Quality of life in European societies. A system of social indicators and a cross-cultural comparison

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Quality of life – a system of 100 social indicators

Life satisfaction and economic prosperity

A large amount of cross-cultural research in QOL focuses on the feeling of satisfaction with life and of happiness (cf. Diener and Lucas 2000 ; Inglehart 2000). It is argued that QOL of countries can only be measured when looking at the results of citizen's assessments of their lives. For Veenhoven (2000), the "most inclusive measure" for cross-cultural comparison is how happily people live and how satisfied they are.

On average nations with higher level of life satisfaction consider themselves to be "happier". 83% of the EU-citizens surveyed in 2002 claimed to be "*satisfied*" with their life (EUROBAROMETER 57). The percentage of satisfied is very high in Denmark (97%), the lowest score is in Portugal (66%). The EUROBAROMETER-surveys give evidence for a continuous North-South-gap from 1973 to today. Some methodological constraints should be kept in mind interpreting these results: with regards to specific living domains the surveyed more likely assess their living conditions critically in contrast to the overall life-satisfaction-question. The latter encourages them to recall their self-image as "*happy*" and "*satisfied*".

In any case, country differences in wealth (GNP per head) explain a large amount of the variation in the level of life satisfaction ($r = .69$ in our sample). In his comparison of 65 nations Inglehart (2000) found a similar correlation of $r = .7$ which he interpreted as evidence for a higher level of QOL: the wealthier a society the more satisfied are their citizens. Many conclude that a progress in the quality of life is associated with economic advancement of nations. However, one can raise some objections:

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- Happiness is a cultural construction. To regard oneself as satisfied and happy is required through the psychological life-style in modern societies. The fact that U.S.-citizens assess themselves as more satisfied than Germans this may indicate that satisfaction is highly desired in their societal model where every citizen is responsible for his own pursuit of happiness. Heylighen and Bernheim 2000 point to the case of France where it is more normal to blame the institutions when anything goes wrong. This may root in the cultural tradition of "etatism" in France or the post-authoritarian Southern European countries.
- There is no simple relationship between living conditions and their subjective perception: Individual actors as well as nations derive their evaluations from comparisons between conditions and standards as they should be. Hence, a definition which lists the goods necessary for QOL for all times and all societies cannot exist. Nations do not hold the same for necessary. Whereas in Germany the package of one's own house and of a big car represents a "good life" Southern Europeans include socializing such as going-out.
- If one takes a closer look to the relationship of economic prosperity and happiness and confines himself to the rich societies, the correlation is apparently weaker compared to the 65 nations all over the world. Whereas economic growth has at first a tremendous pay off in terms of happiness when one compares the Third and the First World there is a weaker relationship between income level and well-being amongst advanced societies. 13% more Swedish (94%) assess themselves to be satisfied with their lives compared with the French (81%) who have more or less the same GDP per head. This article tries to provide some explanations for this relationship.

One approach may be the growing sensitivity to ecological and social costs of economic growth. People are becoming aware that a higher level of wealth does not necessarily correlate with more quality of life. Hence new concepts of a "good life" have been discussed beyond the concept of steady economic growth (Rinderspacher, 2002). In addition to the concerns about social exclusion and ecological risks of economic growth there is growing concern about time poverty.

Time pressure and health problems

Table 1 – *Proliferation of time stress amongst full-time employed Germans 91 and 99*

representative survey	1991/92 own survey N = 1,545 in %	1999 GfK N = 431 in %
under frequent time pressure	25	46
cannot get a proper sleep	45	49
wish to have more time for myself	26	48
under so much time pressure that my health suffers	.	16

This table provides evidence for rising time pressure amongst full-time employed Germans: At the end of the 1990s, every second often complained of this, whilst at the beginning of the 1990s this affected every fourth. Time pressure has emerged as a major social problem. People all over Western societies complain about the scarcity of time. These feelings have increased along with economic progress (Zuzanek, 2002). The OECD-nations are advanced both in terms of wealth and time pressure of people who work for this wealth. Hence, more citizens are beginning to consider time prosperity as a dimension of their well-being beyond their wealth as consumers. In addition to the availability of *income* and *goods* the availability of *time* is being perceived to be a basic resource for guiding their life. One reason may be that individuals as well as societies place the greatest subjective value on those things which are relatively scarce: as disposable time runs short in advanced societies as well as in life-cycle-phases like parenthood time becomes upgraded in the value system. When the feeling is that of being rushed the value of time becomes more important. There is wide evidence (from national surveys presented at the International Conference in Waterloo/Canada in March 2002) that this feeling of time pressure is grounded in objective time constraints. Heavy loads of paid and unpaid work affect mental and physical health. The statement of 16% Germans that "*they are under so much time pressure that their health suffers*" (see table 1) supports this finding.

