

Trends in Time

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The Use and Organization of Time
in the Netherlands, 1975-2000

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Preface

Time use studies in the Netherlands

Studying how people spend their time by means of time use surveys was first taken up in the Netherlands in the 1930s, when the Institute for Employee Development conducted a survey into the way in which employees use their time (Blonk et al. 1936). In the 1950s and 1960s Statistics Netherlands (CBS) conducted a number of large-scale surveys into 'free time use' (CBS 1957-1959, 1964-1966).

The Social and Cultural Planning Office of the Netherlands (SCP) has been involved in a Dutch Time Use Study together with a number of other institutions since 1975. In the survey the respondents keep a diary over a seven-day period recording what they were doing (every 15 minutes) and where they were (at home, somewhere else – their place of residence or elsewhere). In addition a detailed questionnaire was completed. This time use survey has been repeated in virtually unchanged form every five years since 1975. The data lend themselves particularly well to the analysis of trends.

Each five-year fieldwork round has been written up in the form of an SCP report. A total of six studies have now been completed. The findings from the 1975 survey were reported in the study *Een week tijd / A week in time* (Knulst 1977). Later studies are *Waar blijft de tijd? / Where does time go* (Knulst & Schoonderwoerd 1983), *Tijd komt met de jaren / Time comes with the years* (Knulst & Van Beek 1990), *Tijdopnamen / Time recordings* (De Hart 1995), *Naar andere tijden? / Towards other times?* (Van den Broek et al 1999) and *Trends in de tijd / Trends in time* (Breedveld & Van den Broek, eds., 2001). In addition, more thematic studies based on the time use data were published, such as *De meerkeuzemaatschappij / The multiple choice society* (Breedveld & Van den Broek 2003), while time use data were used also in reports on the decline of reading, on the rise of ICT, on sport, on mobility and on women's liberation. Wim Knulst, at present professor of Leisure Studies at Tilburg University, deserves credit for initiating and cultivating the SCP involvement with time studies. The authors of the present study acknowledge their debt to him.

To date, no comprehensive study of time use in the Netherlands has been published in English, although presentations have been given at international conferences, especially the annual meetings of the International Association for Time Use Research (IATUR). It is to be hoped that this publication, based on the 2001 SCP report, will convince the international readership that the Dutch data are not just collected, but also analysed.

Paul Schnabel
General Director SCP

1 Introduction

What does time tell us?

1.1 Time will tell

'Time will tell' the maxim goes, which is used when events are still unfolding. The how or what are not yet clear, but in retrospect it will be possible to determine what took place. This may be regarded as stating the obvious but, equally, may be viewed as an incentive to look back and to reflect and draw lessons from the passage of time.

Time has much to tell us. Analysis of time use and timing of activities is a fruitful if comparatively little used approach towards identifying social structures and change. Everyone has 24 hours a day and 168 hours per week at his or her disposal. Patterns in the way in which people spend their time provide an insight into differences in how people live, such as the time use patterns of double-earners as compared with those of people in less busy types of households. Changes in time use provide information on social developments, such as the changing roles of the sexes. The activities people undertake, when they do so and how the roles are divided are all reflected in time use. For this reason the way in which time is used helps us understand how society is organised and changing.

This study deals with the use and organisation of time in The Netherlands over the 1975-2000 period. To the foreign reader, this study may fulfil one or more of three functions. First, it informs about change and stability in the Dutch society in that period. In doing so, secondly, it may give the foreign reader a way of comparing the Dutch experience to developments in his or her own country. And thirdly, it may convince the reader of the richness of time use data as a source of information for describing and analysing patterns and changes in society.

1.2 *What does time have to tell us?*

There is of course prior knowledge from other sources as to what societal changes were taking place that might have affected the use of time. The time use data to be presented are not the only source of information about societal change. Other sources already point to a number of societal changes that may have altered the use of time. By way of general introduction, nine such changes are mentioned here. Those (partly related) changes include increased participation in paid employment, in the final quarter of the last century especially by women, changes in the size and the composition of households, policy changes, the rise of the leisure market and the declining impact of Christianity.

One important change was the rapid increase in the number of jobs after the recession of the 1980s (table 1.1). As this increase outpaced the growth of the population, this implies that by 2000 a greater proportion of the population was performing paid employment. This points to increased busyness, which, with respect to Flanders, was aptly described as ‘a mobilised society’ (Elchardus 1996). In the course of this study, it will become clear whether this state of mobilisation affects the timing of activities, and, if so, how.

Table 1.1 Population and working population (≥ 12 hours per week, 15-64 year olds), by sex, 1975-2000 (in thousands)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Index (1975=100)
Population	13,599	14,019	14,454	14,893	15,424	15,864	117
Working population	4,744	4,881	4,811	5,644	6,063	6,919	146
men	3,481	3,508	3,342	3,686	3,814	4,164	120
women	1,236	1,372	1,469	1,958	2,249	2,755	223

Source: CBS (<http://statline.cbs.nl>)

Secondly, the rise in jobs implied more than just a rise in quantity. A qualitative change was also involved, in as much as a great deal of that rise entailed increased female labour market participation (table 1.1). Of the 2.1 million additional jobs since 1985, no fewer than 1.3 million (or just over 60%) were held by female workers. Compared with the size of the population, the male labour force participation rate in 2000 hardly exceeded that in 1975. Clearly, a similar observation does not hold for female labour market participation. Taking the growth of the population into account, female participation almost doubled (+ 90%). This suggests that the 2000 state of mobilisation may not only have altered the timing of activities but also the social structure.

A third important change occurred with regard to average household size, in the form of the advent of the one-person household (table 1.2): the share of one-person households within the total number of households rose from a fifth in 1975 to a third in 2000. This was reflected in a fall in the average number of people per household.

Table 1.2 Number of households (in thousands) and average household size, 1975-2000

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Index (1975=100)
Number of households	4,561	5,006	5,613	6,061	6,469	6,801	149
number of one-person households	883	1,085	1,556	1,813	2,109	2,272	257
number of multi-person households	3,678	3,921	4,057	4,249	4,360	4,529	123
Average number of persons per household	3.0	2.8	2.5	2.4	2.4	2.3	77

Source: CBS (<http://statline.cbs.nl>)

The advent of the one-person household implies that greater numbers of people had to perform household activities and that fewer people benefited from a partner running the household (cf. Knulst & Van Beek 1990). The fact that household tasks were facilitated thanks to ongoing technological advances in the form of washing machines, dishwashers and microwaves could be nullified at aggregate level because more people were required to perform those tasks.

At the interface of the labour market and household composition, the growing labour market activity rate of women brought about a fourth change: the advent of the double-earner household, at the expense of the traditional breadwinner household. The multi-person household did not just lose ground to the one-person household (table 1.2) but also changed in nature. The increase in female labour force participation meant a progressive increase in the number of households in which both partners were in paid work (table 1.3). In the final quarter of the last century, the proportion of single-earner households among couples dropped from two-thirds to a quarter.

Table 1.3 Couples by number of partners in paid employment, 1977-2000 (in percentages)

	1977	1985	1990	1995	2000	Index (1977=100)
Single-earner households	65	55	44	33	24	37
Double-earner households	35	45	56	67	76	217

Note: 2000 figures provisional.

Source: CBS (<http://statline.cbs.nl>)

Apart from the increase in the activity rate and the change in household composition, government intervention provides a fifth form of circumstantial evidence of a rearrangement in activities and in the use of time. In 1996, two pieces of legislation were introduced that involved a liberalisation of the temporal regime. Partly in order to strike a new balance between work and people's private lives in the new types of households, the new Working Hours Act came into force on 1 January 1996, followed on 1 June by the Shopping Hours Act.

The Working Hours Act provided for less rigid working hours. Saturday became an ordinary working day, Sunday work is permitted up to 39 times a year and from time to time employers may depart radically from standard working hours. The Act is designed to promote the competitiveness of the private sector and the ability to combine work and care. In an economic sense globalisation and increasing competition were responsible for the desire to introduce greater flexibility into the labour market, while in a social sense there was a desire to fit in more closely with the change in household types.

The Shopping Hours Act meant a liberalisation of shopping hours. As of June 1996 shops may open between 6 am and 10 pm from Mondays to Saturdays, without

any limit on the total number of opening hours per week. The rule that shops should in principle be shut on Sundays and public holidays is hedged about by all sorts of escape clauses, the most important being that municipalities can provide dispensation on twelve Sundays and Public Holidays a year. The Shopping Hours Act was an attempt by the government to do justice to 'modern working and living patterns' and also to contribute towards the integration of ethnic minorities and the emancipation of women.

The latter policy goal has been on the government's agenda since the early 1970s. During the 1970s and 1980s the goal of the emancipation of women was viewed primarily in terms of promoting the female activity rate. In the 1950s and 1960s there was a clearly defined division of labour between the sexes in the Netherlands: for most women running the household was their primary activity, while men generally brought in the family income. As late as the 1950s, marriage provided automatic grounds for the dismissal of women from the public service, including teachers. On the one hand the role of housewife was a sign of a certain level of prosperity: women did not need to work in order to supplement the family income. From the 1960s onwards, however, women – especially young women – began to regard this role as a gilded cage, resulting in the 1970s onwards in a policy orientation towards the social emancipation of women, aimed in the first place at their participation in the labour force. Only later did the government pay attention to measures designed to facilitate the combination of paid employment and household tasks. Ideas concerning a different breakdown of household and care tasks among the sexes, i.e. a greater responsibility for care among men, generally got no further than optional scenarios, with the exception of the expansion of parental leave. A number of measures were, however, taken in order to facilitate the combination of tasks, including greater childcare, the expansion of maternity and parental leave, and the liberalisation of shopping hours. The latter was designed to reduce the probability that working singles and double-earners would find the shops closed when going home after work.

A sixth change that may relate to the way the Dutch spend their time is the professionalisation of leisure services. Although this is hard to pinpoint, since leisure is not an item in the economic statistics, it has been argued that the context of leisure shifted from the domain of private associations towards the domain of private firms operating in a leisure market. This view is expressed in a number of studies (in Dutch) by the Leisure Studies Department at Tilburg University (e.g. Mommaas 2000). A good example, of the rise of market-mediated leisure opportunities, reflecting also the Dutch climate, is that the Netherlands has the highest number of indoor skiing slopes in the world, all of which are run as private businesses. The rising numbers of private sports facilities (especially swimming, fitness and squash), television networks and entertainment parks all point in the same direction, as does the increased capital intensity of leisure time. After correction for inflation, leisure time expenditure per

head rose by approximately 75% over the 25-year period studied here (see Chapter 4 below).

The rise of the leisure market points to two other changes: increasing wealth and the decreasing impact of religion on other domains of social life. The leisure market was able to develop as financial and social barriers melted away. As regards the financial aspect, incomes dropped in the mid 1980s, but increased again markedly afterwards (table 1.4). In 2000, incomes were 18% higher than in 1975 and 32% higher than in 1985. The rise in leisure expenditure since 1975 (+75%), then, exceeds that in income (+18%). The part of income spent on leisure has, therefore, evidently been on the increase.

Table 1.4 Standardised income per household (controlled for inflation and family size), 1975-2000 (in euros, 2000 prices)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Index (1975=100)
Standardised income	15,857	16,162	14,234	16,327	17,814	18,788	118

Source: CBS (<http://statline.cbs.nl>)

As regards the erosion of social barriers, three aspects of de-Christianisation may be discerned. First of all, fewer people report that they belong to a denominational group and fewer people regularly attend meetings of the group they belong to (table 1.5)

Table 1.5 Religious affiliation (membership of a denominational group) and church involvement (attendance of meetings of a denominational group at least once a month), population aged 18 and over, 1975-2000 (in percentages)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Index (1975=100)
Religious affiliation	74	74	69	62	60	60	81
Church involvement	39	38	33	28	24	23	59

Source: CBS (<http://statline.cbs.nl>)

In addition, there has been the process of ‘depillarisation’. For many decades, Dutch society was organised along confessional and ideological lines. During this period of ‘pillarisation’, Dutch society was segmented into distinct pillars, each of which integrated various spheres of life from the perspective of its own particular world view – Protestant, Catholic and social-democrat (Lijphart 1968). These pillars fell apart from the late 1960s onwards. In this process of depillarisation, the role of worldviews in social, associational and daily life dwindled (Middendorp 1979, Bax 1990), which also affected leisure (Beckers & Van der Poel 1989, Knulst 1989).

The third face of the waning impact of Christianity on social life is related to international patterns of migration. With Islam, a competing religion was introduced in

the Netherlands. In terms of time, adherents of this faith have a different religious weekly cycle, with Sunday having no special significance.

A ninth domain of change is that of information and communication technology (ICT). Whereas the Internet was embraced by only a small avant-garde in the first half of the 1990s, an ever-growing number of people ventured onto the electronic highway in the second half of the decade. In 2000 some 70% of Dutch households had mobile telephones and PCs and roughly half had access to the Internet. In 1975 these now almost commonplace items were of course still unknown.

The chances are that the rapid advent of new ICT applications in the 1990s (especially in the latter half of the decade) affected the way in which people use and organise their time. New information and communication technologies are able to contribute towards a more flexible arrangement of time. People are able to work, communicate or collect information where they want at the times they want. At the same time, the large-scale adoption of innovation also indicates that innovation can be effectively fitted into existing patterns.

At a somewhat more abstract level, the increased labour market opportunities for women, the varied composition of households, the liberalisation of legislation concerning working and shopping hours, the advent of the leisure market, the declining impact of Christianity and new forms of ICT are all conducive to greater individual freedom. With the decline in influence of previously authoritative institutions in society, people were more at liberty to arrange their careers and daily lives as they saw fit. This 'informalisation of social interaction' (Wouters 1990) or 'value abstraction' (Zijderveld 1988) has increased individual freedom of choice. People's careers increasingly resemble a DIY project or multi-choice biography (Du Bois-Reymond 1992), suggesting increased variation in the use of time.

On the other hand, the fixed patterns of time use, such as the gender-based social roles and leisure-orientation of evenings and the weekend, are unlikely to be eroded overnight. Furthermore, the increased participation in paid work may well imply more disciplined rather than more flexible time use patterns.

Although largely descriptive in nature, this study can be read as an account of the temporal consequences of the growing orientation towards work in a mobilising society, in which there are fewer formal rules, more leisure options have been opened up and technology has made possible advanced forms of communication. The extent to and respect in which time use (i.e. the time taken up by activities) and the organisation of time (i.e. the timing of the activities) have been subject to change are examined in the light of the time use data.

1.3 Outline of the time use survey

The Dutch time use survey reported on here has been conducted at five-yearly intervals since 1975. It consists of two ways of gathering data. Time use data are collected by means of a diary in which respondents record their main activity in each quarter of an hour over the period of a full week in October, with the aid of a precoded list of activities. Before and after that week, additional information about respondents is gathered by means of extended questionnaires. After six successive cross-sections, the total number of respondents, aged 12 and over, amounts to 15,000.

One-day time use surveys among a larger sample scattered over the various days of the week would also yield an overall view of activities of the population throughout a week, but they would not allow connecting what a person does on one day to what that same person is engaged in on another day. With a view to being able to study people's activities throughout the course of a week, the choice was made to make respondents report their time use during a full week.

To reduce the risk that the measurements are affected by some event in the week in which the fieldwork is being conducted, half the respondents kept track of their time use in the first week of October and the other half in the second week. Situated between the summer holidays and the school half-term break, early October was selected as the best period for carrying out the fieldwork. It offers the possibility of recording peoples' activities during 'an average working week', characterised neither by typical summer pastimes nor by specific winter conditions. Though the data set is believed to represent 'a regular week', it does not cover the entire year. As a result, issues such as the incidence of specific summer and winter activities, the population's favourite holiday pastimes or the yearly duration of paid work are beyond the scope of this Time Use Survey.

The information about peoples' activities is gathered by asking them to report their main activity per 15-minute interval by indicating in which of over 200 precoded activities they were involved. This list of activities was inspired by the international Time Use Study of Szalai et al. (1972). Furthermore, the place where people undertook a particular activity was assessed by asking respondents whether that quarter hour was spent at home, in their place of residence or elsewhere. Some activities, such as the use of mass media, were asked about as a secondary activity too.

Taken together, these time use data on the 1975-2000 period in the Netherlands constitute an internationally unique time series. Precisely because this series stretches back much longer and is rooted in a national time use studies tradition, regrettably, these data also differ from guidelines for conducting time use research that were developed in Eurostat in the 1990's (Eurostat 2000). The main differences are that the SCP Time Use Study uses a week-diary, collected in October, among individuals, with 15 minute intervals and a precoded list of activities, whereas the Eurostat guidelines suggest a two-day diary, collected year round, preferably completed by all household

members, using 10 minute intervals and a system of self-reporting (or naming) of activities.

To date, the possibility to study national trends has been considered more important than the possibility to make international comparisons precisely along those guidelines. As revealed by past (Eurostat 2003) and upcoming publications, however, this has by no means completely obstructed international comparison.

See: www.tijdsbesteding.nl for full information in English on the time use survey, including the instruments used (the diary, the precoded list of activities and the two questionnaires) as well as a detailed report on such issues as response rates and the impact of weather conditions.

The design of this time use survey, where diaries have to be filled out for a full week and in a particular week, is demanding for both respondents and surveyors. The under-representation of certain groups due to non-response has been counted by weighting the research data by sex, age, occupational status, degree of urbanisation, size and type of household and place in household. The research populations are representative of the Dutch population aged 12 and over in respect of these characteristics. This is not the case with respect to ethnic background, and ethnic minorities are underrepresented in the survey.

The strength of measuring reported time use in this way is that it provides information on time use rather than on opinions or ambitions regarding the use of time. It enables us to estimate how much time respondents spend on a given activity, what they did before and afterwards, how often they are involved in it, whether that was at home or away from home, and on what day of the week and at what time of day it took place. Repeated time use surveys such as the ones reported here lend themselves particularly well to showing whether and how societal changes affect people's daily lives (Robinson & Converse 1972).

In the case of both the changes in time use over time and the differences in time use between groups, it has been analysed whether these could be due solely to chance. The report does not always mention whether these differences are statistically significant. The reader may instead assume that statistically, the changes between measurement years and differences between groups that are discussed in the text are most unlikely to be due to chance. A confidence interval of 95% has consistently been used.

1.4 Outline of this report

The arrangement of this report is as follows. The obligatory activities of work, care and study, and the resultant leisure time budget, are examined in chapter 2. This chapter also deals with sleeping and eating (i.e. personal time) and mobility, i.e. travel. The timing of activities is discussed in chapter 3, which analyses the extent to which Sunday has remained a special day and the extent to which collective rhythms and individual routines have managed to survive. Chapters 4-9 focus on free time. Chapter 4 does so in a general sense, while the succeeding chapters zoom in on spe-

cific types of leisure activities. Chapter 5 is concerned with family life and social contacts, chapter 6 with social participation (voluntary work, unpaid help, church attendance), chapter 7 with media and ICT use, chapter 8 with going out (visits to catering establishments, cultural activities and sporting events) and chapter 9 with sport and exercise. The conclusions are summarised in chapter 10.

2 The Time Budget

The time taken up by commitments, recuperation and travel

2.1 The time budget in broad terms

The most general classification of the enormous number and diversity of activities undertaken by people is obligatory time, personal time and free time. Obligatory time comprises occupational, educational and household activities. Personal time covers meals (except eating out in free time), personal care and sleep. The remaining time is free time.

Over the years there has been a switch between these three principal time-use categories (table 2.1). Since 1985 the amount of time taken up by commitments has risen by over three hours a week. After an initial decline, as much time was once again set aside for personal time in 2000 as in the initial measurement years. Together these two trends meant that there had been a substantial reduction in 2000 in the weekly amount of free time (two and a half hours less than in 1995, over four hours less than in 1985).

Table 2.1 Obligatory, personal and free time, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000
(in hours per week)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Obligatory time	40.7	40.8	40.7	42.0	42.6	43.9
Personal time	76.3	76.8	75.3	75.5	75.0	76.6
Free time	47.9	47.0	49.0	47.2	47.3	44.8

Note: the three categories do not add up exactly to 168 hours since certain activities cannot be assigned unambiguously to any one of the main categories.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Table 2.2 Obligatory time by type of commitment, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000
(in hours per week)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Employment (paid work)	14.8	14.0	14.1	16.6	17.3	19.4
Care (and household tasks)	19.1	19.5	19.4	18.5	18.9	19.0
Education	6.7	7.3	7.2	6.9	6.4	5.5

Note: employment stands in this report for paid work and caring for members of the family and the household. Care is some times also referred to as housework or household tasks.

Source: SCP (TUS)

The increase in commitments since 1985 is due to the increase in employment time. Since then the time spent on work in a week in October has risen on average by over five hours. In 2000 approximately the same amount of time was spent on household and care tasks as in earlier measurement years, while the time taken up by education had fallen slightly (table 2.2).

Such shifts in average behaviour may disguise two differing forces. On the one hand there may be changes in the population structure, for example because the population is ageing or because the number of young people is declining ('dejuvenation'). The shifts in the composition of the population can therefore affect average behaviour even though there are no changes in behaviour within the various population groups. On the other hand shifts in average behaviour may be due to the fact that (large groups of) people have changed their behaviour over the course of time, for example because greater numbers of women began working or because of changes in the use of free time. Such compositional and behavioural effects need to be taken into account in interpreting changes.

In practice, however, the situation is often less clear than the above distinction between these two types of change might lead one to suspect. This applies in two respects. In the first place compositional and behavioural effects can cancel each other out. Beneath the surface of unchanged average behaviour two opposing forces may be at work behind the scenes, for example if the number of pensioners is rising and the shrinking labour force has to work harder. Secondly, the differences between the two types of effect are not always entirely clear in practice. If more women start working but on average work shorter hours, the growing number of women in employment may be regarded as a compositional effect and the decline in their hours worked as a behavioural effect.

This chapter examines the developments in obligatory and personal time against this background. Together these two forms of time use set limits on the free time budget at people's disposal. Travel is also analysed. Employment (§ 2.2) and care (§ 2.3) are examined in turn, as well as the combination of the two (§ 2.4), followed by education (§ 2.5) and the time-pressure of total commitments, in both an objective and a subjective sense (§ 2.6). Analyses of personal time (§ 2.7) and travel (§ 2.8) complete the chapter. Free time is discussed in chapter 4.

2.2 Employment

Paid work is not valued merely in financial terms, but also both as an end in itself and as a means toward other goals. As regards work as an end in itself, eight out of ten workers derive part of their life-satisfaction from work, while no fewer than seven out of ten say they would continue working if it were no longer a financial necessity (Ester & Vinken 2001). As a means toward other goals, participation in the labour process was long the focal point in policies aimed at the emancipation of women. Paid work

certainly does not lack social appreciation, although question marks have been set against the numerous functions that paid work is assumed to have (De Beer 2001).

The striking increase in the average hours worked since 1985 is entirely attributable to the increase in labour force participation since that date (table 2.3). The share of the population aged 20 to 65 working 12 hours or more during the research week rose by 15 percentage points from 48% in 1985 to 63% in 2000.

The growth in labour force participation stemmed in particular from the larger numbers of working women. The rise in the number of females in employment leaped from 25% in 1985 to 47% in 2000, exceeding that among males (a rise from 69% to 80%). The female activity rate has risen in each measurement year since 1975, including the recession of the 1980s. In the case of males the activity rate fell during the recession, before later recovering. In 2000 the male activity rate was just 3 percentage points higher than in 1975, while among females the activity rate was no fewer than 30 percentage points higher in 2000 than in 1975.

More hours were worked in 2000 because more people were working, not because people were working longer hours. On the contrary: the individual amount of time worked by the working population in fact fell slightly. Once again it is the female element of the labour force that sets the pattern: the greater inflow into the labour market of women, who on average worked 10 hours less per week than men, led to a slight decline in the average hours worked per person in employment.

Table 2.3 Average hours worked^a (in hours per week) and activity rate (≥ 12 hours of paid work in research week, in percentages) in an average working week in October, population aged 20-64, 1975-2000

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Length of working time	17.7	17.2	17.3	19.0	20.4	22.5
men	29.2	26.9	26.3	27.8	29.9	31.1
women	6.1	7.1	8.1	9.9	11.3	14.5
Activity rates (≥ 12 hours)	48	47	48	53	56	63
men	77	71	69	72	76	80
women	18	22	25	32	36	47
Hours worked per employed person (≥ 12 hours)	36.2	35.4	35.3	35.3	35.4	34.4
men	37.9	37.4	37.6	38.3	38.9	38.6
women	29.1	28.5	28.8	28.3	28.5	27.5

a Excluding commuting time.

Source: SCP (TUS)

In order to obtain an impression of the distribution of paid work over the population, the amount of time taken up by paid employment has been broken down according to five personal characteristics. Apart from sex these are age (we are dealing here again with the population aged 12 and over), position in the family, level of education and position in the labour market (table 2.4). The distribution of paid work over the sexes

has already been discussed, as has the fact that the number of hours worked by those in employment has declined.

The classification by age throws up a number of special features with regard to the overall growth in employment activity. The growth in the number of hours worked since 1985 was borne by all three age groups within the potential labour force. The preceding recession saw a decline in the level of employment activity among both younger (20-24 years) and older (50-64 years) people. The employment activity of the median age group rose in all years. Outside the age limits of the potential labour force, the average hours worked of the over 65s and young people (12-19 years) have risen again recently after an initial decline.

Table 2.4 Employment by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population ≥12 years	14.8	14.0	14.1	16.6	17.3	19.4
Sex						
male	23.7	22.1	21.6	24.5	25.4	26.8
female	6.1	6.1	6.8	8.8	9.7	12.2
Age						
12-19 years	8.2	5.5	4.0	6.3	4.6	7.4
20-34 years	23.2	22.0	21.8	24.2	26.7	28.4
35-49 years	18.9	19.8	21.1	23.4	24.0	27.7
50-64 years	15.1	12.6	11.9	11.8	13.2	17.9
≥ 65 years	1.3	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.8	1.6
Family position						
living with parents	13.3	10.2	10.3	14.4	12.1	11.8
living alone	5.2	6.4	9.4	12.2	14.2	16.9
with partner without children	14.6	14.1	12.7	14.5	17.4	20.0
parent without child/children living at home	17.7	17.5	18.3	20.4	21.2	23.4
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	14.4	13.3	11.7	12.9	11.6	13.0
senior secondary	13.7	14.5	16.0	19.5	19.2	21.6
tertiary	21.4	18.5	20.2	20.9	24.6	25.6
Labour market position						
employed	33.4	31.6	33.0	33.8	34.6	33.7
non-employed ^b	1.7	1.6	1.5	2.5	2.1	3.2

a Current or completed education.

b Including housewives working part time, schoolchildren, students, invalid persons and pensioners.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Viewed in terms of family position, the growth in paid work applied especially to those living alone, followed by cohabiters. Employment activity is highest among parents of children living at home, in which respect it needs to be borne in mind that the group of couples without children (living at home) also contains many over

65s. The growing labour force participation of parents with children living at home leads one to suspect that the family agenda has come under further pressure (see also chapter 5).

2.3 Care tasks

Tasks must also be performed in the informal sector of people's own households. As has already been seen, the time taken up by care tasks has remained virtually constant over the years (table 2.1).

Beneath the surface, however, a large shift has taken place (table 2.5), in the form of an exchange of care tasks between the sexes. Over the years men have gradually begun to perform more care tasks and women fewer.

Table 2.5 Care tasks by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population ≥ 12 years	19.1	19.5	19.4	18.5	18.9	19.0
Sex						
male	8.6	9.3	10.3	10.4	11.3	12.0
female	29.5	29.5	28.3	26.5	26.2	25.7
Age						
12-19 years	6.0	7.1	5.5	5.5	4.7	4.5
20-34 years	21.2	20.3	20.0	17.9	17.1	18.4
35-49 years	22.4	23.7	23.6	22.7	23.2	21.4
50-64 years	21.9	21.5	22.0	20.0	21.4	19.9
≥ 65 years	24.3	24.1	22.9	22.4	23.5	23.9
Family position						
living with parents	6.8	6.9	6.1	6.2	6.1	6.6
living alone	25.7	21.6	20.6	18.2	17.8	18.9
with partner without children	20.2	18.5	19.1	18.1	18.0	17.9
parent without child/children living at home	24.7	25.8	26.3	24.5	25.9	25.6
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	20.6	21.2	22.2	21.5	22.3	22.3
senior secondary	13.2	13.2	15.4	16.0	17.3	17.3
tertiary	16.5	14.6	15.3	15.2	15.3	16.4
Labour market position						
at school/studying	6.0	6.6	6.1	6.5	5.9	5.7
working	11.5	13.7	14.2	14.0	15.3	16.5
household activities	37.4	37.6	37.2	35.7	36.3	34.7
unemployed/incapacitated	14.9	18.4	19.1	18.8	22.0	24.7
retired	19.6	16.8	18.0	19.7	20.3	23.3

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

At the level of individual household tasks, the household division of roles assumes more concrete form (table 2.6). Men became more closely involved in preparing meals and (fathers) in childcare, and to a lesser extent in shopping and cleaning. In the case of cooking, shopping and child care, men accounted for a third of the time taken up in 2000, and in respect of polishing a quarter. Women cut back on preparing meals and cleaning but not on shopping. Mothers set aside more time for childcare.

Table 2.6 Selected care tasks^a by sex, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Preparation of meals, washing up						
all	6.4	7.1	6.9	6.4	6.1	6.1
men	2.3	2.8	3.2	3.4	3.5	4.0
women	10.5	11.3	10.5	9.4	8.5	8.2
Shopping						
all	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.0	3.2	3.3
men	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.5
women	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.8	3.9	4.0
Cleaning						
all	5.6	5.1	5.4	4.8	5.0	4.8
men	1.7	1.6	2.4	2.1	2.4	2.4
women	9.5	8.6	8.3	7.4	7.5	7.0
Childcare ^b						
all	4.6	5.0	5.0	4.8	5.3	6.2
men	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.9	4.0
women	6.7	7.0	7.1	6.9	7.4	8.0

a Not including travel time.

b Of parents with children living at home.

Source: SCP (TUS)

In the midst of their highly busy lives, people did not cut back on child care: within the total package of household tasks, parental attention to the care of their children grew from 1990 onwards, especially after 1995 (see also chapter 5).

2.4 The combination of work and care

The blueprint of the breadwinner household was based on a far-reaching division of roles, in which the housewife concentrated on looking after the household and family while the husband earned a living. The advent of the two-income household and single householders meant that this pattern became less common. Within the population aged 20-64 years (the combination of paid work and care applies less at other ages) the proportion of people combining substantial professional commitments (≥ 12 hours of work per week) with substantial household commitments (≥ 12 hours of care per week) grew steadily (table 2.7).

The percentage of ‘task-combiners’ (Knulst & Van Beek 1990) rose during the period 1975-2000 from 12% to 33% (the percentages depend on the threshold values selected but the trend does not). Since more people – especially women – began to work, this growth comes as no surprise, any more than the fact that the combination of tasks grew more rapidly among women than among men.

The fact that task combination took off more among women may be explained by the combination of two developments that have already been looked at separately: female participation in paid employment rose more rapidly than male activity in the household sphere. More and more women are now in paid employment, whereas women still account for the larger part of household work. The ‘harmonious inequality’ (Van Stolk & Wouters 1983) may recently have been reversed to some extent, but on account of the ‘flawed emancipation of women’ (Van den Akker et al. 1994) has by no means been fully put right.

Table 2.7 Task-combination (at least 12 hours of paid work and 12 hours of household work in the research week), by background characteristics, population aged 20-64, 1975-2000 (in percentages)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population aged 20-64 years	12	15	19	21	26	33
Sex						
male	11	13	18	17	23	27
female	13	16	21	25	28	39
Age						
20-34 years	13	20	22	22	28	34
35-49 years	11	15	22	26	31	42
50-64 years	12	7	10	10	15	20
Family position						
living with parents	9	9	7	7	9	13
living alone	17	14	22	20	24	26
with partner without children	15	18	20	22	23	26
parent without child/children living at home	10	14	20	23	31	43
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	12	14	17	17	20	24
senior secondary	14	20	22	26	29	40
tertiary	11	19	23	22	29	34
Labour market position						
employed	19	24	33	33	39	43
non-employed ^b	3	2	2	3	4	8

a Current or completed education.

b Unemployed working housewives, schoolchildren, students, invalid persons and pensioners.

Source: SCP (TUS)

The combination of tasks became more prevalent among all age groups, but most of all among 35-49-year-olds. The combination of tasks is particularly common among parents with children living at home. The presence of such children largely prevents

this group from offsetting the increase in labour force participation by cutting down on care tasks. Whether the boom in task combination among this group springs from the desire to arrange life in this way or from the inadequate possibilities for combining work and care more effectively cannot be established on the basis of these data. The fact that the combination of tasks can be problematical is evident from the fact that task-combiners more frequently feel rushed than do non-task-combiners (see § 2.5). The combination of tasks is commonest among those with secondary education.

The commitments of task-combiners may be divided into a principal task and a subsidiary task: those for whom the household is the principal task also perform paid employment, while those who chiefly work also perform household activities. The time taken up by the subsidiary task provides a yardstick for the extent to which people combine tasks. For double-earners, in particular, the subsidiary task is often a substantial one, especially in the case of women. In addition male breadwinners also take responsibility for some of the household tasks (table 2.8).

Over the course of the years the amount of time taken up by the principal task has remained virtually unchanged at around 36 hours per week. The subsidiary task, by contrast, has progressively taken up more time. As in the case of task combination, this growth has accelerated recently. Taken across the board, the subsidiary task grew during the period 1975-1990 by half an hour a week every five years. During the period 1990-1995 the growth amounted to an hour, and in 1995-2000 to over an hour and a half.

