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Social Capital, Coping and Information Behaviour of Long-Term Unemployed People in Finland

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Contents

1. Introduction

> *"Whoever hasn't been unemployed DOES NOT KNOW WHAT IT IS!"* (Woman, 60)
>
> *"Life did not end with unemployment, even though I thought so in the beginning."* (Woman, -)

1.1. The aim of the study

Unemployment is one of the great changes in life. How an individual experiences it and responds to it depends on various factors such as the age of the individual, his/her situation, personality as well as the length of the unemployment. The economic trend can also have an effect. Unemployment may feel different during an economic boom than a recession and also affect other people's attitudes towards the unemployed. The data for the current study was gathered in 2007 before the upcoming financial crisis and the results will thus reflect experiences of unemployment at the peak of economic boom.

The aim of this research is to study how long-term unemployed people cope with their situation, what kind of social capital they have and what kind of information behaviour they engage in. Another goal is to find out whether there are differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed people in these three areas.

Unemployment, especially when it is prolonged, poses the great risk of the person becoming isolated from working life and society. In order to keep unemployed people fit for work and to support their return to working life it is important to know in what ways unemployment affects their well-being and what the factors are that could alleviate the negative consequences. Social capital might play an important role, as it could be assumed that having a good social safety net, trustworthy relationships and feeling of being part of society would aid in coping with unemployment.

Information behaviour, and especially the ability to seek, find and evaluate information, are important in the modern information-intensive society. Studying information behaviour of unemployed people tells us about their information practices as well as how important a role information has in their lives. At the same time it also in part describes how close their connection is with society – whether they are interested in following what happens around them or whether they are beginning to be isolated from the

community. Information behaviour can be an important factor in determining how unemployed people cope with their situation.

Thus, one object of interest in this research is whether there are connections between coping, social capital and information behaviour. The results may provide valuable information concerning how different factors connected with unemployment can affect each other and thus make it easier to understand the complexity of unemployment. They may also provide ideas for more efficient tackling of the problems caused by long-term unemployment.

1.2. Background

1.2.1. Unemployment and coping

Unemployment, its consequences and coping with it have already been studied for decades. One of the early studies was the research done in Marienthal, Austria in the 1930s, which led to a theory by Jahoda (1982, 22-26) often referred to as the deprivation theory. According to the theory, unemployment deprives people of certain experiences and functions that work provides and makes them passive. This was followed by other theories and models, of which the ones by Warr (1987) and Fryer and Payne (1984) are often taken up. The vitamin model by Warr (1987, 10-11, 210) approaches unemployment with a largely similar view as Jahoda as it considers that unemployed people's environment lacks certain features, which diminishes their mental health. The agency theory by Fryer and Payne (1984), then again, argues that unemployment can also have positive features and proactivity. It does not mean that there would be no negative features in unemployment, but rather that unemployed people try to actively affect their situation and see positive sides to it. It is, however, important to keep in mind that, as Fryer and Fagan (1993) point out, even though many people can be resourceful enough to manage unemployment without collapsing, it does not change the general picture that unemployment is in many aspects a profoundly negative experience. When judging the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of coping it is also important to keep in mind from whose perspective it is reviewed.

In the current study long-term unemployed people's coping is approached from two angles. What they are actively trying to do in order to cope with their situation is studied by examining what kind of coping strategies they use. To evaluate how they actually have managed to cope is done through studying their financial situation, health and social support.

1.2.2. Social capital

Social capital, which, as Portes (1998) states, has its roots in the 19th century, started to generate academic interest in the late 1980s along with Bourdieu and Coleman and resurfaced in the late 1990s when researchers from several fields started studying it again. Halpern assumes that the interest was revived due to Putnam's 1995 article concerning the decline of social capital in the USA. (Halpern 2005, 6-7, 8-9). This fresh interest made the concept popular, but did not manage to standardize it. The lack of clarity that concerns, for example, its sources and consequences makes it difficult to develop a unified definition of the concept and thus hampers research and makes it complicated to create a collective empirical foundation, which would serve further studies (Woolcock 1998, 2001). Dimensions or features that are often considered as forming social capital are social networks, trust, reciprocity, social norms, social support and social participation (e.g. Putnam 2000 19, 49, 58; Halpern 2005, 4, 10-11; de Souza Briggs 1998).

Research on social capital has indicated that it has various positive effects. It appears that having a lot of social capital, for example, in the form of trust, social participation and social relations increases people's self-assessed health and well-being (e.g. Thoits & Hewitt 2001; Hyyppä & Mäki 2001, 2003; Nordenmark 2004; Poortinga 2006). It can, however, also have a negative side. It can be controlling, exclusive and cause feelings of indebtedness and obligation (Putnam 2000, 19-22-23; Kawachi & Berkman 2001; Portes 1998).

Unemployed people's social capital has not yet generated much interest among researchers. Certain dimensions have been taken up in various studies, but bigger entities have so far remained rather unexplored. The dimensions that have been studied have concerned, for example, unemployed people's social networks and social activity (e.g. Russell 1999, Heino 2000, Samuelsson 2002, Gallie et al. 2003, Ervasti 2003, Lindsay 2009) and the use and importance of social relations in searching for a job (e.g. Sprengers et al. 1988, Vuori & Tervahartiala 1995, Korpi 2001, Lindsay 2009). In the current study long-term unemployed people's social capital is examined through their social relations (the number of strong and weak ties, density of contact with them, and their role in searching for a job), trust (trustworthy relationships), civic engagement, and their feeling of connectedness with community and society.

1.2.3. Information behaviour

Information behaviour can be considered to consist of information need, seeking, giving and using information in different contexts (Pettigrew, Fidel & Bruce 2001). It can also include active avoiding of information (Case 2002, 5), which can be due to various reasons. It may be a conscious decision aiming at not becoming aware of something that may be unpleasant or dangerous. It may also be a way to avoid the consequences of knowing something, i.e. having to do something as a result of the information. (Maslow 1963). It may also be used as a coping method for reducing anxiety and distress, for example, concerning a stressful event or situation. (Miller 1980).

Information is sought for many different purposes and it can be done actively and passively. People seek information to monitor what happens in the world, which can often be a regular habit for them and can occur, for example, through reading a newspaper over breakfast or watching the evening news. Information is also sought to find out about certain things or to solve a problem or carry out a task. (Savolainen 1995; 2008a, 5-6, 83). Information can also be sought for entertainment. Case considers that making a distinction between entertainment and information is actually artificial and gives the impression that the two are detached from each other, although in reality people seek both and also mix them (Case 2002, 102, 108). Talking with other people can also be both entertainment and purposeful seeking of information. People may engage in discussion solely for the purpose of being in company or passing time or they can also purposefully ask for information or exchange views with someone in order to be informed. (Wilson 1977, 36). Information may also be received accidentally while not looking for it at all, for example, in the middle of a casual conversation or while looking for something else (Erdelez 1997, Williamson 1998).

Information seeking has provided a rich ground for research. It has been examined in connection with different kinds of professions, such as janitorial workers, teachers, students, economists and business analysts (e.g. Chatman 1991, Kuhlthau 1993, Savolainen 1995, Thivant 2005, Heinström 2006), age (e.g. Chatman 1992, Williamson 1998, Julien 1999, Agosto & Hughes-Hassell 2005, Niemelä 2006, Meyers et al. 2009), as well as different kinds of groups, such as environmentalists, homeless people, amateur genealogists, pregnant women, blind and sight impaired people, and people with diabetes (e.g. Williamson & Schauder 2000, Hersberger 2002, Eriksson-Backa 2003, Savolainen 2007b, Fulton 2009). Unemployed people's information seeking, however, has not generated much interest in research so far. It could be said that it has only begun to take its first steps. One researcher who has engaged

in it is Savolainen, who examined unemployed people's everyday life information practices (2008a) such as orienting and problem-specific information seeking. He has also studied what kind of information sources and channels the unemployed use for seeking a job (2007c). Job seeking methods of the unemployed have also been studied by McQuaid et al. (2004).

In the present study the focus is on everyday life information seeking, which is divided into orienting and problem-specific information seeking, and the sources used for these activities, as well as problems encountered when seeking information.

1.2.4. Finnish-speakers and Swedish-speakers

Finnish and Swedish are the two official languages in Finland. The clear majority of the Finns are, however, Finnish-speakers as only 5,4% (291 153) of the population speak Swedish as their mother tongue (Statistics Finland 2010). The majority of the Swedish-speakers live in the coastal areas (Folktinget 2011).

Differences between the two language groups have been of interest for previous research. There have been studies concerning, for example, social capital (Hyyppä & Mäki 2001, 2003; Nyqvist et al. 2008) and unemployment rates (Saarela & Finnäs 2003). Studying Finnish- and Swedish-speaking unemployed is, however, a novel endeavour. The aim is to study whether there are differences in their social capital, information behaviour and how they cope with unemployment.

1.3. Research questions

This research attempts to find answers to following questions:

1) *What kind of social capital do long-term unemployed people have?*

2) *How do the long-term unemployed cope with unemployment?*

3) *What kind of information do long-term unemployed people seek and what sources do they use?*

4) *Are there connections between long-term unemployed people's social capital, coping and information behaviour?*

5) *Are there differences between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed people in their social capital, coping and information behaviour?*

1.4. Structure of the thesis

The thesis begins with a review of theories in unemployment research (Chapter 2.1.), social capital (Chapter 2.2.), coping (Chapter 2.3.) and information behaviour (Chapter 2.4.). These are followed by a chapter introducing the empirical research design of the study (Chapter 3). The findings of the empirical part of the study are presented in chapter 4 and they follow the order in which the theories of the three areas of research were reviewed (social capital, coping, information behaviour). The results concerning the differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed people are reported in connection with each of the three areas as they arise. Finally chapter 5 concludes the study with a discussion binding the theoretical and empirical parts.

2. Literary review

2.1. Theories in unemployment research

This chapter introduces three theories that are often referred to in connection with unemployment research and represent somewhat differing views of unemployment and its consequences. These are Jahoda's deprivation theory (1982), Warr's vitamin model (1987) and agency theory by Fryer and Payne (1984). Jahoda's theory considers unemployment as mainly a negative phenomenon depriving people of experiences and rendering them passive. The idea in Warr's model is almost parallel as he sees that unemployment reduces certain environmental features that influence people's mental health. In his model the unemployed are, however, considered to be able to affect their situation at least somewhat. The agency theory, then again, sees unemployed people as active agents, who try to affect their situation and find positive features in it.

2.1.1. Jahoda's theory

Jahoda's theory is based on the unemployment study of Marienthal in Austria in the 1930s. According to the theory, unemployment deprives certain experiences that are provided by employment, such as 1) the experience of time 2) the reduction of social contacts 3) the lack of participation in collective purposes 4) the absence of an acceptable status and its consequences for personal identity and 5) the absence of regular activity. People need these experiences to make sense of their lives and as unemployed people are not able to satisfy them, it makes them feel psychologically deprived. (Jahoda 1982, 39, 83-84).

According to Jahoda, the experience of time is embedded into people of the modern industrialized societies in childhood and it follows them through their lives. Therefore, when the structure of the day provided by work disappears as a person becomes unemployed, this causes a psychological burden, which is established, for example, as boredom and waste of time. Time and time keeping lose their meaning. This appeared to be the case especially among men in Marienthal. Women, however, were less affected, because even if they were unemployed, they still had their chores to do and it helped them to keep a structure in their day. (Jahoda 1982, 22-23).

As a result of unemployment people also lose the social context employment provides. This, together with losing the time structure, makes people feel a

sense of purposelessness as well as the sense of being socially excluded and isolated. In Marienthal not being engaged in collective purposes also had an effect on their private life as, for example, borrowing of books from the library, subscribing to daily papers (despite a reduced price for the unemployed), and memberships in political organizations and clubs all declined. Regular contacts outside home and the purposes this offered diminished and the unemployed started to withdraw from these kinds of social relations. Jahoda considers that the need for other social relations, such as, for example, those provided by work, cannot be replaced by family relations because they are different in nature. Family relations are usually more emotionally laden than work relations and cannot therefore provide a platform for different kinds of neutral discussions the way work relationships can. (Jahoda 1982, 24-26).

Jahoda states that the often noted consequences of unemployment are also the loss of status and identity. She does not consider it as surprising, because in modern societies a person's status and prestige are defined by a person's job. Although status is a social phenomenon connected with the value system of a society, and identity more a person's own image of himself/herself, people feel they are closely intertwined. The Marienthal study showed that there were differences between the long-term unemployed in the way they saw their status and identity. The very young unemployed and men over 50 years identified themselves with their latest trade. In the case of the young it meant the apprenticeship they had had. The unemployed between 21 and 50 years, then again, identified themselves as unemployed. (Jahoda 1982, 26).

The way unemployed people experience the deprivation of different kinds of experiences provided by work varies depending on, for example, their personality and their life circumstances. In the 1930s it appeared to be common for the unemployed to respond to unemployment by giving up. Jahoda assumes that this kind of behaviour could have been connected with age and that resorting to this strategy would have been more common for the unemployed aged 50 years and over than for the younger ones. She considers also that it is possible for unemployed people to find alternative ways to meet the needs usually provided by work and find them helpful. This, however, can provide only a partial solution to the problem, since not all needs can be met by other means than work. (Jahoda 1982, 85, 92, 94, 98).

2.1.2. Warr's vitamin model

Warr's vitamin model is based on the connection between the environment and an individual's mental health. The idea of the model is that an

individual's mental health is influenced by the environment the same way that physical health is influenced by vitamins. According to Warr, there are nine environmental features that determine mental health. These features are: 1) opportunity for control 2) opportunity for skill use 3) externally generated goals 4) variety 5) environmental clarity 6) availability of money 7) physical security 8) opportunity for interpersonal contact and 9) valued social position. Each of these environmental features is associated with mental health in its own way. (Warr 1987, 1-2, 10-11).

Warr appears to follow Jahoda's vision of unemployment as a depriving factor. He considers that the unemployed person's environment has limited amounts of the nine environmental features and that it is the deprivation of these features that causes the diminishing of mental health. According to Warr, the unemployed are not, however, seen as completely passive respondents as he considers that they can have some power over their environments and how they are influenced by them. Some people are more active than others in establishing personal goals, searching for stimulating environments and perceiving opportunities. They can themselves create these environmental features and be thus less harmed by unemployment. (Warr 1987,16, 210, 212, 274).

Warr has studied the nine environmental features in the unemployed environment and noticed that unemployed people lack various elements of them. They have, for instance, less opportunity for control than employed people. They have fewer possibilities to decide and act the way they want to due to, for example, dependence upon welfare bureaucracies and shortage of money. This reduced ability to control what happens to you is likely to be harmful to an unemployed person as such, but also because it brings with it powerlessness concerning other conditions as well. Closely related to reduced opportunity for control is also lack of environmental clarity, which is likely to be reduced for the unemployed as well. This means lack of obtaining information about the consequences of behaviour and future, which enable making decisions, carrying out actions and planning things ahead, and reduces anxiety caused by uncertainty. What also may affect an unemployed person's well-being is their social position. As a person becomes unemployed, he or she also loses a socially approved role as an employed individual and the positive self-evaluations that accompany it. The new position as an unemployed person is often felt to be inferior and not to allow full membership of society. The number of externally generated goals also diminishes during unemployment. There are fewer demands, reduced objectives and less encouragement for purposeful activity by the environment. This can lead to a loss of time structure and reduced level of activity, which Jahoda also mentioned in her theory. Much activity has to be

self-generated and is also often restricted by shortage of money. (Warr 1987, 212-216, 224).

Interpersonal contact is also considered as important by Warr as it can decrease feelings of loneliness, provide emotional support and help reaching goals that are not possible to be achieved alone. Therefore social contacts should be important for unemployed people and enhance their level of mental health. Warr considers that a common assumption is that the unemployed have fewer interpersonal contacts due to their lack of fellow workers and reduced money to engage in social life, but that is not necessarily the case. Studies have suggested that social contacts can also increase during unemployment. (Warr 1987, 220-221; 1988).

2.1.3. Agency theory

The theory that supports a somewhat contradictory viewpoint of unemployment compared to those of Jahoda and Warr is a so-called agency theory. It maintains that unemployment is not only about deprivation, but may also entail proactivity and positive phenomena. Fryer and Payne state that "*Proactivity is characterized by a person choosing to initiate, intervene in or reperceive situations in a way which allows the person (agent) to act in valued directions rather than respond passively to imposed change*" (Fryer & Payne 1984, 273). Not everyone is and can be equally active due to individual differences, but Fryer and Payne assume that the number of people who are passive all the time is very small and that even those who are passive are at least sometimes somewhat active. (Fryer & Payne 1984).

There were several considerations that made Fryer and Payne (1984) question the widely held conception that unemployment would be for the most part, for most people psychologically destructive. One consideration was that, although employment can often be satisfying and life-enhancing, it can also be unsatisfactory in many ways. Another was that people are individuals and thus differ in their values, requirements and expectations of life. They are also personalities with different characteristics. Finally, they deliberated that, although a situation might seem totally negative, it could still hold positive features. These considerations led to contemplation that unemployment could in some cases and certain respects be also a positive experience, which was then later on also supported by research results. What also occupied the minds of Fryer and Payne was the question of determining the factor causing the psychological deprivation and psychological distress an unemployed could be feeling. It is possible that deprivation and distress are not solely caused by lack of advantages provided by employment, but

may also be caused by the effort of understanding and coping with unemployment.

The results of the study by Fryer and Payne (1984) supported the idea of proactivity. The participants consisted of unemployed who were materially deprived, but coped well psychologically with their unemployment situation. It was characteristic for the participants to see positive features in unemployment and be active agents. They acted upon situations and considered them as providing opportunities and possibilities for change. The results showed also that the participants had been active long before their unemployment, which led to a suggestion that proactivity in unemployment could stem from being an active person throughout one's life. A factor that also appeared to be important for those proactive unemployed was social support from people, who were like-minded and following the same kinds of goals.

In their study, Fryer and Payne (1984) also examined the importance of the latent functions of employment claimed by Jahoda. They found out, for example, that time structure was important to the respondents, but not quite the way she had suggested. The time structure imposed by employment was not seen as a necessity for a good life. It was, in fact, somewhat resented and considered, for example, as lacking regard for personal needs and rhythms. Criticism towards employment was given also concerning hierarchical and autocratic supervision, the effects on identity, and meaninglessness of activity. As unemployed, the respondents had adopted an internal time structure of their own, which consisted of routines, tasks and projects they had created for themselves. They were also regularly engaged in collective experiences outside home. Their activity level was high and the initiative for it came originally from their personal commitment. Other people's expectations had, however, also some effect on it. Unemployment had also moulded their experiences in a positive way. For some it had brought maturing and broadened their vision of people and the world. As other positive sides of unemployment, the respondents mentioned the opportunity to structure time according to one's own needs and requirements, receiving support, and having the possibility to work for goals that are of interest and importance to oneself.

Fryer and Payne (1984) consider that the key element in understanding how the respondents experienced unemployment is not what they have been deprived of by unemployment, but what they themselves have brought to it. The respondents are active agents. They have not escaped the social, financial and material consequences entailed by unemployment, but are nevertheless still psychologically rich and venturous. According to Fryer and Payne, the latent consequences of employment are important issues to

understand the psychological side of employment and unemployment, but they believe that this approach may neglect some part of the unemployed's experiences and behaviour, that is, an unemployed person as an active, coping and interpreting agent. Fryer and Payne suggest that an approach, which would take into consideration both agency and dependency aspects as well as positive and negative features of unemployment, and operate in a broad context, could constitute a framework, which could provide a wide and multifaceted view of unemployment as an experience.

2.2. Social capital

2.2.1. Definition of social capital

Despite the recent popularity in various fields of science social capital is not a new idea. According to Portes (1998), its roots can be dated back to Durkheim (1893) and his emphasis on group life as an antidote to anomie and self-destruction, as well as to the distinction between an atomized class-in-itself and a mobilized and effective class-for-itself by Marx (1894). According to Halpern, the mainstream academic interest in social capital began in the late 1980s when Bourdieu and Coleman took it up. Halpern considers, however, that a more striking increase in social capital research happened after 1995 when Putnam wrote his article about the decline of social capital in the USA. (Halpern 2005, 6-7, 8-9). In Finland interest in social capital appears to have arisen in the late 1990s as the first publications have appeared in 1997-1999 and continued to increase in the beginning of 2000 (Forsman 2005, 136).

One of the problems with social capital has been the difficulty to define the concept precisely. One reason for this could be that social capital is a broad concept and consists of many different factors and features. Another reason could be the differing views of how social capital should be considered in the first place – as an individual resource or a collective resource. Woolcock (1998) considers that the lack of clarity concerning the sources of social capital and its consequences and what should be used to define the concept may also hamper the composing of a definition. Although there is some kind of a common understanding of what the main factors and features of social capital are, no fixed and generally approved definition exists yet. According to Woolcock (2001), a commonly accepted and used definition would be necessary as social capital is used and studied in many different disciplines and the common definition would enable comparison of results as well as the building of a collective empirical foundation.

Bourdieu is usually mentioned as one of the early names of social capital. He saw social capital as a combination of actual and potential resources that exist in social relations. According to him, social capital is a resource that can be credited by being a member of a group. How much social capital an individual can credit depends, for example, on the breadth of his/her social network. (Bourdieu 1986, 248-249). Coleman, who is also often referred to as one of the early developers of social capital considered it as a resource for individuals, which resides not in the individuals but in the structure of relations between and among them. (Coleman 1988, 98).

The more recent names often mentioned when discussing social capital are Putnam and Woolcock. According to Putnam (2000, 19), social capital is about the connections among individuals, that is, social networks, and norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that are based on them. Woolcock (2000, 37) considers that social capital consists of the norms based on society's social structures and social relations, which make it possible for people to organize their actions in order to achieve their aims.

2.2.2. Dimensions of social capital

According to Putnam (2000, 19, 21-23), social capital consists of social networks, reciprocity and trust. Social networks consist of the different kinds of social relations an individual has. These relations can be everything from close relations, such as family or extended family to members of a civic organization a person belongs to or professional acquaintances. Social relations can be divided into bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is about strong ties, such as friends and family, or clubs and groups with close fellowship. Such networks are tight and can be good at providing social support. They can also be controlling with their strong emphasis on in-group loyalty and exclusive towards those outside the group. Bridging social capital consists of weak ties. These ties are looser but extend wider. They can therefore provide valuable contacts outside a person's usual circles and are good at spreading information one otherwise would not come across. Bridging social capital is not as controlling as bonding social capital, but gives more room for different identities. According to Putnam, bonding and bridging are not tightly fixed 'either-or' categories into which social relations can be divided, but rather dimensions which can be used for comparing different forms of social capital.

Putnam (2000, 49, 58, 134, 137) considers that membership in an organization tells about an individual's community involvement, but it does not say much about an individual's civic activity. A person can be a member of an organization without being actively involved in its functions. What is momentous from the point of view of social capital is exactly how active and involved an individual is in the activities of an organization. Another important dimension in social capital is the generalized reciprocity. It is doing something for another person, a friend or a stranger, without expecting anything immediately in return. The point in doing the favour is the idea that some day someone else will do the same for you. The third dimension is trust in other people, i.e. social trust. There are also other kinds of trust, i.e. trust in government and other social institutions. According to Putnam, these two kinds of trust can be empirically connected but should, however,

theoretically be considered as separate as they are ultimately two different matters.

An important dimension of social capital is also the connection between an individual and society. This connection consists of the feeling of being part of something and participation. According to Sassi (2002, 59), being part of something is about the feeling of belonging, being a member. Participation means taking part in democratic practices such as voting or civic activities. Being part of something and participation are intertwined, as without the feeling of being part of something there is no basis for participation. Bäcklund et al. (2002, 7, 9) consider that as a general concept being part of something means an individual's position and relation to society, including culture and dominant values, and local community and its politics and administration. It is about belonging to society or community. Participation means citizen's rights and duties about making decisions that concern him/her and people near him/her.

The report of the Civil Society 2006 Committee (2005, 13, 48) defines being part of something as the feeling of being involved and belonging, which comes through participation and influence. This can be reached, for example, through civic engagement. Through working, having hobbies, participating and influencing, a person feels being part of his/her community and society. According to the report of the Civil Society 2006 Committee, the majority of Finns have this feeling, but unemployed and socially excluded people often miss this. They feel like outsiders and that they are rejected. The feeling that one is not part of something is a crippling, even a traumatizing experience. People are fundamentally social beings and want to feel they belong. It is one of the basic elements of a good life. A person who feels that he/she is not part of something is also rarely an active, participating and influencing citizen.

Halpern (2005, 3, 10-11) considers that social capital is about social structures between individuals, i.e. social networks or social fabric as he refers to it, which greatly defines with whom and how people interact and co-operate. According to Halpern, social capital is often considered to consist of three components: 1) social networks 2) social norms and 3) sanctions. Social networks consist of different kind of social ties, which extend from recognizing a person by sight or greeting someone occasionally to deep friendships. These social relationships are not always solely positive, but can also contain rivalry and dislike. Social networks can also be defined geographically or formally, or by density or closure. Social norms consist of rules, values and expectancies, which characterize the members of the community or network. These rules are often unwritten and can consist of behavioural components, which require a person to do certain things, and

those more affective in nature, which are defined more by how the member feels about the community or group. The norms can include being a polite and considerate neighbour and helping one's neighbours in different ways. Sanctions can be formal or informal acts used in maintaining social norms. These can often be found, for example, living in the neighbourhood. Sanctions may be communicated directly by telling someone verbally what they have done wrong or nonverbally through disapproving glances. They can also be communicated indirectly through gossip and reputation. Sanctions can also be positive, such as praise for something one has done or compliments for something one has.

According to de Souza Briggs (1998), social capital as an individual resource resides in relationships and can be used for individual action. It is about receiving help from other people, for example, for solving problems, seizing opportunities or carrying out relevant aims. de Souza Briggs divides social capital into two main dimensions: social support and social leverage. Social support is the kind of social capital that can help a person to cope with a stressful situation or a challenge, i.e. "get by". This help can be emotional, informative or tangible. Social leverage is the kind of social capital that can help a person to "get ahead". This means, for example, asking someone in a key position to recommend one in the hiring process. Having social ties with those who are different to oneself, i.e. bridging ties makes it more possible to gain the leverage needed for "getting ahead".

An important feature of social capital is also the flow of information through social networks. Granovetter (1973, 1983) has divided social relations into two groups of social ties: strong ties and weak ties. Tie strength is determined by a combination of certain characteristics such as the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy of the relationship, and reciprocal services**.** Strong ties consist of close friends and form a dense network. Weak ties consist of acquaintances that are less likely to know each other and form thus a less dense network. According to Granovetter's theory, weak ties provide access to information and resources outside one's own social circle and are therefore more useful in providing new opportunities and new information. Strong ties, then again, are more easily available and better motivated to help, but may not be able to provide information that one does not have already or have an access to.

Many statistical bureaus have also devised their own definitions of social capital for their national research purposes. ONS (The UK Office of National Statistics) has divided social capital into five dimensions: 1) social participation 2) civic participation 3) social networks and support 4) reciprocity and trust and 5) views about the area. Social participation consists of involvement in groups and voluntary activities and civic

participation is about involvement in local or national issues and voting. Social networks and support consist of contact with social relations, such as friends and relatives. Reciprocity and trust is about trust in people and institutions and doing and receiving favours. Views about the area is about how satisfied individuals are with living in the area and what problems they consider it to have. (Babb 2005).

According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS 2004), social capital refers to the resources, which are available in social networks in the form of mutual support, reciprocity and trust. In their framework, social capital consists of the following dimensions: 1) network qualities 2) network structure 3) network transactions and 4) network types. Network qualities consist of norms (such as trust, reciprocity, and cooperation) and common purpose (such as social participation, civic participation, support, and friendship). Network structure consists of, for example, network size, network frequency/intensity, and density and openness. Network transactions are about sharing support and knowledge and network types about bonding, bridging and linking.

In this research, social capital is considered as a property of a person and consisting of social relations, civic participation and trust. Social relations are divided into bonding and bridging relations. Bonding relations include strong ties, such as family and friends, and bridging relations include acquaintances. Civic participation means here participating in different kinds of organizational activities, such as the activities of associations, organizations or clubs. Trust is in this research considered as social trust and means having close, trustworthy relationships with people. The feeling of connectedness with the community and society is also regarded here as one part of a person's social capital and means feelings of connectedness with different groups or communities in society and with Finnish society as a whole. Social support is also considered to be part of social capital, but in this research it is, however, studied as one feature of coping.

2.2.3. Effects of social capital

2.2.3.1. Positive features

Much research studying the effects of social capital has concentrated on the consequences they have on people's health and well-being. What the results have shown is that the different dimensions of social capital can in many ways enhance them. Poortinga's study (2006) of the connection between self-rated health and social capital suggests that the beneficial properties of social capital lie in an individual's social network and are reached through

an active interaction between people and their social environment. The results of the study showed that those who had higher levels of trust and those who had a high degree of civic participation were more inclined to consider their health as good or very good compared to those with lower levels of trust and civic participation. Hyyppä and Mäki (2001, 2003) also found a positive connection between social capital and self-rated health. Their study showed a significant connection between associational activity, friendship networks and religious involvement and good self-rated health. The research of Thoits and Hewitt (2001) also supports the positive effects of active social participation on health and well-being. Their study showed that voluntary group participation and volunteer work significantly enhanced well-being by increasing happiness, life satisfaction and health. Thoits and Hewitt, however, also contemplate that a person's well-being can affect engaging in volunteer activities in the first place. In their view, people who engage in volunteer activities may already possess more physical and psychological resources than non-volunteers.

Nordenmark's (2004) study of the connection between multiple social roles and well-being also indicates a positive connection between social networks and well-being. His results suggest that having many social roles, i.e. having a lot of social contacts, increases individual well-being. According to Nordenmark, this could be because having a lot of social contacts can provide social and economic resources, which can be helpful for creating a satisfactory self-image and life situation. They can also provide social and economic support in hard times. Social support in the form of having friends to rely on when ill was an important feature of social capital in Rose's study (2000). Other important features were control over one's own life, and trust. According to Hanifi (2006), Statistic Finland's 2002 leisure survey shows a positive connection between civic participation and trust. The results indicated that the respondents who were actively involved in associations and who participated actively in cultural events had greater trust in other people than average citizens.

2.2.3.2. Negative features

Social capital is usually considered as a positive feature, but there can also be negative aspects in it, even if they are not taken up or discussed as much as the positive features. Although negative features are not discussed as openly as the positive ones, they have been acknowledged in some degree already early on by several researchers. Coleman (1988, 98) noticed that social capital may also have disadvantages by stating that a certain form of social capital, which is valuable for some may be useless or even harmful for others. Putnam (2000, 19, 22-23) has taken the matter up when talking about

bonding and bridging social capital. He mentions that networks of strong ties (bonding social capital) can be controlling with their strong emphasis on in-group loyalty and exclusivity towards people outside the group. Woolcock (1998, 186) has also noted the duality of social capital by mentioning that social capital can be used for both developmental and destructive purposes.

Adler and Kwon (2000, 106) take up the uncertainty of social capital as an investment. According to them, building social capital by establishing relationships and maintaining them is an investment without guarantees. In other words, there is no way of knowing whether the investment will in fact be worth its value. Kawachi and Berkman (2001) mention the possible psychological costs of social support that are caused by feelings of indebtedness and obligation.

Portes (1998) claims that it is important to emphasize the negative features of social capital and to examine them as well. He considers that there are several negative consequences, which have emerged through studying the different dimensions of social capital. These are: exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward levelling norms. According to Portes, tight bonding in a group may exclude outsiders and thus restrict social interaction. It may also deny outsiders access to resources. The normative culture of the group may also restrict members from doing what they wish and set different kinds of demands for conformity on them. This may also mean hindering participants from making progress or getting ahead, if that is against the basic idea of the group. In other words, group solidarity can restrict the freedom of choice of the participants in various ways. This kind of social control can be remarkably strong and often results in breaking away from the group especially in the case of young people and independent minded people. Extreme examples of the adverse side of social capital are, for example, youth gangs and mafia families.

2.2.4. Social capital of unemployed people

Social capital of unemployed people has not been studied much so far. The dimensions that have been of interest to the researchers in connection with unemployment have been mostly social networks and civic engagement (e.g. Lindsay 2009, Russell 1999, Gallie et al. 2003, Ervasti 2003a, Heino 2000, Samuelsson 2002). The results have provided interesting, yet also diverse results. Most of the results appear to suggest that unemployed people are not very active in participating in organizational activities. As to social relations the results provide more variation from the decrease of social relations and contacts to the increase of them.

2.2.4.1. Social relations and civic participation

Lindsay's results (2009) indicate that unemployment is connected with decreasing participation in formal and informal social activities. This is especially the case with the long-term unemployed, who appear to be less active in participating in both of these social activities. Of those respondents who had been out of work for less than a year almost half (46%) were in contact with their friends and family at least weekly compared to 29% of the long-term unemployed. Significant differences between the long-term unemployed and those with a shorter unemployment period could be found also concerning participating in regular, organized activities, such as attending a sports or a social club weekly. Of all the respondents only slightly over one fifth participated in these kinds of activities. Among the long-term unemployed the proportion was 11% and among those unemployed for a shorter period 26%. The decrease in participation in social activities was acknowledged also by the unemployed themselves. Of the respondents, 45% considered they had been socially less active as their unemployment period had lengthened. The proportion among the long-term unemployed was 56% in comparison to 42% of the short-term unemployed. According to Lindsay, restricted access to regular, organized social activities can affect people's feeling of isolation. It can also have an influence on their ability to create social networks and maintain their social relations. Lindsay considers that having restricted access to social relations can also have an influence on a person's progress in the labour market.

According to Warr (1988), it is often believed that unemployment reduces social contacts due to losing work colleagues and reduced monetary funds. The studies he has been involved in have, however, indicated that the unemployed have spent more time with friends and neighbours during unemployment than before. Warr considers it could be that the breadth of contacts diminishes due to unemployment, but the amount of contact with the now more restricted circle of people actually increases.

In Russell's study (1999) of the sociability of the unemployed 15% of the unemployed women and 21% of the unemployed men considered that their social activities had in its entirety decreased following unemployment. Activities that had decreased were the costly ones, such as going to pubs, cinemas or concerts. Social activities that had increased were the less expensive activities, such as visiting people or having someone to visit. It appeared that women were more likely to have increased this kind of sociability (54%) compared to men (39%). The frequency of contact with friends and leisure companion had also increased for 30% of women and 25% of men. In the research of Gallie et al. (2003) unemployment did not cause changes in the breadth of social networks. The unemployed were also

more likely to meet friends and relatives outside the household compared to the employed. They were, however, less likely to participate in associational life. According to Gallie et al., different factors can affect involvement in social activities. For example, people who have strong household ties may not feel the need for active socializing outside the household. Respectively, those who live alone may have the need to have more contacts with a larger sphere of friends.

Ervasti considers that unemployed people's social relations do not differ dramatically from those of the general public. His results in general give support to those of Russell (1999) and Gallie et al. (2003), even though they provide somewhat controversial information in some aspects. As the results of Russell and Gallie et al., also Ervasti's results suggest that unemployment can increase social contacts. In Ervasti's research one third of the unemployed reckoned they had met their friends more during unemployment than before it, while every fourth respondent considered they had met their friends less now than before. At the same time, however, over 40% of the respondents considered that their loneliness had increased during unemployment. Ervasti considers that the most important reason for the diminished contact with friends and the feelings of loneliness appears to be declining self-respect and feelings of shame. Contact with friends also declines with age and thus keeping in contact with them is more frequent for the younger unemployed than the older unemployed. One reason for diminished contacts can also be the financial situation. According to Ervasti, it appears that visiting diminishes especially if it requires travelling, which requires money. Ervasti's results indicate also that there are no great differences in activity concerning hobbies between unemployed people and the rest of the population. What they do suggest, however, is that hobbies requiring money diminish during unemployment. According to the results, the unemployed also participated less than the rest of the citizens in organizational activities and voluntary work. (Ervasti 2003a, 134, 136).

The unemployed in Heino's study (2000, 86, 89-91) were fairly content with their social relations. The majority of the respondents (80%) were content with their friendship relations while only 6% were discontented. Women were slightly more content than men. Of the respondents, 33% had more than two friends, 58 % had 1-2 friends, and 9% had no friends at all. As to the number of friends they could talk about anything with, more than half of the respondents (58%) said they had one or two such friends and one third (33%) had more than two. One tenth of the respondents (9%) had none. Of those who had no close friends more were men. In a study by Ek (2005, 70), where the respondents who consisted of Finnish people in general, were asked about the number of close friends they could trust 17% had more than 5 such friends, 21% had 4-5, 48% had 2-3, 10% had 1 and 5% none.

Making friends appeared also to be fairly easy for the unemployed in Heino's study (2000, 80-81, 86). One fifth of the respondents (21%) found making friends very easy and almost half of the respondents (43%) found it to be fairly easy. For 6% it was fairly difficult and for 1% extremely difficult. Heino's results showed also that the unemployed were not greatly interested in organizational or associational activities. Half of the respondents (53%) did not participate in such activities at all and one fifth participated a few times a year. Those who participated more frequently formed a clear minority of the respondents. Participation in political activities did not interest the respondents practically at all as 93% of them never participated in such activities. In Kankainen's study (2007, 72-73, 110), which investigated the organizational or associational activities of Finns, 5% of the respondents belonging to some organization or association had participated in their voluntary activities on a weekly basis within the last year, 39% had participated occasionally and 40% not at all. As to participating in the activities of a political party or organization 27% had done so more than six times within the last year, 27% 2-5 times, 12% once and 34% not at all. According to the respondents, the most important reason for being a member in an association was receiving important and essential information through it. In addition, it was also considered to be an important channel for influencing as well as for meeting people, who could provide help.

In Samuelsson's study (2002, 69, 91), unemployed women were more socially active than men. However, although men were not as social, they did not as a group appear to be especially socially isolated when measured by the density of contacts. The proportion of those who actually might be isolated was very small. The results indicated that unemployed men in general fairly often spent time with relatives and friends (i.e. visited them or were visited by them). Only a small proportion of them appeared not to socialize with relatives (9%) or friends and acquaintances (4%), and only about 2% did not socialize with either of them. Of the employed men about 3% did not socialize with relatives and 1% with friends and acquaintances. It seems, however, that despite having sufficient social relationships quite a few unemployed men lacked supportive social contacts. About 12% of the unemployed men did not have anyone to talk to about personal problems. The proportion among the unemployed women was about 4%. Among the employed men the proportion was about 3% and among the employed women about 1%. According to Samuelsson, one reason for these results could be that the proportion of single men was larger among the unemployed (38%) than among the employed men (22%). The results showed that of those men, who did not have anyone to talk to about their personal problems a large proportion were single. This applied to both unemployed men (61%)

and employed men (46%). Of the single men the larger proportion was, however, unemployed (16%) than employed (5%).

In Karvonen's study (2008, 110), unemployment also appeared to affect men's social life more strongly than women's. Karvonen suggests that this could be because unemployment is felt stigmatizing by men in a way that makes them restrict their social relations. It could also be due to economic reasons. The forms of socializing working age men often engage in require money. Thus a deteriorating financial situation would mean restricting one's social life. For women there did not appear to be a connection between unemployment and intensity of social relations. Consequences for them were more of a qualitative kind in the form of loneliness. According to Siltaniemi et al. (2009, 68-69), loneliness can be felt even if a person has a broad social network. It is a subjective feeling or experience, which is connected with the expectations a person has concerning his/her social relations. Furthermore, social isolation can also be a conscious decision and is thus not necessarily felt as negative or oppressive.

Vähätalo (1984, 94, 107) considers that much of an individual's civic engagement is not necessarily connected with work, such as hobbies or organizational activities and thus it could be assumed that unemployment would not directly affect participating in these kinds of activities. Financial difficulties due to unemployment or fear of social stigma might, however, be factors that could have an effect on participation. In Vähätalo's research about half of the respondents belonged to different kinds of organizations and for most of them participation in organizational activities had remained the same during unemployment. Vähätalo considers that it might be that unemployment does not in general activate nor inactivate unemployed people's participation in organizational activities.

According to Vähätalo (1998, 113), unemployment often changes a person's relationship with communities. It also changes a person's identity. Rarely, however, does unemployment abolish connections with all communities or alter a person's identity completely. The identities that are connected with life outside work and memberships in different communities may, in fact, become an important support network for the unemployed. These relationships can, at least to a certain extent, help compensate the losses unemployment has caused to the identity and the social contacts provided by working life.

Vähätalo (1998, 113) considers that identity is about an individual's relationship with different communities and also with society as a whole. Apart from undermining the work identity, unemployment can in the worst case also sever a person's other identities and relationships with different

communities. This can happen especially if the other identities are weak or totally absent. In such cases an unemployed person can become passive and withdraw from social relationships. A person can, however, also create a new identity or identities for himself/herself. Often this happens as a result of a crisis. Parallel identities and memberships connected with them, as well as participation in civic activities can decrease the mental damage caused by unemployment and even strengthen a person's identity. This appears to happen especially when the other identities and relationships with communities have previously been fairly strong.

The strength of a person's identity might also be connected with age. In Silvennoinen's study (2007, 64-65, 117), the elderly long-term unemployed considered themselves as workers with vast experience. They also considered that their identity as workers had not suffered because of unemployment. Despite all the uncertainty and discontinuity caused by unemployment they were firmly attached to their identity as workers. According to Silvennoinen, this does not appear to be the case with younger generations. For them work is not as firm a part of identity today as it has been. The sense of being controlled also seemed to affect defining one's identity. One unemployed person considered that being unemployed and having to deal with employment authorities does not give a person the opportunity to take command of his/her own identity as an unemployed. According to him, the identity of an unemployed person is strongly connected with being controlled and that is connected with losing trust. In the study by Ranzijn et al. (2006), identity seemed to be also connected with participating in voluntary work. For those unemployed, whose identity was largely defined as being a paid worker, voluntary work was not considered as a meaningful option. More than half of the respondents did not participate in voluntary work. Those who did participate considered it as a way of improving their chances for gaining a job or as a way of doing something useful while waiting for a proper job.

2.2.4.2. The use of social relations in searching for a job

The role and use of unemployed people's social relations in searching for a job has also been of interest to researchers. Korpi (2001), for example, considers that social networks are at least as efficient as other channels in distributing information about job openings. The more social contacts one has, the greater probability one also has of finding a job. His study showed that the unemployed also used their social networks in searching for a job. Almost half of the respondents (47%) used their social ties to find out about job possibilities. What was interesting about his results was the type of ties the unemployed used. The majority of those who used their social contacts

used strong ties. Only 14% contacted their weak ties. According to Korpi, this might indicate that strong ties are more important for the unemployed.

According to Sprengers et al. (1988), the number of acquaintances as well as their quality affects the job search and the success of finding a job. Sprengers et al. claim that the more social capital an unemployed person has in friends and family, the less chance there is of remaining unemployed for a long time. The choice of the social ties used in job search seemed to have an effect on the efficiency of the search as well. The unemployed who had many weak ties (of high status) were intensive work searchers and had an optimistic vision of their labour market opportunities. Those unemployed whose social network consisted only of strong ties were less intense and less effective in their search for work.

In the study by Vuori and Tervahartiala (1995, 32), more than half of the unemployed respondents had used their social relations for searching for a job. Of the respondents, 54% had asked about job possibilities from their friends and acquaintances once or twice during the previous month. Lindsay (2009) found also that the use of social relations was considered as an important strategy. Of his respondents 53% used close friends and family, i.e. strong ties, and 40% work-related social relations, i.e. weak ties, for seeking a job. The study, however, showed that there were differences between long-term unemployed people and people who had been unemployed for a shorter period in using their social ties. It appeared that the long-term unemployed were less connected with their former fellow workers and other work-related social relations. Of them 29% used these kinds of social ties regularly for seeking a job compared to 45% of those unemployed who had been out of work for a shorter period. The study showed also that the long-term unemployed were slightly less likely to use their strong ties (close family and friends) in searching for a job than the short-term unemployed.

Lindsay (2009) considers that if the theory of strength of weak ties is valid, it may raise concerns about the unemployed. The reason for this is that the majority of the unemployed were not able to be in contact with their work-related acquaintances regularly. This applied especially to the long-term unemployed. If work-related social ties really provide more valuable information concerning seeking a job, not being able to use them could increase the disadvantage of the long-term unemployed. The long-term unemployed were also less likely to consider using social relations in the job search as important compared to those who had been unemployed for less than a year. A similar tendency could be found when obtaining information about a job through social relations. Of the long-term unemployed 42%

considered they had never received information about a job through their social relations compared with 24% of the short-term unemployed.