Which constraints have contributed to the spread of time-crunch whilst at the same time paid work has diminished, at least for men? Whilst from 1965 to 1991/92 the work-free time of Germans has increased by one hour per day this win of work-free time was nearly counterbalanced through the reduction of 40 minutes devoted to sleeping (Garhammer, 1999). Every second respondent in 1999 "*could not get a proper sleep*". The negative trend in time devoted to sleeping also applies to France (from 1986 to 1999 twelve minutes less) and to Japan.

Indicators of time prosperity

Table 2 gives an overview of the indicators used in the following cross-cultural comparison to measure time poverty and vice versa time prosperity. Time prosperity (26 indicators) is a main part of my 100-indicators-system (annex 1) to examine the quality of life of citizens at the country-aggregate level. This concept also includes economic prosperity (3), consumer goods (4), income equality (8), working conditions (13), gender equality (6), features of the welfare regime (12), family life (5), education (8), community life and security (4), values and life satisfaction (7) and environment (4) (see table 1 in the annex). Data gaps remain in the domains of political and community life. Welfare of time includes objective living conditions quantified by time-budgets (left hand) and well-being how it is subjectively perceived (right hand). As deliberations of insecurities in the future affect the perception of present life time prosperity includes a feeling of security which is necessary for planning and guiding one's life. This is one function of "time institutions" (free evenings, weekend, statutory and paid holidays and retirement). The 26 indicators cover *individual* resources and the application of *collective* time institutions.

Table 2 – *Indicators of time prosperity*

<table>
<tr><th></th><th>"objective" indicators time-budgets-(diaries) and social indicators</th><th colspan="3">"subjective" indicators perception and importance of</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">indicators at individual level</td><td>• leisure time
• paid work
• unpaid work
• share of burden in unpaid work men/women
• personal needs
• sleeping time
• time for a rest
• time for meals</td><td>• time pressure index: 10 items
• percentage who often feel rushed</td><td>• satisfaction with one's life
• happiness</td><td>feeling of
• security
• looking confidently ahead to one's future</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4"></td></tr>
<tr><td>national time cultures</td><td colspan="3">• time values (importance of well-being values)
• 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 and 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</td></tr>
</table>

Pace of life in modern societies

The accelerated pace of life is a sign of modernity as the German sociologist Georg Simmel explained in 1897 (Simmel, 1992). But how do modern societies vary in the pace of life and load of time pressure? Life in Mediterranean Spain and France appears to be slower than in the U.S. and Japan (Garhammer, 2002b). The U.S. and Japan would qualify as advanced in modernity, Spain as least modern, with Germany, the UK and Portugal falling in between as table 3 points out. This table compares seven nations by means of indicators of the pace of everyday life, i.e. the proportion of overwork (more than 48 weekly hours), total work-free time, the proportion of those who claim to suffer from frequent time pressure and the hours per day devoted to a siesta.

Recent data indicate a growing imbalance between overwork for full-time-employed and zero or marginal part-time-work for millions. There is evidence for increasing hours devoted to paid work particularly in the UK and Germany. The previous standard of 35-40 weekly hours no longer applies to the majority. If one selects the full time employed, workers in the EU reach an average of 44 hours. In Scandinavia and in France with its former policies of a collective shortening of working hours extreme overwork is relatively rare.

