The acceleration of social life in modern societies: sociological theories and empirical results

“Health, culture and society”

Univerzita Karlova, Praha
April 29th 2016, 11.00-12.30
## Contents

1. My university
2. Empirical social research: principles, aims, methods, design, process, operationalisation, quality criteria
3. Research questions aiming at „pace of social life“
5. Theories to explain acceleration
6. Controversial explanations for the happiness-time-stress-paradoxon
7. Conclusions
8. Acceleration of education in the life-course
Nuremberg Institute of Technology: Let me introduce my university to you
Tertiary Education in Germany

- Promotion
- Universität
- Diplomprüfung, Bachelor und Master, Staatsprüfung (nur Universität)
- Fachschule
- Schule des Gesundheitswesens
- Berufsakademie
- Fachhochschule
- Universität
The Nuremberg Institute of Technology, in short Nuremberg Tech, with more than 11,300 students is one of the largest universities of applied sciences in Germany, and is known for

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ten strategic leading topics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a wide range of subjects and departments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interdisciplinary research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>application-oriented teaching</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>international focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>attractive working conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excellent performance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>importance for the metropolitan region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our world-famous eponym</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

www.th-nuernberg.eu
## Faculty of Social Sciences

- **Students**: ~ 1,510
  - Bachelor Degree Social Work: ~ 1,300
  - Female: male = 80:20

- **Newly enrolled students per annum**
  - Bachelor Social Work: 300
  - Bachelor Lifelong Learning: 40
  - Master Degree Social Work: 38
  - Master Counseling and Coaching: 10

- **Professors**: 32
- **Part time lecturers**: ~ 100
Principles for empirical research

1. Pose significant questions that can be investigated empirically!

2. Link research to relevant theory!

3. Use methods that permit direct investigation of the question!

4. Provide coherent and explicit chain of reasoning!

5. Replicate and generalize across studies!

6. Disclose research to encourage professional scrutiny and critique!

National Research Council, Shavelson/Towne 2002
Aims of empirical social research

• description of social reality
• exploration, if you have little information. Often leading to generation of hypotheses
• explanation: examination of the empirical validity of hypotheses and theories
• evaluation of the effects of a programme
• prognosis: based on empirical valid theories, prognosis is possible (mainly in psychology, not so often in sociology)
The process of empirical research

1. Concrete research question
2. Theoretical background (state of the art in research)
3. Research design (explorative, descriptive, analysis of correlations, analysis of causes, longitudinal)
4. Sampling
5. Methods of data collection
6. Methods of data evaluation
7. Reference back to the research question
8. Generalisation
Methods of empirical social research

Datengrundlage

Erhebung von Primärdaten

- Befragung
  - eher qualitativ:
    - Tiefeninterview
  - Gruppendiskussion
  - eher quantitativ:
    - Standardisierte mündliche Befragung
    - Standardisierte schriftliche Befragung
    - Standardisierte telefonische Befragung
    - Online-Befragung

- Beobachtung

Verwendung von Sekundärdaten

- Interne Daten
- Externe Daten
  - öffentlich
  - kommerziell

Mischform zw. Befragung und Beobachtung

- Experiment
  - Laborexperiment
  - Feldexperiment

- Panel
  - Verbraucherpanel
  - Handelspanel
  - Spezialpanel

Homburg/Krohmer (2003)
Design of research

- depends on research question
- An example: examination of change
  → Longitudinal design
- without intervention: time effects in longitudinal studies
- with intervention: impact of „measures“: evaluation studies
- „What do you think about double-blind-experiments“?
The problem of evaluation

Integration Index

in order to improve integration of migrant youths

Effects of chance

Effects of starting position

Effects of the study: "investigator"

\[ \Delta(I) \]

no

intervention

Intervention

time
Operationalisation

• How can theoretical terms be measured empirically?

term (e.g. acceleration of social life)

↓

dimensions

↓

indicators

↓

measuring instrument

↓

facts in social reality
Quality criteria

Objectivity:
- Independence from investigator
- In the phases of data collection, examination and interpretation

Reliability
- Can be reproduced steadily

Validity
- Does the test or questionnaire measure what it intends to measure?
Research questions to focus on the acceleration of life

Acceleration of social life
http://www.3sat.de/mediathek/?display=1&mode=play&obj=31774

• What is the time budget of full-time-employed (and students) for their obligations (studying, employment)?

• How much time remains for their leisure time and for personal needs (= sleeping, body care, meals)?

• How has the time budget of these groups changed in recent decades?

