

Where to work after completing one's doctorate? A comparison of the answers of doctoral candidates in 2013 and 2018

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DOCTORAL CANDIDATES AND THEIR INTEREST IN SECTORS OF EMPLOYMENT

Pursuing a doctorate is often a logical career choice for who is passionate about science and research. But in what sectors of employment do doctoral candidates in Flanders want to work after completing their doctorate? In 2008 doctoral candidates in Flanders were predominantly interested in jobs in the sectors university, government and higher education systems outside university (ECOOM, 2009). This top 3 revealed only a limited number of differences depending on the science cluster of doctoral candidates. For instance, in the top 3 for the applied sciences the higher education systems outside university were replaced by the industry & private business sector (ECOOM, 2009). In 2013 (see ECOOM-brief 8) and 2018 (see ECOOM-brief 36) ECOOM Ghent University again surveyed the interests of doctoral candidates in Flanders regarding their future sector of employment. This brief focuses on the shifts in the interests between 2013 and 2018. More specifically, we ask ourselves the following questions:

1. *Is there a shift between 2013 and 2018 in the interests of doctoral candidates in Flanders regarding sectors of employment?*
2. *Is there an increase between 2013 and 2018 in the number of sectors of employment doctoral candidates in Flanders are interested in?*
3. *Do the shifts between 2013 and 2018 differ according to gender, doctoral phase, science cluster and nationality?*

We answer these research questions using data from the *Survey of Junior Researchers* 2013 (SJR2) and 2018 (SJR3). These surveys were organized by ECOOM Ghent University and sent to all junior researchers at the five Flemish universities. For the current analyses, we limit ourselves to those junior researchers in a doctoral trajectory ($N_{2013}=$

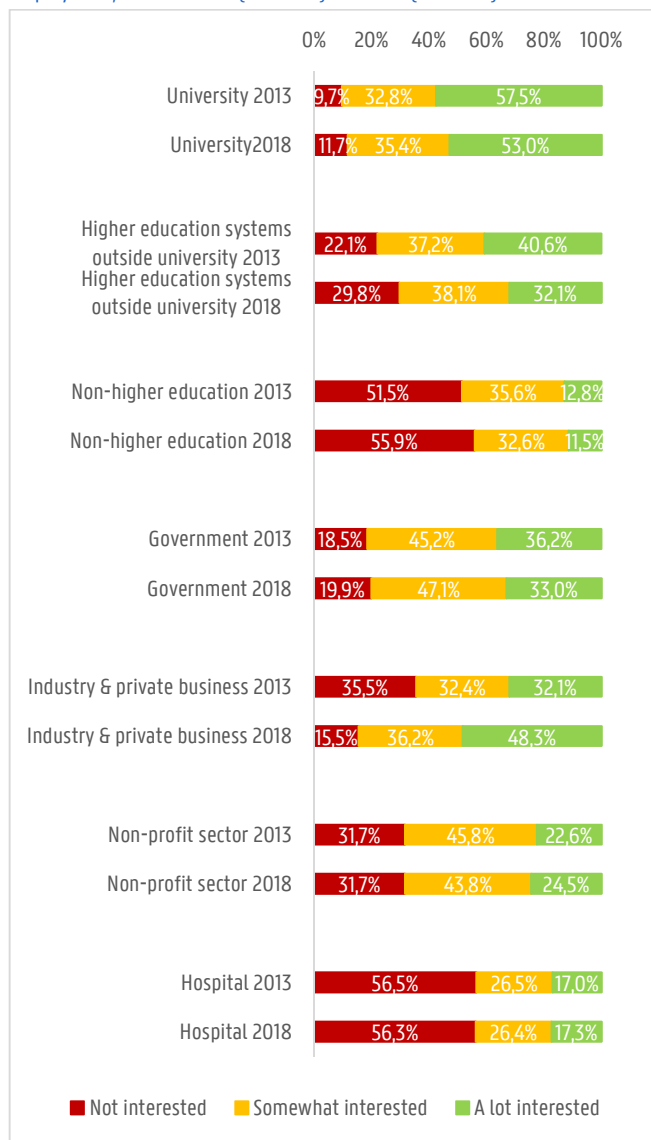
3659; $N_{2018}= 3359$). For more information on the surveys, we refer to ECOOM-brief 8 and 17.