Table 3: *Pace of life in modern societies*

	← slower						faster →
Indicators for full-time employed	Spain 96	France 99	Germany 99	Portugal 99	UK 95	U.S. 98	Japan 2000
Overwork: % working more than 48 hours weekly 1998 (2000)	18	12	22	23	23	29	37
Time devoted to personal needs and leisure time per day diaries mean Mon – Sun	15.4	15.2	14.7	14.5	14.8	14.7	14.5
% who claim to suffer from frequent time pressure	11	.	46	45	.	40	26
Hours per day for a siesta mean Mon – Sun	0.7	0.2	0.4	.	0.1	0.1 1985	0.1

Overwork 1998: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions 1998
Other lines: Garhammer 1999, p. 454, Germany 1999 GFK-data 1999
Portugal 1999: Instituto Nacional de Estatistica Portugal 1999 (June 19, 2001)
France: INSEE Premiere 10/1999, No. 675, Enquetes emploi du temps 1999, Table 2 "active occupees hommes"
USA 1993: Robinson and Godbey 1997, USA 1998: according to Bianchi and Robinson 1998
Japan: own calculations based on Mitsuya and Nakano 2001, table 5 and 21 for "jobholders", part-timers included

Spaniards enjoy a slower pace of life than other nations: More Spaniards have the opportunity for a siesta (average of 0.7 hours per day). This premodern pattern of the course of a day is characteristic of Southern European countries with the exception of Portugal. The "geography of time" by Levine 1997 also provides evidence that social life accelerates with modernization. In his comparison of Europe, Northern and Southern America and Asia he found a association between the pace of life and negative health indicators such as the rate of cardiovascular diseases ($r = .35$). The fact that Greeks live about two years longer than wealthier U.S.-Americans can be interpreted along these lines.

However, the growing pace of life did not reduce life satisfaction and happiness in modern societies. Time pressure goes hand in hand with subjective well-being both at country as well as at individual level. There are various answers to this paradox (cf. Garhammer, 2002b): Time pressure may enhance quality of life when it is associated with "eu-stress" (cf. Csikszentmihalyi, 1975 and 2002). However, it reduces quality of life when it leads to chronic *stress*. What is most important in determining whether stress is chronic or not is the extent to which individuals have control over their situation. In one case arousal may become the "spice of life", a challenge not a threat. Subjective well-being may result. When actors lack the sense of control the notion of stress changes: Health and well-being are affected.

Findings are consistent that chronic time pressure in work life is increasing and is associated with psychic and somatic symptoms (Gunthorpe, 2002). As data from the 3rd European Survey on Working Conditions (European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, 2000b) point out widespread stress reactions are restlessness and fatigue. Some experienced depression and anxiety. This work related stress can provoke illness when the demands of the work place are continuously high *and* at the same time the worker has little control on the noxious conditions of his work.

My conclusion from the evidence on time pressure: Even when the majority report high levels of life satisfaction the need to ease the time-burden of specific overworked groups and to down-speed work and social life in general is essential. When speaking about methodological conclusions for QOL-research these arguments support a multi-dimensional system of indicators which goes beyond the output-indicator of satisfaction with life. The description of frequent time pressure and stress-related health problems improves the traditional QOL-measures at country level. A further suggestion is to develop domain-specific measures in work life etc. The programme of the European Foundation to start with monitoring of QOL and living conditions of European citizens in 2003 is a first step towards this goal (www. eurofound. ie).

Gender equality in quality of life

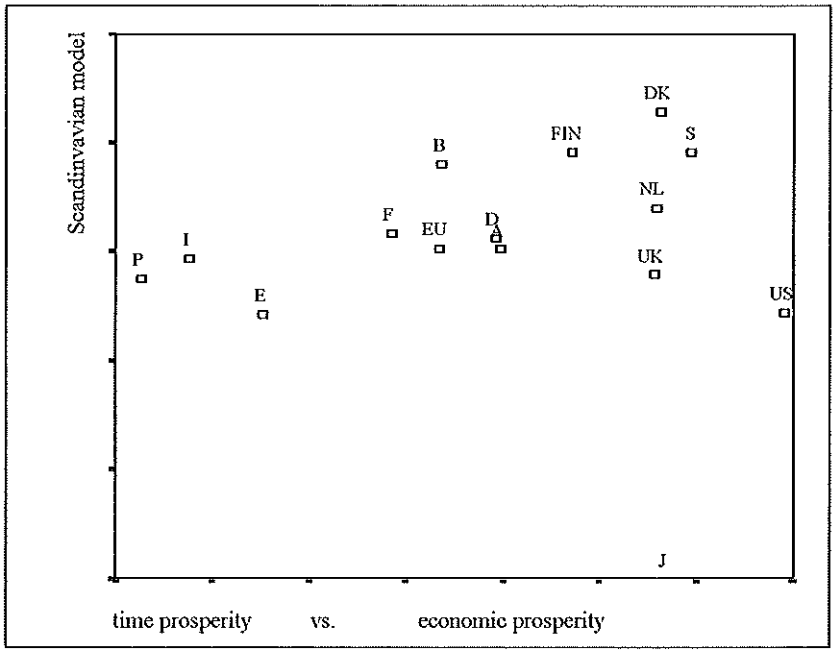
Besides the national aggregate level in economic and time prosperity their distribution amongst women and men is crucial. Hence, my approach includes measures such as the equal burden in domestic work and equal wage. Examining this gender distribution one can distinguish these gender regimes (cf. European Foundation, 2000a). Some authors like Gershuny 2000 argue that the long-term modernization process will lead to a more egalitarian distribution of paid and unpaid work between women and men.