Table 2.8 Time taken up by the subsidiary task^a by type of household, population aged 20-64, 1975-2000 (in hours per week)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population aged 20-64	4.4	4.9	5.5	6.1	7.2	8.9
Young people						
people living at home up to age 40	3.9	4.8	4.2	4.7	5.2	6.1
single householders up to age 40	-	5.7	7.4	6.8	7.9	8.5
Women forming household with partner						
housewives ^b	1.0	0.7	0.7	1.3	0.8	2.3
double-earners	-	11.5	13.3	13.7	14.2	15.4
Men forming household with partner						
breadwinners	5.8	6.3	7.6	7.5	8.2	9.0
double-earners	6.2	7.3	8.3	8.6	10.2	10.2

- Insufficient cases.

a Least time-consuming task: paid work or household activities.

b Among women who describe themselves as housewives there are also some who perform a modest amount of paid work.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Double-earners, in particular, take on a substantial subsidiary task. When asked many turn out to consider that it will become simpler in the future to combine work

and care; people have particularly high expectations in respect of part-time work, paid care leave and childcare facilities (Ester & Vincken 2001). Whether this optimism is justified only time will tell.

2.5 Education

Since 1985 the average amount of time taken up by education among the population aged 12 and over has fallen steadily. After 1995 the decline continued at an accelerated pace (table 2.9). The initial slight rise in and subsequently constant education time of 12-19-year-olds indicates that this is not due to a fall in education or a less serious approach by students. The reason for the declining education time needs instead to be sought in what is known in demographic circles as dejuvenation: the proportion of young people and hence the share of students in the population has been falling. In addition the share of those in education within the group of 20-34-year-olds (15% in 1995 versus 11% in 2000) has been falling as a result of the cut-down in course duration. Finally the time spent on education fell among those employed in that age group (from an average of 3.0 hours in 1995 to 2.3 hours in 2000). One reason could be that the heavy demand for labour provided less of an incentive for further training in one's own time; another reason could be that a higher proportion of the education and training took place during official working hours and was consequently entered in the diary records as working time.

Table 2.9 Time taken up by education, by age, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population ≥ 12 years	6.7	7.3	7.2	6.9	6.4	5.5
Age						
12-19 years	28.3	30.9	33.6	35.2	35.5	35.1
20-34 years	3.5	5.0	5.2	5.8	5.1	4.3
35-49 years	1.3	1.6	1.3	1.9	1.3	1.5
50-64 years	0.4	0.7	0.7	0.8	1.1	0.9
≥ 65 years	0.1	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6

Source: SCP (TUS)

A more detailed analysis of the education time of secondary school students equally provides no evidence that less time was devoted to education (table 2.10). On the contrary, there even appears to have been an increase in education time among the youngest group of students, although the increase is not statistically significant. Among 16-19-year-old pupils and students, by contrast, the time taken up by education has seen a decline, evidently in response to the (statistically significant) increase in time taken up by their jobs on the side, but again this decline is not statistically significant. It will be clear that where groups consist of a relatively small number of cases, as in

this instance, the observed differences are unlikely to be statistically significant, so that it is not easy to establish any trends. It is however clear that the average decline in education time after 1995 should not be attributed to any decline in education time among students.

Table 2.10 Time taken up by education and paid work among students, by age and education, population age 12-19 years, 1975-2000 (in hours per week)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Education						
12-15 years	36.6	35.5	36.8	39.8	39.7	41.2
16-19 years	34.0	35.4	36.1	36.3	35.6	33.4
Paid work						
12-15 years	1.4	1.9	0.6	1.0	0.9	0.6
16-19 years	6.2	2.9	3.1	5.9	3.9	11.5

Source: SCP (TUS)

2.6 Time-pressure

Participation in the labour process and hence the time taken up by paid work has been increasing since 1985. Since the time spent on care has remained virtually unchanged, and the fall in education time has lagged behind the increase in time at work, the time taken up by total commitments has also increased. In 2000 people aged 12 and over spent over three hours a week more on work, care and education than 15 years before. Over one hour of this increase has taken place since 1995.

This section examines differences between the various population groups as regards the time-pressure created by people's total commitments. Apart from this objective time-pressure, the question of subjective time-pressure is also discussed, about which questions were asked for the first time in the 2000 edition of the Time Use Survey (table 2.11).

Both men and women became busier but men slightly more so. On balance the gap between men and women in respect of total commitments narrowed slightly in 2000. In that year the average man was somewhat busier than the average woman – a reversal of the situation in 1985 when the economy was in recession. The somewhat lower time burden of women – which may appear contra-intuitive – is attributable to the large number of housewives, especially in the older age group.

Broken down by age, the time-pressure of commitments rose universally during 1985-2000, the least so among 50-64-year-olds. Among those aged under 65 the increase amounted to four hours a week or more. Those in the 20-50-year-old life-cycle stage were consistently the busiest, followed by young people. Over 50 and again over 65 the average amount of time taken up by commitments consistently fell by quantum leaps of over 10 hours a week. The observation in the title of one of the

time-use reports that 'Time comes with the years' continues to apply over the course of people's lives.

Similarly in terms of family position there has been a general increase in time-pressure. Parents with children living at home are (again) the busiest group in this respect, followed by children living at home. The fact that single householders and cohabiters without children lag behind in this respect is attributable to the over 65s in their ranks.

Table 2.11 Objective time-pressure (work, care and education commitments, in hours per week, 1985-2000) and subjective time-pressure (feeling 'stressed' on one or more days of the survey week, in percentages, 2000), by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over

	objective time-pressure (in hours per week)				subjective time-pressure (in percentages)
	1985	1990	1995	2000	2000
Population aged ≥ 12 years	40.7	42.0	42.6	43.9	47
Sex					
male	39.8	42.1	43.7	44.6	43
female	41.6	42.0	41.6	43.2	50
Age					
12-19 years	43.1	46.9	44.8	47.0	46
20-34 years	47.0	47.9	48.9	51.1	58
35-49 years	46.0	48.1	48.6	50.6	54
50-64 years	34.6	32.7	35.7	38.7	40
≥ 65 years	24.4	23.6	25.0	26.0	23
Family position					
living with parents	43.4	47.3	44.5	46.3	49
living alone	33.2	35.0	35.1	37.7	43
with partner without children	34.1	35.1	37.4	39.2	42
parent without child/children living at home	45.6	46.3	48.4	50.2	51
Level of education ^a					
primary/junior secondary	38.6	38.7	38.8	39.4	36
senior secondary	43.2	45.4	44.6	47.0	47
tertiary	44.5	44.7	46.4	46.3	56
Labour market position					
at school/studying	43.4	46.1	44.3	47.1	46
working	48.9	50.0	52.0	51.7	54
household activities	38.4	37.7	37.7	37.4	42
unemployed/incapacitated	23.3	26.5	26.2	28.4	43
retired	20.1	21.1	21.7	25.8	24
Task combination					
does not combine any tasks	38.4	39.4	39.4	39.8	41
combines work and care ^b	55.0	55.9	55.9	56.3	53

a Current or completed education.

b At least 12 hours of paid work and 12 hours of household work in the survey week.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Within the three education levels distinguished the increase in time-pressure was the most marked in the middle category. In terms of labour market position the pressure of work did not increase most notably among the employed, although this does not detract from the fact that the growth in the number of people in employment has contributed to the growing time burden: those in employment are under the most time-pressure, so that an increase in the proportion of employed persons necessarily implies an increase in the number of extremely busy people. A similar effect applies in the case of task-combiners: the increased time burden is caused not so much by the fact that task-combiners have become busier in the longer term as by the rising share of this busy group in society.

A new element in the time budget survey diary in 2000 was that respondents were asked to state whether they had felt 'not at all', 'somewhat' or 'appreciably' stressed each day. The intention behind this sevenfold question was to indicate not just the extent to which people were busy but also the extent to which they felt busy. In the analysis presented here, the results concerning this subjectively experienced time burden have been reduced to the dichotomy as to whether or not people felt stressed during one or more days in the survey week. Nearly half the population reported that they had felt stressed on at least one day.

In the absence of the ability to draw comparisons with other measurement years, the distribution of this percentage among the population is more important than its precise level. The distribution generally is related to the objective time-pressure and, generally in the same way as that objective time-pressure, to background characteristics.

Busy people more often stated that they felt stressed on one or more days than people with few commitments. Task-combiners more frequently indicate that they feel stressed than those not combining any (substantial) tasks. Similarly within the various age categories distinguished, a higher incidence of subjective time-pressure is reported in those age groups facing a higher level of commitments. The same broadly applies to the positions within the family and in the labour market.

In respect of level of education and, to a lesser extent, sex, the relationship between objective and subjective time-pressure is by contrast less clear-cut. Although men on average in 2000 found that commitments took up somewhat more time, women more frequently reported one or more pressurised days. One explanation for this could be the fact that women often find themselves more mentally burdened with all sorts of care tasks (do children need a new coat, who's coming to mind the child, etc.). Another explanation could be that women are more inclined than men to express feelings of dissatisfaction, while men keep these to themselves.

Similarly when it comes to the breakdown by level of education, there is no one-to-one relationship between objective and subjective time-pressure. The group with the lowest level of education experiences the least time-pressure in both an objective and a subjective sense. The two more highly educated groups are subject to greater

time-pressure and find that commitments take up an almost equal amount of time. Nevertheless a substantially higher proportion of the most highly educated report feeling stressed on one or more days per week than the median education group. This is not attributable to the newness of the recent increase in time-pressure, for in that case it would be the median group that reported the highest objective time-pressure. Nor does the cause lie in the percentage of task-combiners, as this is in fact somewhat lower among the most highly educated group (table 2.7). Within their package of tasks the most highly educated find that paid work takes up somewhat more time, and it is possible that this, to a greater extent than other commitments, leads to feelings of being pressured. It may also be that the type of work performed by the highly educated is more conducive to stress than other types of work. At the same time, however, the possibility cannot be excluded that on account of the often superior positions they hold down, the more highly educated are accustomed to articulating their dissatisfaction with a particular state of affairs or are more sensitive to the way society is moving: in the years running up to the fieldwork in 2000, being 'busy, busy, busy' was a much discussed and status-enhancing buzzword.

2.7 Personal time

The broad heading 'personal time' covers activities in relation to the maintenance of the human body: sleeping, eating and daily care in the form of dressing, washing and so on. Up to and including 1995 there were slight variations in the time set aside for these activities, with the long-term trend showing a slight decline. That decline came to an end in 2000 (table 2.12).

In 2000 1.6 hours or 2% more space was set aside for personal time than in 1995. This increase applied to virtually the same extent among all population groups. Those devoting comparatively little time to themselves were those in employment, 20-49 year-olds and parents with children living at home. Women set aside more time for themselves than men. Generally speaking the situation in 2000 approximates that in the first measurement years.

Table 2.13 shows how the abstract category of 'personal time' is composed of the three subcategories of sleeping, eating (at home) and personal hygiene.

**Table 2.12 Personal time by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000
(in hours per week)**

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population ≥12 years	76.3	76.8	75.3	75.5	75.0	76.6
Sex						
male	75.6	76.5	74.8	74.6	73.6	75.3
female	77.0	77.2	75.7	76.4	76.3	77.9
Age						
12-19 years	78.1	78.7	78.8	77.9	78.5	80.0
20-34 years	72.7	73.9	73.1	74.0	73.8	75.4
35-49 years	75.2	75.2	73.1	72.9	72.5	74.0
50-64 years	77.2	78.0	76.0	75.9	75.3	77.1
≥ 65 years	81.5	81.9	78.5	81.3	78.8	80.2
Family position						
living with parents	76.8	78.0	77.7	77.1	77.7	79.1
living alone	76.1	76.4	75.1	75.5	75.4	76.9
with partner without children	78.7	78.9	76.5	77.6	75.9	77.1
parent without child/children living at home	74.7	75.3	73.3	73.5	73.1	74.9
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	76.8	77.7	76.0	77.3	76.4	78.5
senior secondary	75.2	74.5	74.9	74.5	75.4	76.0
tertiary	74.4	73.3	73.1	72.6	72.2	74.7
Labour market position						
at school/studying	78.0	77.9	77.7	76.9	77.2	78.7
working	73.9	74.7	72.9	72.8	72.5	74.2
household activities	77.0	77.4	75.4	77.0	75.6	78.9
unemployed/incapacitated	80.4	78.1	77.4	77.1	78.5	80.9
retired	80.6	82.9	78.7	80.6	78.8	79.6

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

**Table 2.13 Aspects of personal time, 1975-2000, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000
(in hours per week)**

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Sleeping	60.5	60.5	59.4	59.7	59.4	60.9
Care	5.6	5.9	5.8	5.9	6.1	5.9
Eating (at home)	10.3	10.5	10.0	9.9	9.5	9.9

Source: SCP (TUS)

The recent increase in personal time turns out to be accounted for largely by an increase in the amount of time people spend sleeping (+1.5 hours). In addition more time was devoted to eating at home (+0.4 hours), while in 2000 people set aside somewhat less time for personal hygiene, dressing and making themselves up (-0.2

hours). The same applies to the increase in sleeping between 1995 and 2000 as to the increase in personal time, namely that this occurs to virtually the same extent among various groups of the population (table 2.14). The decline in the amount of time set aside for personal hygiene and the greater time devoted to eating at home also appear to apply to virtually all population groups. These minor differences are however not generally statistically significant within the smaller categories. Both in 1995 and 2000 the amount of time devoted to eating at home rose with age.

Table 2.14 Personal time by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995-2000 (in hours per week)

	sleeping		personal hygiene		eating (at home)	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population ≥ 12 years	59.4	60.9	6.1	5.9	9.5	9.9
Sex						
male	58.3	59.7	5.7	5.4	9.6	10.1
female	60.4	62.0	6.5	6.3	9.4	9.6
Age						
12-19 years	64.9	66.5	5.9	5.6	7.7	7.9
20-34 years	59.0	60.7	6.1	6.0	8.7	8.7
35-49 years	56.7	57.7	5.7	5.8	10.1	10.5
50-64 years	58.9	60.9	6.2	5.7	10.2	10.6
≥ 65 years	61.4	63.0	6.8	6.2	10.8	10.9
Family position						
living with parents	63.5	64.7	6.2	5.9	8.1	8.4
living alone	60.0	62.1	6.8	6.3	8.6	8.5
with partner without children	59.7	60.6	6.2	5.9	10.0	10.6
parent without child/children living at home	57.1	58.8	5.6	5.7	10.4	10.4
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	60.5	62.3	6.1	5.8	9.9	10.3
senior secondary	59.6	60.3	6.2	6.0	9.6	9.8
tertiary	57.3	59.6	5.9	5.8	9.0	9.3
Labour market position						
at school/studying	63.6	65.0	6.1	5.8	7.5	8.0
working	56.9	58.6	5.9	5.8	9.8	9.9
household activities	59.8	62.3	6.0	5.8	9.8	10.8
unemployed/incapacitated	62.6	65.1	6.6	5.9	9.3	9.9
retired	61.3	62.7	6.7	6.3	10.9	10.6

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

The increase in sleeping is striking and calls for further investigation. Five possible explanations have been examined. The first is that the increase in sleeping may be related to the Olympic Games in Sydney, which ended on the first day of the first diary week. An increase in sleeping could therefore indicate that people were making good

the sleep backlog from staying up late at night to watch the Olympic Games in the weeks before. This explanation would hold good if the increase in sleeping applied only to the first of the two diary weeks and not to the second week, which began a week after the end of the Olympic Games. This was not however the case, so this cannot be the explanation.

A second possibility is that people need more 'recovery time', i.e. that people need longer to recuperate after work on account of the stressful nature of modern life and the growing burden of work. Although superficially plausible with a view to the increase in labour force participation, workloads and task combination, this explanation does not suffice, in that it is difficult to explain on the basis of the recovery thesis why the over 65s and housewives also spent more time on sleeping.

A third possible explanation holds that the increase in sleeping reflects the declining interest in new television programmes. Shortly before the fieldwork of 1995 a number of new channels came on air. It is possible that these had lost their novelty value by 2000 and that people were no longer inclined to watch television until late at night. The figures do indeed indicate that people went to bed earlier in 2000, without getting up any later (cf. 3.3). While this does not prove this explanation it certainly does not refute it either.

A fourth possibility is that the increase in time spent sleeping was related to the weather conditions in 2000. The two survey weeks in 2000 were substantially colder and wetter than in 1995. An analysis of the influence of weather on a number of selected activities indicates that the increase in sleeping could be attributed to this factor, at least in part. Of the 1.5 hours extra sleep, 0.4 hours could be explained by the weather (cf. www.tijdsbesteding.nl). The weather does not however provide an adequate explanation as to why people slept more on weekday nights. One would expect that the weather would have little effect on work and education commitments and would therefore have little influence on sleeping patterns during the week.

A fifth and final possible explanation holds that the increase in sleeping was related to the number of ill respondents in the survey weeks in 2000. This is certainly so up to a certain point. In 2000 the proportion of people who stayed at home sick for one or more days was 8.5%, compared with 5.7% in 1995. A comparable increase in sickness absence has also been recorded in other sources. A comparison of respondents who did not report being sick during the survey week indicated an increase in sleeping time of 0.9 hours, i.e. less than the average increase of 1.5 hours. Just like the weather the greater number of days that people remained home sick provides a partial explanation for the increase in sleeping time.

2.8 Travel

In order to go to work, school or shopping or reach leisure-related destinations, it is generally necessary to travel, if only for a short distance. The travel time must be deducted from the time available for other activities. Travel time, mode of transport

and reason for travel are discussed in turn below (see Batenburg & Knulst 1993 and Harms 2003 for more comprehensive analyses of travel data from the time use survey).

During the period 1975-1995 the total volume of travel time in an average week rose consistently. The average weekly travel time grew over these 20 years by nearly two hours, from 6.6 hours per week in 1975 to 8.5 hours in 1995 (table 2.15). This growth then came to a (provisional?) end, an observation that is also substantiated by comparable findings from the specialised Travel Behaviour Survey.

The less pronounced increase in the travel time of the less well educated implies that existing differences by level of education had become even wider in respect of travel in 2000.

**Table 2.15 Travel by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000
(in hours per week)**

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population ≥ 12 years	6.6	6.8	7.1	7.9	8.5	8.4
Sex						
male	7.4	7.4	7.6	8.3	8.8	8.8
female	5.9	6.2	6.7	7.5	8.2	8.0
Age						
12-19 years	7.5	7.9	7.9	9.0	8.9	9.4
20-34 years	7.4	7.7	8.0	8.7	9.7	9.6
35-49 years	6.2	6.4	7.3	7.8	8.3	8.6
50-64 years	6.2	6.4	6.4	7.3	8.0	7.7
≥ 65 years	5.2	4.6	5.5	5.8	6.8	6.6
Family position						
living with parents	7.8	8.2	8.3	9.4	9.8	10.1
living alone	5.9	6.5	6.9	7.6	8.2	8.0
with partner without children	6.1	6.4	7.0	7.4	8.4	8.1
parent without child/children living at home	6.3	6.3	6.8	7.6	8.1	8.2
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	6.3	6.4	6.5	6.9	7.3	6.9
senior secondary	7.8	8.1	7.7	8.6	8.7	8.9
tertiary	8.3	8.3	8.8	9.3	10.2	10.0
Labour market position						
at school/studying	7.7	8.3	8.4	9.8	10.0	9.8
working	7.9	7.5	7.8	8.3	8.8	9.0
household activities	4.7	5.2	5.9	6.4	7.5	6.7
unemployed/incapacitated	5.3	6.5	6.5	7.4	7.5	7.5
retired	6.1	5.4	6.0	6.7	7.7	7.0

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

In their diaries the respondents are able to assign travel time to work, school, household or leisure. Over the course of the years leisure generally formed the most important reason for travel (table 2.16). At the same time, however, the increase in travel time for leisure purposes has displayed the least growth over the years. Both travel to and from work and school and travel for household purposes grew more rapidly. During the period 1995-2000 travel to and from work and school rose, while travel for the two other reasons declined.

Table 2.16 Travel by reason and transport mode, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Total travel	6.6	6.8	7.2	7.9	8.5	8.4
Reason for travel						
school/work	2.2	1.9	2.2	2.5	2.5	2.9
household activities	1.8	2.5	2.1	2.5	2.8	2.5
leisure	2.6	2.3	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.0
Transport mode						
car	2.9	3.3	3.5	3.8	4.2	4.7
public transport	1.0	0.9	0.9	1.2	1.1	1.0
cycle/moped, scooter or on foot	2.8	2.5	2.8	2.9	3.1	2.7

Note: travel in free time refers to travel for the purpose of another leisure activity, not to walks and cycle rides as an aim in themselves: see chapter 9).

Source: SCP (TUS)

The mode of transport was also noted down in the diaries. An analysis of these data indicates that the growth in travel time (+1.8 hours) is wholly accounted for by passenger cars (table 2.16). The share of the car in total travel time rose from 43% in 1975 to 56% in 2000. Since the travel time by public transport or other transport mode was unchanged in 2000 as compared with 1975, this means that all the additional travel time took place by car. Between 1995 and 2000 an extra half an hour was spent travelling by car, at the expense of both other forms of transport.

The increase in auto mobility after 1995 was more marked among men than women (table 2.17), thereby increasing the existing difference between men and women as regards the use of the car. Women travel more than men on foot or by bicycle/moped. The car is also the favoured means of transport among employed persons, and remained so in 2000. Better educated people make more use of both the car and public transport than the less well educated and travel approximately equally as much by slower means of transport. Young people, young adults and the over 65s make particular use of public transport. Young people, pupils and students often travel on foot or by bicycle, moped or scooter.

Table 2.17 Transport by mode of transport and background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995-2000 (in hours per week)

	car		public transport		bicycle, moped, scooter, on foot	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population ≥ 12 years	4.2	4.7	1.1	1.0	3.1	2.7
Sex						
male	4.8	5.5	1.1	1.0	3.0	2.4
female	3.7	4.0	1.2	1.1	3.3	2.9
Age						
12-19 years	1.8	2.0	1.8	2.0	5.4	5.4
20-34 years	5.1	5.5	1.7	1.4	2.9	2.6
35-49 years	4.7	5.6	0.6	0.6	2.9	2.4
50-64 years	4.4	4.8	0.7	0.8	2.8	2.1
≥ 65 years	3.2	3.6	1.0	1.0	2.6	2.1
Family position						
living with parents	2.9	3.1	2.3	2.1	4.6	4.9
living alone	3.4	3.3	1.7	1.6	3.1	3.1
with partner without children	4.9	5.4	0.9	0.8	2.6	1.8
parent without child/children living at home	4.8	5.5	0.5	0.5	2.8	2.3
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	3.5	3.8	0.8	0.7	3.1	2.5
senior secondary	4.5	4.9	1.0	0.9	3.3	3.0
tertiary	5.2	5.7	2.0	1.7	3.0	2.6
Labour market position						
at school/studying	1.9	1.9	2.8	2.5	5.3	5.4
working	5.6	6.0	0.8	0.9	2.4	2.1
household activities	3.3	3.7	0.8	0.5	3.4	2.5
unemployed/incapacitated	3.3	3.5	1.0	0.7	3.2	3.2
retired	3.9	3.7	0.9	0.9	2.9	2.3

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

2.9 Conclusion: increase in busyness

Between 1975 and 2000 Dutch people (aged 12 and over) found life had become busier, a trend that set in 1985. During this period the total time devoted to commitments in relation to work, household and family care and study rose by over three hours per week.

The growth in busyness since 1985 was wholly accounted for by the increase in time taken up by paid work. Per head of population (aged 12 and over) the time spent on paid employment rose by over 5 hours per week during that period. Somewhat less time (-0.4 hours per week) was devoted to household tasks in 2000 than in 1985,

while the time taken up by education fell somewhat more sharply (-1.7 hours per week).

The increase in work time was wholly due to a rise in labour force participation. People in employment did not work harder but more people joined their ranks. The proportion of employed persons among 20-64 year-olds rose from 48% in 1985 to 63% in 2000. The rise was particularly marked among women, from 25% to 47%. The average time worked per employed person fell slightly during that period, from 35.5 to 34.4 hours per week.

The busiest groups throughout the period were 20-49 year-olds, people in work, parents with children living at home and task-combiners. The combination of these characteristics indicates that many people experience a busy period at that stage of their lives – a period characterised by our teacher Knulst as ‘the rush hour of life’.

The distribution of household and family care between men and women gradually became more equal after 1975. Nevertheless these tasks were not yet equally shared in 2000. In 1975 women spent 21 hours per week more on household and care tasks than men; in 2000 this difference had been reduced by a third to 14 hours a week. Women still account for over two thirds of these tasks. A more equal division of household and family tasks and in the labour market implies a larger element of the population had to combine work and care in 2000. Task combination is coupled with both more objective and more subjective time pressure. Task-combiners are busier and feel busier than people who concentrate (primarily) on a single task.

‘Obligatory time’ has risen steadily since 1985. In addition ‘personal time’ returned to its former level in 2000 after an interim decline. Together obligatory time and personal time set limits on the available free time. The steady growth in obligatory time and the recent growth in personal time have accordingly resulted in a decline in leisure. Since 1985 the (temporal) leisure budget per head of population has fallen by over 4 hours. Two and a half hours of this decline occurred between 1995 and 2000. The consequences of the tighter leisure budget for leisure activities, family life and social participation will be explored in chapters 4-9.

3 The Organisation of Time

More liberal regulations, resistant regime

3.1 Liberalisation of working and shopping hours

There are various reasons for assuming that the organisation of time was subject to change in the final quarter of the last century. A number of factors suggesting such a change were mentioned in chapter 1, including the change in (female) labour market participation, the changing composition of households, changing government policy and the rapid advent of ICT. The consequences for the use of time by the growing number of double-earners and task-combiners have already been discussed in chapter 2.

Partly with this in mind, the strict regulation of working and shopping hours was relaxed in the course of the 1990s. Working hours were relaxed as from 1 January 1996, followed by a liberalisation of shopping hours on 1 June 1996. The new Working Hours Act meant more flexible limits on working hours. Since then Saturday has become an ordinary working day, Sundays may be used as a working day up to 39 times a year and standard working hours may be significantly varied on an ad hoc basis. The Shopping Hours Act made it possible for shops to stay open from 6am to 10pm from Monday to Saturday, without any limit on the total number of opening hours per week. The former law governing shopping hours was introduced during the inter-war years in order to protect shopkeepers and shop assistants from having to work excessive hours. In principle shops remain closed on Sundays and public holidays, but there are so many escape clauses that in practice the principle is a flexible one. The municipalities are for example permitted to grant dispensation on 12 Sundays and public holidays and divergent provisions apply for example to shopkeepers in tourist locations and to railway and petrol stations.

At the same time, the notion that major changes suddenly took place in the timing of activities needs to be qualified. As it was, the earlier Working Hours Act already provided room for employment at 'odd' or 'divergent' hours (meaning: outside weekdays and office hours), for example on Saturdays, even if only sporadic use was made of this. In addition it needs to be borne in mind that the government only lays down the parameters within which employers and employees decide on working hours. An extension of those parameters does not necessarily mean that full use is made of the new possibilities. The same applies to shopping hours and ICT. The extension of shopping hours and the new possibilities opened up by ICT make it possible for people to organise their time more flexibly. Whether people in fact make use of those opportunities depends on other factors, such as the need for a fixed and identifiable daily schedule and the need to fit their activities in with those of other people.

The question is therefore to what extent the recent liberalisation of shopping and working hours has in fact been coupled with changes in people's time regime and

changes in the organisation of time, interpreted here as the days on and times at which activities are undertaken. Consideration is to begin with given to the timing of paid work and housework, based around the distinction between daytime and evenings during the week, night-time and weekends (§ 3.2). This is followed by an examination of the use of the ‘new’ shopping hours (§ 3.3). Finally the organisation of time is examined in greater detail by an analysis of collective rhythms and individual routines. In the case of collective rhythms the question concerns the extent to which various citizens have maintained the same daily and weekly patterns. In the case of individual routines the concern is not with the similarities in the daily patterns of various groups of citizens but with the extent to which individual daily patterns stay much the same from day to day (§ 3.4). In contrast to the previous chapter the concern is not with the amount of time that people devote to activities but with the timing of those activities on the various days of the week and hours of the day.

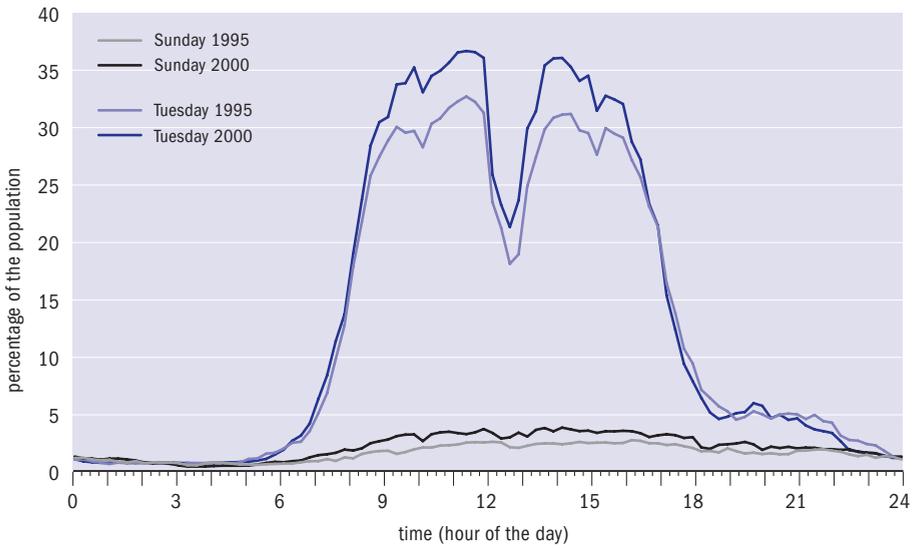
3.2 *The timing of paid work and household activities*

In the Time Use Survey respondents noted down what they were doing every quarter of an hour. This detailed time-record makes it possible to monitor the pattern of participation in activities throughout the course of each day. As will be discussed later on, a modest increase in paid work outside office hours took place between 1975 and 1995, although at the same time the majority of people’s work remained concentrated in mornings and afternoons during the week. To a greater extent than paid work, household activities shifted to the evenings and weekends. Figure 3.1 and 3.2 show participation in paid work and household activities on the Tuesday and Sunday of the research weeks in 1995 and 2000. The choice of Tuesday is based on the fact that that day is widely regarded as a typical weekday.

The pattern of working in 2000 does not differ greatly from that in 1995. People generally start work between 7am and 9am, taking a lunch break between noon and 1pm before returning home between 4pm and 6pm. Not many people continue to work after 6pm and, in particular, after 10pm. People worked somewhat more on Sunday in 2000 than in 1995, but still significantly less than on Tuesday. In comparison with paid work, the household tasks run on for longer into the evening and make greater inroads into Sunday leisure.

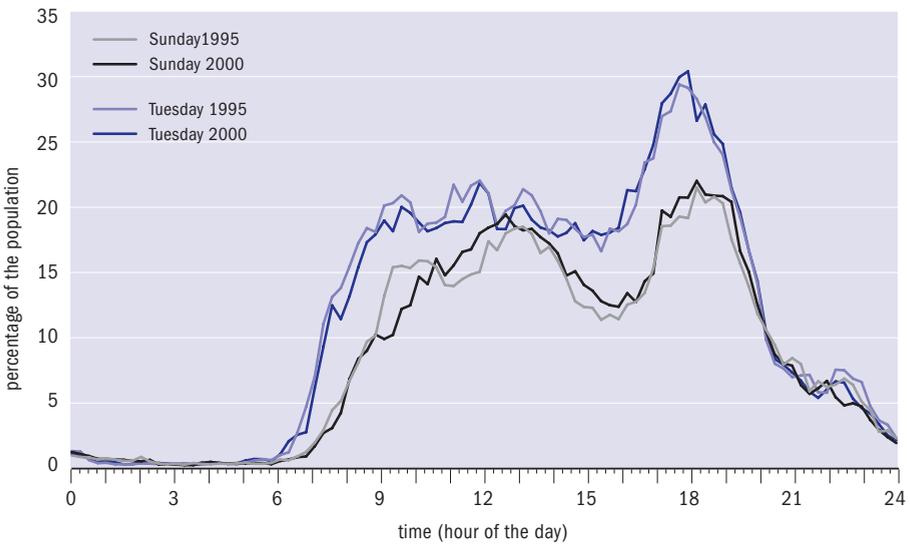
Such ‘chronograms’ provide a helpful picture of the course of an activity over one or two days in one or two years, but suffer from the disadvantage that the inclusion of more days and years necessarily reduces the readability of the figures. The path taken by the lines in the graphs moreover fails to provide any impression of the numerical shifts in the use of time. For this reason the distribution of paid work and household tasks over the various days of week has also been shown in tabular form (table 3.1 and 3.2). The trend since 1975 will also be discussed later (table 3.3).

Figure 3.1 Work on Tuesdays and Sundays, population aged 12 and over



Source: SCP (TUS)

Figure 3.2 Household activities and care on Tuesdays and Sundays, population aged 12 and over



Source: SCP (TUS)

To begin with it has been established what percentage of the population aged 20-64 performed two or more hours paid work or housework in each part of the day (table 3.1) As in 1995 paid work in 2000 was highly concentrated in weekday mornings and afternoons (cf. Breedveld 1999). Nearly half that element of the population worked at these times in 2000. On weekday evenings and during the day on Saturday 5-10% were at work, and on Sunday and Saturday evening 2-3%.

The growth in labour participation was concentrated between 1995 and 2000 on the traditional parts of the day and not on the 'divergent' or 'odd' hours. The participation rate in the labour process during the day on weekdays grew from 42% in 1995 to 47% in 2000. Similarly there was little if any increase in the proportion of people working in the evening during the week and at weekends. The Dutch 'jobs machine' of the late 1990s has evidently continued to generate work primarily at traditional times. Other Dutch publications also point to the persistence of the concentration of paid work during the day on weekdays.