Even if using social relations in the job search was as profitable as researches claim, they are not used by everyone. There are various factors that can affect the usage of social ties and they are not always the result of deliberate decisions. In Lindsay et al.'s study (2005), it appeared that young people, long-term unemployed people, low-skilled people and people with less stable work histories were less able to use their social networks in job searching. In the case of the long-term unemployed Lindsay et al. consider that the reason might be their lack of social networks or a declined access to the networks due to the experience of long-term unemployment. The same issue is taken up by Calvó-Armengol and Jackson (2004). According to them, a person can lose contact with his/her social relations due to unemployment. Long periods of unemployment can also create a de-socialization process, where an unemployed person diverges from labour market opportunities and becomes trapped by unemployment. Another important factor considering the use of social networks seems also to be the location. According to the research of Lindsay et al. (2005), people in the rural and remote areas were much more likely to use social networks in searching for a job and also considered it as an important search strategy in comparison to those living in the urban areas. Lindsay et al. consider that one reason for this might have been the lack of job centres in the rural areas.

Silvennoinen's study (2007, 51) of the meaning of labour market training for the elderly long-term unemployed also raised some problematic issues concerning the use of social relations in searching for a job. It appeared that for some unemployed social relations were useful when looking for working places for their subsidised employment or other active labour market measures such as practical training. This was the case especially among men. Men also considered the meaning of their social relations as important in their obtaining a working place. They believed the employers knew that they were good and conscientious workers despite their long unemployment periods. Among women, the proportion of those who got a place for their subsidised employment with the help of their social relations was meagre.

According to Silvennoinen (2007, 51-52), social relations proved to be useful in finding a working place only after the unemployed themselves could provide the money for the salary in the form of project funding. In general it appeared that the possibilities for gaining a working place through social relations had decreased considerably due to recession. This was, for example, because all of the colleagues had been made redundant or the whole company had gone bankrupt. It appeared also that finding a job with the help of social relations after a long period of unemployment and keeping

one's reputation positive after years of unemployment was possible only in areas where people knew each other. The negative side of social networks became also apparent. It appeared that news of becoming unemployed had spread among social relations and caused feelings of shame.

2.3. Coping

2.3.1. Definition of coping

According to Lazarus and Folkman, coping has been an important concept in psychology for decades, but has been troubled by lack of coherence in theory, research and understanding. The term coping has also been widely used both in scientific circles as well as by ordinary people colloquially (Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 117), which has probably added to the equivocality of the concept. This research uses the definition by Lazarus and Folkman, who define coping as "*constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person*" (Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 141). Lazarus and Folkman want to emphasize managing stressful demands, because mastering them is not always possible. Trying to manage demands means also that functions like minimizing, avoiding, tolerating and accepting them are included. (Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 141-142; Lazarus & Lazarus 2006, 56). In this research coping includes a wide array of aspects, which are considered to be important in the study of unemployment. These aspects are coping strategies, health, financial situation and social support.

There are two approaches that can be used for examining coping: trait-oriented and process- oriented. This research uses the process-oriented approach. In the trait-oriented approach coping is considered mainly as a property of a person. The coping strategies a person uses depend on his/her personality and they do not change over time. (Lazarus & Lazarus 2006, 55-56; Folkman 1982; Folkman et al. 1986). The process-oriented approach emphasizes flexibility and change. Coping is seen to be connected with the person-environment relationship, which is constantly changing and due to which also the coping strategies a person uses can vary. A person can change the strategies he/she uses, for example, according to how the situation proceeds or changes or according to how well the strategies seem to work. (Folkman & Lazarus 1980, 1985; Lazarus & Lazarus 2006, 56). In the process-oriented approach the importance lies on what the person really does or thinks, while in the trait-oriented process what the person usually does or would do or should do is essential. In the process-oriented approach also the

specific context where the coping thoughts and acts happen is important. In order to be able to understand and evaluate coping it is important to know what it is the person is coping with. The change that is characteristic for the process-oriented approach comes from the changing person-environmental relationship, which requires continuous appraisal and reappraisal from the coper. These changes can be due to several reasons. They can be a result of coping efforts that have aimed at changing the environment or the meaning the event has for the person or efforts that have tried to increase the person's understanding of it. They can also be results of changes in the environment that the person has had no control over. (Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 142-143).

The person-environmental relationship involves two processes: cognitive appraisal and coping. Cognitive appraisal is evaluating the encounter or problem the person is facing and determines the actual coping. It means appraising the meaning and significance of the encounter and whether it affects one's well-being in some way. Cognitive appraisal consists of primary appraisal and secondary appraisal. In primary appraisal the person evaluates the encounter – what is the meaning of it. If the encounter does not affect one's well-being in any way it is considered as irrelevant and can be ignored. It can also be evaluated as positive, in which case it usually does not raise any concern and requires no specific action either. But if the encounter is considered as being harmful, threatening or otherwise challenging it means that action has to be taken. In this case the person evaluates what coping resources he/she has that can be resorted to and moves on to the secondary appraisal. In the secondary appraisal the person considers what options he/she has for dealing with the stressful encounter and what coping strategies are available for use. Once this is settled the process proceeds to coping, where coping strategies are taken into action for trying to manage the encounter. (Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 34-35, 157).

2.3.2. Coping resources

According to Lazarus and Folkman (1984, 157-158), coping is a process evolving from resources. Resources are factors that a person needs to have available in order to cope - a kind of a prerequisite for coping. They can also influence how a person copes. It is, however, not only the availability of resources that determines the way a person copes. There can also be constraints that can prevent people from using the resources they have. Resources can be factors that are readily available, such as money, tools, people who can provide help, or relevant skills. They can also be capabilities to find needed resources that are not readily available.

Lazarus and Folkman (1984, 159-160) have divided resources into categories according to their characteristics. The categories consist of resources that are mainly characteristics of a person and those that are more environmental in nature. The resources that are considered as characteristics of a person include health and energy (physical resources), positive beliefs (psychological resources) and problem-solving and social skills (competencies). The environmental resources include social and material resources. Health and energy are resources that are very important for coping in stressful encounters. A person, who is not well has less energy for coping than a healthy, more vigorous person. Positive beliefs are another highly important resource for coping. To this category belong, for example, beliefs that form a basis for hope. Hope can arise, for instance, from feelings of having control. There are, however, also beliefs that cannot serve as coping resources, but can instead dampen or prevent a person's efforts to cope. Such can be, for example, belief in fate, which can make a person feel helpless and thus discourage efforts to engage in problem-focused coping. Feelings of not having control over a situation can also have similar effects. Social skills are about being able to communicate with others and behave in a socially appropriate and effective way. They also make it possible to solve problems together with other people and increase possibilities for cooperation and the receiving of support. In addition, social skills also give a person more control concerning their interaction with others. Social environment provides a person with important resources, which can and must be drawn upon in order to survive and prosper. But at the same time it is also a great generator of stress. The balance between the pros and cons of social environment is probably different for different persons depending, for example, on what their social roles are and what kind of stressful encounters they are facing. Access to considerable advantages is provided also by material resources, such as money and the goods and services it enables. Those who have money and who know how to use it effectively tend to do better than those who do not have it. Having money also substantially increases a person's coping options. Merely knowing that one has money can diminish feelings of threat and enable effective coping.

2.3.3. Coping strategies

Lazarus and Folkman (1984, 150) divide coping into problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping, which consist of cognitive and behavioural coping strategies. Problem-focused coping strategies aim at managing or changing the distressing problem and emotion-focused coping strategies at adjusting a person's emotional response to it. Problem-focused coping is usually used when a person feels that something can be done about

the problem, while emotion-focused coping is chosen when the person feels that managing or changing the problem is not possible.

Emotion-focused coping can include strategies such as avoidance, distancing, selective attention, seeking of emotional support, positive appraisal and positive comparisons. Cognitive reappraisals are possible as well. According to Lazarus and Folkman, cognitive reappraisal means "*cognitive manoeuvres that change the meaning of a situation without changing it objectively*" (Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 151). This means that a person can reduce the threat caused by the situation or problem by changing its meaning. Problem-focused coping strategies can be used for, for example, defining the problem, figuring out different solutions, weighing the possible solutions, and carrying them out. The strategies can also include ones that are directed inward. (Folkman 1982; Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 151-152; Folkman & Lazarus 1985).

Problem-focused and emotion-focused coping strategies can be used together and according to research also have been (Folkman & Lazarus 1980, 1985; Manninen 1993, 179). According to Folkman (1982), they can aid each other, but also hamper. A person could, for example, first use an emotion-focused strategy such as control his/her anxiety and after that engage in trying to solve the problem (problem-focused strategy). In this case the two strategies would complement each other. But the person could also first minimize the problem or avoid it for a while (emotion-focused strategies), which would prevent or adjourn trying to solve the problem and could in some cases be extremely counter-productive.

2.3.4. Health

In this research health encompasses both physical and mental health and is examined here as one entity. Its measurement is based on respondents' own evaluations of their health as a whole (self-assessed health).

2.3.4.1. Health and well-being of unemployed people

The health of unemployed people has been of interest to numerous studies. The results have indicated that unemployed people's health is poorer than that of the employed and that they suffer from different kinds of health problems caused by unemployment and its various consequences. This view is further supported by Heponiemi et al. (2008) whose review of studies into the connection between unemployment and health provided ample evidence

of the harmful effects of unemployment on a person's health and well-being. Some studies have, however, also reported that unemployment has not caused any changes in health or has improved it. One example is Manninen's study of the Finnish academic unemployed (1993, 106, 178), where the majority of the respondents considered that their health had stayed the same during unemployment. Many had also considered that it had improved. Another example is Poutanen's study of long-term unemployed people in a municipality in northern Finland (2000, 130-132). According to Poutanen, his results do not strongly support the view that unemployment, even long-term, would significantly lead to a deterioration in the mental health or well-being of the unemployed. Although respondents themselves assessed their health as poorer than the rest of the population, they did not consider that there had been any dramatic changes in their health during unemployment.

Böckerman and Ilmakunnas (2007) acknowledge in their research that the unemployed tend to have poorer health than the employed, but they consider that it is not the unemployment as such that diminishes the level of self-assessed health. They believe it is more the case that people who assess their health as poor more easily end up unemployed. This is a view and a question that has aroused discussion among the researchers studying the connection between health and unemployment. Does unemployment cause deterioration in health or have people who already suffer from poor health higher risk of becoming unemployed? Kortteinen and Tuomikoski (1998, 41-42, 175) also contemplated this issue and concluded that the causality between poor health and unemployment could work both ways. They, however, acknowledged that even if there is a significant connection between poor health and long-term unemployment, it cannot be considered as proof of a genuine causality because there may be other factors or characteristics, such as age, gender and education, which could have an effect on health in addition to unemployment itself. Heponiemi et al. (2008) also considered that there is evidence for both views, though they also noted that the connection can be affected by factors such as age, gender, health behaviour, financial difficulties, length of unemployment and personal characteristics.

The health problems often mentioned in the studies of unemployment are distress (e.g. Payne et al. 1984; Turner et al. 1991, Ezzy 2001, 79; Cassidy 2001), anxiety (e.g. Theodossiou 1998; Rantakeisu et al. 1997), depression (e.g. Theodossiou 1998; Alm 2001, 24, 26; Nyman 2000, 134; Kortteinen & Tuomikoski 1998, 40; Viinamäki et al. 1993; Heino 2000, 73), and insomnia or sleeping disorders (e.g. Alm 2001, 24; Rantakeisu et al. 1997; Kortteinen & Tuomikoski 1998; Heino 2000, 73). Different kind of aches, such as stomach ache or headache (e.g. Rantakeisu et al. 1997; Starrin & Jönsson 1998; Heino 2000, 73) have been reported as well.

Unemployment studies have indicated that there are various factors that can affect health of unemployed people. The effects of the financial situation have been taken up in many studies. According to Turner et al. (1991), unemployment increases financial strain and thus leads to more physical and psychological distress. The longitudinal analyses of Alm (2001, 53) indicated that those unemployed who did not receive unemployment insurance benefits and who therefore had probably suffered greater loss of income, were more susceptible to depression than those who received them. Artazcoz et al. (2004) noticed also the protective effect receiving unemployment benefits had on health and their results showed that there were differences between men and women. Not receiving benefits affected men's health more than women's. The study by Viinamäki et al. (1993) indicated that having a low income was connected with a need of psychological help and depression. In the study by McKee-Ryan et al. (2005), financial strain was connected with lower mental health and life satisfaction.

According to Ervasti (2003a, 122, 131), financial problems are significant mediators and triggers of various mental problems. In his study the financial situation was connected with loss of self-awareness and experiences of shame. A connection between the financial situation, shaming experiences and ill health was also found by Starrin and Jönsson (1998) and Jönsson (2003). In the study by Price et al. (2002), financial strain and depression were found to be connected with reduction in personal control by the unemployed. Loss of personal control also had negative effects on health and emotional functioning of the unemployed. Kortteinen and Tuomikoski (1998, 56, 58, 168-169) emphasize the importance of financial situation and its connection with unemployed people's health and well-being. According to them, financial situation and social trust are the two decisive factors influencing unemployed people's health and their coping with prolonging unemployment. If a person has trustworthy relationships and thus feels integrated in society and can manage financially, he/she can cope with health issues when unemployed even for longer periods. But if one of these support systems permanently fails, it will lead to ill-being.

Unemployed people's activity or passivity and their expectations of finding a job also seem to have an influence on their health and well-being. The results from different studies are, however, not very consistent as there are various other factors which can have an influence. According to the results of Vuori and Tervahartiala (1995, 35), those unemployed who searched for work actively were mentally significantly more strained than those whose search for work was more passive. The study by McKee-Ryan et al. (2005) indicated that those unemployed who were more active in looking for a job had worse mental health. McKee-Ryan et al. suggest that this is because of

the stressfulness of searching for a job and facing rejections. Job search effort had, however, no connection with life satisfaction and subjective physical health. Ervasti's results (2003b, 127-129) showed that the passive unemployed had poorer clinical health. Approximately two thirds of the unemployed in the passive group suffered from some illness that impaired their ability to work. Their subjective well-being was, however, very high. According to Ervasti, poor health was probably the most important reason for the passivity in this group. Significant for the results is also the fact that the unemployed in this group were older people and the majority of them were already awaiting retirement. In the active group the health status was better as only one third of the respondents had some illness. The subjective well-being was, however, low. This group also had the lowest mean age. The middle group, which was between the active and passive groups, was much like the active group, for example, in age. Morbidity in this group was slightly more common. The clear difference compared to the active group was that in this group more people expected further training or their pension, which according to Ervasti was the most important reason for their passivity.

Bolinder's results (2005, 1, 16) suggest that the well-being of the unemployed who expect to find a job is better than of those who do not. In other words, keeping up one's hopes of finding a job appeared to have a positive effect on the well-being of the unemployed. Studies that have examined unemployed people's psychosocial meaning of employment, i.e. their employment commitment, and its connection with their health have suggested that having a strong psychosocial need for a job has a negative effect on health. For example, the results of Rantakeisu and Jönsson (2003) indicated that the stronger the unemployed person's employment commitment was, the poorer their mental health was. Nordenmark's study (1999) provided similar results. According to them, those who had a higher employment commitment had poorer mental health. The results also indicated that those unemployed, who missed work for economic and psychosocial reasons felt poorer mentally, but those who could replace those needs in some way had quite good mental health.

The influences of unemployed people's age, gender and length of unemployment on their health have been noted in many studies. Different studies provide fairly similar results concerning age and health. The results of Viinamäki et al. (1993), for example, indicated that middle-aged men suffered more from the decline of mental health compared to other age groups. Kulik's results (2001) showed that middle-aged unemployed were more affected by the negative health consequences. The study by Starrin and Jönsson (1998) found that the risk of unemployment-related health deterioration was significantly higher for those unemployed between 40-49 years than it was for those under 30. A slight exception to this trend is,

however, shown in Reine et al.'s study (2004), which showed that a connection between poor psychological health and unemployment was found to be greater among the young respondents than adults.

The results concerning the connection between gender and health are not as consistent. For example, the results of Theodossiou (1998) indicated that men were psychologically more affected by unemployment than women. Similar results were reached by Vuori and Tervahartiala (1995, 34), who found that men were mentally more strained than women, although the difference was not statistically significant. The results of Artazcoz et al. (2004) showed also that unemployment affected the mental health of men more than that of women. Ahola's results (1996, 152), however, indicated that women were more affected by unemployment than men. Similar kinds of results were reached by McKee-Ryan et al. (2005) who also found that women had lower mental health and life satisfaction compared to men. The inconsistency of the results concerning gender and health has been noted also by Heponiemi et al. (2008, 23). They suggest that the differences could be due to cultural differences, differences in socioeconomic position and the recent great change concerning women and working life. According to them, one reason could also be that information about the effects of unemployment on women is scarce as many studies of unemployment have included only men.

Fairly parallel results could be found concerning the connection between the length of unemployment and health. The results of Kortteinen and Tuomikoski (1998, 40-41) indicated that mental ill-being of unemployed people does not seem to increase as the unemployment extends, but settles on a certain level. The level is, though, higher than that of employed people. The connection between physical ill-being and length of unemployment seems to be stronger, however. It appears that the proportion of those unemployed who have a long-term illness is twice as large among those who have been unemployed for a longer period compared to the employed or those having been unemployed for a shorter period. The connection is also strong between long-term unemployment and having illnesses causing handicaps in working ability. Almost half of the respondents claimed to have such an illness.

According to Heino (2000, 115-117), the situation of the unemployed deteriorated in many ways as the period of unemployment extended. She saw two years as the critical boundary. Those who had been unemployed for a longer period had, for example, raised blood pressure, high cholesterol levels, nervousness, tension, impaired decision-making and insomnia. They also had more feelings of inferiority and worthlessness and felt more often that their working ability was poor. Ervasti (2004) also found a clear

connection between health and the length of unemployment. According to him, health problems increased as the unemployment period prolonged. Alm's results (2001, 26) indicated no connection between the length of unemployment and nervous troubles and insomnia, but they showed a connection between prolonged unemployment and depression. It appeared that those unemployed who had been out of work for a longer time had also been exposed to depression more. Hämäläinen et al. (2005) also showed that long-term unemployment was connected with an increased risk of depression and the risk became significantly higher with frequent alcohol intoxication. An exception to the trend is provided by a study of Artazcoz et al. (2004) whose results did not show any connection between the length of unemployment and mental health.

Unemployed people's use of alcohol has been a fairly controversial subject in the research of unemployment. According to Vähätalo (1998, 150), the common belief of unemployed people's abundant use of alcohol does not gain support from Finnish research results. He argues that the use of alcohol may increase among those who were already prone to it before unemployment, but for others it is one of the items that are cut down on due to shortage of money as a result of unemployment. This was something that was also raised in Manninen's study (1993, 106). He believed unemployed people's use of alcohol decreased due to deterioration of their financial situation and social isolation. Lahelma et al. (1995) also share the view that frequency of drinking is probably determined by other factors than employment status. Their results did not show a connection between unemployment and frequency of drinking either. Rather the results suggested that it might be the employed people who were prone to drinking more often than the unemployed. Neither does Ervasti's research (2003a, 136) give proof of the connection between unemployment and increased drinking. More than half of his respondents claimed that unemployment had not affected their use of alcohol; 27% considered that their use of alcohol had decreased and 22% that it had increased.

In Heino's research (2000, 83, 120) the unemployed considered that their use of alcohol on a daily or weekly basis was minor; 58% of the respondents stated that they did not use alcohol at all or very seldom and 14% said they used alcohol daily or weekly. Heino claims, however, that this does not give the whole picture of the use of alcohol as the frequency of use does not reveal the amounts used. In Goul Andersen's research (2002), the alcohol consumption of the unemployed had increased, but according to him, it was not typical and the association was not statistically significant. In Ettner's study (1997), involuntary unemployment was also connected with an increase in alcohol consumption, but the increase was fairly small. The results of Khan et al. (2002) showed that increasing poverty was connected

with increasing use of alcohol and alcohol problems. They also indicated that the use of alcohol decreased when the unemployment period was short, but increased when the unemployment period was longer. Heponiemi et al. (2008, 24-25) acknowledge the ambiguity concerning the connection between use of alcohol and unemployment as well. On one hand research results show that unemployed people use more alcohol than employed, but on the other hand it is also obvious that those having a high alcohol consumption tend to more easily become unemployed. According to Heponiemi et al., research results also seem to suggest that the use of alcohol is different among different groups of people and that the effect of unemployment on it would change in time. Some research results appear to indicate that things like the current state in society, such as for example, a recession, might also have an effect on alcohol use.

2.3.4.2. Stress

According to House (1981, vii-viii), stress is a process or a system consisting of the stressful event, the reaction to the event and all the intervening steps between them. The stressor is defined as a stressful event or condition, which causes a usually unpleasant psychological or physical reaction on a person. The stress reaction means how a person responds to the stressor. This response is usually unhealthy and can extend from mild anxiety and depression to serious emotional disability. Pearlin (1989) considers stress as a process that consists of stressors, stress mediators and stress outcomes. He believes many stressful experiences arise from the social structures a person is embedded in. These structural factors define what kind of stressors a person is exposed to, what kind of mediators he/she can use, and how he/she experiences stress. Stressors are the circumstances a person considers cause him/her stress**.** They can be life events that occur once or chronic strains that are more enduring problems, conflicts and threats. Pearlin (1989) considers that this division, though, is inadequate in seeing how events and strains can occur together. This can happen in three ways: 1) events lead to chronic strains 2) chronic strains lead to events and 3) strains and events provide meaning contexts for each other. As the preceding view already infers, it is assumed that stressors rarely if ever occur alone. Usually if a person is exposed to one stressor, he or she is also exposed to others. According to this view, stressors can be divided into primary and secondary stressors. A primary stressor is the stressor that usually occurs first. It can be an event that occurs once, such as an unexpected death or involuntary job loss, or a more durable strain that can occur, for example, in marriage. A secondary stressor appears as a consequence of the primary stressor. It can be as stressful as the primary one or even more stressful.

In this research, stress is considered according to the view of Pearlin (1989) to be a process that consists of stressors, mediators of stress and outcomes of stress. A stressor is considered to be a factor or a situation that a person feels causes him/her stress.

According to Pearlin et al. (1981), people can respond to stressors in different ways through which they can, for example, try to alter the problem or situation or mediate their impact. These elements that are used for trying to defend oneself from the deleterious effects of stress are referred to as mediators. Often mentioned mediators are coping and social support, but Pearlin and Schooler (1978) have also introduced two dimensions of self-concept: self-esteem and mastery. They are psychological resources a person can resort to when facing threats. Self-esteem is how positively a person sees himself or herself - one's perceptions of one's own self-worth. Mastery is how extensively in control a person considers himself or herself to be concerning what happens in his or her life.

Although the health of unemployed people has been studied amply, their feelings of stress have received less attention. Yet becoming unemployed is considered as one of the most stressful events in a person's life. Results show that unemployment appears to cause individuals stress with diverse intensity. For some, becoming unemployed has also meant getting rid of the stress caused by employment. In Heino's study (2000, 93), 13% of the respondents considered that they had a lot of stress, one third had some and more than half considered that they had little or no stress at all. No significant difference could be found between men and women, but it appeared that men were slightly more stressed than women. A nearly significant difference could also be found when inspecting the connection between feelings of stress and length of unemployment. It appeared that those who had been unemployed longer were slightly more stressed than those with a shorter unemployment period. Nyman's study (2002, 135,138) suggested that unemployment would be more stressful for middle-aged people and especially for middle-aged men who were according to his study more likely to suffer from it. According to Kuisma's results (1994, 52), the majority of the respondents (53%) considered they were somewhat stressed during unemployment; 13% felt that unemployment caused them very much stress and 16% that it caused them much stress. For 14% unemployment did not cause stress at all. Some of the respondents (4%) considered also that their stress had diminished compared to the time they were working. For some unemployment can also mean a relief from stress, as Warr and Jackson's (1984) study of unemployed men suggests. In their study the clear majority of those who felt that their physical health had improved considered it to be a result of getting rid of the physical stressors in their former job.

2.3.5. Social support

2.3.5.1. Definition of social support

House (1981, 26, 29) considers social support as "*a flow of emotional concern, instrumental aid, information, and/or appraisal between people*" which, in order to happen, requires a stable relationship with one or more persons. Sarason et al. (1983, 127) capture the common definition of social support as "*the existence or availability of people on whom we can rely, people who let us know that they care about, value, and love us*". Thoits (1995) mentions that social support could be considered as a social fund, which a person can use for dealing with his/her stressors. She has also suggested that it could be defined as coping assistance or "*the active participation of significant others in an individual's stress-management efforts*" (Thoits 1986, 417). Thoits (1986) considers that the essence of social support lies in other people's actions through their suggestions of alternative coping strategies or their direct participation in a person's coping process.

Pierce et al. (1996) want to differentiate the definitions of social support as a personal resource and a coping response. They consider that social support as a personal resource consists of the possible supportive actions of specific people in a person's social network. These possible actions can include tangible assistance, cognitive guidance (such as advice and information) and emotional support. Their definition appears to emphasize the uncertainty aspect of social support – it may be provided but its provision cannot be taken for granted. Social support as a coping response is considered by Pierce et al. as supportive behaviours from individuals in a person's social network. This assistance may be provided even if the receiver would not have asked for it or wanted it. According to Pierce et al., evidence suggests that the two factors, availability and receiving of social support can affect how a person copes as well how his/her coping efforts succeed.

Social support is often divided into three functions: emotional, instrumental (or tangible) and informational support. House (1981, 24-25, 39) has added yet another function called appraisal. In House's division emotional support consists of empathy, caring, love and trust. Instrumental support is more concrete aid, such as helping someone in their work, taking care of someone, or helping someone financially. Even though this support appears as more concrete in form, it also has a psychological side in it. According to House, emotional support is also commonly assumed to be the most important form of support. The third function, informational support, is about providing information. House considers that this information is not helpful in itself. Rather the idea of this form of support is to give people information they can use to help themselves. Informational support can also act as emotional and

instrumental support. The fourth form, appraisal, is conveying of information that is needed for self-evaluation.

The division of Schaefer et al. (1981) closely follows the outlines of House, although their division only has three support functions. According to them, emotional support consists of intimacy, attachment, reassurance and ability to confide and rely on someone. All these elements convey the meaning that a person is loved and cared about and give him/her a sense of belonging. Tangible support means giving direct help and it can be, for example, providing services, financial help or taking care of people. Informational support consists of giving information and advice in order to help people solve problems but also to give them feedback on how they are doing. Here, as well, tangible and informational support can have an emotional function.

In this research social support is understood as emotional, instrumental (tangible) and informational aid between people.

2.3.5.2. Perceived support

In studying social support respondents are often asked to evaluate how much support they receive from other people or how many supportive relationships they have. This is usually referred to as subjective or perceived support and it means the person's own consideration of the amount of support he/she receives or how many supportive relationships he/she has. House considers this as an appropriate way of studying support, since regardless of how supportive people feel they are towards someone it has no effect unless this someone himself/herself perceives he/she is receiving support from them. (House 1981, 27). Schaefer et al. (1981) consider it is important to make a distinction in research between social network and perceived social support. According to them, social network is the number of a person's relationships and perceived social support is how supportive a person evaluates his/her social interactions. Pierce et al. (1996) consider that perceived social support is about a person's beliefs about the nature of his/her social relationships and could thus be seen as an attitude towards people in their social network. It is about believing that other people in general want and can help if and when help is needed.

In this research the social support that is examined is considered as perceived support, as its measurement is based on respondents' own evaluations of their supportive relationships.

2.3.5.3. Sources of social support

According to Wellman and Worley (1990), a person's social network usually consists of different divisions that provide different kinds of support. One such division can consist of people with whom a person has a close relationship, such as immediate kin, who provide many types of support. Others can consist of persons with whom the relationships are more sparsely knit, such as friends, neighbours and fellow workers, who provide more specialized kind of support and have connections with other social circles. This means also that in order to receive plenty of support and different types of support a person might have to manage many different kinds of ties.

Wellman and Worley's (1990) studies of social support suggest that the array of support provided by strong ties is much broader than that of weaker active ties. Strong ties give clearly more emotional aid, minor services and companionship, and they may also give wider services and financial help. The respondents of their study appeared to receive most of the different kinds of social support from their strong ties despite the fact that strong ties formed the minority among their active ties. The results of Wellman and Frank (2001) also show the connection between the strength of ties and provision of broad array of support. In their study the stronger the tie was, the more probable it was to provide routine and emergency support. Wellman and Worley (1990), however, point out that this does not mean that strong ties would automatically correspond to supportiveness. In fact, some supportive ties do not provide support at all and some provide only certain kinds of support.

Physical access may also have importance concerning what kind of support is provided. The results of Wellman and Worley (1990) indicated that physical access was connected with promotion of two types of support, providing of small and large services. Support types such as companionship, emotional aid and financial aid were not tied to physical proximity, but could well be provided also from longer distances. The results of Wellman and Frank (2001) indicated that frequent contact or physical proximity were connected with more supportive relationship and provision of more everyday and emergency support. According to Stokes (1983), research has, however, also indicated that there are circumstances where networks of lower density may be more helpful and satisfying.

Pearlin et al. (1981) claim that social network does not necessarily equal social support system. In other words, having a family, friends and acquaintances does not mean that a person automatically receives support from them when in need. The results of Pearlin et al. (1981) have showed that being able to gain support from one's support system depends not only

on the breadth of the social network or the frequency of contact, but also the intimacy of the relationship. According to them, support is provided when the relationship exceeds the more superficial level and becomes one of involvement and concern. Pearlin et al. consider that being a member of a network is only the first step towards receiving support. The final step depends on the kind of relationships one has in the network. The decisive qualities of the relationships in this case appear to be solidarity and trust and exchange of intimate communications. The study by Dunkel-Schetter et al. (1987) also indicated the importance of trust. The results showed that various sources of support were connected with greater trust between people. It also appeared that trusting people had more persons providing support. No connection between trust and certain types of support were, however, found. Wellman and Frank (2001) remind us of the reciprocity of social support; it is more probable to gain support from a person that one has himself/herself provided support.

House (1981, 13) considers that parents are generally the earliest supportive relationships for people. Later on they are accompanied by other supportive relationships and finally replaced by them. According to Wellman and Worley's study (1990), the bond between parent and child is the most supportive support type and usually provides all kinds of support, such as emotional support, small and large services and financial support. In fact, from all the relations in a social network it is parents who are the most probable providers of financial help. The only type of support they do not provide is companionship. Siblings, like friends, provide emotional support and small services. They are also more probable providers (yet less probable than parents and children) of larger services than friends. The least probable persons to provide any kind of support are extended kin. They formed a very small part of the active ties that provided respondents support. Wellman and Worley did not find there to be any personal characteristics in the members of the network that would define or be connected with the type of support they provided. What they did find was that emotional support was given more by women than men. Wellman and Frank (2001) also found that women were more engaged both in providing and receiving social support. Women were more likely to give emergency support and also more likely to receive routine and emergency support. In the study by Dunkel-Schetter et al. (1987), women also had clearly more support providers than men.

2.3.5.4. The need for social support

Provision of support can be a delicate matter. It is a mixture of wanting, being able or daring to ask for it and knowing when to provide it. Sometimes support can be offered in a wrong situation or the provided support can be of a wrong kind. According to Dunkel-Schetter et al. (1987), many stressful situations can have normative or culturally derived meanings. For example, death of a family member is a situation where according to implicit norms support is appropriate and needed. In other kinds of situations, such as job loss, a greater respect for privacy is more typical. There are also situations where providing support is seen almost as obligatory. Such an occasion can be when someone's health is endangered. In some situations provision of support can also be seen as inappropriate or even intrusive. An example of this is when a person's self-esteem is threatened through a failure of some kind (e.g. failing in a task or a relationship). Then provision of support can be rejected or it can be accepted only from certain people. One way of trying to find out if support is needed and what kind of support could that be is through the ways a person copes in a stressful situation.

According to Dunkel-Schetter et al. (1987), how a person copes with a stressful encounter can give clues to the person's social network regarding whether support is wanted or needed. These clues can be extremely general indicating only that support would be needed or they can be highly specific indicating exactly what kind of support would be desired. The research of Dunkel-Schetter et al. (1987) suggests that coping by using problem solving and support seeking strategies could indicate an inclination for all types of support. Respectively, confrontive coping might indicate a desire for informational and not emotional support. Using distancing, then again, might signal that no information or advice is wanted. Apart from giving clues about what kind of support would be appreciated, the used coping strategies can also facilitate or complicate providing of support. Positive reappraisal, for example, is a strategy that makes it easy for people to offer support, while confrontive coping, then again, might hamper it.

Dunkel-Schetter et al. (1987) showed that respondents reported more sources of support when they had used positive appraisal and support seeking coping strategies in stressful situations compared to the situations when they were not used. The respondents using positive appraisal strategies also received more informational and emotional support, but there was no difference in the amount of support. Those using confrontive coping strategies or self-control received only more informational support. Problem-focused coping, then again, was strongly connected with emotional support, for the more these strategies were used, the more emotional support was received. Emotional support seemed to be connected also with self-esteem. It appeared that

people with high self-esteem received more emotional support. According to Dunkel-Schetter et al., one reason for this might have been that they sought emotional support more than those with weaker self-esteem. Another could be that it was volunteered to them more often. A factor that might operate in the same way as self-esteem concerning provision of emotional support could also be discomfort about receiving help. It might have an influence on a person's seeking or refraining from seeking emotional support as well as other people's offering or not offering it to him/her.

The role of a person's social skills in receiving support is also an interesting question. Sarason et al. (1983) contemplate whether having plenty or few supportive relationships is connected with what kind of social skills a person has. And, in addition, to what degree can a person's social skills be regarded as resulting from his/her previous experiences of social support? Thoits (1995) believes in the connection between social skills and social support. According to her, it might be that people who have high self-esteem and mastery could also have better social skills and thus have greater possibilities of having a support system, as well as perceiving that support is available to them.

Dunkel-Schetter et al. (1987) have shown that the relation between coping and support is a two-way process. How a person copes elicits and directs the support efforts of his/her social network, but also the provided support affects the way the person copes. Thoits (1986) further considers that the essence of social support lies on its connection with coping. People can provide support by suggesting alternative coping strategies to a person or taking part in his/her coping directly. This way they can try to supplement or reinforce the already used coping strategies. According to Thoits, in order for the coping support to be effective, it has to come from the right kind of people. She considers that such persons would be those similar, who have experienced or are experiencing the same kind of stressors and who have responded to it more calmly than the distressed individual. Having similar backgrounds and values may increase the probability of being able to suggest the right kind of coping strategies or trying to influence the circumstances in a way that the distressed person finds acceptable. It can also reduce the probability of providing coping support that is inappropriate or unacceptable. In addition, it is also less likely that those similar will reject the person seeking support.

Thoits (1986) argues that a crucial factor in the success of coping support is also the empathy or sympathy of those similar others, which can affect the seeking and accepting of coping assistance of the distressed person. Efforts of support from with different social backgrounds and life experiences and thus less empathy might result in ineffective or even damaging coping aid.

This kind of help might be acknowledged by the distressed person as being motivated more by the supporter's needs and not his/her own. As Thoits reminds us, there is a fine line between perceiving coercive control and assistance, and how the distressed person sees it may well depend on the empathy of the supporter.

According to Thoits (1982), the supportive relationships in a person's life are not constant. Different kind of life-events may cause both losses and gains in them. For example, in the case of a divorce a person may lose a central source of support as paths with their spouse part. In connection to that he/she may lose also other sources of support. The again, divorce may also tighten the circle of supporters and provide even more support. Changes in supportive relationships may also be caused by life-events such as illness or injury, change in income or unemployment.

2.3.5.5. Positive and negative sides of social support

Social support has many positive effects. House (1981, 37) considers that it can reduce stress and improve health. Factors, such as being loved, cared for or listened to can make a person feel better and reduce his/her stress, which can thus either directly or indirectly improve physical and mental health. Support can have effects also on anxiety, heightened blood pressure or increased use of alcohol. According to Schaefer et al. (1981), it is generally claimed that people who have social support cope better when encountering a stressful situation while lack of it contributes to physical and mental illness.

According to Sarason et al. (1983), social support would appear to have two important factors, which affect how it is experienced. These factors consist of perception of the adequate number of support providers available to the individual when needed and how satisfied the individual is with the available support. For some receiving support from one person is enough. Others consider that the number of available support providers has to be large. This has been noted also by Wellman and Frank (2001) who consider that people's needs for support can vary, both concerning the number of support providers and the forms of support provided. According to Sarason et al. (1983), the appraisals concerning the number of the needed support providers may depend on how sociable a person is and how comfortable he/she feels around other people. Satisfaction with the available support can be influenced by personality features such as self-esteem and how in control a person feels over his/her environment, but also by an individual's own recent experiences.

Sarason et al. (1983) suggest that there may be a connection between positive events in life and a number of support providers. People who had many support providers reported more positive events in their life than those who had few. They also reported that positive events were more expected and had a greater impact on their lives and that they believed they had more control over them. Sarason et al. consider that people with a lot of support providers might also have more rewarding social relations than those with few social support providers. Those who had few social support providers appeared to be emotionally more instable. They were likely to be more pessimistic about the present and future. According to Sarason et al., the pessimism and emotional tone of their lives might also influence their social activity in a preventive way.

Social support can also have negative features, although they are discussed more rarely. Stokes (1983) considers that, although large social networks may offer greater possibilities for providing support, they can also entail more demands and more possibilities for damaging interactions. Building and maintaining networks that have satisfying relationships requires not only time, but can also have other obligations as well as requirements for mutual support. In addition, at a certain point the addition in relationships in a network does not provide a corresponding increase in the amount of support. The stress of maintaining the new relationships, however, stays the same or even increases. According to Stokes, it might thus make sense to limit the number of members in the network in order to maximize the satisfaction with it. Also Schaefer et al. (1981) consider that social networks have both benefits and costs. The balance between them can depend on persons, situations and social roles. The negative features of social networks, which Schaefer et al. refer to as negative processes, consist of stressful demands made by other network members, constraining of people's choices, maintaining of the network, and disappointments when help is needed but not provided. Schaefer et al. believe that the demands and constraints of the membership may whittle away the benefits provided by social networks and thus also weaken the possible health consequences.

The same is assumed also by Vinokur and Ryan (1993) who talk about the negative side of social support by using the term social undermining. They consider that in close relationships persons who can provide support can also engage in social undermining, which contrary to social support, can be harmful to an individual's health. Rook (1984) points out that research is often interested only in issues such as the number of social relations or the density of contact with them and excludes the troublesome aspects of social relations. The results of her study suggest that negative social interactions might have more effect on people's well-being than the positive ones. What her results also suggest is that neither the problematic social experiences nor

the positive ones for that matter can be blindly tied to certain kinds of relationships. In Rook's research, for example, 38% of the social relationships that were problematic were with friends and an additional 36% with kin.

2.3.5.6. Social support of the unemployed

According to Russell (1999), unemployment probably increases the need for emotional, instrumental and informational support. She considers that emotional support could be needed for handling depression, diminishing feelings of failure and keeping up self-worth. Instrumental support, for example, in the form of financial and material help is probably highly important as unemployment often brings economic hardships. Informational support is important as unemployed people probably need information about available jobs and unemployment benefits, and possibly also advice concerning job applications or financial issues. Not receiving support can have negative effects on unemployed people's health and well-being. Nyman's study (2002, 141), for example, indicated that not receiving social support was connected to poor general health, low self-esteem and not being satisfied with one's life. Among middle-aged unemployed those who did not consider they received enough support from their spouse reported having more psychosomatic symptoms than those who received a lot of support from their spouse. According to Nyman, it is likely that social support could facilitate unemployed people's mental balance and, correspondingly, isolation from positive social networks to augment their ill-being.

Atkinson et al. (1986) found that the unemployed respondents received less support from their spouse and had also smaller social networks than the employed respondents. In Nyman's study (2002, 88-89, 132), the unemployed did not perceive receiving less support from their relatives or friends compared to the employed. The unemployed men did, however, consider that they received significantly less support from their spouse than the other groups in the study. In Silvennoinen's study (2007, 57), it was women who considered that their spouses did not provide support for them, but rather questioned their identities as unemployed. The women felt also that they were not considered as whole persons by their husbands. Men, then again, felt that they could not discuss unemployment with their friends.

Support is often received from spouse, family members, friends and acquaintances. In Manninen's study (1993, 106-107), support was primarily sought and received from close friends and spouses. Of the respondents, 34% had received a lot of support from close friends, 37% from spouse or partner, 15% from relatives and 7% from acquaintances. Support had also

been received from institutions, of which the labour force bureau was considered by the respondents as the greatest supporter, although only nearly 6% had received much support from there and more than half none at all. In Heino's study (2000, 90), two thirds of the respondents considered that they received help and support from their family to a very great or great extent. Every fifth respondent considered they received it somewhat and 7% considered that they received it to a fairly limited or limited extent. The evaluations concerning receiving support from family were about the same for both men and women. The length of unemployment did not appear to significantly affect the amount of support received from the family either. Support was received also from friends. One third of the unemployed respondents received support and help from their friends whenever they needed it. One third received help and support fairly often and 19% occasionally, whereas 14% considered that they received it seldom or not at all. Women considered that they had help and support from their friends more often than men.

Research seems to give some support also to the earlier mentioned suggestions of Thoits (1986) as in Silvennoinen's study (2007, 56-57) the most important reflective others for the unemployed appeared to be other unemployed. Support from similar others was considered overall as important by the respondents in this research. Silvennoinen also suggests that understanding one's own identity as an unemployed person comes through other unemployed people in a same situation. According to Rostila's results (1980, 185), many unemployed received support for defining their situation from the informal groups they belonged to. The majority of the unemployed would have, however, needed support for adapting to the situation through, for example, discussions with other unemployed. Rostila assumes that this might be, at least partly, because the amount of social contacts of the unemployed had greatly decreased due to losing contact with fellow workers. According to Rostila, only very few met their previous fellow workers.

Russell's study (1999) shows that both quality and quantity of social contacts are important. Unemployment did not appear to reduce the frequency of social activity and contact extensively, but it did affect the composition of people's social networks. About one fourth of the unemployed had social networks that consisted almost exclusively of unemployed persons. This meant, for example, restrictions in the access to social support. The results are interesting in relation to the idea concerning the importance of the support received from similar others referred to earlier in this chapter. According to Russell (1999), those who had many unemployed persons in their social network had significantly lower levels of social support compared to those with few unemployed network members.

Respectively the respondents who had only employed persons in their social network had higher levels of support compared to those with no employed members. Russell considers that a concentration of unemployed people in a social network could mean isolation from the important networks that could provide job information and also detachment from the world of work. Although there were no differences between men and women concerning contacts with employed people, it appeared that women's networks were not as useful as men's in providing help in finding a job. Women's networks, however, appeared to be more supportive than men's during unemployment. Women were also more likely to have contacts outside home they could trust and who would provide them emotional support if they felt depressed.

According to the study by Vuori and Tervahartiala (1995, 38-39), activity in seeking a job could also affect the perceived quality of the received support. Their results indicated that people who actively sought jobs also evaluated the support they received from their friends as better than the more passive job searchers. Actively-job-seeking women appeared to have the best social support, whereas the support of passively-job-seeking men appeared to be the weakest. Active job seekers also considered that they had more support from the labour force bureau compared to the passive job seekers. The support from the labour force bureau was considered as weakest by passively-job-seeking men.

The results of Vesalainen and Vuori (1996, 56) showed also that the forms of the perceived social support were connected with the coping strategies used. The connections were different for men and women. It appeared that the emotional support women received was connected with problem-focused and attitude-changing coping strategies. Men's support, which came from the labour force bureau, was connected with problem-focused coping strategies. Vesalainen and Vuori suggest that this indicates that unemployed women need emotional support in order to determinedly work towards conquering their unemployment situation and re-evaluating their life values. Men, in turn, appear to need more informative support, which in this case came from the labour force bureau, in order to use problem-focused coping strategies and to change their attitudes.