- universal breadwinner model in Scandinavia: A range of welfare institutions (childcare, parental leave provisions, individual taxation system) encourage high employment rates for women and lead to small wage differences between men and women. Next to this is a
- modified male breadwinner model (e.g. in France): equal employment for women is encouraged however female employment rates are lower.
- male breadwinner and woman part-time (Germany, Austria, the Netherlands). Particularly the German model defines child care as a private responsibility of the mother compared to France and Scandinavia where public responsibility is recognized and where exists a much wider reaching full day care. The majority of German mothers of school children would prefer this full day school.
- male breadwinner and dual full-time (Southern Europe): Because of traditional family structures the proportion of households with a male breadwinner is high. There are also many households with two full-time workers. Reasons for the high full-time rate are the low income levels.

Where does Europe stand, where do Germany and France stand?

In order to measure QOL in a country-specific comprehensive index 100 variables were selected according to the theoretical considerations in section 1 on the importance of time prosperity for QOL and following the tradition of the social-indicators-research. An explorative factor analysis of 100 variables lead to three basic factors which explain 59% of the variance between the nations. The model was improved step-by-step through inclusion and exclusion of some variables. The factors can be interpreted as dimensions of economic and time prosperity (annex 2 and 3).

Figure 1 – *Economic prosperity through market work (US, J, UK, NL, S, DK) versus time prosperity (P, I, E)*



Factor analysis on 100 variables
x-axis: economic vs.time prosperity (25%)
y-axis: Scandinavian model (gender equality and social inclusion) (18%)

On this map 14 nations are located by the distribution of time and economic prosperity which may be specific for their culture. On the *horizontal x-axis* one finds the goal conflict between economic and time prosperity. On the one side you have some of the rich nations: U.S., Japan, the UK, Sweden, Denmark and the Netherlands. The most important indicators (according to the factor load of the variables) are the proliferation of personal computers and internet access and of higher educational levels amongst adults.

Beside the ecological costs of economic progress (indicated here by much CO^2-emmission per head) the "dark" side of economic progress are *losses in time prosperity* measured by these indicators:

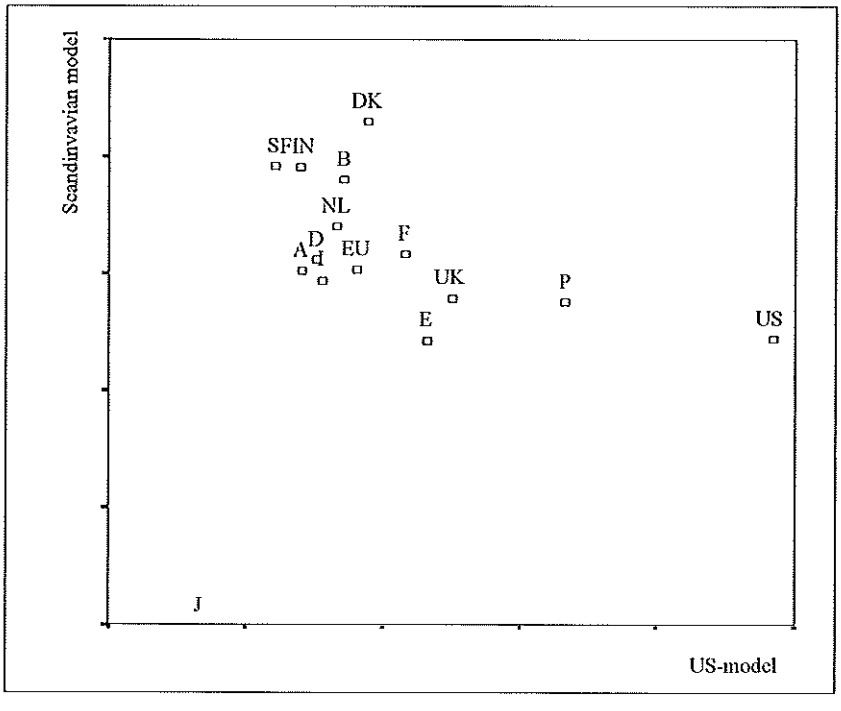
– less time people are able to devote to their personal needs (sleeping, eating etc. based on diary-data)
– more workers whose health status is affected through their work
– higher labour force participation amongst the 55-64-year old
– shorter job tenure which may "corrode" the biographical continuity according to Sennett 1998
– a more liberal regulation of non-permanent contracts as well as of labour markets in general

– a higher proportion of Sunday workers, i.e. the weakening of Sundays as a collective time institution
– surprisingly fewer doctors which usually includes longer waiting times

On the other side of the map one finds the poorer societies of Portugal, Italy and Spain where the "average citizen" may be advantaged in these dimensions of time prosperity. The rest including France and Germany – which come very close to the average of all EU-member states selected here is somewhere in between.

The *vertical y-axis* indicates the *Scandinavian model*: Denmark (followed by Finland and Sweden) lie far apart from Japan. In Japan as well as in Southern Europe *women have less time prosperity.* In Scandinavia women are more supported in housework and family by their partners. The patriarchal division of work in Japan and in Southern Europe is connected to pronounced family values. This strong role of the family may be an independent source of quality of life in the welfare-mix by state, market and families. In Italy and Spain families fulfil the functions of social support and job placing for their children, and they have to do so because youth unemployment is very high here (annex 4).

Figure 2 – *US- vs. European and Japanese model*



x-axis: US-vs. European ans japanese model (esplains 15%)
y-axis: Scandinavian model (gender equality and social inclusion) (18%)

When disposing the third factor which explains 15% of the country-variance Japan (on the left hand) and the US (on the right hand) lie far apart. This illustrates how contradictory the dimensions of prosperity are: Whereas Japan is a rich working society like the US this society has developed an individual cultural model of time prosperity. Part of this are the longest life expectancy world wide and a so far relatively secure employment career.

Where does the European model stand in the distribution of the elements of QOL? As the two maps and the three factors combined in these maps in a different way show the European societies are located between the U.S. and Japan. One can identify a European organisation of social time as opposed to the U.S. and Japan. One can assume that in the U.S. sense of time pressure and restlessness in a non-stop-society are more pronounced.

Economic and time prosperity in four welfare regimes

The factors help to cluster the selected nations which are similar to each other in their social structure and their culture. The affiliation to welfare regimes explains much of the cross-national variation in quality of life. In the final table I summarize how these regimes shape the patterns of quality of life, how they are responsible for a peculiar mix of economic and time prosperity as well of a peculiar gender distribution in quality of life.

The literature classifies welfare regimes according to the extent of de-commodification (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Blossfeld et al., 2002) (high in Scandinavia) i.e. the extent to which the welfare state intervenes in the market to enable citizens to manage their lives in case of losses in their market income. Another feature is the social regulation of the "welfare-mix" i.e. the role of the nation state, of corporations (trade unions and employer's associations) and of families. Market, welfare state, family are allocated in each of these regimes in a distinct way. These patterns correlate to a distinct outcome in economic and time prosperity as well as in a certain gender distribution of time prosperity.

In this table I modified the typologies of Esping-Andersen (1990) and Vogel (1999) and divided four political-economic systems regulating welfare production and gender roles. For most countries the various indicators lead to the same grouping in the liberal, the Scandinavian and the conservative-corporatist regime. This focus on welfare regimes illustrates common features between cultures from different continents, for example between the U.S. and the UK. Their common cultural roots may explain the uneven income distribution and the liberal regulation of labour markets.

