before the economic crisis in the country (2006), around the time of its start (2010) and currently (2014). The participating students' answers clearly reflect the effects of the economic recession on their families' socioeconomic situation and on several health and behavioural indicators. Decreases in family affluence, increases in parental unemployment and related consequences such as change of residence, reduction in private tutoring, cutting down on holidays, and difficulties in affording food, are among the most visible outcomes indicative of the worsening of families' economic situation. Interestingly, findings indicate that these repercussions of the economic crisis are more strongly felt and hence reported by older students compared to younger ones. This might be explained on the one hand by the greater intellectual maturity of older students which allows them to perceive reality better, and on the other hand by the probably stronger protective role of the family towards its younger offspring. Parents may tend to discuss financial problems more openly as their children grow older and at the same time older adolescents are more sensitive to the changes surrounding them at the micro and macro level.

Our results also indicate that from 2006 to 2014 there was a clear downward trend in the proportion of students reporting satisfaction with their lives and with family relationships. Once again, older students appear to be affected more. As several studies suggest (Hoelscher, 2004; Harper & Jones, 2011; Hossain & McGregor, 2011), the multitude of ways in which children's relationship and happiness can be affected by an economic crisis include stress in family and social relationships, stigmatisation by peers, and a general feeling of missing out on what their life should be. Our 2014 survey data show that a noteworthy proportion of the students feel that the economic crisis has imposed a significant burden on their families resulting in tension and arguments as well as changes in everyday life, such as having to move to smaller houses, living together with relatives and not being able to afford holidays.

Conversely, from 2006 to 2014 there was a decrease in the proportion of students feeling pressured by school, in parallel with a reduction in the time reported being spent on after-school private tutoring sessions. The latter can be readily explained by parents' overall reduction in spending, but the interpretation of reduced school pressure is more complicated. One explanation could be that students perceive school pressure as the total pressure from both ordinary schoolwork and extra private tutoring; because the latter declined, overall perceived school pressure declined as well. Another possibility is that spending less time on extra tuition simply released more time for schoolwork.

Regarding substance use, the downward trends found in smoking as well as alcohol consumption are in accordance with the findings of several research studies indicating that when the household budget decreases, tobacco and alcohol consumption tend to decrease as well (Rhum, 2000; McClure, 2012). These downward trends could be attributed to a reduction in students' pocket money and also to the adoption in recent years of policies that have led to substantial increases in the sale prices of both tobacco and alcohol. In contrast, a clear upward trend was noted in cannabis use. This concurs with findings from other studies (Van Oort, 2011; Matti, 2012) supporting the view that, in stressful situations such as sudden family income loss or parents' unemployment, children and adolescents are more likely to respond by acting out and engaging in risk behaviours. At the same

time, because of these stressful situations and less time available for parental monitoring, adolescents are at higher risk of engaging in behaviours in which they otherwise would not.

As with all cross-sectional studies, results should be interpreted with caution since it is impossible to infer clear causal relationships between the economic crisis and the studied behaviours. Moreover, results should be viewed in the light of all limitations concerning self-reporting, especially by the 11-year-olds. Nevertheless, maintaining the same survey protocol from one wave to the next helps to ensure comparability of the results between survey waves.

Given that the economic crisis can have an overwhelming impact on child well-being, and that the longer children live in poverty the worse its impact gets (Eurochild, 2013), the prioritization of children in the shaping of policy responses is crucial. Taking into account that not all disadvantaged children are unhappy in the same way that not all affluent children are happy, it is clear that by supporting families in certain ways the repercussions of the crisis can indeed be moderated, if not eliminated.

Policies and interventions implemented for the protection of child well-being in times of crisis should primarily ensure that children's self-esteem, confidence, interest and ability to be active remain unaffected by the conditions surrounding them. Given that parents themselves are also strongly affected by the crisis, measures that strengthen parental coping strategies and empowerment should be primarily implemented in families most at risk, protecting children from neglect as well as from experiencing tensions and fights. Ensuring job security for adults who care for children is obviously of great importance, as also is the strengthening of early intervention and prevention services for families. Lastly, tackling the problem of exposure to risk factors, policies in times of crisis should focus more than ever on substance use and prevention of other risk behaviours as well as health promotion in school curricula, ensuring that even when families fail to protect children, the school can still play a protective role.