Table 3.1 Timing of paid work during the course of the week, proportion of the population working at least two hours during the part of the day referred to, population aged 20-64, 1995-2000 (in percentages)

	1995				2000			
	night (00-06 hrs)	morning (06-12 hrs)	afternoon (12-18 hrs)	evening (18-24 hrs)	night (00-06 hrs)	mornings (06-12 hrs)	afternoon (12-18 hrs)	evening (18-24 hrs)
Sunday	1	3	4	2	1	4	5	2
Monday	1	43	44	6	1	47	48	5
Tuesday	1	44	44	7	1	51	50	6
Wednesday	1	44	42	6	1	49	47	6
Thursday	1	44	44	8	1	49	51	8
Friday	1	40	39	5	1	44	43	6
Saturday	1	9	9	2	1	9	8	3

Source: SCP (TUS)

In both years Friday stood out to some extent on account of the relatively low participation in the labour process. Although there was also increased labour activity on Friday, it was somewhat lower than on other weekdays. But precisely because labour activity also increased on Friday that day bore less rather than more of a resemblance to a weekend day. Contrary to earlier predictions about a much shorter working week, there are as yet no signs of a four-day working week.

Similarly the majority of household tasks are performed during regular working hours, although the concentration in that period is less than that in the case of paid work and there tends to be more spillover into the evenings and the weekend. In both years the household activity peak time was Saturday afternoon, while in contrast to paid work the household continued to demand attention on Sunday (table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Timing of household activities during the course of the week, element of the population performing at least two hours of housework during the part of the day referred to, population aged 20-64, 1995-2000 (in percentages)

	1995				2000			
	night (00-06 hrs)	morning (06-12 hrs)	afternoon (12-18 hrs)	evening (18-24 hrs)	night (00-06 hrs)	morning (06-12 hrs)	afternoon (12-18 hrs)	evening (18-24 hrs)
Sunday	0	11	25	7	0	10	26	8
Monday	0	27	40	8	0	25	35	9
Tuesday	0	26	35	8	0	20	33	8
Wednesday	0	25	36	8	0	21	34	10
Thursday	0	25	36	11	0	22	34	12
Friday	0	27	39	11	0	25	39	12
Saturday	0	30	53	5	0	28	55	6

Source: SCP (TUS)

Also when expressed in hours per week, household tasks, true to tradition, took up more of the evenings and weekends than paid work (table 3.3). In 2000 people on average devoted 1.4 hours to paid work and 6.5 hours to the household at the weekend. On weekday evenings the figures were 1.4 hours paid work and 3.8 hours household activities. Over the course of the years paid work began to take up somewhat more time at weekends, while in the case of household tasks this applied to both weekends and weekday evenings. The amount of time taken up by housework at these times increased from 9.5 hours in 1975 to 10.3 hours in 2000.

Table 3.3 Paid work and household activities outside office hours (on weekday evenings and at weekends), population aged 20-64, 1975-2000 (in hours per week, percentages and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Paid work							
weekdays during the day	15.3	14.8	14.7	16.0	17.3	19.3	111
weekdays in the evening	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.4	99
weekends	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.3	1.4	108
at night	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	102
Total	17.7	17.2	17.3	19.0	20.4	22.4	110
Share of evening/night/weekends (%)	14	14	15	16	15	14	93
Housework							
weekdays during the day	15.4	14.9	15.0	13.7	13.2	12.4	94
weekdays in the evening	3.3	3.5	3.6	3.4	3.7	3.8	104
weekends	6.2	6.0	6.4	6.1	6.5	6.5	100
at night	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	107
Total	25.0	24.5	25.1	23.4	23.5	22.9	97
Share of evening/night/weekends (%)	39	39	40	41	44	46	104

Source: SCP (TUS)

At the same time it may be noted that household tasks have always taken up time during the evenings and weekends and the growth of just under an hour over a period of 25 years may be regarded as modest. Traditionally, too, the household had to keep running during the evening and at weekends (Knulst 1999, 2000). In that sense the informal domestic economy of yesteryear already formed a kind of around-the-clock economy, generally borne by women. One is reminded then of the saying 'a women's work is never done', a old saying that still appears valid amidst all the commotion about the 24-hour economy.

The increase in paid work performed outside office hours kept pace with the total increase in paid work. As in the initial survey years, 14% of paid work was performed in the evenings, at night and at weekends. The share of household activities performed outside office hours rose from 39% in 1975 to 46% in 2000, a growth that took place primarily in the 1990s.

The 24-hour economy has made greater inroads in the domestic sector than in the professional sector. At the same time the way in which household tasks have fanned out over time is presumably related to the sphere of paid work. The more that the (potential) labour force performed paid work during the day on weekdays the more that people resorted to the evenings and weekends in order to discharge their domestic duties. The greater deployment of labour during regular working hours therefore led to greater activity in the household outside office hours.

In order to establish the population groups among which the change in timing of paid and domestic work took place, the developments in the period 1995-2000 have been broken down into the now familiar characteristics (table 3.4).

During the evening, nights and weekends there is also a fairly traditional division of tasks between the sexes. Men are particularly busy with paid work and women with household tasks. Between 1995 and 2000 women started to perform more paid work in the evenings, at night and at weekends. Added to the slight increase in their household tasks this meant that women were somewhat busier in the evenings, at night and at weekends in 2000. Otherwise 35-49-year-olds, adults with children and those with secondary education had particularly heavy commitments outside office hours.

Table 3.4 Commitments 'outside office hours', by background characteristics, population aged 20-64, 1995-2000 (in hours per week)

	total commitments 'outside office hours'		paid work 'outside office hours'		household tasks 'outside office hours'	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population aged 20-64	13.4	13.6	3.1	3.2	10.3	10.4
By sex						
male	12.9	12.7	4.6	4.3	8.3	8.4
female	13.8	14.5	1.7	2.0	12.2	12.4
By age						
20-34 years	13.2	13.7	3.9	3.5	9.3	10.3
35-49 years	14.7	15.2	3.1	3.9	11.6	11.2
50-64 years	11.6	11.3	1.7	1.8	9.9	9.6
Household position						
living with parents	10.0	10.8	4.7	3.9	5.4	6.9
living alone	11.4	12.1	3.1	3.8	8.3	8.3
with partner without children	11.8	11.7	3.1	2.6	8.7	9.1
with partner and children	15.3	15.9	2.8	3.2	12.5	12.6
By level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	13.1	13.3	2.4	2.7	10.8	10.6
senior secondary	14.0	14.5	3.4	3.9	10.6	10.6
tertiary	13.0	13.0	3.6	2.9	9.3	10.1
Labour market position						
employed	14.3	14.2	4.4	4.1	9.9	10.1
non-employed	11.9	12.2	0.9	1.0	10.9	11.2

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

3.3 New shopping hours

Special attention deserves to be paid to the time at which people shop since this aspect of household tasks is directly related to the extension of shopping hours in 1996. Table 3.5 therefore looks at shopping before and after 6.30pm (the time at which shops in 1995 generally closed on weekdays) and on Sundays.

Table 3.5 Timing of shopping, population aged 20-64, 1990-2000 (in hours per week and in percentages)

	hours per week			percentage of participants		
	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000
Weekdays during the day (up to 18.30 hours)	1.7	1.7	1.7	76	78	76
Weekdays in the evening (after 18.30 hours)	0.1	0.1	0.2	15	17	22
Saturday	0.7	0.8	0.9	58	60	60
Sunday	0.0	0.1	0.1	3	4	7

Source: SCP (TUS)

Between 1995 and 2000 there was an increase in the amount of shopping done on weekday evenings and on Sunday. This increase relates in particular to the percentage of the population aged 20-64 that went shopping at least once at those times in an average working week. In 2000 22% of people made use on one or more occasions of the new late night shopping hours and 7% went to the shops on the Sunday in the week in question. Measured in hours per week, shopping in the evening or on Sunday has not yet taken off, or at least not in the month of October.

The late night shopping already in existence on Thursdays and Fridays to some extent obscures the effect of the extended shopping hours. Weekday shopping has therefore been broken down in a supplementary analysis into shopping on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday on the one hand and Thursday and Friday on the other. The effect of the new Shopping Hours Act may be seen the most clearly from the use made of late night shopping on the first three weekday evenings, where it may be seen that there has been a clear increase in shopping. On Thursday and Friday the percentage shopping in the evening rose from 14% in 1990 to 16% in 1995 and 18% in 2000. On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday evenings the increase is more marked and also more specifically tied to the latter period, with a rise from 1% in both 1990 and 1995 to 7% in 2000.

One of the reasons for the introduction of extended shopping hours under the new Shopping Hours Act was the assumption that this would make it easier for people in the new types of household to combine work with their private lives. The time use data are unable to show whether this assumption holds true. It is however possible to establish whether it is individuals from the new types of household who make particular use of the extended shopping hours. Table 3.6 therefore compares the timing of shopping by people in a breadwinner household (i.e. the traditional type of household) with double-earners and employed single householders (i.e. the 'new' types of household).

Table 3.6 Timing of shopping/doing errands, by type of household, population aged 20-64 (in percentages)

	individuals from breadwinner households			individuals from double income households			employed single householders		
	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000
Weekdays during the day (before 18.30 hours)	74	77	77	74	74	72	88	81	77
Weekdays in the evenings (after 18.30 hours)	14	15	20	17	20	24	21	19	29
Saturday	56	56	57	60	66	63	68	70	65
Sunday	3	5	6	2	5	8	4	5	7

Source: SCP (TUS)

This is only partly the case. Among individuals from breadwinner households, the percentage going shopping once or more per week increased significantly during the period 1990-2000 in two of the four periods distinguished, namely weekday evenings and Sundays. This indicates that individuals from the traditional types of household also make use of the longer shopping hours but, for the time being, without cutting down on shopping at familiar and established times.

Members of the new household types also show a shift in preference in favour of shopping during the extended shopping times. As in the case of breadwinners and their partners a higher proportion of double-earners and single working householders go shopping in the evening and on Sundays. In contrast to the breadwinner households, however, the members of the new households also cut back slightly on shopping at traditional times. In this case, therefore, there has been a substitution of new for old shopping hours.

3.4 *Weekday rhythms and routines*

In section 3.2 time use patterns were examined in broad terms by analysing the extent to which shifts had taken place in the ratio between weekdays during the day and evenings/nights/weekends. This chapter examines some more subtle aspects of time use patterns, such as the extent to which daily life is organised around identifiable rhythms and routines.

To begin with it has been established to what extent the various weekdays differ from one another. The figures in table 3.7 indicate for each weekday whether a proportionate element (20%) of the weekday activity took place on that day or less or more. By way of example, the figure 1.5 in the bottom right-hand corner of the table indicates that Friday accounted not for 20% but 21.5% of the weekday leisure time.

Little has changed in the comparative situation between the various weekdays. Compared with other weekdays Friday remained the day on which relatively little is worked and studied. More time is set aside on Friday for relaxation, the household and family. After Friday, Wednesday is the weekday with the most free time. Monday, Tuesday and Thursday are the days with the most commitments.

In addition significantly more time was devoted to employment on Friday in 2000 than in 1995, in the same way that more work was done on Friday in 1995 than in 1990. The fact that this is not evident from these figures is because more was worked on other days as well. Friday kept pace with the increase in labour participation. For the time being there is no question of any trend towards a three day weekend.

Table 3.7 Breakdown of five principal activities over the five weekdays, population aged 12 and over (in percentage-point deviation from 20%)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Employment						
Monday	0.1	-0.1	0.3	0.3	0.1	-0.3
Tuesday	0.4	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7
Wednesday	-0.3	-0.4	-0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0
Thursday	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.8	1.1
Friday	-0.7	-0.5	-1.1	-1.2	-1.6	-1.5
Education						
Monday	1.8	2.2	1.7	2.3	2.0	1.6
Tuesday	2.9	2.2	2.4	2.0	1.2	1.3
Wednesday	-0.3	0.2	-0.1	0.5	0.6	0.7
Thursday	0.5	0.2	0.6	0.0	0.4	0.5
Friday	-4.8	-4.7	-4.8	-4.7	-4.3	-4.1
Household tasks						
Monday	0.0	0.2	-0.2	0.4	0.2	0.4
Tuesday	-0.9	-0.6	-1.0	-0.9	-0.9	-1.1
Wednesday	-1.0	-1.0	-0.7	-0.8	-0.7	-0.5
Thursday	0.0	-0.1	0.1	-0.2	-0.2	-0.3
Friday	1.8	1.5	1.9	1.5	1.6	1.5
Personal time						
Monday	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.2
Tuesday	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1
Wednesday	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0
Thursday	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Friday	-0.4	-0.5	-0.3	-0.4	-0.4	-0.3
Free time						
Monday	-0.7	-0.8	-0.6	-1.1	-1.0	-0.6
Tuesday	-0.5	-0.6	-0.5	-0.2	-0.4	-0.3
Wednesday	0.4	0.4	0.4	-0.1	0.2	0.1
Thursday	-0.4	-0.5	-0.5	-0.4	-0.4	-0.7
Friday	1.2	1.5	1.3	1.8	1.7	1.5

Source: SCP (TUS)

A relatively high proportion of household tasks was performed on Monday. An important factor in this regard is washing and ironing, in line with the traditional ‘Monday – washing day’. This remained the case in 2000, although less than previously (table 3.8). In comparison with other weekdays a lot of laundering and ironing still took place on Monday. In 2000, 28% of weekday laundering and ironing took place on Monday, a slight decline in comparison with the 1980s. At the weekend, and especially on Sunday, washing and ironing by contrast made inroads. If this trend continues, ‘Monday – washing day’ will shortly need to be replaced by a new concept, for example ‘Sunday – sadding day’.

Table 3.8 Distribution of washing and ironing over the five weekdays and time taken up by these activities on Sunday, Monday and Saturday, population aged 12 and over (in percentage-point deviation from 20% respectively in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

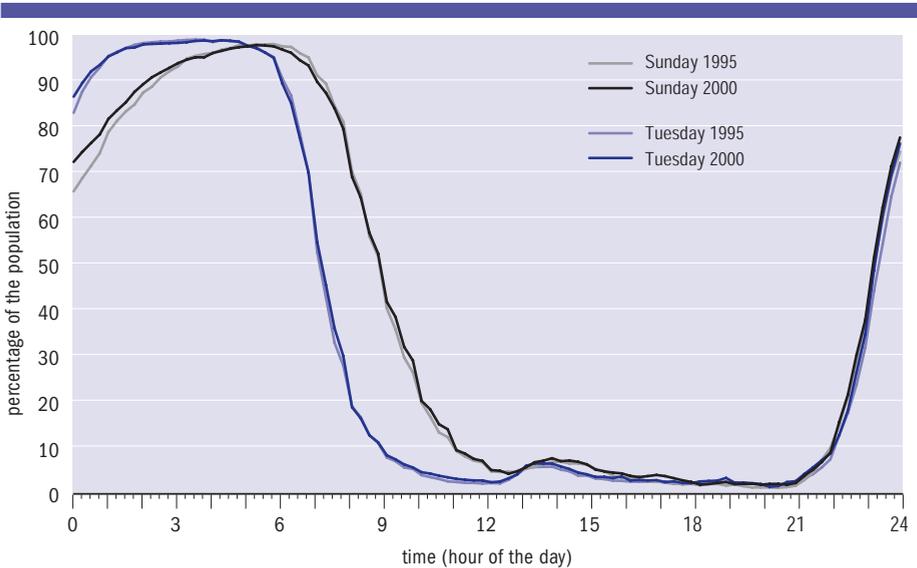
	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	Index
Distribution over the weekdays							
Monday	10	13	11	10	10	8	
Tuesday	3	1	-1	1	-2	-1	
Wednesday	-4	-6	-3	-4	-2	-2	
Thursday	-3	-5	-2	-4	-4	-3	
Friday	-6	-4	-5	-3	-3	-3	
Time spent (hours per week)							
Sunday	0.03	0.06	0.10	0.12	0.17	0.21	124
Monday	0.34	0.34	0.33	0.30	0.30	0.24	80
Saturday	0.10	0.10	0.17	0.15	0.20	0.21	105

Source: SCP (TUS)

For the time being concepts such as ‘Monday washing day’ make it clear that the time during the week does not pass arbitrarily but in accordance with fixed patterns. Certain activities remain concentrated on certain days, thus giving those days their own distinctive character.

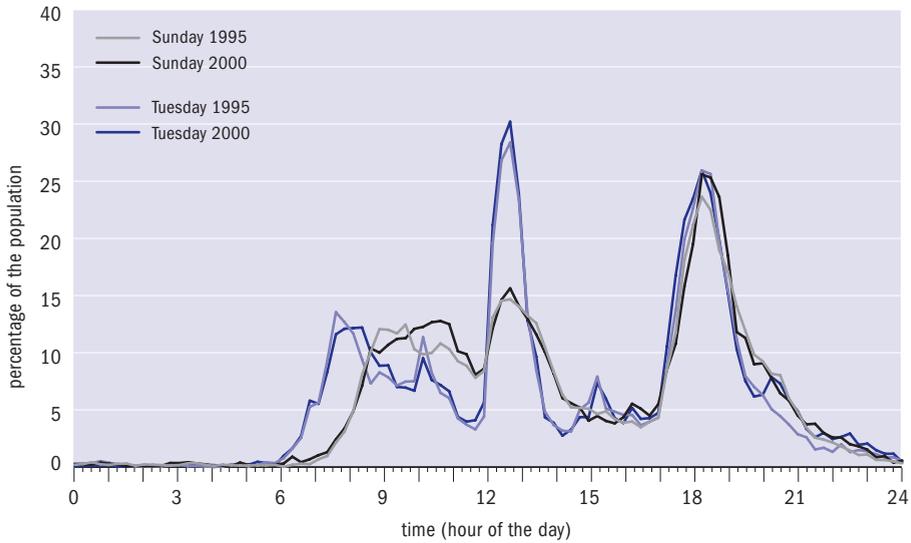
Fixed patterns are also discernible in respect of the times at which activities take place within a 24-hour period. As previously done for paid work and household tasks, figures 3.3 and 3.4 show how sleeping and eating have developed on Tuesday and Sunday, again in the years 1995 and 2000.

Figure 3.3 Sleeping on Tuesdays and Sundays, population aged 12 and over



Source: SCP (TUS)

Figure 3.4 Eating on Tuesdays and Sundays, population aged 12 and over



Source: SCP (TUS)

There were also still fixed patterns of sleeping and eating in 2000. Nearly the entire population was asleep at 3am. On Tuesday most people got up between 6am and 7am, and on Sunday somewhat later, between 8am and 10am. During the course of the day the odd person would have a nap, generally early in the afternoon. From 10pm onwards people started to go to bed again, on Sunday around the same time as on Tuesday: in both cases the next day is a working day.

Most people eat between 12pm and 1pm and in the evenings around 6pm. On Tuesdays lunchtime is much more highly concentrated than on Sundays, when people are free from the work and school time regime. On Tuesdays the breakfast peak was between 7am and 8am, while on Sundays people have breakfast later and also more spread over time, between 9am and 11am. Differences between 1995 and 2000 are minor and confined to the fact that people have breakfast somewhat later on Sunday than in 1995.

Table 3.9 summarises the trends in the organisation of time at a number of peak times on a Tuesday. A peak time is one at which participation in a particular activity is heaviest. Apart from the time of that peak time the percentage of participants during that peak time was also calculated. Both figures provide insight into the extent to which social life has collective rhythms.

The timing of the peak periods for a number of notable daily activities changed little if at all between 1975 and 2000. In chronological diurnal order the peak peri-

ods of getting up, going to work, having lunch, going home, having an evening meal, watching television and going to bed were all precisely the same in all years. Only the modal time of breakfast showed any movement over the years, but the proportion of people having breakfast at 8am in 2000 was barely higher than at 7.30am (figure 3.4).

Table 3.9 Timing^a of eating, getting up, going to bed, commuting and watching television on Tuesday, 1975-2000, population aged 12 and over

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
<i>Sleep/waking rhythm</i>						
Getting up: peak time	07.00	07.00	07.00	07.00	07.00	07.00
% getting up at peak time	18	17	17	18	17	15
% getting up at peak time +/- 15 mins	36	34	35	35	36	32
% asleep at 6am	92	92	92	91	90	89
% asleep at 8am	16	19	18	19	19	18
Going to bed: peak time	23.00	23.00	23.00	23.00	23.00	23.00
% going to bed at peak time	15	14	13	11	12	14
% going to bed at peak time +/- 15 mins	34	33	31	29	31	34
% asleep at 10pm	12	12	12	11	12	12
% asleep at 12pm	87	85	82	81	82	86
<i>Eating^b</i>						
Breakfast: peak time	07.45	07.45	07.45	07.30	07.30	08.00
% eating at peak time	17	14	13	13	14	12
% eating at peak time +/- 15 mins	38	31	29	30	30	27
Lunch: peak time	12.30	12.30	12.30	12.30	12.30	12.30
% eating at peak time	32	33	30	31	29	30
% eating at peak time +/- 15 mins	58	53	50	51	48	48
Evening meal: peak time	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00	18.00
% eating at peak time	34	34	32	29	26	26
% eating at peak time +/- 15 mins	59	56	55	51	47	46
<i>Commuting</i>						
Morning peak time (midnight – noon)	7.45	7.45	7.45	7.45	7.45	7.45
% travellers in that peak (+/- 15 mins)	43	42	40	40	41	40
% of commuting in peak +/- 30 mins	61	55	57	51	53	47
Midday peak time (noon – midnight)	17.00	17.00	17.00	17.00	17.00	17.00
% travellers in the peak (+/- 15 mins)	35	37	33	31	30	33
% of commuting in peak +/- 30 mins	36	39	39	37	34	39
<i>Watching television (in hrs)</i>						
peak hour	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21	20-21
% that had watched TV in that hour	48	47	47	47	46	43
share of viewing time in that hour in total for day	28	28	23	22	21	20
evening share (6pm – midnight) in total viewing time	99	98	91	89	83	84

a During the quarter of an hour following the time indicated.

b Defined as eating between 6am and 10am, between 10am and 2pm and 4pm and 8pm respectively.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Although the timing of the peak periods was highly stable, the degree of concentration at and around those peak periods did change. While there may have been some slight fluctuations, the percentage of people undertaking an activity at the peak time in question generally fell over the longer term. The daily activities analysed here were generally less concentrated in time in 2000 than hitherto.

There is an exception to every rule. After an initial decline, the concentration of the evening rush hour and of going to bed showed a higher concentration in 2000. It is reasonable to suspect that this is due to the higher level of engagement in the labour process.

To sum up, the conclusion would appear justified that the collective rhythms in the period 1975-2000 were marked much more by stability than by erosion. The fact that a high proportion of the population undertakes a particular activity at the same time points to the existence of collective rhythms but does not automatically imply that there are fixed time patterns at individual level as well. Collective rhythms indicate the extent to which the times at which various individuals undertake an activity coincide. Individual routines refer to the extent to which one individual undertakes a given activity at the same time on various days. A person who always gets up at 3am and goes to bed at 6pm might be totally out of step with the collective rhythm but nevertheless has a set individual routine.

In order to provide an impression of individual routines, the level of individual routine in daily patterns has been calculated by comparing the daily pattern at individual level on Mondays with that on Tuesdays, subject to a margin of 15 minutes either way.

Viewed in these two terms two thirds of the population in 2000 had breakfast at the same time on Tuesday as on Monday, while two thirds also got up at the same time on both days. Half the population went to bed at the same time on Tuesday evening as the night before. Of those in employment three quarters went to work at the same time on both days.

Such figures lend themselves to comparison with data from earlier years. In 1995, for example, two thirds of the population again started the day on Tuesday at the same time as on Monday and half the population again went to bed at the same time on both days. In contrast to 2000, however, not three quarters but two thirds of those in employment went to work at the same time in 1995 on the two successive days.

Such comparisons are illustrative and can be useful for answering specific questions in certain cases. In order to obtain an overall impression of trends in individual routines, a measure has been developed in order to summarise the level of individual routine in daily patterns during the week. To this end all four pairs of successive weekdays have been compared, examining for each quarter of an hour whether or not people were engaged in the same activity. To this end the wide range of divergent activities has been aggregated into four general activities: work or study, household

tasks, personal time (sleep, eating, etc.) and free time. On this occasion this was not done by adding up the number of 15-minute intervals with the same activity but by counting the number of 15-minute intervals in which the activity on the one day differed from that on the preceding day. This results in a measure of the individual variation in weekday daily patterns. After division by four this measure expresses the number of 15-minute intervals during which individuals' daily patterns differed on one weekday from that on the preceding weekday (table 3.10).

Table 3.10 Variation in daily patterns, population aged 12 and over, 1975 – 2000 (average number of 15 minute intervals in which the daily pattern of a weekday differs from that on the preceding weekday) (ranging from 0 to 96).

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population aged 12 and over	25.3	25.8	26.9	26.4	27.1	26.6
Sex						
male	22.4	23.0	24.5	23.8	24.4	23.6
female	28.3	28.7	29.1	28.9	29.7	29.6
Age						
12-19 years	23.8	24.3	24.0	23.9	22.8	22.9
20-34 years	25.5	27.4	28.8	27.1	28.1	27.3
35-49 years	26.0	25.8	27.7	27.4	28.7	28.0
50-64 years	25.4	24.7	26.5	26.2	27.0	27.0
≥ 65 years	26.0	25.9	25.4	25.3	26.0	25.3
Household position						
living with parents	23.7	24.1	25.3	23.9	23.8	24.5
living alone	28.3	29.0	28.1	27.7	28.2	26.9
with partner without children	24.7	25.3	26.4	26.4	27.2	26.1
parent with child/children living at home	26.1	26.3	27.7	27.0	28.1	27.9
Level of education						
primary/junior secondary	25.2	25.5	26.0	25.1	25.9	25.5
senior secondary	25.3	26.5	27.3	27.0	27.2	26.1
tertiary	26.5	28.6	29.7	28.5	29.2	28.9
Labour market position						
employed	24.5	25.8	26.0	25.7	25.6	24.5
household care	23.2	24.1	26.3	25.4	26.7	26.6
at school/studying	28.9	28.8	28.8	28.5	29.3	29.6
retired	26.8	27.1	27.3	28.9	28.8	28.3
retired	24.3	23.6	25.2	25.6	26.1	25.6

Source: SCP (TUS)

The variation in individual weekday daily patterns widened between 1975 and 1985 but stabilised thereafter. The daily patterns were equally as varied in 2000 as in 1995 (the difference was not statistically significant). The increased individualisation did not manifest itself in a greater variation in daily patterns on succeeding weekdays. As in the case of the collective rhythms this may be interpreted as the disciplining effect of the increased involvement in the labour process. More people were in employment,

and employed people's weekday daily patterns are somewhat less varied. Otherwise the various characteristics throw up few differences between the population groups. Having said that the daily pattern of women was and remains more varied than that of men. This may perhaps help explain why women, given a virtually unchanged volume of commitments, more frequently feel rushed than men (§ 2.6). In addition 35-49-year-olds, parents with children, the more highly educated and the non-employed had a relatively varied daily pattern. In the case of young people, older people and the employed, by contrast, the daily pattern tended to follow a fixed routine. No major shifts took place in this respect between 1995 and 2000.

3.5 Conclusion: more liberal hours, resistant regime

The 1990s were marked by the liberalisation of working and shopping hours over time in various respects. The Working Hours Act and the Shopping Hours Act of 1996 offered greater opportunities to work or shop outside the traditional periods of time. The advent of new technologies such as the Internet also offered people the opportunity to get away from temporal structures and arrange time as they saw fit.

In 2000 the greater scope to organise one's own time had not yet had much influence on the actual way in which people organised the week or the day. Paid work outside office hours did not grow more strongly than participation in the labour process during the day on weekdays but even lagged behind to some extent. The greater labour force participation was however responsible for the fact that people shifted part of their household tasks to the evenings and weekends, one example being the greater amount of washing and ironing done on Sunday instead of on the traditional washing day Monday.

The extension of shopping hours contributes towards the change in the timing of household tasks. In 2000 22% of the population aged 20-64 went shopping on weekday evenings. Measured in terms of hours, however, most shopping continued, true to tradition, to be done during the day on weekdays. 'Old habits never die', it would seem. In that light it should also come as no surprise that the peak times for activities such as getting up, eating and going to work barely changed between 1995 and 2000 as regards both timing and participation. The earlier erosion of collective rhythms and individual routines turned out to have come to a halt from 1995 onwards. The background to this is (once again) the growth in labour force participation: work commitments set limits on the ability to organise the day as one sees fit. Partly for this reason time use patterns have proved recalcitrant and resistant towards more liberal regulation.

4 *Leisure Activities*

The allocation of a shrinking free time budget

4.1 *The allocation of a shrinking free time budget*

In chapter 2 concerning the time budget it emerged that the amount of free time of the population aged 12 and over during the period 1975-1995 had largely been stable, before declining substantially during the period 1995-2000. Previously, only the situation in 1985 had differed significantly from that in the other years, when the weekly amount of free time peaked on account of the relatively high unemployment during the recession at that time. More recently the free time budget fell from 47.3 hours per week in 1995 to 44.8 hours per week in 2000, a fall of 5%. This reduction in the amount of free time was attributable to the combined effect of more obligatory and more personal time. Both factors account for approximately half the decline in free time (table 2.1).

This observation is analysed in more detail in this chapter in the form of a general survey of trends in free time. The trends in the available free time of a number of population groups are outlined in section 4.2. The focus then switches to the allocation of that free time, with a distinction being drawn between features and types of leisure activity. In the case of the characteristics of leisure activities a distinction is drawn in terms of activities outside the home, diversity, expenditure and memberships of clubs and associations (§ 4.3), while types of leisure pursuits refer to the specific activities that people undertake during their free time, such as reading, sport and going out (§ 4.4). Trends in relation to specific types of leisure activities are examined in more detail in the next chapters. With a view to the current nature of recent data and the break in the trend that has been evident since 1995, special attention will be paid to the period 1995-2000 when examining developments during the period 1975-2000.

4.2 *The shrinking free time budget*

A glance at the index figures column in table 4.1 indicates that each population group has faced a shrinking leisure budget during the period 1995-2000 (only the decline among the over 65s was not statistically significant). Furthermore the decline in the amount of available leisure time was virtually the same for each group in percentage terms. In relative terms the decline in leisure was particularly marked among young people (i.e. those living at home and in education). Otherwise the decline was very much in line with the fall of 5% for the population as a whole.

Table 4.1 Leisure by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged 12 and over	47.9	47.0	49.0	47.2	47.3	44.8	95
Sex							
male	49.6	48.8	50.5	48.2	47.9	45.5	95
female	46.2	45.2	47.6	46.2	46.8	44.1	94
Age							
12-19 years	44.2	41.6	42.6	39.6	40.9	36.8	90
20-34 years	44.8	43.8	45.1	43.1	42.5	39.4	93
35-49 years	46.9	44.8	46.3	44.3	44.2	41.0	93
50-64 years	50.5	51.8	54.5	55.3	53.9	49.6	92
65 and over	57.0	57.4	61.6	59.2	60.7	58.7	97
Family position							
living at home with parents	44.2	42.5	43.3	40.6	42.1	38.6	90
single householder	56.6	56.0	56.2	53.6	54.3	50.9	92
with partner without children	50.3	51.4	54.4	51.8	51.7	49.0	95
parent with child/children living at home	47.0	44.9	46.6	45.1	43.9	40.7	93
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	47.9	46.8	50.6	48.9	49.8	47.7	96
senior secondary	47.6	45.4	46.8	44.7	44.8	42.1	94
tertiary	47.6	48.7	46.6	46.9	46.4	44.1	95
Labour market position							
at school/studying	42.6	42.4	43.0	41.0	42.1	38.5	91
employed	45.1	43.3	43.7	42.5	41.1	39.9	97
household activities	48.2	47.8	51.5	49.8	51.6	49.1	95
unemployed/incapacitated	68.3	62.3	64.2	60.4	59.7	55.1	92
retired	62.5	62.6	65.4	62.2	63.8	59.3	93

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Taken over a longer period, however, the various population groups distinguished here did not find themselves confronted by the same decline in the amount of leisure. In terms of age, the decline has been more pronounced among men than among women since 1975 (-4 and -2 hours per October week respectively). A similar distinction applies to age. The three youngest age categories saw their leisure budget fall by around 6 hours, considerably more than that among the 50-64-year-olds (-1 hour), while the amount of leisure of the over 65s in fact increased during this period.

By family position, those living with their parents, single householders and the parents of children living at home suffered much greater inroads into their leisure time than couples without children living at home. The breakdown by level of education indicates that the decline in leisure time has been most marked among the median education group, followed by the better educated. Compared with 1975 the less well educated emerged unscathed.

In terms of labour market position those in work lost some of their free time. As noted earlier this is not attributable to an increase in their hours worked; at issue here therefore is the growth in the subsidiary task of the employed. No explanation can be provided for the marked decline in free time among the unemployed and incapacitated, in which regard it should be noted that the more recent decline has been modest and that 1975 would appear to be an outlier.

4.3 Characteristics of leisure activities

How do people spend their free time? This question may be approached from various angles. Unfortunately the Dutch Time Use Survey does not provide data on the people in whose company free time is spent. Detailed data are however available on how the free time was used. This is examined in more detail in section 4.4. This section describes free time on the basis of four general characteristics. The first of these is *non-home-based activities* (i.e. location of the leisure pursuits and the necessarily travel time), which indicates the extent to which people spend their leisure at home or elsewhere. The *capital intensity* (i.e. expenditure on and equipment for leisure purposes), secondly, contains information on how much money people spend on leisure. Thirdly, the *diversity* (i.e. the number of activities that people undertake per week or per year) refers to the breadth of the activities repertoire. Finally, the rate of membership (i.e. number of members and memberships of leisure associations) relates to the extent to which people spend their leisure time in an organised manner.