However, *globalisation* of social life is going to generalise the American model of de-regulation: Tasks previously provided by institutions are being defined as a private matter. In managing their life and guarding against the risks involved, individuals are placed in a position of responsibility for their affairs inconsiderate against their very distinct means. This dynamic of globalization has changed already various patterns of life-style and life-courses like transitions of youth to adulthood and families (cf. Blossfeld, 2004). This process driven forward by EU-member states calls the European model into question. Europe is approaching the US-model when the catching-up in labour force participation (particularly of the elderly), in de-regulation of markets, in the reduction of years in education and in re-commodification (reform of pension systems) is on the agenda. When life-long working years are extended, when "work not welfare programmes" are going to cancel unemployment benefits for people not willing to accept "reasonable" jobs, this European policies may promote the European economy in its global competition with the US, however it does not promote the quality of life of Europeans.

Table 4 – *Economic and time prosperity in four welfare regimes*

regime	**nation**	**central value of the societal model**	**model for the welfare and gender-regime**	**economic and time prosperity**
Scandinavian	Sweden Denmark Finland Netherlands?	equality	universalism gender equality	economic + time - women +
conservative corporatist	France? Germany Austria Belgium Italy?	equity participation of corporations	status hierarchy subsidiary male breadwinner model	economic + time - women -
liberal	U.S.A. UK Ireland? Portugal?	freedom	self responsibility in the market	economic ++ time - - women + -
Southern European	Spain Greece Italy ?	family values	family solidarity patriarchal model	economic - time + women - -

This paper has given evidence for various stress factors in work life which may arise from these economic pressures. Hence there is a need to re-profile the European model through a *comprehensive time-policy.* Barriers are necessary against acceleration and to secure time prosperity through time institutions. This includes collective working hour reductions as well as individual entitlements to part-time work. Slowing-down of life can be a strategy to enhance the quality of life. Examples from science, from learning activities, from medicine and from traffic suggest that this can promote the quality of life.

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Annex Table 1 : *100 social indicators to measure QOL in cross-cultural comparison*

time prosperity	tvmin kino reisen geschmax laoeff99 jaaz97 urlaub96 feitag97 wazvet98 wazueb96 antmargi overwork stress1 famindex bildauer biljugen schulstd lem95 lew95 jahr60 lifindex temphaup persbed arbbez arbunbez freizeit	26
economic prosperity	bspkopf aequiein hdivalue	3
income equality	niedrigl ratio9_1 armut ginicoef antsoz96 leseklas giniundp quintilr	8
consumer goods	internet tvjew pcew handyew	4
working conditions	mann55 antaltet alo96 alojugen langzeit antunfre antbef00 anttza96 antsamst antsonnt betrzuge antmulet antselb	13
gender equality	equalbur equalwag equalinc antetw96 equalemp gdiundp equalkin	6
welfare regime	streik staataus arztdich arbmarkt arbpolit kuendigu regulier steuer orggew96 orggew95 antdl96 antet97 ausgmili	12
family life	teenager eqfam fruchtba hhgroess steuer	5
education	vorschul vorschu1 zeitung ausgsek ausgedu bilstand antstud eduindex	8
community life & security	associa drugdeat prisoner gewaltde	4
values & life satisfaction	wellbein rational suizid glück zufrie10 zufrileb gloindex	7
environment	urban urban2 cozweiem antunf	4
total		100

Annex Table 2: *Social indicators to measure economic vs. time prosperity (factor 1)*