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Table 1. Prevalence (%) and mean (s.d.) of socio-economic and health indicators across the three surveys (2006, 2010, 2014) in the total sample and for each gender.

	Total				Boys				Girls			
	2006	2010	2014	sig.	2006	2010	2014	sig.	2006	2010	2014	sig.
N=	3690	4899	4113		1746	2380	2048		1944	2519	2065	
<i>Family economic situation</i>				***				***				***
well off	66.5	64.6	48.1		69.3	65.6	48.9		64.0	63.7	47.3	
average	26.3	27.0	37.4		24.9	26.9	37.9		27.6	27.1	37.0	
not well off	7.2	8.4	14.5		5.8	7.5	13.1		8.4	9.2	15.8	
<i>Area of residence economic situation</i>				***				***				***
well off	28.0		16.2		30.9		17.6		25.4		14.9	
average	49.8		54.3		46.6		54.3		52.7		54.3	
not well off	22.2		29.5		22.5		28.1		21.9		30.9	
Unemployed father	0.5	1.6	6.2	***	0.4	1.3	5.7	***	0.6	1.8	6.7	***
Unemployed mother	3.0	4.7	7.9	***	2.6	4.3	7.3	***	3.4	5.0	8.4	***
At least one parent unemployed	3.5	6.0	13.0	***	3.0	5.5	12.2	***	3.9	6.5	13.8	***
Smoking (last 30 days)		11.4	8.2	**		12.0	8.2	**		10.8	8.3	n.s.
Alcohol consumption (last 30 days)		41.5	30.1	***		45.6	32.6	***		37.7	27.8	***
Cannabis use (lifetime)	3.7	7.0	9.6	***	6.0	10.6	12.2	**	1.9	3.5	7.3	**
Cannabis use (last 30 days)	2.2	4.0	4.9	**	3.2	6.0	6.9	*	1.4	2.0	3.1	n.s.
School pressure: some/a lot	39.0	40.4	32.0	***	35.6	38.8	27.9	***	42.1	41.8	36.1	*
Self-reported health: fair/poor	6.0	6.4	6.8	n.s.	4.5	5.4	5.8	n.s.	7.3	7.3	7.7	n.s.
Physical activity twice a week or more	70.0	69.5	74.0	**	80.9	79.4	80.9	n.s.	60.4	60.3	67.3	***
Physical fight twice or more (last 12 months)	26.6	28.1	17.5	***	38.5	40.3	26.2	***	16.0	16.7	9.0	***
Extra tuition: schoolwork (hours/week)	2.8 (4.5)	2.5 (4.0)	2.0 (3.5)	***	2.7 (4.6)	2.7 (4.3)	2.0 (3.5)	***	2.9 (4.4)	2.3 (3.7)	2.1 (3.6)	**
Extra tuition: foreign languages (hours/week)	3.6 (3.0)	3.8 (3.1)	2.8 (2.4)	***	3.3 (2.8)	3.6 (3.3)	2.7 (2.4)	***	3.9 (3.2)	3.9 (2.9)	2.9 (2.4)	***
Extra tuition: artistic activities (hours/a week)	.3 (1.3)	.4 (1.3)	1.0 (2.3)	***	.3 (1.4)	.5 (1.6)	.8 (2.2)	***	.3 (1.2)	.3 (1.0)	1.3 (2.4)	***
High life satisfaction (scale 0-10): 8-10	69.0	64.1	60.1	***	73.2	65.9	62.3	***	65.3	62.4	58.0	**
Good relationships in family (scale 0-10): 8-10	84.2	81.0	81.7	**	88.4	84.1	84.7	*	80.4	78.1	78.8	n.s.

Note: n.s.= not significant; *=significant at the 5% level; **= significant at the 1% level; ***= significant at the 1% level.

Table 2. Prevalence (%) and mean(s.d.) of socio-economic and health indicators across the three surveys (2006, 2010, 2014) in each age category.