IS THERE A SHIFT BETWEEN 2013 AND 2018 IN THE INTERESTS OF DOCTORAL CANDIDATES IN FLANDERS REGARDING SECTORS OF EMPLOYMENT?

In the *Survey of Junior Researchers* 2013 and 2018 we asked doctoral candidates in Flanders "To what extent are you interested in finding a job in the following sectors (organisations) in the future?". The response options were "not interested", "somewhat interested" and "a lot interested". For a visual presentation of the interest in the different sectors in 2013 and 2018 we refer to Figure 1 (see Appendix 1 for the number of doctoral candidates who answered the question in 2013 and 2018 for each sector).

Figure 1 points out four major patterns. First, we see that educational institutions as a future workplace lose popularity. For instance, the share of doctoral candidates with a lot of interest in the sector university decreases with 4.5%. The share of doctoral candidates without interest in this sector remains roughly the same: 1 doctoral candidate in 10. At the same time we notice that the share of doctoral candidates without interest augments with 7.7% for the sector higher education systems outside university and with 4.4% for the non-higher education sector. Secondly, the interest in government jobs has also declined: the number of doctoral candidates with a lot of interest decreased with 3.2%. A third important observation is the strong increase in the interest for the industry & private business: the share of doctoral candidates without interest is reduced with 20.0%, while there was an increase of 3.8% for "somewhat interested" and an increase of 16.2% for "a lot interested". Finally, no shifts are observed between 2013 and 2018 for the sectors hospital and non-profit.

Figure 1. Doctoral candidates and their interest in the different sectors of employment, Flanders 2013 (N= 3659) and 2018 (N= 3359)



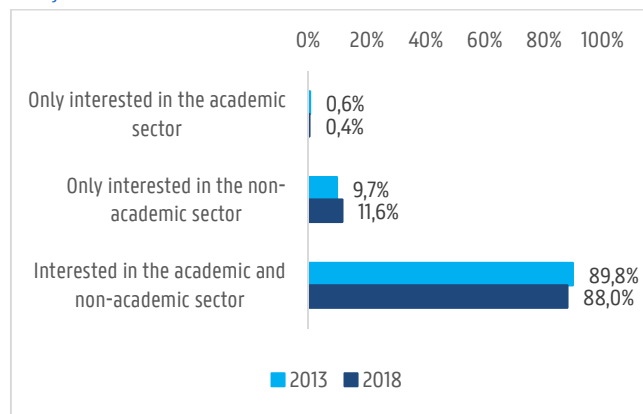
IS THERE AN INCREASE BETWEEN 2013 AND 2018 IN THE NUMBER OF SECTORS OF EMPLOYMENT DOCTORAL CANDIDATES IN FLANDERS ARE INTERESTED IN?

From all possible sectors of employment, doctoral candidates in Flanders remain the most interested in the university anno 2018 (see ECOOM-brief 36). Next, we looked whether doctoral candidates who were interested in a job at a university were only interested in this sector, or whether they were at the same time also interested in other sectors. And whether this is different in 2018 than in 2013? As Figure 2 shows there are no notable shifts in the number of sectors doctoral candidates were interested in: less than 1% was only interested in the academic sector, approximately 1 out of 10 was only interested in the non-academic sector, while almost 9 in 10 reported being interested in the academic and the non-academic sector (see Appendix 2 for more information about how the interest in the seven sectors of employment

was recoded into the three categories of interest used for this research question).

Additional analyses (not presented here) show that this does not differ between Belgian doctoral candidates and doctoral candidates from the EU28 and non-EU28.

Figure 2. Doctoral candidates and their interest in only the academic sector, only the non-academic sector and both, Flanders 2013 (N= 3659) and 2018 (N= 3359)



DO THE SHIFTS BETWEEN 2013 AND 2018 DIFFER ACCORDING TO GENDER, DOCTORAL PHASE, SCIENCE CLUSTER AND NATIONALITY?

Table 1 provides an overview of the interest of doctoral candidates in the different sectors of employment for 2013 and 2018 according to gender, doctoral phase, science cluster and nationality. The column 'Difference' presents the shift in the interests. Blue numbers in bold point to a significant decrease between 2013 and 2018, while orange numbers in bold present a significant increase from 2013 to 2018.