Vuori and Tervahartiala (1995, 48) suggest that the fact that active unemployed people perceived the support they received from their close people, friends and labour force bureau as better, and the fact that they used active coping strategies more than others, might mean that they are also active in other aspects of life than only job seeking. They may be able to seek help for their problems also better than passive people and receive it as well.

2.3.6. Financial situation

2.3.6.1. Financial strain

According to Ervasti, social research has surprisingly often neglected the negative effects financial deprivation has on people's lives. It is, however, fairly obvious that lack of money imposes many different kinds of restrictions. It, for example, reduces people's independence and makes it more difficult for them to maintain their established way of life, as well as plan their future. (Ervasti 2002). Studies of unemployed people have shown that financial strain affects a person's health and well-being in diverse ways (e.g. Turner et al. 1991; Viinamäki et al. 1993; Starrin & Jönsson 1998; Price et al. 2002; Jönsson 2003). It can also affect their social life by restricting the chances to meet people and taking part in different kinds of activities, as well as consumption (e.g. Rantakeisu 1999; Nordenmark & Strandh 1999; Jönsson 2003; Ervasti 2002, 2004).

In Goul Andersen's study (2002), half of the respondents mentioned economic insecurity. Of the respondents, 39% had at least occasionally had difficulties in paying current expenses and 64% could not pay an unexpected bill. More than half (54%) of the respondents also felt uncertainty to some degree concerning their economic future. In Manninen's study (1993, 105), every second respondent suffered from fairly great or serious financial worries, and in Nyman's study (2002, 132) almost two thirds experienced financial strain. The results of Poutanen (2000, 137-138) showed that 44% of the unemployed respondents experienced strong economical insecurity. According to Poutanen, surprisingly few of the respondents suffered from economic insecurity at all or only little despite their extremely meagre income. Only one fifth of the respondents had obvious difficulties with managing their compulsory expenses due to their long-term unemployment. Of Heino's unemployed respondents (2000, 122) 4% considered their economic situation as good and 34% as reasonable, but for 44% the economic situation was difficult and 18% suffered from continuous troubles.

In Ervasti's study (2003a, 124), approximately half of the unemployed had difficulties paying their everyday expenses such as food or rent and about 40% had to compromise over their necessary needs. The majority of the respondents considered also that they had trouble with their subsistence. In addition, the majority of them also felt that they were living in poverty. Many unemployed people also have to resort to different means in order to manage financially. According to the study by Starrin and Jönsson (1998), three out of ten had to pawn their belongings in order to manage their expenses and about two thirds were forced to borrow money for the same reason. About every third respondent had sold their belongings and nearly

two out of three were not able to pay their bills on time. According to the results, resorting to these means was least usual for the older unemployed. Borrowing money was most usual for the younger respondents.

2.3.6.2. Differences in experiencing financial strain

Research suggests that there are various factors that can affect the financial situation as well as how people experience financial strain. One of the factors is age. It appears that the young and middle-aged unemployed have more financial hardships than the older unemployed. In the study by Warr and Jackson (1984), which examined unemployed men, it appeared that younger respondents (teenagers excluded) experienced the greatest financial strain and respondents approaching retirement the least. The reasons for the experienced financial strain were also different. For the respondents aged 40-49 years the stress was due to the change in their income and for the respondents aged 30-39 years due to the number of dependents they had to take care of. Ervasti (2003a, 133; 2004) considers that younger generations have more financial troubles than older generations and that among them it is the middle-aged unemployed that suffer more than the younger ones. Heino's study (2000, 103) gives support to this as her results showed that over 50-year-old unemployed considered their financial situation as better than those under 50.

Horwitz (1984) believes that one reason for this is, as Warr and Jackson's study already suggested, the responsibility for children, but also the fact that older generations probably have more savings than younger ones. Vähätalo (1998, 121-122) has similar views. According to him, young people do not have the economic strains caused by house loans or dependent children, which middle-aged people usually have. Elderly unemployed have most likely already repaid most of their house loans and their children have probably also already moved away and are living on their own. Manninen (1993, 177) also considers that especially for older people factors such as debt free houses or flats, paid study loans, fairly generous earnings-related benefits and spouse's income act as balancing elements in the unemployment situation. The balancing effects of unemployment benefits and income of the partner is acknowledged also by Strandh (2000). Further support is provided from the study by Hietaniemi (2004, 84), in which financial insecurity was experienced most among single people.

Another factor that appears to influence the financial situation of unemployed people is the length of unemployment. According to Ervasti (2003a, 126), as the unemployment period lengthens, the financial troubles become more usual. Heino (2000, 122) showed that the financial situation

clearly worsened after two years of unemployment. Resorting to the assistance of social services was, however, already common after just one year of unemployment. In the study of unemployed men by Rowley and Feather (1987) the financial stress increased for the middle-aged unemployed men as the unemployment period lengthened but not for those younger unemployed. Otherwise it did not appear that middle-aged men would have had more financial strain compared to other men. Regarding the connection between financial strain and gender of the unemployed, the results are not entirely consistent. In the study by Halvorsen (1997), no differences could be found between men and women. The study by Vesalainen and Vuori (1996, 53) suggested that there was a connection between financial problems and length of unemployment with men. They assumed it might reflect the influence of the man's traditional role as a primary breadwinner of the family. Also in the study by Heino (2000, 103) women considered their financial situation as better. In the study by Waters and Moore (2002), it was, however, women who felt financial deprivation more than men.

In addition to age, gender and length of unemployment there are still some other suggestions by the researchers concerning what might influence how strongly or weakly unemployed people experience financial strain. Strandh (2000) suggests that the predictability of life course can be one. According to Strandh, some people may know that they will enter or re-enter the working life within a certain time period because they have, for example, been offered a job or are going to become self employed. Others know that they are fast approaching retirement. Because these people know that they are going to exit unemployment in a near future, they feel already a certain sense of control over their life and this may influence their feelings of financial strain. The fact that they know that their financial situation will improve as they exit unemployment naturally has an influence as well. According to Strandh, these people also enjoy better health. Respectively middle-aged unemployed, who are likely to bear responsibility for an established household and for whom retirement is still a fairly distant matter, have worse mental well-being. Nordenmark and Strandh (1999) suggest that employment is not economically equally important for everyone, because there are also other possible sources of economic resources than employment. Thus unemployment does not have to necessarily mean financial deprivation and financial strain for everyone.

2.3.6.3. The consequences of financial strain

How does financial situation and the perceived financial strain affect unemployed people's lives? One of the effects is deteriorating health, which

was discussed already earlier in the chapter concerning health (2.3.4.2.). According to Starrin and Jönsson (1998), financial strain also means danger and threat. Living under financial strain is living under the concrete threat that there is not enough money for basic necessities, such as for example diverse and nutritious food. In the study by Hänninen and Polso (1991, 58-59), almost half of the respondents considered declining income as the worst effect of unemployment. Despite that, the financial consequences of unemployment did not appear to be extremely heavy for most of the respondents in their study. For those who had financial problems the experience was, however, bleak. Due to the financial strain people were so downhearted that they could not see the positive features in unemployment or take advantage of them. Those, who did not suffer from heavy financial hardships experienced austerity, however. First it meant compromising amenities, but later on also more essential elements such as clothes shopping.

The unemployed in Rostila's research (1980, 48-53) did not suffer from financial hardships as gravely as from psychosocial problems. Most of the unemployed did not have trouble obtaining food, but they did have difficulties with acquiring clothes. Also purchases such as washing machines, radio or television were given up or postponed to more distant future. The unemployed adopted a new attitude towards life and use of money, which meant economizing, considering all purchases twice as carefully as before and going short of everything. This meant living one day at a time and giving up planning life ahead, which they were used to when working. Some of the respondents were also liable to think that they were not eligible to more, because they were unemployed. The decrease in self-confidence due to financial strain came up in other studies too (see e.g. Goul Andersen 2002; Ervasti 2003a, 133).

Financial hardship can have also social dimensions, both concerning a person's social network as well as on a more societal level. Jönsson (2003) considers that money is important for maintaining a satisfactory social life by enabling people to spend time with their friends and take part in different kinds of cultural and social activities. Nordenmark and Strandh (1999) suggest that economic resources are important for people for meeting their socially defined needs. Money makes it possible for people to take part in the activities and the consumption the way they like. In other words, economic resources make it possible to take part in a society characterized by consumption. According to Ervasti (2002, 2004), financial hardship can diminish social contacts. This was acknowledged also in the results of Rantakeisu et al. (1999), where financial hardship was found to be connected with women's reduced contact with friends and men's reduced contact with parents and relatives.

According to Kortteinen and Tuomikoski (1998, 162), the financial ebb caused by unemployment is connected also with social distrust. They consider that the humiliation caused by financial hardship diminishes trust with people. Respectively the lack of trustworthy relationships may also weaken the possibilities to control difficulties. The importance of social dimensions on the experiences of financial strain was found also in the study by Turner et al. (1991). It was shown that being part of social networks and having a close and trustworthy relationship acted as protective elements concerning the effects of unemployment on financial strain. In the study the impact of unemployment was weakest among those unemployed who had these resources. It was also suggested that the positive effects of support could be associated with the perception that help is available, which could then reduce the feelings of financial strain.

In the study by Starrin and Jönsson (1998), financial strain was found to be connected with feelings of shame. An individual is ashamed of his/her economic situation and the fact that he/she is not able to live according to the social expectations. The connection between economic situation and shame was noted also in other studies (e.g. Ervasti 2003a, 131, 133; Rantakeisu et al. 1999). According to Kortteinen and Tuomikoski (1998, 165), financial hardship is felt as a concrete sign of losing economic control and independence, which are considered as important by the unemployed, and a sign of one's inability and helplessness both to oneself and others. Similar views concerning independence came up also in the study by Jönsson (2003). Many of the respondents were concerned about their inability to cope on their own and dependency on social welfare benefits. To them it was important not to be dependent on social authorities and have to live on social welfare benefits. Dependency was considered as shameful. In Hietaniemi's research (2004, 72) the discipline connected with receiving unemployment benefits was considered as degrading and guilt imposing. The respondents wished for a more understanding and humane attitude towards the unemployed in the labour force bureau instead of control and humiliation.

2.4. Information behaviour

2.4.1. Information

Defining what is information is not easy, but it is equally difficult to determine what it is not since almost anything can be, in some way, considered as informative. In addition, something might not be informative at the moment, because no-one is aware of it, but it may be informative tomorrow if someone then suddenly becomes conscious of it. (Buckland 1991).

Information has been defined, for example, as "*any difference you perceive, in your environment or within yourself. It is any aspect that you notice in the pattern of reality"* (Case 2002, 5). It has also been described as the sense that one or more individuals create at a certain moment in time-space (Dervin 1992). According to Allen (1996, 2), information comes from the active verb "to inform". Information includes both an active factor, i.e. an activity carried out by someone, and a process experienced by someone. The person, who conveys information considers it as an activity. The person, who uses information considers it as a process, something that happens to him/her. Buckland (1991) sees that information can have three meanings: information-as-process, information-as-knowledge and information-as-thing. Information-as-process is a process where a person becomes informed. During this process what a person knows changes. Information-as-knowledge is in a way the end result of being informed when received information has turned into knowledge. This form of information is intangible, i.e. it cannot be in general touched or measured as such. Information-as-thing means different kinds of objects, such as data and documents, which are considered as informative. It is information that can be expressed, described and represented in a physical way and thus collected and stored, i.e. tangible information. Different kinds of events could also be considered as some form of information-as-thing. Although they are not tangible as such they can, however, provide information. In Bates' view (2006) almost anything that exists in the universe and can be reached by humans and animals alike through different senses and through internal experiences of senses and thoughts can be experienced as information. Information is thus equally a bird's call, a greeting from a friend, a rock one trips over, an intuitive feeling of honesty one perceives when talking to someone, a book one is reading. Information is how the matter is organized and how the energy is organized and it exists even if there were no living thing to experience it. "*The only thing in the universe that does not contain information is total entropy*" (Bates 2006, 1033).

The view of information adopted in this research is a mixture of the definitions given by Bates and Case. Information is any kind of a difference a living being perceives in the reality – in himself/herself or in the environment. Information can be received through senses, internal experiences and thoughts.

2.4.2. Information behaviour and information practice

According to Pettigrew, Fidel and Bruce (2001), information behaviour consists of information need, seeking, giving and using of information in different contexts, such as workplace and everyday living. Wilson (2000, 49) defines information behaviour as "*the totality of human behavior in relation to sources and channels of information, including both active and passive information seeking, and information use*." Case's definition (2002, 5) includes also avoidance of information. According to him, information behaviour consists of information seeking which also includes unintentional and passive seeking, such as the glimpsing and encountering of information, and intentional behaviour that does not aim at seeking information, such as active avoidance of information. Sonnenwald (2005) emphasizes the role of social networks in information behaviour and the importance of contexts. Her information horizons-theory suggests that people, social networks, situations and contexts shape information behaviour, but also that they at the same time are shaped by it.

Savolainen (2008a, 2-3; 2007a) has introduced the concept information practice as an alternative for the concept of information behaviour. He considers that information behaviour and information practice are two umbrella concepts that dominate in the field. He believes they both basically refer to the same thing, how people deal with information, but from somewhat different perspectives. From the point of view of information behaviour, dealing with information is considered to stem from an individual's needs and motives. In information practice the emphasis is on social and cultural factors.

The concept of information practice was mentioned in the information-seeking literature as early as the 1960s and 1970s. The concept was established, however, only at the beginning of 2000 when researchers started to write articles on the topic. (Savolainen 2008a, 37). One of the writers was McKenzie (2003), who created a two-dimensional model of information practices based on the information practices used by respondents in her study for seeking information. The model consists of four modes of information practice, which include both active and non-active ways to seek information and form the first dimension of the model. The modes are: active seeking,

active scanning, non-directed monitoring and by proxy. The four modes can occur in two stages of the information process, which form the second dimension of the model. The stages are: 1) making connections and 2) interacting with sources.

In Savolainen's view (2008a, 2-4) information practice consists of socially- and culturally-based ways of identifying, seeking, using and sharing of information. He considers that everyone's practices are originally social and arise from interactions between people in groups and communities. Information practices can be found in both work-related and non-work related contexts and they are often habitual by nature. An important part of information practice is everyday information practices, which consist of three modes: information seeking, information use and information sharing. All of these happen in the context of life world, which is a central concept of ELIS (Everyday life information seeking). ELIS is also an important part of everyday information practices.

This research uses the concept information behaviour as a basis for studying and discussing how people deal with information. The definition used here is a mixture of different definitions. Information behaviour consists of identifying, seeking (both active and passive), using, sharing and avoiding information in different contexts and is based on people's need for information. This need for information can be prompted by many different reasons and it can also be unconscious. The focus of information behaviour in this research is on information seeking.

2.4.3. Information seeking

2.4.3.1. What is information seeking?

Searching for information is an essential part of humanity. Seeking information begins as soon as people are born and it is something they regularly engage in, even though they may not always be aware of it. (Case 2002, 17-18). Wilson (1977, 36) considers that everyone has routines and habits that are used in order to keep one's internal conceptions of the world up-to-date. This is done through observation and communication. People continuously monitor the world surrounding them, for example, what the weather is like, what food one has at home or in what condition one's car is. They also have social relations, such as relatives, friends, fellow workers and acquaintances with whom they talk and exchange views more or less regularly. People also habitually read and watch mass media. These are not random activities but happen for a purpose. How often they occur varies, and they do not have to happen regularly either. What a person looks for and

derives from these habitual activities varies as does the sources he/she uses for them. Television can be used for finding out what is happening in the world, but it can also be used for entertainment. People may talk to other people in order to receive and give information, but also for keeping company or for passing the time.

In Dervin's sense-making approach (1992, 68-69) information seeking is one part of the sense-making process. Dervin sees people as being on a journey, which proceeds as they make sense of different situations. When a person realizes that he/she cannot make sense of a certain situation, the journey comes into a halt. In other words, the person perceives there is a gap in the way, which represents an information need. In order to fill the gap, i.e. make a bridge, the person needs information and will engage in seeking it. When he/she finds the right kind of information, he/she can make sense of the situation and can continue the journey again.

According to Wilson (1981), information seeking is a result of a cognitive or affective need that has been recognized by a person. The cognitive and affective needs are not only affected by the person himself/herself, but also by the role he/she has in social life, such as the work role. However, although the need is recognized it does not mean that as a consequence the person automatically begins to seek information as there are many factors that may affect the chain of events. Factors that may be considered before engaging in action are, for example: how important is it to satisfy the need, what are the consequences for acting without all the needed information, how available are the needed information sources, and how much does it cost to use them? It may also be the case that information seeking does not occur at all or that it occurs after a delay. Factors that may cease the seeking of information or delay it are referred to by Wilson as personal, interpersonal and environmental barriers.

2.4.3.2. Models of information seeking

Information seeking is usually divided into active and passive seeking with different subcategories or precisions. In his *revised general model of information behaviour* Wilson (1997) takes up four modes of information seeking: passive attention, passive search, active search and ongoing search. Passive attention is acquiring information without intentionally seeking it, for example, through listening to radio or watching television programmes. Passive search means receiving relevant information while searching for something else. In active search a person is actively seeking information. Ongoing search is an extension to active search, where a person seeks more

information about something he/she has already previously sought information about in order to update or expand his/her knowledge of it.

McKenzie (2003) has divided different ways of seeking information into four modes of information practice: active seeking, active scanning, non-directed monitoring and by proxy. In her division active seeking is planned information seeking with an aim. Active scanning is not as focused as active seeking, although it can be described as active functioning. It is browsing and scanning of sources in order to find useful information in general as well as good information sources. It is being open and alert to possibilities for obtaining interesting information. Non-directed monitoring is about coming across information serendipitously, i.e. finding information without specifically seeking it. This can happen, for example, through regular monitoring of an information source, such as reading a newspaper or watching television. By proxy means being in contact with an information source through someone else's initiative.

Bates' model (2002) provides a view of integrated information seeking and searching. It has four information seeking modes: searching, monitoring, browsing and being aware. Searching and monitoring are considered as directed information seeking, which means seeking more or less specific kind of information. Through searching and monitoring people find information that they know they need. Searching is active seeking of information. It is seeking answers to questions or developing understanding concerning a topic or a question. Monitoring is passive seeking of information where a person is alert for obtaining information about an issue that interests him/her or provides an answer to a question, but he/she does not actively seek information. Browsing and being aware are considered as undirected information seeking, which means exposing oneself somewhat randomly to information. Through browsing and being aware people find information they do not know they need. Browsing is an opposite of monitoring. It is active seeking of information in a sense that, although there is no specific interest or information need, a person exposes himself/herself actively to information that might be of interest or use. Being aware, or awareness, is passive seeking of information. It means being conscious of and sensing one's social context and physical environment and what happens in it. According to Bates, about 80 percent of people's knowledge may be absorbed this way.

According to Allen (1996, 11-12, 56), a distinction can be made between people who seek information and people who receive information in passing, for example, by communication that takes place in the environment they are in. In the same way a distinction can be made between those who seek information for a specific purpose and those who seek it for its intrinsic

value, as well as between those who seek information in order to make sense of their world and those who avoid information for the same reason. Allen considers that an information seeking process can also provide other kinds of gratification than meeting a specific information need or solving a problem. People can watch television because they want to know what is happening out there, but they can also watch it in order to be entertained or diverted. They may also have the television on because it provides them companionship, in which case it is the voices it brings that are important and not the information it may provide. In these cases certain needs are, however, also met by information activities (need for entertainment and companionship), even though they are not classified as information needs.

Erdelez (1997) considers that, although active seeking of information is important to obtain information, people also receive information when they are not seeking it or when they are not specifically looking for a certain kind of information. She calls this kind of accidental receiving of useful or interesting information information encountering. Williamson (1998) also talks about incidental information acquisition, which she takes to mean finding information while being engaged in other activities. This information can be something a person did not even know he/she would need until came across it. In her study she found that mass media, such as radio, television, newspapers and magazines were often used without the intention of finding any specific information. People also often talked to other people such as their family, friends, colleagues and neighbours without purposefully seeking information. Yet information was exchanged during these conversations and sometimes that information could also be used later on.

Avoiding, ignoring or denying information has been always considered as somewhat deviant. Seeking information or wanting to know, then again, has been assumed to be characteristic for people, especially in the Western culture. (Case et al. 2005). Maslow (1963) considers that people have a need to know as well as a need to understand and that both of these characteristics are firmly anchored in people's biological nature. He also believes that contrary to the old saying "*What you don't know won't hurt you*" it is actually what one does not know that will hurt him/her. What one does not know has power over him/her, but knowing it will bring it under one's control and enable choice.

According to Maslow (1963), people are usually afraid of knowledge that can arouse negative feelings in them concerning themselves. They try to protect themselves and the image they have of themselves through different kinds of defensive techniques and thus try to avoid becoming aware of knowledge that is unpleasant or dangerous. Maslow considers that the psychological and social factors, which increase people's fear, will diminish

their desire to know. Factors that allow people to feel courage, freedom and boldness will respectively free their need to know. There are various ways to try to cope with factors that are felt as threatening and anxiety arousing. One way is to make them feel familiar, manageable and controllable, i.e. not frightening, which can be done by learning to know and understand them. In that case knowledge is sought in order to reduce anxiety. People can, however, also avoid knowing in order to reduce anxiety. This can be, for example, because they fear the consequences of knowing, i.e. what one has to do if one knows. In some cases it may be better not to know because if one does not know, he/she does not have to act on the information or knowledge either.

Case et al. (2005) believe that mere ignorance is not enough to motivate a person to seek information. People will be motivated to seek information when they are in a situation where they not only know that they are ignorant, but also realize that they need the information for something, i.e. that the information they lack is important for them. Another important factor concerning information seeking is beliefs. Beliefs are connected to how people evaluate their current situation, i.e. how in control do they feel they are over their situation and events that happen to them. If people feel that finding more information is not going to help them make a change concerning a situation or an event, they are not likely to seek it. But if they feel that they can do something about their situation or an event in their life, they will be motivated to make an effort, which also includes seeking information.

Information is often considered to reduce stress and anxiety. This is, however, not always true. (Case et al. 2005). In some cases information can also increase distress (e.g. Miller 1980, 1987; Miller & Mangan 1983; Muris et al. 1994a, 1994b). According to Miller and Mangan (1983), it could be that information decreases stress only when it allows the person to have choice or control over the situation. According to a theory by Miller (1980, 1987), people differ in their information behaviour when facing aversive or threatening events. Some people, *monitors*, seek information concerning the threat because it helps them to decrease their stress. They like predictability. Others, *blunters*, try to distract themselves from information concerning the threat in order to reduce their stress. They, correspondingly, do not like predictability. Blunters have various strategies they can resort to in order to distract themselves. These are, for example, reinterpretation, intellectualization and denial. Miller assumes that in general it should be easier for blunters to distract themselves when the threatening event is unpredictable than when it is predictable. The same applies to the controllability of an event. It should be easier for blunters to distract themselves from an uncontrollable event than one that is controllable.

Research has indicated that both monitors and blunters fare best when they receive information according to their coping style, i.e. blunters benefit the most when they do not have much information and monitors when they have.

2.4.3.3. Everyday life information seeking

Non-work information seeking has been a fairly uncharted research area compared to job-related information seeking and has only recently started to raise interest among researchers. Information seeking activities connected with everyday life outside work provide, however, a wide array of possibilities for researchers to study. People spend a considerable part of their time engaging in activities outside their professional life and in that context information is also needed for various purposes. As a concept non-work information seeking is, however, somewhat problematic. It makes a division between non-work information seeking and job-related information seeking, which in real life usually overlap. Then again, making the division is also important in order to illustrate the distinctive features non-work information seeking has. (Savolainen 1995).

A researcher, who has studied information behaviour in the everyday world from various perspectives is Chatman. Her studies have also produced many information behaviour theories, such as gratification theory (Chatman 1991), theory of information poverty (Chatman 1996), theory of life in the round (Chatman 1999) and theory of normative behavior (Chatman 2000). Central in her research and theories is how social context affects people's information behaviour. In the theory of information poverty Chatman (1996) explains how being a member of a group and the social norms it sets can contribute to information poverty. The social norms define what kind of information can be sought and what kind of information sources can be used. In a response to the norms, people may resort to different kinds of self-protective behaviours and as a result end up in a situation where they are not able to find the information they would really need. For example, people may want to give others in the community the picture that they are coping well or at least as well as is expected by the social norms and in the process are forced to hide their true needs for information. Another example is secrecy. Information that is considered as critical in some way is kept secret. It is not asked for and neither is it shared with anyone. Social norms are also central in the theory of life in the round, where Chatman (1999) studied information behaviour of people living in a *small world*. Those, who live in the round live in a small world that is characterized by social control established on the social norms. The legitimized others in the community set the boundaries for people's information behaviour and these boundaries are

crossed only in special occasions. In the theory of normative behaviour Chatman (1991, 2000) takes up how the normative life of the small world affects how people respond to information, i.e. how the norms affect what kind of information people consider as important, what kind of information they consider they need and what kind of information is being ignored and for what reason. In the gratification theory the focus is on environment's influence on people's needs and satisfying them. The theory suggests that people living in certain kinds of environments prefer immediate gratification and satisfaction of needs. Typical for these people appeared also to be a world view, according to which problematic situations happen often and abruptly, as well as a fatalistic belief in life and its events. In other words that it is luck or fate that mainly controls what happens in life and thus there is no need for active planning for the future or trying to improve one's situation. This world view had also effects on people's information behaviour, such as their information needs, information seeking and use of information sources.

A model concentrating on the everyday life information seeking of people (ELIS) was developed by Savolainen in the mid-1990s. The model is based on the idea that what information sources people choose and use for solving problems or making sense of the world in their everyday life is affected by different social and cultural factors. The essence of the model lies on two central concepts: the *way of life* and *mastery of life*. (Savolainen 2005).

The way of life is comprised of how people divide their time between work and leisure, how they consume goods and services and what kind of hobbies they have. What people do in their leisure time is an important descriptor of their way of life. Hobbies, for example, can provide information about the things they find most pleasant in their life, as well as about what kind of informational interests they have. Savolainen describes the way of life often as the *order of things*, which basically means the choices people make in their everyday life concerning different activities both at work and outside it, and the preferences they give to these activities. It tells about what things people find meaningful in their life and those they have to adapt to. This means that the order of things does not always equate with people's wishes. Some aspects of it can be dictated by external factors. (Savolainen 1995).

The meaningful order of things often requires active attending. This attending is called the *mastery of life* and it means the ability to consider problems that arise in everyday life in a way that is guided by one's own values. The attendance can be passive when people are satisfied with the way things are and proceed. Active attendance, which usually means solving pragmatic problems, is needed when the order of things is disturbed in some way or endangered by something. The mastery of life is moulded by the

culture of the social class an individual is born in. This culture directs the habits and attitudes concerning working life and leisure time and guides the way the individual does things. This is also how the individual's daily practices of everyday life become established. The experiences can also mould the individual's orientation towards information and establish certain kind of information seeking habits, which will guide how the individual perceives seeking and using information in problem situations. (Savolainen 1995).

The way of life and mastery of life are affected by values, attitudes and an individual's current life situation. The individual's material, social, and cultural capital are also important as they provide tools for seeking and using information. The relation of these different forms of capital with those of other people compose the totality of the material, social and cultural capital, and define the premises for the way of life and mastery of life to operate in. The way of life or mastery of life does not define how an individual seeks information in different situations. The way of life provides individual general criteria, which guides the person's choices and use of different information sources and channels. The mastery of life is about the information seeking strategies the individual usually resorts to when solving a problem. (Savolainen 2005).

Savolainen (1995; 2008a, 6) considers that in a broad sense everyday life information seeking can be seen as the acquiring of different kinds of informational elements in order to orient oneself in daily life or to solve problems connected with it. The problems thus do not deal with issues in an individual's professional life, but those he/she comes across in his/her everyday life in connection with, for example, consumption or health care. Daily information seeking can include reading newspapers to monitor what goes on in the world, looking for facts from reference books or consulting a doctor concerning health issues. Information seeking can, in fact, be seen as a fundamental activity in an individual's life for interpreting and making sense of the daily world.

Savolainen (2008a, 5-6, 83, 86, 114) has divided ELIS into two dimensions: *orienting information seeking* and *problem-specific information seeking*. He emphasizes that the distinction is created for analytic ends, as in real life these dimensions can be closely intertwined. Orienting information seeking is monitoring everyday events through different kinds of sources, especially through the media. It can be seen as a long term project that concentrates on taking care of everyday matters. Seeking of orienting information can consist of daily media habits, such as reading the newspaper in the mornings, listening to the radio while doing daily chores, and routine, occasionally even absentminded watching of television news. Today the daily media

habits may also include the routine of checking one's e-mail. In fact, the arrival of the Internet has brought many new features into seeking of orienting information. Problem-specific information seeking is seeking information for, for example, carrying out a task or solving a problem. While seeking orienting information is about continuous activity, seeking problem-specific information occurs more episodically. In this kind of information seeking it can be possible to determine when the process started as well as when it ended. The duration of the process can vary depending on the task or problem the individual deals with. For example, seeking facts for carrying out some task may be a short process, but seeking a job may take longer.

2.4.4. Everyday life information seeking research

The research tradition of everyday life information seeking has started in the 1960s, but still consists of a fairly small number of studies. The research has, however, already been able to create a picture of the central information needs as well as the sources that are used most often in everyday life information seeking. It appears that in orienting information seeking mass media is considered as an important source, whereas in problem-specific information seeking it is personal sources that are preferred. It also seems that in everyday life information seeking the principle of the least effort is dominant. In other words, people prefer to use sources that are familiar, easily accessible and fairly easy to use. (Haasio & Savolainen 2004, 107, 163).

In the study by Marcella and Baxter (1999), which investigated information seeking behaviour of the general public, respondents were asked to choose from a list of organizations and people the ones they would use as sources of information. The three most cited sources were public libraries (77%), family and friends (62%), and offices of government departments and agencies (54%). Women preferred family and friends significantly more than men. In choosing three favourite methods of obtaining information in order of preference, the clearly most preferred one was talking face to face with someone. Next most cited methods were reading a book, looking through a collection without asking help from the staff and reading a newspaper. What these results suggest, according to Marcella and Baxter, is that there is no single method that could satisfy citizens' information needs, but that they are best met with a range of different available methods. The study by Marcella and Baxter also investigated what kind of information citizens had sought in the past. The type of information that received most citations was leisure and recreation (39%). Almost as large a proportion of the respondents had sought information about education (37%). Closely following was also information about employment/job opportunities (34%), which received the third highest

number of citations. Health care was cited by 24% of the respondents and was the sixth most sought after subject.

The results of a study by Julien and Michels (2000) showed also that other people were considered as a popular information source. When information was needed in personal situations the respondents clearly preferred personal sources of information as their first choice. In personal situations in 57% of the searches the respondents used another person as their information source, in 17% of the searches they used a printed source and in 9% of the searches an electronic source. When the respondents used personal sources, a face-to-face method was used clearly more frequently. The other method that was used was talking via the phone. According to Julien and Michels, it appears that when people face a problem or an issue in their daily lives they talk to other people. In almost one fifth of those instances when they used personal sources of help, the persons they turned to were friends, relatives or fellow workers. The decision to use personal sources is not always due to the fact that they are considered to be a convenient choice, as turning to them often also requires making a special effort. According to the respondents, reasons behind this choice were often of a practical and affective kind. One respondent, for instance, considered that the help he received from his friends was not very useful, but that he found the source convenient and enjoyed the interaction. He also considered that the discussion would help him to get to know these friends better. His motivation for choosing the source was thus also social, i.e. strengthening the social ties.

Of all the information sources that were approached 23% were print sources. They were used in 43% of the information seeking or help seeking situations. As reasons for using print sources, the respondents mentioned finding recent, detailed and specific information. As to electronic sources, of all the sources that were chosen to be used 21% were electronic and 12% of these were used as the first source of information. Often they were used for verifying or supplementing information instead of as an initial source. Julien and Michels assume that the lack of use might be because people find that in order to make searches in electronic sources the question or issue has to be defined fairly properly. It might also be that people do not trust the quality or authority of the information received through electronic sources. Of the respondents, men preferred to use electronic sources (65%), such as databases or web sites. The next favourite source for them (28%) were personal sources, such as an experienced person. The least used source type was printed material (3%).Women, respectively, preferred clearly more personal sources (51%). Their next favourite choice were print sources (29%) and the third electronic sources (12%). Personal sources were considered as ideal, for example, because people can make judgments and

give informed opinions, but also because they can offer empathy and assurance. (Julien & Michels 2000).

In the study by Fisher et al. (2005), people preferred other people (40%) and the Internet (39%) as their information sources when they needed to find out something in general. Men tended to opt more for the Internet, whereas women preferred other people. Persons whom the respondents mostly turned to when information was needed were those with whom they had a close relationship, such as family and friends. There were differences also according to age concerning the use of the Internet. Younger people favoured it more as their main source of information than people who were over 65 years old. The factors the respondents considered as important when choosing a source was its reliability and trustworthiness (32%). The next most often mentioned factor (17%) was rapidity of contact and access and convenience. These were important especially for those who preferred to use the Internet. Inexpensiveness of the source was also important and was referred to third most often (15%).

The type of information people most often sought through their primary sources was general everyday advice (34%), hobbies and travel (22%), and health and health care (18%). The respondents who sought everyday advice preferred to use people with whom they had a strong tie as their information sources. The respondents who sought information about hobbies and travel, however, favoured the Internet. This was the case also with the respondents seeking health and health care information, who preferred to use the Internet slightly more than their strong ties. In this study, as well, the respondents had affective reasons as an advantage for using personal sources. The respondents mentioned reliability and trustworthiness of information as being problematic concerning the use of information sources. (Fisher et al. 2005).

In the study by Savolainen and Kari (2004), the respondents were asked to put the information sources they used into three zones according to how important they were for them. The results showed that human sources are clearly considered as a central source of information for people, but that also print media has a significant role. Networked sources have also become established as an important source of information. They were often considered to be easily accessible and to provide an opportunity to save time. They were also considered to "facilitate everyday life". What the results also showed was that people usually use only a few different sources in their everyday life information seeking and favour those that are familiar to them and easily accessible. Such sources were, for example, human sources such as friends, and printed media such as dictionaries at home.

In a study of orienting information seeking of environmental activists (Savolainen 2007b), reading a newspaper while eating breakfast was a popular habit. Some of the respondents also used the Internet as their morning ritual for preparing for the day. The respondents used many kinds of media actively and fairly regularly for monitoring everyday events. Only one of them avoided newspapers and television. The most preferred source for seeking orienting information was printed media, and especially newspapers. One reason for this was their easy availability. Other important sources were networked sources, broadcast media and human sources. The importance of the Internet for seeking orienting information varied among the respondents. As its advantages the respondents saw the content of information, availability and accessibility. Television was considered as a fairly significant information source and it was also the preferred one among the broadcast media. It, like the newspaper, was also used ritualistically for watching the news at a certain time in the evening. Radio was not considered as a very important media for seeking orienting information. Its function was more to act in the background while people were doing something else. Human sources were not considered as highly important in seeking orienting information in general and they were used only occasionally. Their significance lay in complementing information that was received from the primary sources, such as newspapers, television and the Internet. Human sources were thus used mostly for obtaining an opinion or advice concerning some current issue. In general the content of information was considered as the most important criterion concerning which source was preferred. The ability to provide a wide range of information, the currency of information and availability and accessibility were also considered as important features.

Williamson's study (1998) concentrated on information seeking behaviour of older people, aged 60 and over, and especially on their incidental information acquisition. The results showed that older people both intentionally sought information for their everyday life and received it incidentally while monitoring the world. They also wanted to be informed about various issues for everyday life. Sources for both purposeful information seeking and incidental information acquisition were intimate personal networks, such as family and friends, wider personal networks that consisted of people from clubs, churches and voluntary organizations, and the mass media. Sources for purposeful information seeking also included professionals. Digital forms of information were not used. The sources the respondents most frequently used were family members, newspapers, friends, television, printed information and radio. Most respondents were frequently in interaction with family members and friends (including the networks from clubs and voluntary organizations) and the interaction provided both parties useful information for their everyday life. Often information was sought purposefully, but it was also received incidentally.

Family and friends were considered as valuable information sources by many respondents because they could be approached when information was needed, but also because the respondents could incidentally receive information during the discussions with them. The respondents found daily newspapers very good sources of information, but local papers were considered as outstanding in providing information about certain topics, such as recycling or waste disposal or giving information about electoral candidates and voting places and times. Generally information from the newspapers was received incidentally, but for some topics information was also sought intentionally.

Niemelä (2006, 94-157) has also studied everyday information behaviour of older adults. The age of his informants varied between 57 and 68 years. His results showed that older adults were active users of media. Media use also seemed to activate their everyday functioning. The everyday life of older adults was directed by routines that had been formed dozens of years ago, such as eating breakfast while reading a newspaper, as well as by new routines that had been established along with retirement and would not have been possible at the time the respondents were still working. The research showed that pensioners' information behaviour was actually very much connected with how they organized their day. How they organized their day was generally guided by their media use. Television was watched in general now more than before retirement. It also had a social function as it was watched together with a spouse. Often, however, television and radio functioned in the background while the respondents were actively doing something else. Typical for the older adults was also exchanging materials such as journals, books and audio-visual recordings with other people as well as lending and borrowing them. Material was also recycled, i.e. given to others. This acted not only as a way of exchanging material but also as a social interaction between people of different ages. Active monitoring of information was common and routine for the older adults. The media that was mostly used for this purpose were television, newspapers/magazines, radio and the Internet. Television was used the most, followed by newspapers/magazines and radio. The use of the Internet was still fairly limited. Information was sought mainly from newspapers/magazines, television (especially teletext) and other people. Some also used the Internet. The persons who were preferred most as information sources were family members and relatives. Second were people who were in a similar kind of situation as the information seeker himself/herself, and third were professionals. The subjects that interested older adults were, for example, nutrition, exercising and health, as well as decorating and gardening. The older adults were also somewhat active in taking part in societal discussion. Mainly they wrote to newspapers, but some had also used the electronic media.

2.4.5. Research on information behaviour and social capital

Ginman (2003) remarked that despite being a popular topic of research in various fields, social capital had not generated interest in information sciences. In general the situation is much the same today as only a few researchers have focused on the subject.

The connection between social capital and information behaviour has been studied both in everyday life and work contexts. It has also inspired the design of a theoretical framework where information behaviour research and social capital research are integrated (Widén-Wulff et al. 2008). The framework discusses the roles the different dimensions of social capital (structural, cognitive, relational) have in the information behaviour in groups. The interaction between the social capital dimensions and the way they contribute to sharing information and knowledge in groups is also illustrated in a model proposed in connection with the framework.

Hersberger (2003) has studied information as social capital among homeless people and its function in their social support networks. In her study it appeared that physical proximity of network contacts was highly important for accessing social capital. Close ties were considered as providing access to useful resources. Reciprocity, however, was often not seen as extremely crucial. The homeless usually concentrated on social ties that were current, close and physically near. Their strong ties often consisted of social service staff, who provided them information, resources and support in an affective way and with time. The resources that were considered as highly valuable were those that could be used to improve the daily living situations. Information was in this sense considered as essential and critical.

The research by Johnson investigated the role of social capital in people's everyday life information seeking. She studied the meaning of social capital in choosing personal information sources (2004), and whether social capital has an influence on which kinds of sources people use for seeking information and whether this affects the success of their searches (2007). The results concerning personal information sources showed that the respondents were more likely to choose persons with whom they had a weak tie and who had better quality resources than others in their social network. As to social capital's influence on the choice of sources, the results showed that the respondents who had better social capital chose organizations as their information sources, whereas those with poorer social capital used media sources. Media sources were also least likely to lead to successful search outcomes.

Savolainen (2008b) has studied information sharing in non-work context among environmental activists. The focus of the study was on motives for information giving. The respondents of the study considered that information sharing can happen in various contexts and about various topics. Contact networks were considered important as information resources as well as starting points for sharing information. It was also implied that social capital and social networks were prerequisites for sharing and seeking information. The research showed that there were three major motives for giving information in non-work contexts. The first and main motive was helping other people. Information was given to people who appeared to need it and to those who showed interest in the topic. The second motive was seeking information in order to share it through strong ties. People receiving the information were those who had an information need but did not have access to specific information sources. The third motive was based on duty and occurred among people who had been elected to positions of trust. Information giving was by most respondents connected with expectations of reciprocity, but it was not considered as an absolute obligation. For example, when the motive for information giving was altruistic, reciprocity was not particularly expected. In certain contexts, such as networked forums reciprocity was also seen to be unrealistic. Lack of reciprocity did not greatly weaken the motives for giving information and people who were not able to contribute equally were not as a rule excluded from the network either. In the case of sensitive information, however, the requirements for the respondents receiving it were stricter. Then, for example, the trustworthiness of the recipients became important.

Widén-Wulff has studied information sharing and social capital in the work context among claims handlers and in a biotechnology firm. The results showed both similarities and differences between the two groups. Differences in the information behaviour and social capital were due to the different work environments. Similar views were shared concerning how the contexts for the information sharing were created. Both groups considered shared goals as the most important motive for sharing information. For claims handlers the main reason for sharing information was structure. They had strong formal structures and their social capital was created and used through these. Sharing information through the structures was fairly easy as was access to sources. For the experts in the biotechnology firm relational dimensions of social capital, timing and specifically trust were highly important. They had few formal structures and sharing information occurred at the individual level, where it was affected by relations and encouraged creating informal structures. Conceptions of information were also different in the two groups. For claims handlers information meant anything that was not at their disposal. For experts in the biotechnology firm it comprised facts

as well as undefined guesses. For them the importance lay in where the information came from. (Widén-Wulff 2007, 147, 167-169, 171-173, 176).

2.4.6. Research on information behaviour and coping

The connection between information behaviour and coping is a little studied subject. There appear to be only a few researchers who have engaged in investigating it so far. Yet in today's information intensive and ever more stressful world it would be important to know what role information and information seeking have in people's coping: is seeking information part of their coping behaviour or do they resort to avoiding it, and if they do seek information, what kind of coping strategies is it related to?

Previous studies have suggested that seeking information (monitoring) would be connected with active coping strategies, i.e. problem-focused coping (e.g. van Zuuren & Wolfs 1991, Bar-Tal & Spitzer 1999, Ben-Zur 2002, Perttilä & Ek 2010). In the research by van Zuuren and Wolfs (1991), which studied students, *monitoring* was connected with problem-focused coping and help seeking, as well as with the feeling of being able to change the situation (internal locus of control). It was connected also with coping functions such as wishful thinking and escape. *Blunting* was connected only with wishful thinking and escape. van Zuuren and Wolfs, however, point out that in the connection between monitoring and coping functions of wishful thinking and escape, the strategies consisted mainly of those featuring 'positive thinking' than those featuring 'active forgetting'. The results of the study by van Zuuren and Wolfs showed also that students alternated using monitoring and blunting according to how their appraisal of the situation and thus the use of coping strategies changed. In their second study, where the participants consisted of the general public, the results showed a connection between monitoring and the appraisal of stressful situation as threatening and unpredictable. According to van Zuuren and Wolfs, this could mean that high monitors are most concerned about the unpredictability of a threatening situation.

Similar kinds of results were obtained by Ben-Zur (2002), who studied coping strategies of community residents. The study showed that monitoring was connected with active coping (problem-focused coping) and support-seeking, whereas blunting was connected with avoidant coping. The respondents used more active coping strategies and sought support than they used avoidant coping strategies. They also used monitoring more than blunting. Bar-Tal and Spitzer (1999), whose respondents consisted of students, also found a connection between monitoring and problem-focused coping and seeking of social support. Blunting, then again, was connected

with wishful thinking. The results of a study by Perttilä and Ek (2010) concerning information behaviour and coping of the long-term unemployed also support the connection between monitoring and problem-focused coping. In their study people who used more active coping strategies were also more active in monitoring daily events and seeking information. In the research by Shiloh and Orgler-Shoob (2006), which studied students' information-seeking in a stressful situation (a final course examination) information seeking was connected with both problem-focused coping and emotion-focused coping, but more with emotion-focused coping. The respondents also reported that they engaged in information seeking mainly due to its emotion-focused functions.