Since these four characteristics of leisure activities are measured in terms of different variables (hours per week, percentages, money and numbers of activities, equipment and memberships), index figures have in all cases been used in order to facilitate the comparison of trends, with 1975 as the base comparison year (table 4.2: for 2000 a separate index has been compiled with the 1995 index figure as the basis). As the concern is with a comparison of trends in these four characteristics of leisure activities rather than with the level of expenditure or number of memberships as such, index figures provide a suitable means of presentation.

In 1995 people spent more of their leisure activities outside the home than ever before. Nearly four out of every ten hours were spent outside the home – more than in any previous measurement year. Since then, however, the contraction of the leisure budget has cut heavily into non-home-based leisure activities. The reduction in the number of hours of leisure time (-2.5 hours per week) was almost entirely at the expense of non-home-based leisure (-2.3 hours per week: from 18.5 hours per week in 1995 to 16.3 hours per week in 2000). The amount of leisure time spent in the home during the research week did not decline.

Table 4.2 Characteristics of leisure activities, population aged 12 and over, 1975-1995
(index figures, 1975=100 and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Amount of leisure time	100	98	102	99	99	94	95
Non-home-based activities							
non-home-based leisure activities ^a	100	97	102	103	110	101	93
travel time for leisure purposes	100	87	110	108	121	114	94
Capital intensity							
consumer expenditure for leisure purposes ^b	100	121	117	138	151	178	118
equipment for home-based leisure activities ^c	100	130	167	204	240	257	107
Diversity							
diversity of leisure activities per week ^d	100	100	99	96	95	91	95
diversity of leisure activities per year ^e	100	99	102	103	107	109	102
Membership of associations (1983 = 100 and index 2000, 1995 = 100)		1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	index ^h
voluntary leisure association membership ratio ^f		100	103	109	110	107	96
number of memberships of association members ^g		100	102	103	112	104	91

- a Proportion of leisure time not spent in the home (average non-home-based activity percentages per person)
- b Measured in terms of expenditure on equipment, literature, memberships, entry charges, sport, holidays, excursions and catering establishments, in constant prices, per head of population, 2000 expenditure estimated on the basis of extrapolation of 1995-1998 expenditure (Source: CBS National Accounts, various years).
- c Measured in terms of number of households with record/CD player, video recorder, cassette recorder and PC (since 1985).
- d Addition of the various activities undertaken during the research week (based on diary records), including the Internet in 2000.
- e Addition of various activities in which people take part (based on questionnaire records), unlike previously including PC use (since 1985) and Internet use (in 2000).
- f Percentage of the population belonging to one or more voluntary leisure associations (youth clubs, amateur cultural, hobby or sporting associations), based on AVO, measurement years 1983-1999.
- g Number of memberships of those belonging to one or more voluntary leisure associations.
- h Index on basis of 1995-1999 extrapolated to a growth foot over five years.

Source: SCP (TUS, unless stated otherwise)

The ratio between non-home-based and home-based free time may be summarised in terms of the level of non-home-based activity. This measure is obtained by calculating the ratio per respondent of the amount of leisure spent outside the home to the total quantity of free time and then taking the average over all respondents. According to this calculation the average level of non-home-based activity of 36% is back to its former levels. In 1995 the figure was two percentage points higher, i.e. a decline of 7% since that year. Travel time during people's free time fell by a similar order of magnitude (6%).

Ignoring the recession of the mid 1980s, (indexed) leisure expenditure has grown consistently. In the period of 25 years leisure expenditure has grown by nearly 80%. Consumer spending for leisure purposes was an estimated 18% higher in 2000 than in 1995. If the decline in the amount of leisure time since then is discounted, this means an increase in the capital intensity per unit of leisure expenditure of nearly a

quarter (24%). The latter corresponds with the argument put forward by Linder (1971) that the capital intensity of leisure expenditure would increase as the amount of leisure declined. The reduction in the available amount of free time in combination with rising expenditure confirms observations by Cross (1993) and Schor (1998) that the choice between more consumption and more free time generally works out in favour of the former.

At the same time this does not mean that in practice people consciously juxtapose consumption and leisure and then opt for more consumption and less leisure. The fact that more women are working is due much more to their need for independence and development than to the need to achieve a higher (leisure) consumption pattern as a double-income family. Seen at a more abstract level, however, the conclusion is that leisure and spending power are exchanged for one another.

The growth in consumer spending is partly reflected in the greater number of electrical appliances in Dutch households. During the period 1995-2000 this increase was entirely accounted for by the advent of the PC. There was no further increase in the number of households with audio and video appliances, although it is also possible that further investments were made in the sense of buying higher quality equipment and/or having such equipment in multiple rooms in the house.

Since the 1980s the number of different leisure activities in which people take part during the research week has declined slightly, even though this incorporates innovations in leisure time: since 1985 PC use has been added to the list of counted activities, and since 2000 Internet use as well. The fact that the addition of activities has not resulted in an expansion of the leisure repertoire indicates that they are replacing other activities, at least within the period of a single week.

From 1995 onwards the contraction of the leisure repertoire has kept pace with the contraction in the free time budget. The number of activities per unit of time has consequently not fallen.

The extensiveness of the leisure repertoire has been determined not just by means of the time-use records kept during the research week but also by means of the questionnaires. In the latter case this concerns not the number of activities undertaken within one week but more generally activities undertaken now and then. Here again PC use (since 1985) and Internet use (in 2000) have been added to the enumeration of activities. This repertoire range on an annual basis has been increasing for some time. Since 1995, however, there has no longer been any (statistically significant) extension of the leisure repertoire.

The trends in the number of activities on a weekly basis and the number of activities on an annual basis have diverged over the years, indicating that people take part 'now and then' in more activities. This trend may be characterised as a shift from participant to passer-by.

The final general characteristic of free time under discussion here is the rate of association membership. This has been measured on the basis of figures from another SCP survey (the Facilities Use Survey). The share of the population that

belong to one or more voluntary leisure associations was higher in the 1990s than in the 1980s. This remained the case in 1999, although in comparison with 1995 the membership rate had fallen slightly (3%). The number of memberships of those holding at least one membership peaked in 1995.

Out of the home leisure activities and the repertoire range have been broken down by background characteristics (tables 4.3 and 4.4). In both cases divergent trends are evident among the various age groups until 1995, in the sense that the initial differences between young and old as regards leisure pursuits narrowed. Contrary to the Dutch saying that ‘young people take on new things’ these trends suggest far more that ‘old people take on new things’. Older people turned more to out-of-the-home activities and widened their leisure range, while young people did not. The increasingly dynamic nature of leisure time was attributable not to younger but to older people. Since 1995 this convergence according to age has not however been sustained.

Table 4.3 Non-home-based leisure activities by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (indexed population average 1975 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population aged 12 and over	100	97	102	103	110	101
Sex						
male	103	99	106	104	112	100
female	97	95	98	102	107	102
Age						
12-19 years	127	115	122	117	124	116
20-34 years	113	109	116	117	126	121
35-49 years	90	87	95	98	100	98
50-64 years	83	90	89	95	104	92
65 and over	76	76	79	78	86	80
Family position						
living at home with parents	130	118	127	124	132	124
single householder	102	102	109	112	115	110
with partner without children	87	95	94	99	106	95
parent with child/children living at home	88	87	91	93	99	93
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	96	95	98	96	100	89
senior secondary	113	107	108	107	113	106
tertiary	111	109	107	114	121	114
Labour market position						
at school/studying	126	118	125	126	129	119
employed	107	102	105	107	112	106
household activities	84	81	88	89	100	93
unemployed/incapacitated	89	94	104	101	107	87
retired	74	81	81	85	90	83

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Also striking is the fact that men were no longer less home-based than women in 2000: in that year the sexes no longer differed from one another in this respect. This is related to the growing employment rate of women: people in work generally spend more of their leisure outside the home than do those not in work.

Matters differ when it comes to the repertoire range on an annual basis, i.e. including things that people do now and then. Here the period 1995-2000 did not form a break in the trend. Furthermore, after an initial contraction younger people had already displayed an extension of their leisure repertoire since 1990, but in the early 1990s older people (over 50s) expanded their repertoire more quickly. In the late 1990s, however, the two groups of over 50s differed from one another: 50-64-year-olds continued to extend their leisure repertoire significantly, whereas the over 65s narrowed the range of their leisure activities (table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Diversity of leisure activities (on an annual basis^a) by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (indexed population average 1975 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Population aged 12 and over	100	99	102	103	107	109
Sex						
male	99	99	100	101	105	107
female	101	100	104	105	110	111
Age						
12-19 years	116	111	111	103	108	111
20-34 years	114	114	113	114	115	114
35-49 years	102	100	106	107	112	118
50-64 years	89	87	92	95	102	114
65 and over	64	70	74	77	88	81
Family position						
living at home with parents	114	111	111	107	109	110
single householder	85	90	97	103	107	98
with partner without children	80	91	97	99	104	109
parent with child/children living at home	103	100	102	103	109	115
Level of education ^b						
primary/junior secondary	94	96	93	93	96	95
senior secondary	118	111	113	109	113	116
tertiary	122	117	118	119	120	121
Labour market position						
at school/studying	116	114	114	107	113	111
employed	107	104	107	107	113	116
household activities	91	91	94	99	101	111
unemployed/incapacitated	88	97	97	111	98	103
retired	67	71	77	82	94	87

a An addition of various activities in which people take part (based on questionnaire records), unlike previously including PC use (since 1985) and Internet use (in 2000).

b Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

4.4 Types of leisure activities

As in the case of the trends towards more non-home-based activities, the trends in the various forms of leisure activities indicated until 1995 that the Dutch were cutting down on entertainment at home as part of their leisure repertoire and instead seeking diversion outside the home. This applied across the board to leisure activities, subdivided into eight different categories: 1/ reading printed media, 2/ use of electronic media (including PCs), 3/ domestic social contacts, 4/ social participation (voluntary work, unpaid care and help, church going), 5/ going out (visiting museums, events, amusement parks, catering establishments and theatres, etc.), 6/ sport and exercise, 7/ other hobbies and 8/ leisure mobility (table 4.5).

Half an hour per week more than in 1975 was set aside for both sport/exercise and leisure mobility; going out and associational life also gained some popularity. Taking everything together people spent one and a half hours per week more in 1995 on these non-home-based forms of leisure activity than in 1975. Together with the slight decline in the total amount of free time, this meant that people spent over two hours a week less of their free time in the household sphere.

Nevertheless the use of electronic media, especially watching television, grew during this period. With regard to domestic entertainment, television became even more dominant than it already was in 1975. Reading and domestic social contacts were the activities to lose most ground. On average people spent an hour and a half per week less on reading and two hours less on domestic social contacts.

Table 4.5 Types of leisure activity, population aged 12 and over (in hours per week and as a percentage of the available leisure time, and index 2000, 1995=100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
In hours per week							
printed media	6.1	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.6	3.9	86
electronic media	12.4	12.1	13.6	13.7	14.2	14.8	104
social contacts	12.7	12.5	11.5	11.4	10.9	10.1	93
social participation	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.2	1.8	81
going out	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.5	97
sport and exercise	1.5	1.6	2.1	1.8	2.1	1.8	85
other hobbies	8.2	8.7	9.0	7.7	7.5	6.8	91
leisure mobility	2.6	2.3	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.0	94
As a percentage of the available leisure time							
printed media	13	12	11	11	10	9	
electronic media	26	26	28	29	30	33	
social contacts	27	27	23	24	23	22	
social participation	4	4	4	5	5	4	
going out	5	5	5	5	6	6	
sport and exercise	3	3	4	4	4	4	
other hobbies	17	19	18	16	16	15	
leisure mobility	6	5	6	6	7	7	

Source: SCP (TUS)

How has the 5% reduction in the amount of leisure time after 1995 worked through into the various activities that people undertake in their free time? Have all forms of leisure activity been cut down proportionately by 5% or have some activities been spared and others cut back on more than average?

The evidence shows that people cut back on leisure activities across the board, with the one exception of the use of electronic media, for which somewhat more time was set aside. The various activities were not however cut back on to the same extent. Social participation (19%), sport and exercise (15%) and reading printed media (14%) were cut back on significantly more than the average of 5%. In the case of the four other types of leisure activity – domestic social contacts, going out, hobbies and leisure mobility – the reduction was in the same order of magnitude as the decline in leisure time (although the decline in going out is not statistically significant).

Two of the three forms of leisure activity that were cut down on disproportionately fall into the category of non-home based leisure pursuits (social participation, sport and exercise). This once again points to a break from the former trend to a pattern of leisure activity that is somewhat less tied to the home. Within home-based leisure activities, a growing use of electronic media was once again coupled with a further reduction in reading.

Relative shifts in the leisure preferences of the population emerge more clearly if we examine not the number of hours per week but rather the share of the available free time budget. This makes it clearer what the share of the various types of leisure activity is and where preferences were growing or diminishing. This does not of course in any way change the conclusion that the use of electronic media increased from 1995 onwards and that above-average cutbacks were made on social participation, the reading of printed media and exercise.

The above-trend cutbacks on reading are part of a long-term trend. For many years now there has been a steady exchange of reading for other leisure activities, a theme taken up in a number of SCP reports (Knulst & Kalmijn 1988, Knulst & Kraaykamp 1996, Huysmans et al. 2004). The growing use of electronic media forms part of a long-term trend of relative and absolute growth, which, despite a shrinking leisure budget, continued after 1995. During that period the increased computer use formed an important element of this (see also chapter 7).

The above-trend decline in social participation and sport and exercise, by contrast, is not consistent with a long-term trend. This supports the notion that we are concerned here with activities with a relatively high 'leisure elasticity', in the sense that these are the types of activities cut back on first given a shrinking leisure budget. Whereas in the case of sport and exercise it is likely that a weather factor also come into play (see chapter 9), the falling social participation would appear in particular to reflect an autonomous trend under pressure from the growth in work commitments (see chapter 6).

4.5 Conclusion: the allocation of less in 2000

The overall picture was already clear in chapter 2: more was worked in 2000 than hitherto, so that there was less free time than in earlier years. Since 1975 that decline particularly affected those aged up to 50 as well as parents of children living at home and single householders. The decline since 1995 affected virtually every population group to the same extent. That reduction in the amount of free time since 1995 was reflected in the smaller amount of time set aside for leisure in the October week, the reduction in the number of leisure activities and the lower rate of membership in voluntary leisure associations. The breadth of the repertoire and membership rates both fell in line with the decrease in the amount of free time (5%).

The picture of proportionate cutbacks does not apply to the various types of leisure activity. In the case of domestic social contacts, hobbies and leisure mobility the reduction was in the same order of magnitude as the decrease in free time. Despite the reduced leisure budget, going out remained virtually unchanged while the use of electronic media even staged a further increase. The reductions in social participation (19%), sport and exercise (15%) and the reading of printed media (14%) were significantly above-trend. The developments in these types of leisure activities are analysed in more detail in the next four chapters.

5 *Family Life and Domestic Social Contacts* *Domesticity regained?*

5.1 *Family life and social contacts in a busy life*

Modern life is subject to competing ambitions. This applies not least to family life and social contacts. Apart from aspirations at a professional level and the enticements of the leisure industry, people's family and circle of friends remain high on the agenda.

In another context people were asked about the importance of six 'areas of life': religion, politics, work, friends and acquaintances, family and free time. Of these six the Dutch consider their family to be easily the most important, followed by friends and acquaintances, free time, work, politics and religion (Van den Broek et al. 1999). In the modern nuclear family a good personal relationship is generally regarded as the most important precondition for a good marriage (Van den Akker et al. 1991). Since the advent of the ideal of romantic love, the personal relationship with one's partner and children has been decisive for the quality of family life (Prost 1994).

Maintaining and fostering ties with one's partner, child/children and friends takes time. In everyday practice, family and social life face considerable competition from less highly rated aspects such as work and free time. Characteristic feature of Time Use Surveys is that their concern is not with intentions but what people actually do. This enables us to establish in respect of the two most important 'areas of life' – family life and social contacts – how these have developed in the face of growing time pressure. At first glance the growth in labour force participation, especially among women, appears to have placed family life and social contacts under pressure rather than on a high pedestal. There follows an account of trends in family life and domestic social contacts in 1975-2000, a period during which the time budget squeezed more and more. To begin with the extent to which people spent time at home is examined (§ 5.2). This is followed by a breakdown in chapter 4 of the category of social contacts into contact with members of the household on the one hand (§ 5.3) and social contacts with third parties on the other (§ 5.4).

5.2 *Opportunity structure of family life: being at home*

Despite all kinds of modern communication equipment and the wide range of facilities outside the home, the time spent at home remains an important element in family life. The bulk of the contacts between partners and between parents and children are likely to take place within the security of the home.

In the Time Use Surveys people recorded that their principal activity every quarter of an hour, as well as where they were. So as not to overload the respondents, the indication of location was divided into three, namely the home, place of residence and outside the place of residence. It is therefore possible to determine what propor-

tion of the population was at home at any one time and how many hours people spent at home (table 5.1). Unfortunately the figures do not allow us to establish whether people also had contact with housemates when at home. Nevertheless, as a necessary precondition for domestic contact, the home provides an interesting perspective on family life.

Between 1985 and 1995 a fall took place in the percentage of the population at home during the day or in the evening – a fall largely concentrated during the period 1990-1995. Although a further decline in the amount of time spent at home might have been expected given the growth in labour force participation, that decline in fact came to a halt after 1995. At certain times (in the morning between 10 a.m. and 12 p.m., at 2 p.m. and 5 p.m. and in the evening after 8 p.m.) greater numbers were in fact at home in 2000. A more detailed analysis indicated that this applies to both the weekend and weekdays. Although this is surprising in the light of the expectation that more work should lead people to spend more time outside the home, this finding is consistent with earlier findings that people have built in more recovery time (§ 2.7) and that a high proportion have been spending their free time at home (§ 4.4). Working at home was not a factor of any significance in this break in the trend. Neither the percentage of people working at home during the research week nor the number of hours worked at home by home-workers was higher in 2000 than in 1995.

Table 5.1 Population aged 12 and over at home, at 15 minutes past the hour, and averaged over the seven days of the research week, 1975-2000 (in percentages)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
06.00-06.15 hours	95	95	95	94	94	95
07.00-07.15 hours	91	91	91	89	88	87
08.00-08.15 hours	73	75	74	72	70	70
09.00-09.15 hours	57	58	58	57	54	55
10.00-10.15 hours	48	49	48	47	45	47
11.00-11.15 hours	44	45	44	43	40	44
12.00-12.15 hours	52	52	50	49	44	46
13.00-13.15 hours	57	56	52	49	45	45
14.00-14.15 hours	46	46	43	42	38	40
15.00-15.15 hours	43	44	42	41	37	38
16.00-16.15 hours	48	50	48	47	44	45
17.00-17.15 hours	61	64	63	61	57	59
18.00-18.15 hours	78	79	77	76	73	73
19.00-19.15 hours	77	76	75	73	72	72
20.00-20.15 hours	71	71	70	68	68	70
21.00-21.15 hours	72	72	72	70	70	72
22.00-22.15 hours	75	76	76	75	75	77
23.00-23.15 hours	83	84	84	83	83	85
24.00-00.15 hours	91	92	91	91	90	92

Source: SCP (TUS)

Compared with 1975 smaller numbers were at home during the day in 2000. After 7 p.m., however, the picture changes, and we find the same level of domesticity in 2000 as 25 years before. The greater involvement in work evidently takes place during the day.

In order to establish whether the various population groups share equally in the trend towards spending more time at home since 1995, a more detailed analysis has been made of three times at which people were more often at home (table 5.2).

Table 5.2 Being at home, at a quarter past the hour and during the period 18.00-24.00 hours, on average during the seven days of the research week, by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995-2000 (in percentages/hours per evening)

	11.00-11.15 hours (in %)		14.00-14.15 hours (in %)		20.00-20.15 hours (in %)		18.00-24.00 hours (in hours per evening)	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population aged 12 and over	40	44	38	40	68	70	4.5	4.6
Sex								
male	34	38	31	33	65	68	4.3	4.4
female	47	49	45	46	70	71	4.6	4.7
Age								
12-19 years	23	26	25	23	65	65	4.4	4.4
20-34 years	36	37	32	32	59	63	3.9	4.2
35-49 years	39	38	38	36	71	70	4.6	4.5
50-64 years	46	50	42	46	69	73	4.6	4.7
65 years and over	61	67	57	60	79	80	5.1	5.1
Family position								
living at home with parents	27	28	25	24	59	63	4.1	4.2
living alone	46	49	42	45	66	67	4.3	4.3
with partner without children	46	48	40	43	67	71	4.4	4.6
parent with child/children at home	41	44	41	41	72	73	4.7	4.8
Level of education ^a								
primary/junior secondary	47	52	44	47	72	74	4.7	4.8
senior secondary	37	39	34	35	65	68	4.4	4.5
tertiary	35	38	33	34	63	66	4.1	4.3
Labour market position								
at school/studying	25	25	26	25	62	65	4.2	4.3
employed	30	35	28	30	64	66	4.2	4.4
household activities	58	63	56	60	75	77	4.9	5.0
unemployed/incapacitated	61	64	49	60	67	76	4.5	4.9
retired	60	65	55	59	76	78	4.9	5.0

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

The number of hours that people were at home in the evenings has also been examined. The latter displayed a small increase. Women were more often at home than men. During the day elderly people, in particular, were more often at home in 2000 than in 1995, while in the evenings this applied especially to young adults. In addition all population categories generally shared in the trend towards being at home more often. That this also applies to people in paid work is less contradictory than it might appear at first glance: those in employment were more often part-timers and therefore not at work every day or for entire days, and are possibly all the more tied to the house outside those times (see table 2.3).

During the period 1985-1995 the chance of finding Dutch people at home during the day gradually diminished. Contrary to what the greater involvement in employment since that date might lead one to suspect, people were in fact more often at home in 2000.

5.3 *Contacts with members of the household*

The entire final quarter of the previous century showed a steady decline in the amount of contact with members of the household, the sum of talking with housemates, specific attention to children (reading aloud, games, chatting, trips) and playing games (table 5.3). Every five years the duration of contact with members of the household fell by 20 minutes. The decline of 11% between 1995 and 2000 was more pronounced than the 5% decline in free time as a whole (see chapter 4). The relative weight of such contacts within the free time budget accordingly fell.

Nearly all the population groups distinguished here, with the exception of parents with children living at home, the more highly educated and the unemployed, shared in the decline. The fall in domestic social contacts was most pronounced among young people, partners without children living at home and the less well educated.

The general decline in contact with members of the household turns out not to apply to each of the three constituent elements (i.e. talking with housemates, attention to children and playing games). On the contrary: the decline is almost entirely attributable to a reduction in talking with housemates (as a principal activity, i.e. not while travelling or doing the washing up). In both other cases there were no changes (table 5.4).

**Table 5.3 Contact with members of the household, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000
(in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)**

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged 12 and over	4.0	3.7	3.1	3.2	2.7	2.4	89
Sex							
male	4.0	3.7	2.8	2.9	2.3	2.1	90
female	4.1	3.7	3.4	3.4	3.0	2.6	88
Age							
12-19 years	2.8	2.6	2.2	1.9	1.6	1.3	80
20-34 years	4.6	4.5	3.7	3.5	2.9	2.7	93
35-49 years	5.0	4.4	3.6	4.0	3.6	3.2	90
50-64 years	3.3	3.6	3.0	3.1	2.2	2.0	89
65 years and over	3.9	2.5	2.3	1.9	1.9	1.6	85
Family position							
living at home with parents	2.8	2.7	2.3	2.2	1.6	1.4	88
living alone	2.1	2.1	1.3	1.4	1.0	0.9	88
with partner without children	3.9	3.4	2.9	2.7	2.5	1.9	76
with partner and children	5.3	4.7	4.2	4.5	4.1	3.9	97
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	4.1	3.6	3.0	3.1	2.5	2.1	84
senior secondary	3.6	3.8	3.1	3.1	2.6	2.2	87
tertiary	3.8	4.4	3.3	3.4	3.0	2.9	96
Labour market position							
at school/studying	2.7	3.0	2.3	2.2	1.7	1.3	76
employed	4.0	3.9	3.1	3.2	2.8	2.5	91
housewife	4.5	4.0	3.8	3.9	3.5	3.3	95
unemployed/incapacitated	4.4	4.0	3.1	3.9	2.8	2.7	97
retired	4.7	3.4	2.5	2.2	2.0	1.8	88

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

**Table 5.4 Types of contact with members of the household, population aged 12 and over,
1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)**

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Total contact with housemates	4.0	3.7	3.1	3.2	2.7	2.4	89
Talking with housemates	2.9	2.6	2.1	2.0	1.6	1.3	81
Attention to child/children	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	98
Playing games	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	117

Source: SCP (TUS)

The position in 1995 and 2000 for the various population categories has been identified for each of these three types of contact with housemates (table 5.5). The pre-

viously noted decline in talking with housemates extends to each of the various population groups.

Table 5.5 Types of contact with members of the household, by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week)

	talking with housemates ^a		attention to child/children ^b		playing games	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population aged 12 and over	1,6	1,3	0,8	0,8	0,2	0,2
Sex						
male	1.6	1.3	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.2
female	1.7	1.3	1.1	1.0	0.2	0.2
Age						
12-19 years	1.3	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.4
20-34 years	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.2	0.2	0.2
35-49 years	2.1	1.6	1.4	1.4	0.1	0.2
50-64 years	1.7	1.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2
65 years and over	1.4	1.1	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.4
Family position						
living at home with parents	1.3	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.3
living alone	0.7	0.4	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.2
with partner without children	1.9	1.4	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3
with partner and children	2.1	1.8	1.9	2.0	0.1	0.2
Level of education ^c						
primary/junior secondary	1.6	1.2	0.7	0.6	0.2	0.3
senior secondary	1.5	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.2	0.2
tertiary	1.9	1.8	1.0	0.9	0.1	0.1
Labour market position						
at school/studying	1.4	1.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.2
employed	1.7	1.4	1.0	0.9	0.1	0.2
housewife	1.7	1.4	1.6	1.6	0.3	0.3
unemployed/incapacitated	2.0	1.7	0.6	0.8	0.3	0.3
retired	1.5	1.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3

a The fact that those living alone also report contact with housemates is presumably because they live in student lodgings or other types of housing in which people live by themselves but nevertheless also have housemates.

b The fact that people other than parents with children living at home report contact with children is presumably because of the time that parents from broken families spend with children who are not living with them, plus activities spent with children no longer living at home.

c Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

A question was asked for the first time in 1995 concerning those sharing the evening meal. This question was repeated in 2000, so that a comparison can now be made over time. In 1995 that question was mistakenly asked only of working men sharing a household with a partner, so that the comparison between 1995 and 2000 must unfortunately remained confined to that population group. Nevertheless this information

throws light on those with whom couples and families with children shared the table (table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Company of working cohabiting men during the evening meal,^a men aged 20-64 (in number of meals per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1995	2000	index
Alone	0,5	0,5	94
With partner	5,8	5,9	102
With child/children ^b	5,5	5,4	98
With partner and child/children ^b	5,3	5,0	95
With others	0,9	0,6	70

a The categories are not mutually exclusive: a meal with a partner is also a meal with a partner, children and others.

b Men with children living at home.

Source: SCP (TUS)

The most striking change (and the sole statistically significant one) is that working, cohabiting men less frequently shared the meal in 2000 with someone from outside their own family: an initial indication of reduced domestic social contacts with third parties (see next section). Otherwise there was little change in who was present.

5.4 Domestic social contacts with third parties

Domestic social contacts with third parties (visiting others or receiving visits, parties and meals with people at home and making telephone calls in people's free time) form the second and, as far as the amount of time taken up is concerned, larger category of social contacts. This concerns contacts with non-housemates in the domestic sphere (in the presence of housemates or otherwise), either at home or with relatives, friends or acquaintances at their home.

These contacts changed less over the years than did that with housemates. Following a decline in the early 1980s, the amount of time that people devoted to domestic social contacts once more fell after 1995 (table 5.7). The latter decline kept pace with the reduction in free time. The relative position of domestic contacts with third parties in the midst of the total free time therefore remained constant.

The decline in domestic social contacts with third parties did not apply to all population categories. It did, for example, apply to women but barely to men. Once again the obvious explanation is the effect of greater participation in the labour force by women. In addition this type of contact fell relatively heavily among 20-49-year-olds, among cohabiters and among those with secondary and higher education.

Table 5.7 Domestic social contacts with third parties, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged 12 and over	9.5	9.5	9.1	9.0	9.0	8.6	94
Sex							
male	8.5	8.6	7.9	7.6	7.6	7.4	98
female	10.6	10.5	10.2	10.4	10.4	9.6	92
Age							
12-19 years	7.2	6.4	6.1	6.0	6.3	6.4	101
20-34 years	10.2	10.8	10.3	10.0	10.2	9.5	93
35-49 years	9.0	8.6	8.5	8.3	8.2	7.4	91
50-64 years	9.5	10.4	9.3	9.4	9.5	9.0	95
65 years and over	12.2	11.1	10.7	10.4	9.9	9.8	99
Family position							
living at home with parents	7.5	6.6	6.6	6.5	7.1	6.9	96
living alone	15.2	13.2	13.0	12.1	11.2	11.5	103
with partner without children	10.3	10.8	9.8	9.5	10.0	8.7	87
with partner and children	9.1	9.5	8.8	8.6	8.3	7.7	93
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	9.3	9.5	9.3	9.3	9.0	8.6	96
senior secondary	10.2	8.3	8.7	8.2	8.9	8.3	94
tertiary	10.5	10.5	9.1	9.4	9.3	8.6	93
Labour market position							
at school/studying	7.2	7.0	6.8	7.1	7.6	7.0	93
employed	8.7	9.0	8.4	8.2	8.3	8.0	96
housewife	11.1	11.0	11.0	11.2	11.2	10.2	91
unemployed/incapacitated	10.9	11.7	10.8	10.8	10.4	9.7	93
retired	12.5	10.9	9.9	9.3	9.5	9.9	104

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

If domestic social contact with third parties is broken down into paying visits, receiving visits, parties and meals at other people's homes and telephoning, the aggregate decline in both the early 1980s and the late 1990s turns out to be attributable to a reduction in visiting, especially paying visits (table 5.8).

Table 5.8 Types of domestic social contact with third parties, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Domestic social contact with others total	9.5	9.5	9.1	9.0	9.0	8.5	95
Receiving visits	2.7	2.7	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.1	95
Paying visits	5.7	5.2	4.9	4.7	4.7	4.4	93
Party/meal/reception	1.2	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.4	98
Telephoning (incl. mobile calls)	-	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.7	97

- Not included separately in the survey in 1975.

Source: SCP (TUS)

In the 2000 Time Use Survey respondents were able for the first time to make a note in their diaries of calls made by mobile telephones. Contrary to what one might expect from how people behave in the street or in the train, this has not resulted in an increase in telephoning. This is probably an unintended effect of the measurement method used in the Time Use Survey, in that the time use data are based on the records kept off the principal activity every quarter of an hour. Insofar as mobile telephone calls tend to be brief and/or conducted in conjunction with another activity, they fail to show up in the Time Use Survey. In addition the lack of importance attached to mobile calls means that the activity of telephoning has correctly been included under 'domestic contacts', for the records kept of telephoning during free time took place primarily at home.

Table 5.9 Types of domestic social contact with third parties, by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week)

	receiving visits		paying visits		meal/party/reception	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population aged 12 and over	2.2	2.1	4.7	4.4	1.4	1.4
Sex						
male	1.6	1.7	4.2	4.0	1.4	1.3
female	2.7	2.4	5.2	4.8	1.4	1.4
Age						
12-19 years	0.9	0.9	3.8	3.5	1.3	1.4
20-34 years	2.3	1.8	5.5	5.0	1.7	1.9
35-49 years	2.1	1.8	3.9	3.8	1.4	1.2
50-64 years	2.4	2.5	5.0	4.3	1.2	1.4
65 years and over	2.9	3.2	5.0	5.2	1.0	0.7
Family position						
living at home with parents	0.9	0.9	4.2	3.6	1.6	1.7
living alone	2.7	2.9	5.9	6.4	1.3	1.2
with partner without children	2.7	2.2	5.1	4.5	1.5	1.3
with partner and children	2.2	2.1	4.2	3.6	1.3	1.3
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	2.3	2.3	4.8	4.4	1.3	1.3
senior secondary	2.1	1.8	4.6	4.4	1.4	1.4
tertiary	2.1	2.1	4.7	4.3	1.5	1.4
Labour market position						
at school/studying	1.2	1.1	4.1	3.7	1.8	1.5
employed	1.9	1.7	4.4	4.1	1.4	1.5
housewife	3.2	2.9	5.7	5.0	1.3	1.3
unemployed/incapacitated	2.6	2.6	5.5	5.1	1.3	1.1
retired	2.6	3.2	5.0	5.1	1.0	0.8

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

The three major types of social contact in terms of time commitment were examined in relation to a number of population categories in 1995 and 2000 (table 5.9). Since there was no (statistically significant) difference in the amount of the time spent on receiving visits and participating in meals and parties among friends and acquaintances in 1995 and 2000, these columns are mainly by way of illustration of the breakdown of the time spent on these activities among the population. This is also possible in respect of receiving visits but, in addition, it is possible to examine among which groups the decline in this variable has been the most pronounced. The figures indicate this to be women, 20-64-year-olds and couples with and without children.

5.5 Conclusion: domesticity regained?

In the report on 1995 (Van den Broek et al. 1999), it was concluded that family life had withstood the heightened competition for free time well. Although there was a trend towards less domesticity among the population as a whole, this trend largely passed the family by. Trends such as being at home less and talking less with housemates were attributable to the growing numbers of single householders and childless double-earners. Young parents even stated that they set aside more time for activities with their children (reading aloud, playing games and excursions). Family life withstood the heightened competition for time well until 1995, but domestic social contact such as paying and receiving visits exhibited some decline.