GENDER

Firstly, we notice no shifts in the interests for the sectors non-profit and hospital for both women and men. For the higher education systems outside university there is an increase in the share of male and female doctoral candidates without interest (men: +8.0%, women: +7.8%) and a decrease in the share of male and female doctoral candidates with a lot of interest (men: -8.2%, women: -9.4%). For the other sectors of employment, the shifts in interest for men and women differ. For instance, the interest of men in the government and non-higher education sector has not changed, while we do see some shifts for women. Compared to 2013, the share of women with a lot of interest in the sector government was lower in 2018 (-4.8%) and the share of women without interest in the non-higher education sector was higher (+5.5%). Also, only the share of female doctoral candidates who are somewhat interested in the industry & private business increased between 2013 and 2018 (+8.8%). Finally, we notice for the university that the share of men without interest increases (+3.3%), while the share of women with some interest increases (+4.5%) and the share of women with a lot of interest decreases (-5.2%).

DOCTORAL PHASE

For the sectors non-profit, hospital and non-higher education we observe the same interest pattern for 2013 and 2018 among doctoral candidates in the planning, executing and finishing phase of the doctorate. For the higher education systems outside university the share of doctoral candidates without interest increases (planning phase: +6.2%, executing phase: +7.9%, finishing phase: +8.3%) and the share with a lot of interest decreases (planning phase: -7.7 %, executing phase: -8.4%, finishing phase: -9.5%). Additionally, in 2018 more doctoral candidates in the finishing phase had no interest in a job at a university (+6.3%), while no shifts emerge in the planning and executing phase compared to 2013. If we look at the interest in a government job and zoom in on "a lot interested", we see that starting doctoral candidates and doctoral candidates at the end of the doctoral trajectory had as much interest in 2018 as in 2013. In the executing phase this is different: doctoral candidates in 2018 who are amidst conducting their doctoral research have less interest to work for the government (-4.3%) compared with 2013. Lastly, a larger share of the starting doctoral candidates has some interest in a job in the industry & private business in 2018 in comparison with 2013 (+9.1%).

SCIENCE CLUSTER

No shifts in the interests are noted between 2013 and 2018 among doctoral candidates in the exact, biomedical, applied and social sciences as well as the humanities for the sectors government, non-profit and hospital. For the other four sectors of employment differences exist between science clusters. For instance, we only see a shift in the interests among doctoral candidates in the biomedical sciences for the university and non-higher education sector. The share of doctoral candidates in the biomedical sciences with a lot of interest in the university decreases (-7.1%) while the share of them without interest in non-higher education increases (+6.6%). For higher education systems outside university, doctoral candidates in the humanities differ from those in all other science clusters: while there is no shift in the interest among doctoral candidates in the humanities between 2013 and 2018, we observe that the share without interest increases in the exact sciences (+8.1%), biomedical sciences (+9.9%), applied sciences (+8.3%) and social sciences (+6.1%). Also, the share of doctoral candidates with a lot of interest in this sector decreases in the exact sciences (-8.4%), biomedical sciences (-8.5%), applied sciences (-6.5%) and social sciences (-8.6%). Finally, for the industry & private sector the share of doctoral candidates in the applied sciences who are somewhat interested, decreases (-8.0%), while that share increases among doctoral candidates in the social sciences and the humanities (social sciences: +13.1%, humanities: +29.5%) and remains the same in the exact and biomedical sciences in 2013 and 2018. Also, in all science clusters the share that is "not interested" in this sector diminishes, while the share that is "a lot interested" increases.