2.4.7. Research on the information behaviour of unemployed people

Information behaviour of unemployed people is another area of research that has more or less been neglected in the field of science. One of the researchers who has studied everyday information practices of unemployed people as well as their use of information sources and channels for job searching is Savolainen (2007c, 2008a). In studying the everyday information practices of the unemployed Savolainen divided information seeking into *orienting* and *problem-specific* information seeking. The results showed that for most of the unemployed monitoring everyday events through media was a habit in which they engaged actively and regularly. They monitored both domestic and international issues and were interested, for example, in issues connected with world politics. They were also interested in labour market news, especially if they dealt with redundancies made for reorganizing businesses. This interest was often due to the informants feeling empathy towards those who had lost their jobs, because they had possibly also experienced similar kinds of problems themselves. The subject many of them were not interested in was sports, which was avoided in both television and newspapers. The most popular sources for seeking orienting information were newspapers and especially television, which was considered as a good source due to its easy availability. For many of the unemployed it was usual to read a newspaper while eating breakfast. Television, then again, was watched in the evenings. For half of the respondents, reading a daily newspaper was, however, not self evident since they did not subscribe to newspapers in order to save money. They read daily newspapers only in the case they were freely available in public places. Some unemployed tended to read their daily newspaper in the library or in a service centre for the unemployed. Others read them more occasionally when they were visiting a friend. Sources that were considered as less important for seeking orienting information were the Internet as well as

human sources and organizational sources. The unemployed did not consider seeking orienting information as very problematic. The issues that were mentioned to be problematic were information overload and credibility of information. (Savolainen 2008a, 94-96, 98-99, 104-106).

In seeking problem-specific information it appeared that the unemployed used few specific sources they considered as important. Among the important sources were organizational sources, such as the employment agency, the social service office and the Social Insurance Institution of Finland. Personal sources, such as friends or acquaintances were also considered as important. Savolainen, however, points out that the use of organizational sources reflects these people's life situation as unemployed. As unemployed they are dependent on the services of unemployment agencies and social welfare offices. Thus these sources were often chosen because the unemployed had no other option. In many cases the information needed could also be obtained only from a certain place. For example, in order to receive information about one's unemployment benefits the only place to contact was the unemployment agency. Other subjects the unemployed sought information about were, for example, health and consumption. Contrary to orienting information seeking, the unemployed did not consider information overload as equally problematic in seeking problem-specific information, but rather the credibility of information, which was mentioned also in connection with orienting information seeking. Another problem was connected with obtaining information from public sector organizations. The unemployed considered that identifying and accessing the relevant personal sources in employment agencies, hospitals and the Social Insurance Institution of Finland was not easy. (Savolainen 2008a, 126, 132, 136, 139, 142).

In Savolainen's study (2007c) of unemployed people's use of information sources and channels for job searching, the results showed that the activity of the unemployed to seek a job or education varied. The most active unemployed monitored available jobs almost daily using different sources, others browsed through the website of the unemployment agency once a week or less frequently. The least interested in active seeking were those unemployed who were already approaching retirement. Their motivation was further decreased by the belief that employers held reservations about older job seekers. Recurrent disappointments concerning when they had applied for jobs and not been chosen also diminished their motivation. Despite all this, most of the informants were still motivated to continue their search.

The unemployed used many different sources and combinations of sources for seeking information about available jobs. The sources included web pages of employment agencies or Ministry of Labour, web pages of different

organizations (for example enterprises), newspapers, and friends and acquaintances. They also contacted potential employers directly and visited the employment agency. As a whole the most popular sources were networked sources. The Internet appears to be almost a self evident source for information seeking today, especially if one has his/her own internet connection. The Internet was considered as easily accessible and versatile and providing a fast and easy access to different information sources and services. As a drawback the unemployed mentioned web pages that have not been updated. Job applications that have to be filled in online were also criticized and considered as stressful. Use of networked services has also diminished visits to the employment agency, but for older people and those devoid of internet connection it is still a service to be used. Newspaper has also been able to hold its position as a central source of information and it was used fairly often by the respondents. The internet versions of newspapers were, however, used only rarely. Contacting potential employers was considered also as an important source of information. Many informants actually considered that one's own initiative was today even more important than before in seeking a job. Then again, it was also considered as psychologically demanding and its benefit-cost ratio often weak. Other people as information sources were appreciated, but in real life strong ties such as friends or previous fellow workers had been helpful only for few. Weak ties, such as casual acquaintances appeared to be even less helpful. Only one of the informants had used them as information sources. Lack of useful social networks was considered as problematic especially by older informants. As the unemployment period lengthens and fellow workers retire, social networks become weaker. Strong ties are not helpful either if they consist of people who are outside the labour market. (Savolainen 2007c).

The study by McQuaid et al. (2004), which investigated job seeking methods in rural and peri-urban areas in Scotland gave also support to the reign of newspapers as an important job seeking method. Of the respondents, 94% used it on a weekly basis. The next most used methods were Jobcentre notice board (66%), advice from Jobcentre staff (60%), personal contacts (54%), direct approach to employers (39%), and the Internet (18%). Although the Internet was not used much in general for seeking a job, it was a highly important method in the remote rural communities where distances are long and possibilities to visit Jobcentres thus more scarce. Informal social networks were also highly important in these areas as a way to share information about job possibilities. A clear reason for not using the Internet for seeking a job was not having a private internet connection, but there were also other factors that had an effect. These were, for example, age, attitudes towards the use of the Internet, lack of technical skills (perceived and real),

as well as educational attainment and income status, which were perhaps the most important of the factors.

2.5. Summary of the literature review

Unemployment is an encounter, which can have various effects on a person's life. What these effects are and how they are experienced and coped with depend on several factors, such as a person's life situation in general and his/her personality. For some, unemployment can be experienced as a solely negative phase of life, which has no positive features at all. This can lead into passivity as people may feel that there is nothing they can do to affect their situation. (Jahoda 1982, Warr 1987). Other people can adopt a proactive role and try to actively do something about it. They may also feel that there are positive aspects in unemployment. (Fryer & Payne 1984).

Coping can be considered to consist of different kinds of coping strategies that are used for trying to deal with unemployment and its consequences, and actual coping, i.e. how the unemployed really manage in their situation. The strategies used for coping can be active - aiming at managing or changing the distressing situation - or they can be more passive, focusing on adjusting to the situation emotionally (Lazarus & Folkman 1984). Actual coping can include people's health, well-being, social support and financial situation.

The health of unemployed people has been studied fairly extensively and the results have indicated that their health is poorer than that of the employed. Most of the research has shown that the unemployed often suffer from different kinds of health problems caused by unemployment and its consequences (e.g. Theodossiou 1998, Heino 2000, Alm 2001, Heponiemi et al. 2008). In a few studies, however, unemployment did not have an effect on health or even improved it (Manninen 1993, Poutanen 2000).

Social support, whether emotional, instrumental or informational, can have a positive effect on coping with a stressful situation. In the unemployment situation its importance might thus be emphasized. Previous unemployment research has indicated that support is often sought and received from close people, such as the spouse, family members and friends (Manninen 1993, Heino 2000). Similar others have also been considered as important (Rostila 1980, Silvennoinen 2007). Studies have also suggested that there are differences between men and women concerning how much they have received support (e.g. Nyman 2002, Silvennoinen 2007).

Financial deprivation is often a direct consequence of unemployment and can greatly affect how people manage their situation. The effects extend

from different kinds of restrictions in everyday life to difficulties in planning life ahead. Previous research has shown that many unemployed suffer from financial strain, which manifests itself as different kinds of financial worries and feelings of insecurity, as well as concrete economical problems (e.g. Ervasti 2002, 2003a, Goul Andersen 2002, Nyman 2002). These appear to be more common among the young and middle-aged unemployed, and the long-term unemployed (e.g. Heino 2000, Ervasti 2003a, 2004). Financial situation and perceived financial strain has also been found to be connected with deteriorating health (e.g. Turner et al. 1991, Price et al. 2002, Jönsson 2003).

Unemployed people's social capital has been studied rarely, but the research that has been conducted so far has suggested that unemployment has effects on people's social contacts and social activities. Unemployed people do not appear to be very active in participating in organizational activities (e.g. Heino 2000, Ervasti 2003a, Lindsay 2009). Their social contacts, however, have been found to often either increase or decrease along with unemployment (e.g. Russell 1999, Gallie et al. 2003, Ervasti 2003a). Social capital, which is often considered to consist of social networks, trust, social support and social participation, can also have a significant impact on how unemployment is experienced and coped with.

Previous studies have suggested that there is a connection between information seeking behaviour and coping in different kinds of situations. It appears that those who engage in active coping also seek information more actively (e.g. van Zuuren & Wolfs 1991, Ben-Zur 2002). Information behaviour of the unemployed, however, has been studied rarely so far and whether it can have an influence on coping with unemployment has not yet been investigated. Studies that have been conducted so far have concerned unemployed people's information seeking habits, and use of information sources and channels for job searching (Savolainen 2007c, 2008a, 2008b, McQuaid et al. 2004). Previous research has indicated that the unemployed monitor actively everyday events through media and the most popular sources for seeking orienting information are newspapers and television. When seeking problem-specific information also personal sources, such as friends and acquaintances, were considered as important. Most commonly perceived problems were information overload and credibility of information. (Savolainen 2008a).

Social capital and information behaviour have also been rarely studied together. The research that has been conducted so far has suggested that social networks have an important role in giving and sharing information both in work and everyday life (e.g. Johnson 2004, 2007; Widén-Wulff 2007, Savolainen 2008b).

3. Empirical research design

The empirical material is based on a postal survey that was sent to a representative cross-section of 1600 Finnish long-term unemployed people, i.e. people who had been out of work for more than one year. As differences between the two language groups were one area of interest and the majority of Finns are Finnish-speakers, the sampling was weighted so that half of the respondents were Swedish-speakers, in order to gather sufficient data for comparison. The names and addresses were received from the Ministry of Labour, which drew a sample from their registers. The questionnaire was sent to Finnish-speakers in Finnish and to Swedish-speakers in Swedish.

The questionnaire, which was titled "*Long-term unemployment, social networks and information behaviour*" was sent at the end of October and beginning of November 2007. A reminder, including a copy of the questionnaire, was sent in the end of November again to all 1600 people (in order to ensure the total anonymity of the respondents, the questionnaires had not been marked in any way and thus it could not be known who had already responded).

Of the original sample of 1600 people, the survey reached 1579 persons. The missing 21 people included those who could not be reached due to, for example, faulty address, those who did not belong to the studied group, and those who were otherwise unable to answer the questionnaire. Responses were received from 750 people, so the response rate of the study was 47%. This can be considered as good, as low response rate is often a problem in unemployment studies (Ervasti 2003a, 123).

The questionnaire consisted of four main categories:

1. Background information

2. Social capital (included questions concerning the number of social relations and keeping contact with them, participation in organizational activities, social trust, and feeling of connectedness with different kinds of groups and communities and Finnish society as a whole)

3. Coping (consisted of questions concerning which kinds of strategies unemployed people use to try to manage the unemployment situation – 25 items based on the revised *Ways of Coping* questionnaire by Folkman and Lazarus (1985) originally consisting of 66 variables, and how they actually cope with it, including questions concerning social

support, financial situation, self-assessed state of health, and stressfulness of unemployment)

4. Information behaviour (focused on everyday life information seeking and consisted of questions concerning orienting and problem-specific information seeking, and problems in seeking information)

The study was implemented using a quantitative method as it made it easier to collect and handle a large amount of data the answers being in the same format. This way the results were also more comparable with previous studies. As one aim of the study was to find connections between social capital, coping and information behaviour, this method was also considered as more efficient in discovering recurring patterns.

The material was analysed with SPSS 17.0. The analysis of the material consisted of cross tabulations and chi-square analyses, which were employed to find out if there are significant connections and/or differences between certain variables concerning social capital, coping and information behaviour. Frequency distributions were used to describe what kind of social capital and information behaviour long-term unemployed people have and how they cope with their situation. The results are presented here primarily in the form of tables.

The following tables (3.1.-3.3.) present the gender, age and native language distribution among the respondents. Table 3.4. displays the unemployment benefits and other allowances the respondents received at the time the questionnaire was filled.

Table 3.1.
The gender distribution

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent
Men	370	49	50
Women	373	50	50
Total	743	99	100
Missing	7	1	

Table 3.2.
The age distribution

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent
54 and younger	176	24	27
55 and older	476	64	73
Total	652	87	100
Missing	98	13	

Table 3.3.
The native language distribution (Finnish- and Swedish-speakers)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid percent
Finnish-speakers	384	51	52
Swedish-speakers	355	47	48
Total	739	99	100
Missing	11	2	

Table 3.4.
Unemployment benefits and other allowances (n=725)

Earnings-related allowance	344 48%
Labour market subsidy	216 30%
Housing allowance	101 14%
Basic unemployment allowance	90 12%
Income support	57 8%
Sickness benefit	8 1%
Other kinds of allowances	33 5%
No allowances	48 7%

The respondents were asked what kind of benefits and allowances they received at that moment and they were allowed to tick more than one alternative.

The gender distribution among the respondents in the current study is very even. The proportion of women is slightly larger among the respondents than it was in the statistics of the Ministry of Labour in September 2007, where the proportion of long-term unemployed women was 47% (23 335). As to age, in the current study as many as 73% of the respondents were 55 or older, whereas according to the statistics of the Ministry of Labour (2007) their proportion was 62% among those who had been unemployed for more than one year in September 2007. In the current study it often emerged that many of the older unemployed approaching pensionable age seemed to enjoy their increased free time and were quite content with their situation. This might have made them feel more comfortable filling in the questionnaire and thus explain their larger proportion here than in the official statistics. The division of the long-term unemployed into two groups (those 54 or younger

and 55 or older) was done in the analysing phase. The basis for this division was the eligibility for admittance into the "unemployment pension tube", which is an arrangement where an unemployed person receives first prolonged unemployment benefit and then unemployment pension until he/she reaches the state old-age pensionable age, which from the year 1997 to 2005 was 55, and from then onwards 57 (Kela.fi, Virjo & Aho 2002, Jauhiainen & Rantala 2011). 55 is also often used in unemployment research to mark the border between older unemployed and others (e.g. Virjo & Aho 2002, Jauhiainen & Rantala 2011).

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Labour, the number of Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed people in September 2007 was 1256, which is approximately 2.5% of all long-term unemployed people at that time (49,264). As explained earlier, the sample of the current study consisted of equal numbers of Finnish- and Swedish-speakers in order to provide a reliable basis for comparisons between the two language groups.

4. Empirical findings

The results are presented in three sections according to the research themes. This chapter begins with social capital, which is followed by coping and finally information-seeking behaviour. Comparisons are made according to mother tongue (Finnish-speakers and Swedish-speakers), gender and age. When comparing the respondents according to their age the respondents were divided into two groups, where the line has been drawn at 55. The two groups consist thus of those who are 54 years old or younger (-54) and those who are 55 years or older (55-). Those 54 years old and younger are referred to here as the younger long-term unemployed and those 55 years and older as the older long-term unemployed. The comparisons concerning gender and age are studied in connection with every section as they come, but the comparisons between the two language groups are studied separately at the end of each section.

4.1. Social capital

In this research social capital is measured by 1) social relations 2) trust 3) civic engagement and 4) feeling of connectedness with society and community. In social relations the interest lies on the amount of relations, their quality (strong/weak ties), and how often the respondents are in contact with them. Social relations are furthermore divided into bonding social capital and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital consists of strong ties, which in this research are friends and close relatives (outside the household). Bridging social capital consists of weak ties, which in this research are acquaintances. Trust is measured by the number of relationships with trusted people and civic engagement through participation in organizational activities. Connectedness with society and community means here how weakly or closely respondents feel they belong to certain groups and communities and thus this measures their connection to different realms of society.

4.1.1. Social relations

In measuring the number of social relations respondents were asked to indicate how many friends, acquaintances and close relatives (outside their household) they have (Appendix 1, question 35a). In measuring the frequency of contact with social relations respondents were asked to indicate how often they are on average in contact with them (Appendix 1, question 35b).

The results are presented here according to the division of bonding social capital (friends and close relatives) and bridging social capital (acquaintances).

4.1.1.1. Bonding social capital

The relative majority of the respondents (36%) had three to five friends and even having more than ten friends was fairly common; 5% reported they had no friends at all.

Table 4.1
Number of friends (n=714)

	Frequency	Percent
None	33	5
1-2	130	18
3-5	258	36
6-10	143	20
More than 10	150	21
Total	714	100

There were no significant differences between men and women as to the number of friends, but there were significant differences according to the age of the respondents (n=624, chi-square=19,824, df=4, p=0,001). It appears that it is more common for the older long-term unemployed to have many friends. Of these 24% reported having more than ten friends compared to 13% of the younger unemployed. Their proportion was slightly larger also in the category of having 6-10 friends (20% vs. 17%). Among the younger unemployed, it was respectively more common to have only 1-2 friends (25% vs. 16%) or have no friends at all (8% vs. 3%).

Table 4.2
Number of close relatives (n=700)

	Frequency	Percent
None	28	4
1-2	113	16
3-5	208	30
6-10	180	26
More than 10	171	24
Total	700	100

The pattern here resembles the one in the table 4.1 (number of friends). Percentages of all categories are relatively close to each other and also here

the middle alternative 3-5 was chosen most often. This time differences were significant between men and women too, not only between the age groups as was the case with the number of friends.

The differences between men and women (n=698, chi-square=11,724, df=4, p=0,020) seemed to appear really only concerning the two extremes (having no close relatives and having more than ten of them). It appears that it is more usual among long-term unemployed men to have no close relatives at all than it is among long-term unemployed women (6% vs. 2%). The proportion of women was respectively larger in having more than ten close relatives (27% vs. 22%). As to the two age groups (n=615, chi-square=51,189, df=4, p=0,000), the older unemployed seem to have more close relatives than the younger unemployed: of the older unemployed 60% had six or more close relatives compared to 30% of the younger ones.

Table 4.3
Keeping in contact with friends (n=705)

	Frequency	Percent
Daily	106	15
Weekly	349	50
Monthly	195	28
Seldom/Not at all	55	8
Total	705	100

The clear majority of the respondents (65%) were in contact with their friends at least once a week and 15% every day, whereas 8% kept in contact seldom or not at all. There were no significant differences between men and women, but answers differed between the two age groups.

Table 4.4
Keeping in contact with friends, according to age
n=617, chi-square=19,590, df=3, p=0,000

	-54	55-
Daily	39 23%	52 12%
Weekly	72 43%	231 51%
Monthly	37 22%	135 30%
Seldom/Not at all	20 12%	31 7%
Total	168 100%	449 100%

The statistically significant difference concerns mainly being in contact with friends on a daily basis (adjusted residual 3,6). It appears that the younger unemployed are more often in contact with their friends every day (23%) than the older unemployed (12%). Interestingly, their proportion was also larger in the category seldom/not at all. It might be that older people are comfortable with being in touch just every now and then.

Table 4.5
Keeping in contact with close relatives (n=706)

	Frequency	Percent
Daily	141	20
Weekly	315	45
Monthly	167	24
Seldom/Not at all	83	12
Total	706	100

As with friends (table 4.3) the majority of the respondents (65%) kept in contact with their close relatives at least once a week. Slightly more did so daily too (20%). The frequency of communication also varied significantly between men and women, but not between the two age groups.

Table 4.6
Keeping in contact with close relatives, according to gender
n=704, chi-square=58,979, df=3, p=0,000

	Men	Women
Daily	40 11%	101 29%
Weekly	148 42%	166 47%
Monthly	104 29%	63 18%
Seldom/Not at all	62 18%	20 6%
Total	354 100%	350 100%

Unemployed women seem to be more frequently in contact with their close relatives than unemployed men. Of women, 29% were in contact with these daily compared to only 11% of men. Respectively 47% of men kept in contact only monthly or even less frequently – almost double the proportion of women – and in "seldom/not at all" the men's proportion was three times as much as that of the women's. Since there was no difference between men and women as to keeping in contact with friends, this could be interpreted that women are on average more family oriented than men.

4.1.1.2. Bridging social capital

Over half of the long-term unemployed had more than ten acquaintances and one fifth 6-10, whereas 4% had none at all. The number of acquaintances did not vary significantly between men and women, but differences were significant between the two age groups (n=616, chi-square=24,553, df=4, p=0,000).

Table 4.7
Number of acquaintances (n=703)

	Frequency	Percent
None	25	4
1-2	43	6
3-5	107	15
6-10	146	21
More than 10	382	54
Total	703	100

According to the results, it appears that the older unemployed have more often a large number of acquaintances, a pattern that was noticeable also in the case of friends and close relatives. Of these 59% had more than ten acquaintances compared to 41% of the younger unemployed and very few reported having two or less (only 6% compared to 18% of the younger).

Table 4.8
Keeping in contact with acquaintances (n=702)

	Frequency	Percent
Daily	58	8
Weekly	242	35
Monthly	269	38
Seldom/Not at all	133	19
Total	702	100

Keeping in contact with acquaintances occurs mostly on a monthly and weekly basis as these two largest categories cover 73% of the respondents. Being in contact with acquaintances on a daily basis appears not to be very usual as only 8% had done so. Almost one fifth of the unemployed were also in contact with them seldom or not at all. The frequency of contact did not differ significantly between the two age groups, but it did between men and women.

Table 4.9
Keeping in contact with acquaintances, according to gender
n=700, chi-square=14,248, df=3, p=0,003

	Men	Women
Daily	40 11%	18 5%
Weekly	126 36%	116 33%
Monthly	115 33%	152 44%
Seldom/Not at all	70 20%	63 18%
Total	351 100%	349 100%

More unemployed men are in contact with their acquaintances daily. Although the proportions were fairly small for both genders, the men's proportion was over twice the size of women's.

4.1.1.3. Changes in social relations in connection with unemployment

In the questionnaire respondents were also asked if there had been changes in their social relations in connection with unemployment (Appendix 1, question 33). They were asked to tick the boxes of appropriate alternatives according to what kind of changes they considered had happened in their social relations. The focus is here placed on changes concerning the number of friends (bonding relations) and acquaintances (bridging relations).

Bonding relations (friends)

It appears that the trend in changes in the number of bonding relations was on the decrease than the increase. Of the respondents, 27 % (187 of the 699 who answered the question) perceived that their number of friends had decreased in connection with unemployment, while 19% (132 respondents) felt that it had increased. This seems natural in the sense that, for many, losing a job means also losing touch with fellow workers, who can often be friends. Making new friends may also be harder for unemployed, for example, if they are not interested in participating in organizational activities as studies have indicated (e.g. Lindsay 2009; Ervasti 2003a, 136; Heino 2000, 80-81) or have to restrict taking part in hobbies or socializing in general due to financial reasons as studies of Ervasti (2003a, 136) and Karvonen (2008, 110) suggest.

There were no significant differences between the two age groups concerning either increase or decrease of bonding relations, but they were found between men and women concerning the increase of bonding relations ($p=0,016$). More women (23%, 78 of 346 respondents) reported that their number of friends had grown compared to 15% of men (54 of 351 respondents). In fact, the trend that unemployment seems to lead more often to losing rather than gaining friends seems to be mainly due to the fact that this is the case with men. Whereas among women the proportions of losing and gaining friends were 25% (88 respondents) and 23%, among men they were 28% (99 respondents) losing and only 15% gaining.

Bridging relations (acquaintances)

The same kind of trend that was noticed in bonding relations was found regarding bridging relations. Here, as well, it appeared that the change in the number of acquaintances was on the decrease rather than the increase. The figures are also very much alike as 25% of the respondents (a total of 174 respondents) perceived that the number of their acquaintances had decreased

in connection with unemployment, whereas 18% (126 respondents) considered that the number of their acquaintances had increased. As with bonding relations, there were no significant differences between the two age groups, but such differences were found between men and women regarding the increase of bridging relations (p=0,040). The figures are again very similar to those of bonding relations. Here, as well, more women (21%, 73 of 346 respondents) considered that the number of their acquaintances had increased in connection with unemployment compared to 15% (53 of 351 respondents) of men. Again, the trend of losing rather than gaining acquaintances seems to affect mainly men as 27% (94 respondents) reported losing and 15% gaining when the figures for women were 23% (80 respondents) and 21% respectively.

Although in general the effect of unemployment seems to be more towards negative changes in the number of both bonding and bridging relations, many seem to be fairly comfortable with their life situation and some even consider that their life has changed for the better.

> *"I am not an isolated person, on the contrary, there is time to take care of social relations, meet friends, grandchildren, acquaintances, exercise, according to one's own timetable without any rush. Can a person's life be any better?"* (Woman, 54)

> *"More time for myself and my family."* (Woman, 61)

> *"My circle of friends is the same. ... Fewer contacts that are connected with working life. More hobby- and same interest-contacts."* (Woman, 59)

4.1.2. Trust

Trust was measured by asking respondents about 1) the number of close friends they had whom they could trust and 2) the number of people they knew who they could ask for help in case of a practical problem (Appendix 1, questions 36 and 37 respectively). Close friends whom can be trusted are considered here as strong ties and the people who can be asked for help as weak ties.

4.1.2.1. Strong ties

The relative majority of the respondents (41%) had two or three close friends whom they can trust and nearly one fifth (18%) had more than five. Still, as many as 8% had no close friends at all. Heino (2000, 89-91), who studied

unemployment in South Ostrobothnia (region in Western Finland), also measured the number of close friends unemployed people have (friends with whom the respondents could talk about anything). In her results the respondents seemed to have somewhat fewer close friends as only 33% reported having more than two, whereas a slightly larger proportion in the current study reported having more than three close friends. The proportion of those unemployed who had no close friends (9%) was, however, almost the same as in the current research.

Table 4.10
Number of close friends you can trust (n=728)

	Frequency	Percent
None	61	8
1	118	16
2-3	301	41
4-5	118	16
More than 5	130	18
Total	728	100

The responses Ek (2005, 70-71) received to the same question posed in the current research from his respondents representing 18-65-year-old Finns suggest that it is somewhat more common for the unemployed to have fewer close trustworthy friends than Finnish people in general.

Table 4.11
Comparison of the number of close friends you can trust

Close trusted friends	Unemployed Finns % (current study)	All Finns % (Ek)
None	8	5
1	16	10
2-3	41	48
4-5	16	21
More than 5	18	17

Finns, employed or unemployed, most commonly have two or three close friends they can trust. It seems, however, more common for the unemployed to have only one or no close friends at all (24%) than for Finnish people in general (15%). Respectively, there are fewer among the unemployed, who have 2-5 close friends (57%) than among Finnish people in general (69%). As to having more than five close friends the proportions are practically the same. This might to some extent be due to the fact that some people, employed or not, more easily consider friends as close.

The fact that it is more common for the unemployed to have fewer close friends seems to be related to their unemployment as the respondents of the current study more often considered that the number of their friends had decreased along with unemployment. As was already assumed concerning the number of friends, this might again be due to losing touch with former fellow workers, some of whom might have also been considered as close friends. In some cases the connection can also remain, but the former close bond over time gradually turns into average friendship or acquaintanceship.

The number of close trustworthy friends differed significantly between both men and women (n=726, chi-square=18,587, df=4, p=0,001) and the two age groups (n=638, chi-square=13,997, df=4, p=0,007). In Samuelsson's study (2002, 91), the proportion of unemployed men, who had no one they could talk to about personal problems (12%) was larger than that of women (4%). The current study gives some support to this result as also here the proportion of men who had no close friends was larger - 10% compared to 6% of women. However, although there are significant differences between long-term unemployed men and women regarding the number of close friends, there does not seem to be a clear tendency for either of the genders to have more or fewer close friends than the other. The greatest difference between men and women was curiously in the category of 4-5 close friends (adjusted residual 3,3), where the proportion of men was 12% in comparison to the 21% of women. As to the differences between the age groups, the results show that it was twice as common for the younger unemployed to have no close friends at all (13% vs. 6%). Having only one close friend was also clearly more usual for them than for the older unemployed (21% vs. 15%), who respectively had more often at least four friends. One fifth of the older unemployed also had more than five compared to the mere 14% of the younger ones.

4.1.2.2. Weak ties

The results are very much like those concerning the number of close trusted friends (table 4.10), especially regarding the categories '4-5' and 'more than 5', where the figures are actually exactly the same. It appears that the close trusted friends often are also the ones the unemployed turn to when they need help in practical matters (n=712, chi-square =420,353, df=16, p= 0,000). This time no significant differences could be found between men and women or between the two age groups.

Table 4.12
Number of people who can be asked for help (n=715)

	Frequency	Percent
None	52	7
1	91	13
2-3	327	46
4-5	116	16
More than 5	129	18
Total	715	100

Ek's study (2005,71) provides again a possibility for comparing the results of unemployed and Finnish people in general:

Table 4.13
Comparison of people who can be asked for help

Close trusted friends	Unemployed Finns	All Finns
None	7	2
1	13	6
2-3	46	39
4-5	16	21
More than 5	18	33

There are clearly more people among the unemployed who know only one or no such person they can turn to when they need help in a practical problem than among Finns in general (20% vs. 8%). Respectively, there are considerably fewer people among the unemployed who know more than five people than there are among Finns in general.

As was previously noted, the number of close people and the number of people one can ask for help are very much alike among the unemployed. Among Finns in general these two, however, differ considerably as it seems that in addition to their close friends they often also know many other people they can ask for help. This is most likely because employed people have their fellow workers, who might not necessarily be considered as close friends, as an additional resource they can turn to when needed.

4.1.3. Civic engagement

Civic engagement is here taken as participating in organizational activities. The activity of the long-term unemployed was measured by asking them how often during the last six months had they participated in the activities of

associations, organizations or societies, of which they were given nine different alternatives (Appendix 1, question 42). They were to indicate how often, if at all, had they participated in each of them. The scale had three points: not at all, 1-5 times, and more than five times.

Several previous studies have suggested that unemployed people are less active in taking part in organizational activities (e.g. Heino 2000, 119; Gallie et al. 2003; Ervasti 2003, 136; Lindsay 2009). According to Heino (2000, 81, 119), unemployed people do not take part in social influencing. Of her respondents 47% had participated in the activities of clubs, organizations and associations, mainly a few times a year. Political involvement had interested only 7% to some degree. Ervasti's study (2003, 136-137) showed that unemployed people participate less in organizational activities than the rest of the population. Of the unemployed 14% had taken part in them compared to 20% of Finns in general. Comparing the results between studies is, however, difficult as the spectrum of listed organizations and answer alternatives often varies.

Table 4.14
Participation in organizational activity

	More than 5 times	1-5 times	Not at all	Total
Adult education centre/ Workers' institute	55 8%	71 10%	564 82%	690 100%
Church or other religious organization	42 6%	71 10%	580 84%	693 100%
Charity organization	24 4%	70 10%	590 86%	684 100%
Sports club	39 6%	37 5%	615 89%	691 100%
Non-profit making organization	29 4%	45 7%	614 89%	688 100%
Trade organization / Labour market organization	8 1%	45 7%	633 92%	686 100%
Nature protection organization	3 0%	33 5%	643 95%	679 100%
Unemployed association	8 1%	15 2%	657 97%	680 100%
Political organization	5 1%	14 2%	668 97%	687 100%

Overall 57% had been involved in some kind of organizational activity during the past six months. Respondents also had the option to add up to two

other organizational activities they had participated in and 8% had added at least one. Of the listed activities the most popular were those provided by the adult education centre/workers' institute, church or other religious organizations and charity organizations.

Some of the respondents described their organizational activity in the following way:

> *"We belong to several associations and time doesn't seem to drag, on the contrary. Everything is fine."* (Woman, 61)
>
> *"I have entered myself into 4 more associations. In addition, I participate as a member of the board in a company. … I participate more actively in association activities."* (Man, 62)
>
> *"I sing in two choirs + play in a musician group."* (Woman, 62)
>
> *"I have participated in several courses (which I have been interested in and have myself chosen) and have an excessive number of hobbies."* (Man, -)

Statistics Finland (2002) provides some possibilities to compare the results of the unemployed with an average Finn. The numbers used here refer to organizational activities of people over 15 years of age during the last year. Since in the current study the time frame was only six months the proportions can be expected to be slightly smaller.

In 2002, 8% of Finns had taken part in activities of a religious organization or club (Statistics Finland, 2002). Among the unemployed in the current study the proportion is double (16%). This might have been explained by the assumption that older generations, to which the majority of the respondents in the current study belong, are more involved in such activities. According to the numbers of Statistics Finland this, however, was not the case as the interest in such activities among 45-64 year olds was even slightly below the average.

Of the average Finns, 21% had participated in activities of sports organization or club (Statistics Finland 2002). Among the unemployed of the current study this number was considerably smaller (11%). This could be, however, explained by the age of the respondents. Participating in these activities often means either engaging in sports oneself or being in a supportive role as a parent. The majority of the unemployed in the current study are already at the age where it is their children who are now the

supporting parents. According to Statistics Finland, the participation of 55-64 year olds was clearly smaller (only 14%) supporting at least some extent this explanation.

The participation rate in activities of a political party or organization among Finns was 2%, whereas among the unemployed it was 3%. When the numbers for 45-64 year olds are analysed, the proportion among Finns rises to 3% indicating thus that there is no real difference between an unemployed Finn and an average Finn.

Compared to the numbers of Statistics Finland it does not appear that the unemployed would be especially inactive in participating in organizational activities. But it cannot, however, be stated that they are as active either since it was possible to compare activity within only a few types of organizations.

Apart from simply not being interested in organizational activities (e.g.*"I am not an association person."* - Woman, 62), participation can, for some of the unemployed, also be a financial question.

> *"When you don't have any money, you can't participate in anything, when you live in the middle of nowhere like I do and have 15 kilometres to the nearest shop, so I can't simply afford it."* (Woman, 60)

There were significant differences between unemployed men and women in their activity concerning three organizations: adult education centre/workers' institute (n=688, chi-square=27,607, df=2, p=0,000), church or other religious organization (n=691, chi-square=19,705, df=2, p=0,000) and charity organization (n=682, chi-square=10,211, df=2, p=0,006). Activity in these three types of organizations seems to be roughly twice as popular among women as it is among men. The proportion of men who had taken part was in all cases approximately 10% whereas that of women varied between 18% and 26%. As to the two age groups, participating in the organizational activities differed significantly only concerning adult education centre/workers' institute (p=0,026). The older unemployed were almost twice more active as 9% of them (39 respondents out of 437) had taken part in such activities more than five times during the last six months and 11% (50 respondents) 1-5 times. Among the younger unemployed only 5% (8 respondents out of 165) reported over 5 times and 6% (10 respondents) 1-5 times.

4.1.4. The feeling of connectedness with community and society

> *"Long-lasting unemployment is for the unemployed person something completely different than it is to society or employed people. Unemployment is not only stressful, continuous financial distress and driving one to shame; it also produces feelings of being left outside. Being left outside is both a burden and a resource."* (Man, 51)

The feeling of connectedness with different kinds of communities has been studied earlier by Poutanen (2000, 163-165), who examined it among the long-term unemployed people in Suomussalmi, Northern Finland. The question in the current study is based on the one he used. The feeling of connectedness with community and society was measured by asking respondents to indicate how closely they felt they belonged to nine different kinds of communities that were given to them (Appendix 1, question 38). In the analysis the given communities were organized into five aspects: 1) family and kin 2) residential environment (residence community and hometown/home community) 3) voluntary associations (the congregation and hobby associations) 4) identity groups (the unemployed and respondents' own profession) and 5) Finnish society.

4.1.4.1. The feeling of connectedness with family and kin

The majority of the long-term unemployed (66%) felt very close connectedness with their family and 23% fairly close, which leaves only 11% for the rest of the alternatives. It could be assumed that some of those who responded "not at all" might simply have no family left.

Table 4.15
Feeling of connectedness with family (n=691)

	Frequency	Percent
Very close	458	66
Fairly close	159	23
Fairly weak	35	5
Not at all	39	6
Total	691	100

The feeling of connectedness with family differed significantly between men and women (n=690, chi-square=23,554, df=3, p=0,000). More of unemployed women feel more closely connected with their family than men as 74% felt very closely connected compared to 58% of men. Almost one tenth of men (9%) felt no connectedness at all, whereas the proportion of women was only 3%.

There were significant differences also between the age groups (n=609, chi-square=25,806, df=3, p=0,000). Clearly more of the older unemployed feel very closely connected with their family as their proportion was 73% compared to 52% of the younger unemployed. Interestingly, 10% of the younger unemployed had no feeling of connectedness with family at all, while among the older unemployed this was the case with only 4%. As both age groups could be considered equally likely to have children with whom to be at least somewhat connected, but for the older group it is more likely that their parents are deceased, it is curious how feeling not at all connected to family appears to be here so much more common among the younger group.

Table 4.16
Feeling of connectedness with kin (n=717)

	Frequency	Percent
Very close	165	23
Fairly close	316	44
Fairly weak	191	27
Not at all	45	6
Total	717	100

The feeling of connectedness is naturally not as strong with kin as it is with people considered as family. Clearly more respondents (27%) felt their connectedness with their kin as fairly weak. The relative majority (44%) felt that the connectedness was fairly close.

The feeling of connectedness with kin differed significantly between men and women (n=715, chi-square=21,144, df=3, p=0,000). Women again feel it to be stronger. Of women, 30% felt very closely connected with kin compared to 16% of men. After finding out earlier that women were more active in keeping in contact with close relatives these results are as expected. Women again appear to be more family oriented than men.

Significant differences were also found between the age groups (n=631, chi-square=17,238, df=3, p=0,001). The older unemployed also felt more closely connected with their kin as 26% perceived the connection as very close and 46% fairly close, compared to the proportions of 19% and 38% among the younger group. Respectively, more of the younger unemployed felt that the connectedness was fairly weak (33% vs. 25%). The greatest the difference was in the category “not at all” (11% of the younger vs. 4% of the older, adjusted residual 3,3).

4.1.4.2. The feeling of connectedness with residential environment

It appears that the long-term unemployed do not feel very closely connected with their residence community as for the relative majority (42%) the feeling of connectedness was fairly weak and 14% felt none at all. Only 6% experienced the connectedness as being very close.

Table 4.17
Feeling of connectedness with the residence community (n=707)

	Frequency	Percent
Very close	45	6
Fairly close	267	38
Fairly weak	296	42
Not at all	99	14
Total	707	100

The distribution is quite similar in hometown/home municipality as it was concerning the residence community, but with slight change towards feeling more closely connected. The feelings of connectedness with the residence community and hometown/home municipality were strongly connected to each other (n=697, chi-square=346,682, df=9, p=0,000) as the majority of the respondents gave exactly the same answers to both questions.

Table 4.18
Feeling of connectedness with hometown/home municipality (n=704)

	Frequency	Percent
Very close	66	9
Fairly close	270	38
Fairly weak	263	37
Not at all	105	15
Total	704	100

There were no significant differences between men and women concerning the feeling of connectedness with the residence community or hometown/home municipality, but there were significant differences between the two age groups concerning the residence community (n=622, chi-square=25,283, df=3, p=0,000). Every fourth younger unemployed felt no connectedness at all with their residence community, whereas among the older this was the case with only every tenth person. Respectively, the proportion of the older unemployed is considerably larger in feeling fairly closely connected (42% vs. 28%) and also slight in feeling very close connectedness (7% vs. 6%).

4.1.4.3. The feeling of connectedness with voluntary associations

The unemployed do not seem to feel strong connection with the congregation as 41% felt no connectedness at all and about an equal proportion felt it was fairly weak. Only 4% felt very closely connected.

Table 4.19
Feeling of connectedness with the congregation (n=698)

	Frequency	Percent
Very close	26	4
Fairly close	98	14
Fairly weak	286	41
Not at all	288	41
Total	698	100

The feeling of connectedness differed significantly between men and women (n=696, chi-square=7,709, df=3, p=0,052). Unemployed women seem to feel somewhat more connectedness with the congregation than men. Of women, 5% felt very closely connected and 17% fairly close, whereas the respective figures among men were 3% and 11%. The relative majority of men (45%) felt no connectedness at all compared to 38% of women.

There were also significant differences between the age groups (n=614, chi-square=8,791, df=3, p=0,032). Somewhat surprisingly, the differences concern only the categories “not at all” and “fairly weak”. The younger unemployed seem to feel less connectedness with the congregation as half of them felt none at all - clearly more often than the older ones (38%). The proportion of the older unemployed was respectively larger in having fairly weak feelings of connectedness (44% vs. 32%), but in the “fairly close” and “very close” categories the proportions were almost exactly the same (15% vs. 14% and 3% vs. 4% respectively).

Neither is the feeling of connectedness with hobby associations strong, although nonetheless stronger than with the congregation. Of the unemployed 11% felt very closely and 26% fairly closely connected. The relative majority (36%), however, felt no connectedness at all.

Table 4.20
Feeling of connectedness with hobby associations (n=705)

	Frequency	Percent
Very close	80	11
Fairly close	181	26
Fairly weak	193	27
Not at all	251	36
Total	705	100

The feeling of connectedness did not differ significantly between men and women, but it did between the age groups (n=619, chi-square=12,727, df=3, p=0,005). It seems that more of the older unemployed feel more closely connected with them as 12% felt very closely connected and 28% fairly closely, while the respective proportions among the younger unemployed were 7% and 19%. Of the younger unemployed 45% felt no connectedness at all compared with one third of the older unemployed.

4.1.4.4. The feeling of connectedness with identity groups

> *"After a longer period of unemployment your world and the view of your surroundings change. It can't be said that it is positive or negative, only different. You yourself value things differently, take a distance to the professional group you belonged to before, but then on the other hand, a new world opens up with family life, relatives & friends as more valuable than before."* (Woman, 52)

It appears that most of the unemployed do not feel connectedness with the unemployed in general as 54% felt no connectedness at all and 35% fairly weak. Only 2% feel very closely connected. There were no differences between men and women or the two age groups.

Table 4.21
Feeling of connectedness with the unemployed (n=702)

	Frequency	Percent
Very close	11	2
Fairly close	66	9
Fairly weak	246	35
Not at all	379	54
Total	702	100

The feeling of connectedness with one's profession seems to be remarkably greater than it is with the unemployed in general. Of the respondents, 25% felt either fairly or very closely connected with their profession compared to

the respective proportion of 11% who felt connectedness with the unemployed. Clearly fewer felt no connectedness at all – only 34% compared to the 54% who felt no connectedness with the unemployed.

Table 4.22
Feeling of connectedness with one's profession (n=701)

	Frequency	Percent
Very close	24	3
Fairly close	156	22
Fairly weak	285	41
Not at all	236	34
Total	701	100

In Silvennoinen's study (2007, 64), the elderly unemployed identified themselves strongly as workers and considered that this identity had not suffered due to them becoming unemployed. While the respondents of the current study experienced their identity much the same way, the results did not, however, differ significantly between the two age groups, but they did between men and women (n=699, chi-square=19,340, df=3, p=0,000). Unemployed men seem to feel more closely connected with their profession than women as 31% of them felt fairly or very closely connected compared to 20% of women. Respectively, 41% of women felt no connectedness with their profession at all, while the proportion among men was only 27%.

It could also be that many of the respondents of the current study do not consider themselves as either unemployed or workers, but as pensioners. In Finland it is possible to be admitted into a so-called "unemployment pension tube", which means that an unemployed person is entitled to a prolonged unemployment benefit and unemployment pension before the retirement age (old-age pension) (Kela.fi, Virjo & Aho 2002). A large number of the respondents of the current study belonged to the age group that is eligible to enter the unemployment pension tube and therefore might consider, or want to consider themselves already as pensioners rather than as unemployed.

> *"I am in the so called pension tube – still about 1,5 years left, and have internalised the pension word so that it felt slightly odd to realize that I am indeed a long-term unemployed."* (Man, 58)

> *"It can be questioned whether I should be registered as an unemployed or should I be on an early old-age pension."* (Man, 58)

> *"I have never felt that I am a so called long-term unemployed!"* (Woman, 56)

4.1.4.5. The feeling of connectedness with Finnish society

A narrow majority of the respondents experienced that their feeling of connectedness with Finnish society was either fairly weak or non-existent. Only 11% felt it was very close. The feeling of connectedness with Finnish society did not differ significantly between men and women or between the two age groups.

Table 4.23
Feeling of connectedness with Finnish society (n=702)

	Frequency	Percent
Very close	75	11
Fairly close	270	39
Fairly weak	215	31
Not at all	142	20
Total	702	100

4.1.5. The meaning of social capital in finding a job

Korpi's study (2001) suggests that social relations are an important channel for distributing information about available jobs and enhance people's possibilities to find a job. In his study 47% of the unemployed had used their social ties to search for a job. Of the respondents, 44% had used their strong ties, 14% weak ties and 10% both. Which ties were more effective could not, however, be determined by the results. Social ties had an even greater role in Lindsay's study (2009), where strong ties had been used for seeking a job by the majority (53%) of the unemployed, whereas 40% had used their weak ties. The study also showed that the long-term unemployed used both strong ties and weak ties less than the short-term unemployed. The difference was especially clear concerning the use of weak ties (former fellow workers and other work-related ties).