Since then the developments in family life and other domestic social contacts have displayed a mixed picture. People spend more time at home than in 1995, which could point to a growth in domesticity. People ate at home in the evening with their families just as much and set aside as much time for activities with children and a number of other domestic contacts, thereby calling into question the suggestion of increased domesticity. In addition people talked less with housemates and spent less time on visiting, thereby refuting the notion of increased domesticity. To sum up, people spent more time at home in 2000 than in 1995, but had not become more homely.

The paradox that people spend more time at home while also devoting less time to domestic contacts is consistent with the picture of individualisation. Households are generally becoming ever smaller, thereby adversely affecting the chance of coming across a housemate at home. In addition individualisation within the walls of people's own homes has made further inroads. The time that the family living room had just one source of illumination, suspended above the family table, and was also the one heated area, has long since passed. This now also applies to the time in which a house would be equipped with just one television sets, one stereo appliance and one computer. A number of rooms are now comfortably fitted out, so that individuals can each arrange their activities as they see fit within the walls of the family home.

The decline in contact with housemates and in domestic contacts with third parties in the form of visits is consistent with a pattern of developments that have been visible for some time. At the same time, unduly negative conclusions need to be

guarded against. In the first place only the fall in the amount of time devoted to talking with housemates was more pronounced than the fall in the amount of free time. The decline in paying visits kept pace with the contraction in the free-time budget, so that there has been no question of any relative decline within that budget. Conversely the contacts that have remained constant since 1995 have displayed a relative increase within the available free-time budget.

Secondly a reduction in domestic social contacts does not necessarily equate with less social contact. Stepped-up social contacts outside the home – for example attending cultural activities or going to the pub with relatives or friends – can offer compensation. The absence of any information on those with whom time is spent does however imply that this hypothesis cannot be tested in any further detail.

6 Social Participation

Volunteering and informal care

6.1 *Developments in social participation*

The Dutch politician Pim Fortuyn was murdered in May 2002 straight after leaving a radio recording studio. The murder took place in broad daylight in the presence of various employees of the radio station. Moments after the assassination radio reporters were reporting live on the situation. Television programmes were interrupted for the assassination. Images of the bloodstained Fortuyn featured prominently in numerous newspapers and TV programmes, both in the Netherlands and in the rest of the world.

Fortuyn's assassination came just six months after '9/11', and ushered in a turbulent period in Dutch politics and Dutch public debate. The murder of the man who articulated the 'vox populi' as no other person placed question marks against the public support for a multicultural society and a possible collapse of values and norms. Where many had tacitly and quasi-naively assumed that the negative excrescences of globalisation and modernisation would pass the Netherlands by, the events of 2001 and 2002 were to come as a rude awakening.

International comparisons indicate however that the Netherlands of 2002/2003 is still able to draw on a strong base of 'social capital'. By international standards, the replies given by the Dutch to questions concerning the extent to which they trust others and regard them as honest and are prepared where necessary to help emerged comparatively favourably (Dekker et al. 2004). Along with countries such as the United Kingdom and Sweden, the Netherlands also scores well when it comes to membership of charitable organisations and volunteering. In respect of the latter yardstick the Netherlands in fact headed the international league table in 1999 (ibid).

The increasing pressure of work and care (chapter 2) as well as the declining level of membership in voluntary leisure associations in the Netherlands (chapter 4) does however raise the question as to whether the Netherlands will be able to maintain its leading international position in the field of voluntary work. 'If you want to get something done ask a busy person,' the saying goes, but the picture of the busy citizen as the one most likely to be involved in voluntary work is wide of the mark. Earlier research has indicated that both the willingness to undertake voluntary work and the amount of time that people devote to such activities clearly decline the less free time that people have. In addition regular church attendance is closely correlated with voluntary work.

In this chapter the Time Use Survey has been used in order to analyse developments in 'social participation', i.e. voluntary work and informal care (to relatives and neighbours). Information has been gathered on social participation by two means: via the questionnaire and via the diary. This information differs in terms of both the

activities covered and the methods. The diary records only the time spent on social participation during the survey week. The questions in the questionnaire on social participation cover a much longer period (and consequently generate significantly higher participation rates). For this reason the findings from the questionnaire and diary have been discussed separately (respectively in § 6.2 and § 6.3).

6.2 A general picture of social participation

The questionnaire in the Time Use Survey asked whether people performed ‘unpaid work’ in 16 areas of social life. No reference was made to any specific period (e.g. the past year).

Reference is made here not to ‘unpaid work’ but to voluntary work. This is not entirely in accordance with the customary definitions of voluntary work. Generally, in the Netherlands, this is deemed to relate to work in which non-obligatory and unpaid work is performed in an organised context on behalf of others or society. The ‘organised context’ provides the distinction from informal care. The questionnaire, however, does not provide any indication as to whether the activities discussed here are organised in nature or not. Given the nature of the activities it may however be assumed that the bulk of them take place within or on behalf of an organised context. The provision of help to neighbours, the elderly and handicapped – generally classed as informal care – is discussed separately. Since questions were asked about fewer forms of voluntary work in 1975 and 1980, table 6.1 shows the percentages of participants in voluntary work and informal care since 1985.

Table 6.1 Participation in volunteering (by sector) and informal care, population aged 12 and over, 1985-2000 (in percentages and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Voluntary work total	42	38	44	31	70
culture, sport and hobbies ^a	23	21	26	15	58
children and youth ^b	16	15	17	10	59
religion and ideology	9	9	10	6	60
political and charitable goals ^c	5	5	6	4	67
professional/occupational organisation, unions	4	3	4	2	50
organised help ^d	4	4	3	3	100
women’s organisations ^e	3	3	2	1	50
helping neighbours, the elderly and disabled	13	12	13	7	54

a Singing, music, theatre or other cultural, hobbies and sport (not as participant).

b Help at school, parents’ committee, school board, childcare, crèche, playgroup, youth and community centre work.

c Politics, other social work (action group, Amnesty International, Oxfam shops, etc.).

d Other help (advice, information, help lines, legal advice centre).

e Women’s association, women’s group or women’s café.

Source: SCP (TUS)

According to the responses to the questionnaire the percentage of volunteers fluctuated until 1995 at around 40% of the population aged 12 and over. The most substantial sector is that of culture, sport and hobbies, but large numbers of volunteers were also involved in activities concerned with children and young people. Approximately 13% of the population was active in informal care for neighbours, the elderly and the disabled.

A downturn in volunteering was already evident in 1990, but this was less abrupt than the decline in the survey year 2000. The percentage of volunteers fell by 13 percentage points between 1995 and 2000, a decline of 30%. The fall was even more pronounced in certain sectors of voluntary work. It is not inconceivable that a small modification to the wording of the questionnaire was partly responsible for this unparalleled sharp decline (The 16 questions concerning social participation were identical in 2000 to those in 1995, yet in 2000 interviewers had the possibility to mark 'none of these', though out of sight of the interviewed. Assuming that the interviewers followed their instructions, it is unlikely that the addition of the code option 'none of these' at the end of the question was responsible for this decline in social participation, though this possibility cannot be wholly ruled out.). The percentage of informal care providers fell even more heavily, by almost half.

The decline in participation is evident among all population groups, although not to the same extent (table 6.2). In relation to voluntary work it is at its most pronounced among those living alone and as regards informal care among students, the unemployed and the incapacitated.

If the figures are placed in a somewhat longer-term context (the period since 1985), it turns out that virtually all groups had a relatively stable participation rate until 1995, and that a sudden and substantial decline occurred in 2000 (not shown in the table). Only among young people the downward trend that has been discernible from as early as the mid-1980s was sustained. A distinct break in the trend is evident among the elderly, whose participation rose strongly between 1990 and 1995, before slipping back equally as strongly.

Table 6.2 Participation in voluntary work and informal care, by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in percentages)

	voluntary work		help/care for neighbours, elderly, disabled	
	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population aged \geq 12 years	44	31	13	7
Sex				
male	44	31	9	5
female	43	30	16	9
Age				
12-19 years	23	18	3	0
20-34 years	42	26	7	3
35-49 years	58	37	14	6
50-64 years	43	36	21	12
\geq 65 years	40	27	21	14
Family position				
living with parents	28	22	4	2
living alone	44	26	17	7
with partner without children	37	28	15	11
parents with child/children living at home	55	39	13	6
Level of education ^a				
primary/junior secondary	37	25	14	9
senior secondary	45	31	12	6
tertiary	54	38	11	7
Labour market position				
at school/studying	31	21	4	1
working	46	31	10	6
household activities	47	40	21	15
unemployed/incapacitated	43	28	14	4
retired	48	29	21	12

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Was the lack of eagerness for voluntary work among each population group confined to specific sectors of voluntary work or was the decline a general one? The latter was largely the case (table 6.3).

Table 6.3 Participation in sectors of voluntary work by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in percentages)

	culture, sport, hobbies, women's organisations ^a		children and young people ^b		religion, politics, trade unions, organised help ^c	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population aged ≥ 12 years	27	16	17	10	19	13
Sex						
male	31	19	14	6	20	14
female	23	13	20	13	17	12
Age						
12-19 years	15	13	12	8	6	4
20-34 years	26	14	17	9	16	9
35-49 years	33	20	29	17	23	13
50-64 years	30	20	13	7	21	19
≥ 65 years	22	11	4	4	23	18
Family position						
living with parents	20	18	12	6	7	5
living alone	26	13	9	5	25	13
with partner without children	23	15	8	5	18	15
parents with child/children living at home	32	18	28	19	21	14
Level of education ^d						
primary/junior secondary	23	12	15	8	12	11
senior secondary	27	17	17	12	20	11
tertiary	33	20	21	10	28	18
Labour market position						
at school/studying	20	14	15	7	9	5
working	29	18	18	9	19	12
household activities	26	16	21	24	21	15
unemployed/incapacitated	27	13	20	8	18	11
retired	27	12	8	3	26	19

a Singing, music, theatre or other cultural, hobbies and sport (not as participant), women's association, women's group or women's café.

b Help at school, parents' committee, school board, childcare, crèche, playgroup, youth and community centre work.

c Religion and philosophy of life, politics, other social work (action group, Amnesty International, Oxfam shops, etc.), other help (advice, information, help lines, legal advice centre).

d Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Young people more or less sustained their participation in the field of culture, sport and hobbies (small declines in the table did not prove significant). Housewives/househusbands displayed a stable interest in voluntary work for children and young people. The predominant pattern is however one of decline on all fronts. Virtually all population groups showed a lower percentage of participants in all three areas of voluntary work.

6.3 A week of social participation

Within the Time Use Survey the diary forms the second source of information on social participation. Records are kept in the diary of a number of activities ranging from administrative functions in social and political organisations to church attendance and the provision of informal help to relatives and others. Together these activities in the diary constitute social participation. Within such participation a distinction has also been drawn between activities that form part of voluntary work in the strict sense, help to relatives and attendance at church services or religious meetings. Help and church-going do form part of social participation but are not classed as voluntary work. Travelling time has been left out of account in all cases.

Between 1975 and 1995 no major shifts took place in the time set aside for social participation, although the share of voluntary work in such participation did increase gradually. In 2000, however, we see that less time was set aside than in 1995 for both social participation in general and voluntary work in particular (table 6.4). The participation rates also fell. When it comes to the percentage of participants in social participation a rapidly accelerating decline is visible that got underway as early as the second half of the 1980s. Participation in voluntary work had already been subject to fluctuation and was at a comparably low level to that in 2000 in 1975 and 1990. For the sake of completeness it should be noted that the participation rates presented here relate to voluntary activities during the one survey week and are for that reason lower than the participation rates noted in the previous section.

The time set aside by participants for social participation in general rose until the mid-1990s, before falling slightly. The differences after 1990 are not however statistically significant, so that it would be better to refer to a stable allocation of time to social participation among participants since 1990. The same applies to voluntary work. The decline in the rate of participation compared with 1995 was not offset by a greater time investment by participants.

Table 6.4 Time taken up by social participation, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Duration of social participation							
total	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.2	1.8	81
of which voluntary work ^a	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.2	80
Percentage of participants							
total	47	47	47	43	44	37	85
of which voluntary work ^a	26	30	30	27	31	25	82
Length of participation among participants							
total	4.2	4.2	4.7	5.0	5.1	4.9	96
of which voluntary work ^a	4.4	4.2	4.6	5.0	4.7	4.7	98

a Total social participation, excluding travelling time, church-going and family-help.

Source: SCP (TUS)

The developments in between the last two survey years have been analysed in more detail (table 6.5). The decline in the participation rate noted earlier turns out to apply to nearly all the activities distinguished here (only the falls in the case of association life and family help are not significant). The time invested by participants does however show a more differentiated picture, with small rises on the one hand and slight falls on the other. The changes are however minor, and not significant.

**Table 6.5 Participation in social participation, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000
(in hours per week and percentages)**

	hours per week		% of participants		hours spent by participants	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Politics, pressure groups, industrial organisation	0.2	0.1	6	4	3.0	3.3
association life	0.5	0.4	12	11	3.8	3.8
total	0.7	0.5	17	14	3.8	4.0
Church or religious organisation	0.2	0.2	7	5	3.2	3.0
practising faith/religious conviction	0.4	0.3	15	13	2.4	2.2
total	0.6	0.5	18	15	3.3	3.0
Informal care to non-relatives ^a	0.6	0.5	14	11	4.0	4.2
family help	0.4	0.3	10	9	3.9	3.8
total	1.0	0.8	22	18	4.4	4.4
Travelling time related to social participation	0.4	0.3	30	25	1.2	1.3

a Visiting the sick, care of the elderly, membership of committees.

Source: SCP (TUS)

The developments outlined above did not apply to all population groups in the same way (tables 6.6 and 6.7). During the period 1975-1995 the amount of time taken up by voluntary work rose more strongly among men than among women, while since then it has fallen for both sexes (although the decline for women is not significant). Since the second half of the 1970s young people have devoted less time to voluntary work and have been the least active of all age groups since then. The time investment of the over 65s rose between 1985 and 1995, stabilising thereafter. Among 50-64-year-olds the time investment in voluntary work slipped back to the 1980 level in the 1990s, while among 20-49-year-olds it fell to a new low after 1995.

The level of education is traditionally one of the best predictors of social and political participation, but this link appears to have been seriously weakened. Over the past 25 years the large lead that the better educated had in respect of voluntary work has disappeared entirely, not so much on account of an influx of less well-educated people but because the better educated had set aside substantially fewer hours for voluntary work. Differences also apply according to position in the labour market. Between 1995 and 2000 only those for whom household tasks were their main task and the retired kept up their level of voluntary activity.

**Table 6.6 Voluntary work by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000
(in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)**

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged ≥ 12 years	1.2	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.2	80
Sex							
male	1.3	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.7	1.3	77
female	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.0	84
Age							
12-19 years	0.9	0.5	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.6	119
20-34 years	1.0	1.3	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.5	49
35-49 years	1.5	1.4	1.7	1.5	1.7	1.2	71
50-64 years	1.3	1.7	2.3	2.4	2.1	1.6	74
≥ 65 years	1.1	1.4	1.2	1.8	2.0	2.0	105
Family position							
living with parents	1.1	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.7	0.6	83
living alone	1.2	2.1	1.6	1.9	1.5	1.1	75
with partner without children	1.1	1.5	1.3	1.5	1.4	1.5	102
parents with child/children living at home	1.3	1.3	1.8	1.5	1.8	1.2	66
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	1.0	1.1	1.4	1.3	1.4	1.3	97
senior secondary	1.1	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.0	67
tertiary	2.6	2.3	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.2	74
Labour market position							
at school/studying	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.7	0.6	76
working	1.4	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.1	0.8	73
household activities	1.0	1.1	1.6	1.4	1.7	1.8	105
unemployed/incapacitated	1.6	2.0	3.3	2.8	2.7	1.5	53
retired	1.2	2.2	1.5	2.5	2.4	2.2	92

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

For the population as a whole it was noted that there was a decline in eagerness to perform voluntary work, but that those who were involved generally devoted as much time to such activities in 2000 as they did in 1995 (table 6.4). Conflicting trends were however evident among the population (table 6.7).

A sharp decline in volunteering has taken place among both men and women. The effect on the time allocated to voluntary work was however entirely different in the case of the two sexes, with the result that the sexes converged strongly in this regard. The pattern of conflicting movements among women also applies to young people, the less well-educated and housewives. A mutually reinforcing movement of fewer participants who are also less active was the most common. This applied in particular to 20-64-year-olds and to those with secondary and higher education.

**Table 6.7 Voluntary work by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995-2000
(in hours per week)**

	% of participants in survey week		time investment by participants (in hours per week)	
	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population aged \geq 12 years	31	25	4.7	4.7
Sex				
male	30	26	5.7	5.0
female	32	24	3.9	4.3
Age				
12-19 years	20	15	2.3	3.6
20-34 years	22	13	4.6	3.8
35-49 years	38	29	4.4	4.1
50-64 years	36	31	5.9	5.2
\geq 65 years	37	36	5.3	5.7
Family position				
living with parents	20	17	3.7	3.6
living alone	33	24	4.6	4.7
with partner without children	28	29	5.1	5.1
parents with child/children living at home	36	26	4.9	4.5
Level of education ^a				
primary/junior secondary	29	21	4.7	6.1
senior secondary	30	25	5.0	4.1
tertiary	35	31	4.5	3.8
Labour market position				
at school/studying	22	15	3.4	3.7
working	27	22	4.2	3.8
household activities	41	31	4.2	5.8
unemployed/incapacitated	32	31	8.7	4.6
retired	40	38	6.1	5.8

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

6.4 Conclusion: intermezzo or start of a new development?

The Netherlands has for decades been characterised by a high level of voluntary work by international standards. The successive Time Use Surveys in 1995 and 2000 indicate a striking decline in social participation. That decline was evident according to both recording methods used in this survey (i.e. the questionnaire and diary) and manifested itself among virtually all population groups.

Do the findings from the Time Use Survey stand by themselves or are there more signs of a slump in voluntary work? The picture is not clear-cut. Other surveys do not generally provide evidence of any fall in eagerness for social participation, voluntary work or informal care (Dekker et al. 2004). A decline in volunteering in the leisure sphere – sporting associations and hobby clubs – has however been discernible for

some time in the Permanent Quality of Life Survey (POLS) series of Statistics Netherlands, but is partly offset because people have become more active in other areas (although perhaps not with the same frequency and time-investment).

According to the Time Use Survey the percentage of participants fell during the period 1995-2000 but the amount of time invested per participant remained virtually constant. This is consistent with the increase in the number of passive members in divergent organisations, a phenomenon that has been observed both in practice and in certain surveys. These findings are also congruent with the advent of 'tertiary organisations' in civil society, i.e. organisations primarily borne by a large number of donors.

7 *Media and ICT* *Coping with plenty*

7.1 *Media use and media supply*

One important function served by the media is to keep society continuously provided with news. The media world itself, however, is also increasingly in the news. Media consortiums are taking each other over or are merging, titles are being amalgamated, investors are launching new television and radio stations, and Internet sites are going bankrupt or changing hands. In view of this turbulence it might be expected that the use of the media provision has also been changing rapidly. New broadcasting stations are transmitting new programmes and new sites are bringing new information and entertainment. This should therefore provide the media user with the incentive to explore new forms of provision and to move on from the old forms. If however one looks at the time-use of the Dutch every five years, what stands out in particular is continuity or, put more aptly, continuity in change. That continuity has its origin in the integration of media use in everyday life. The use of all kinds of media forms part of daily or weekly routines: the newspaper at breakfast, listening to the radio at work, watching television with a cup of coffee after the evening meal (Huysmans 2001). A television channel may acquire a new name or a package of magazines a new owner, but what ultimately counts is whether the medium can be fitted into particular daily routines. For this reason the focus here is not primarily on the relationship between media supply and demand, although this is covered to some extent in the next section. Instead the focus is on the use of (old and new) media against the background of a number of demographic, social and cultural developments. Trends in media facilities and media use during the period 1975-2000 have been identified in broad terms in section 7.2. The following sections describe the time devoted to (in succession) television, radio and sound-recording mediums, printed media and the computer and the Internet. The most important findings are summarised in the conclusion.

7.2 *Media-use: shifts within a constant time budget*

The media landscape in the year 2000 looked very different from that in 1975. The most striking feature was the expansion of the television and radio landscape. Commercial channels, in particular, have greatly increased their transmission time for both media. New newspaper titles had been added but far more had disappeared; in the special interest segment new magazine titles came and went. New books became available via libraries, bookshops and antiquarian booksellers. Digital sound and information carriers – especially the audio CD and CD-ROM – offered new opportunities for the transfer of information. This all pales into insignificance however compared with the developments in the field of information and communication

technology. The Internet already existed in 1975 – the first measurement year of the Time Use Survey – but did not really expand until after 1995.

Whether use is also made of this growing resource depends in the first place on the availability of the necessary technology in one's household. These media facilities depend on whether people are also able to make use of the provision in the home situation (table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Media facilities in the household to which one belongs, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in percentages and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Television							
at least 1 tv	96	97	98	98	98	99	101
more than 1 tv	6	18	27	35	50	54	109
cable tv			-	79	86	92	107
tv with teletext			14	47	78	93	119
tv with remote control			38	70	89	-	-
video recorder	1	4	25	53	75	85	113
DVD player						7	
Radio/audio							
at least 1 radio (at home)	96	98	98	97	97	92	95
cable radio			54	67	80	-	-
tape/cassette recorder	52	77	82	88	90	83	92
record player	78	88	89	90	75	61	81
CD player			2	48	83	83	100
DCC/DAT/mini disc player						12	
Printed media							
subscription to newspaper ^a	-	-	-	73	69	65	94
member of library ^b	28	40	40	44	47	41	86
Computer, Internet							
home or personal computer			19	30	51	70	137

- No data available.

a Concerns method of obtaining most recently read newspaper.

b Respondent only.

Source: SCP (TUS)

In 1975 almost all Dutch people had access to radio and television. Since then, as far as television is concerned, the Dutch have invested largely in an extra appliance and new gadgets and peripheral equipment: teletext, remote control, video recorder and, more recently, DVD players. In the case of the audio media it is notable that all appliances with the exception of digital music players were on the retreat in recent years, even radios (in the home). The success of the CD player has hit the analogue cassette recorder and record player hard. In the case of the printed media newspaper subscriptions and membership of libraries showed a decline. By contrast the computer made rapid inroads. In 2000 70% of the population aged 12 and over had access to a PC –

more than a twofold increase in a ten years' interval. According to figures of Statistics Netherlands, 41% of households (note: which is not the same as the percentage of individuals in such households, the type of percentage shown in table 7.1) had access to the Internet at home in mid-2000.

A growth in the media supply does not necessarily mean a proportional increase in the time devoted by people to those media. 'Coping with plenty' was already the motto in the 1980s (Becker & Schoenbach 1989) and has only become more applicable since then.

Since 1975 total media use has fluctuated around 18 to 19 hours per week (table 7.2). The decline in the amount of free time since 1995 (see chapter 4) has not had any effect on this. It should be noted that these figures concern the use of media as the main activity; media activity as a subsidiary activity (e.g. listening to the radio while working) has not been included.¹

Table 7.2 Media-use: television viewing (incl. video, teletext and cable newspaper), listening to the radio (incl. audio), reading, computer-use (incl. Internet) as main activity, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in percentages, hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Media use (hours per week)	18.5	17.8	19.0	18.8	18.8	18.7	100
television viewing	10.2	10.3	12.1	12.0	12.4	12.4	100
listening to the radio	2.2	1.8	1.4	1.2	0.8	0.7	79
reading printed media	6.1	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.6	3.9	86
computer and Internet use			0.1	0.5	0.9	1.8	186
Media use: participation (%)	99	100	100	100	99	99	100
television viewing	94	96	98	97	96	97	101
listening to the radio	68	60	52	50	41	36	89
reading printed media	96	95	94	91	89	84	94
computer and Internet use			4	13	23	45	193
Media use participants (hours p.w.)	18.6	17.9	19.0	18.9	18.9	18.8	100
television viewing	10.9	10.8	12.4	12.4	12.9	12.7	99
listening to the radio	3.2	3.0	2.7	2.4	2.1	1.8	89
reading printed media	6.4	6.0	5.7	5.6	5.2	4.7	91
computer and Internet use			3.5	3.7	4.0	3.9	97

Source: SCP (TUS)

A number of distinct shifts have however taken place within this relatively constant time-budget. Between 1975 and 1995 the time devoted to watching television as a main activity rose from 10.2 to 12.4 hours, stabilising thereafter. When set against trends on the supply side, the increase in supply appears to have been in concordance with growing use, but that growth was largely concentrated in the period 1980-1985, while commercial channels had not entered the broadcasting system until the following decade.

In 1975 2.2 hours per week were spent on listening to the radio as the main activity, while in 2000 just 0.7 hours per week or a few minutes per day were spent on listening to the radio or other sound-recording mediums (as the main activity). The proportion of listeners to radio and sound-recording mediums fell from two thirds in 1975 to less than two fifths in 2000. In addition the listening time of the ever shrinking group of 'attentive listeners' also fell. The latter decline is therefore a combination of decreasing participation and decreasing listening time among participants. This decline occurred despite the substantial increase in the number of radio transmitters and other sound recording mediums.

Similarly the reading of printed media (books, newspapers, magazines, free newspapers, advertising leaflets) is falling as a result of a combination of fewer participants and a fall in reading time per participant. After the reading time had already fallen in stages in recent decades, it suffered a further drop of 14% after 1995. The participation rate fell from 96% in 1975 to 84% in 2000. Those who remained loyal readers also reduced their reading time. As in the case of audio use, this decline was in no way associated with a corresponding reduction in provision.

The advent of the computer as a home medium since 1985 is evident from the growing amount of free time devoted to it. In the mid-1980s people spent no more than a few minutes per week at the computer but in 1995 this had already risen to nearly two hours a week, partly on account of the growing popularity of the Internet. Between 1985 and 1995 the increase in time devoted to computers was a combination of a rapidly growing group of participants and slight increase in the time allocation per participant. The further increase in the period 1995-2000, however, was entirely attributable to the twofold increase in the group of participants. The increase in computer time indicates that in contrast to radio and tv, growing information supply goes along with growing use. Evidently the functionality of new media content corresponds more closely with needs and is displacing the existing provision.

7.3 *Television: weakening growth*

The most important medium for the Dutch was and is television, at least if the amount of leisure devoted to each medium is taken as the yardstick. Between 1975 and 1995 the time devoted to watching television as the main activity rose by approximately a quarter from 10 to nearly 12.5 hours per week, thereafter remaining stable (table 7.3). The share of television viewing in total free time rose from 21% in 1975 to 26% in 1995 and 28% in 2000.

It may be that the weather affected the trends in television viewing. In the research period of 2000 it was colder and wetter than in 1995. An analysis of the impact of the weather on various leisure activities indicated that television viewing is affected relatively strongly by the weather, with higher temperatures – against expectations – leading to more television viewing (at least in October). It may be expected that the rating

figures would have been higher if the weather had been equally warm as in previous measurement years.²

Table 7.3 Television viewing (as main activity) by background characteristics, populated aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged ≥ 12 years	10.2	10.3	12.1	12.0	12.4	12.4	100
Sex							
male	11.0	11.6	13.4	13.0	12.7	13.2	104
female	9.4	9.1	10.8	11.0	12.1	11.6	96
Age							
12-19 years	9.0	10.6	11.9	12.2	13.1	10.7	81
20-34 years	8.7	8.4	10.6	10.8	10.8	10.5	98
35-49 years	10.3	9.9	10.9	10.8	11.1	11.3	102
50-64 years	11.2	11.0	12.8	13.0	13.3	13.2	99
≥ 65 years	13.3	14.0	16.7	16.0	16.6	17.0	103
Family position							
living with parents	8.7	10.1	11.3	11.8	12.3	10.8	88
living alone	11.2	11.2	12.2	13.1	13.8	13.5	97
with partner without children	11.2	11.0	13.6	13.0	13.1	13.5	103
parents with child/children living at home	10.4	9.9	11.6	11.2	11.3	11.5	102
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	11.1	10.9	13.2	13.5	14.4	14.9	104
senior secondary	7.8	8.6	11.4	11.3	11.7	11.3	96
tertiary	6.8	8.2	9.4	9.5	9.9	10.2	103
Labour market position							
at school/studying	9.2	9.6	11.3	11.3	12.3	10.5	85
working	9.3	9.3	10.8	11.0	10.7	11.0	103
household activities	10.6	10.2	11.8	11.5	13.0	12.9	99
unemployed/incapacitated	14.3	14.8	15.6	15.4	15.7	16.9	108
retired	13.8	14.8	17.5	16.1	16.2	16.3	101

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

The breakdown by age in table 7.3 indicates a substantial decline (19%) in viewing time among the youngest age group. Among the other age groups the viewing time remained virtually unchanged. The fact that the 12.4 hours for the population as a whole remained stable is attributable to the change in the age structure. A higher proportion of the population belonged to the 50-64 years and over 65 age groups, for which the viewing time is the highest, so that in net terms the population average remained unchanged. On account of the small number of cases the increase (8%) among the unemployed and incapacitated is not statistically significant.

An analysis of tv viewing as a subsidiary activity (see footnote 1) reveals that television was increasingly used between 1975 and 1995 as a 'background medium' for

other activities (table 7.4). This trend has not been sustained; in 2000 less tv was watched as a subsidiary activity. This erosion applies to all the main activities listed in the table, with one exception, eating and drinking. On average the Dutch spent one hour a week on eating and drinking in front of the box. As the sum of main and subsidiary activities combined, tv viewing has fallen slightly since 1995.³

Table 7.4 Television viewing (incl. video, teletext and cable newspaper) by main and subsidiary activity, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Main activity	10.2	10.3	12.1	12.0	12.4	12.4	100
Subsidiary activity	3.1	3.1	3.6	3.4	4.5	3.7	83
Main and subsidiary activity	13.3	13.4	15.8	15.4	16.9	16.1	95
As subsidiary activity combined with							
eating and drinking	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.9	1.0	
household activities	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.5	
social contacts	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.5	
hobbies, sport and games	0.4	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.5	0.4	
reading	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	
other	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	1.3	1.2	

Source: SCP (TUS)

As a result of the increase in the number of commercial channels since 1989, viewers have spread their interest over public and commercial stations. The fact that the commercial channels met a need rapidly became clear. RTL-Véronique, later RTL4, quickly managed to attract a large audience. Other channels followed, particularly in 1995, thereby further affecting the ratio between 'public and commercial viewing time'. Since then the provision has been expanded still further, but not at the same pace. In line with the reduced growth in the number of commercial channels since 1995 the decline in the market share of public broadcasting after 1995 was less pronounced than in the preceding five years (table 7.5).

Since 1995 the generalist commercial channels also found themselves losing market share. Their loss amounted to nearly an hour per week. The other channels, including special interest channels such as MTV, did make gains.

Table 7.5 Television viewing (main and subsidiary activities combined) by public and commercial channels and age, population aged 12 and over, 1990-2000 (in hours per week and as a percentage of public channel viewing time of total viewing time)

	hours									share of public channels in total viewing time ^c		
	public			commercial ^a			other ^b			1990	1995	2000
	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000			
Population aged ≥ 12 years	7.7	5.7	5.1	4.3	8.3	7.3	3.4	2.9	3.6	50	34	32
Age												
12-19 years	5.6	2.4	1.8	5.0	10.6	7.5	3.6	2.6	3.9	39	16	14
20-34 years	6.7	4.0	2.7	4.4	9.0	8.7	3.6	3.1	3.7	46	25	18
35-49 years	7.4	5.6	4.7	3.8	7.3	7.0	3.1	2.5	3.4	52	36	31
50-64 years	8.7	7.2	7.0	4.4	7.3	6.2	3.3	2.9	3.5	53	41	42
≥ 65 years	11.5	10.3	9.1	4.0	8.1	7.1	3.9	3.3	4.1	59	47	45

a Generalist channels aimed at the Netherlands, in 2000: RTL4, RTL5, SBS6, Net5, Veronica (later Yorin), Fox8 (later V8), excl. Music/sport channels (TMF, Eurosport) and so on have been included under 'other channels'.

b Including video, teletext and cable newspaper.

c Also known as 'market share': the share of total viewing time volume of all viewers together that a channel or group of channels manages to attract.

Source: SCP (TUS)

In view of the previous sharp decline in the market share of public broadcasting, this much less pronounced fall in the period 1995-2000 could be called a stabilisation. A glance at the market shares per age group, however, indicates that that stabilisation is attributable to the older groups. The over 50s devoted more time to public broadcasting than to commercial channels. Up to the age of 50, especially among young people, the reverse applies. In the best case for public broadcasting this would be an age effect: as people get older they would increasingly switch to public broadcasting programmes. Earlier SCP analyses, however, tend to suggest that media use is subject to a cohort effect (Knulst & Kraaykamp 1996): as people grow older a person who has been socialised in certain media use patterns continues to stick to those patterns. In that case the public broadcasting system would be facing a further decline in market share in due course.

7.4 Radio and sound recording media: declining listening time

Listening to radio and sound recording mediums, and especially to popular or classical music, is a popular subsidiary activity for many people. After an initial decline, the total listening time appeared to stabilise in the first half of the 1990s but turned out in 2000 to have fallen by nearly a quarter or 25 minutes a day (table 7.6).⁴ This is in line with the fall in radio ownership (table 7.1).

None of the distinguished population groups escaped the trend, although there were clear differences between the various groups. The decline was at its most pronounced among young people and the over 65s. Young people gave up no less than

38% or 3.4 hours a week of listening time. The growth in computer use, with the ability to download and play music, may well have been responsible for this. Even more pronounced was the fall among the over 65s. No obvious explanation for this decline in listening time is available. The middle group aged 35-49 turned out to be the most loyal listeners, but their listening time shrank too.