NATIONALITY

Do the shifts in the interests in the different sectors of employment among Belgian doctoral candidates differ from those of doctoral

candidates from the EU28 or the non-EU28? Or does nationality not matter? The analyses show that nationality does not play a role for the sectors government, non-profit and hospital. For university and higher education systems outside university we notice no shifts among international doctoral candidates between 2013 and 2018. However, there are shifts among Belgian doctoral candidates: the share of them without interest increases for the university (+2.5%) and the higher education systems outside the university (+8.5%) and at the same time the share of them with a lot of interest decreases for the university (-5.2%) and the higher education systems outside the university (-9.0%). When looking at the sector non-higher education neither Belgian doctoral candidates nor doctoral candidates from the EU28 show a different interest pattern in 2018 than in 2013. Among doctoral candidates from outside the EU28 the situation is different: there is an increase of "not interested" (+9.7%) and a decrease of "somewhat interested" (-7.7%). Lastly, we observe that more doctoral candidates from the EU28 are somewhat interested in the industry & private business in 2018 compared to 2013 (+11.1%). For Belgian doctoral candidates or doctoral candidates from outside the EU28 no differences exist between 2013 and 2018 for this sector.

DISCUSSION

Our findings show that doctoral candidates in Flanders anno 2018 are less interested in educational institutions as a future place to work than in 2013. Looking at the academic sector as a workplace after completing one's doctorate, we notice a drop in the popularity among specific groups: there is a diminished interest among men as well as women, doctoral candidates in the finishing phase of the doctorate, doctoral candidates in the biomedical sciences and Belgian doctoral candidates. For the higher education systems outside university, we observe the same pattern among men and women, in all doctoral phases, in four out of five of the science clusters (except for the humanities) and among Belgian doctoral candidates, namely a decrease in the share of doctoral candidates who are "a lot interested" and an increase in the share who is "not interested". Also, we see a decrease in the interest among women, doctoral candidates in the biomedical sciences and doctoral candidates from the non-EU28 for the non-higher education sector. This back-fall in the popularity of educational institutions may have multiple causes, such as the increased work pressure and a negative image of working in educational institutions. According to Audenaert et al. (2021) teachers have less and less autonomy to make decisions and more and more responsibilities and administrative obligations. Job demands increase due to increasing student numbers, increasing shortages of teachers and a higher risk for developing a burnout (Audenaert et al., 2021). In the observation period 2013-2018 the increasing work pressure and the negative image coincide with a series of budget cuts for education (e.g., Flemish Government, 2014 and Moens, 2015). Looking at the government, we see a decrease in the interest among doctoral candidates in the executing phase and female doctoral candidates for the period 2013-2018. Yet, also in 2018 female doctoral candidates are more attracted to the government as an employer than

male doctoral candidates (see ECOOM-brief 36). This is in line with the findings from the most recent Labor Force Survey from Statbel (2020). Finally, doctoral candidates in Flanders were equally interested in the sectors non-profit and the hospital in 2018 as in 2013, while the popularity of the industry & private sector has increased for the observation period 2013-2018. This pattern emerges among men and women, in all doctoral phases, in all science clusters, and among both Belgian and international doctoral candidates. This augmented interest in a job in industry & private sector coincides with the further dwindling opportunities for an academic career, a larger knowledge of the number of career options outside university (see among others <https://www.phdcareersflanders.com/en/>) among which entrepreneurship (see ECOOM-brief 23) and the possible value of a doctorate for these career possibilities (see among others Stassen, Levecque, & Anseel, 2016). It also concurs with initiatives to improve the collaboration between the academic and non-academic sectors and with all kinds of efforts from Flemish universities to guide and support doctorate holders in their transition to the non-academic labor market. All these changes and programs impeded a culture shift on the work floor in universities: the idea that doctoral trajectories are part of non-academic career aspirations is no longer a taboo. For more information about how satisfied doctoral candidates are with their career chances on the non-academic labor market we refer to ECOOM-brief 31.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The number of doctoral candidates in Flanders who answered the question in 2013 and 2018 for each sector of employment

Sector of employment	2013	2018
University	3618	2978
Higher education systems outside university	3592	2947
Non-higher education	3581	2948
Government	3598	2974
Industry & private business	3595	2969
Non-profit sector	3587	2961
Hospital	3574	2931

Appendix 2: Explanation regarding the recoding of the interest in the seven sectors of employment (Research Question 2)

To answer Research Question 2, the interest of doctoral candidates in the seven sectors was recoded to (a) only interested in the academic sector, (b) only interested in the non-academic sector and (c) interested in the academic and the non-academic sector. This was done as follows:

- Doctoral candidates were considered to be only interested in the academic sector when they are somewhat or a lot interested in the university and are not interested in the other sectors of employment.
- Doctoral candidates were considered to be only interested in the non-academic sector when they were not interested in the university and somewhat or a lot interested in at least one of the other sectors of employment.
- Doctoral candidates were considered to be interested in the academic and the non-academic sector when they were somewhat or a lot interested in the university and somewhat or a lot interested in at least one of the other sectors of employment.