The current research studied from whom do unemployed people obtain information about available jobs and whether they themselves were active in asking for such information from their social relations. Of interest was also the usefulness of social relations in actually finding a job. In other words, do people really obtain jobs with the help of their social relations? As the respondents were currently long-term unemployed the question of course concerns their past experiences.

4.1.5.1. Obtaining information about available jobs

The respondents were asked who of their social relations, if any, had given them information about available jobs. They were presented with alternatives of social relations and were to tick off those, who they considered had told them about available jobs. One of the alternatives was also "no one". (Appendix 1, question 21).

Table 4.24
Obtaining information about available jobs (n=714)

	Frequency	Percent
Friends	154	22%
Acquaintances	150	21%
Former fellow workers	92	13%
Family members	63	9%
Relatives	59	8%
Other unemployed	29	4%
Other people	65	9%
No one	326	46%

The results show that information about available jobs does flow in the social networks of unemployed as 54% of the respondents had received information from their social relations. At the same time this, of course, still leaves a large proportion of the unemployed outside this activity as the remaining 46% of the respondents considered that no one had told them about available jobs. People from who the unemployed had received information the most were clearly friends (22%) and acquaintances (21%). Former fellow workers had also shared information about available jobs to 13% of the respondents, which indicates that some connection with old work mates quite often remains even after becoming unemployed.

There were no significant differences between men and women, but between the two age groups they were found concerning friends, family members, relatives, other unemployed and no one.

Table 4.25
Obtaining information about available jobs, according to age (n=624)

	-54	55-	chi-square	df	p
Friends	62 36%	72 16%	29,744	1	0,000
Family members	26 15%	31 7%	10,236	1	0,001
Relatives	23 13%	29 6%	7,892	1	0,005
Other unemployed	11 6%	13 3%	4,148	1	0,042
No one	56 33%	228 50%	16,069	1	0,000

It appears that it is more common for the younger unemployed to obtain information about available jobs from their social relations than it is for the older unemployed. Half of the older unemployed do not obtain information from anyone compared to one third of the younger unemployed. Of them also only 16% receive information from friends, which was one of the primary information channels for job information, compared to 36% of the younger unemployed.

A probable reason for the relative scarcity of job information among the older unemployed is the fact that they do not seek jobs as actively as the younger unemployed, which is also known by their social relations, who do not spread information about available jobs. Another probable reason could be that a great number of the older unemployed people's friends may be outside the work force too, for instance due to unemployment or retirement, and are thus not in possession of such information either. This was also acknowledged in the study by Savolainen (2007), where the older respondents considered the lack of useful social networks also as problematic. Earlier in this study it was noticed that the older unemployed often had more social connections (friends, acquaintances, close relatives), so the difference here does not seem to result from the lack of connections, but either from the fact that their connections do not have useful information in this matter or it simply is not needed.

4.1.5.2. Asking social relations about available jobs

Respondents' own activity in asking other people about available jobs was enquired in a question surveying the methods the unemployed had used in job seeking (Appendix 1, question 18). The alternatives in the question were in the form of statements and respondents were to tick the boxes of the

suitable statements. The results show that unemployed people do not very actively ask other people about available jobs as only 33% (200 of 600 respondents) reported they had done so.

There were no significant differences between men and women in having asked people about available jobs, but there were between the two age groups (p=0,001), which was quite predictable after finding out that the younger unemployed more often receive information about jobs from their social relations. The results show, as expected, that it is also more usual for the younger unemployed to ask for information about available jobs from their social relations as 44% (70 of 159 respondents) had done so compared to 30% (109 of 367 respondents) of the older unemployed.

As it is now a question of actively asking for information instead of receiving, it seems even more likely that one explanation for the result simply is that many of the older unemployed are no longer seeking a job.

4.1.5.3. Finding a job with the help of social relations

> *"All the jobs I have had so far I have gotten by myself. The labour force bureau has had only rubbish jobs so far. You have not gotten any sensible jobs from there at all since 1961."* (Man, 60)

In order to find out how important social relations have been for the unemployed in finding a job in the past, respondents were asked how often they consider they had gotten a job with the help of their social relations (Appendix 1, question 19).

Table 4.26
Finding a job with the help of social relations (n=731)

	Frequency	Percent
Always	35	5
More than once	161	22
Once	145	20
Never	390	53
Total	731	100

For the majority of the respondents social relations had not been helpful in finding a job as 53% reported that they had never found a job with the help of their social relations. For nearly half of the respondents social relations had, however, been useful to a varying degree.

There were no significant differences between men and women, but the answers differed significantly between the two age groups (n=639, chi-square=20,992, df=3, p=0,000). It appears that the role of social relations in finding a job has also been clearly more significant for the younger unemployed than for the older unemployed in the past. Of the older unemployed more than half (59%) had never found a job with the help of social relations compared to 41% of the younger ones. More than once a job had been acquired this way by 19% of the older and 30% of the younger unemployed and always by 4% and 9% respectively.

One reason could be that it is more natural for younger generations to use their social relations when seeking work than it is for the older generations. Another could be that in time using social relations has in general become more usual in job hunting - experiences of the younger generations are on average fresher. In other words, either people have changed or times have changed. Though the tendency could also be a result of younger generations having more jobs in the past and therefore also cases where social relations could have played a part. This could be explained by temporary jobs becoming more prevalent for the newcomers in working life.

4.1.6. Differences in social capital between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed

Previous studies have suggested that there are differences between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking Finns concerning their social capital, i.e. that Swedish-speakers have more of it. According to the research of Hyyppä and Mäki (2001, 2003), Swedish-speakers have more trust and civic engagement than their Finnish counterparts and tighter and richer civic and social networks. Their ethnic culture is also characterised by religious involvement, such as attending church and different kinds of religious activities. The results of research by Nyqvist et al. (2008) also claim that Swedish-speaking Finns have more social participation, social contacts, trust and sense of security than Finnish-speaking Finns.

In the current research significant differences between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking unemployed were found concerning:

- number of friends
- number of acquaintances
- number of close trusted friends
- civic engagement
- feeling of connectedness with residential environment
- feeling of connectedness with Finnish society in general
- obtaining information from social relations,
- obtaining a job with the help of social relations

4.1.6.1. Social relations and trust

There were significant differences concerning both bonding social capital (n=708, chi-square=22,204, df=4, p=0,000) and bridging social capital (n=697, chi-square=18,802, df=4, p=0,001). It appears that it is more common for the Swedish-speaking unemployed to have many friends. Of the Swedish-speakers nearly half (49%) had six or more friends, while among Finnish-speakers the proportion was one third. Respectively, for Finnish-speakers it was more common to have only 1-2 friends (23% vs. 14%) or none at all (6% vs. 4%). It was clearly more common for the Swedish-speaking unemployed to have numerous acquaintances as well. The majority (62%) reported having more than ten compared to 47% of Finnish-speakers. Respectively, the proportions among Finnish-speakers were clearly larger in the categories between 0-5 acquaintances: of Finnish-speakers 5% had none and 26% one to five acquaintances, while the proportions among Swedish-speakers were 2% and 17%.

Significant differences could be found also concerning the number of close trustworthy friends (n=722, chi-square=13,518, df=4, p=0,009). The same trend, which was seen in the number of friends and acquaintances, can also be seen here, though not as strongly. The proportion of Finnish-speakers is larger in having one to three close trusted friends (63% vs. 52%), whereas the proportion of Swedish-speakers is larger in having more than five of them (23% vs. 14%). This could be explained by cultural differences, i.e. Swedish-speaking Finns might find it easier to consider their friends as close and feel they can trust them.

4.1.6.2. Civic engagement

There were significant differences in participating in organizational activities during the last six months concerning four organizations or associations: church or other religious organizations (n=687, chi-square= 6,759, df=2, p=0,034), political organizations (n=681, chi-square=7,070, df=2, p=0,029), non-profit-making organizations (n=682, chi-square=27,858, df=2, p=0,000) and the unemployed associations (n=674, chi-square=7,666, df=2, p=0,022).

Table 4.27
Organizational activity, according to mother tongue

		More than 5 times	1-5 times	Not at all	Total
Non-profit-making organization	Finnish	5 1%	11 3%	331 95%	347 100%
	Swedish	24 7%	33 10%	278 83%	335 100%
Church or other religious organization	Finnish	20 6%	26 7%	304 87%	350 100%
	Swedish	21 6%	45 13%	271 80%	337 100%
Political organization	Finnish	2 1%	12 3%	334 96%	348 100%
	Swedish	3 1%	2 1%	328 99%	333 100%
Unemployed association	Finnish	8 2%	8 2%	331 95%	347 100%
	Swedish	0 0%	7 2%	320 98%	327 100%

Activities of non-profit-making organizations were clearly more popular among the Swedish-speakers. Of these as many as 17% had participated in them during the last six months compared to only 5% of the Finnish-speakers. Swedish-speakers also seem to be more active in taking part in activities of church or other religious organizations, although the proportions in the category “more than 5 times” were equal. The proportions of both language groups in having participated in activities of political organizations and unemployed associations are extremely small in general and thus also differences in the activity between the two are meagre. Finnish-speakers have, however, been more engaged in the activities of political organizations as practically none of the Swedish-speakers has taken part in such activities. The same applies to the activities of the unemployed association.

4.1.6.3. The feeling of connectedness with community and society

There were significant differences between the language groups concerning the feeling of connectedness with the residence community (n=701, chi-square= 8,465, df=3, p=0,037), hometown/home municipality (n= 698, chi-square=7,931, df=3, p=0,047) and Finnish society in general (n=696, chi-square=45,528, df=3, p=0,000).

It appears that the Finnish-speaking unemployed on average feel slightly more closely connected with their residence community than the Swedish-speaking unemployed. The proportion among Finnish-speakers was larger in feeling very closely (8% vs. 5%) and fairly closely connected (40% vs. 35%), whereas Swedish-speakers more often felt the connectedness as fairly weak (45% vs. 40%) or non-existent (16% vs.12%). The same pattern can be seen also in the connectedness with hometown/home municipality. The proportion of Finnish-speakers is greater in the categories "very close" (11% vs. 8%) and "fairly close" (42% vs. 34%), whereas that of Swedish-speakers is greater in the categories "fairly weak" (40% vs. 35%) and "not at all" (18% vs. 12%).

The feeling of connectedness among the Swedish-speakers concerning residence community and hometown/home municipality may be affected by the number of Swedish-speaking population in those areas. Even though the Swedish-speaking population in Finland is mainly concentrated on the coastal areas they are often in a minority in their living areas and may feel less connectedness to their residential environment where the proportion of Swedish-speakers is sparser.

The results show that the Finnish-speaking unemployed also feel more closely connected with Finnish society in general than their Swedish-speaking counterparts. The difference between the two groups is considerable. Of Finnish-speakers, 15% felt very closely connected with Finnish society, while the proportion among Swedish-speakers was only 6%. Fairly close connectedness was also felt by 45% of the Finnish-speaking unemployed, while the respective proportion among the Swedish-speaking unemployed was 31%. Respectively, of Swedish-speakers as many as 29% felt no connectedness at all with Finnish society compared to only 13% of Finnish-speakers.

4.1.6.4. The meaning of social capital in finding a job

In obtaining information about available jobs from social relations there were significant differences between the two language groups only where former fellow workers were concerned (p=0,040). It appears that more Finnish-speakers obtain information from their former fellow workers than Swedish-speakers, as their proportion was 16% (57 of 368 respondents) compared to 10% (35 of 340 respondents) of Swedish-speakers.

There were significant differences also concerning finding a job with the help of social relations.

Table 4.28
Finding a job with the help of social relations, according to mother tongue
n= 725, chi-square=15,177, df=3, p=0,002

	Finnish-speakers	Swedish-speakers
Always	10 3%	25 7%
More than once	81 21%	79 23%
Once	91 24%	53 15%
Never	197 52%	189 55%
Total	379 100%	346 100%

The greatest differences are in the categories ”always” and ”once”, but there is no clear trend here. Perhaps the most interesting fact is that even though the Finnish-speakers in the current research more often reported obtaining information from their social relations, their success in finding a job with the help of social relations in the past does not seem to differ from that of Swedish-speakers. As there was, furthermore, no significant difference between the language groups in actively asking their social relations about jobs, the results suggest that it is more common for the Finnish-speaking unemployed to receive unsolicited information, but it does not, however, help them to obtain a job more often than Swedish-speakers.

4.2. Coping

In this research long-term unemployed people's coping is measured with 1) coping strategies 2) social support 3) financial situation and 4) health. Coping strategies are an instrument to study what kind of means people use to manage unemployment. Social support is based on the unemployed people's evaluations of the support they receive as well as how they seek it, whereas for measuring their financial situation respondents assess how they cope with unemployment economically. With health, the interest lies on the unemployed people's self-rated evaluations of their state of health and the possible changes to it.

4.2.1. Coping strategies

The coping strategies used in this research are based on the revised *Ways of Coping* questionnaire by Folkman and Lazarus (1985), which measures the different ways people use to cope with specific stressful situations and encounters, and consists originally of 66 strategies. Here 25 strategies were included in the questionnaire (Appendix 1, question 34). The criteria for the chosen strategies were to represent all three coping functions (problem-focused, emotion-focused and mixed-focused) and to provide a wide range of different kinds of coping strategies that could be used for coping with unemployment. Respondents were asked to evaluate their approach towards unemployment by indicating how much they had used each strategy on the list. The scale extended from "not at all" to "very much".

Table 4.29
Coping strategies

	Very much	Much	Some what	Not at all	Total
Refused to think about unemployment too much	54 8%	105 15%	330 48%	205 30%	694 100%
Tried to forget unemployment	54 8%	95 14%	264 38%	275 40%	688 100%
Tried to see positive features in unemployment	173 25%	225 32%	222 32%	84 12%	704 100%
Went along with fate; sometimes you just have bad luck	60 9%	91 13%	280 41%	246 36%	677 100%
Talked to someone to find out more about my situation	9 1%	51 7%	292 43%	335 49%	687 100%
Talked to someone who could do something concrete about my situation	10 2%	49 7%	243 36%	383 56%	685 100%
Asked a relative or friend I respected for advice	8 1%	39 6%	205 30%	424 63%	676 100%
Talked to someone about how I was feeling	35 5%	76 11%	307 45%	269 39%	687 100%
Let unemployment depress me	18 3%	46 7%	199 29%	430 62%	693 100%
Wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with	56 8%	111 16%	236 35%	277 41%	680 100%
Had fantasies or wishes about how things might turn out	65 10%	111 16%	247 36%	255 38%	678 100%
Tried to make myself feel better by eating	9 2%	24 4%	137 24%	414 71%	584 100%
Tried to make myself feel better by drinking	23 4%	18 3%	156 25%	419 68%	616 100%
Tried to make myself feel better by smoking	19 3%	40 7%	118 19%	433 71%	610 100%
Tried to make myself feel better by using medication	10 2%	15 3%	67 11%	500 85%	592 100%
Tried to make myself feel better by exercising	111 16%	175 26%	267 40%	122 18%	675 100%
Avoided being with people in general	20 3%	21 3%	146 21%	499 73%	686 100%
Kept others from knowing how bad things were	40 6%	76 11%	197 29%	367 54%	680 100%

	Very much	Much	Some what	Not at all	Total
Hoped a miracle would happen	69 10%	56 8%	174 26%	381 56%	680 100%
Lived one day at a time	87 13%	136 20%	244 36%	218 32%	685 100%
Came up with different solutions to my situation	38 6%	112 17%	312 47%	204 31%	666 100%
I made a plan of action and followed it	27 4%	84 12%	245 36%	323 48%	679 100%
Drew on my past experiences of unemployment	22 3%	64 10%	201 30%	374 57%	661 100%
Changed or grew as a person in a good way	71 10%	138 20%	289 42%	185 27%	683 100%
Grew stronger along with unemployment	63 9%	133 19%	270 39%	224 33%	690 100%

Unemployed people's coping has been studied by Kuisma (1994), Heino (2000) and Kataja-aho (2002). The proportion of the long-term unemployed in the studies varies. In Heino's study (2000, 62) it was 57%, in Kataja-aho's study (2002, 33) 41% and in Kuisma's study (1994, 30) only 7%. It should be also noted that these studies do not necessarily by themselves represent the Finnish unemployed in general as all of them have studied unemployment in specific areas of Finland: Kuisma in Pudasjärvi, Ii and Kuivaniemi municipalities, Kataja-aho in the town of Tampere and Heino, as previously mentioned, in South Ostrobothnia.

The coping strategy that had been used clearly most by the unemployed in the current study was "trying to see the positive features in unemployment", which had been used by 88%. In Kuisma's research (1994, 44, 67, Appendix 1/4), where coping had also been measured with an instrument based on Folkman and Lazarus' questionnaire, it was one of the most used strategies at 91%. The same applies to the studies of Kataja-aho (2002, 72) and Heino (2000, 96), where it had been used by almost all of the respondents (98% and 97% respectively).

> *"After a long work spell voluntarily into the 'tube'. Unemployment has not caused a problem, but given a sense of freedom."* (Man, 58)

> *"I have not experienced unemployment as oppressing or depressing, as I have not suffered economically. On the contrary, I have found new amazing things, a lot to do, many lovely social relations and I have even recovered my health when I have not been in that 'rat race' anymore. ...*

> *But surely to find the positive in unemployment requires a strong psyche (and self-respect) and an attitude change."* (Woman, 57)

> *"Perhaps I don't belong to the most usual group of unemployed because I experience my life situation so positively right now. ... One piece of advice to the unemployed could be to shift the focus from unemployment as a problem to unemployment as a possibility to find yourself, your possibilities and potential instead of dreading of your weaknesses and fears."* (Man, 58)

> *"I experience my unemployment as one long holiday, brilliant and full of activities I had no energy for at the time I was working. Now I can sleep long in the mornings, take care of the household, make nutritious food, exercise, socialize with my old mother etc. Not forgetting the grandchildren. ... I haven't had a dull day since I stopped working almost 2 years ago."* (Woman, 62)

The second most used coping strategy was "trying to make oneself feel better by exercising", which had been used by 82% of the unemployed. Exercising was a much used strategy also in Kuisma's study (1994, 47). Of her respondents 88% had resorted to it, which is somewhat more than in the current study. The difference was most evident in having used this strategy very much, where the proportion of Kuisma's respondents was 26% compared to the 16% of the current study. Exercising was a popular method also for the unemployed in the studies of Kataja-aho (2002, 55) and Heino (2000, 96). Of Kataja-aho's respondents it had been used by nearly 90% and of Heino's by 84%.

The third most used coping strategy in the current research was "having changed or grown as a person in a good way", which had been used by 73% of the unemployed. In Kuisma's study (1994, 67), this was the most used strategy. Heino and Kataja-aho did not have this alternative in their questionnaires.

> "*I am a positive person by nature and will certainly still return to working life. My unemployment has brought confidence in my life, as I have time to think how I cope with life."* (Woman, 57)

> *"Adapting to unemployment depends on your attitude. Personally during my whole unemployment time I have never had a day when I didn't have something to do. In fact, I have been busier than when I was working. ... I have myself learned that unemployment is time for mental development. At work all you did was work and there was no time for thinking about yourself, now as an unemployed it has been possible to develop yourself mentally and expand your mind, learn new things and get wiser."*
> (Man, 38)

Alongside "trying to find positive features in the situation" the most used coping strategies in the studies of both Kataja-aho (2002, 82) and Heino (2000, 94-95) were "trying to solve the problem fast" and "talking about the problem". In the questionnaire of the current study there were no corresponding alternatives.

There were significant differences between men and women in the use of 6 coping strategies.

Table 4.30
Coping strategies, according to gender

		Very much	Much	Some what	Not at all	Total
Tried to see positive features in unemployment	Men	64 18%	105 30%	118 34%	61 18%	348 100%
	Women	109 31%	119 34%	103 29%	23 7%	354 100%
Changed or grew as a person in a good way	Men	23 7%	61 18%	157 46%	98 29%	339 100%
	Women	48 14%	76 22%	131 38%	87 25%	342 100%
Grew stronger along with unemployment	Men	19 6%	63 18%	146 42%	118 34%	346 100%
	Women	44 13%	69 20%	123 36%	106 31%	342 100%
Wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with	Men	20 6%	64 19%	122 36%	135 40%	341 100%
	Women	36 11%	46 14%	113 34%	142 42%	337 100%
Tried to make myself feel better by drinking	Men	20 6%	14 4%	99 31%	186 58%	319 100%
	Women	3 1%	4 1%	56 19%	233 79%	296 100%
Talked to someone about how I was feeling	Men	9 3%	31 9%	145 42%	157 46%	342 100%
	Women	26 8%	45 13%	161 47%	111 32%	343 100%

Coping strategies that women had used significantly more than men were "trying to see positive features in unemployment"(n=702, chi-square=30,74, df=3, p=0,000), "talking to someone about their feelings" (n=685, chi-square=19,567, df=3, p=0,000), "having changed or grown in a good way" (n=681, chi-square=13,433, df=3, p=0,004) and "having grown stronger

along with unemployment" (n=688, chi-square=12,78, df=3, p=0,005). The methods men had used more were "trying to make yourself feel better by drinking" (n=615, chi-square=34,51, df=3, p=0,000) and "wishing the situation would go away" (n=678, chi-square=8,015, df=3, p=0,046).

There seems to be a clear pattern here. Women's approach to unemployment appears to be much more positive. They are more often trying to see positive things in unemployment and confront the changes or effects it has brought with an optimistic attitude – as a chance of gaining something instead of losing. They also seem to find it easier to talk about their feelings with someone than men. Men's approach, in contrast, seems to be more often negative and evasive.

Some support and also some contradiction is provided by the studies of Kataja-aho, Heino and Kuisma. In Kataja-aho's study (2002, 82-84), women used more positive strategies, such as trying to find positive features in unemployment and positive reappraisal. It was also easier for them to express their feelings. However, in her study women also more often sunk into despair, of which there was no indication in the current study. In Heino's study (2000, 121), positive thinking was more typical for men, which is a completely opposite result to the current study, where this was clearly more typical for women. Apart from this the strategies more common for men in her study had similar characteristics to those of the current study: being alone, bearing anxiety, and putting problems out of your mind. In Heino's study men also used more drinking, smoking and medicines as a remedy. Drinking was used more by men also in Kataja-aho's study (2002, 82), whereas Kuisma (1994, 68) concluded that men used palliative coping strategies overall more than women. However, both Kataja-aho and Heino found that women used eating more, which was not perceived in the current study.

Answers also varied largely between the two age groups. There were significant differences concerning 17 strategies.

Table 4.31 a)
Coping strategies, according to age

	n	chi-square	df	p
Went along with fate	598	19,617	3	0,000
Talked to someone to find out more about my situation	604	20,941	3	0,000
Talked to someone who could do something concrete about my situation	602	22,387	3	0,000
Asked a relative or friend I respected for advice	595	24,617	3	0,000
Talked to someone about how I was feeling	604	23,402	3	0,000
Let unemployment depress me	607	35,773	3	0,000
Wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with	600	29,588	3	0,000
Had fantasies or wishes about how things might turn out	598	41,368	3	0,000
Tried to make myself feel better by drinking	543	25,729	3	0,000
Tried to make myself feel better by smoking	538	28,463	3	0,000
Tried to make myself feel better by using medication	526	14,501	3	0,002
Tried to make myself feel better by exercising	593	21,757	3	0,000
Avoided being with people in general	603	38,633	3	0,000
Kept others from knowing how bad things were	600	25,593	3	0,000
Hoped a miracle would happen	600	38,368	3	0,000
Lived one day at a time	604	43,402	3	0,000
Drew on my past experiences of unemployment	581	49,937	3	0,000

The main difference was that of these 17 strategies the younger unemployed used 16 strategies more. The only one that the older unemployed used more was exercising. The strategies that were more typical for the younger unemployed were often negatively oriented. They included evasive and non-constructive methods such as avoiding people, wishing for things to happen, going along with fate, as well as palliative strategies drinking, smoking and using medication. The younger unemployed also used more support seeking methods.

Table 4.31 b)
Coping strategies, according to age

	Age	Very much	Much	Some what	Not at all	Total
Went along with fate	-54	18 11%	33 20%	77 46%	40 24%	168 100%
	55-	34 8%	50 12%	164 38%	182 42%	430 100%
Talked to someone to find out more about my situation	-54	3 2%	23 14%	78 47%	63 38%	167 100%
	55-	4 1%	22 5%	175 40%	236 54%	437 100%
Talked to someone who could do something concrete about my situation	-54	3 2%	21 13%	73 44%	71 42%	168 100%
	55-	5 1%	22 5%	139 32%	268 62%	434 100%
Asked a relative or friend I respected for advice	-54	3 2%	21 13%	59 35%	84 50%	167 100%
	55-	4 1%	15 4%	121 28%	288 67%	428 100%
Talked to someone about how I was feeling	-54	15 9%	31 19%	68 41%	54 32%	168 100%
	55-	15 3%	35 8%	203 47%	183 42%	436 100%
Let unemployment depress me	-54	9 5%	17 10%	69 41%	73 44%	168 100%
	55-	9 2%	26 6%	99 23%	305 70%	439 100%
Wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with	-54	17 10%	39 23%	72 43%	41 24%	169 100%
	55-	30 7%	55 13%	140 33%	206 48%	431 100%
Had fantasies or wishes about how things might turn out	-54	27 16%	47 28%	58 34%	38 22%	170 100%
	55-	30 7%	53 12%	161 38%	184 43%	428 100%
Tried to make myself feel better by drinking	-54	12 8%	12 8%	39 25%	94 60%	157 100%
	55-	7 2%	6 2%	95 25%	278 72%	386 100%

	Age	Very much	Much	Some what	Not at all	Total
Tried to make myself feel better by smoking	-54	8 5%	21 13%	40 26%	88 56%	157 100%
	55-	9 2%	17 5%	59 16%	296 78%	381 100%
Tried to make myself feel better by using medication	-54	5 3%	9 6%	20 13%	116 77%	150 100%
	55-	5 1%	4 1%	41 11%	326 87%	376 100%
Tried to make myself feel better by exercising	-54	17 10%	42 26%	57 35%	47 29%	163 100%
	55-	87 20%	111 26%	172 40%	60 14%	430 100%
Avoided being with people in general	-54	11 7%	8 5%	56 34%	92 55%	167 100%
	55-	8 2%	13 3%	68 16%	347 80%	436 100%
Kept others from knowing how bad things were	-54	10 6%	23 14%	71 42%	64 38%	168 100%
	55-	26 6%	44 10%	104 24%	258 60%	432 100%
Hoped a miracle would happen	-54	29 17%	23 14%	53 32%	62 37%	167 100%
	55-	29 7%	29 7%	103 24%	272 63%	433 100%
Lived one day at a time	-54	34 20%	51 30%	60 35%	25 15%	170 100%
	55-	47 11%	68 16%	148 34%	171 39%	434 100%
Drew on my past experiences of unemployment	-54	10 6%	25 16%	72 45%	52 33%	159 100%
	55-	9 2%	34 8%	105 25%	274 65%	422 100%

It appears that the older long-term unemployed approach unemployment in a more positive way. This is probably enhanced by the fact that they have usually a long work career behind them and are now more looking forward to retiring than finding another job. The younger, in contrast, are at the peak of the working life and should have a long working period still ahead of them. They may feel frustrated by the situation and the fact that they do not have control of their life. Avoiding people helps not having to explain your

situation and answering questions concerning your unemployment. It may also be a way of fleeing from being judged by others.

> *"After having worked for 43 years and having had a good career, I am perfectly happy with my being, despite not having a job."* (Woman, 61)

> *"I am 58 years and in the 'pension tube'. After 40 years in working life I consider that I have the right to wait for unemployment/old-age pension without being accused of being lazy and sponging off others, or being forced to get a job I can't do or don't want to have!"* (Man, -)

> *"People often have the attitude that all unemployed are work shy, lazy, sponge off society, it annoys. It is like a stamp on the forehead. Well, luckily you yourself realize your situation and don't let other people's attitudes discourage you, otherwise you could not manage."* (Woman, 28)

> *"Can't socialize with others. People only ask about my job, which I don't have or will have!"* (Woman, 58)

4.2.1.1. Palliative coping strategies

Palliative methods (eating, drinking, smoking or using medication) were among the least used of the listed coping strategies (Table 4.29). Taking medication was the strategy that had been used least of all (16%). Smoking and eating had both been used by 29% of the respondents, whereas drinking had been resorted to by 32%.

Palliative coping strategies were little used strategies also in Kuisma's study (1994, 45-46, Appendix 1/5). As in the current study, taking medication had been used least of all also by her respondents. The proportion was, however, remarkably smaller (6%). This difference could be explained by the fact that Kuisma's study was made in 1994 and the use of psycho pharmaceuticals has since then increased remarkably. Approximately 700 000 Finns currently use them at least for short periods on a yearly basis (Huttunen, 2010), a number that comprises about 13% of Finnish population of all ages.

In Kuisma's study (1994, 45-46, Appendix 1/5), eating was used by 28%, drinking by 30% and smoking by 34%, which are about the same proportions as in the current study, though the use of smoking as a coping method might have slightly decreased (29% in the current study).

Of Heino's respondents, one third had been smoking more than usual and 36% resorted to drinking alcohol, proportions slightly higher but still quite close to the ones in the current study and Kuisma. Sedative medicines had

been used by 11% which falls comfortably between the current study and Kuisma, furthermore indicating that the use of medication would have increased in time. But when Heino's respondents were asked "when you face problems in your life, how often do you use following means to solve or relieve the situation?", 66% had reported using "I eat every little while" (19% often or nearly always and 47% sometimes) at least sometimes. (Heino 2000, 98, 100-101, 146). This is completely different to the results of Kuisma and current study. Questions are so much alike that it does not seem possible that the respondents would have somehow understood them totally differently, but what the explanation then is, remains open.

In Kataja-aho's research (2002, 64-66) 67% of the respondents had tried to make themselves feel better by eating, so Heino's result was not just an Ostrobothnian special characteristic. Kataja-aho also found out that the long-term unemployed used this method more often, which could have provided a possible explanation if the numbers were the other way around, but now it just makes the difference more puzzling. Of her long-term unemployed respondents 24% had used eating "often" or "nearly always", whereas in the current study only 6% had done so "much" or "very much".

Intoxicating substances had been used as a coping method by 48% of Kataja-aho's respondents (2002, 64-66), clearly more than in the other studies. Her results also indicated that the long-term unemployed had used it significantly more often as 65% reported having done so (49% sometimes and 16% often or nearly always), making the difference to the results of the current study again even clearer. In this case the explanation could be the fact that Kataja-aho's study was made in a relatively large city where bars and restaurants are always nearby.

4.2.2. Coping functions

Based on coping functions, Folkman and Lazarus (1985) divided coping strategies into three groups: 1) problem-focused 2) emotion-focused and 3) mixed problem- and emotion-focused coping strategies. Problem-focused coping represents strategies that are used in order to try to do something about the problem or to manage it. They are more active kinds of strategies. Emotion-focused coping strategies are used when the person feels that there is nothing that can be done about the problem. These strategies concentrate more on adjusting the emotional response to the problem. (Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 150). Mixed problem- and emotion-focused coping consists of strategies that are used for seeking social support (Folkman and Lazarus 1985) and is from now on in this study referred to as mixed-focused coping. In the current study the three groups consisted of strategies listed below.

Problem-focused strategies:
- Came up with different solutions to my situation
- I made a plan of action and followed it
- Drew on my past experiences of unemployment.

Emotion-focused strategies:
- Tried to forget unemployment
- Tried to see positive features in unemployment
- Went along with fate; sometimes you just have bad luck
- Wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with
- Had fantasies or wishes about how things might turn out
- Tried to make myself feel better by eating
- Tried to make myself feel better by drinking
- Tried to make myself feel better by smoking
- Tried to make myself feel better by using medication
- Tried to make myself feel better by exercising
- Avoided being with people in general
- Kept others from knowing how bad things were
- Hoped a miracle would happen and
- Changed or grew as a person in a good way

Mixed-focused strategies:
- Talked to someone to find out more about my situation
- Talked to someone who could do something concrete about my situation
- Asked a relative or friend I respected for advice
- Talked to someone about how I was feeling.

Regarding each coping strategy group, the respondents were classified into three categories based on how much they used the strategies of that group: low, medium and high copers. Low copers used these strategies the least, high copers the most. Approximately 15-20% of the respondents were classified as low copers and the same proportion as high copers. The rest of the respondents were defined as medium copers. Getting the proportions between 15-20% in every strategy group was not possible. The classification will be used later in this study when seeking connections between information behaviour and coping.

As was previously noted, in the current study the younger unemployed had used coping strategies clearly more than the older age group. When strategies are divided into the three groups based on coping function, it can be seen that the younger unemployed had also used significantly more often the strategies of each of these strategy groups. No significant differences were found between men and women.

Concerning problem-focused coping strategies (n=565, chi-square=13,276, df=2, p=0,001) almost one fourth of the younger long-term unemployed (23%) were high copers and only 8% low copers, whereas the proportions among the older long-term unemployed were 19% and 22% respectively. In emotion-focused coping strategies (n=441, chi-square=18,985, df=2, p=0,000) the proportion of high copers among the younger unemployed was 26% and low copers 7%, compared to 11% and 15% of the older unemployed. Mixed-focused coping strategies (n=588, chi-square=25,904, df=2, p=0,000) had been used much by 27% of the younger unemployed (high copers) and more seldom by 17% (low copers). Among the older unemployed 11% were high copers and 27% low copers.

4.2.3. Positive features in unemployment

Trying to see positive features in unemployment was clearly the most used coping strategy of the unemployed in the current study and, as was shown, it had been used considerably by the unemployed in other studies as well (e.g. Kuisma 1994, 44, 67; Heino 2000, 96; Kataja-aho 2002, 72). In the current research respondents were asked also directly in a separate question if they considered there had been positive features in unemployment (Appendix 1, question 22). Respondents were given different alternatives of positive features, from which they could choose as many as they liked. One of the alternatives was also ‘no positive features’.

Table 4.32
Positive features in unemployment (n=728)

	Frequency	Percent
More time for friends and family	324	45
More time for hobbies	301	41
More time to do things you never had time to do before	289	40
More time to ponder the life situation and future	224	31
More time for studying new things	114	16
A chance to change direction professionally	60	8
Something else	46	6
No positive features	146	20

Meaning of time is one of the central aspects in several unemployment theories. Depending on the theory, loss of time structure provided by employment is considered as a negative consequence of unemployment or a positive possibility (e.g. Jahoda 1982, 22-23; Fryer & Payne 1984). For most of the respondents of the current study increased leisure time had brought

positive features in unemployment. While 20% of the respondents, however, saw no positive features in unemployment, over twice more often it was seen as a chance to spend time with either friends and family or on hobbies. Having a chance to change direction professionally had been chosen by only 8%, which probably also reflects the age structure of the sample.

> *"I worked 30 years for the same employer after which I 'ended up' (or was admitted) in the unemployment tube and next spring I'll go to the unemployment pension! I have enjoyed the tube time, because I have had time for hobbies, which I had to drop during the work/home-rush."* (Woman, 59)

> *"Before, I was always in a hurry. I was tired and stressed, had no time to meet anyone because I worked three-shifts, couldn't sleep. I was thus in a rat race. After getting out of it my world and my values have changed. I am very happy with my being."* (Woman, 54)

> *"For 10 years I worked 13-19. No fellow workers. As an unemployed I have been able to participate in different evening activities and meet acquaintances."* (Woman, 58)

The answers differed significantly between men and women concerning two positive features and having no positive features at all.

Table 4.33
Positive features in unemployment, according to gender (n=726)

	Men	Women	chi-square	df	p
More time for friends and family	132 36%	191 53%	20,005	1	0,000
More time to do things you never had time to do before	124 34%	165 46%	10,042	1	0,002
No positive features	91 25%	54 15%	11,544	1	0,001

Unemployed women experienced more often that unemployment brought more time for friends and family and to do things one never had had time to do before. For men it was clearly more common to find no positive features at all. Again, on average women seem to have a more positive approach to long-term unemployment.

There were also differences between the two age groups concerning four positive features of unemployment.

Table 4.34
Positive features in unemployment, according to age (n=637)

	-54	55-	chi-square	df	p
More time for studying new things	37 22%	63 14%	6,016	1	0,014
More time to ponder the life situation and future	71 41%	125 27%	12,218	1	0,000
A chance to change direction professionally	33 19%	19 4%	38,187	1	0,000
More time to do things you never had time to do before	50 29%	206 44%	12,118	1	0,000

More of the younger unemployed experienced their unemployment as a chance to change direction professionally, ponder their life situation and future, and study new things. The older unemployed, by contrast, more often found time to do things they had never had time to do before as a positive feature.

The alternatives that were chosen more often by the younger unemployed seem to reflect the fact that they are still in the middle of their working life and want to accomplish more, or feel that they need to do so. Respectively, the older unemployed more often may feel that they have already done their share and now it is time for other things. For the older unemployed learning a new profession naturally feels less sensible or attractive, especially if they are on the verge of retiring.

> *”I have enjoyed “the freedom” to do the things I want and which I now have time for. I consider that about 40 years’ work history gives you already some kind of cause for that.”* (Woman, 60)

> *”I have done different kinds of jobs for about 30 years. I thought that it should be enough for one person!”* (Woman, 58)

> *”I am soon 60 years old. I was 30 years in the same workplace, became unemployed during the 1994 recession. After that two short jobs. No education and having been this long time away from working life, I don’t even miss work. I would like to retire, but it is not possible yet.”* (Woman, 59)

"About unemployment I would like to say that much that I think young people should get work, they have a life ahead of them and work and livelihood is needed for a happy life, they have a long work career ahead of them, which I have already behind me, 40 years all in all. Young people must be given a chance. Us older people have to understand that! I am happy if my job goes to someone young. I feel I have already given everything to society with my work contribution." (Woman, 58)

4.2.4. Social support

Perceived support, i.e. respondents' own evaluations of the support they have received, was measured with a question, where respondents were asked from whom they have received support in the unemployment situation (Appendix 1, question 23). Respondents were given alternatives of different people and were asked to indicate the ones they had received support from. The type of support (emotional, instrumental or informational) was not defined.

4.2.4.1. Received support

Table 4.35 indicates that most commonly support is received from spouse or partner. If the concept were to be extended to cover also the boyfriend/girlfriend, the proportion would already be more than half. Next most often support is received from friends. It seems that somewhat naturally most of the support comes from the strong ties (spouse/partner, boyfriend/girlfriend/ friends, parents, children, siblings). Of weak ties the source that had been most often perceived as giving support was acquaintances and one tenth of the respondents had received support also from former fellow workers. Employment agency officials were seen as a source of support by 9%.

Table 4.35
Received support (n=707)

	Frequency	Percent
Spouse/partner	332	47
Friends	219	31
Children	139	20
Parents	95	13
Acquaintances	93	13
Siblings	78	11
Former fellow workers	73	10
Employment agency officials	67	9
Other unemployed	56	8
Boyfriend/girlfriend	32	5
Someone else	13	2
No one	146	21
Total	707	100

The results of Manninen's research (1993, 106-107) were similar in that they indicated that support had been mainly received (and sought) from spouse and close friends. Of his respondents 37% considered that they had received a great deal of support from their spouse or partner, and 34% from their close friends. Strong ties were supportive also in Heino's study (2000, 90-91). Of her respondents 39% had received help and support very much from their family, 33% fairly much, 21% somewhat and only 7% either fairly or very little. Compared to this, it is interesting that in the current study, however, 21% reported that they had not received any support at all from anyone. A similar difference could be also seen concerning friends where only 2% of Heino's respondents had received no support at all and 11% fairly seldom. This might be explained by the different answer alternatives. Whereas in Heino's question there were five levels of support to choose from, in the current study the support was reported by choosing the sources the respondent perceived receiving support from. Even then, the difference seems curious. Another possible reason is that in the current study relatively many respondents were older people, who often seemed to be already comfortably waiting for retirement. They are likely to be in a situation where they do not need support and their friends and families know it. The alternative "no one" was indeed chosen more often by the older unemployed, though the difference was not significant. Among the younger ones the proportion was 16%, which is already somewhat closer to Heino's results, though still not quite the same.

> *"... I left the company at once and I have never been there since. I was in a shock for about half a year. I have managed with my wife's support."* (Man, 58)

> *"I myself have a "low social competence" and don't need other people to a great degree. I seldom have to seek help from other people for something. But I help often and gladly if someone asks me to."* (Man, 60)

> *"I don't need any support."* (Woman, 59)

The results differed between men and women concerning spouse/partner, children, friends and the alternative "no one".

Table 4.36
Received support, according to gender (n=706)

	Men	Women	chi-square	df	p
Spouse/partner	143 41%	187 53%	10,100	1	0,001
Children	42 12%	97 27%	26,328	1	0,000
Friends	89 25%	130 37%	10,465	1	0,001
No one	92 26%	54 15%	13,018	1	0,000

It was more common for women to perceive that they received support from spouse/partner, friends and children. The difference is most significant in receiving support from children. Once again these results could be interpreted as an indication of women being more family oriented, which was raised when examining the connectedness with family and kin.

In Nyman's study (2002, 88-89), the middle-aged unemployed men considered slightly more often (57%) than the unemployed women (53%) that they received low levels of support from their spouse, a result somewhat parallel to the current study. Interestingly enough, men's feeling of low support seems to have been strongly related to their unemployment as the proportions were remarkably lower among employed (35%) or insecurely employed (36%). Among women the proportions varied only little, 52% among the insecurely employed and 47% among employed. This seems to indicate that when men become unemployed either the support they receive from their spouse diminishes or they start to feel that it does.

In the same study it was also more common for the middle-aged unemployed men to perceive that they received low support from friends and relatives as

59% of men did so compared to 42% of women. This did not, however, seem to be affected by unemployment.

Differences were significant also between the two age groups concerning spouse/partner, parents, children, boyfriend/girlfriend, friends and someone else.

Table 4.37
Received support, according to age (n=621)

	-54	55-	chi-square	df	p
Spouse/partner	53 32%	241 53%	21,596	1	0,000
Parents	58 35%	30 7%	80,352	1	0,000
Children	24 15%	105 23%	5,49	1	0,019
Boyfriend/girlfriend	19 11%	11 2%	21,563	1	0,000
Friends	71 43%	117 26%	16,763	1	0,000
Someone else	6 4%	5 1%	4,423	1	0,035

Many of the differences seem to be quite natural. Older people receive support from children, younger people from parents. Older people receive support from spouse, younger people from boyfriend/girlfriend. The difference concerning spouse/partner is, however, considerable and cannot be explained by the opposite proportions in boyfriend/girlfriend category. It might be the case that older couples more often have a long history together and thus a stronger sense of solidarity. For the younger unemployed, instead, the source they received support most often from was their friends, clearly more often than for the older unemployed.

4.2.4.2. Discussing unemployment

Respondents were also presented a similar question about who they had discussed their unemployment with. The results were quite similar to the question of receiving support, though quite understandably the proportions were overall larger. The differences were smallest concerning spouse/partner (53% discussed and 47% received support) and boyfriend/girlfriend where there was no difference at all. The greatest differences were with weaker ties; other unemployed (21% vs. 8%), former fellow workers (25% vs. 10%)

and acquaintances (31% vs. 13%). This seems to indicate that the closer the tie, the more often the unemployed perceived receiving support from the people they had discussed their unemployment with.

There were some differences between men and women and the two age groups. These were, however, practically the same as in receiving support. The main exception was that the older unemployed more often talked about their unemployment with their former fellow workers (15% compared to 9% of the younger unemployed), while there was no significant difference in receiving support from them. One alternative was also "I do not want to discuss my unemployment", which had been chosen by 11% of the respondents. This was significantly more common for the younger unemployed (15%) than for the older (9%).