	11-year-olds				13-year-olds				15-year-olds			
	2006	2010	2014	sig.	2006	2010	2014	sig.	2006	2010	2014	sig.
	N= 1087	1639	1357		1187	1612	1436		1416	1648	1320	
<i>Family economic situation</i>				***				***				***
well off	80.7	72.4	60.2		66.2	63.6	49.3		56.2	58.1	34.4	
average	14.0	21.5	30.2		26.7	27.7	37.8		35.1	31.5	44.5	
not well off	5.2	6.1	9.5		7.1	8.7	13.0		8.7	10.4	21.1	
<i>Area of residence economic situation</i>				***				***				***
well off	37.1		20.2		26.8		15.6		22.3		12.9	
average	40.7		50.8		51.7		56.5		54.9		55.4	
not well off	22.2		29.0		21.5		27.9		22.7		31.7	
Unemployed father	0.4	1.4	4.1	***	0.7	1.3	6.8	***	0.5	1.9	7.7	***
Unemployed mother	3.9	4.6	7.1	**	3.3	4.8	8.4	***	2.1	4.6	8.0	***
At least one parent unemployed	4.3	5.7	10.3	***	3.8	6.1	14.0	***	2.6	6.3	14.8	***
Smoking (last 30 days)		1.3	0.6	n.s.		6.7	5.1	n.s.		26.0	19.7	**
Alcohol consumption (last 30 days)		14.8	6.3	***		38.7	28.1	***		70.6	56.4	***
Cannabis use (lifetime)									3.7	7.0	9.6	***
Cannabis use (last 30 days)									2.2	4.0	4.9	**
School pressure: some/a lot	17.8	23.3	14.9	***	43.8	48.0	36.6	***	50.6	49.6	44.5	n.s.
Self-reported health: fair/poor	3.6	5.0	4.7	n.s.	6.3	6.8	6.6	n.s.	7.6	7.3	9.0	n.s.
Physical activity twice a week or more	80.1	77.9	82.7	*	74.8	71.2	74.1	n.s.	58.6	59.7	65.1	**
Physical fight twice or more (last 12 months)	27.3	24.4	16.4	***	30.5	29.4	18.9	***	22.8	30.5	17.2	***
Extra tuition: schoolwork (hours/week)	2.4 (5.5)	1.7 (3.8)	1.0 (2.9)	***	1.9 (3.5)	2.1 (3.8)	1.5 (2.9)	**	3.7 (4.2)	3.5 (4.1)	3.5 (4.2)	n.s.
Extra tuition: foreign languages (hours/week)	3.6 (2.5)	3.9 (2.4)	2.8 (2.0)	***	4.4 (3.1)	4.8 (3.2)	3.5 (2.5)	***	3.0 (3.2)	2.7 (3.2)	2.0 (2.5)	***
Extra tuition: artistic activities (hours/a week)	.4 (1.6)	.4 (1.2)	1.0 (1.9)	***	.3 (1.1)	.4 (1.4)	1.1 (2.5)	***	.3 (1.2)	.3 (1.4)	1.0 (2.6)	***
High life satisfaction (scale 0-10): 8-10	87.3	80.1	79.0	***	67.0	61.0	55.9	***	57.2	51.3	45.5	***
Good relationships in family (scale 0-10): 8-10	94.6	91.5	92.6	*	84.7	80.1	80.1	**	76.1	71.7	72.3	n.s.

Note: n.s.= not significant; *=significant at the 5% level; **= significant at the 1% level; ***= significant at the 1% level.

Table 3. Prevalence (%) of reported impacts of the economic crisis in the 2014 survey, in the total sample, by gender and by age.

	Total	11y	13y	15y	sig.	Boys	Girls	sig.
N=	4113	1357	1436	1320		2048	2065	
<i>Impacts of economic crisis</i>								
at least one parent lost job	21.3	17.8	21.3	25.1	**	21.9	20.8	n.s.
moved to other area or relative's house	8.2	8.9	7.0	8.7	n.s.	9.4	7.0	**
changed school	3.0	2.6	3.9	2.6	n.s.	3.4	2.7	n.s.
stopped private tutoring	10.5	5.8	10.2	15.6	***	10.9	10.1	n.s.
stopped going on trips/holidays	27.9	15.6	29.2	39.3	***	25.3	30.5	***
unable to buy food	5.4	3.6	5.3	7.5	***	4.6	6.2	*
family tension	27.3	14.0	27.3	41.0	***	23.2	31.2	***

Note: n.s.= not significant; *=significant at the 5% level; **= significant at the 1% level; ***= significant at the 1% level.