Protagonists: USA, Sweden, Japan ←→Antagonists: Portugal, Italy, Spain	**Factor load**
Many personal computers per 100 inhabitants	**,893**
Internet-access per 100 inhabitants	**,878**
High proportion of well-educated amongst 25-64-years old	**,870**
Liberal regulation of non-permanent employment contracts	,865
Low proportion of self-employed	-,842
High proportion of well-educated amongst 25-34-years old	,818
Many consider themselves to be happy	,808
High human development index HDI 2002	,800
High gender-related development index 2000	,799
High labour force participation	,795
Low proportion of long-term unemployed	-,782
High GDP per head	,757
High labour force participation of women	,745
More life satisfaction	,739
High proportion of part-time jobs	,735
High proportion of those who are satisfied with their lives	,725
High newspaper release	,718
High proportion of services amongst employment	,710
High proportion of Sunday workers	,675
Extensive work/family reconciliation policies and flexible work arrangements	,661
Low proportion of involuntary part-time jobs	-,636
Many TV-sets	,632
High ratio of the % of employed women 15-64 to the % of employed men	,619
Low proportion of lethal traffic accidents	-,617
Restriction of maximum speed on the motorways	,600
Many 3-year-old children in public child-care	,596
Low proportion of youth-unemployment	-,593
Much CO^{-2}-emmission per head	,593
Low regulation of labour markets	-,585
Little time devoted to personal needs	-,574
Few doctors per 10,000 inhabitants	-,567
High labour force participation amongst the 55-64-year old	,546
Short job tenure	-,541
Few people working on Saturdays	-,511
High proportion of marginal part-time work (< 10 weekly hours)	,509
Low unemployment rate	-,507
Many respondents active members in associations	,502
Low degree of labour market policy	-,481
Many with university degree amongst the younger cohorts	,465
Many <5-year-old children in public child-care	-,453
High proportion of urban population	,416
Many whose work affects their health status	,355
High expenditure for secondary schools	,344

Annex Table 3 : *Social indicators to measure the Scandinavian model of gender equality and social inclusion (factor 2)*

protagonists: Denmark, Sweden, Finland ←→ antagonists: USA, Spain, Japan	**Factor load**
Few overworked people (> 48 weekly working hours)	**-,870**
Gender equality: women´s /men´s income	**,864**
High social expenditure (% of GDP)	**,804**
Less daily time devoted to occupational needs (diaries)	**-,783**
Gender equality: high ratio of men´s time to women´s, full time, child < 5	**-,775**
Ranking in globalisation-index	-,743
Many mothers with children < 6 working	,730
Large public sector	,717
Gender equality: high ratio of men´s time to women´s, both full time	,716
Less weekly working hours	-,707
High public education expenditure as % of GNP	,703
Low average temperature	-,690
High "secular-rational authority"-index (Inglehart)	,686
High education index 2000 UNDP	,684
A 5-year-old-child can expect many years of education	,659
Many paid days of vacation	,646
Many organised in unions	,642
Low average household size	-,610
Many with second or third job	,566
Lower life expectancy of women	-,557
Lower earned income level, relative to average production workers, for both full time employed couples, caused by separate taxation system (compared to joint system)	-,556
More trips abroad	,534
Lower labour participation of 55-64-year old men	-,530
More regulation in case of Kündigungsschutz OECD-index	,498
Less weekly workin hours	-,434
More daily leisure-time (diaries)	,381
Less public holidays	-,150

Annex Table 4: *Social indicators to measure the US-model (factor 3)*

US-model: protagonists: US ←→antagonists: Japan - between: Europe	
More teenager mothers	**,877**
High income inequality: quintile-ratio: richest 20%/poorest 20% 1997	**,868**
High income inequality: gini-index	**,852**
More cinema goers	**,831**
More prisoners per 100.000 people	**,804**
Income inequality: 9th decile earnings/1st decile earnings for full-time workers	,765
High probability at birth of not surviving to age 60	,721
Well-being-Values (Inglehart 1997)	-,712
Income inequality: poverty (< 50% of median-equivalent income)	,675
High military expenditure as % of GNP	,672
Income inequality: full-time workers earning less than two-thirds of full-time median	,656
Shopping round-about-the-clock	-,598
Lower life expectancy of men	-,586
More drug-related deaths	,558
Higher birth rates	,551
Longer yearly working hours	,548
Longer daily TV viewing time	,536
High social status difference in "reading skills" of 15-years-old pupils PISA	,530
However: less mobile phones per 100 inhabitants 2000 !	-,492
More murders per 1 mio. inhabitants	,474
Less suicides per 100.000 inhabitants	-,437
High proportion of non-permanent contracts 2000	,415
More strike days 2001	,325
More unpaid work per day (diaries)	,318

Extraktionsmethode: Hauptkomponentenanalyse.
Rotationsmethode: Varimax mit Kaiser-Normalisierung.