• How do the respondents perceive their time-stress subjectively?
## Indicators of time pressure

### Indicators at individual level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“Objective” indicators</th>
<th>“Subjective” indicators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>time-budgets (diaries) and social indicators</td>
<td>perception and importance of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leisure time</td>
<td>feeling of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paid work</td>
<td>security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unpaid work</td>
<td>looking confidently ahead to one’s future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>share of burden in unpaid work for men</td>
<td>satisfaction with one’s life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time for personal needs:</td>
<td>happiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleeping time</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time for a rest</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time for meals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### National time cultures

- time values (importance of well-being values)
- time norms (maximum speed on motorways ...)
- time institutions (free evenings after work, weekends, holidays, youth and retirement)
- social infrastructure (hours of children in schools, public child care facilities)
- waiting times in traffic, at doctors, in offices ...
- extent of paid work, variation: proportion of employed > 48 hours and < 15 hours/week
- flexible working hours (weekend, shift, autonomy in co-determining one’s working hours etc.)
- proportion of workers with high speed work
- job insecurity
### Indicators to measure acceleration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trends</th>
<th>Time structure at the macro-level</th>
<th>Individual time use at the micro level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Acceleration   | • higher „pace of social life“  
• faster global communication                                           | Less time for  
• sleeping  
• relaxation  
• Meals  
• more people suffer from time pressure |
| Compression    | • in the life-span: shortening of education phase  
• quicker transitions  
• less time for work-breaks                                               | • more simultaneous activities  
• more multi-tasking  
• more dense paid and unpaid work |

Measuring instrument to collect data of time-use: diaries for seven days

- 30 prescribed activities
- standardised daily routine diary
- on seven days and over 24 hours in 15-minutes-cycle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Persönlicher Bereich zu Haus</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Schlaf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Körperpflege, Anziehen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Mahlzeiten</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Studienbezogene Aktivitäten zu Haus</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4 Vor- und Nachbereitung, Fachlektüre, schriftl. Arbeiten, studentische AG, studienbezogene Mail u. Internet-Recherche</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Time budget of full-time employed 1991 and 2012/13

1,545 full-time employed in West Germany 1991/92 (my own data)

Full-time employed 2012/13 according to Statistisches Bundesamt, 1965: Szalai 1972

Mean of 7 days Monday – Sunday in hours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aktivities at home</th>
<th>1965</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>2012/13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sleeping</td>
<td>8,3</td>
<td>7,6</td>
<td>8,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body care</td>
<td>0,7</td>
<td>0,6</td>
<td>0,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meals</td>
<td>1,3</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td>1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxation</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td></td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning at home</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homework</td>
<td>1,0</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td></td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking, including on phone</td>
<td>0,6</td>
<td></td>
<td>0,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td></td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV, Video</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the computer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports at home</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment at home</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td></td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Which objective time constraints have contributed to the spread of time-crunch

- A comparison of German time-budgets in 1965 and 1991/92: While in these thirty years the work-free time of full-time-employed Germans has increased by one hour per day this was counterbalanced through the reduction of one hour devoted to personal needs.
- Time devoted to sleeping has decreased for full-time-employed Germans by 40 minutes.
- However, from 1991 to 2012 this loss in sleeping-time was nearly compensated.
- Consequently, every second employed German “could not get a proper sleep” in 1999.
- The trend in the time devoted to sleeping also applies to the French from 1986 to 1999 (12 minutes less).
- In Japan time for sleep continued to decline from 1995 to 2000.
Top 5 origins for stress Germany 2015

DEUTSCHLAND: TOP 5 HAUPTURSACHEN VON STRESS

- 23%: Der Druck, den man sich selbst macht
- 19%: Das Geld, das zum Leben zur Verfügung steht
- 15%: Die tägliche Arbeit
- 15%: Schlafmangel
- 14%: Keine Zeit für Dinge, die man machen will

Quelle: GfK-Umfrage unter mehr als 27.000 Internetnutzern (ab 15 Jahren) in 22 Ländern – Mehrfachnennungen möglich – gerundet

© GfK 2015
Top 3 reasons for stress D-CZ 2015

Top 3 Hauptursachen von Stress

Länderergebnisse

35% · 32% · 22% USA
30% · 28% · 22% Großbritannien
59% · 51% · 49% Türkei
38% · 36% · 31% Schweden
44% · 36% · 32% Spanien
35% · 26% · 25% Südkorea
36% · 26% · 20% Russland
38% · 24% · 24% Polen
26% · 25% · 20% Niederlande
47% · 39% · 36% Mexiko
22% · 13% · 13% Japan

Argentinien 53% · 41% · 40%
Australien 35% · 32% · 24%
Belgien 34% · 30% · 28%
Brasilien 39% · 39% · 38%
Kanada 37% · 30% · 22%
China 23% · 20% · 19%
Tschechische Republik 36% · 22% · 21%
Frankreich 42% · 34% · 31%
Deutschland 23% · 19% · 15%
Hongkong 23% · 22% · 21%
Italien 42% · 29% · 24%