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Table 1. Doctoral candidates and their interest in the different sectors of employment according to gender, doctoral phase, science clusters and nationality, Flanders 2013 (N= 3659) and 2018 (N= 3359)

		University			Higher education systems outside university			Non-higher education			Government			Industry & private business			Non-profit sector			Hospital			
		2013	2018	Difference	2013	2018	Difference	2013	2018	Difference	2013	2018	Difference	2013	2018	Difference	2013	2018	Difference	2013	2018	Difference	
Gender																							
Men	Not interest	8.2%	11.5%	3.3%	25.7%	33.7%	8.0%	55.9%	59.2%	3.3%	20.1%	21.0%	0.9%	25.1%	11.6%	-13.5%	35.1%	36.7%	1.6%	63.9%	62.5%	-1.4%	
	Somewhat interested	33.4%	33.7%	0.3%	39.3%	39.7%	0.4%	34.1%	32.1%	-2.0%	47.5%	48.2%	0.7%	35.4%	33.5%	-1.9%	46.4%	43.5%	-2.9%	24.7%	25.3%	0.6%	
	A lot interested	58.3%	54.8%	-3.5%	34.9%	26.7%	-8.2%	10.0%	8.7%	-1.3%	32.4%	30.7%	-1.7%	39.5%	54.9%	15.4%	18.5%	19.8%	1.3%	11.4%	12.2%	0.8%	
Women	Not interest	11.1%	11.9%	0.8%	18.8%	26.6%	7.8%	47.6%	53.1%	5.5%	17.1%	19.0%	1.9%	45.0%	18.6%	-26.4%	28.6%	27.6%	-1.0%	49.8%	51.2%	1.4%	
	Somewhat interested	32.2%	36.7%	4.5%	36.3%	36.9%	0.6%	36.9%	33.1%	-3.8%	43.3%	46.1%	2.8%	29.6%	38.4%	8.8%	45.1%	44.1%	-1.0%	28.2%	27.4%	-0.8%	
	A lot interested	56.7%	51.5%	-5.2%	45.9%	36.5%	-9.4%	15.5%	13.8%	-1.7%	39.7%	34.9%	-4.8%	25.4%	43.0%	17.6%	26.3%	28.4%	2.1%	22.0%	21.5%	-0.5%	
Doctoral phase																							
Planning phase	Not interest	7.1%	7.8%	0.7%	22.0%	28.2%	6.2%	50.6%	54.5%	3.9%	18.5%	19.7%	1.2%	38.3%	17.4%	-20.9%	29.3%	30.1%	0.8%	62.6%	58.4%	-4.2%	
	Somewhat interested	31.3%	33.3%	2.0%	36.9%	38.4%	1.5%	34.8%	31.5%	-3.3%	45.8%	46.4%	0.6%	30.7%	39.8%	9.1%	46.9%	44.6%	-2.3%	23.4%	25.5%	2.1%	
	A lot interested	61.6%	58.9%	-2.7%	41.1%	33.4%	-7.7%	14.6%	14.0%	-0.6%	35.7%	33.8%	-1.9%	31.0%	42.7%	11.7%	23.8%	25.3%	1.5%	14.0%	16.1%	2.1%	
Executing phase	Not interest	10.6%	11.1%	0.5%	22.2%	30.1%	7.9%	51.5%	55.0%	3.5%	18.3%	20.4%	2.1%	34.0%	14.8%	-19.2%	32.0%	33.6%	1.6%	55.0%	54.4%	-0.6%	
	Somewhat interested	33.6%	37.3%	3.7%	38.0%	38.4%	0.4%	35.9%	33.3%	-2.6%	45.7%	47.9%	2.2%	34.3%	35.5%	1.2%	46.7%	42.9%	-3.8%	27.1%	27.0%	-0.1%	
	A lot interested	55.9%	51.6%	-4.3%	39.9%	31.5%	-8.4%	13.1%	11.6%	-1.5%	36.0%	31.7%	-4.3%	31.7%	49.7%	18.0%	21.3%	23.5%	2.2%	17.9%	18.6%	0.7%	