Table 7.6 Listening to the radio (incl. audio, main and subsidiary activity combined) by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged ≥ 12 years	15.0	15.3	14.0	13.3	13.2	10.3	78
Sex							
male	14.9	14.2	13.0	13.5	14.0	10.7	77
female	15.0	16.3	15.0	13.1	12.5	10.0	80
Age							
12-19 years	11.8	11.5	10.2	8.8	9.0	5.6	62
20-34 years	17.5	19.1	16.1	15.3	15.1	12.7	84
35-49 years	12.9	15.0	14.4	12.7	13.1	11.3	86
50-64 years	17.3	14.8	14.2	15.3	12.5	10.2	82
≥ 65 years	14.6	12.7	13.0	11.6	13.9	8.2	59
Family position							
living with parents	11.9	12.6	12.3	11.3	11.0	8.0	73
living alone	16.0	17.0	16.7	14.2	15.9	10.2	64
with partner without children	15.7	16.1	14.2	13.7	13.3	11.5	87
parents with child/children living at home	16.5	15.8	14.0	13.6	12.9	10.2	79
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	15.8	15.9	14.9	13.8	13.3	10.0	75
senior secondary	12.6	13.1	14.2	13.9	13.9	11.3	82
tertiary	11.3	13.2	9.9	11.3	12.2	9.5	77
Labour market position							
at school/studying	10.2	10.5	9.5	9.5	9.8	6.6	67
working	15.4	16.3	14.5	14.4	14.5	11.5	79
household activities	16.7	16.9	16.0	13.9	12.7	10.6	84
unemployed/incapacitated	20.2	16.4	17.4	15.6	12.1	10.3	86
retired	14.0	14.2	11.9	11.3	13.8	9.2	66

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Listening to the radio as a subsidiary activity declined almost as markedly after 1995 as main activity listening (table 7.7). In 1975 attentive listening still accounted for nearly 15% of total listening time, whereas in 1995 and 2000 the share had shrunk to 6.5%. The radio was most commonly switched on in 1975 by way of background in respect of paid and household work, as well as eating and drinking. In the 25 years after that a clear decline is evident in listening as a subsidiary activity combined with housework, eating and reading. As table 7.4 indicates, meals are nowadays taken

more frequently in front of television, while housework is also more frequently performed in the vicinity of the television set than 25 years ago (although not on a sufficient scale to compensate for the decline in listening time). The reduction in listening while reading is associated with the reduced amount of time devoted to reading as the main activity. In the case of transport by car or motorbike and in relation to paid work there has been a clear increase in listening time. This is explained by the greater amount of time taken up by these activities.

Table 7.7 Listening to the radio (main and subsidiary activity combined), population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Main activity	2.2	1.8	1.4	1.2	0.8	0.7	79
Subsidiary activity	12.8	13.5	12.6	12.1	12.4	9.6	78
Main and subsidiary activity	15.0	15.3	14.0	13.3	13.2	10.3	78
As subsidiary activity with							
paid work	1.2	1.6	1.6	1.8	1.9	1.8	
education and training	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.2	
transport by car/motorbike	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.9	1.4	1.5	
household tasks	2.8	3.1	2.9	2.4	2.2	1.7	
eating and drinking	2.3	2.2	2.0	1.8	1.4	1.1	
social contacts	1.1	1.0	0.8	0.9	1.0	0.6	
hobbies, sport and games	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.6	
reading	1.3	1.1	0.9	1.0	0.9	0.6	
other	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.0	2.4	1.6	

Source: SCP (TUS)

As in the case of public television, public radio (national, regional and local) has been exposed to competition from commercial providers since the late 1980s. Initially, commercial stations were allowed to broadcast by cable only (leaving aside the previous pirate radios), meaning that they were unable to reach a considerable share of the potential audience.⁵ Commercial stations have had access to the ether by law since mid-1992.

Between 1990 and 1995 public broadcasting accordingly lost a substantial element of its market share (table 7.8). After 1995 too the time devoted to listening to public broadcasting fell while the listening time for commercial broadcasters rose. As in the case of television it has been the young listeners, in particular, who have embraced the commercial channels. But the elderly have also not been on the sidelines: compared with a clear decline in their public listening time their commercial listening time has slightly increased.

Table 7.8 Listening to the radio (main and subsidiary activity combined) by public and commercial stations and age, population aged 12 and over, 1990-2000 (in hours per week and in percentages of public broadcasting listening time to total listening time)

	hours									share of public stations in total listening time		
	public			commercial ^a			other ^b			1990	1995	2000
	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000	1990	1995	2000			
Population aged ≥ 12 years	8.5	4.5	2.7	2.6	4.0	4.8	6.1	3.7	64	34	26	
Age												
12-19 years	4.4	2.6	0.2	0.9	3.0	4.3	5.5	2.4	51	29	4	
20-34 years	9.7	4.7	2.9	3.0	6.0	5.6	7.3	3.8	64	31	23	
35-49 years	8.0	4.1	2.6	3.6	5.0	4.6	5.4	3.7	63	31	23	
50-64 years	10.0	4.4	3.3	2.4	2.8	5.3	5.6	4.2	66	36	32	
≥ 65 years	8.6	6.6	3.3	1.1	1.2	3.0	6.2	3.7	74	47	41	

a National commercial stations. In 1990 the commercial stations were not measured separately and formed part of 'other stations' in that year.

b Including regional and local broadcasting (also commercial), foreign stations and audio (CDs, records and cassettes, etc).

Source: SCP (TUS)

7.5 Printed media: less time for books, newspapers and magazines

During the entire last quarter of the twentieth century there was an unmistakable decline in the reading of books, newspapers and magazines (table 7.5, cf. the earlier SCP reports by Knulst & Kalmijn 1988, Knulst & Kraaykamp 1996). The decline in reading applied equally to men and women. Young people in particular turned their backs en masse on books, but the decline in reading now extends to all age groups and since 1995 also to the over 65s. The 35-49-year-old group reduced its reading time the most of all age categories. If these age-specific figures for reading are compared against those for television viewing, the decline in reading does not prove to be reflected in a corresponding increase in television viewing.

Table 7.9 Reading of printed media (as main activity) by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged ≥ 12 years	6.1	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.6	3.9	86
Sex							
male	6.0	6.1	5.5	4.9	4.4	3.8	86
female	6.2	5.3	5.2	5.4	4.8	4.1	86
Age							
12-19 years	4.6	4.0	2.9	2.8	1.8	1.4	78
20-34 years	5.4	4.9	4.1	3.6	2.6	2.1	79
35-49 years	5.6	5.4	5.2	5.4	4.7	3.4	73
50-64 years	7.9	6.7	7.0	6.8	6.5	5.4	83
≥ 65 years	8.0	8.5	8.5	8.3	8.6	7.4	87
Family position							
living with parents	4.8	4.2	3.2	2.8	2.0	1.5	76
living alone	9.2	7.4	7.0	6.0	6.1	4.8	79
with partner without children	6.7	6.9	6.9	6.4	5.4	5.0	91
parents with child/children living at home	5.9	5.4	5.0	5.1	4.6	3.6	78
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	5.8	5.4	5.0	5.0	4.6	3.9	85
senior secondary	6.9	6.1	5.1	4.6	4.1	3.5	86
tertiary	7.5	7.3	6.8	6.4	5.4	4.6	85
Labour market position							
at school/studying	4.6	4.4	3.3	3.0	2.1	1.5	73
working	5.7	5.2	4.9	4.4	3.8	3.2	84
household activities	6.5	5.8	5.6	6.0	5.8	4.6	79
unemployed/incapacitated	9.3	6.7	6.5	6.3	5.1	3.9	77
retired	8.6	10.2	9.4	9.0	8.7	7.8	90

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Reading as a subsidiary activity did not decline in the 1990s; in 2000 it was at the same level as ten years before (table 7.10). No clear trends emerge from the breakdown into the various main activities with which reading is combined. It is however notable that of the hour per week that the Dutch spent on average travelling by public transport in 2000 (see chapter 2), only 0.1 hour was combined with reading. A small proportion of reading took place while watching television was the main activity (the ostensibly more logical combination of reading as the main activity and tv viewing as the subsidiary activity was three times as common; see table 7.4).

Table 7.10 Reading of printed media by main and subsidiary activity, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Main activity	6.1	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.6	3.9	86
Subsidiary activity ^a				1.2	1.3	1.2	91
Main and subsidiary activity				6.3	5.9	5.2	87
As subsidiary activity combined with							
eating and drinking				0.4	0.5	0.5	
resting, relaxing, lazing				0.2	0.2	0.1	
watching television				0.2	0.2	0.1	
public transport				0.1	0.1	0.1	
other				0.3	0.4	0.3	

a Not measured in this way before 1990.

Source: SCP (TUS)

These figures do not indicate what was read or which printed media were hit the hardest by the decline in reading time. To this end a breakdown has been made into four kinds of printed media: books, newspapers, magazines and free newspapers/ advertising leaflets.

Interest in all printed media turns out to have declined, with the exception of free newspapers and advertising leaflets (table 7.11). The reading of books staged a slight revival in 1990, which was reversed in the following years. The decline by nearly a quarter since 1995 is severe – more severe than that in the time spent on reading newspapers and news sheets.

The decline in reading time stems in particular from the fall in participation rates. The time spent on reading by the readers of the various types of printed media remained unchanged (newspapers and news sheets) or fell to a lesser extent.

This observation is not at variance with the observation that the total reading time of participants between 1995 and 2000 fell fairly heavily (see the top line of the bottom block in table 7.11). This decline arises from the fact that fewer people combined the reading of various types of literature. In 1975 people on average read 2.4 of the four different kinds of literature in the course of the survey week, while in 2000 this number had fallen to 1.8. The Dutch are evidently opting to concentrate their (ever lower) attention on their preferred printed media.

Table 7.11 Reading of printed media (as main activity) by type of medium, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in percentages, hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Reading printed media (hours per week)	6.1	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.6	3.9	86
books	1.6	1.6	1.3	1.5	1.2	0.9	77
newspapers, newsheets	2.7	2.5	2.5	2.3	2.0	1.8	90
magazines	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.0	0.8	81
free newspapers, advertising leaflets	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	111
Reading printed media: participation (%)	96	95	94	91	89	84	94
books	49	48	44	44	38	31	80
newspapers, newsheets	84	82	78	74	69	62	90
magazines	75	71	69	62	63	53	83
free newspapers, advertising leaflets	31	36	39	38	37	38	101
Reading printed media by participants (hours per week)	6.4	6.0	5.7	5.6	5.2	4.7	91
books	3.3	3.3	3.1	3.4	3.2	3.1	95
newspapers, newsheets	3.3	3.1	3.2	3.1	3.0	3.0	100
magazines	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.6	97
free newspapers, advertising leaflets	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.8	0.8	110

Source: SCP (TUS)

The decline in reading time by type of literature (with the exception of free newspapers and advertising leaflets) is not confined to specific population groups (table 7.12). In the case of books, newspapers and magazines, stabilisation was evident in respect of at most one group (cohabiters). By level of education there are no major differences: high, medium and low have reduced their reading time on books to roughly the same extent. In the case of magazines it appears that the higher the level of education, the smaller the fall in reading time.

The reading of books between 1995 and 2000 turns out to have been reduced the most by people aged 35 and over. The younger groups read approximately as much in 2000 as they did in 1995. Those who were responsible for the household and people not in work showed the most dramatic fall in the reading of books.

In the case of newspapers the youngest groups already reduced their limited reading time. Otherwise it was single householders and the unemployed who cut back particularly heavily on the reading of newspapers between 1995 and 2000. Generally speaking, the decline in reading time went hand in hand with a fall in subscriptions to a newspaper.

To sum up, both continuity and change are discernible. Taken across the board, the trend towards a decline in the time spent reading printed media sustained in recent years. Where the advent of television appeared to be an explanatory factor in the period up to 1995, especially among young people, another explanation must be sought for the subsequent period. Possibly it is no longer television but the personal

computer with Internet connection that is eating into the time for books, newspapers and magazines and gets young people reading at the monitor instead.

Table 7.12 Reading printed media (as main activity) by medium type and background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	books		newspapers/ newsheets		magazines		free newspa- pers/ advertis- ing leaflets	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population aged ≥ 12 years	1.2	0.9	2.0	1.8	1.0	0.8	0.3	0.3
Sex								
male	0.9	0.7	2.3	2.1	0.9	0.7	0.2	0.3
female	1.5	1.2	1.8	1.6	1.1	0.9	0.3	0.4
Age								
12-19 years	0.7	0.6	0.3	0.2	0.7	0.5	0.0	0.1
20-34 years	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.2	0.2
35-49 years	1.4	0.9	2.1	1.6	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.3
50-64 years	1.5	1.0	3.2	2.8	1.4	1.1	0.4	0.4
≥ 65 years	2.2	1.5	4.2	4.0	1.7	1.4	0.6	0.6
Family position								
living with parents	0.7	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.8	0.5	0.1	0.1
living alone	2.0	1.5	2.6	2.1	1.1	0.9	0.3	0.3
with partner without children	1.2	1.1	2.8	2.5	1.1	1.0	0.3	0.4
parents with child/children living at home	1.1	0.7	2.1	1.7	1.1	0.8	0.3	0.4
Level of education ^a								
primary/junior secondary	1.1	0.8	2.0	1.8	1.1	0.8	0.4	0.4
senior secondary	1.0	0.8	1.8	1.6	1.0	0.8	0.3	0.3
tertiary	1.6	1.3	2.5	2.2	1.0	0.9	0.2	0.2
Labour market position								
at school/studying	0.8	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.7	0.5	0.1	0.1
working	0.9	0.8	1.8	1.5	0.9	0.7	0.2	0.2
household activities	1.7	1.2	2.2	1.9	1.4	1.0	0.4	0.5
unemployed/incapacitated	1.6	0.9	2.2	1.7	1.1	1.0	0.3	0.3
retired	2.0	1.6	4.6	4.2	1.5	1.4	0.5	0.6

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

7.6 Computer ownership and use: the digital divide re-examined

A characteristic feature of the contemporary new media is the combination of technologies that were formerly separate. The convergence of telecommunications and computer has opened up new possibilities for the transfer of information and communication. The rapidly growing popularity of e-mail and the world wide web is one example. The www provides access to information, irrespective of the geographical

location of the information or the information-seeker. Apart from an online connection with the www, ever more PC owners have access offline to information on CD-ROM or DVD. The PC is consequently becoming an ever more important access portal to sources of information and, to a lesser extent, the means for producing and distributing information oneself. This chapter therefore examines the connection between media use and PC use.

An earlier SCP report (Van Dijk et al. 2000) described how the digitalisation of life spread on a 'trickle-down' principle. Higher status groups – especially higher income groups – were the first to purchase ICT products, followed by lower status groups. In addition, other groups also entered into the dissemination of ICT and society at a relatively late stage. Women (especially single women), the over 65s, people with no more than primary or secondary education and the unemployed lagged behind the rest of the population in terms of ownership of ICT. On the basis of the available figures for the late 1990s, the expectation was voiced that the differences in the ownership of existing ICT products (wireless telephone, mobile telephones, fax and PC) would increase between the age groups up to and including 2001, particularly on account of the rapid increase in ownership among 18-34-year-olds. No change was anticipated during that period in ownership differentials between men and women and between education categories. The Time Use Survey of 2000 makes it possible to establish to what extent those developments did in fact take place up to the fall of 2000 and whether the digital divide has narrowed or broadened.

Following a sluggish start in the 1980s the distribution of the PC grew rapidly in the 1990s. PC ownership in Dutch households rose from 18% in 1985 – the first year in which the Time Use Survey included a question about PC ownership – to 70% in 2000 (table 7.13). In the latter year 18% of the Dutch had two or more PCs in the home, thereby continuing the digitalisation of the home environment in recent years. Falling prices, increasing user-friendliness and a wider range of applications contributed towards the increase in PC ownership.

These figures indicate a declining gap in PC ownership between men and women. Measured in terms of ownership the gender gap is therefore narrowing. In many cases, however, a PC is still a household attribute and ownership of a PC is therefore not an adequate indicator for drawing any conclusions on sex differences. We will therefore be returning to the use of the PC later in this section.

The PC may be equipped with user-friendly operating systems and programmes, but remains an appliance surrounded by an aura of complexity. This probably explains why this symbol of the information society has largely been made use of by people familiar with complex information patterns, i.e. the better educated. Following an almost equal start in 1985, the higher educated have become disproportionately represented among PC owners. Since 1995 people lacking or not in higher education have however been making up lost ground.

Table 7.13 Ownership of a computer in the household to which one belongs by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1985-2000 (in percentages and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged ≥ 12 years	18	30	51	70	137
Sex					
male	20	34	57	75	133
female	17	25	46	65	141
Age					
12-19 years	34	46	72	90	125
20-34 years	16	30	54	76	140
35-49 years	25	43	68	85	125
50-64 years	10	16	40	69	172
≥ 65 years	6	4	9	24	263
Family position					
living with parents	31	43	69	84	122
living alone	6	14	28	41	147
with partner without children	8	19	38	63	169
parents with child/children living at home	22	36	62	84	136
Level of education ^a					
primary/junior secondary	17	20	36	53	150
senior secondary	22	36	56	78	139
tertiary	20	44	71	84	118
Labour market position					
at school/studying	32	47	75	88	118
working	19	35	60	82	136
household activities	13	18	37	62	169
unemployed/incapacitated	13	26	38	51	135
retired	8	7	18	30	166

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

PC ownership among the elderly continued to lag behind that of young people in 2000. During the period 1995-2000, however, PC ownership staged the fastest relative increase among the two oldest age groups. The distribution of PCs has therefore also become well established among the elderly.

Finally it is evident that households with children are the most likely to have a computer. In addition, school children, students and the employed were over-represented among PC owners in 2000. Here too, however, a stronger increase has been observable among the other population groups since 1995.

Insight into the use of the computer in leisure time may be obtained from the diary records. In 2000 45% of the population had spent at least a quarter of an hour of their free time at the monitor during the survey week, twice that in 1995 (table 7.14). PC use therefore grew more rapidly than PC ownership. From this it may be deduced

that computers have become steadily less unused in the home. The percentage of PC owners active each week rose from 40% in 1995 to 60% in 2000. Between 1995 and 2000 the advent of computer use did not lead to a further increase in the average number of hours that users were active. This remained virtually constant at around four hours.

Table 7.14 Computer use among persons aged 12 and over, 1985-2000 (in percentages and hours per week, index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
1 Has access to computer at home	18	30	51	70	137
2 Used computer in leisure time during survey week	4	13	23	45	200
3 Computer use (see 2) among persons with access to computer at home	18	33	40	60	150
4 Weekly number of hours of computer use by computer users (in the survey week)	3.5	3.7	4.0	3.9	98

Source: SCP (TUS)

Until late in the 1990s the PC was therefore used primarily on a stand alone basis at home. Thanks to the advent of 'free' Internet providers, the number of households with their own Internet connection has risen rapidly since the mid-1990s. So as to throw separate light on the Internet, a distinction was drawn in the Time Use Survey in 2000 between the use of the Internet and other PC use (table 7.15). In that year the population (aged 12 and over) spent an average of 1.8 hours per week of their leisure time at the PC, a twofold increase since 1995. Of the nearly two hours of computer time in 2000 half an hour was devoted to the Internet. The increase in PC use 'compensates' for the decline in reading and to a lesser extent also for that in radio listening. The total media use consequently remained constant at nearly 19 hours.

The PC time rose between 1995 and 2000 in all population groups. Nevertheless there remained substantial differences. The elderly and women spent less time at the computer than young people and men. These differences widened rather than narrowed. Although the amount of leisure time spent on PC use more than doubled among women – proportionately more than that for men – but in absolute numbers the difference between men and women continued to grow (from 1.1 hours in 1995 to 1.5 hours in 2000). This accordingly brings out the gender gap in use more clearly than the ownership of a PC in the household.

PC use also doubled among the over 65s, but even so the gap between the over 65s and young people widened further. Persons aged 12-19 (often living at home or going to school/studying) were the biggest users of the PC. In 2000 they spent an average of 3.4 leisure hours per week at the computer. The increase in computer use among young people was coupled with a sharp decline in tv viewing time and a relatively slight decline in reading time.

Internet use was relatively low among women, the elderly and less well educated. Men spent twice as much time surfing on the Internet as did women. Those in work and studying used the Internet on average more than half an hour per week, while the retired did not even quite average 10 minutes. A notable feature was the heavy Internet use among the unemployed and incapacitated (average of 1.1 hours per week).

Table 7.15 Computer and Internet use (as main leisure activity) by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1985-2000 (in hours per week)

	computer use				computer use 2000	
	1985	1990	1995	2000	Internet	other computer use
Population aged ≥ 12 years	0.1	0.5	0.9	1.8	0.5	1.3
Sex						
male	0.3	0.8	1.5	2.5	0.7	1.8
female	0.0	0.1	0.4	1.0	0.3	0.7
Age						
12-19 years	0.4	0.8	1.9	3.4	0.7	2.7
20-34 years	0.1	0.5	1.3	1.6	0.6	1.0
35-49 years	0.1	0.5	0.8	2.0	0.6	1.4
50-64 years	0.1	0.5	0.5	1.7	0.5	1.2
≥ 65 years	0.0	0.1	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.5
Family position						
living with parents	0.3	0.7	2.0	2.7	0.6	2.1
living alone	0.1	0.5	0.9	1.5	0.5	1.1
with partner without children	0.1	0.3	0.7	1.4	0.5	1.0
parents with child/children living at home	0.1	0.5	0.6	1.8	0.5	1.3
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	0.1	0.2	0.7	1.4	0.3	1.1
senior secondary	0.3	0.5	0.9	2.1	0.6	1.5
tertiary	0.1	1.1	1.4	1.9	0.7	1.2
Labour market position						
at school/studying	0.4	0.9	2.2	3.4	0.7	2.6
working	0.1	0.6	0.9	1.7	0.6	1.2
household activities	0.0	0.1	0.3	1.1	0.3	0.8
unemployed/incapacitated	0.2	0.8	1.3	3.0	1.1	1.9
retired	0.0	0.2	0.6	0.7	0.1	0.6

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Not everyone with a PC at home made use of it during the survey week. Of the computer owners in 2000, 40% did not make use of the PC they had at home (table 7.14). By way of supplement to the diary a question was also asked in the questionnaire survey as to how often they used the PC for different purposes, namely work, study, club/association/voluntary work and private purposes.

In the first place the answers to these questions reveal that 19% of people with a PC at home failed to use it at all. That this percentage was lower than the previously noted 40% in the survey week points to the existence of a group of PC users that does not use the PC every week (see also the middle column of table 7.16). Three quarters of PC owners use the computer for private purposes, over a third for work and over a quarter for study (table 7.16).

Table 7.16 Computer use (incl. Internet) by purpose, persons aged 12 and over, 2000
(in percentages of pc owners)

	daily	once/several times per week	less than once a week	never	total
Work	18	12	6	64	100
Study	5	13	8	73	100
Club/association/voluntary work	1	6	9	84	100
For private purposes	25	40	11	24	100

Source: SCP (TUS)

The PC is a multifunctional appliance whose possible uses are widely increased by going online. This online use is an important growth item in the time spent at the computer. Table 7.17 shows the usage frequency of seven online services (once again on the basis of answers to questions in the questionnaire). Of these services, surfing and e-mailing were the most popular. In 2000 over half the computer owners surfed on the World Wide Web, while 47% did so at least once a week. Nearly half (48%) of the owners used the computer in order to e-mail. The remaining potential online users were used by a smaller group of PC owners. A quarter made use of the ability to download software and a fifth used the PC for telebanking. News groups and chat boxes each had a reach of approximately 10%. The Dutch did not feel comfortable with e-commerce in 2000: just 8% of PC owners incidentally made purchases on the net.

Table 7.17 Computer use by type of use, persons aged 12 and over, 2000
(in percentages of pc owners)

	daily	once/several times a week	less than once a week	never	total
Internet (WWW)	17	30	7	46	100
E-mail	16	24	8	52	100
News groups	2	5	2	90	100
Chatting/chat boxes	2	5	4	89	100
Downloading software	3	10	13	74	100
Telebanking	2	13	5	81	100
Teleshopping	0	1	7	92	100

Source: SCP (TUS)

Persons lacking modern information and communication technology at home need not necessarily be sidelined in the information society. ICT access is also provided in other places. Many people are able to make use of the computer at work, but the non-employed also have a wide range of opportunities: those interested can go on the electronic superhighway in community centres, regional training centres, Internet cafes or libraries. Not all these locations are equally as popular or established (table 7.18).

Table 7.18 Computer use (incl. Internet) by location, persons aged 12 and over, 2000 (in percentages)

	daily	once/several time a week	less than once a week	never	total
Population aged \geq 12 years					
home	23	28	7	42	100
at work	27	7	1	65	100
at school	4	8	2	86	100
in the library	0	2	8	90	100
elsewhere (community centre, Internet café)	0	2	2	96	100
PC users					
home	35	44	11	10	100
at work	41	11	2	46	100
at school	5	13	3	79	100
in the library	0	3	13	84	100
elsewhere (community centre, Internet café)	0	3	3	94	100

Source: SCP (TUS)

The private computer had the greatest reach among the population as a whole, followed at some distance by the PC at work and at an even greater distance by the PC at school. Increasing numbers of people made use of a PC when visiting the library; in 2000 10% of the population did so. The computer is used here in particular to consult the catalogue and much less frequently to search or surf on the Internet. The use of computers in other locations, such as community centres or Internet cafes, was still on a small scale in 2000. Whether the 'digital playground' (where people in disadvantaged areas have the opportunity to acquire ICT skills under supervision) will bring about any change in this respect remains to be seen.

7.7 Conclusion: growth, declines and constants

The expansion of the Internet has made the supply of information and entertainment even greater than it already was. At the same time there has been a growing realisation that the human capacity to make use of this supply is limited. As was seen above, this not just applies in a psychological sense. Media and ICT are part of time-use patterns in which various sorts of 'competing' activities are integrated. Since 1975 the media time budget of the Dutch has remained relatively constant at around 18-19

hours per week, even in the face of the shrinking leisure budget since 1995 (chapter 4). The ever-busier mid-life stage is compensated for by the ageing of the population, whereby both more busy people and more people with more free time have been added.

Within the media time-budget shifts occurred between the various media. During the period 1975-1995 television in particular gained ground at the expense of radio and printed media. On the threshold of the new century it became clear that the computer with Internet connection had also captured a place in leisure activities. The Internet, with its opportunities for consulting and downloading all kinds of information, from the latest news to entertainment, provides attractive alternatives to existing media. The younger age-groups were the first to avail themselves of the new possibilities but, since 1995, the older age-groups have also become aware of the functionality that these have for their daily life. The advent of computer and Internet use has been at the expense of listening to the radio and sound-recording mediums and the reading of books, newspapers and magazines. An exception to this conclusion has been the 12-19-year-olds, among whom a relatively strong growth in PC use is coupled with a decline in viewing time. Nevertheless the total viewing time has remained constant since 1995, once again thanks to ageing.

The further dissemination of the PC among the Dutch population has been associated with both a narrowing and a widening of the digital divide. Measured in terms of PC ownership the differences between population groups became smaller, the over 65s being an important exception. Measured in terms of PC use the digital divide widened. Men and young people increased their PC use more than women or the elderly.

Notes

- 1 The ability to specify a subsidiary as well as a main activity applies only to media use. It is possible to indicate in the TUS that one listens to the radio while working, but not the other way round. Respondents can therefore specify TV viewing as a main activity but also a subsidiary activity, which is why this distinction occupies an important place in this chapter. In other chapters the distinction does not apply. This chapter therefore reports primarily on media use as a main activity, and secondarily as a subsidiary activity.
- 2 This point will not be explored further in the rest of this chapter.
- 3 These figures differ from those in the Continuous Listening Survey (CKO) of the Netherlands Broadcasting Association NOS. The CKO does not provide any evidence of a further increase in viewing time in relation to 1995. The TUS is a snapshot in time in the month of October and not, as in the case of the NOS's CKO, a daily measurement of viewing behaviour. In addition, a different method of measurement is used.
- 4 Notably enough the Netherlands Broadcasting Association NOS reports an increase of 25 minutes a day for the population aged 13 and over between 1995 and 2000 in its Continuous Listening Survey (CLO).
- 5 The figures for cable radio in table 7.1 suggest that a substantial proportion of listeners are in fact being reached by cable. The table shows the percentage of persons with access to cable radio in the home. In many cases however, portable radios are used in other rooms in the same household with ether reception only. In addition people of course also listen to the radio outside their own household, i.e. beyond the reach of 'cable radio'.

8 Going Out

Eating and drinking out, visiting cultural facilities and attending sporting events

8.1 Going out amidst numerous possibilities

The Netherlands boasts a large number of festivals, such as the International Film Festival, the Holland Festival, the Gergiev Festival and the North Sea Jazz Festival. Apart from these festivals there are numerous cinemas, concert halls, theatres and playhouses spread all over the country. The Netherlands has only a few large sporting stadiums but numerous smaller facilities for viewing sport. The Netherlands is the home of Rembrandt, Vermeer, Van Gogh and Mondrian, but also a country in which there are millions of amateur painters, musicians and actors. Despite the indifferent reputation of its culinary tradition, the Netherlands has a number of restaurants with Michelin stars and one can eat out anywhere in the country. The Netherlands has, in brief, a wide and varied range of culture, sport and catering establishments. Going out is accordingly an important element in the leisure pursuits of the Dutch, and it is for this reason that a separate chapter has been dedicated to the subject in this study. Going out covers visits to cafés, discotheques, restaurants and other catering establishments and visits to cultural institutions (museums, stage or cinema), as well as a residual category covering visits to sporting contests, zoos and amusement parks. The time spent on travelling in order to go out is outside the scope of this chapter.

Although the differences over the years have been limited, the importance of going out within leisure time as a whole peaked in 1995. As will be seen, café and restaurant proprietors saw an increase in their clientele and cultural institutions attracted more visitors, with museums and pop concerts being particularly in vogue. Sporting events, however, had to make do with fewer spectators. As seen in earlier chapters, 1995 turned out to mark a turning point for various trends in the use of time, for example on account of the decline in the amount of free time and the break in the trend towards spending a growing share of leisure outside the home.

This chapter explores trends in going out during the last few decades of the previous century, with a detailed analysis of the period 1995-2000 in particular. The buoyant economic growth and strong increase in employment in the second half of the 1990s squeezed the amount of free time. The consequences for going out are described below.

This chapter first of all examines the information on going out in the time-use diaries (§ 8.2). This however provides no more than an initial, rough indication, since many going-out activities are not on the weekly agenda. Most people who visit a museum from time to time do so once or twice a year. It is therefore better to express participation figures in the number of visits per year. This information is obtained from the Time Use Survey questionnaires, as well as from the questionnaire used in

another survey (FUS), thereby enabling a clearer picture to be obtained of eating and drinking out (§ 8.3), sporting events (§ 8.4) and cultural institutions (§ 8.5). This is followed by an examination of the subject of 'omnivorous leisure activities' (§ 8.6). Departing from normal practice the summary of the research findings (§ 8.7) does not form the conclusion of this chapter: on this occasion the conclusion is dedicated to an exploration of the future of cultural participation (§ 8.8).

8.2 Time for going out

Over the years going out has consistently taken up approximately two and a half hours a week, or 5-6% of all free hours during the week (table 8.1, cf. table 4.1). In 2000 the number of hours was at approximately the same level as in 1975. Nevertheless a number of fluctuations were discernible over those 25 years. Following an initial decline, the amount of time spent on going out rose gradually in the 1980s. In the 1990s the going out time stabilised at around 2.5 hours (the decline in the table between 1995 and 2000 did not prove statistically significant). Despite the shrinkage of the leisure budget in the second half of the 1990s, going out did not decline in popularity.

In 2000 66% of going-out time was spent in restaurants, cafés, snack bars and discos. A relatively small element of the time (18%) was devoted to cultural activities. The 'other going out' category accounted for 16% of the time spent on going out. This ratio between the going-out time of the three separate categories (eating and drinking out, cultural activities and other) remained relatively stable over time. Generally speaking over one and a half hours a week were spent in the various catering industry establishments. The cultural facilities and other recreational facilities each had to make do with approximately half an hour a week.

Since the mid-1990s something has shifted. The cultural sector managed to maintain its position despite the shrinking leisure budget. The average amount of time spent on visits to cultural facilities even rose between 1995 and 2000. This increase was due in particular to the greater time-investment made by cultural participants and to a lesser extent to the growth in the number of visitors to cultural facilities. In the case of the 'other going out' category the percentage of participants, in particular, fell.

Table 8.1 Time spent on going out, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours, percentages and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Going out total (in hours)	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.5	97
eating and drinking out ^a	1.6	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.7	95
cultural facilities ^b	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	127
other going out ^c	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4	79
Participation in going out (in %)	59	55	56	58	62	59	96
eating and drinking out	47	42	43	46	52	50	97
cultural facilities	17	15	14	15	14	15	107
other going out	15	19	20	17	17	14	82
Going out by participants (in hours)	4.0	3.9	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.3	101
eating and drinking out	3.3	3.1	3.5	3.7	3.4	3.4	98
cultural facilities	2.5	2.6	2.6	2.8	2.5	3.0	119
other going out	2.5	2.4	3.0	2.8	2.9	2.8	97

a Cafés, bars, snack bars, associations, clubs, dancing, restaurants.

b Museums, exhibitions, castles, theatrical performances, cabaret, musicals, operas, operettas, concerts, ballet, films, revues, shows.

c Sporting competition/events, recreation parks, zoos, processions, tattoos.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Men have always devoted more time to going-out than women. Over time they have not however increased their going-out time and even reduced it slightly after 1995. Women by contrast have become more active in this area since 1990, thereby narrowing the differences between the sexes (table 8.2). This is notable since the amount of time taken up by commitments among women has grown more than among men (table 2.II).