4.2.5. The financial side of unemployment

Previous research on the financial situation of the unemployed has showed that for many unemployment means financial deprivation of varying degree. Half the unemployed in Manninen's study (1993, 105) had had fairly great or serious financial worries and almost two thirds of the respondents of Nyman (2002, 132) had suffered from financial strain. Of the unemployed in Heino's study (2000, 122) 4% felt their economic situation to be good and 34% reasonable, while 44% experienced it as difficult and 18% had continuous troubles. In Ervasti's study (2003, 124-125), 49% had experienced difficulties in taking care of their everyday expenses and approximately 38% had had to compromise their necessary needs. Of the unemployed respondents of Kataja-aho (2002, 63) 20% had experienced a financial breakdown within the last year.

In the current study managing financially was considered as one part of coping. The respondents were asked to describe their financial situation by choosing from the given alternatives the one that fitted their own (Appendix 1, question 25).

Table 4.38
Financial effects of unemployment (n=704)

	Frequency	Percent
I can live almost the same way as when working	134	19
I can manage but to a certain extent have to give up extra spending	208	30
I can manage but have to give up all extra spending	147	21
I have difficulties to make money stretch	113	16
I have real difficulties. There is simply not enough money	102	15
Total	704	100

The results of the current study are similar to those of the previous studies. For most of the respondents unemployment meant struggling with money to a varying degree. For 15% it meant real deprivation. These people did not have enough money on which to get by. An equal proportion (16%) had difficulties making ends meet. About half of the respondents could manage by stretching their budget to various extents, whereas one fifth could live almost the same way they had done when they were working.

The fact that almost half the respondents (48%) received earnings-related allowance, i.e. the higher form of unemployment benefit, can attenuate the results to some degree; 12% received basic unemployment allowance and 30% labour market subsidy, while 9% received income support and 1% sickness benefit.

> *”As long as I get earnings-related allowance, everything ok! After that it can be panic.”* (Woman, 54)

> *”Unemployment is not so terribly hard. The financial situation is of course worse than in a long permanent employment, but if you don’t set yourself too high living standards and don’t have dependants or debts, I guess you cope somehow. Especially, if you are used to living alone and are already approaching 56 years of age.”* (Man, 55)

> *”Unemployment is a good thing, if you have earlier when working acquired and saved yourself a home, car and saved for a rainy day. There is nothing more you need.”* (Woman, 60)

> *”I don’t have enough money for television licence, subscribing to a newspaper or for proper clothes. Everything goes to living, food and medical fees.”* (Woman, 53)

> *"Unemployment is sheer hell in every aspect. It causes mental problems, insecurity, financial problems a lot. There is not even adequate basic income so that you could live normally. Can't buy anything extra, can't have hobbies, can't go on a holiday, NOTHING. Can't even buy children ordinary outdoor clothing or anything else, you have to go short of everything. All money goes to food and ordinary living and doesn't even suffice."* (Woman, 46)

There were significant differences between men and women (n=702, chi-square=15,039, df=4, p=0,005) and the two age groups (n=614, chi-square=28,468, df=4, p=0,000). The results show that more unemployed men had financial difficulties. Of them 16% had real deprivation, i.e. simply not enough money, compared to 13% of women, and one fifth difficulties to make money stretch in comparison to the 12% of women. Respectively, 22% of women could live almost as they did as employed compared to 16% of men.

As far as age is concerned, the results support those of previous research, which have suggested that the younger unemployed experience more financial hardships than the older ones (e.g. Warr & Jackson 1984; Heino 2000, 103; Ervasti 2004). One fourth (24%) of the younger unemployed experienced real financial deprivation compared to 11% of the older unemployed, and one fifth (19%) had difficulties to make money stretch in comparison to the 14% of the older unemployed. Of the older unemployed 22% could live almost the same way as when they were working, while the proportion of the younger unemployed who could do so was 12%.

An explanation for this tendency probably is that a great deal of the older respondents were in the period of life, where house loans and study loans have already been paid and children have moved away; they most likely also have more savings that can be resorted to (e.g. Warr & Jackson 1984; Manninen 1993, 177; Vähätalo 1998, 121-122).

4.2.6. Health

In the current study unemployed people's health was assessed on the basis on their own evaluations of their state of health (Appendix 1, question 29a). They were also asked to appraise possible changes in their state of health in connection with unemployment, i.e. whether they felt that their state of health has changed compared to the time they were working (Appendix 1, question 29b).

Previous research has mainly indicated that unemployed people's health is poorer than employed people's and that unemployed people suffer from different kinds of health problems, which derive from unemployment and its consequences (e.g. Theodossiou 1998; Starrin & Jönsson 1998; Kortteinen & Tuomikoski 1998, 38,40; Heino 2000, 113-114; Alm 2001, 24; Heponiemi et al. 2008). Some researchers have, however, also questioned the connection between deteriorating health and unemployment and suggested that it might be the case that those becoming unemployed already have poorer health or that other factors, such as age or gender, could affect their health in addition to unemployment (e.g. Böckerman & Ilmakunnas 2007, Kortteinen & Tuomikoski 1998, 41-42, 175). There are also studies that have shown that unemployment has not caused changes in people's health but has even improved it (e.g. Manninen 1993, 106, 178; Poutanen 2000, 130-132).

4.2.6.1. Self-assessed state of health and changes in health in relation to unemployment

In the current study the long-term unemployed people's evaluations of their state of health fell within the better side as 74% of them had assessed it as good or fairly good. There were no significant differences between men and women or younger and older unemployed.

Table 4.39
Self-assessed state of health (n=727)

	Frequency	Percent
Good	189	26
Fairly good	352	48
Fairly bad	111	15
Bad	52	7
Cannot say	23	3
Total	727	100

The studies by Heino (2000) and Helakorpi et al. (2008) offer some chances for comparison. Whereas the current study examined long-term unemployed people, Heino studied unemployed in general and Helakorpi et al. all Finns. The study by Helakorpi et al. (2008, 43) showed that the unemployed assessed their health as considerably poorer than Finns in general. Heino (2000, 124), furthermore, concluded that the health of the unemployed deteriorates as their period of unemployment prolongs. Comparing the results of these studies is slightly complicated as each one has provided the respondents different set of alternatives. However, if the proportion of people who have assessed their health as good to some degree is compared

to that of those who have assessed it as bad, the continuum between the studies can be seen. The proportions of those who have assessed it as good range from the 90% of all Finns in the study by Helakorpi et al. (2008, 43) to 80% of the unemployed in the study by Heino (2000, 69) and furthermore to 77% of the long-term unemployed in the current study. Although 74% of the long-term unemployed in the current study considered their state of health as good, it seems that it still might be somewhat below that of Finnish people on average.

> *"My work history is 45 years, of which 30 years with the same employer, from there into the pension tube. Other unemployment periods short layoffs. I am very happy that I am now free. Work was extremely heavy and wearing, and my health wouldn't have lasted for much longer."* (Man, -)

> *"Feel physically quite well, mentally quite bad due to stress."* (Man, 51)

Half of the respondents felt that there had been changes in their health in connection with unemployment. The changes were somewhat more for the better than for worse. Of the respondents, 29% considered that their state of health was now better than when they were working, whereas 23% experienced that their state of health was now worse.

Table 4.40
Changes in health in relation to unemployment (n=718)

	Frequency	Percent
Better than when working	210	29
As good as when working	271	38
Worse than when working	167	23
Cannot say	70	10
Total	718	100

The results of the current study would thus not support the theory that unemployed people's health deteriorates during their unemployment. One explanation for improved health could be the release from a physically (or as well mentally) strenuous and wearing job. Another could be increased time that can be used for taking care of oneself better, for example, through exercising more.

It could also be reasoned that in order for the health of the unemployed to improve, it has to have been somewhat inferior already before the unemployment. This would thus offer support to the theory according to which the unemployed already had a weaker health before they became unemployed, which would furthermore mean that people with a weaker

health more easily end up unemployed as was suggested by Böckerman and Ilmakunnas (2007) and Kortteinen and Tuomikoski (1998, 41-42, 175).

> *"This is excellent time. Don't have to take blood pressure medicine anymore."* (Man, 58)

> *"It is infuriating that the long-term unemployed, who are in their sixties can't be shifted from the labour force bureau's registers to pension, which they have deserved. I have done heavy work since I was 15 years old, about 40 years. Still suffer from various ailments derived from burn-out."* (Man, 58)

> *"I am not sad that I am unemployed, after 40 years of physical work arms, neck, shoulders and feet are finished. But it's much better when I am at home and work at my own pace and have the energy to exercise."* (Woman, 59)

> *"I feel fine, much better than before."* (Woman, 61)

There were significant differences both between men and women (n=716, chi-square=14,567, df=3, p=0,002) and the two age groups (n=627, chi-square=11,218, df=3, p=0,011).

More of the unemployed women considered that their health had improved in connection with unemployment as 35% of women felt there had been changes for the better in their health compared to 23% of men. Respectively, 27% of men felt that their health was now worse than when they were working compared to 20% of women. This also reveals that the earlier finding that health rather improves than weakens along with unemployment only applied to women. Among men the change was slightly more often for the worse.

As to age, more of the older unemployed considered that there had been changes for the better in their health along with unemployment than the younger unemployed. One third of the older unemployed felt that their health was now better than when working compared to 22% of the younger unemployed. Respectively, more of the younger unemployed experienced that their state of health was now worse than it was when they were employed. Their proportion was 29% compared to 20% of the older unemployed. Here one could assume that the more abundant feelings of improved health by the older unemployed are due to the fact that they have had a longer work career behind them and have thus been more prone to work-related disadvantages concerning their health, which now have eased off due to their absence from work. Another explanation could be that the

use of palliative coping strategies, which was noted to be more common for the younger unemployed in the current study, could have impaired health.

Notable also is the fact that health more often improved than deteriorated exclusively among the older unemployed. Among the younger unemployed it declined.

4.2.6.2. Health and financial situation

Previous studies have suggested that financial situation has negative effects on unemployed people's health (e.g. Turner et al. 1991; Viinamäki et al. 1993; Alm 2001, 53; Ervasti 2003, 122, 131; McKee-Ryan 2005). Examination of the relation between health and financial situation of the long-term unemployed in the current study also indicated a connection between a difficult financial situation and a weaker self-assessed state of health.

Table 4.41
Health and financial situation
n=698, chi-square=177,113, df=16, p=0,000

	Financial situation				
Subjec-tive feeling of health	Can live almost the same way as when working	Can manage but to a certain extent have to give up extra spending	Can manage but have to give up all extra spending	Have diffi-culties to make money stretch	Have real difficulties. There is simply not enough money
Good	64 48%	66 32%	26 18%	19 17%	11 11%
Fairly good	58 43%	117 57%	76 52%	55 49%	30 30%
Fairly bad	7 5%	19 9%	32 22%	24 21%	22 22%
Bad	0 0%	3 2%	8 6%	9 8%	29 29%
Cannot say	5 4%	1 1%	4 3%	6 5%	7 7%
Total	134 100%	206 100%	146 100%	113 100%	99 100%

The results clearly show that those, who have more financial difficulties, consider their state of health as weaker than those with fewer financial

struggles. Of those, who were in the lowest financial category, 29% felt their health was bad, whereas in the highest financial category none did. Respectively, of those who were in the highest financial category 48% felt their health was good compared to only 11% of those in the lowest category.

Concerning good health there seems to be a clear borderline between the second and third highest financial categories ("Can manage but to a certain extent have to give up extra spending" and "Can manage but have to give up all extra spending"). Of the respondents of the second highest financial category 32% felt their health was good, whereas in the third highest financial category the proportion was only 18%. The same borderline is evident when examining those, who felt that their health was bad or fairly bad. Of those in the second highest financial category 11% felt their health was fairly bad or bad compared to 28% of those in the third highest financial category.

4.2.6.3. Stress and unemployment

Unemployment as a major change of life induces stress in people to a varying degree depending on their life situation. In the current research respondents were asked to evaluate how much, if at all, unemployment caused them stress (Appendix 1, question 26a).

Table 4.42
How much does unemployment cause stress? (n=693)

	Frequency	Percent
Unemployment does not cause stress	214	31
I am less stressed than when I was working	139	20
Somewhat	194	28
Much	90	13
Very much	56	8
Total	693	100

Approximately half of the unemployed experienced that unemployment caused them at least some stress and the other half that it did not cause stress at all or at least less compared to being in working life.

The results of Kuisma (1994, 29, 52) are highly different. Her respondents appear to be much more stressed than those of the current study. Of her respondents 82% were at least somewhat stressed by unemployment, whereas the proportion in the current study was only 49%. In Kuismas's study only 14% considered that unemployment does not cause stress and a

mere 4% reported that they are now less stressed than when working, both proportions greatly lower than in the current study. The reason for these differences is most likely in the age of the respondents in the studies. In the current study 73% of the respondents were over 54 years old, whereas in Kuisma's study only 12% were over 45 years. Many of the older unemployed are already on the verge of becoming pensioners and have more or less accepted that idea. They are thus not striving to find a job anymore and hence are not stressed about it either. The life situation of the older unemployed is probably also financially more stable after the demanding years with house loans and dependent children, and unemployment does not thus cause as much strain as it does in the case of the younger unemployed.

The results of Heino (2000, 93) parallel more closely those of the current study, although in her study respondents were asked how stressed they felt they were, and not how much unemployment caused them stress, as in the current study and Kuisma's study. Of Heino's respondents 45% felt at least somewhat stressed (32% somewhat stressed, 10% fairly much and 3% very much), which is quite close to the 49% in the current study, whereas 37% felt only a little stressed and 18% not stressed at all. The age distribution was also much closer to that of the current study than of Kuisma's study as of Heino's respondents 31% were 40-49 years old and 41% 50 years or over.

The results concerning stress differed significantly between men and women (n=691, chi-square=9,518, df=4, p=0,049). It appears that more men consider unemployment as stressful than women. Of men 55% felt that unemployment causes them stress at least somewhat compared to 44% of women. Respectively, more women (56%) experienced the fact that unemployment did not cause stress at all or at least less than working. The proportion among men was 45%. In Heino's study (2000, 93), the tendency was also towards men feeling slightly more stressed than women, even though there was no significant difference between them.

It might be that men feel that they should be able to provide for their family, i.e. that they are the main breadwinners in the household, and thus experience the expectations and hence the pressures of not having a job more deeply. For the same reason being provided for by spouse or partner can feel more stressful for them than for women.

The stressfulness of unemployment was experienced differently among the two age groups (n=605, chi-square=36,131, df=4, p=0,000). The younger unemployed feel more stressed by unemployment than the older unemployed. Of the younger unemployed as much as 68% felt that unemployment caused them stress at least somewhat, while the respective figure among the older unemployed was 41%. More of the older

unemployed felt that unemployment did not stress them at all or that they were less stressed than when working as their proportion was 59% compared to 32% of the younger ones.

It has been speculated previously in this study that older unemployed, of whom many are in the so-called unemployment pension tube and have a stable financial situation, do not experience unemployment to be as burdening as the younger unemployed. The results here indicate, at least partially, that there really are such differences between the two age groups.

Respondents were also asked what factors in unemployment or connected with it caused them stress (Appendix 1, question 26b). They were given different alternatives from which they could choose as many as they liked. Those, who in the previous question (26a) had answered that unemployment did not cause them stress, were asked to skip this question.

Table 4.43
Stressful factors of unemployment (n=496)

	Frequency	Percent
Financial situation	367	74
Uncertainty of future	217	44
Health matters	183	37
Feeling of inability to affect matters	142	29
Insecurity	124	25
Family's well-being	97	20
Other people's opinions	96	19
Other people's expectations	73	15
Something else	31	6

Financial situation was considered as stressful by most of those respondents, who had experienced unemployment as causing them stress, as 74% of them had chosen it from the list of alternatives. This is nearly half of all the respondents in the study. A factor that had been chosen second most often was uncertainty of future. Health issues were also considered as a matter of concern by more than one third of those who had answered this question. Relatively few seemed to worry about what other people think or expect of them.

Significant difference between men and women was found concerning only one stressful factor, “Other people’s opinions” (p=0,020). It seems that more women consider other people’s opinions to be stressful compared to men as

the proportion of women who had chosen this alternative was 24% (57 of 241 respondents) whereas that of men was 15% (39 of 254 respondents).

Although it was earlier found that men experienced unemployment as more stressful than women, it appears that there were no individual factors that would stress them more often. On the contrary, one factor stressed more women than men. The result is quite surprising though not contradictory to what was earlier noted. The fact that men and women had somewhat equal numbers of factors that caused them stress does not, of course, mean that men could not be stressed about them more, which they actually then seem to do.

More differences were found between the two age groups. As has been surmised earlier, financial situation (p=0,034) seems to strain the younger unemployed more than the older unemployed as 82% (116 of 142 respondents) experienced it as a stressful factor compared to 72% of the older unemployed (212 of 293 respondents). More of the younger unemployed also felt uncertainty of future (p=0,004), insecurity (p=0,040) and other people's expectations (p=0,000) as stressful. Of the younger unemployed 56% (79 of 142 respondents) considered uncertainty of future as stressful compared to 41% of the older unemployed (120 of 293 respondents). Insecurity was chosen by 32% (45 of 142 respondents) of the younger unemployed in comparison with 23% (66 of 293 respondents) of the older unemployed. Other people's expectations were reported as a stressful factor by 25% (36 of 142 respondents) of the younger unemployed and 11% (31 of 293 respondents) of the older.

The results seem very natural. For the younger unemployed, who are in the middle of their working career, prospects without a job are bound to give rise to feelings of uncertainty and insecurity. Not knowing when one will have a job, or whether one will have one at all, puts strain on many aspects of everyday life. It also makes it impossible to plan your life ahead, which is customary for most people and even fundamental in certain situations. For the older unemployed the future is probably clearer with their approaching retirement. Things, more or less, move on as they are supposed to. Other people's expectations are also naturally more stressful for the younger unemployed, and likely imposed on them much more, since they are expected to still do their share for society. Not being able to fulfil others' expectations and the frustration deriving from it is likely to subject the younger unemployed to increased feelings of stress.

4.2.7. Connection between health, coping strategies and social capital

One aim of this research was to study whether there are connections between social capital, coping and information behaviour. In this chapter possible connections between coping and social capital are examined. The aspects of coping that are studied are self-assessed health and coping strategies, whereas the chosen dimensions of social capital are social relations and trust. Social relations is represented here by the frequency of contact with friends (bonding relations) and acquaintances (bridging relations), and trust as the number of close friends whom can be trusted. The purpose here is to examine whether there is a connection between health and trust or health and social relations. Another aim is to examine whether there is a connection between the frequency of contact and the coping strategies the unemployed have used.

4.2.7.1. Health and social capital

Previous studies have shown a positive connection between different dimensions of social capital and self-assessed health (e.g. Hyyppä & Mäki 2003, Poortinga 2006, Nieminen 2006, Nyqvist et al. 2008). In the current study no connection between self-assessed health and the frequency of contact with either friends or acquaintances could be found, but it was found between self-assessed health and trust.

Table 4.44
Self-assessed health and the number of close friends you can trust
n=701, chi-square=39,877, df=16, p=0,001

	Number of close friends you can trust				
Health	None	1	2-3	4-5	More than 5
Good	15 27%	25 21%	73 25%	32 28%	42 33%
Fairly good	17 30%	57 48%	152 51%	61 53%	60 47%
Fairly bad	11 20%	18 15%	48 16%	13 11%	17 13%
Bad	9 16%	13 11%	16 5%	7 6%	6 5%
Cannot say	4 7%	5 4%	8 3%	2 2%	3 2%
Total	56 100%	118 100%	297 100%	115 100%	128 100%

It appears that self-assessed health deteriorates proportionate to the number of close friends. Of those who have more than five close friends only 5% evaluate their health as bad, whereas among those who have no close friends the proportion is 16%. The most distinctive steps in deterioration are between having 2-3 friends and one friend, and between having one friend and no friends. Of those who have 2-3 friends only 5% feel that their health is bad whereas among those who have one friend the proportion is 11% and among those having none 16%.

4.2.7.2. Coping strategies and social activity

A connection was found between using problem-focused coping strategies and keeping in contact with both friends and acquaintances (bonding and bridging relations). In mixed-focused coping strategies a connection was found only with keeping in contact with friends.

It appears that high problem-focused copers, i.e. the respondents who used more problem-focused coping strategies, were also more often in contact with their friends. Of high copers 19% were in contact with their friends daily compared to 13% of low copers and 60% weekly compared to 43% of the low copers. The proportion of those who communicated with their friends seldom or not at all was extremely small among high copers (3%).

Table 4.45
Problem-focused coping and keeping in contact with friends
n=618, chi-square=16,654, df=6, p=0,011

	Problem-focused coping		
Keeping in contact with friends	Low	Medium	High
Daily	15 13%	53 14%	23 19%
Weekly	51 43%	182 48%	74 60%
Monthly	40 34%	109 29%	22 18%
Seldom/Not at all	13 11%	32 9%	4 3%
Total	119 100%	376 100%	123 100%

High problem-focused copers also keep more often in contact with acquaintances than low problem-focused copers. Of high copers 55% were in contact with their acquaintances at least weekly compared to 36% of low

copers. Respectively 24% of low copers communicated with acquaintances seldom or not at all compared to 11% of high copers.

Table 4.46
Problem-focused coping and keeping in contact with acquaintances
n=618, chi-square=14,096, df=6, p=0,029

	Problem-focused coping		
Keeping in contact with acquaintances	Low	Medium	High
Daily	11 9%	27 7%	14 12%
Weekly	32 27%	123 33%	52 43%
Monthly	47 40%	146 39%	43 35%
Seldom/Not at all	29 24%	81 22%	13 11%
Total	119 100%	377 100%	122 100%

Quite naturally the unemployed who often use mixed-focused coping strategies are also more often in contact with their friends, as these strategies consist of interpersonal functions such as discussing with people and asking for advice. Of high mixed-focused copers, 26% were in contact with their friends every day compared to 13% of low mixed-focused copers. The proportion of those who were in contact with their friends seldom or not at all was, in contrast, higher among low copers (11% compared to 3% of high copers).

Table 4.47
Mixed-focused coping and keeping in contact with friends
n=639, chi-square=17,258, df=6, p=0,008

	Mixed-focused coping		
Keeping in contact with friends	Low	Medium	High
Daily	20 13%	50 13%	25 26%
Weekly	77 50%	201 52%	47 50%
Monthly	40 26%	113 29%	20 21%
Seldom/Not at all	17 11%	26 7%	3 3%
Total	154 100%	390 100%	95 100%

4.2.8. Differences in coping between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed

There were significant differences between the two language groups concerning coping strategies, emotion-focused coping, received support, discussing unemployment and stressful factors of unemployment.

4.2.8.1. Coping strategies and coping functions

The two language groups differed in eight coping strategies.

Table 4.48 a)
Coping strategies, according to mother tongue

	n	chi-square	df	p
Refused to think about unemployment too much	688	10,565	3	0,014
Talked to someone about how I was feeling	681	11,069	3	0,011
Kept others from knowing how bad things were	675	7,775	3	0,051
Lived one day at a time	679	10,619	3	0,014
Came up with different solutions to my situation	660	22,173	3	0,000
Drew on my past experiences of unemployment	655	10,07	3	0,018
Changed or grew as a person in a good way	677	8,349	3	0,039
Grew stronger along with unemployment	684	12,853	3	0,005

The Finnish-speaking long-term unemployed had used nearly all of these coping strategies more than the Swedish-speakers. Only two strategies had been used more by the Swedish-speaking unemployed. “Came up with different solutions to my situation” had been used by 78% of Swedish-speakers compared to 61% of Finnish-speakers and “Lived one day at a time” by 73% of Swedish-speakers compared to 64% of Finnish-speakers.

Table 4.48 b)
Coping strategies, according to mother tongue

		Very much	Much	Some what	Not at all	Total
Lived one day at a time	Finnish	50 14%	70 20%	107 30%	127 36%	354 100%
	Swedish	37 11%	65 20%	134 41%	89 27%	325 100%
Refused to think about unemployment too much	Finnish	39 11%	55 16%	163 46%	98 28%	355 100%
	Swedish	15 5%	49 15%	164 49%	105 32%	333 100%
Changed or grew as a person in a good way	Finnish	35 10%	86 24%	144 41%	87 25%	352 100%
	Swedish	36 11%	51 16%	142 44%	96 30%	325 100%
Grew stronger along with unemployment	Finnish	31 9%	87 25%	134 38%	103 29%	355 100%
	Swedish	32 10%	46 14%	132 40%	119 36%	329 100%
Kept others from knowing how bad things were	Finnish	27 8%	44 13%	102 30%	173 50%	346 100%
	Swedish	13 4%	31 9%	95 29%	190 58%	329 100%
Talked to someone about how I was feeling	Finnish	20 6%	45 13%	169 48%	115 33%	349 100%
	Swedish	15 5%	31 9%	136 41%	150 45%	332 100%
Came up with different solutions to my situation	Finnish	15 5%	50 15%	141 42%	129 39%	335 100%
	Swedish	23 7%	62 19%	169 52%	71 22%	325 100%
Drew on my past experiences of unemployment	Finnish	13 4%	41 12%	113 33%	173 51%	340 100%
	Swedish	9 3%	23 7%	86 27%	197 63%	315 100%

The results show that more of the Finnish-speaking long-term unemployed talk about their feelings as 67% of them had done so compared to 55% of the Swedish-speakers. They also, however, more often kept others from knowing how bad things were. Of the Finnish-speakers 50% had used this strategy and 21% had done so much or very much, whereas the proportions among Swedish-speakers were 42% and 13% respectively. This might have

been because they did not want to worry other people with their troubles or wanted to keep up a façade. It seems also to be more common for the Finnish-speaking long-term unemployed to adopt the idea that misfortunes in unemployment can be a source of personal growth.

As to coping functions significant differences between the two language groups were found only in the proportions of high and low emotion-focused copers (n=490, chi-square=8,781, df=2, p=0,012). The Finnish-speaking unemployed seem to use more strategies that are based on emotion-focused coping functions than the Swedish-speaking unemployed. The proportion of high copers among Finnish-speakers was 20% while that of Swedish-speakers was 12%. Respectively, the proportion of low emotion-focused copers was higher among Swedish-speakers being 17% compared to 11% of Finnish-speakers.

4.2.8.2. Social support

There were differences between Finnish-speakers and Swedish-speakers concerning from whom they had received support and with whom they had discussed their unemployment. These differences were, however, not great.

As to received support, significant differences were found only concerning obtaining support from acquaintances (p=0,006) and from someone else (p=0,017). More Swedish-speakers had received support from acquaintances as their proportion was 17% (57 of 338 respondents) compared to 10% (36 of 365 respondents) of Finnish-speakers. As to obtaining support from someone else it was, however, more the case with Finnish-speakers. Their proportion was 3% (11 of 365 respondents) compared to 1% of Swedish-speakers (2 of 338 respondents).

In discussing unemployment the significant differences concerned only children (n=719, chi-square= 4,022, df=1, p=0,045) and former fellow workers (n=719, chi-square=4,854, df=1, p=0,028), i.e. not the sources support was most often received from (spouse/partner and friends). In both cases it was, however, the Finnish-speakers who had more often discussed their unemployment. Of them 35% (131 of 372 respondents) had discussed it with children compared to 28% of Swedish-speakers (98 of 347 respondents), and 29% (107 respondents of 372 respondents) with former fellow workers in comparison to the 22% of Swedish-speakers (75 of 347 respondents).

4.2.8.3. Stress and unemployment

The stressful factors, i.e. factors in unemployment or connected with it that cause stress, appear to be fairly similar for both of the language groups as there were significant differences only in two alternatives out of nine; insecurity (p=0,005) and health issues (0,041).

More of Swedish-speakers considered insecurity as a stressful factor than Finnish-speakers. Their proportion was 31% (74 of 241 respondents) in comparison to the 20% (50 of 252 respondents) of Finnish-speakers. This is quite surprising as Swedish-speakers in general are considered to have more trust, closer and richer social networks and more sense of security (e.g.Hyyppä & Mäki 2001, 2003; Nyqvist et al. 2008). Similar results were also found in the current study, where the Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed had more friends, acquaintances and close trusted friends than the Finnish-speaking long-term unemployed. They, however, felt less closely connected with their residence community, hometown/home municipality and Finnish society, which might then somehow have more effect on this result than social networks have. Of Finnish-speakers more had experienced health issues as causing stress than Swedish-speakers. The proportion of Finnish-speakers was 41% (104 of 252 respondents) compared to 32% of Swedish-speakers (78 of 241 respondents).

4.3. Information behaviour

In this research, the focus of information behaviour was on everyday life information seeking (ELIS), which is divided into orienting information seeking and problem-specific information seeking based on the division made by Savolainen (2008a, 5-6, 83). Orienting information seeking is studied by looking at long-term unemployed people's media habits (tuning in to media in general) and their monitoring of everyday events through different media (tuning in to news). In problem-specific information seeking the interest lies on what kind of information the unemployed seek and what sources they use. In addition, possible changes in their information seeking, as well as what they consider problematic in it, are examined.

4.3.1. Seeking orienting information

4.3.1.1. Tuning in to media

Tuning in to media was measured by asking respondents to indicate how often they used different kinds of media (Appendix 1, question 43).

Table 4.49
Tuning in to media

	Daily/ Almost daily	A few times a week	Seldom/ Not at all	Total
Newspapers	626 86%	56 8%	44 6%	726 100%
Magazines	214 31%	288 42%	186 27%	688 100%
Television	662 92%	18 3%	42 6%	722 100%
Teletext	257 40%	85 13%	301 47%	643 100%
Radio	480 67%	99 14%	133 19%	712 100%
Free papers / Advertising mail	289 41%	287 40%	135 19%	711 100%

Nearly all of the unemployed watched television (92%) and read newspapers (86%) daily or almost daily, and majority listened to the radio almost daily as well (67%). A fairly large part of the unemployed also used teletext almost every day (40%). It appeared that teletext was used either every day or not at all. The role of teletext is probably fairly marked in monitoring what goes on in the world as it is the media that responds very quickly to the latest turns in events and information is accessible any time.

Television and newspapers were preferred by the unemployed for seeking orienting information in Savolainen's study (2008a, 95) too. In the study by Ek (2005, 121), where media habits of 18-65 year old Finns were examined, the preferred medium was also television, which was watched by 90% of the respondents 'practically daily'. The next most popular media type was newspapers, read daily by 86% of the respondents. These proportions are remarkably similar to those of the current study. Radio was listened to by Ek's respondents on a daily basis by 76% of the respondents, which is somewhat more than in the current study.

Women and men seem to have quite similar habits in tuning in to media. Significant differences appeared only in the use of teletext (n=641, chi-square=18,339, df=2, p=0,000) and free papers/advertising mail (n=709, chi-square=11,942, df=2, p=0,003). The results showed that men used teletext more often than women. Almost half of men (46%) used it daily or almost daily compared to one third of women (34%). Respectively, 56% of women used it seldom or not at all, whereas the proportion among men was 39%. This difference might, at least partially, be explained by the fact that men quite likely use teletext more to follow sports results. Free papers/advertising mail was read more often by women. Almost half of the women (46%) read them daily or almost daily compared to 36% of men. Of men 23% read them seldom or not at all, whereas the proportion among women was 15%.

Significant differences between the two age groups appeared concerning the use of newspapers (n=636, chi-square=35,743, df=2, p=0,000), magazines (n= 606, chi-square=12,704, df=2, p=0,002) and radio (n=625, chi-square=16,144, df=2, p=0,000).

The older unemployed used newspapers clearly more often than the younger unemployed. Of them 91% read newspapers daily or almost daily compared to 73% of the younger unemployed. The proportion of the younger unemployed in reading them seldom or not at all was 13%, while that of the older unemployed was only 4%. It might be that the Internet has diminished reading of newspapers among the younger generations. Another reason could be that the younger unemployed have stopped subscribing to them due to financial reasons, as the results of the current study have suggested that the financial strain is heavier for the younger unemployed than for the older unemployed.

Magazines were also read more often by the older unemployed, of whom one third read them daily or almost daily compared to 22% of the younger unemployed. More than one third of the younger unemployed (38%) read them seldom or not at all, whereas the proportion of the older unemployed was 24%. The reasons for the differences are probably the same as with newspapers. Radio is also clearly more preferred by the older unemployed. Of them 72% listened to it daily or almost daily compared to 55% of the younger unemployed. Of the younger unemployed 27% listened to it seldom or not at all, while the proportion of the older unemployed was 16%.

4.3.1.2. Tuning in to news

Tuning in to news was measured by asking respondents to indicate how often they used given sources for following news (Appendix 1, question 44).

Table 4.50
Tuning in to news

	Daily	Several times a week	1-2 times a week	Seldom/ Not at all	Total
Television	645 89%	35 5%	10 1%	37 5%	727 100%
Radio	435 61%	92 13%	56 8%	128 18%	711 100%
Newspapers	575 81%	60 8%	37 5%	40 6%	712 100%
Local papers	347 49%	136 19%	160 23%	68 10%	711 100%
Internet	192 29%	67 10%	49 8%	344 53%	652 100%
Teletext	205 31%	66 10%	61 9%	327 50%	659 100%
Hearing through other people	155 23%	111 17%	151 23%	247 37%	664 100%
Other	2 4%	3 7%	2 4%	38 84%	45 100%

The three sources used most often for tuning in to news were the same that were used most often for tuning in to media in general. Television was also here the most popular source as 89% of the respondents watched TV news every day. Newspapers were used almost as frequently as they were read daily by 81% of the respondents. When comparing the numbers of those, who reported following news from a certain media, and those who reported following the same media daily it would seem that there were only 17 daily TV users, who did not also follow news daily on TV, whereas among the daily newspaper readers there appeared to be 51, who did not report following news daily through the newspapers. This could be considered as fairly surprising as newspapers as a medium are clearly more news-oriented than television. The reason for this might, however, just be that the news in the paper is largely the same that people have already heard from the evening news on the television the night before.

Radio was a source of daily news for 61% of the long-term unemployed. Local papers appear to be an important source of news because about half of

the respondents used them every day. The Internet was used fairly infrequently for tuning in to news. More than half of the respondents used it seldom or not at all. This might be an age question as the majority of the respondents in the current study were older people, who are presumably not the primary users of the Internet. The unemployed in Savolainen's study (2008a, 99) did not consider the Internet as a highly important source for seeking orienting information in general either.

> *"Can't afford to have Internet at home."* (Woman, -)

> *"Can't afford to buy a computer or a television (and pay the television licence!)."* (Woman, 62)

> *"Don't have a computer! Not a mobile either! (Not even a microwave oven!)."*
> (Woman, 62)

The media habits concerning tuning in to news appear to be very similar for men and women, as there were significant differences between them only concerning the use of teletext (n=657, chi-square=22,877, df=3, p=0,000). Unemployed men seem to use teletext more often for tuning in to news than unemployed women. Of them more than one third (35%) used it daily compared to 27% of women. Respectively, more than half of women (58%) used it seldom or not at all compared to 42% of men. This result is as expected as it was earlier found that men in general used teletext more. One reason could again be that men use teletext more than women especially for sports related news or results and at the same time they also get a glimpse of the main news headlines from the front page.

There were more significant differences between the two age groups. This was, however, expected as between the age groups there were also more differences in the use of media in general. These differences concerned the use newspapers (n=625, chi-square=60,276, df=3, p=0,000), local papers (n=622, chi-square=25,544, df=3, p=0,000), radio (n=624, chi-square=18,799, df=3, p=0,000) and television (n=637, chi-square=29,412, df=3, p=0,000). All of them were used more often for tuning in to news by the older unemployed. It should be noted that there were no differences between the age groups in the use of the Internet in tuning in to news, which might have been expected and would have been explained as younger unemployed using the Internet rather than other sources for this purpose. Differences in the Internet use will be, however, revealed later on concerning problem-specific information seeking.

Of the older unemployed, 87% used newspapers daily for tuning in to news compared to 61% of the younger unemployed. The proportion of the older

unemployed, who used them seldom or not at all, was only 4% whereas that of the younger unemployed was 12%. These differences were quite expected as it was earlier already noted that the older unemployed read newspapers more often. The difference was considerable also in the use of local papers. They were used daily for reading news by 54% of the older unemployed and 34% of the younger unemployed. Of the younger unemployed 15% used them seldom or not at all, whereas the proportion of the older unemployed was 7%. This is an interesting result, as it was previously found in the current study that there was no difference between the age groups concerning reading local papers in general. One explanation could be that in the current study it was noted earlier that the older unemployed felt more closely connected with their residence community than the younger unemployed. Hence they could be more interested than the younger ones in what happens in their immediate surroundings.

Radio was also used clearly more often for tuning in to news by the older unemployed as 67% of them did so every day compared to 48% of the younger unemployed. 25% of the younger unemployed used it seldom or not at all, whereas the proportion of the older unemployed was 15%. This is also fairly natural as it was earlier found that the older unemployed used radio more in general. As to television, news was watched daily by 92% of the older unemployed and only 78% of the younger unemployed while there were, as mentioned earlier, no differences between the age groups in watching television in general.

Overall it seems that the older unemployed are more interested in the news than the younger unemployed. They follow news more often from television, newspapers, radio and local papers and the differences cannot in all cases be explained by greater use of the specific media in general.

4.3.2. Seeking problem-specific information

> *"It would be very nice if the unemployed got information packages of study possibilities provided in their residence area as well as information about hobby possibilities provided by adult education centre or other parties. As an unemployed you easily 'get stuck' with the situation, and don't necessarily know or have the energy to search for the possibilities that are available. If information was delivered home, the unemployed would have time to get acquainted with it and might be inspired to study or have a new hobby and thus get new energy into life."* (Woman, 26)

Problem-specific information seeking is active seeking of information about different kinds of subjects. In the current research respondents were asked to

indicate what kinds of issues they sought information about and how often they did this (Appendix 1, question 45).

4.3.2.1. Subjects of problem-specific information seeking

According to the results, long-term unemployed people are interested in what happens in society and want to keep themselves up-to-date regarding what happens in the world. Of the respondents, 89% had sought information about societal issues at least occasionally. A clear majority (64%) also reported to have sought information about such matters often or very often. Information had been sought by 75% at least occasionally on current issues . Health issues interested the unemployed as well as 78% had sought information about such issues at least occasionally. Of the listed subjects those that seemed to interest the respondents the least were educational issues and matters connected with unemployment of which information had been sought at least occasionally by 34% and 49% of the respondents respectively. This, again, probably reflects the fact that many of the respondents are already approaching pensionable age and are not so interested in matters connected with unemployment in general or retraining.

Table 4.51
Subjects information is sought about

	Often/ Very often	Occa-sionally	Seldom/ Not at all	Try to avoid such information	Total
Societal issues	460 64%	180 25%	71 10%	3 0%	714 100%
Current issues	312 44%	220 31%	170 24%	5 1%	707 100%
Health	243 34%	313 44%	146 21%	7 1%	709 100%
Sports	232 33%	158 22%	297 42%	21 3%	708 100%
Available jobs	227 32%	190 27%	277 39%	13 2%	707 100%
Everyday matters	203 29%	275 39%	221 31%	10 1%	709 100%
Hobbies	184 26%	260 37%	247 35%	7 1%	698 100%
Recreation	181 26%	277 39%	243 34%	6 1%	707 100%
Culture	180 26%	230 33%	283 40%	10 1%	703 100%
Unemployment	133 19%	214 30%	349 49%	13 2%	709 100%
Education	61 9%	173 25%	429 63%	17 3%	680 100%
Other	16 34%	3 6%	20 43%	8 17%	47 100%

Seeking information differed significantly between men and women concerning culture (n=701, chi-square=14,977, df=3, p=0,002), sports (n=706, chi-square=90,225, df=3, p=0,000) and everyday matters (n=707, chi-square=10,813, df=3, p=0,013).

Unemployed women seem to seek more information about culture than unemployed men. Of these 30% sought it often or very often compared to 22% of men, whereas almost half of men (47%) sought it seldom or not at all in comparison to one third of the women. Men sought information about sports clearly more often than women, which is not highly surprising and had already been assumed earlier in this study when discussing men's more frequent use of teletext. Nearly half the men (49%) sought it often or very often compared to only 16% of women. Respectively, more than half of the

women (54%) sought it seldom or not at all compared to 30% of men. Of women 4% tried also to avoid this kind of information. In addition to culture, everyday matters were another subject that interested women more than men. One third of women (34%) sought information about it often or very often compared to 23% of men; seldom or not at all was it sought by 34% of men and 29% of women. An explanation for this could be that women might be more often responsible for taking care of everyday matters in the household.

The interest in different subjects varied also according to age. Significant differences were found concerning available jobs (n=620, chi-square=54,327, df=3, p=0,000) and education (n=594, chi-square=72,568, df=3, p=0,000).

The younger unemployed sought clearly more often information about available jobs than the older unemployed, which is in this case understandable, as many of the older unemployed were approaching retirement and did not necessarily plan to return to working life anymore. Of the younger unemployed, 52% sought this kind of information often or very often compared to 26% of the older unemployed. The proportion of the older unemployed, who sought information about available jobs seldom or not at all was 44%, whereas that of the younger unemployed was 17%. In addition, 3% of the older unemployed tried to avoid this kind of information, while none of the younger unemployed reported doing so. The younger unemployed sought information about education clearly more often as well. This is even more understandable as it may not feel worthwhile for the older unemployed to educate themselves further or learn a new profession, when they do not have many years of working life left anyhow. Of the younger unemployed, one fifth sought information about education often or very often and 41% occasionally. The respective proportions among the older unemployed were 5% and 20%. The majority of the older unemployed (72%) sought this kind of information seldom or not at all in comparison to the 37% of the younger unemployed.

> *"I've gone through two employment courses and they didn't bring me a job. I was 50 when I took the first course - was I too old for the labour market?"* (Woman, 59)

4.3.2.2. Sources used for seeking problem-specific information

Respondents were also asked about the sources they used for actively seeking information and how often they used them. They were given alternative sources and were asked to indicate how often each of them was

used. (Appendix 1, question 46). In the analysis sources were divided according to their type into 1) printed material (newspapers, magazines, books) 2) the Internet 3) television programmes and visual recordings 4) personal informal sources (friends, acquaintances, relatives) 5) library 6) professionals/authorities and 7) others.

Table 4.52
Sources used for problem-specific information seeking

	Much	Fairly much	Some what	Not at all	Total
Internet	214 32%	106 16%	132 19%	228 34%	680 100%
Printed material	192 28%	238 35%	183 27%	64 10%	677 100%
Television programmes and visual recordings	149 21%	206 30%	230 33%	113 16%	698 100%
Library	76 11%	120 17%	255 36%	250 36%	701 100%
Personal informal sources	67 10%	134 20%	352 51%	134 20%	687 100%
Professionals/Authorities	63 9%	220 32%	166 24%	235 34%	684 100%
Other	3 3%	6 6%	9 9%	78 81%	96 100%

Printed material was a favoured source for seeking information as it was used at least somewhat by 90% of the unemployed. Television programmes and visual recordings were also used by 84%. It appears that although the Internet had been used fairly little for orienting information seeking, it was a popular source for seeking problem-specific information. As can be noted, those who had used it had also often used it to a great extent.

There were significant differences concerning certain sources men and women used for problem-specific information seeking. These sources were: printed material (n=675, chi-square=10,784, df=3, p=0,013), personal informal sources (n=685, chi-square=24,677, df=3, p=0,000) and professionals/authorities (n=682, chi-square=7,824, df=3, p=0,050).

The unemployed women used printed material more for their problem-specific information seeking than men. One third of them (34%) used this source much compared to 23% of men. Women used also personal informal sources more as 14% used them to a great extent and 22% to a fair extent in

comparison to 6% and 17% of men respectively. One fourth of men (24%) did not use personal informal sources at all compared to 14% of women. Men appear to use professionals or authorities as information sources more than women. Although the proportions are equal (9% vs. 9%) in having used them to a great extent, the proportions of men are larger in having used them to a fairly great extent (36% vs. 29%) and to some extent (25% vs. 23%). Of women 39% have not used these kind of sources at all compared to 30% of men.

The results seem to suggest that men more commonly approach professionals and authorities directly with their information needs. Women, then again, seem to prefer seeking information on their own and asking their social relations for help.

The use of sources differed significantly also between the two age groups concerning printed material (n=596, chi-square=9,300, df=3, p=0,026) and the Internet (n=596, chi-square=15,335, df=3, p=0,002).

Older unemployed seem to use printed material more for seeking problem-specific information than younger unemployed. Of the older unemployed, 29% used printed material to a great extent compared to 19% of the younger unemployed. Their proportion among those who did not use printed material at all was only 8% while that of the younger unemployed was 13%. The Internet is used clearly more by the younger unemployed than the older unemployed. Of the younger unemployed 43% used it to a great extent, whereas the proportion among the older unemployed was 27%. Of the older unemployed 38% had not used it here at all in comparison to 25% of the younger unemployed. The difference was as expected and seems to suggest that for the younger unemployed the Internet has replaced printed material as a preferred source of information.