Finishing phase	Not interest	10.2%	16.5%	6.3%	22.2%	30.5%	8.3%	54.1%	59.1%	5.0%	19.2%	18.8%	-0.4%	36.9%	15.5%	-21.4%	33.4%	28.2%	-5.2%	54.4%	59.1%	4.7%	
	Somewhat interested	32.3%	32.4%	0.1%	36.0%	37.3%	1.3%	35.6%	31.9%	-3.7%	43.5%	45.6%	2.1%	29.4%	34.9%	5.5%	42.5%	45.4%	2.9%	28.3%	25.9%	-2.4%	
	A lot interested	57.4%	51.1%	-6.3%	41.7%	32.2%	-9.5%	10.3%	9.0%	-1.3%	37.2%	35.6%	-1.6%	34.7%	49.6%	14.9%	24.1%	26.4%	2.3%	17.4%	15.0%	-2.4%	
Science cluster																							
Exact sciences	Not interest	11.4%	13.2%	1.8%	24.5%	32.7%	8.2%	48.4%	54.1%	5.7%	21.5%	20.9%	-0.6%	15.0%	7.7%	-7.3%	36.8%	35.8%	-1.0%	62.8%	65.4%	2.6%	
	Somewhat interested	34.8%	38.0%	3.2%	38.6%	39.0%	0.4%	37.8%	34.6%	-3.2%	47.2%	49.0%	1.8%	39.5%	34.9%	-4.6%	47.1%	43.3%	-3.8%	28.5%	26.0%	-2.5%	
	A lot interested	53.0%	48.8%	-4.2%	36.8%	28.4%	-8.4%	13.8%	11.3%	-2.5%	31.2%	31.0%	-0.2%	45.5%	57.4%	11.9%	16.1%	20.9%	4.8%	8.7%	8.7%	0.0%	
Biomedical sciences	Not interest	10.4%	14.1%	3.7%	25.0%	34.9%	9.9%	54.5%	61.1%	6.6%	21.7%	23.9%	2.2%	28.4%	11.5%	-16.9%	36.7%	41.5%	4.8%	26.7%	26.4%	-0.3%	
	Somewhat interested	33.8%	37.2%	3.4%	39.4%	38.0%	-1.4%	35.1%	30.8%	-4.3%	46.5%	47.1%	0.6%	33.2%	33.8%	0.6%	46.0%	41.5%	-4.5%	35.4%	36.4%	1.0%	
	A lot interested	55.8%	48.7%	-7.1%	35.6%	27.1%	-8.5%	10.4%	8.1%	-2.3%	31.8%	29.1%	-2.7%	38.4%	54.7%	16.3%	17.3%	16.9%	-0.4%	37.9%	37.2%	-0.7%	
Applied sciences	Not interest	14.9%	16.3%	1.4%	30.8%	39.1%	8.3%	59.8%	62.1%	2.3%	25.5%	26.0%	0.5%	11.0%	4.9%	-6.1%	39.6%	38.3%	-1.3%	71.5%	67.9%	-3.6%	
	Somewhat interested	39.9%	38.9%	-1.0%	42.5%	40.8%	-1.7%	32.2%	30.8%	-1.4%	48.4%	48.8%	0.4%	34.6%	26.6%	-8.0%	46.1%	45.9%	-0.2%	22.4%	23.5%	1.1%	
	A lot interested	45.1%	44.8%	-0.3%	26.7%	20.2%	-6.5%	7.9%	7.2%	-0.7%	26.0%	25.1%	-0.9%	54.4%	68.5%	14.1%	14.3%	15.9%	1.6%	6.1%	8.7%	2.6%	
Social sciences	Not interest	6.2%	7.1%	0.9%	15.7%	21.8%	6.1%	51.4%	53.6%	2.2%	8.5%	10.9%	2.4%	57.9%	26.6%	-31.3%	21.2%	17.5%	-3.7%	68.2%	65.5%	-2.7%	
	Somewhat interested	31.1%	33.2%	2.1%	34.2%	36.6%	2.4%	34.2%	31.7%	-2.5%	40.9%	44.8%	3.9%	31.8%	44.9%	13.1%	43.5%	43.7%	0.2%	21.6%	22.7%	1.1%	
	A lot interested	62.7%	59.7%	-3.0%	50.1%	41.5%	-8.6%	14.5%	14.7%	0.2%	50.6%	44.3%	-6.3%	10.3%	28.5%	18.2%	35.3%	38.8%	3.5%	10.2%	11.8%	1.6%	
Humanities	Not interest	4.6%	3.6%	-1.0%	9.7%	9.4%	-0.3%	34.5%	34.5%	0.0%	15.1%	16.2%	1.1%	81.8%	34.9%	-46.9%	19.4%	17.8%	-1.6%	78.8%	82.9%	4.1%	