**Table 8.2 Going out, by background characteristics, 1975-2000, population aged 12 and over
(in hours and index 2000, 1995 = 100)**

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged 12 and over	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.5	97
Sex							
male	3.0	2.4	3.0	3.1	3.0	2.7	89
female	1.7	2.0	1.9	2.0	2.2	2.4	107
Age							
12-19 years	4.0	3.4	3.6	3.6	3.3	2.4	73
20-34 years	2.9	2.6	3.2	3.6	3.6	3.8	106
35-49 years	2.0	1.6	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.5	115
50-64 years	1.3	1.5	1.3	1.6	2.2	2.1	95
≥ 65 years	0.8	1.4	1.1	1.3	1.5	1.4	92
Family position							
living with parents	4.3	3.7	4.2	4.3	3.8	3.6	94
single householder	1.7	2.4	2.8	3.2	3.5	3.2	91
with partner without children	1.5	1.8	2.0	2.3	2.4	2.4	100
parent with child/children	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.9	105
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	2.2	2.1	2.1	1.9	2.1	1.9	90
senior secondary	3.0	2.9	3.0	3.1	2.7	2.8	103
tertiary	2.2	2.4	2.8	3.3	3.4	3.2	92
Labour market position							
at school/studying	3.4	3.4	3.8	4.0	3.5	3.3	96
employed	2.8	2.4	2.7	2.8	2.9	2.8	96
household activities	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.9	130
unemployed/incapacitated	4.6	2.7	3.2	2.9	3.0	2.5	83
retired	0.9	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.9	1.5	79

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

During the last quarter of the previous century teenagers lost their dominant position in going-out life. In terms of time-use 35-49-year-olds no longer lag behind young people, while thanks to the growth in time spent on going out since 1980, 20-34-year-olds now occupy the top position.

Going-out life has increasingly become the domain of the better educated. In the 1970s the time spent on going out by those with higher education was still at the same level as those with primary education only and it was those with secondary education qualifications who were the most active. In the second half of the 1990s the educational hierarchy had also become a going-out hierarchy.

Also noticeable is that the going-out behaviour of the unemployed, incapacitated and retired was subject to marked variations. In 1980 and 2000 they went out much less than in other measurement years (although as a result of the small numbers the differences are not statistically significant). It may be that the tightness of the labour

market in 2000 meant that the most energetic elements of these groups had found employment and hence ended up in a different population group.

The stability in going-out time also means that little change has been observable in regard to individual recreational activities, in which respect it may be noted that the time spent on such activities is very low. Within the space of a few decades the most notable development has been that the Dutch have spent more time on eating out. Between 1975 and 2000 the time spent on eating out doubled. Despite a shrinking volume of leisure, the restaurants also managed to strengthen their position in the leisure market between 1995 and 2000. At a time of economic prosperity and growing shortage of time it was evidently not a problem to spend more time on eating out. The growth in restaurant-going is consistent with the increase in capital-intensive leisure pursuits (cf. table 4.2). Time-pressure may however have been behind the fact that the time spent by the Dutch in cafés and bars, etc., fell by 16% in the second half of the 1990s (table 8.3).

Table 8.3 Time spent on going out, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index ^a
Going out total	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.5	97
catering industry	1.6	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.8	1.7	95
café, discotheques, etc.	1.3	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.1	84
restaurants	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.6	130
Cultural activities	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.5	127
museums	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	165
theatre	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.2	126
cinema	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	90
Other going out	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4	79
sporting events	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3	79
other events	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	81

a Index figures have been calculated for figures to several decimal points.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Cultural life attracts a comparatively limited group of visitors. In an arbitrary October week approximately 15% of the population is culturally active. Similarly the average of approximately half an hour's cultural participation per week does not indicate that culture occupies a prominent place in the leisure timetable of the Dutch. As against this, the limited time spent on cultural activities does not square with the importance that culture buffs attach to their activities. In many cases the time spent on cultural activities is regarded as particularly rich in meaning.

The modest amount of time spent on cultural activities means that small changes become large in percentage terms. Thus the amount of time spent on visiting muse-

ums rose between 1995 and 2000 by 65%, while the time attending stage performances rose by 26%, roughly the same as the average increase in the cultural sector. Less time was spent on going to the cinema. The latter is odd, since other sources (such as industry attendance figures) indicate that cinema attendance rose during the second half of the 1990s (see also table 8.9).

The various population groups differ in the way in which their going-out time is spread over eating and drinking out, cultural activities and other (especially attendance at sporting activities). The reduced amount of time spent by men on going out applied only to eating and drinking out and the 'other' category; cultural attendance rose slightly (table 8.4). The fact that those with higher education go out more than those with primary education is due to the fact that they spend more time eating and drinking out and visiting cultural institutions. In the case of the 'other' category there are no differences. The decline in activity among the unemployed and incapacitated in the going-out market may be attributed to the lower level of eating and drinking out.

Table 8.4 Eating and drinking out, visits to cultural facilities and other going out, by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995 and 2000 (in hours)

	eating and drinking out		cultural activities		other going out	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population aged 12 and over	1.8	1.7	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4
Sex						
male	2.1	1.8	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.4
female	1.5	1.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4
Age						
12-19 years	2.3	1.7	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.3
20-34 years	2.7	2.9	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.4
35-49 years	1.3	1.6	0.3	0.4	0.6	0.5
50-64 years	1.3	1.1	0.4	0.7	0.5	0.4
≥ 65 years	0.9	0.8	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.2
Family position						
child living at home	2.7	2.8	0.4	0.3	0.7	0.4
living alone	2.7	2.4	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.2
with partner without children	1.6	1.5	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.4
parent with child/children	1.0	1.0	0.2	0.4	0.6	0.5
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	1.4	1.2	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.4
senior secondary	1.7	1.8	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
tertiary	2.5	2.3	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.3
Labour market position						
at school/studying	2.4	2.5	0.4	0.4	0.6	0.4
employed	2.0	1.9	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.4
household activities	0.8	1.1	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.4
unemployed/incapacitated	2.3	1.5	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.5
retired	1.1	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.4	0.2

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

In this section developments in going out have been outlined on the basis of data from the Time Use Survey diaries. This weekly record underestimates the total scale of going out among the population. Eating and drinking out, cultural participation and other going out are examined in the next three sections on the basis of information drawn from the questionnaire survey.

8.3 Eating and drinking out

According to the diary records in the October week approximately half the population visited a catering establishment over the years in that week. Eating and drinking out has also been measured by asking in the questionnaire accompanying the Time Use Survey how often people go to cafés, snack bars, restaurants and discotheques or dancing. The answers to the question as to the frequency of such visiting have been converted into the numbers of visits per year, on the basis of which a participation figure has been calculated (table 8.5).

Table 8.5 Eating and drinking out, population aged 12 years and over, 1975-2000 (in annual number of visits and percentages, and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Eating and drinking out (in number of visits per year)	18.0	16.3	18.4	20.4	23.5	25.3	107
cafés/snack bars ^a	11.3	9.9	11.9	12.7	15.1	16.7	109
restaurants	6.7	6.4	6.5	7.7	8.4	8.6	104
Eating and drinking out ^b (in %)	76	80	84	87	92	94	102
cafés/snack bars ^a	51	46	52	57	66	78	119
restaurants	61	71	76	80	85	87	103

a Up to and including the Time Use Survey (TUS) 1995 questions were asked on each occasion about visits to cafés and bars and cafeterias, snack bars and fast-food outlets respectively. In order to compare the 2000 figures with those for early years the figures have been amalgamated.

b At least one visit a year.

Source: SCP (TUS)

These figures point to a wider reach and to a steady increase in the average number of visits to catering establishments out in each measurement year. According to these figures people have gone more frequently not just to restaurants but also to cafés. In particular there has been a sharp increase since 1995 in the percentage of people who go to a café at least once a year. This probably concerns a method effect (see note to table 8.5). In part, however the increased café-going forms part of a longer trend, although it remains notable that the increase in going to cafés on an annual basis differs from the decline in the October week (table 8.3). It may be that this discrepancy between such activity in the October week and the annual level of visiting can be attributed to the growing number of people who take part in such leisure activities

‘occasionally’, while the number of frequent visitors has in fact been declining. This would point to the previously cited ‘parade of passers-by’.

In table 8.6 the recent trends in the annually reported number of visits to catering establishments have been broken down by background characteristics. Women’s liberation is also evident in the relatively marked increase in café-going among women. Going to restaurants has remained virtually unchanged. The increase in café-going also applies to persons aged 35-64 years and to parents with children. The less well educated ate out more frequently, thereby closing part of the gap on those with higher education. Individuals with secondary education went to restaurants less often.

Table 8.6 Eating and drinking out, by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995 and 2000 (in annual number of visits)

	cafés, snack bars ^a		restaurants	
	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population aged 12 and over	15.1	16.7	8.4	8.6
Sex				
male	18.0	19.1	8.9	9.6
female	12.4	14.4	7.9	7.7
Age				
12-19 years	24.5	25.4	5.5	5.6
20-34 years	24.0	25.5	10.1	10.3
35-49 years	12.1	17.7	8.8	9.7
50-64 years	7.0	9.4	8.3	8.4
≥ 65 years	4.3	5.3	6.7	6.4
Family position				
child living in				
living alone	25.1	26.2	6.7	5.9
with partner without children	14.7	15.9	10.3	9.7
parent with child/children	13.7	13.9	10.2	10.4
parent with child/children	11.6	15.6	7.3	7.6
Level of education ^b				
primary/junior secondary	12.6	13.5	5.9	6.8
senior secondary	16.5	19.4	9.0	7.9
tertiary	17.5	18.0	12.0	12.1
Labour market position				
at school/studying	25.3	25.8	6.4	6.6
employed	17.5	19.1	10.6	10.3
household activities	6.9	10.6	6.1	6.5
unemployed/incapacitated	15.0	18.3	5.8	6.5
retired	6.0	5.8	7.6	6.9

a Up to and including the TUS 1995 questions were asked on each occasion about going to cafés and snack bars. In 2000 this question was broken down and respondents were asked about going to cafés and to cafeterias, snack bars and fast-food outlets respectively.

b Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

8.4 Attending sporting events

When it comes to attending sport events the weekly records suggesting a reach of over 10% are also a significant underestimate; according to the questionnaire responses the participation ratio is around 40%.

To a greater extent than active participation in sport itself, being present as a spectator (or as coach) at sporting events is a male activity (cf. Chapter 9). In 2000 45% of men occasionally attended a sporting event, compared with 32% of women. The last quarter of the previous century saw a slight decline in the sex differences for attendance at sporting events, particularly since interest among men in such activities appears to be declining.

Table 8.7 Attendance at sporting events, by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in percentages and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged 12 and over	40	42	42	40	42	39	91
Sex							
male	51	51	48	46	51	45	89
female	30	34	36	35	35	32	93
Age							
12-19 years	62	60	59	54	59	57	98
20-34 years	43	45	44	41	44	42	96
35-49 years	37	47	50	49	47	47	99
50-64 years	32	34	31	34	39	31	81
≥ 65 years	22	17	17	17	22	17	77
Family position							
living with parents	59	59	56	55	57	57	100
living alone	27	22	27	27	28	24	84
with partner without children	28	29	31	31	34	31	91
parent with child/children living at home	39	45	45	44	47	45	95
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	41	43	40	39	37	32	86
senior secondary	43	50	49	43	45	46	101
tertiary	33	37	37	38	47	38	82
Labour market position							
at school/studying	61	58	55	52	57	58	101
working	45	50	50	46	48	43	89
household activities	26	26	28	29	28	30	107
unemployed/incapacitated	38	43	40	40	31	26	84
retired	29	23	21	24	31	19	63

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Sporting events are the most heavily attended by the group of 12-19-year-olds. Together with the over 65s this is also the group in which attendance at sporting events fell the most heavily between 1975 and 2000. The interest in attending sporting events also fell particularly among the less well educated.

8.5 Visiting cultural facilities

The Dutch devote approximately 1% of their free time to visiting cultural institutions. That one percent includes visits to museums and castles, attending various kinds of stage shows (classical and pop concerts, theatre, dance, cabaret, musicals, shows and reviews) and also going to the cinema. On average visits to cultural institutions take up half an hour per week for the entire population aged 12 and over (table 8.1). During the October week in question, however, just 15% of the population visited such cultural institutions. This percentage may also be broken down into visits to stage performances (6%), museums (5%) and cinemas (4%).

The aforementioned figures do not do justice to the total scale of cultural interest among the Dutch population. For many people, visits to stage performances and museums are incidental in nature, with one or two visits a year being the rule rather than the exception. In order to reflect the total number of interested people, interest in cultural activities is better shown in terms of the annual visiting frequency drawn from another survey.

In 1999, 71% of the population aged 12 and over had visited a cultural institution (museum, gallery, theatre, cinema and filmhouse) 'occasionally' over the previous 12 months. In 1979 the figure was 64% (table 8.8). The public reach of the traditional arts (classical music, professional theatre, ballet, museums and galleries) has been around 40% since the early 1980s. The public reach of popular culture (cinema, filmhouse, cabaret, pop music, jazz and musicals) rose during the 1990s from approximately 50% to 56%. This recent increase is accounted for by the growing interest in cinema and cabaret. After years of falling attendance figures, cinemas staged a comeback in the 1990s. There was, however, no increase in interest in 'quality films': visits to filmhouses, at least, were unchanged in 1999 on the 1991. Visits to pop music, jazz and musicals also stagnated (no statistically significant increase). As in 1991, nearly a quarter of the population attended such events in 1999.

In the case of theatre a distinction may be drawn between amateur and professional performances. Adding these two together makes theatre the most popular form of stage art. Like pop music, jazz and musicals together, theatre reaches approximately a quarter of the population each year. The reach of professional theatre is, however, a good deal smaller (13% instead of 24%). The difference of 11 percentage points refers to those who attended amateur but not professional theatre.

Table 8.8 Visits to various types of performances and to museums, population aged 12 and over, 1979-1999 (in percentages and index 1999, 1995 = 100)

	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	index
Cultural reach	64	66	65	66	67	71	105
Traditional culture	30	38	41	42	40	40	102
theatre	22	22	21	22	23	24	107
of which professional theatre	-	12	12	12	13	13	104
classical music	12	13	14	15	16	15	90
of which concerts	-	-	12	13	13	13	97
of which opera, operetta	-	-	5	5	7	5	78
ballet	3	3	4	4	3	3	97
mime	1	1	1	1	1	1	78
museums	25	31	34	35	31	33	106
galleries	17	17	19	19	18	17	90
Popular culture	51	50	49	50	53	56	107
pop music, jazz, musicals	13	18	19	23	24	25	106
cabaret	12	11	10	10	11	13	125
cinema	45	45	42	42	44	49	110
filmhouse	4	5	6	5	5	5	100

Source: SCP (FUS)

Following a period in which there was a steady increase in interest in classical music, the number of visitors has fallen slightly since 1995. This applied especially to opera and operetta.

Until 1991 museums were also able to pride themselves on their growing reach. In 1995, however, the percentage of museum-visitors was less than in 1991. This decline was notable since there was no decline in the reach of other cultural sectors in the early 1990s. Although a somewhat higher proportion of the population visited museums in 1999 and in 1995, the figures were not yet back to 1991 levels. The earlier growth has come to a halt, as has the more recent decline. The end of the growth looks like a break in the trend, while the slump in 1995 appears a one-off.

In terms of the composition of the public there is a divergent trend in the cultural participation of young people and that of older people. As against an increase in the level of cultural interest among older people there has been a decline in interest in traditional culture among older young people and young adults (De Haan 1997; SCP 1998; De Haan & Knulst 2000). These shifts in cultural interest are generationally bound. Interest in traditional culture is rising among older generations but declining among younger ones. Because these divergent trends are associated more with generations than with age-groups, the age marking the dividing line has also been rising over time. Whereas the turning point in 1995 was age 45, in 1999 this had shifted to age 50.

Among those aged under 50 there was a declining interest in the cultural heritage and art (table 8.9a and b). The decline in attendance at classical music performances was relatively marked among the 35-49-year-olds. The shifting dividing line also means that the scale of the group with a growing interest is becoming smaller and that of the group with declining interest larger. The continuation of this trend would mean that the interest in traditional culture would gradually ebb away. An exception to the declining interest in traditional culture was the increased attendance at theatre performances among 12-19-year-olds. Partly as a result of the increased efforts in education to bring traditional culture to the attention of young people a revival in public interest in high culture is conceivable in due course (see also the epilogue to this chapter).

Table 8.9a Visits to cultural facilities, by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995 and 1999 (in percentages)

	theatre		classical music		ballet/mime		pop music/jazz/musicals	
	1995	1999	1995	1999	1995	1999	1995	1999
Population aged 12 and over	23	24	16	15	4	4	24	25
Sex								
male	19	20	14	13	3	3	25	25
female	26	28	18	16	5	5	23	26
Age								
12-19 years	25	28	8	6	3	3	24	29
20-34 years	23	23	11	9	4	3	38	39
35-49 years	25	24	18	13	5	4	25	26
50-64 years	23	27	25	24	5	5	13	17
≥ 65 years	15	21	17	22	2	4	5	7
Family position								
living with parents	22	23	8	6	3	3	29	33
living alone	28	27	24	23	7	7	30	27
with partner without children	22	25	19	18	4	4	21	23
parent with child/children living at home	20	21	13	9	3	2	20	22
Level of education ^a								
primary/junior secondary	16	19	11	10	2	2	15	17
senior secondary	26	25	17	14	4	4	33	32
tertiary	38	37	32	28	11	9	38	39
Labour market position								
at school/studying	28	30	11	8	4	4	31	34
working	25	25	17	14	5	4	30	31
household activities	20	24	16	15	3	3	13	15
unemployed/incapacitated	18	19	17	13	4	4	19	19

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (FUS)

Table 8.9b Visits to cultural facilities, by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995 and 1999 (in percentages)

	cabaret		cinema /filmhouse		museums		galleries	
	1995	1999	1995	1999	1995	1999	1995	1999
Population aged 12 and over	11	13	45	48	31	33	18	17
Sex								
male	10	13	45	49	29	32	17	16
female	11	14	44	48	33	34	20	18
Age								
12-19 years	5	7	78	79	34	31	11	8
20-34 years	14	17	68	70	28	26	15	12
35-49 years	13	14	42	50	35	36	23	17
50-64 years	11	16	20	28	33	50	26	26
≥ 65 years	4	8	7	11	24	32	14	18
Family position								
living with parents	6	9	76	77	28	27	10	7
living alone	15	15	45	46	39	38	27	24
with partner without children	12	16	33	37	31	34	21	20
parent with child/children living at home	9	12	42	51	28	30	15	12
Level of education ^a								
primary/junior secondary	6	8	32	37	21	24	11	11
senior secondary	13	16	59	60	35	36	21	17
tertiary	24	26	65	68	57	54	39	33
Labour market position								
at school/studying	10	11	81	82	38	36	15	11
working	14	17	53	58	33	33	21	17
household activities	8	10	23	40	26	31	16	17
unemployed/incapacitated	8	11	35	35	27	30	18	17
retired	5	9	9	13	26	34	17	20

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (FUS)

A notable feature in relation to popular culture is the increase in cinema attendance among persons aged 35-64. Cinema consequently became somewhat less the preserve of young people. As noted cabaret could draw satisfaction from the rising level of public interest, once again particularly among older age groups (50-plus in this case).

Apart from the changes between age-groups little change took place in the composition of the culture-going public. Those with higher education continue to visit the various cultural institutions more frequently than those with primary education only. This applies not just to traditional culture but also to virtually the same extent to cinema and popular stage performances. Nevertheless the recent figures point to a slight narrowing of the differences between the educational extremes in traditional

culture. In some cases this was mainly due to an increase in visits among the less well educated (theatre and museums), and in some cases to a decline in visiting among those with higher education (classical music and ballet/mime). A few decades ago the government sought in vain to popularise culture among the various social status groups. Now that the emphasis on the dissemination of culture has been placed on age and ethnic groups, it turns out that the unequal cultural participation by those with higher and lower education respectively might after all narrow. The cultural participation by both educational groups has become more similar. This is presumably due more to changes in the composition of these groups than to government policy. In the course of 25 years the size of the group of those with higher education has increased substantially while that of the less well-educated has declined. The better educated of today are by no means always drawn from families with a well-developed interest in high culture. Since growing numbers of young people are proceeding to secondary and higher education, the group of those with primary education only consists increasingly of the elderly. And the elderly often attach particular value to traditional culture, with which they were imbued from an early age.

8.6 *Leisure omnivores*

The Dutch have begun to combine more activities during their free time. In visiting cultural institutions people became less bound by the cultural hierarchy. Alternating visits between ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture became increasingly common (Van den Broek et al. 1999; De Haan & Knulst 2000). These developments point to the advent of an ‘omnivore’ pattern of leisure activity.

The combination of leisure activities has been analysed by examining the extent to which Dutch people visit cultural institutions, catering establishments and also sporting events. That was first done on a weekly basis. The diaries reveal that eating and drinking out have been combined somewhat more frequently since the mid-1980s with cultural visits. Visits to sporting events are readily combined with eating and drinking out. The combination of visits to sporting events and cultural facilities within the one October week is a rarity and has always been so.

Table 8.10 Combination of three types of leisure activity during the one week, population aged 12 and over (in percentages and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Eating and drinking out and cultural act	12	9	8	9	10	11	115
Cultural act and sporting events	3	3	3	2	2	2	105
Sporting events and eating and drinking out	8	11	11	10	11	8	77
Eating and drinking out, sport and culture	3	2	2	2	2	2	106

Source: SCP (TUS)

The combination of interests over the course of a year has also been analysed on the basis of the answers to the questionnaire accompanying the Time Use Survey (table 8.11). This of course shows significantly higher combination percentages, but the trends are comparable. Since 1975 combinations of leisure activities have gradually risen, although this went into reverse after 1995. The combination of culture and eating and drinking out was the most common and gained the most in popularity, while also being the sole combination still on the increase after 1995. The combination of sport and culture is also the least popular on an annual basis. The comparison down the years indicates that the changes related not particularly to the percentage visiting both sporting events and culture institutions or to combined visits to sporting events and catering establishments. If the Dutch combined various interests to a greater extent than hitherto, that combination may be ascribed over a longer period to people visiting both cultural institutions and catering establishments.

Table 8.11 Combination of three different kinds of leisure activities in a year, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in percentages and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Eating and drinking out and cultural act	56	60	64	66	76	78	103
Cultural act and sporting events	30	32	31	30	36	33	91
Sporting events and eating and drinking out	34	37	38	37	41	38	93
Eating and drinking out, sport and culture	27	30	29	29	35	32	92

Source: SCP (TUS)

The concept of cultural institutions has not been narrowly defined and so leaves room for a wide diversity of organisations and cultural activities. The notion that the Dutch want greater variety in their leisure pursuits could be reflected in visits to various forms of culture. In order to test this hypothesis a comparatively broad division has been made into traditional and popular culture. On the basis of the now classical theories about 'taste' and 'habitus' (Bourdieu 1979) one would expect people to develop a fairly clear preference for either traditional or popular culture. Table 8.12 indicates however that a combined interest in divergent cultural activities is in fact increasingly common. This advance also points to the advent of the cultural 'omnivore'.

Table 8.12 Combination of traditional and popular culture in a year, population aged 12 and over, 1979-1999 (in percentages and index 1999, 1995 = 100)

	1979	1983	1987	1991	1995	1999	index
No attendance	40	38	38	37	36	32	90
Traditional culture only ^a	9	11	13	13	12	11	99
Popular culture only ^b	30	24	21	21	25	27	111
Combination of trad. and pop culture	20	27	28	28	28	29	103

a Classical music, ballet, professional theatre and museums.

b Pop music, jazz, musicals, cabaret and cinema.

Source: SCP (FUS)

8.7 Conclusion: going out remains popular

Going out takes up around two and a half hours a week, or around 6% of total weekly free time. Viewed over the longer term there has been little change in the time spent on going out: the number of hours in 2000 was at much the same level as in 1975. The larger part of the going-out time in 2000 was spent on drinking and eating out (66%). Cultural activities (18%) and 'other going out' (16%) occupied a more modest place on the going-out agenda. Of the three types of going out, visits to cultural facilities have managed to hold up since the mid-1990s in an age of shrinking leisure time. The increased busyness has been largely at the expense of other going out.

Men have always spent more time on going out than women but the difference between the sexes has narrowed, particularly since women began spending more time on going out from 1990 onwards. By age the 20-34-year-olds have managed to occupy the top position in relation to going out in the 1990s with a gradual growth in their going-out time since 1980. Going-out has increasingly become the preserve of the better educated.

The cultural sector has managed to hold its own in an era of shrinking leisure. The average amount of time spent on cultural visiting even increased between 1995 and 2000. The recent increase in visiting cultural facilities has been mainly due to the increased time spent on such activities by participants rather than to the growth in the number of cultural visitors. In the case of other going out there has been a significant fall in the percentage of participants.

Although the amount of going out stagnated during the research week in October, there was an increase in the proportion of the population going to cafés at least once a year. More and more people went out 'occasionally', but fewer people do so with any regularity. This busyness in going-out life may again be described in this respect as a 'parade of passers-by'.

During the 1980s and early 1990s the Dutch inclined towards omnivorous leisure pursuits. This trend was not sustained between 1995 and 2000. The combination of various interests applies in particular to individuals visiting both cultural institutions and catering establishments.

8.8 Epilogue: Future interest in traditional culture

One of the received sociological laws is that interest in 'high' culture moves is correlated with education. The underlying notion is that greater education leads to greater cultural competence, which in turn gives rise to greater appreciation of what is on offer culturally.

By way of logical extension it might have been expected that the expansion of education from the 1960s onwards would gradually have led to a (delayed) growth in cultural interest. This highly plausible expectation of cultural growth has not however

been borne out. The sharp increase in education levels has not resulted in a corresponding growth in the cultural reach. How come?

A number of other developments took place during this same period, in which rising levels of education and a growth in cultural facilities brought culture within the reach of more people. Apart from the higher levels of education and increase in cultural facilities, the availability of other leisure activities also rose. At the same time the rise in living standards, increasing secularisation and informalisation eroded previous financial, religious and social constraints on leisure behaviour, so that people became increasingly free to follow their preferences in their free time. The wealth of choice between competing forms of entertainment and the erosion of the idea that culture was of a different qualitative order meant that culture found itself in open competition for the use of free time. That competition meant a less loyal clientele and the ongoing chance that preference would be given to something other than a cultural activity. In addition the younger generations, in particular, take delight in the availability of popular culture, much of which is specially aimed at them. The dominance of the mass culture aimed at young people has meant that the cultural 'programming' of young people has changed from that of older generations in recent decades. It may plausibly be argued that this orientation will result in permanently different cultural interests (Knulst 1992; Van den Broek & De Haan 2000).

On the one hand, therefore, there was a growth in the potential cultural public (more competence) but, on the other, that public was exposed to more enticements (more competition). Seen in this light the future of the cultural reach depends on the tension between the competence to enjoy culture and the competition for free time. Van den Broek and De Haan (2000) worked out this tension between competence and competition in three scenarios in which relatively small differences in emphasis in the interaction between competence and competition gradually result in an action-reaction process in three different scenarios of the future of culture, ranging from marginalisation to consolidation and revaluation. There follows a review as seen from the perspective of the year 2030.

In the marginalisation scenario culture has become overshadowed by other interests, as the cultural sector was unable to keep pace with the stiffer competition for leisure. In the struggle for the consumer's attention providers of leisure services concentrated increasingly on experiences and emotions. Going for the unusual and spectacular played an increasing role in the marketing of leisure services. The cultural sector found itself in a disadvantageous starting position, which rapidly opened up into a substantial gap. Refined expressions of culture or ones demanding concentration did not lend themselves to the promotion campaigns based around media spectacle with which the battle for leisure time was fought out. This media inflation set in motion a downward spiral. Culture became snowed under in the media, disappearing from the field of view and world of experience of the broad public – a process that was accentuated by the growing up of generations with different cultural programming.

Ultimately the 'high' culture remained the preserve of no more than a small and dedicated band of cognoscenti.

In the consolidation scenario the cultural sector, by responding effectively to the omnivorous tastes of the public, managed to maintain a place for itself in 2030 in the overall range of entertainment (multitainment). The cultural sector did not however find that such consolidation simply fell into its lap. On the contrary, the sector had to do everything in its power to stay alive by presenting culture in the intensified struggle for leisure as a moving experience vis-à-vis a public that had increasingly grown up in a climate of cultural relativism. The notion that a good cultural product automatically attracts clientele was accordingly dropped. Marketing was taken up seriously so as to entice the omnivorous consumers to retain a dash of culture in their leisure repertoire.

Finally, the revaluation scenario rests on a revival of culture encouraged in part by a determined cultural re-education offensive in favour of reculturation. The turning point was people's gradual saturation with everything on offer from the leisure industry. As a good education, pleasant job and broad leisure repertoire became more commonplace, people began increasingly to ask which leisure pursuits still offered added value and what interests enabled them to achieve the desired identity. After material gain and out-of-the-ordinary experiences began to lose their gloss and added value, culture came back into the picture as a source of personal identity and sociability. An important factor in this regard was the insight that in contrast to many of the competing leisure services, culture provided greater satisfaction the more time that one devoted to it. The realisation gained ground that the suggestion of ever more spectacle and entertainment in the leisure field was based on ever thinner and more transparent formulae. Personal satisfaction continued to remain the yardstick, but the criterion on which this was based shifted from the athletic to the aesthetic and from the world of diversion to the world of the imagination.

A plausible case can be made out for each of these three scenarios. Seeing in real time which of these three scenarios turns out to approximate reality the most closely inevitably involves an element of chance for neutral observers. Culture professionals, by contrast, see themselves facing the challenge of realising the scenario they would like to come about and heading off those they regard as undesirable.

9 Sport and Physical Activities

Shifts in active leisure pursuits

9.1 Sport in the spotlight

For many years now, Dutch successes in sport, especially ice-skating and football, have dominated the top ten television rating figures. Only on the odd occasion, such as the marriage of a crown prince or other special event, does a non-sporting event manage to break into that hierarchy. Sport – or at least the select element of ‘media sport’ – enjoys the warm support of both providers and viewers of instant, gripping entertainment. The providers have discovered sport as an instrument for PR and a lucrative investment, while for viewers sport is a vehicle for experiencing feelings of solidarity and diversion in these turbulent and busy times.

Since the mid-1990s the Dutch government has also begun to display more interest in sport. Although 90% of government spending on sport takes place at local level and the backbone of sport is provided by the near on 30,000 sporting associations in the Netherlands (with 4.8 million members), the State government has been steadily increasing its investment in sport over the past 10 years. In the world of government policy, sport is celebrated for the contribution it makes to social cohesion and community integration and to the Dutch economy. More recently the sport has also been to the forefront of policymakers’ considerations for its health benefits, even allowing for sporting injuries.

The emphasis placed on sport as a vehicle for health issues must be viewed against the background of an ageing population and the finding that the Dutch are increasingly suffering from ‘exercise poverty’. From a health viewpoint, no more than 40% (in winter) or 53% (in summer) of the population take enough exercise (Hildebrandt et al. 1999: 25). As a result of mechanisation and computerisation many forms of physical exercise have disappeared from ordinary life. Washing machines and cars are the most obvious but certainly not the only examples. Sport, as well as activities such as cycling and walking, could bring physical exercise back into everyday life. The question is however whether the Dutch are sufficiently aware of the importance of sport and set aside enough time for it in their daily timetable, dominated as it is by work and care. A related question is whether they will allow themselves to be subjected to the social and time constraints imposed by membership of the traditional sporting association or whether the participants of today would prefer to have the freedom of playing sport by themselves or just a few others.

This chapter analyses recent developments in active sporting participation (see § 8.4 for an analysis of ‘passive’ sporting participation in the form of attendance at sporting events). The percentage of people taking part in sport and the amount of time spent on sport are examined first (§ 9.2). A number of other sporting participation aspects are then discussed: taking part in sport through associations, the number

of sports that people play and the location of sporting activities (§ 9.3). Finally the perspective is broadened out to cover both sport and daily physical activities (§ 9.4).

9.2 Sport: participation and duration

The Time Use Survey provides various possibilities for identifying trends in active sporting participation. The questionnaire provides information on what proportion of the population claims to take part in sport with any regularity, while the diary provides insight into the proportion of people who played sport during the October week and into the amount of time spent on sport among the active participants. Between 1975 and 2000 the Dutch on average spent half an hour a week more on sport (table 9.1). This increase was almost entirely accounted for by an increase in the number of sportspersons; the amount of time spent on sport by those taking part in it did not rise appreciably. The popularity of sport did not rise any further between 1995 and 2000 and may even have fallen.

From the aforementioned analysis of the effect of the weather conditions it emerged that in comparison with other leisure activities that were examined, sport is comparatively sensitive to this factor. After discounting the colder and wetter weather in 2000 the time spent on sport would in fact have risen instead of having (marginally) fallen. This finding is however at variance with the observation that on the basis of the non-weather-sensitive questionnaire, sporting participation fell in 2000 by 5 percentage points.

Table 9.1 Sporting participation, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours and percentages, and index 2000, 1995 = 1000)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Time spent on sport (hours per week)	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.2	91
Sporting participation in October week (%)	26	30	35	38	40	39	97
Time spent on sport by participants (hours per week)	2.8	3.1	3.5	3.2	3.4	3.2	94
Sporting participation questionnaire (%) ^a	39	45	50	50	55	50	91

a Change of definition in 1995.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Between 1975 and 2000 both men and women spent more time on sport. Women doubled their sport time, while among men the increase was not quite so marked. Although men perform significantly more sport and women, the ratio of sport time between the sexes in 2000 was more balanced than in 1975. As far as age is concerned the elderly stand out especially. Over the longer term the sport time among the elderly has increased impressively, by factor of 4.5 among 50-64-year-olds and as much as 9 among the over 65s. The more highly educated also progressively took part more in sport. Among the less well educated there was a substantial fall in sport time between

1995 and 2000. On balance a comparatively clearcut correlation between level of education and the time devoted to sport has arisen in the space of 25 years – a link that was not yet evident in 1975. By family position parents with children living at home have not taken part significantly more in sport since 1985, and recently in fact less. In terms of employment status the decline in sport among the unemployed after 1995 stands out particularly. As regards the latter group one interpretation would be that of ‘purging’: those who were unemployed during the boom in 2000 by definition had little drive or were seriously hampered (cf. chapter 8).