Quelle: GfK-Umfrage unter mehr als 27.000 Internetnutzern (ab 15 Jahren) in 22 Ländern – Mehrfachnennungen möglich – gerundet

© GfK 2015
Time stress increased for younger and middle ages 2011-13

Keine Zeit für gar nichts: Haushalte zunehmend im Zeitstress
Haushalte mit sehr stark / stark empfundenem Zeitstress

© GfK | Quelle: ConsumerScan
## Ten items of time-pressure among German workers 1999

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>often in %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>under time pressure 1999</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under time pressure 1991/92</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannot get a proper sleep</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wish to have more time for myself</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am stuck to a timetable</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feel myself under time pressure from others</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannot deal with important things properly due to lack of time</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannot recover properly from illnesses due to lack of time</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under so much time pressure that my health suffers</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrive late for appointments</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cannot keep deadlines</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2015: 36% of all adult respondents > 14 years
IfD Allensbach

431 full time employed 1999
reliability: standardized item alpha .85

## Pace of life in seven nations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>←</th>
<th>slower</th>
<th>or</th>
<th>faster</th>
<th>pace of life</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spain 96</td>
<td>Germany 99</td>
<td>UK 95</td>
<td>Sweden 91</td>
<td>U.S.A. 98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leisure time per day acc. to diaries mean Mon – Sun</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>percentage who claim to suffer from frequent time pressure</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hours per day for a rest or siesta mean Mon – Sun</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levine-ranking: pace of life (37 nations, 1: fastest)</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>.</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Time budget data for full-time employed only
Garhammer, 1999, p. 454, Germany 1999 according to GFK-data 1999
USA 1993: Robinson and Godbey, 1997
Japan 2000: own calculations based on Japan: Mitsuya and Nakano, 2001, table 5 and 21 for “jobholders”, part-timers included
Portugal 1999: Instituto Nacional de Estatistica Portugal (June 19, 2001)
How happy you are? All age groups > 14

European Quality of Life Survey 2012 (0-10)

Germany: 7.4
CZ: 7.1
Greece: 6.5
Spain: 7.8
Denmark: 8.2

http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/node/85179
Theories in sociology to explain acceleration of life

- Karl Marx 1867: Das Kapital, Vol. I-III, e.g. in ch. 13 on modern industry
- Emile Durkheim 1893: De la division du travail social
- Georg Simmel 1895: The meaning of money for the pace of life
- Staffan B. Linder 1970: The harried leisure class
- Gerhard Schulze 1992: The event Society
- Mihály Csikszentmihalyi 1990: Flow
- Peter Gross 1994: The multi-option-society
- Hartmut Rosa 2005: acceleration: the change of time structure in modern society:

  The „paradox“ he stated for the modern society:

  We all have less time although we are winning time almost in every areas of life! (see also Linder-paradox)
Pace of life – enjoyment of life – paradox and possible answers

modernization → wealth of nations → work-related stress → pace of life

modernization → event-society → net effect + pursuit of events → life satisfaction and happiness

preliminary to flow → eu-stress or arousal → happiness

time pressure → temporary emergency → stress

chronic no control → chronic stress → health problems lack of energy apathy, fatigue
Controversial explanations for the time-pressure-happiness-paradox

• As modernization theory argues life satisfaction is proliferating along with living standards (e.g. Parsons 1971). It is exactly this change that accelerates social life. Hence, the negative effects of growing stress are counterbalanced by the yields of modernization.

• In 1893 Durkheim began his analysis on the division of work questioning Adam Smith’s thesis that higher productivity of industrial work would enhance the “happiness of individuals”. He argued that in fact industrialization has enhanced the suffering of workers at the same time.

• Marx 1867 contributed convincing arguments for the necessity of this fact in capitalism.

• Durkheim 1893 (in his book III on the “anomistic division of labour”) argued that the exaggerated velocity of social change which has increased through modernity “will put a strain on people” and may result in illness. The problem in Durkheim’s explanation of “anomy” is not “too little progress but rather too much of it.

• Schulze (1992) and Gross (1994) associate the origins of time pressure with the opportunities for and the pressure on individuals to “experience more and more in the same length of time”: People do not want to miss anything in life. An overloaded agenda is assumed to be the major reason.
Controversial explanations for the time-pressure-happiness-paradox

• What Simmel 1895 observed in Berlin has now intensified: Rapidly changing fashions provide opportunities to discover one’s individuality. This multiplication of leisure activities and sense experiences is one reason for the feeling of restlessness: both as a sense of time pressure as well as a “thrill” stimulating one’s mind.

• However: Leisure within the family prevails particularly in the lower classes. Empirical research has shown that the family-centred life-style is the most proliferated one.