	Somewhat interested	18.5%	22.7%	4.2%	27.0%	35.3%	8.3%	43.3%	41.7%	-1.6%	42.7%	46.0%	3.3%	15.5%	45.0%	29.5%	47.6%	47.0%	-0.6%	16.3%	13.1%	-3.2%
	A lot interested	76.9%	73.7%	-3.2%	63.3%	55.4%	-7.9%	22.1%	23.7%	1.6%	42.2%	37.8%	-4.4%	2.7%	20.1%	17.4%	33.1%	35.2%	2.1%	4.9%	4.0%	-0.9%
Nationality																						
	Belgian																					
	Not interest	10.8%	13.3%	2.5%	19.8%	28.2%	8.4%	49.7%	52.4%	2.7%	16.4%	17.6%	1.2%	37.5%	15.3%	-22.2%	33.6%	34.4%	0.8%	55.6%	54.2%	-1.4%
	Somewhat interested	34.4%	37.1%	2.7%	35.5%	36.1%	0.6%	36.3%	35.1%	-1.2%	47.0%	48.0%	1.0%	31.3%	34.6%	3.3%	44.9%	42.8%	-2.1%	26.8%	25.8%	-1.0%
	A lot interested	54.8%	49.6%	-5.2%	44.7%	35.7%	-9.0%	14.0%	12.5%	-1.5%	36.6%	34.4%	-2.2%	31.1%	50.2%	19.1%	21.4%	22.8%	1.4%	17.6%	19.9%	2.3%
EU28	Not interest	6.8%	9.8%	3.0%	28.4%	34.9%	6.5%	60.3%	62.1%	1.8%	23.4%	22.4%	-1.0%	36.1%	13.2%	-22.9%	30.2%	29.7%	-0.5%	61.3%	58.0%	-3.3%
	Somewhat interested	29.7%	34.7%	5.0%	44.6%	39.4%	-5.2%	31.9%	27.4%	-4.5%	43.5%	47.3%	3.8%	31.1%	42.2%	11.1%	47.5%	48.0%	0.5%	23.7%	27.7%	4.0%
	A lot interested	63.6%	55.5%	-8.1%	27.0%	25.7%	-1.3%	7.7%	10.4%	2.7%	33.2%	30.3%	-2.9%	32.8%	44.6%	11.8%	22.2%	22.3%	0.1%	15.0%	14.3%	-0.7%
non-EU28	Not interest	6.5%	8.1%	1.6%	28.2%	30.4%	2.2%	52.5%	62.2%	9.7%	25.5%	25.4%	-0.1%	24.6%	17.9%	-6.7%	23.3%	25.2%	1.9%	59.0%	61.6%	2.6%
	Somewhat interested	28.4%	29.9%	1.5%	40.5%	43.8%	3.3%	36.3%	28.6%	-7.7%	38.0%	44.1%	6.1%	38.6%	36.4%	-2.2%	48.1%	43.8%	-4.3%	26.0%	27.4%	1.4%
	A lot interested	65.1%	62.0%	-3.1%	31.3%	25.8%	-5.5%	11.2%	9.2%	-2.0%	36.5%	30.6%	-5.9%	36.8%	45.7%	8.9%	28.6%	31.0%	2.4%	14.9%	11.0%	-3.9%

Note. The column 'Difference' presents the shift in interests. Blue numbers in bold refer to a significant decrease between 2013 and 2018. Orange numbers in bold refer to a significant increase from 2013 to 2018.