Table 9.2 Time spent on sport by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week, index 2000, 1995 = 1000)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population aged ≥ 12 years	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.2	91
Sex							
male	0.9	1.2	1.6	1.5	1.8	1.5	85
female	0.5	0.7	0.9	0.9	1.0	1.0	101
Age							
12-19	1.9	2.3	3.0	2.5	2.9	2.6	88
20-34 years	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.3	1.3	97
35-49 years	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.1	95
50-64 years	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.9	87
≥ 65 years	0.1	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.9	111
Family position							
living with parents	1.7	2.2	2.7	2.3	2.5	2.3	93
living alone	0.1	0.4	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.2	119
with partner without children	0.4	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.1	97
parents with child/children living at home	0.5	0.7	0.9	1.0	1.1	0.9	79
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	0.6	0.9	1.1	1.0	1.2	0.8	68
senior secondary	1.3	1.6	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.4	95
tertiary	0.7	0.9	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.6	111
Labour market position							
at school/studying	2.0	2.4	2.9	2.5	2.6	2.7	104
working	0.6	0.8	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.2	91
household activities	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.8	97
unemployed/incapacitated	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.8	1.0	0.4	42
retired	0.1	0.4	0.7	0.7	1.1	0.9	80

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

A later analysis of other sport indicators also points to a narrowing sex difference (table 9.3). In 2000 the most important difference between men and women is that sportsmen devote more time to sport than do sportswomen. By age the reverse is the case: older and younger people differ more greatly in terms of participation levels

than in terms of the sport time of participants themselves. Participants (65 and over) spent hardly any less time on sport than more youthful participants. In terms of family position parents with children were the only group in which there was a fall in both sporting participation and sport time among participants between 1995 and 2000. The same applies to the less well educated.

Table 9.3 Sporting participation among sportspersons by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995-2000 (in hours per week and percentages)

	sport participation in October week (%)		average duration of sporting activities (hours per week)		sporting participation questionnaire (%)	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
	Population aged ≥ 12 years	40	39	3.4	3.2	55
Sex						
male	42	40	4.3	3.8	57	50
female	38	37	2.6	2.6	52	50
Age						
12-19 years	64	64	4.6	4.0	71	68
20-34 years	42	43	3.2	3.0	58	56
35-49 years	39	38	3.1	3.0	55	50
50-64 years	33	32	3.0	2.7	49	49
≥ 65 years	25	26	3.3	3.5	39	29
Family position						
living with parents	57	60	4.4	3.9	66	65
living alone	34	32	2.9	3.7	52	46
with partner without children	35	37	3.3	3.0	52	48
parents with child/children living at home	38	34	3.0	2.6	52	46
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	33	28	3.7	2.9	44	35
senior secondary	44	43	3.4	3.2	59	58
tertiary	47	48	3.2	3.4	67	60
Labour market position						
at school/studying	60	62	4.3	4.3	71	70
working	42	41	3.2	3.0	60	53
household activities	36	33	2.3	2.4	45	46
unemployed/incapacitated	24	18	4.2	2.3	36	27
retired	23	25	4.7	3.5	42	33

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

9.3 Sporting associations, number of sports and sport location

Figures from another source indicate that sporting participants have begun playing more sports in recent years but that membership of sporting associations has declined (Breedveld 2003). Locational analyses of leisure pursuits suggested that free

time is subject to increases in scale and is decreasingly spent in the immediate home environment (Mommaas 2000). The figures on time-use in 2000 partly support these findings (table 9.4). During the 1990s there was indeed a fall in the number of sporting participants taking part in sport in an associational context. That decline applied however to the period 1990-1995 and did not occur during the next five years. In terms of the spatial dimension the picture is also qualified. From 1975 to 1995 sports were increasingly performed outside the local neighbourhood. After 1995, however, a switch occurred. It is not inconceivable that the relatively poor weather in the survey weeks was a contributory factor, although a conclusive explanation as to why cold and damp should affect the location of sport has still to be found.

Table 9.4 Sport in an associational context, number of sports performed and sports outside the local neighbourhood among sports participants aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in percentages and number of sports respectively, index 2000 with 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
≥ 1 sport in associational context (% participants)	60	65	60	63	58	57	99
Sports outside local neighbourhood (% sport time)	23	30	30	36	36	31	85
Number of sports (among participants)	1.6	1.6	1.9	1.8	1.8	2.5	140
Sports participants playing more than 1 sport (% participants)	39	41	50	48	45	69	152

Source: SCP (TUS)

At first glance the finding from the other source that people were more often taking part in various sports appears to be confirmed: the period 1995-2000 suggested a sharp increase in the number of sports played per participant. Closer analysis however indicates that the increase in the number of sports played between 1995 and 2000 is probably a reflection of a change in the way in which the question was asked.

Firstly, new sports such as golf and skating were added to the survey in 2000. The latter in particular had many adherents: 14% of sportsmen and sportswomen took part in skating, and 4% in golf (table 9.5). Leaving out these two sports the number of sports played by participants in 2000 was somewhat lower (- 0.2 sports) but is still significantly higher than in 1995.

In addition the signs are that the aforementioned increase in the number of sports performed was to a significant extent due to an unintended change in the phrasing of the question. In 1995 people were asked 'what sports do you play'. In 2000 the question was phrased 'do you take part in ...', followed by a list of various sporting activities (without mention of the word sport). This apparently minor textual change led to relatively large increases in the participation figures for jogging and, in particular, swimming and cycling/walking. Since these increases are not confirmed from other sources and such method effects are known from other sports studies, it must be assumed that this is an effect of the changed method of measurement rather than an actual development.

Table 9.5 Participation in various sports, 1995 and 2000 (in percentages of participants aged 12 and over)

	1995	2000
Football	9	12
Hockey	3	2
Handball	2	2
Other field sport	3	5
Volleyball	7	7
Badminton	4	4
Bymnastics, aerobics, fitness	30	31
Squash	4	5
Indoor football	5	6
Other indoor sport	9	7
Jogging, running	15	21
Swimming	22	35
Tennis	16	16
Cycling, walking	26	58
Other sports	20	20
Rollerblading		14
Golf		4

Source: SCP (TUS)

In table 9.6 taking part in sport in an association has been examined in terms of a number of personal characteristics (for the two most recent measurement years, 1995 and 2000). Whereas it was still clear in 1995 that more men than women took part in an associational context, in 2000 they did so to virtually the same extent. Sporting associations are particularly popular among young sportspersons. In the age category 20-34 years associational sport found the going tough, even more so in 2000 than in 1995. As in the case of the duration of sporting participation, elderly participants (the over 50s) take no part more in sport in an associational context in 2000 than the group of 20-49-year-olds.

Also as regards the location of support, men and women converged. In 2000 a substantially smaller proportion of men took part in sport outside their local neighbourhood. Those most frequently taking part in sport outside their local neighbourhood were the 20-34-year-olds, the better educated and those in employment. In addition those living by themselves took part in sport significantly more outside their own local neighbourhood. The elderly of 2000 took part in sport outside their local neighbourhood less frequently than the elderly of 1995.

Table 9.6 Participation in sport in an associational context outside the local neighbourhood, participants aged 12 and over, 1995-2000 (in percentages and in percentages of total sport time)

	sport in associational context (% participants)		share of sport time outside local neighbourhood (% sport time)	
	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population ≥ 12 years	58	57	36	31
Sex				
male	62	57	40	33
female	53	58	30	29
Age				
12-19 years	81	83	29	22
20-34 years	55	50	42	39
35-49 years	55	53	40	33
50-64 years	50	55	34	29
≥ 65 years	49	57	37	25
Family position				
living with parents	76	75	31	27
living alone	47	50	35	38
with partner without children	53	51	44	35
parents with child/children living at home	55	55	39	27
Level of education ^a				
primary/junior secondary	60	59	33	21
senior secondary	58	60	35	33
tertiary	54	52	43	36
Labour market position				
at school/studying	77	77	34	28
working	55	52	40	36
household activities	55	61	21	28
unemployed/incapacitated	41	31	33	22
retired	44	54	43	22

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

9.4 Sport and daily physical activities

For health reasons it is not necessary to take sport to the limit. According to the Dutch Health Enhancing Physical Activity Guideline (NNGB, in Dutch) people should spend at least half an hour a day (young people an hour a day) performing moderately intensive physical activities to reap real health benefits. Since most people do not take part in sport every day, the desired health gains cannot be achieved by means of sport alone. For this reason sport has been placed here in the broader context of physical exercise. Exercise here includes not just sport but also daily physical activities like walking and cycling, either as an end in itself (i.e. for recreational purposes) or as a

means of getting to other activities. In contrast to the NNGB-norm only the amount of time per week has been examined, not the number of days on which people take exercise.

The increase that has taken place over the long term in the amount of time devoted to sport has not been associated with – but has also not been at the expense of – the time that people actively move about (table 9.7). Neither the time devoted to walking/cycling as a goal in its own right or to walking/cycling as a means of getting about increased substantially between 1975 and 2000. The amount of time spent on walking and cycling even fell recently – a decline that cannot be entirely explained in terms of the changing weather conditions. It has therefore been sport in particular that has been the motor behind the increased pattern of movement in recent decades – a fact that is also reflected in the last line of the table in the increased share of sport in the total exercise patterns between 1975 and 2000. At the same time it must be observed that the Dutch still spend significantly more time on cycling and walking than they do on sport. In the Netherlands – a flat country with a high population density and a cycle-friendly traffic infrastructure (with lots of cycle paths) – the ‘slow’ means of transport are significant elements in daily exercise.

Table 9.7 Sport and daily physical activity, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 1000)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Time spent on sport	0.7	1.0	1.2	1.2	1.4	1.2	91
Walking and cycling as a goal in itself	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.5	73
Walking and cycling to get about	2.5	2.5	2.7	2.9	3.1	2.6	85
Total exercise	4.0	4.0	4.8	4.7	5.2	4.4	85
Share of sport in exercise pattern (%)	18	24	26	26	26	28	108

Source: SCP (TUS)

The exercise patterns for the various population groups differ in various respects from those for sport (table 9.8, cf. table 9.2). Thus the differences between men and women in taking exercise are traditionally smaller than those in the case of sport. The position of those in employment also differs in respect of exercise compared with sport. Whereas the employed were the most active group in terms of sport after pupils and students (in terms of time spent), in the case of exercise that honour is reserved for the unemployed, the incapacitated and the retired. In the case of exercise including walking and cycling the increase in the amount of time spent since 1975 has been less spectacular among the over 65s for sport as such. Since the increase in sporting participation exceeds that in exercise among the over 65s it may be assumed that this to some extent involves a replacement of one activity by the other.

The exercise patterns are partly comparable with those for sport. Apart from the aforementioned convergence between men and women this also applies to the posi-

tion of young people (aged 12-19). They take almost twice as much exercise as the rest of the population and, as the sole age group to do so, have not seen any decline in exercise since 1995. Otherwise the better educated, in particular, have taken more exercise between 1975 and 2000. The decline in exercise between 1995 and 2000 was also less pronounced among the better educated than among those with primary and secondary education.

Table 9.8 Time spent on exercise (sport, walking and cycling) by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week and index 2000, 1995 = 1000)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Population ≥ 12 years	4.0	4.0	4.8	4.7	5.2	4.4	85
Sex							
male	4.2	4.4	5.1	4.8	5.5	4.5	82
female	3.7	3.7	4.4	4.5	4.9	4.4	88
Age							
12-19 years	6.6	7.4	8.3	7.8	8.2	8.4	103
20-34 years	3.7	3.9	4.3	4.6	4.6	4.1	89
35-49 years	3.0	3.0	3.9	4.1	4.9	3.9	80
50-64 years	3.3	3.1	3.8	4.0	4.9	3.9	79
≥ 65 years	3.2	2.9	4.3	3.7	4.7	3.7	78
Family position							
living with parents	6.1	6.8	7.4	6.9	7.2	7.5	105
living alone	3.1	3.4	4.4	4.6	5.0	5.0	100
with partner without children	3.3	3.1	4.4	4.1	4.9	3.5	72
parents with child/children living at home	3.1	3.2	3.7	4.0	4.6	3.6	79
Level of education ^a							
primary/junior secondary	3.7	3.8	4.5	4.2	4.9	3.8	78
senior secondary	5.5	5.8	5.3	5.1	5.4	4.7	87
tertiary	3.7	4.1	4.9	5.1	5.4	4.9	90
Labour market position							
at school/studying	7.2	7.6	8.3	7.9	7.9	8.3	104
employed	3.3	3.4	3.7	3.9	4.3	3.7	86
household activities	3.0	2.8	4.0	3.9	5.1	4.0	78
unemployed/incapacitated	4.0	3.5	4.5	4.7	5.0	4.2	84
retired	4.1	3.9	5.1	4.5	5.4	4.1	75

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

For 1995 and 2000 exercise has been broken down into three activities: sport, walking and cycling as an end in itself and as a means of getting about (table 9.9). The 'sport' column is identical to the last two years of table 9.2 and serves here as a frame of reference.

Table 9.9 Time spent on three forms of exercise by background characteristics, population aged 12 and over, 1995-2000 (in hours per week)

	playing sport		cycling/walking to get about		cycling/walking as an end in itself	
	1995	2000	1995	2000	1995	2000
Population ≥ 12 years	1.4	1.2	3.1	2.6	0.7	0.5
Sex						
male	1.8	1.5	2.9	2.4	0.8	0.6
female	1.0	1.0	3.3	2.9	0.7	0.5
Age						
12-19 years	2.9	2.6	5.0	5.2	0.3	0.6
20-34 years	1.3	1.3	2.9	2.5	0.4	0.3
35-49 years	1.2	1.1	3.0	2.4	0.7	0.4
50-64 years	1.0	0.9	2.8	2.2	1.2	0.8
≥ 65 years	0.8	0.9	2.5	2.1	1.4	0.7
Family position						
living with parents	2.5	2.3	4.4	4.7	0.3	0.5
living alone	1.0	1.2	3.1	3.1	0.9	0.7
with partner without children	1.2	1.1	2.6	1.8	1.1	0.6
parents with child/children living at home	1.1	0.9	2.8	2.2	0.6	0.5
Level of education ^a						
primary/junior secondary	1.2	0.8	3.0	2.4	0.7	0.6
senior secondary	1.5	1.4	3.3	2.9	0.6	0.4
tertiary	1.5	1.6	3.1	2.6	0.9	0.6
Labour market position						
at school/studying	2.6	2.7	5.1	5.2	0.3	0.4
working	1.3	1.2	2.5	2.1	0.5	0.4
household activities	0.8	0.8	3.3	2.5	1.0	0.7
unemployed/incapacitated	2.6	0.4	3.0	3.1	1.0	0.6
retired	1.0	0.9	2.8	2.3	1.6	0.9

a Current or completed education.

Source: SCP (TUS)

Walking and cycling as an end in themselves are particularly important among the elderly, single householders, couples without children and people without study or work commitments. That was so in both 1995 and in 2000, although in the case of these groups the decline in the amount of time spent between 1995 and 2000 is sometimes stronger than for other groups. Presumably the poorer weather in 2000 was a bigger factor for such a non-obligatory activity, which generally takes place outdoors and at weekends. Good or bad weather evidently plays less of a role for those who go to school or other educational establishments on foot or by bicycle. Young people dominate the cycle paths. In comparison with both pupils and students and the non-employed, the employed move about less on foot or by bicycle.

9.5 Conclusion: too busy and too rainy to exercise

Active participation in sport and, in its wake, physical exercise in total, grew significantly during the 1970s and 1980s. On average the Dutch spent half an hour a week more on sport in 2000 than in 1975 (1.2 hours versus 0.7 hours per week). Most Dutch people – especially young people/schoolchildren – also cycle or walk a great deal: an average of 3.1 hours per week. These statistics have remained fairly stable over the longer term. During the period 1995-2000, however, both participation in sport and cycling/walking declined slightly. In addition there was a limited increase in the extent to which people took part in sport within their own neighbourhood in 2000. Following the sharp decline in sports in an associational context between 1990 and 1995, associational sport marked time in 2000.

Older people have taken part more in sport over the long term but have hardly if at all increased the amount of walking and cycling. On balance the exercise gains for the elderly in the longer term had been positive and in the short term negative. Young people stood out head and shoulders from the rest of the population in 2000 in terms of both sport and daily physical activities. The differences between men and women in terms of sport and exercise narrowed between 1975 and 2000, while the differences by level of education have widened (especially in recent years).

With respect to the figures for the decline in sporting participation between 1995 and 2000 the weather appears once again to have been a factor. Controlling for the effect of the weather, sporting participation would, if the calculations are correct, have risen again slightly in 2000. This ‘accidental’ factor did not however have a disruptive effect on the recorded decline in the proportion of sports participants in the questionnaire survey. From this one would be obliged to conclude that sporting participation is in fact falling. Another source, however, indicated that sporting participation rose fractionally between 1995 and 1999 but that there was a decline in the number of people taking part in sport on a weekly basis (Breedveld 2003). A cautious interpretation of the time-use data would be that the greatest growth in active sporting participation is behind us.

The recent decline in the amount of exercise also constitutes a break in the trend in relation to earlier years that corresponds with the research into the Dutch Healthy Exercise Norm, which suggests a growing exercise ‘poverty’ (Hildebrandt et al. 1999). The analysis concerning the influence of the unfavourable weather in 2000 indicates that the decline in exercise may be attributed only in part to the influence of colder and wetter weather. In brief, too wet or too busy: for the time being Dutch sportspersons lack commitment.

10 Conclusion

Time-use and the timing of activities in a busier society

10.1 *A focus on the period 1995-2000*

This study provides an impression of the time use and of the timing of activities in the Netherlands based on the series of measurements made in the five-yearly Time Use Surveys in the period 1975-2000. In this survey a large number of people kept a record for a week in a diary of what they had done and where they were. A number of reference points 'guided' the analyses of these data.

In the first place, certain details were of course known from research other than the Time Use Survey reported on here concerning long-term developments such as informalisation, individualisation, computerisation (ICT), women's liberation and (since 1985) growing labour force participation. Women in particular began to work more. The increased labour force participation was bound to be discernible in the way in which people devoted the 168 hours available to them each week.

Secondly, clear traces of the aforementioned social trends were evident in earlier SCP reports on time-use. The picture up to 1995 in *Naar andere tijden (Towards other times?)*, Van den Broek et al. 1999) was one of increased activity, reflected in a two-fold fanning out of activities: a diffusion in terms of social roles and a diffusion in terms of time periods. The increased activity manifested itself as social diffusion in the form of the (greatly) increased labour force participation by women and the (less pronounced) growth in involvement in household activity among men. Where both developments took place within one and the same household the time pressures were substantially greater than in the previously dominant breadwinner household. In the case of leisure the social diffusion was reflected in an 'omnivorous' approach towards leisure pursuits, in which cultural interests were combined more frequently than before with other forms of entertainment. In activities such as sport and going out, the elderly began to resemble the young more in their leisure behaviour, while art-lovers became less and less embarrassed about low-brow forms of entertainment such as watching television or attending sporting events. Secularisation and flexibilisation were reflected in the fanning out of activities over time: both paid and household activities took place more frequently in the evening and on Sundays.

For all these developments, much also remained as it had been before. Despite the diffusion of activities in social terms and over time, distinct patterns in the use of time and the timing of activities were discernible in 1995. The role of men continued to differ from that of women and the better educated continued to take part more in cultural activities and voluntary work than the less well educated. Evening activities differed from those in the afternoon, while the pattern of activity on Sunday continued to differ markedly from that on weekdays in 1995.

The question posed by *Towards other Times?* therefore elicited a qualified response. Prior to the Time Use Survey conducted in 2000 there had been a further increase in labour market participation, while two new acts – the Working Hours Act and the Shopping Hours Act – had come into force in the mid-1990s under which the regulation of time had become liberalised. The increased involvement and liberalisation once again raised topical questions about diffusion in social terms and over time. Therefore, the focus in this report is on the period 1995-2000.

10.2 Time budget

The growing labour force participation indeed left behind clear traces on time use (see table 10.1 for selected key data). Per head of population aged 12 and over the average hours worked rose by 2.1 hours to 19.4 hours per week in 2000. The background to this is not that the working week of the employed became longer but that more people entered into work. This applied to the population across the board, but more to women than to men and more to young people (12-19 years) and the young elderly (50-64 years) than to other age groups. The active labour force grew so strongly that the average working week per head of population was extended despite the fact that the working week of the employed was somewhat shorter in 2000 than in 1995.

The increased labour force participation rate also brought with it an increase in the amount of time taken up by commitments. Between 1995 and 2000 the activities for the purposes of work, education and household management rose by 1.3 hours. The busiest were the 20-49-year-olds, the employed and parents with children living at home. In part these are the same individuals, namely those combining parenthood, a career and a household at the prime of their lives. The busiest of all are double-earners with young children.

Approximately the same time was devoted to household and care tasks in 2000 as in 1995. The fact that the total amount of time taken up by commitments rose less than average hours worked is because less time was devoted to education in 2000 (-0.9 hours).

Men began to do somewhat more in certain areas of household management and women less. There was however still no equality in 2000: women performed two-thirds of household and care tasks. The social diffusion of activities, with men performing somewhat more household tasks and women more paid work, continued but did not yet lead to an equal distribution of paid and unpaid work among the sexes.

The greater involvement of men in the household and women in the labour process implies that more people had to combine work and care. This combination of tasks is coupled with objective and subjective time-pressure. On the one hand task-combiners are demonstrably busier, in the sense that their commitments take up more time, while on the other they also feel busier, in the sense that they more often report feeling rushed.

Table 10.1 Breakdown of time-budget into basic categories, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week,^a in percentages and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Obligatory time	40.7	40.8	40.7	42.0	42.6	43.9	103
work	14.8	14.0	14.1	16.6	17.3	19.4	112
care	19.1	19.5	19.4	18.5	18.9	19.0	100
education	6.7	7.3	7.2	6.9	6.4	5.5	86
Personal time	76.3	76.8	75.3	75.5	75.0	76.6	102
Free time	47.9	47.0	49.0	47.2	47.3	44.8	95
% task-combiners (20-64 years)	20	24	28	33	38	47	125

a The three categories do not add up to exactly 168 hours since some activities cannot be attributed unambiguously to just one of the categories.

Source: SCP (TUS)

On average all segments of the population spent more time on sleeping. A part of this extra sleep may be attributed to the weather, but this still leaves an increase in sleeping time of a little over an hour per week. The precise cause of this increase is still unknown. Initial analyses suggests that this concerns a combination of a somewhat higher proportion of bedridden people during the survey week and the relatively cold and wet weather in 2000 and perhaps also an increased need for 'recovery time' and a decline in interest in viewing television late at night.

After having grown for years in succession, the mobility time stabilised in 2000 at the 1995 level. Within the mobility budget the use of the car grew at the expense of other means of transport.

10.3 Timing of activities

The legislation on shopping and working hours was liberalised between 1995 and 2000. The Working Hours Act and the Shopping Hours Act have provided greater opportunity since 1996 to work or shop outside the traditional times. The further advent of new technologies also suggests growing possibilities to get away from set times and to regulate time oneself. The signs are, however, that the wider scope for arranging one's time differently has so far had few consequences for the pattern of daily and weekly activities (table 10.2). The increase in labour force participation was largely confined to office hours (i.e. Mondays to Fridays during the day). There has been little if any increase in work 'outside office hours', so there was no shift of paid work to other times. In this respect there was therefore no trace of temporal diffusion of commitments. The disciplining effect of the increased involvement in work evidently outweighed the greater scope for flexible timing of work.

There was however an increase in the proportion of household tasks performed 'outside office hours'. In part this is a consequence of the reduced level of household

activity during the day on weekdays. In part there has also been a shift of household tasks from daytime on weekdays to weekday evenings and the weekends. The increased labour force participation, which takes place primarily within office hours, is responsible for the fact that the group of 20-64-year-olds have cut back on household tasks and displaced them to ‘outside office hours’. The greater labour force participation has had a stabilising effect on the timing of paid work but calls for flexibility in the timing of household tasks.

Table 10.2 Timing of paid and household work, populated aged 20-64, 1975-2000 (in hours per week, in percentages and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Paid work	17.7	17.2	17.3	19.0	20.4	22.4	110
weekdays during the week	15.3	14.8	14.7	16.0	17.3	19.2	111
evenings, nights and weekends	2.4	2.4	2.6	3.0	3.1	3.2	103
<i>% paid work evenings/nights/weekends</i>	14	14	15	16	15	14	93
Household tasks	25.0	24.5	25.1	23.4	23.5	22.9	97
weekdays during the day	15.4	14.9	15.0	13.7	13.2	12.4	94
evenings, nights and weekends	9.6	9.6	10.1	9.7	10.3	10.5	102
<i>% housework evenings/nights weekends</i>	38	39	40	41	44	46	104

Source: SCP (TUS)

The advent of washing and ironing on Sundays, instead of ‘Monday – washday’, is a striking example of the displacement of household activities in time. In addition the extension of shopping hours contributed towards the change in the timing of household tasks. In particular individuals in ‘new households’ (i.e. double-earners and single householders in work) shifted part of their shopping to the evening. The lion’s share of shopping continued however to be done during the day on weekdays.

Collective peak times such as getting up, eating and working barely changed between 1995 and 2000. Individual routines (i.e. the extent to which one weekday resembles another weekday) equally showed no signs of erosion.

In conclusion it may be said that, notwithstanding the greater freedom to determine working and shopping hours, the gradual erosion in the timing of activities noted earlier halted after 1995. The timing of activities has proved resistant to liberalisation.

10.4 Free time

More work and more sleep inevitably imply that less time was available elsewhere within the finite available period of 168 hours per week. The choices of spending more time on working and sleeping were both at the expense of leisure. On average people had 2.5 hours more free time in 1995 than in 2000 (table 10.3).

Up to 1995 a reduction in the amount of free time already applied to the potential labour force, while since then it has extended to all population groups. Those in employment and the over 65s lost relatively little free time, as the increase in labour force participation obviously does not apply to them.

Since 1995 leisure activities outside the home, in particular, have been cut back, ranging from paying visits to social participation, playing sport and going for walks and cycle rides. As a consequence the number of leisure activities in which people took part during the survey week also fell. Within the declining leisure activities outside the home the fact that going out barely lost any ground stood out in particular.

A number of shifts also took place within the roughly constant amount of free time spent in the home. Reading (of printed media) and domestic social contacts declined, while the use of electronic media was on the up. Unlike before this increase was no longer due to the growing popularity of television but was accounted for by growing computer use.

Table 10.3 Leisure activities, population aged 12 and over, 1975-2000 (in hours per week, and index 2000, 1995 = 100)

	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	index
Free time total	47.9	47.0	49.0	47.2	47.3	44.8	95
Printed media	6.1	5.7	5.3	5.1	4.6	3.9	86
Electronic media	12.4	12.1	13.6	13.7	14.2	14.8	104
Social contacts	12.7	12.5	11.5	11.4	10.9	10.1	93
Social participation	2.0	2.0	2.2	2.1	2.2	1.8	81
Going out	2.4	2.2	2.4	2.6	2.6	2.5	97
Sport and exercise	1.5	1.6	2.1	1.8	2.1	1.8	85
Other hobbies	8.2	8.7	9.0	7.7	7.5	6.8	91
Leisure mobility	2.6	2.3	2.9	2.9	3.2	3.0	94
% leisure activities outside the home	36	35	37	37	39	36	93

Source: SCP (TUS)

Free time has been examined in detail in a number of thematic chapters. As far as family life and other domestic social contacts are concerned the picture is variable. In comparison with 1995 people spent more time at home in 2000, ate together with the family in the evening to the same extent and set aside the same amount of time for activities with children but spent less time conversing with other members of the household and devoted less time to visiting. The decline in contact with housemates and domestic contact with third parties in the form of visits is consistent with a trend that has been observable for some time. People may spend more time at home but have not become more domestic in terms of social contacts.

By international standards the Netherlands has a high level of participation in voluntary work. Until 1995 this did not display any decline, but the most recent Time Use Survey points to a fall. Some other sources point to a decline while others do not.

On the basis of the Time Use Survey organised voluntary activities, in particular, are under pressure. This is recognisable in the field; many organisations are now relying less on the traditional mobilisation of their grass roots support and are evolving in the direction of a 'tertiary organisation' with professional staff funded by a broad donor base.

Since 1975 the media budget of the Dutch remained stable at 18-19 hours per week. The decline in the amount of free time between 1995 and 2000 also failed to erode that media budget. Within the budget, however, there were a number of significant shifts in relation to the type of media used. These shifting preferences reflected the advent of new media at the expense of old ones. Until 1995 television gained ground at the expense of radio and the printed media; since 1995 the PC (with or without Internet connection) has occupied a place in the media budget. Computer and Internet use further squeezed listening to the radio and other sound mediums and the reading of printed media. Television did not yet suffer, unless one regards the absence of any further growth in viewing time as an indication to that effect. The further distribution of the PC among the Dutch population was associated with both a narrowing and a widening of the digital divide. Measured in terms of PC ownership the differences between population groups became smaller; measured in terms of PC use the digital divide in fact widened.

In the midst of the shrinking free time the amount of leisure spent outside the home declined especially. This applied however to only a limited extent to going out. The time spent on going out remained reasonably stable after 1995. Visits to cultural facilities, in particular, held up. Although people went out less during the October week, the proportion of the population that 'occasionally' went to a café or restaurant grew. More people go out 'from time to time' but fewer do so frequently. For this reason going out may be regarded as a 'parade of passers-by'. The previously noted trend towards 'omnivorous' leisure pursuits was not sustained after 1995.

The time use in the year 2000 points to declining participation in sport. More detailed analyses indicate that this decline was due in part to the weather conditions in 2000 (when it was colder and wetter than in 1995). The decline also emerged from the questionnaire accompanying the survey, suggesting that this was more than just a matter of the weather during the week the time use was recorded. A conservative interpretation of the findings would be that sporting participation barely staged any further increase between 1995 and 2000, an interpretation that is also supported by the SCP 'FUS'-survey. The time spent on walking and cycling also fell and hence on physical exercise in the broad sense. This is a break in the trend in relation to earlier years, that was caused only in part by the weather and which also emerges from another survey into 'exercise poverty'. Those taking part in sport did so to virtually the same extent in 2000 as in 1995, but less in an associational context than in 1990. The fall in sport in an associational context since 1990 has been in line with findings from other research.

10.5 What did time tell us?

This study opened with the popular saying 'time will tell'. The Time Use Survey indeed tells us much about developments and constants in time-use and the timing of activities.

An initial lesson confirms the greater time pressure from commitments due to the greater labour force participation. More people – especially women – performed paid work. Men took on somewhat more household tasks. In this way the greater level of activity resulted in the social diffusion of tasks, as reflected in the continuing growth in the number of task-combiners. The greater activity, however, led only in part to a further diffusion of tasks over time, in that the additional involvement in the labour process was largely concentrated within office hours. Indirectly, however, it did result in the diffusion over time of tasks, in that a higher proportion of housework is performed on weekday evenings and at weekends, partly but certainly not solely by making use of the more extensive shopping hours. Collective routines (i.e. the extent to which one person's Tuesday resembles another's Tuesday) did not erode; nor did individual routines (i.e. the extent to which one person's Tuesday resembles that person's Monday). In this regard the greater work commitments appear to have had a disciplining effect, despite the greater freedom to organise one's time as one sees fit.

A second lesson is that, taken on average, the Dutch population went to bed somewhat earlier in 2000 but did not get up any earlier. More work and more sleep inevitably imply that less time was available for other activities within the finite period of 168 hours per week.

The third lesson accordingly concerns the further and accelerated decline in the amount of free time. In particular cutbacks were made in the amount of free time spent outside the home, on paying visits and social participation, on taking part in sport and on going on walks and cycle rides. A number of shifts also took place within the roughly constant amount of free time spent by people at home. Reading and domestic social contacts declined, while the use of electronic media was on the up thanks to the growth in computer-use.

These developments do not have any clear-cut policy implications. On the one hand the increase in labour force participation means greater involvement in society, greater financial independence and more assurance of affordable pension provision. On the other hand it is a source of concern in various respects.

Divergent, in most cases widely shared, leisure activities such as voluntary work, social contacts, physical exercise and reading are (once again) under pressure. Time will tell whether and to what extent the social functions of these activities are fulfilled by other activities or by organising activities differently (for example by making donations to professional organisations, social contacts via work and accessing information via new media).

At a time of increasing work pressure and complaints of mental fatigue, the decline in the volume of weekly free hours constitutes a disturbing signal. In this connection the objective and subjective time pressure of task combiners would appear to justify additional policy efforts concerning the combination of work and care.

So far the Shopping Hours Act and Working Hours Act have not resulted in the slippage of collective rhythms and individual routines. This may be interpreted as a positive signal, in the sense that extending the possibilities to shop in the evening and on Sundays has not meant that time has lost its traditional complexion. The actual time-use patterns do not however indicate how difficult it has been for people to organise and plan their time-use in the midst of growing commitments and freedom of choice. The additional work commitments during the day on weekdays and the shift in care tasks to the evenings and weekends lead one to suspect that the everyday pattern of activities has become less automatic in nature. In this respect the multi-choice society is a demanding one (Breedveld & Van den Broek 2003).

The concentration on average developments per head of population to some extent obscures the differences between population categories. In some cases those developments may be regarded as positive, such as the increase in physical exercise and computer-use among the elderly. Other developments are less in harmony with policy intentions, such as the extent to which young people are turning away from public broadcasting, the still unequal division of care tasks among men and women, and the sustained drive towards greater mobility among the growing group of higher educated people.

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