4.3.3. Problems in information seeking

Respondents were asked if they considered there were problematic issues in their information seeking. They were given alternatives consisting of different problems from which they could choose as many as they wanted. (Appendix 1, question 47).

Table 4.53
Problems in information seeking (n=588)

	Frequency	Percent
Difficult to find the essential from the vast amount of information	281	48
Difficult to evaluate the reliability of information or information sources	166	28
Difficult to find information	94	16
Not enough information in my mother tongue	84	14
Too few sources available	73	12
Difficult to use sources	66	11
Sources difficult to access	65	11
Too little information available	49	8
Something else	23	4

It seems that it is rather information overload that causes problems in seeking information as the two clearly most chosen alternatives concerned difficulties in finding the essential and evaluating the reliability of information. The fact that the least chosen specific problem was "too little information available" supports this view. It should be noted that in the case of "not enough information in my mother tongue" the results are strongly affected by the proportion of Swedish-speakers who, as will be later shown, clearly more often considered it as a problem.

In Savolainen's research (2008a, 95, 139), the unemployed respondents considered information overload as problematic in seeking orienting information, but not as much in seeking problem-specific information. Credibility of information, then again, was found problematic in both orienting and problem-specific information seeking.

The answers of men and women differed significantly only concerning one alternative, "Difficulties to find the essential from the vast amount of information" (p=0,024). More women considered this issue as problematic (53%, 152 respondents) than men (43%, 129 respondents).

Between the two age groups significant differences were found concerning six alternatives:

Table 4.54
Problems in information seeking, according to age (n=514)

	-54	55-	chi-square	df	p
Sources difficult to access	26 17%	30 8%	8,807	1	0,003
Too little information available	20 13%	22 6%	7,336	1	0,007
Difficult to find information	33 22%	50 14%	5,142	1	0,023
Difficult to find the essential	62 41%	186 51%	4,426	1	0,035
Difficult to evaluate reliability	31 21%	113 31%	5,941	1	0,015
Something else	11 7%	9 3%	6,585	1	0,010

Problematic issues that were chosen more by the younger unemployed concerned difficulties accessing sources, having too little information available and difficulties in finding information. More of the older unemployed considered that it was difficult to find the essential from the vast amount of information and to evaluate reliability of information or information sources.

At first it would appear that the issues that the younger unemployed have more often considered as problematic are connected with finding information, whereas for the older unemployed it is the information overload that is more of a problem. It could, however, be that the information seeking process of the older respondents becomes more difficult or even stops at the point where they are faced with too much information, whereas for the younger respondents the process forges further ahead and is eventually hampered by not finding adequate information.

> *”Too much information.”* (Woman, 54)

> *“Information in Finland is non-existent, you always have to go to different places in order to get it. … The attitude of the authorities is that it is good if citizens know as little as possible.”* (Man, 60)

> *”Even though I consider myself as a quite smart person I have difficulties to take in the vast amount of information concerning unemployment. This*

> *is because there are too many parties involved (trade union, society, workplace, unemployment fund, internet portals, study place, bank, the social insurance institution, labour force bureau), and because terminology is inconsequent (for example concerning names of the different financial benefits), that there are too many exceptions, that information is scattered in too many places and that information complexity is so big that the convenience to use it becomes an agony when it is not practical to present the guiding information in paper form (paper form is much too static for that purpose).”* (Man, 40)

4.3.4. Changes in information seeking due to unemployment

Respondents were asked if there had been any changes in their orienting information seeking and problem-specific information seeking compared to the time before unemployment. (Appendix 1, questions 40 and 41 respectively).

Table 4.55
Change in orienting information seeking (n=727)

	Frequency	Percent
Considerably less	13	2
Somewhat less	13	2
Approximately as much	264	36
Somewhat more	189	26
Considerably more	248	34
Total	727	100

Majority of the respondents (64%) considered that there had been changes in their orienting information seeking in connection with unemployment. The changes that had taken place were furthermore enormously more often in the positive rather than negative direction. As much as 60% experienced that they had monitored news and current affairs during unemployment more than when working, whereas only 4% considered that they had monitored them less.

Based on these results it cannot be said that long-term unemployed people would deliberately isolate themselves from society or become indifferent as to what is going on in the world. Quite the contrary, it seems that they become more activated by it. One reason most likely is that they simply have more time.

The experiences concerning the changes differed between men and women (n=725, chi-square=11,620, df=4, p=0,020). Women’s information seeking

had more often increased considerably as 39% of women reported so compared to 29% of men. It had somewhat increased for 24% of women and 28% of men. Whereas changes among men were also strongly towards increasing, the relative majority of them (40%) considered there had not been any changes in their information seeking due to their unemployment. The proportion of women who reported so was 33%.

The views differed also between the younger and older unemployed (n=640, chi-square=17,176, df=4, p=0,002). Monitoring of news and current affairs had increased more for the older unemployed than for the younger unemployed. Of the older unemployed 65% reported that information seeking had increased (somewhat or considerably) compared to 49% of the younger unemployed. For the relative majority of the younger unemployed (44%) it had remained the same in comparison to one third of the older unemployed.

The results here seem to indicate that when it was earlier noticed that the older unemployed were more active in orienting information seeking (tuning in to news and tuning in to media in general) this was largely due to the fact that their activity has more often increased along with unemployment.

The situation is very similar to problem-specific information seeking as it was with orienting information seeking. Here, as well, the changes that had occurred were more in the active direction than passive. Of the respondents, 62% considered that they had sought more problem-specific information than before unemployment and a mere 6% that they had done so less. One possible reason for the increase is that they now search for more information about unemployment, available jobs and education – issues that were not so relevant when they were employed.

Table 4.56
Change in seeking problem-specific information (n=725)

	Frequency	Percent
Considerably less	26	4
Somewhat less	13	2
Approximately as much	236	33
Somewhat more	269	37
Considerably more	181	25
Total	725	100

Whereas there were differences between men and women and the age groups concerning changes in orienting information seeking, none could be found here. As was earlier discovered, the older unemployed less often sought

information about available jobs and/or education, so the equal increase in their activity here is apparently based on interests in other issues.

4.3.5. Connection between information behaviour and social capital

4.3.5.1. Social activity and orienting information seeking

One important dimension of social capital is social activity. The idea here was to examine whether social activity, in this case the frequency of contact with social relations, has a connection with orienting information seeking. In other words, are those unemployed who are more active in keeping in contact with their social relations also more active in monitoring information? The social relations that are studied here are friends, who represent bonding relations, and acquaintances, who represent bridging relations. The orienting information seeking is measured using tuning in to media in general and tuning in to news.

Table 4.57
Contact with friends and tuning in to media in general
n=585, chi-square=28,353, df=6, p=0,000

	Contact with friends			
Tuning in to media	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Seldom/ Not at all
Often	17 20%	55 18%	21 14%	3 6%
Occasionally	48 55%	200 67%	104 69%	24 50%
Seldom	22 25%	44 15%	26 17%	21 44%
Total	87 100%	299 100%	151 100%	48 100%

The results suggest that the unemployed, who are inactive with their strong ties, are also inactive in tuning in to media. Of the respondents, who were seldom or not at all in contact with their friends 44% tuned into media seldom (adjusted residual 4,5) and only 6% often. Although the total number of these respondents was fairly small (48) the contrast is significant.

This could be perceived as a surprise as it could be assumed that people who seldom are in contact with their friends have more time to spend and the importance of media would be emphasized in keeping entertained and up-to-

date. Inversely, this reasoning may explain the fact that among those who are in contact with their friends daily, 25% seldom tuned into media, a proportion somewhat higher than among those who communicate with their friends weekly or monthly. They might be too busy socializing with their friends to follow media every day and/or they do not have the interest to do so as their friends provide them with enough activities and information.

Table 4.58
Contact with acquaintances and tuning in to media in general
n=591, chi-square=19,217, df=6, p=0,004

	Contact with acquaintances			
Tuning in to media	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Seldom/ Not at all
Often	13 25%	32 16%	41 19%	10 9%
Occasionally	30 57%	138 67%	143 66%	70 60%
Seldom	10 19%	35 17%	33 15%	36 31%
Total	53 100%	205 100%	217 100%	116 100%

The same observation can be made concerning the connection between contact with acquaintances and tuning in to media. It seems that also the unemployed who are rarely in contact with their acquaintances tune less actively in to media.

The pattern recurs again when examining how frequently the unemployed follow news. Table 4.59 illustrates that those who are seldom in contact with their friends also far more often are those who follow news rarely.

Table 4.59
Contact with friends and tuning in to news
n=566, chi-square=36,813, df=6, p=0,000

	Contact with friends			
Tuning in to news	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Seldom/ Not at all
Often	22 28%	53 19%	20 13%	3 7%
Occasionally	44 55%	203 71%	109 70%	23 52%
Seldom	14 18%	30 11%	27 17%	18 41%
Total	80 100%	286 100%	156 100%	44 100%

The same applies to acquaintances. In the table 4.60 it can be seen that the unemployed, who are less active in keeping in contact with their acquaintances are less active also in following news.

Table 4.60
Contact with acquaintances and tuning in to news
n=568, chi-square=22,952, df=6, p=0,001

	Contact with acquaintances			
Tuning in to news	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Seldom/ Not at all
Often	10 21%	37 19%	40 19%	12 10%
Occasionally	30 63%	135 71%	146 68%	70 61%
Seldom	8 17%	19 10%	28 13%	33 29%
Total	48 100%	191 100%	214 100%	115 100%

These results might indicate that active people are often active in various aspects of life, and those who are passive in some area may also be more passive overall.

4.3.5.2. The feeling of connectedness and orienting information seeking

Another important dimension of social capital is the feeling of connectedness with community and society. Here the possible connections

between long-term unemployed people's orienting information seeking and feeling of connectedness with residence community, hometown/home municipality and Finnish society were examined. The purpose was to find out whether the unemployed who actively monitor daily events also feel a closer connectedness as could be assumed. Orienting information seeking consists here of tuning in to media in general and tuning in to news.

Table 4.61
Feeling of connectedness with residence community and tuning in to media
n=593, chi-square=38,262, df=6, p=0,000

	Feeling of connectedness with residence community			
Tuning in to media	Very close	Fairly close	Fairly weak	Not at all
Often	9 24%	42 18%	36 15%	10 12%
Occasionally	24 63%	159 69%	158 66%	38 45%
Seldom	5 13%	29 13%	47 20%	36 43%
Total	38 100%	230 100%	241 100%	84 100%

As much as 43% of those long-term unemployed, who did not feel connectedness with their residence community at all, tuned in to media seldom. Those who felt connectedness at least to some extent, were clearly more active. The results were highly similar when it came to feeling of connectedness with hometown/home municipality as can be seen in table 4.62.

Table 4.62
Feeling of connectedness with hometown/home municipality and tuning in to media
n=593, chi-square=28,257, df=6, p=0,000

	Feeling of connectedness with hometown/home municipality			
Tuning in to media	Very close	Fairly close	Fairly weak	Not at all
Often	12 22%	38 16%	36 16%	11 14%
Occasionally	36 66%	163 70%	143 64%	38 47%
Seldom	7 13%	32 14%	45 20%	32 40%
Total	55 100%	233 100%	224 100%	81 100%

There seems to be a strong connection between tuning in to media and feeling of connectedness with both residence community and hometown/home municipality. The results were also surprisingly similar in both cases. Among those who did not feel any connectedness at all it was remarkably more common to tune into media only seldom. Respectively those who felt very close connectedness also more often followed media actively.

Table 4.63
Feeling of connectedness with residence community and tuning in to news
n=576, chi-square=38,629, df=6, p=0,000

	Feeling of connectedness with residence community			
Tuning in to news	Very close	Fairly close	Fairly weak	Not at all
Often	7 21%	48 22%	35 14%	9 12%
Occasionally	26 77%	145 67%	174 70%	39 51%
Seldom	1 3%	25 12%	38 15%	29 38%
Total	34 100%	218 100%	247 100%	77 100%

The pattern here is very much the same as it was in the case of tuning in to media. Those who felt no connectedness at all with their residence community were clearly less active in tuning in to news.

Table 4.64
Feeling of connectedness with hometown/home municipality and tuning in to news
n=576, chi-square=14,486, df=6, p=0,025

	Feeling of connectedness with hometown/home municipality			
Tuning in to news	Very close	Fairly close	Fairly weak	Not at all
Often	8 16%	40 18%	36 17%	15 17%
Occasionally	37 74%	151 67%	150 70%	46 54%
Seldom	5 10%	35 16%	28 13%	25 29%
Total	50 100%	226 100%	214 100%	86 100%

The same occurrence can be noted once again, though this time the connection is not as strong as it was in the previous three tables.

After the results above, it was quite astonishing that there was, however, no significant connection between feeling of connectedness with Finnish society and tuning in to media or news.

4.3.5.3. Connection between information seeking and coping

How people cope with unemployment may affect how they monitor and seek information. In studying the connection between unemployed people's coping and their information seeking the purpose was to find out whether active copers are also more active in their information seeking behaviour and with what kind of coping functions active information seeking is connected.

Information seeking activities consist of orienting information seeking (tuning in to media in general and tuning in to news) and problem-specific information seeking.

The subjects that problem-specific information was sought about were aggregated into five groups:

1) Societal issues
- societal issues
- current issues

2) Recreational issues
- culture
- recreation
- sports
- hobbies

3) Everyday matters

4) Health issues

5) Unemployment issues
- unemployment
- available jobs
- education

Based on their reported information activity concerning issues in each of these groups, the respondents were divided into "blunters", "monitors" and "neither/nor" according to the division of Perttilä and Ek (2010). Monitors sought information most, blunters the least.

Coping functions and orienting information seeking

No connection between the three coping strategy groups and tuning in to media was found. As to tuning in to news significant differences were found only concerning problem-focused coping, which was the most actively oriented group of strategies.

Table 4.65
Problem-focused coping and tuning in to news
n=531, chi-square=10,372, df=4, p=0,035

	Problem-focused coping		
Tuning in to news	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	16 17%	61 18%	11 10%
Neither/Nor	63 68%	220 66%	66 62%
Monitor	14 15%	51 15%	29 27%
Total	93 100%	332 100%	106 100%

The results show that active problem-focused copers were also more active in tuning in to news. Of high copers 27% were monitors, whereas the proportion among the rest was only 15%. Respectively, of the high copers only 10% were blunters whereas among medium- and low copers the proportions were 17-18%. There were practically no differences between the low and medium copers.

Coping functions and problem-specific information seeking

Significant differences were found among all three coping strategy groups: problem-focused coping, emotion-focused coping and mixed-focused coping.

Between problem-focused coping and problem-specific information seeking significant differences were found concerning four subjects the unemployed sought information about: societal issues, recreational issues, unemployment issues and health issues.

Table 4.66
Problem-focused coping and societal issues
n=626, chi-square=13,019, df=4, p=0,011

	Problem-focused coping		
Societal issues	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	16 13%	48 13%	5 4%
Neither/Nor	85 70%	292 76%	94 76%
Monitor	20 17%	42 11%	24 20%
Total	121 100%	382 100%	123 100%

The results indicate that high problem-focused copers are more active in seeking information about societal issues than low problem-focused copers. Of low copers 13% were blunters compared to only 4% of high copers. Among high copers the proportion of monitors was 20%, while that of low copers was 17%. The proportions among medium copers were closer to the ones of low copers, though somewhat surprisingly they seemed to be the least active group.

Table 4.67
Problem-focused coping and recreational issues
n=612, chi-square=10,587, df=4, p=0,032

	Problem-focused coping		
Recreational issues	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	19 16%	48 13%	7 6%
Neither/Nor	82 71%	286 76%	90 75%
Monitor	15 13%	42 11%	23 19%
Total	116 100%	376 100%	120 100%

High copers are also more active in seeking information about recreational issues. Of high copers only 6% were blunters, while the proportion among low copers was as much as 16%. Almost one fifth of high copers were monitors in comparison to 13% of low copers. Here as well it seems that the main difference is between high copers and the rest.

Table 4.68
Problem-focused coping and unemployment issues
n=602, chi-square=61,176, df=4, p=0,000

	Problem-focused coping		
Unemployment issues	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	47 42%	47 13%	12 10%
Neither/Nor	58 51%	265 71%	78 66%
Monitor	8 7%	59 16%	28 24%
Total	113 100%	371 100%	118 100%

Here the differences between high and low copers were enormous. The results are, however, fairly predictable in the sense that problem-focused coping strategies are intrinsically means which aim at finding solutions to the unemployment situation. Maybe the most notable number here is the proportion of blunters among low copers, of which the majority (94%) are older than 54 years.

Table 4.69
Problem-focused coping and health issues
n=628, chi-square=10,998, df=4, p=0,027

	Problem-focused coping		
Health issues	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	40 33%	74 19%	25 21%
Neither/Nor	45 38%	179 46%	56 46%
Monitor	35 29%	134 35%	40 33%
Total	120 100%	387 100%	121 100%

Here it seems to be the low copers that differ the most among the rest. One third of low copers were blunters, while the proportions among medium- and high copers were only 19% and 21% respectively.

Overall it seems that those unemployed, who are most actively trying to do something about their situation, are also more active in seeking information about other issues. In addition to unemployment issues this was especially apparent in societal and recreational issues.

Significant differences between emotion-focused coping and problem-specific information seeking were found concerning three subjects, which were unemployment issues, health and everyday matters.

Table 4.70
Emotion-focused coping and unemployment issues
n=472, chi-square=15,271, df=4, p=0,004

	Emotion-focused coping		
Unemployment issues	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	17 27%	55 16%	8 11%
Neither/Nor	43 69%	221 66%	48 65%
Monitor	2 3%	60 18%	18 24%
Total	62 100%	336 100%	74 100%

Differences are very clear here. The proportion of monitors among high copers was 24% compared to only 3% among low copers. Respectively 27% of low copers were blunters, whereas among high copers the proportion was only 11%. As emotion-focused coping consists of many strategies that can be considered as passive or even evasive, the results here were not necessarily expected. It seems, however, that as emotion-focused coping reflects well how profoundly the person experiences unemployment, it also affects how eagerly he/she seeks information to manage with the situation or to solve it.

Table 4.71
Emotion-focused coping and health issues
n=486, chi-square=14,630, df=4, p=0,006

	Emotion-focused coping		
Health issues	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	23 35%	70 20%	18 23%
Neither/Nor	33 50%	153 45%	28 36%
Monitor	10 15%	120 35%	31 40%
Total	66 100%	343 100%	77 100%

Low emotion-focused copers clearly differ here from the rest and seem far less interested in health issues. Of them 35% were blunters, compared to 20% and 23% of medium- and high copers. Respectively only 15% were monitors, while among medium- and high copers the proportions were 35% and 40%. One possible explanation could be that emotion-focused coping somewhat reflects how much people tend to worry about things in general, and those who do not worry much about their unemployment do not worry about their health either unless there is reason to.

Table 4.72
Emotion-focused coping and everyday matters
n=487, chi-square=20,521, df=4, p=0,000

	Emotion-focused coping		
Everyday matters	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	29 44%	90 26%	24 31%
Neither/Nor	25 38%	150 44%	19 24%
Monitor	12 18%	103 30%	35 45%
Total	66 100%	343 100%	78 100%

Low emotion-focused copers stand out here the most as both the proportions of blunters (44%) and monitors (18%) differed clearly from the rest, though also the proportion of monitors in high copers (45%) is clearly higher than among the others. The best explanation for the trend here is probably the same as with emotion-focused coping and health issues; those who tend to worry about things also easily find matters of concern in their everyday life and start to seek information about it.

Significant differences between mixed-focused coping and problem-specific information seeking were found also concerning unemployment issues, health and everyday matters.

Table 4.73
Mixed-focused coping and unemployment issues
n=628, chi-square=57,606, df=4, p=0,000

	Mixed-focused coping		
Unemployment issues	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	49 33%	60 16%	6 6%
Neither/Nor	89 60%	269 70%	58 60%
Monitor	11 7%	53 14%	33 34%
Total	149 100%	382 100%	97 100%

One third of high mixed-focused copers were monitors, whereas the proportion among low copers was only 7%. Respectively, one third of low copers were blunters compared to only 6% of high copers. As most of the mixed-focused strategies involve seeking information regarding the person's unemployment situation, the results here were understandably quite expected.

Table 4.74
Mixed-focused coping and health issues
n=655, chi-square=28,087, df=4, p=0,000

	Mixed-focused coping		
Health issues	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	54 34%	81 20%	10 10%
Neither/Nor	64 41%	186 47%	42 42%
Monitor	39 25%	132 33%	47 48%
Total	157 100%	399 100%	99 100%

Concerning health issues almost half of high copers were monitors compared to 25% of low copers. One third of low copers were blunters, while the proportion among high copers was only 10%. As mixed-focused coping functions are a sort of a mixture of both problem- and emotion-focused functions, the trend here could be interpreted as a mixture of activeness and tendency to worry.

Table 4.75
Mixed-focused coping and everyday matters
n=654, chi-square=18,826, df=4, p=0,001

	Mixed-focused coping		
Everyday matters	Low	Medium	High
Blunter	55 35%	131 33%	22 22%
Neither/Nor	67 42%	161 41%	32 32%
Monitor	36 23%	104 26%	46 46%
Total	158 100%	396 100%	100 100%

Here the differences concern mainly high copers compared to the rest as medium copers are quite close to low copers. Of high copers 46% were monitors whereas among medium and low copers proportions were 26% and 23%. Respectively, the proportion of blunters was clearly lowest among high copers (22%). The explanation here could be the same as was suggested concerning mixed-focused coping and health issues; a mixture of activeness and tendency to worry.

4.3.6. Differences in information behaviour between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed.

In orienting information seeking differences were found in tuning in to media and tuning in to news. In problem-specific information seeking there were differences concerning the subjects information was sought about. Differences were found also regarding what was considered as problematic in seeking information.

4.3.6.1. Orienting information seeking

Tuning in to media

There were significant differences between the Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed concerning the use of three sources: newspapers, magazines, and free papers/advertising mail.

Table 4.76
Tuning in to media, newspapers, according to mother tongue
n=720, chi-square=6,379, df=2, p=0,041

	Finnish-speakers	Swedish-speakers
Daily/Almost daily	311 83%	311 90%
A few times a week	37 10%	19 6%
Seldom/Not at all	25 7%	17 5%
Total	373 100%	347 100%

Swedish-speakers seem to read newspapers somewhat more often than Finnish-speakers. Of them 90% read newspapers daily or almost daily compared to 83% of Finnish-speakers.

Table 4.77
Tuning in to media, magazines, according to mother tongue
n=682, chi-square=23,048, df=2, p=0,000

	Finnish-speakers	Swedish-speakers
Daily/Almost daily	90 26%	122 37%
A few times a week	140 40%	145 44%
Seldom/Not at all	122 35%	63 19%
Total	352 100%	330 100%

Swedish-speakers also read magazines more often than Finnish-speakers. Here the difference between the two language groups is greater as 37% of Swedish-speakers read magazines daily or almost daily while the proportion among Finnish-speakers was 26%. Respectively, 35% of Finnish-speakers read them seldom or not at all compared to 19% of Swedish-speakers.

Table 4.78
Tuning in to media, free papers/advertising mail, according to mother tongue
n=705, chi-square=15,644, df=2, p=0,000

	Finnish-speakers	Swedish-speakers
Daily/Almost daily	164 45%	122 36%
A few times a week	152 42%	134 39%
Seldom/Not at all	49 13%	84 25%
Total	365 100%	340 100%

Finnish-speakers seem to read more often free papers or advertising mail. Of them 45% read free papers or advertising mail daily or almost daily compared to 36% of Swedish-speakers. The proportion of Swedish-speakers among those who read them seldom or not at all was 25%, while among Finnish-speakers it was 13%. A probable reason for this is that most of the free papers/advertising mail is in Finnish and one cannot much choose what is delivered. With newspapers and magazines one can pick the ones to subscribe to.

Tuning in to news

In tuning in to news Finnish-speakers and Swedish-speakers differed only concerning one source, which was local papers.

Table 4.79
Tuning in to news, local papers, according to mother tongue
n=705, chi-square=40,655, df=3, p=0,000

	Finnish-speakers	Swedish-speakers
Daily	144 40%	202 59%
Several times a week	80 22%	54 16%
1-2 times a week	111 31%	48 14%
Seldom/Not at all	28 8%	38 11%
Total	363 100%	342 100%

Swedish-speakers clearly read local papers more often than Finnish-speakers. They were read by 59% of Swedish-speakers daily compared to 40% of Finnish-speakers. These results could indicate that the Swedish-speaking unemployed are more interested in local events, which would be interesting as previous comparisons concerning social capital suggested that Finnish-speakers felt more closely connected with residence community and hometown/home municipality than Swedish-speakers. However, the reason for this result probably is that there simply are not many national newspapers in Swedish and thus the emphasis is naturally on local papers.

4.3.6.2. Problem-specific information seeking

Differences were found concerning six subjects:

Table 4.80 a)
Problem-specific information seeking, according to mother tongue

	n	chi-square	df	p
Societal issues	708	8,742	3	0,033
Recreation	701	11,198	3	0,011
Sports	702	16,982	3	0,001
Everyday matters	703	23,608	3	0,000
Health	703	26,563	3	0,000
Education	674	10,423	3	0,015

The results showed that the Finnish-speaking unemployed sought information more often about all six specified subjects. The differences were most notable concerning seeking information about sports, everyday matters and health. Of Finnish-speakers 43% sought information about health issues often or very often compared to 25% of Swedish-speakers. Regarding seeking information about sports 39% of Finnish-speakers did so often or very often compared to 26% of Swedish-speakers. Over half the Swedish-speakers sought this kind of information seldom or not at all, or tried to avoid it. In seeking information about everyday matters the proportion of Finnish-speakers who did so often or very often was 37% whereas that of Swedish-speakers was 20%.

Table 4.80 b)
Problem-specific information seeking, according to mother tongue

		Often/ Very often	Occa sio nally	Seldom/ Not at all	Try to avoid such infor- mation	Total
Societal issues	Finnish	250 69%	75 21%	38 10%	1 0%	364 100%
	Swedish	208 61%	103 30%	31 9%	2 1%	344 100%
Health	Finnish	157 43%	144 40%	58 16%	3 1%	362 100%
	Swedish	86 25%	168 49%	83 24%	4 1%	341 100%
Sports	Finnish	141 39%	84 23%	132 36%	7 2%	364 100%
	Swedish	89 26%	73 22%	162 48%	14 4%	338 100%
Everyday matters	Finnish	133 37%	122 34%	104 29%	4 1%	363 100%
	Swedish	69 20%	152 45%	113 33%	6 2%	340 100%
Recreation	Finnish	109 30%	137 38%	113 31%	5 1%	364 100%
	Swedish	70 21%	137 41%	129 38%	1 0%	337 100%
Education	Finnish	42 12%	98 28%	207 58%	8 2%	355 100%
	Swedish	19 6%	74 23%	217 68%	9 3%	319 100%

4.3.6.3. Problems in information seeking

There were differences between Finnish-speakers and Swedish-speakers regarding three issues that were considered as problematic in seeking information:

Table 4.81
Problems in information seeking, according to mother tongue (n=584)

	Finnish-speakers	Swedish-speakers	chi-square	df	p
Sources difficult to access	27 9%	38 14%	3,913	1	0,048
Difficult to find the essential	164 53%	117 43%	6,064	1	0,014
Not enough information in mother tongue	10 3%	73 27%	65,412	1	0,000

It seems that the problems more common for Swedish-speakers concerned acquiring information, whereas for Finnish-speakers they were more often caused by information overload. The pattern is quite obvious – there is more information available in Finnish – and the difference in the last alternative in a way explains them all.

> *"The case with all the material that should be in both native languages is unfortunately, as you can often read from the net, 'this site is so far only in Finnish. Translation forthcoming.' This is total bluff, because after 3-4 years the same text still remains."* (Man, 58)

5. Discussion

The aim of the thesis was to study Finnish long-term unemployed people's social capital, coping and information behaviour, and to examine whether there are differences between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking unemployed in these three areas. Coping with unemployment has already been studied for decades, but the examination of social capital and information behaviour of unemployed people has been quite limited so far. Many of the previous Finnish studies on unemployment have also been limited to certain districts only and studying long-term unemployed people in particular has been fairly exiguous. These factors made it difficult to find studies that the results could have been compared with. Examining the differences between the Finnish- and Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed was also a novel endeavour, although otherwise differences between the two language groups in general have been of interest to researchers previously.

Theories of unemployment research are often divided into two main views: one that considers unemployment mainly as a negative phenomenon, which deprives people of experiences and makes them passive (e.g. Jahoda 1982), and another that sees the unemployed as active agents, who try to affect their situation and find positive features in it (e.g. Fryer & Payne 1984). Effective coping does not, however, always have to be active. Sometimes how a person perceives the world can make a lot of difference. (Fryer & Fagan 1993). According to Leana and Feldman (1990), a factor that may influence the conclusions of the research, i.e. whether unemployed people are portrayed as active or passive, is how the research is designed. For example, are the unemployed asked what has happened to them as a consequence of unemployment or are they asked what they do to cope with it? The current study has not deliberately chosen either of the views as a basis for the study, but has tried to approach unemployment from both angles.

The concept of social capital suffers from a disconnectedness of definitions, which complicates researching it. In the current study it was approached from a view that is a mixture of different theories. Among the important aspects that are leant on are the view of de Souza Briggs (1998) of social capital as an individual resource, which can be used for individual action, and theories of strength of ties by Granovetter (1973, 1983) and bonding, bridging and social trust by Putnam (2000, 58, 137). The theoretical background for coping leans mainly on the theories of Lazarus and Folkman (1984) and the studying of coping strategies is based on the revised *Ways of Coping* questionnaire of Folkman and Lazarus (1985). Following the idea presented by Savolainen (2008a, 5-6, 86, 114), information seeking was

divided into seeking orienting information, which is about monitoring everyday events through different sources, and seeking problem-specific information, which is seeking information for carrying out a task or solving a problem.

The discussion begins by presenting answers to the research questions. This is followed by a short conclusion summing up the central results, and the final section where ideas for further research are discussed.

5.1. What kind of social capital do long-term unemployed people have?

The focus in social capital was on social relations, trust, civic engagement and the feeling of connectedness with community and society. Social relations of the long-term unemployed were examined through the number of social relations and the frequency of contact with them. These are, to some extent, fairly simplified instruments as there are no general definitions for an adequate social network that would be required in order to be able to lead a happy and satisfying life. For some, one friend may be enough, whereas another needs a dozen. Moreover, it is not always the quantity that matters. Having a close and strong relationship with a few friends can be as satisfying or even more so as having a weaker relationship with many. The same applies to the frequency of contact with social relations. Some people enjoy solitude and want to be in touch with their social relations only every now and then and are happy with it. Others, then again, are more social in nature and want to keep in contact with them frequently. Some may even feel lonely if they do not have social contact often enough. The frequency of contact, as the number of social relations, does not tell about the quality of the relationships either. Sometimes it is enough just to know that there is a good friend to talk to whenever one feels like it. Despite these aspects, the results proved to be significantly connected with certain dimensions of coping and information seeking, which proved that in this research the number of social relations and frequency of contact seemed to be viable instruments.

In general, unemployment had a negative effect on the long-term unemployed people's social relations. The number of both friends and acquaintances more often decreased than increased along with unemployment. This was the case especially among men, who lost both friends and acquaintances more often than women and also gained both less. One reason for these changes is most probably fellow workers, with whom the connection or bond often breaks or fades as the common denominator,

work, disappears. In McDaniel's study (2003), the unemployed men deliberately distanced themselves from their former fellow workers, including those who had been their friends. Another reason could then be that the unemployed themselves begin to retreat from their social relations and/or social occasions.

Several studies have shown that unemployed people are not very active in taking part in social events such as organizational or associational activities (e.g. Heino 2000, 119; Gallie et al. 2003; Ervasti 2003, 136; Lindsay 2009). The results of the current study did not, however, give support to this, although they did not provide decisive evidence against it either. Comparing the results with other unemployment studies as well as Finns in general was difficult due to scarcity of results in general and differences in measuring. The types and categorizations of organizations in each study were often quite different, as well as the time frame within which the frequency of activity was examined. This is probably worth noting also when planning future studies of this theme. The comparisons with Statistics Finland (2002), however, indicated that the long-term unemployed in the current study participated in activities of religious organizations more actively than average Finns and were equally inactive in taking part in political activities. Their participation in activities of sports organizations seemed to be, however, slightly less frequent. The results might instead to some degree reflect Vähätalo's contemplation (1984, 97, 107) that many people's organizational activities are not work-related and thus do not necessarily decrease due to unemployment.

In the case of close trusted friends it was possible to compare the results of the long-term unemployed with those of Finns in general (Ek 2005, 70-71). The comparison indicated that it was most common for the respondents in both studies to have 2-3 close friends they could trust. The long-term unemployed, however, had more often only one or no close friends at all. This might again be partially due to the fact that some fellow workers had been considered as close friends, but along with unemployment the bond was either completely lost or became weaker and ultimately altered into common friendship or acquaintanceship. Furthermore, in the current study the results concerning the number of close friends and the number of people whom can be turned to in need of help were highly similar, whereas in the study by Ek (2005, 71) the number of people who can be asked for help was clearly higher than the number of close friends. The most likely explanation here is that for the employed this sphere of helpful people often includes some fellow workers, who can be asked for help even though they would not be considered as close friends. For the unemployed of the current study, however, the people they can ask for help seemed to quite often be the ones they also considered as their close trusted friends.

The number of close trusted friends was strongly connected with the respondents' self-assessed state of health, which deteriorated especially when the number of friends decreased to one or none. Similar kinds of results were found in the study by Poortinga (2006), where people who had higher levels of social trust were more likely to assess their health as good or very good compared to people with lower levels of social trust. The connection between social support and health has been discussed and examined in several previous studies (e.g. Kawachi et al. 1999, Rose 2000, Cohen 2004, Richmond et al. 2007, Uchino 2009). Receiving more social support can reduce stress and improve health, whereas the lack of it can weaken physical and mental health respectively (House 1981, 37; Schaefer et al. 1981).

One dimension of social capital is the feeling of connectedness with society. Sassi (2002, 59) considered that being part of something is about the feeling of belonging to something, being a member of something. This is a noteworthy point as being formally part of something and feeling that you are part of something are two different matters and it is often circumstantial, which interpretation is experienced meaningful. In the current study the respondents were asked to assess how closely or weakly connected they felt to different communities and society. The results differed considerably between Finnish- and Swedish-speakers so they cannot be interpreted to reflect the long-term unemployed in general. Judging from the results of the Finnish-speakers there seemed to be a consistent trend in the feeling of connectedness; they felt clearly most closely connected with Finnish society, then their hometown/home municipality and least closely with their residence community. Among the Swedish-speakers there were no notable differences between the three. Differences between the two language groups as well as possible explanations will be discussed more closely later in this chapter.

Previous studies have shown that unemployed people quite often use their social relations for getting information about available jobs (e.g. Korpi 2001, Lindsay 2009). The results of the current study also indicated that information about available jobs flows in the social networks of the long-term unemployed. More than half of the respondents had received such information from their social relations, mostly from friends and acquaintances, i.e. strong and weak ties. A large proportion of the respondents were, however, also outside this activity. The fact that many of the respondents were on the verge of retiring, and thus not actively seeking a job anymore, most likely plays a substantial role in the results and there was a significant difference to this respect between the age groups.

There were differences in social capital between men and women. Women seemed to be more family-oriented than men; they had more close relatives, were more often in contact with them and felt more closely connected to their kin. In addition, neither did women's social relations seem to be as prone to the negative effects of unemployment. The number of friends and acquaintances decreased considerably more often among men and were more seldom replaced by new relationships, which seems to indicate that their social networks consisted more of work-related relations. According to Karvonen (2008, 110), men can also deliberately retreat from social relations because of the stigmatizing effects of unemployment.

There were also differences between the age groups. The older unemployed appeared to have a more extensive social network as they had more often many friends, close relatives, acquaintances and close trusted friends. This may provide them a better social safety net, which could in part help in coping with unemployment. The strength of their social safety net was also observed as a closer feeling of connectedness with their family and kin. Furthermore, the older unemployed felt more closely connected to their residence community, which probably enhances their feeling of security and support. The younger unemployed were, however, more often in contact with their friends, which may compensate for the lack of breadth of the network.

5.2. How do the long-term unemployed cope with unemployment?

According to Lazarus and Folkman (1984, 141), coping is "*constantly changing cognitive and behavioural efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person"*. In order to cope with a problematic situation an individual uses resources that are available to him/her. These can be money, supportive relationships, relevant skills, health, energy and positive beliefs. (Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 157-160). In the current study the means of coping were approached by studying what kind of coping strategies the long-term unemployed used. Their actual coping was examined through their financial situation, health and social support.

Many of the long-term unemployed tried to adopt a positive approach to their unemployment through trying to see positive features in it and to perceive it as an opportunity for positive change or growth. Having more time to spend with friends and family or having time to do things you never had had time to do before were features that many of the respondents had

experienced as positive sides of their unemployment. One fifth, however, could not find anything positive in unemployment.

For most of the respondents unemployment meant struggling with money. It extended from having to stretch the budget to various extents to real deprivation. This was quite expected and previous studies have also had similar results (e.g. Manninen 1993, 105; Nyman 2002, 132; Heino 2000, 122; Ervasti 2003, 124-125). In the current study almost half of the respondents received an earnings-related allowance, the highest form of unemployment benefit, which may have attenuated the results concerning financial situation somewhat as those living on the basic unemployment allowance have probably more financial difficulties and stress about money. Financial situation was also considered as a stressful factor by most of those respondents, who experienced that unemployment caused them stress. The factor that was chosen second most often was uncertainty of future, which is probably at least partially connected with worrying about money as well. The results also showed that financial troubles had a connection with long-term unemployed people's health. Those who had more financial difficulties felt their health was weaker compared to those with a better financial situation. This connection has also been found in earlier studies (e.g. Turner et al. 1991; Viinamäki et al. 1993; Alm 2001, 53; Ervasti 2003, 122, 131; McKee-Ryan 2005). One possible explanation is that the stress caused by financial strain can deteriorate health. Another could be that people with scarce money cannot afford nutritious and healthy food, which was also mentioned in the comments by the respondents of the current study. Some might also have had a sportive hobby, which they have given up due to financial reasons and have not replaced it with some other form of exercise.

Health of unemployed people has overall been shown to be poorer than that of employed people, and they have been found to suffer from various health problems deriving from unemployment and its consequences (e.g. Theodossiou 1998; Starrin & Jönsson 1998; Heino 2000, 113-114; Alm 2001, 24; Heponiemi et al. 2008). Some studies have, however, also shown that there had not been changes in health or that it had even improved along with unemployment (e.g. Manninen 1993, 106, 178; Poutanen 2000, 130-132). In the current study most of the long-term unemployed considered their health as fairly good or good, but comparison with the self-assessed health of the unemployed in general (Heino 2000, 69) and average Finns (Helakorpi et al. 2008, 43) revealed that their health still seemed to be poorest. Interestingly enough, most of the respondents of the current study, however, felt that their health had changed for the better along with unemployment. Closer inspection revealed that this applied only to women, as for men the change was slightly more often for the worse. Moreover, the

change for the better was also experienced more often by the older unemployed.

Long-term unemployment and its consequences appeared to affect men harder than women. More men experienced financial difficulties than women and they felt also in general more stressed by unemployment. It appeared also that unemployed men's health slightly more often deteriorated along with unemployment, whereas women's health tended to improve.

The fact that men seemed to be more affected by stress and financial difficulties could be due to them being traditionally considered as breadwinners of the household. The pressure to find a job may thus afflict them harder than women, who aside from having a professional career also often bear more responsibility for taking care of the children and household, which can to some extent replace work as a way of "doing their share". The higher stress levels can affect health in various ways, which might also partially explain why more men felt that their health had deteriorated along with unemployment.

Women's approach to unemployment also seemed to be more positive. The coping strategies that were more common for women were characterized by trying to see the positive side of unemployment and confronting the changes and consequences it brought with an optimistic attitude. They experienced more often that unemployment had brought positive features in their life, such as more time for friends and hobbies. The coping strategies that were more characteristic for men were often negative and evasive in nature. It was also clearly more common for them not to find any positive features in unemployment.

There were also differences in coping between the age groups. The results indicated that long-term unemployment affected the younger age group more severely than the older unemployed. More of the younger unemployed suffered from financial difficulties and more of them also felt that the financial situation stressed them. Other factors that were found stressful more often by the younger unemployed were uncertainty about the future, insecurity, and other people's expectations. It was also more common for them to feel that unemployment itself caused them stress, whereas more of the older unemployed felt that unemployment did not cause them stress at all or less compared to the time they were working. On average, unemployment also appeared to have negative effects on the health of the younger unemployed, whereas among the older unemployed it was instead more often experienced that the change in health was for the better.

The fact that the younger unemployed had more financial difficulties is most likely due to them being in the phase of life where house loans and dependent children put strain on their economy (e.g. Warr & Jackson 1984; Manninen 1993, 177; Vähätalo 1998, 121-122). The older unemployed have already passed this stage and they likely also have more savings, which makes it easier for them to live their everyday life and survive any unexpected expenses. Overall it might be termed reaching the "duty-free" phase of life. It may also be, as Strandh (2000) suggests, that the predictability of the life course affects how strongly or weakly financial strain is experienced. For example, people who are approaching retirement know that they will exit unemployment soon and can thus already feel a sense of control over their life, which may reduce their experiences of financial strain.

Not only do the younger unemployed experience stress concerning their daily survival and the possible unexpected expenses that may arise, but they probably also worry about the future as not finding a job means continuation of the struggle. All this makes it also difficult for them to plan their life ahead. For the older unemployed, many of whom were already in the unemployment pension tube and approaching retirement, the stress has instead often diminished as the strains, requirements and ever escalating pace of working life has been left behind. As they are not planning on returning to working life, they also escape the ever hardening competition for jobs that causes stress and frustration for the younger unemployed still involved in the "rat race". Many of the older unemployed can also already concentrate on planning their life after retirement and having something positive to look forward to may have a considerably positive effect on how they experience their current situation.

Feeling more stressed could also be one reason why the younger unemployed perceive that their health is now worse than before unemployment as stress can have physiological consequences (Lönnqvist 2009). Respectively the reduced stress might have contributed to the fact that the older unemployed felt that their health had improved. Another possible reason for the improved health is a release from a physically straining job. Many of the older unemployed have a long working career behind them, which may have caused different kinds of health problems that are now easing off during unemployment.

The different situation of the age groups also became evident in the use of coping strategies. Of the 25 listed strategies, 16 were used more by the younger unemployed. The only one that was used more by the older unemployed was exercising. The strategies that were characteristic for the younger unemployed were often negatively oriented and included evasive

and non-constructive elements. The younger unemployed also used more support seeking strategies than the older unemployed. Overall, the older unemployed obviously more often felt that their situation did not require so much active coping.

The division also reflected the features that were found as positive in unemployment. Among the younger unemployed the features of unemployment that were experienced as positive were oriented towards things that provide a possibility to improve the situation, such as changing direction professionally or studying new things. These views express the fact that they are still in the middle of their working life, whereas the older unemployed were setting their sights on other areas. To them the positive thing in unemployment was the increased free time that can be used for doing things that they have not had time to do before.

5.3. What kind of information do long-term unemployed people seek and what sources do they use?

In the current study the focus of information behaviour was on everyday life information seeking, which was divided into orienting information seeking and problem-specific information seeking according to the idea presented by Savolainen (2008a 5-6, 83-84).

The long-term unemployed appeared to be very active in orienting information seeking as nearly all of them monitored current events through television and newspapers daily or almost daily and the majority listened to the radio almost every day as well. They also actively followed news from the same sources that were used for tuning in to media with the addition of local papers, from which half of the respondents followed news every day. Compared to the other sources, the Internet was used fairly little for orienting information seeking – daily by 29% of the respondents, which might be due to the older age of the majority of the respondents as older people are perhaps not the primary users of it. The unemployed monitored everyday events actively and regularly also in Savolainen's study (2008a, 94-96, 98-99, 104-106) and the preferred sources were the same; television and newspapers. The Internet was not considered as a highly important source by his respondents either.