• A second explanation for the paradox is given through the psychological approach according to which time pressure may fulfil a positive function for generating flow and mobilizing resources. Two psychological states which may both be connected with time scarcity: “eu-stress” (from the Greek word: eu = happy) or arousal and stress (Csikszentmihalyi 1975, 1991, 1992, 2002).

• The crucial condition which sets the “positive” function of arousal as well as temporary emergency-stress apart from negative stress is whether the actor feels in control of his actions or not. In the first case arousal may become the “spice of life”, a challenge, not a threat. When actors lack this sense of control then the notion of stress changes: from the “spice of life” to the “kiss of death”.
Conclusions

• Findings are consistent throughout recent literature that *chronic time pressure in work life* is increasing and is associated with *poor mental health* and *psychic and somatic symptoms* (see *European Surveys on Working Conditions*).

• One feature which distinguishes arousal or temporary stress in emergency situations from disease-provoking stress and time pressure has been identified as the *chronic occurrence of stress*. In this case time pressure is a cause for concern since it is linked with health symptoms such as fatigue, sleeping difficulties etc.

• This paper has given evidence for various stress factors in work life which do not evolve from free decisions made by actors. They refer to *structural* reasons which are more or less pronounced in distinct cultures.

• Regardless of the North-South-differences within Europe there is a specific *European* organisation of social time as opposed to the U.S.-model where the sense of restlessness is more pronounced.

• Globalisation seems to generalise this US-model.
Timing of Education Phases in Life

- Bachelor-reform in the context of bringing forward and compressing in general the educational phase in one’s life cycle
- Pre-school education should assume the responsibility of initial school education (neuropsychology: „optimal time frames of child development“)
- School enrolment should take place earlier (6.7 years → 6.0 → 5 years)
- Secondary school (Gymnasium) should take only 8 years (no longer 9)
- Transition to study should be immediate (no gap year)
- The primary degree should only take 6 semesters („Diplom“: 8-12)
- Life-long learning after graduation is defined as a private responsibility
- This corresponds with shortening and compressing institutional education
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birth cohort 1953</th>
<th>School enrollment 6.7 years</th>
<th>Graduation age: 27.75 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.5 years parental education at home</td>
<td>1.5 Kindergarten</td>
<td>4 years primary school</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Co-hort 2003</th>
<th>School enrollment: 6.0 years</th>
<th>Graduation age: 21.5 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 years parental education</td>
<td>C r e c h e</td>
<td>3 years Kindergarten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Typical Transition Ages within the Education System
### UK – Germany 2007/08

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>School enrolment</th>
<th>Graduation age upper secondary</th>
<th>Graduation age tertiary 5-6 years („Diplom“)</th>
<th>Graduation age Bachelor 2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Germany</strong></td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>19-20</td>
<td>28.1 (2008)</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>UK</strong></td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>22-24</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

# Time budget of full-time employed and students 2012/13

Full-time employed according to Statistisches Bundesamt 2012/2013

103 Bachelor-Students of Social Work Nürnberg 2012

Mean of 7 days Monday – Sunday in hours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aktivities at home</th>
<th>Students 2012</th>
<th>Employed 2012/13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sleeping</td>
<td>8,4</td>
<td>8,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Body care</td>
<td>0,8</td>
<td>0,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meals</td>
<td>0,9</td>
<td>1,5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment/Jobs at home</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning at home</td>
<td>1,5</td>
<td>0,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homework</td>
<td>0,7</td>
<td>2,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child care</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talking, including on phone</td>
<td>0,9</td>
<td>0,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV, Video</td>
<td>0,9</td>
<td>1,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the computer</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports at home</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxing</td>
<td>0,4</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Time budget of full-time employed and students 2012/13

### Full-time employed according to Statistisches Bundesamt 2012/2013

103 Bachelor-Students of Social Work Nürnberg 2012

Mean of 7 days Monday – Sunday in hours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aktivites outside home</th>
<th>Full-time employed 2012/13</th>
<th>Students 2012</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employment/jobs</td>
<td>4,9</td>
<td>0,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studies</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work- or study breaks</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commuting to work or to university</td>
<td>0,5</td>
<td>0,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other travel time</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>0,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping, errands</td>
<td>0,5</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visits</td>
<td>0,5</td>
<td>0,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>0,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hobbies</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In pubs, cinema, …</td>
<td>0,3</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At events</td>
<td>0,0</td>
<td>0,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In clubs, organisations …</td>
<td>0,1</td>
<td>0,1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walking or excursions</td>
<td>0,2</td>
<td>0,4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing data</td>
<td>-0,3</td>
<td>page 37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Perceived time pressure 2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>How often do you perceive ...</th>
<th>Often/always %</th>
<th>Often/always %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 103 students 2012</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under time pressure</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced to multi-tasking</td>
<td>77</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to sleep in the night</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time pressure leading to suffering in health</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thank you for your attention!