The respondents were active seekers of problem-specific information as well. Nearly all of them had sought information about societal and current issues at least occasionally and most of them often or very often. Health issues were a frequently sought subject as well, but information about

educational issues and matters connected with unemployment did not raise very much interest. This is probably once again related by the fact that a great many of the respondents were approaching pension. The most common source for seeking problem-specific information was printed material followed by television programmes, visual recordings included. The Internet was also used considerably for active information seeking, even though it had not been used much for monitoring daily events.

In many studies examining people's information seeking habits, others have been considered as an important source of information (e.g. Marcella & Baxter 1999, Julien & Michels 2000, Fisher et al. 2005, Savolainen & Kari 2004). The respondents of the current study did not, however, use personal sources to a great extent. This might indicate some kind of social withdrawal, but could as well be a result of the loss of fellow workers, who are often a convenient and easily available source of information while at work.

It appeared that the long-term unemployed of the current study became more active in their everyday life information seeking during unemployment as their monitoring of current events and seeking information about different issues increased rather than decreased. The majority considered that they had monitored news and current events more than when they were working. A clear majority also reported having sought more problem-specific information than before. It seems therefore, that the unemployed do not deliberately withdraw from society or become indifferent about what is going on. One likely reason for the increased monitoring and active information seeking is that unemployed people have more time to use for these kinds of activities. In addition, increased free time enables one to become absorbed in things more profoundly and may bring new hobbies and areas of interest that inspire seeking information. The increase in information seeking can of course be also partly due to the fact that the unemployed have to seek information about issues concerning unemployment, available jobs and education that was not so relevant at the time they were still working.

Men and women appeared to have quite similar habits in tuning in to media and tuning in to news. Women's orienting information seeking seemed to have, however, more often increased along with unemployment than men's. In problem-specific information-seeking their interest differed also in certain aspects. Men sought information about sports more often, whereas women were more interested in culture and everyday matters. Women also used printed material and personal sources for their information seeking more often, whereas men turned to professionals or authorities. This might indicate that it is more common for women to first try to find information on their own, whereas men contact the initial source of information directly.

The older unemployed appeared to be in many aspects more active and they also expressed the notion that unemployment had increased their activity. They read newspapers and magazines more often, and they were more actively following what happened in the world from several sources. The older unemployed also more often read news from the local papers, which could be related to the fact that they felt more closely connected to their residence community. One explanation for the higher activity of the older unemployed could be that their focus in the current situation was more on the increased free time. Among the younger unemployed one reason for the scarcer monitoring of current affairs and tuning in to news may in some cases be their weaker financial situation, which might have forced them to stop subscribing to newspapers and magazines.

There were differences also concerning problems in information seeking. For the younger unemployed it appeared to be problematic to acquire information as more of them considered that there was too little information available and that it was difficult to access the sources and to find information. For the older unemployed, information overload seemed to pose more of a problem as more of them found that it was difficult to find the essential from the vast amount of information and to evaluate the reliability of information or sources.

5.4. Are there connections between long-term unemployed people's social capital, coping and information behaviour?

The results indicated that information seeking is connected with social activity and active coping. It appeared that the long-term unemployed, who were socially inactive, i.e. kept up little or no contact with their friends and acquaintances, were also less active in following daily events and news. Similar kinds of results were found concerning the connection between coping and information seeking. The long-term unemployed, who used active problem-focused coping strategies considerably, i.e. strategies that aimed at solving or managing problems or situations, also more actively tuned into news than those, who used these strategies in a limited way. The active problem-focused copers also more actively sought information about societal issues, unemployment issues, recreational issues and health. The respondents who reported using much support seeking strategies, which are active coping methods as well, also more actively sought information about unemployment, health and everyday issues. This connection between active information seeking and use of more active coping strategies has also been noticed in studies examining the connection between coping and information

behaviour among students and community residents (e.g. van Zuuren & Wolfs 1991, Bar-Tal & Spitzer 1999, Ben-Zur 2002).

Interestingly enough, also those respondents who actively used emotion-focused coping strategies, which are mostly passive or even evasive in nature, were active seekers of information. This activity applied to unemployment issues, health issues and everyday matters. It might be that while using emotion-focused coping strategies in a way reflects how profoundly the person experiences unemployment, it also reflects how he/she experiences other things in life. In other words, it may not be activity but concern that is the key feature that drives emotion-focused copers to seek information about troubling matters. Shiloh and Orgler-Shoob's research (2006), which studied the connection between coping and information behaviour of students facing a stressful study situation, information-seeking was found to be connected with problem-focused coping, but even more with emotion-focused coping. According to their respondents, the reason for engaging in seeking information was mainly its emotion-focused functions. In the study by van Zuuren and Wolfs (1991), a connection with information seeking and emotion-focused coping was also found. In their case the emotion-focused strategies which were involved were, however, mainly the ones featuring "positive thinking" raher than "active forgetting".

5.5. Are there differences between Finnish-speaking and Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed people in their social capital, coping and information behaviour?

Differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speaking populations in Finland have been of interest in several studies concerning, for example, social capital, health, and unemployment rates. Studies examining differences among the unemployed in particular have, however, not been conducted so far.

According to the studies by Hyyppä and Mäki (2001, 2003), Swedish-speakers have more social capital; they have more trust and civic engagement and tighter and richer civic and social networks. Similar kinds of results have been reached by Nyqvist et al. (2008), whose study showed that Swedish-speakers have more social participation, social contacts, trust and sense of security. According to Saarela and Finnäs (2003), Swedish-speakers also have a lower unemployment rate than Finnish-speakers, although reasons for this phenomenon could not be explicitly explained.

The results of the current study also showed that the Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed tend to have more social relations than their Finnish-speaking counterparts. It was more common for the Swedish-speakers to have many friends and acquaintances, as well as to have more close friends whom they could trust. Finnish-speakers, however, appeared to feel more connectedness with their residence community, hometown/home municipality and Finnish society in general. The results could be affected by the fact that Swedish-speakers are a minority in Finland and often also in their residential areas. This might also to some extent explain the reason that their social focus is more on personal relations.

The stressful factors in unemployment appeared to be fairly similar for both Finnish- and Swedish-speakers as there were differences only concerning two factors; health was experienced as a stressful factor by a larger proportion of Finnish-speakers whereas more Swedish-speakers felt insecurity to be stressful. The fact that insecurity was experienced more stressful by the Swedish-speaking unemployed is somewhat surprising as they seemed to have a stronger social safety net. It is also notable that there were no differences in financial situation or stress caused by it, which could be expected to be strongly linked to the feeling of insecurity. It might therefore be that the Swedish-speakers' weaker feeling of connectedness with society is somehow the most deciding factor here.

When examining information behaviour, it appeared that Finnish-speakers were more active in seeking problem-specific information. Perhaps the most notable difference, however, concerned problems in seeking information. Swedish-speakers experienced difficulties mainly in finding information, whereas for Finnish-speakers the problems seemed to rather derive from information overload as they found it more difficult to find the essential in the voluminous amount of information. These differences are most likely due to the fact that in Finland there is considerably more information available in Finnish than in Swedish. This could also explain the lesser activity of the Swedish-speakers in seeking problem-specific information.

Perhaps the most notable result concerning the two language groups was that ultimately the differences were quite small and most of those that were found did not seem to follow any particular pattern.

5.6. Conclusions

The response rate of the current study was almost 50%, which could overall be considered good for an unemployment study and is especially commendable considering the fact that the questionnaire was extremely long

and required a great deal of time and effort to complete. The open question at the end of the questionnaire proved to be extremely useful as it was answered by surprisingly many respondents, many of whom also described their experiences extensively. It provided a great deal of valuable information, which perhaps could have been utilized more.

Throughout the study it was constantly observed that the older unemployed people's situation was in many ways completely different to that of the younger respondents, and this often had a crucial influence on the results. Therefore it was in many cases not meaningful to draw conclusions concerning the long-term unemployed as a whole.

There were not many remarkable differences between the Finnish- and Swedish speaking long-term unemployed and most of the differences that were found did not appear to form any specific pattern. The Swedish-speakers felt less connected with their residence community, hometown/home municipality and Finnish society, but correspondingly had a stronger social network. Their position as a lingual minority was likely reflected in the fact that their problems in information seeking were mostly related to lack of information, whereas Finnish-speakers suffered from information overload.

Coping with long-term unemployment differed between men and women, and younger and older unemployed. The results indicated that long-term unemployment placed most strain on men and younger unemployed. Unemployment had more often a negative effect on health among these groups and they also experienced stress and financial difficulties more commonly. The coping strategies used by men and younger unemployed were also more often negatively oriented and evasive.

Unemployment had in general a negative effect on unemployed people's social relations, as the number of friends and acquaintances more often decreased than increased along with unemployment. This was common especially among men. Having only one or no close trustworthy friends was also more common for the long-term unemployed than Finns in general. Women seemed to have better social safety nets, as they were more family oriented and received more support from their strong ties. Among men the social relations seemed to be more dependent on work.

The long-term unemployed actively monitored current events and news. They were also active seekers of information, especially concerning societal and current issues as well as health. Problems in information seeking seemed more to concern information overload than lack of information, though in this matter there were considerable differences between the older and

younger unemployed as well as Finnish- and Swedish-speakers. The results also indicated that the long-term unemployed on average became more active in their everyday life information seeking along with unemployment. Age seemed to affect information seeking as well, as the older unemployed appeared to follow news more often than the younger unemployed. The older unemployed seemed to become more active in orienting information seeking as well.

Activity appeared to be a common denominator between social capital, coping and information seeking. The long-term unemployed who were socially inactive, also less often tuned in to media and news. Active information seeking was also connected with more active use of coping strategies. This was especially the case with problem-focused copers, which further underlines the role of activity as a common denominator. Those who tuned more actively in to media and news also felt closer feeling of connectedness with their residence community and hometown/home municipality.

The activity factor might have a further effect on the results. People who are more active in other areas of life might also be more active in answering questionnaires as the one used in this study. In fact, based on the results of this study this might not only be possible but even likely. It may thus be that isolation problems are in reality more common among long-term unemployed people than the results of the current study show, as the proportion of passive and isolated unemployed could very well be higher among those who did not answer the questionnaire.

5.7. Suggestions for further research

The current study provided many results, of which the underlying factors and reasons could be studied more profoundly, such as the reasons behind the differences between men and women, which were encountered on many occasions throughout the study. Of interest would be, for example, why men tended to use more negative and evasive strategies. What are the reasons behind the result that women's self-assessed state of health more often improved along with unemployment while men's deteriorated, and why did women seem to experience less financial strain than men in connection with unemployment?

The feeling of connectedness with Finnish society in general also raised questions. Why did the Swedish-speaking long-term unemployed feel weaker connectedness and does this difference also apply to Finnish- and Swedish-speaking Finns in general?

Social support was also a factor that could be of interest to examine more in depth. Questions that remained open include what kind of support do unemployed people receive (emotional, tangible, informational), what kind of support do they consider as most essential or important, and what kind of support do they feel they would need and want and from whom? The focus of information behaviour was also only on information seeking. The information needs of the respondents were not examined.

The final question of the questionnaire provided a possibility for the long-term unemployed to freely comment and describe their experiences of unemployment. This elicited much information that was important for the study and would have otherwise been left undiscovered. The most intriguing option for further research would thus be an interview study which could try to find answers to the numerous questions raised by the results of the current study.

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APPENDIX 1

Turku, the 11th of October 2007

Dear recipient

The purpose of this survey is to find out what long-term unemployment is today. The questionnaire aims at examining how long-term unemployed experience their situation, how they cope in today's society, what kind of social networks they have and what kind of information they need and use.

The survey comprises approximately 1600 long-term unemployed around Finland. The Ministry of Labour has sampled the participants randomly and delivered names and addresses for the research to use. The research will give decision-makers, authorities and other information mediators information about what long-term unemployment is today. Your answers are thus very important in order to obtain as accurate picture as possible.

The research is conducted at the Institute of information studies at Åbo Akademi University. The project is mainly financed by the Academy of Finland.

The survey is done completely anonymously. The answers are handled confidentially and they will be only at the researchers' disposal.

We hope that you will return the filled questionnaire within one week in the enclosed envelope. The postage of the reply envelope has been paid for.

We will be happy to answer any questions concerning the research.

Thank you very much already in advance for your participation and answers!

Kind regards

Reija Perttilä
MA, Researcher

Gunilla Widén-Wulff
PhD, Research leader, Project leader

1. Your gender?
□ Male □ Female

2. Your mother tongue?
□ Finnish □ Swedish
□ Other, what:

3. What is your year of birth? _____

4. What is your marital status?
□ Single □ Married
□ Cohabiting □ Divorced/Separated
□ Widowed

5. What is your educational level
□ Elementary school/Civic school
□ Comprehensive school
□ Grammar school
□ Vocational school
□ Upper secondary school/ Upper secondary school graduate
□ College
□ University of applied sciences
□ University
□ Other, what:

6. What is the size of the town or municipality you live in?
□ less than 5000 inhabitants
□ 5000 – 20 000 inhabitants
□ 20 001 – 50 000 inhabitants
□ 50 001 – 150 000 inhabitants
□ more than 150 000 inhabitants

7. What is your current situation?
□ Working
□ Unemployed
□ In labour market training
□ In work experience placement/
work preparation
□ Student
□ Pensioner
□ Other, what:

8. How long work experience do you have?
□ No work experience
□ Less than a year
□ 1-2 years
□ 3-5 years
□ 5-10 years
□ 10-20 years
□ more than 20 years

9a. Do you currently receive
□ Earnings-related allowance
□ Basic unemployment allowance
□ Labour market subsidy
□ Income support
□ Sickness benefit
□ Housing allowance
□ Other allowances, what:
□ Don't receive any allowances

9b. Have you received earnings-related allowance within the last three months?
□ Yes □ No

10. How much is the combined income in your household per month at the moment after taxes? (Take into account all income such as housing allowance, child benefits etc.)
□ less than 800 €
□ 800 – 1000 €
□ 1001 – 1300 €
□ 1301 – 1600 €
□ 1601 – 2000 €
□ 2001 – 2500 €
□ more than 2500 €

11. Who belongs to your household besides you?
□ There is no one else in my household besides me (You can go to question 13a.)
□ Father
□ Mother
□ ___ sibling/siblings
□ Spouse/Partner
□ ___ child/children
□ Others, who:

12. Is anyone in your household (apart from you) currently unemployed?
□ No one
□ Father
□ Mother
□ ___ sibling/siblings
□ Spouse/Partner
□ ___ child/children
□ Others, who:

13a. Have you been unemployed before?
□ Yes □ No (You can go to question 14.)

13b. How many unemployment periods have you had before?
□ One □ Two
□ Three or more

13c. Has any of your previous unemployment periods lasted more than 6 months?
□ Yes □ No

13d. How long was your previous unemployment period?
□ Less than six months
□ 6-12 months
□ More than one year

14. How many jobs have you applied for within the last six months?
□ None □ 1-2
□ 3-5 □ 6-10
□ More than ten

15a. Have you within the last two years participated in a course arranged by the labour force bureau?
□ Yes □ No (You can go to question 16a.)

15b. How did the course benefit you? (You can choose several alternatives)
□ I got a job ___
□ I gained more confidence ___
□ My proficiency improved ___
□ I got something meaningful to do ___
□ I gained new skills ___
□ I received new information ___
□ I gained more motivation for job seeking ___
□ I met other unemployed ___
□ I got mental support ___
□ Other, what: ___
□ It did not benefit me at all
Indicate with numbers 1-3 the alternatives that benefitted you the most:
1 = most beneficial
2 = second most beneficial
3 = third most beneficial

16a. Do you feel you have enough information concerning your possibilities and rights when you run errands in the Social Insurance Institution?
□ Yes, I don't need more
□ Yes, but I would like more
□ No, I would need more
□ No, but I don't need more either

16b. Do you feel you have enough information concerning your possibilities and rights when you run errands at the labour force bureau?
□ Yes, I don't need more
□ Yes, but I would like more
□ No, I would need more
□ No, but I don't need more either

17. Do you feel you have received enough information from the Social Insurance Institution and the labour force bureau?
□ Yes, from the Social Insurance Institution
□ Yes, from the labour force bureau
□ Not from either one

18. What kind of job seeking methods have you used?
□ I have followed job announcements on the labour force bureau's notice board
□ I have followed job announcements from newspapers
□ I have followed job announcements on the Internet
□ I have enquired about possible jobs directly from employers (without a job announcement)
□ I have put my CV on the Internet
□ I have put job seeking announcements on the Internet
□ I have asked people, who might have information about available jobs
□ Other, what:

19. Have you ever obtained a job with the help of your social relations?
□ No
□ Yes, once
□ Yes, more than once
□ I have gotten all my jobs so far with the help of social relations

20. How did you obtain your latest job?
□ I replied to a job announcement
□ I was told about a job by a friend or a family member
□ I was told about a job by a relative
□ I was told about a job by an acquaintance
□ I got information about a job through my educational institute
□ I was offered a job
□ I was asked to come back to my old job
□ The labour force bureau arranged me a job
□ The labour force bureau appointed me a job
□ I contacted an employer on my own initiative (without a job announcement)
□ I haven't been in working life
□ In some other way, how?

21. Who has told you about available jobs?
□ Friends
□ Family members
□ Relatives
□ Acquaintances
□ Other unemployed
□ Former fellow workers
□ Other people
□ No one

22. Do you feel that there have been positive features in unemployment?
□ More time for friends and family
□ More time for hobbies
□ More time for studying new things
□ More time to ponder the life situation and future
□ A chance to change direction professionally
□ More time to do things you never had time to do before
□ Other, what:
□ I have not felt positive features in unemployment

23. From whom have you received support in the unemployment situation?
□ Spouse/Partner
□ Parents
□ Siblings
□ Children
□ Boyfriend/Girlfriend
□ Friends
□ Acquaintances
□ Former fellow workers
□ Other unemployed
□ Labour force bureau officials
□ Someone else, who:
□ No one

24. How much have the people who have supported you…

a) given you advice how to cope with unemployment
□ Not at all, but I haven't needed it either
□ Not at all, even though I would have needed it
□ Too little compared to my needs
□ Enough compared to my needs
□ More than I would have wanted

b) helped in seeking a job
□ Not at all, but I haven't needed it either
□ Not at all, even though I would have needed it
□ Too little compared to my needs
□ Enough compared to my needs
□ More than I would have wanted

c) given financial help
□ Not at all, but I haven't needed it either
□ Not at all, even though I would have needed it
□ Too little compared to my needs
□ Enough compared to my needs
□ More than I would have wanted

d) given other kinds of concrete help, such as lent things, provided a lift
□ Not at all, but I haven't needed it either
□ Not at all, even though I would have needed it
□ Too little compared to my needs
□ Enough compared to my needs
□ More than I would have wanted

e) showed appreciation
□ Not at all, but I haven't needed it either
□ Not at all, even though I would have needed it
□ Too little compared to my needs
□ Enough compared to my needs
□ More than I would have wanted

f) showed that they care
□ Not at all, but I haven't needed it either
□ Not at all, even though I would have needed it
□ Too little compared to my needs
□ Enough compared to my needs
□ More than I would have wanted

25. How has unemployment affected your life financially?
□ I can live almost the same way as when working
□ I can manage, but to a certain extent have to give up extra spending
□ I can manage, but have to give up all extra spending
□ I have difficulties to make money stretch
□ I have real difficulties. There is simply not enough money

26a. How much does unemployment cause you stress?
□ Somewhat
□ Much
□ Very much
□ I am now less stressed than when I was working
□ Unemployment does not cause me stress (You can go to question 27.)

26b What factors in unemployment or connected with it cause you stress?
□ Financial situation ___
□ Uncertainty of future ___
□ Insecurity ___
□ Family's well-being ___
□ Health issues ___
□ Other people's expectations ___
□ Other people's opinions ___
□ Feeling of inability to affect matters ___
□ Other, what: ___
Indicate with numbers 1-3 which alternatives caused you most stress: 1 = has caused me most stress etc.

27. With whom have you discussed your unemployment?
□ Spouse/Partner
□ Siblings
□ Children
□ Boyfriend/Girlfriend
□ Friends
□ Acquaintances
□ Relatives
□ Former fellow workers
□ Other unemployed
□ Other, who:
□ No one
□ I don't want to discuss my unemployment

28. Are any of your friends or acquaintances currently unemployed?
□ Yes, ___ friend/friends
□ Yes, ___ acquaintance/acquaintances
□ No
□ I cannot say

29a. How is your state of health at the moment?
☐ Good
☐ Fairly good
☐ Fairly bad
☐ Bad
☐ I cannot say

29b. Do you feel that during your unemployment your state of health is/was…
☐ better than when working
☐ as good as when working
☐ worse than when working
☐ I cannot say

30. What do you miss from working life and how much?

	not at all	somewhat	fairly much	very much
Fellow workers	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feeling of being needed	☐	☐	☐	☐
Status and identity provided by work	☐	☐	☐	☐
Feeling of togetherness	☐	☐	☐	☐
Daily routine	☐	☐	☐	☐
Financial security	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other, what: _____	☐	☐	☐	☐
_____	☐	☐	☐	☐

31a. Do you feel that people think you are lazy because you are unemployed?

□ very seldom/ never	□ fairly seldom	□ sometimes	□ often	□ very often

b. Do you feel that people avoid you because you are unemployed?

□ very seldom/ never	□ fairly seldom	□ sometimes	□ often	□ very often

c. Do you feel that other people have talked condescendingly of the unemployed when you have been unemployed?

□ very seldom/ never	□ fairly seldom	□ sometimes	□ often	□ very often

d. Do you avoid telling people that you are unemployed?

□ very seldom/ never	□ fairly seldom	□ sometimes	□ often	□ very often

32a. Are you involved in an unemployed people's association?
□ Yes
□ No (You can go to question 33.)

32b. What useful does the unemployed association provide you?
□ Something to do
□ Information
□ Education
□ Company
□ Support
□ Advice
□ Friends
□ Other, what:
□ Nothing

33. How have your social relations changed along with unemployment? (Tick the appropriate alternatives, if they have)
□ My sphere of friends has changed partially or entirely
□ My sphere of friends has increased
□ My sphere of friends has decreased
□ My sphere of acquaintances has changed partially or entirely
□ My sphere of acquaintances has increased
□ My sphere of acquaintances has decreased
□ I keep more contact with my relatives
□ I keep less contact with my relatives
□ My relationship with my relatives hasn't changed
□ My social relations have changed in some other way? How?

34. How do the following statements describe your approach to unemployment? Choose from each row the alternative that applies to you best.

	not at all	some what	much	very much
Refused to think about unemployment too much	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tried to forget unemployment	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tried to see positive features in unemployment	☐	☐	☐	☐
Went along with fate; sometimes you just have bad luck	☐	☐	☐	☐
Talked to someone to find out more about my situation	☐	☐	☐	☐
Talked to someone who could do something concrete about my situation	☐	☐	☐	☐
Asked a relative or friend I respected for advice	☐	☐	☐	☐
Talked to someone about how I was feeling	☐	☐	☐	☐
Let unemployment depress me	☐	☐	☐	☐
Wished that the situation would go away or somehow be over with	☐	☐	☐	☐
Had fantasies or wishes about how things might turn out	☐	☐	☐	☐
Tried to make myself feel better by...				
- eating	☐	☐	☐	☐
- drinking	☐	☐	☐	☐
- smoking	☐	☐	☐	☐
- using medication	☐	☐	☐	☐
- exercising	☐	☐	☐	☐
Avoided being with people in general	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kept others from knowing how bad things were	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hoped a miracle would happen	☐	☐	☐	☐
Lived one day at a time	☐	☐	☐	☐
Came up with different solutions to my situation	☐	☐	☐	☐
I made a plan of action and followed it	☐	☐	☐	☐
Drew on my past experiences of unemployment	☐	☐	☐	☐
Changed or grew as a person in a good way	☐	☐	☐	☐
Grew stronger along with unemployment	☐	☐	☐	☐

35a. How many friends, acquaintances and close relatives (outside your household) do you have?

	none	1-2	3-5	6-10	11-20	more than 20
Friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Close relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Acquaintances	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

35b. How often are you on average in contact with them?

	daily	2-3 times a week	once a week	2-3 times a month	once a month	sel-dom	not at all
Friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Close relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Acquaintances	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

36. How many close friends you can trust do you have?

☐ None ☐ One
☐ Two/ Three ☐ Four/Five
☐ More than five

37. How many people do you know in your immediate surroundings from who you can ask for help in case of a practical problem?

☐ None ☐ One
☐ Two/ Three ☐ Four/Five
☐ More than five

38. How closely connected do you feel with the following communities?

	not at all	fairly weak	fairly close	very close
Family	☐	☐	☐	☐
Kin	☐	☐	☐	☐
Residence community (neighbours, village community)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hometown/home municipality	☐	☐	☐	☐
Congregation	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hobby or other recreational association	☐	☐	☐	☐
Unemployed	☐	☐	☐	☐
Finnish society	☐	☐	☐	☐
Profession	☐	☐	☐	☐

39. How often do you engage in the following activities?

	not at all	daily	3-5 times a week	1-2 times a week	1-3 times a month	seldom
Exercise	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hunt, fish, pick berries or mushrooms	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Walk in the country	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Go to the theatre or opera	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Go to a concert	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Go to movies	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Read fiction	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Read non-fiction	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Watch movies at home	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Play a music instrument	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sing in a choir	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Participate in music, dance or theatrical activities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Paint, draw or write	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Go to sports events	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Go to a restaurant, café or pub	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Meet relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Meet friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Meet neighbours/villagers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Participate in neighbourly help	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Do needlework	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Study (in workers' institute, adult education centre etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other, what:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

40. How much have you followed news and current affairs during your unemployment (compared to the time before your unemployment)?
- Considerably more
- Somewhat more
- Approximately as much
- Somewhat less
- Considerably less

41. How much have you sought information about issues that interest you during your unemployment (compared to the time before your unemployment)?
- Considerably more
- Somewhat more
- Approximately as much
- Somewhat less
- Considerably less

42. Have you participated in activities of associations, organizations or clubs during the last 6 months?

	not at all	1-5 times	more than 5 times
Sports club			
Adult education centre/Workers' institute			
Church or other religious organization			
Trade or labour market organization			
Political organization			
Non-profit making organization			
Charity organization			
Nature protection organization			
Unemployed association			
Other, what:			

43. How often do you tune into media?

	daily or almost daily	a few times a week	seldom	not at all
Newspapers				
Magazines				
Television				
Teletext				
Radio				
Free papers/Advertising mail				

44. How often do you follow news from these sources?

	daily	3-5 times a week	1-2 times a week	1-3 times a month	seldom or not at all
Television	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Radio	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Newspapers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Local papers	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Internet	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Teletext	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hear through other people	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other, what:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

45. How often do you seek information about the following subjects?

	very often	often	occa-sionally	seldom	not at all	try to avoid such infor-mation
Current issues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Societal issues	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Culture	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Recreation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Sports	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Hobbies	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Everyday matters or problems	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Health	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Matters connected with unemployment	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Available jobs	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Education	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other, what:	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

46. How much do you use the following sources for seeking information?

	much	fairly much	somewhat	not at all
Newspapers	☐	☐	☐	☐
Magazines	☐	☐	☐	☐
Internet	☐	☐	☐	☐
Books	☐	☐	☐	☐
Television programmes and visual recordings (such as DVD)	☐	☐	☐	☐
Friends	☐	☐	☐	☐
Acquaintances	☐	☐	☐	☐
Relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐
Library	☐	☐	☐	☐
Professionals in different fields	☐	☐	☐	☐
Authorities	☐	☐	☐	☐
Other, what:	☐	☐	☐	☐

47. Which of the following do you consider problematic in your information seeking?

☐ Too few sources available
☐ Sources difficult to access
☐ Difficult to use sources
☐ Too little information available
☐ Difficult to find information
☐ Difficult to find the essential from the vast amount of information
☐ Difficult to evaluate the reliability of information or information sources
☐ Not enough information in my mother tongue
☐ Other, what:

48. How much do you watch television on average?

☐ Not at all
☐ Not at all anymore, because I don't have a digibox
☐ Less than an hour a day
☐ 1-2 hours a day
☐ 3-4 hours a day
☐ More than 4 hours a day

49. How often do you use the Internet?
□ Daily or almost daily
□ A few times a week
□ A few times a month or more seldom
□ I don't use the Internet (You can go to question 52a.)

50. Those days when you use the Internet, how much do you use it on average per day?
□ Less than half an hour
□ 1-2 hours
□ 3-4 hours
□ More than 4 hours

51. What do you use the Internet for?
□ Following news
□ Seeking information
□ Keeping contact
□ Recreation
□ Paying bills
□ Blogging
□ Participating in discussion groups
□ Job seeking
□ Studying
□ Other, what:

52a. How often do you visit the library?
□ Daily or almost daily
□ 1-2 times a week
□ 1-3 times a month
□ More seldom than once a month
□ I don't visit the library at all (You can go to question 53.)

52b. What do you usually do in the library?
□ Read the daily newspaper/newspapers
□ Read other newspapers and magazines
□ Seek information
□ Use e-mail
□ Use the Internet for something else than e-mail
□ Find something to read at home
□ Meet people
□ Other, what:

53. Is there anything else you would like to say about unemployment or connected with it?

APPENDIX 2

Turku, 23rd of October 2007

Dear recipient

We sent you from Åbo Akademi University at the end of October and beginning of November a questionnaire concerning long-term unemployment, social networks and information behaviour. If you have already answered the questionnaire, this reminder is unnecessary and we are sorry about the possible inconveniences it causes you. Warmest thanks for your participation. Since the research is done completely anonymously, we can not know who has already answered the questionnaire. That is why this reminder is sent to everyone.

If you have not answered yet, we hope you will complete the questionnaire. You can send it in the enclosed envelope, the postage of which has been paid for. Every answer is very important in order for the research to succeed and to give as realistic picture of unemployment as possible.

Thank you all for your time.

Kind regards

Reija Perttilä
Researcher

Gunilla Widén-Wulff
Research leader, Project leader

Svenskt sammandrag

Socialt kapital, coping och informationsbeteende hos långtidsarbetslösa i Finland

Undersökningens syfte och det empiriska materialet

Att bli arbetslös hör till en av de stora omställningarna i livet. Hur en person upplever och reagerar på det beror på många olika faktorer, såsom personens ålder, livssituation, personlighet och arbetslöshetens längd; även ekonomiska konjunkturer kan ha betydelse. Arbetslösheten kan kännas annorlunda under en högkonjunktur än under en depression och konjunkturerna kan påverka också andra människors attityd mot de arbetslösa. Data för den här undersökningen samlades in under slutet av år 2007, dvs. före den ekonomiska recessionen, och resultaten återspeglar således upplevelser av arbetslöshet under relativt gynnsamma konjunkturer.

Undersökningens syfte är att studera hur långtidsarbetslösa klarar av sin situation, hurdant socialt kapital och informationsbeteende de har, samt granska hur de ovannämnda faktorerna är relaterade till varandra. Därtill undersöks om det finns skillnader mellan finsk- och svenskspråkiga långtidsarbetslösa gällande deras sociala kapital, coping (stresshantering) och informationsbeteende. Forskningsfrågorna som undersökningen strävar att svara på är:

1) *Hurdant socialt kapital har långtidsarbetslösa?*

2) *Hur hanterar långtidsarbetslösa arbetslösheten?*

3) *Hurdan information söker långtidsarbetslösa och vilka källor använder de?*

4) *Finns det relationer mellan långtidsarbetslösas sociala kapital, coping och informationsbeteende?*

5) *Finns det skillnader mellan finskspråkiga och svenskspråkiga långtidsarbetslösa gällande deras sociala kapital, coping och informationsbeteende?*

Undersökningens metod är kvantitativ. Det empiriska materialet består av data som insamlades via en postenkät, som hette *Långtidsarbetslöshet, sociala nätverk och informationsbeteende*. Den skickades till ett representativt urval omfattande 1600 finländska långtidsarbetslösa, dvs.

människor som hade varit utan arbete längre än ett år. För att få tillräcklig data för att utföra jämförelser mellan de två språkgrupperna, viktades samplet på så sätt att hälften av urvalet bestod av svenskspråkiga, som är en språkminoritet i Finland. För urval och adressuppgifter stod Arbetsministeriet. Enkäten skickades till finskspråkiga respondenter på finska och till svenskspråkiga på svenska. Det första utskicket gjordes i slutet av oktober och i början av november 2007. Ett påminnelsebrev, som innehöll en kopia av enkäten, skickades i slutet av november.

Av det ursprungliga urvalet nåddes 1579 personer. Det naturliga bortfallet blev således 21 individer. Av 1579 personer returnerade 750 enkäten, varigenom svarsprocenten blev 47. I analysskedet indelades respondenterna enligt ålder till äldre arbetslösa (55 år och äldre) och yngre arbetslösa (54 år och yngre). Majoriteten av respondenterna (73%) tillhörde den äldre gruppen.

Enkäten bestod av fyra huvudkategorier:

1) Bakgrundsinformation (demografiska variabler).

2) Socialt kapital (frågor gällande antalet sociala relationer och kontakthållande med dem, deltagande i organisationella aktiviteter, socialt förtroende, samt hur fast respondenter upplevde sig tillhöra olika grupper och samfund och det finländska samhället i allmänhet).

3) Coping (frågor gällande hurdana bemästringsstrategier arbetslösa använder för att klara av arbetslöshetssituationen – 25 frågor som baserar sig på *the revised Ways of Coping* frågebatteri av Folkman och Lazarus (1985), och frågor gällande hur arbetslösa i verkligheten klarar av sin situation – socialt stöd, ekonomisk situation, självuppskattat hälsotillstånd, och av arbetslösheten förorsakad stress).

4) Informationsbeteende (fokus låg på vardaglig informationssökning och bestod av frågor gällande orienterande och problemspecifik informationssökning, samt problem i informationssökningen).

Arbetslöshet och coping

Arbetslöshet, dess konsekvenser och hur individer klarar av det har studerats redan i årtionden. En av de tidiga undersökningarna gjordes i Marienthal, Österrike under 1930-talet och ledde till en teori av Jahoda (1982, 22-26), som ofta kallas deprivationsteorin. Enligt den fråntar arbetslösheten människor vissa upplevelser och funktioner som arbete erbjuder och gör dem

passiva. Teorin följdes av andra teorier och modeller, av vilka Warrs (1987) och Fryer och Paynes (1984) ofta hänvisas till. Vitaminmodellen av Warr (1987, 10-11, 210) har ganska likadana synpunkter som Jahodas teori. Den framhåller att arbetslösa människors omgivning saknar vissa egenskaper, vilket tär på deras mentala hälsa. Teorin av Fryer och Payne (1984) anför däremot att arbetslöshet också kan innehålla positiva egenskaper och proaktivitet. Det betyder inte att arbetslöshet inte skulle ha negativa sidor, men att arbetslösa människor även aktivt försöker påverka sin situation och se positiva aspekter i den. Den här undersökningen har inte medvetet valt någondera synpunkt som utgångspunkt för studien, utan har försökt betrakta arbetslösheten från båda vinklarna.

I den här undersökningen betraktades långtidsarbetslösas bemästring av arbetslöshet utgående från två synpunkter. Vad de aktivt gör för att klara av sin arbetslöshetssituation granskas via hurdana bemästringsstrategier de använder. Insamlade uppgifter om de långtidsarbetslösas finansiella situation, självuppskattade hälsa och sociala stöd bildar underlag för att evaluera hur de de facto klarar av sin arbetslöshetssituation.

Långtidsarbetslösas bemästringsstrategier granskades med ett frågebatteri omfattande 25 frågor, som baserar sig på Folkman och Lazarus' frågeformulär (*revised Ways of Coping,* 1985), som ursprungligen består av 66 punkter. Folkman och Lazarus (1985) har delat bemästringsstrategier i tre grupper på basis av hurdana bemästringsfunktioner de har: 1) problem-fokuserade 2) emotionellt-fokuserade och 3) blandade problem-fokuserade och emotionellt-fokuserade strategier. Problem-fokuserade bemästringsstrategier används då man försöker göra någonting åt problemet för att övervinna det; de är således mera aktiva strategier. Emotionellt-fokuserade strategier används då man känner att man kan inte göra någonting åt problemet; därför handlar det i det här fallet mera om att emotionellt anpassa sig till problemet. (Lazarus & Folkman 1984, 150). Blandade problem-fokuserade och emotionellt-fokuserade strategier består av både problem-fokuserade och emotionellt-fokuserade strategier som används för att söka socialt stöd (Folkman & Lazarus 1985).

Arbetslösas hälsa har studerats ganska mycket, och resultaten påvisar att deras hälsa i genomsnitt är sämre än arbetande människors. De flesta av studierna har visat att arbetslösa människor ofta lider av olika hälsoproblem orsakat av arbetslöshet och dess konsekvenser (t.ex. Theodossiou 1998; Heino 2000, 73; Alm 2001; Heponiemi et al. 2008). I några studier framkommer ändå att arbetslöshet inte påverkade hälsan eller till och med förbättrade den (Manninen 1993, 106, 178; Poutanen 2000, 130-132).

Socialt stöd kan ha positiva effekter på att bemästra en stressande situation. I en arbetslöshetssituation kunde stödets betydelse således accentueras. Tidigare arbetslöshetsundersökningar har visat att stöd ofta söks och erhålls från närstående människor, såsom maka/make, familjemedlemmar och vänner (Manninen 1993, 106-107; Heino 2000, 90). Människor som är i en likadan situation har också ansetts vara viktiga (Rostila 1980, 85; Silvennoinen 2007, 56-57).

Finansiell deprivation är ofta en direkt konsekvens av arbetslöshet och kan starkt påverka hur arbetslösa klarar av sin situation. Effekterna sträcker sig från olika slags begränsningar i vardagslivet till svårigheter att planera sin framtid. Tidigare studier har visat att många arbetslösa lider av ekonomiska påfrestningar, som förekommer i form av olika slags finansiella bekymmer och känslor av otrygghet såväl som konkreta ekonomiska problem (t.ex. Ervasti 2002, 2003a, 124; Goul Andersen 2002; Nyman 2002, 132). Svåra ekonomiska problem verkar förekomma mera frekvent bland yngre och medelålders arbetslösa och långtidsarbetslösa (t.ex. Heino 2000; Ervasti 2003a, 133, 2004).

Socialt kapital

Begreppet socialt kapital har sina rötter i 1800-talet (Portes 1998). Det började väcka intresse i den akademiska världen i slutet av 1980-talet när Bourdieu (1986) och Coleman (1988) hade tagit upp det, och det aktualiserades igen i slutet av 1990-talet när forskare från vitt skilda områden började forska i det. Halpern antar att det här nya intresset härledde sig från Putnams (1995) artikel som handlade om ett krympande socialt kapital i USA. (Halpern 2005, 6-9). Det nya intresset gjorde begreppet socialt kapital mycket populärt, men man har inte lyckats standardisera det. Otydligheter gällande t.ex. dess ursprung och konsekvenser försvårar utvecklandet av en enhetlig definiering av det, vilket komplicerar skapandet av en kollektiv empirisk grund för framtida studier. (Woolcock 1998, 2001). Dimensioner eller egenskaper som ofta anses utforma socialt kapital är sociala nätverk, förtroende, sociala normer, reciprocitet, socialt stöd och socialt deltagande (t.ex. Putnam 2000 19, 49, 58; Halpern 2005, 4, 10-11; de Souza Briggs 1998). I den här studien undersöks långtidsarbetslösas sociala kapital genom deras sociala relationer, sociala förtroende, sociala deltagande och hur fast de känner sig tillhöra olika samfund samt samhället i stort. Centrala utgångspunkter för föreliggande studie är de Souza Briggs (1998) syn på socialt kapital som ett individuellt verktyg som kan användas för individuella aktiviteter; teorin om starka och svaga band (strength of ties) mellan människor av Granovetter (1973, 1983); samt sammanbindande och

överbryggande (bonding and bridging) mått på socialt kapital av Putnam (2000, 58, 137).

Studier av socialt kapital har visat att det har olika positiva effekter. Mycket socialt kapital, i form av tillit, socialt deltagande och sociala relationer kan t.ex. höja människors självuppskattade hälsa och välbefinnande (Thoits & Hewitt 2001; Hyyppä & Mäki 2001, 2003; Nordenmark 2004; Poortinga 2006). Men socialt kapital kan också ha en negativ sida. Det kan vara kontrollerande, avskärmande och orsaka känslor av tacksamhetsskuld och skyldighet (Putnam 2000, 19, 22-23; Kawachi & Berkman 2001; Portes 1998).

Tidigare studier har framlagt att det finns skillnader mellan finsk- och svenskspråkiga finländare gällande deras socialt kapital, dvs. att svenskspråkiga har mera av det. Enligt studier av Hyyppä och Mäki (2001, 2003) har svenskspråkiga större tillit och är mera socialt deltagande än finskspråkiga samt har tätare och rikare sociala nätverk. Nyqvist et al. (2008) gör också gällande att svenskspråkiga finländare är mera socialt deltagande, har flera sociala kontakter, större tillit och en högre känsla av trygghet än finskspråkiga. Arbetslösas sociala kapital har hittills inte studerats mycket. Dimensioner som man har studerat har t.ex. behandlat arbetlösas sociala nätverk och sociala aktiviteter (Russell 1999, Heino 2000, Samuelsson 2002, Gallie et al. 2003, Ervasti 2003, Lindsay 2009), samt användningen och betydelsen av sociala relationer i jobbsökning (Sprengers et al. 1988, Vuori & Tervahartiala 1995, Korpi 2001, Lindsay 2009).

Arbetslösas sociala kapital har således undersökts i en ganska ringa omfattning, men resultaten pekar på att arbetslöshet påverkar människors sociala kontakter och sociala aktiviteter. Arbetslösa verkar t.ex. inte delta i någon större utsträckning i organisationella aktiviteter (Heino 2000, 80-81, 86; Ervasti 2003a, 134, 136; Lindsay 2009). Å andra sidan visar tidigare forskning också på att deras sociala kontakter ofta vare sig ökat eller minskat i och med arbetslösheten (t.ex. Russell 1999; Gallie et al. 2003; Ervasti 2003a, 134, 136).

Informationsbeteende

Informationsbeteende kan anses bestå av informationsbehov, -sökning samt delning och användning av information i olika kontexter (Pettigrew, Fidel & Bruce 2001). Det kan också innefatta aktivt undvikande av information (Case 2002, 5), som kan bero på olika orsaker. Det kan vara ett medvetet beslut som syftar till att man inte vill bli informerad om någonting som kan vara obehagligt eller farligt. Det kan också vara ett sätt att undvika konsekvenser som följer om man vet någonting, dvs. att den erhållna

informationen resulterar i att man måste göra någonting. (Maslow 1963). Undvikande av information kan också användas som en bemästringsstrategi för att dämpa ångest och ängslan (Miller 1980).

Man söker information för många olika orsaker och det kan göras på ett aktivt eller passivt sätt. Människor söker information för att observera vad som händer i världen, vilket ofta kan vara en regelbunden rutin som när man läser tidningen till frukost eller tittar på kvällsnyheterna. Man söker också information för att få kunskaper om olika saker eller för att lösa ett problem eller utföra en uppgift. (Savolainen 1995; 2008a, 5-6, 83). Information kan också sökas i underhållningssyfte. Case (2002, 102, 108) anser att särskiljandet mellan underhållning och information egentligen är konstgjort och att det ger en falsk föreställning om att de två skulle vara avskilda från varandra, även om människor i verkligheten söker båda och också blandar dem. Att t.ex. diskutera med andra människor kan vara både underhållning och målmedveten sökning av information. Människor kan delta i en diskussion bara för sällskapets skull eller för att få tiden att förflyta, eller så kan de också målmedvetet fråga efter information eller utbyta åsikter med någon för att bli informerade. (Wilson 1977, 36). Information kan också erhållas oavsiktligt då man inte ens söker den, t.ex. genom en tillfällig diskussion eller när man söker efter någonting helt annat (Erdelez 1997, Williamson 1998).

Relationen mellan socialt kapital och informationsbeteende har hittills studerats ganska lite. Undersökningar som har gjorts har dock visat att sociala nätverk spelar en viktig roll för effektiv informationsförsörjning och -delning i både arbets- och vardagslivskontexter (Johnson 2004, 2007; Widén-Wulff 2007, 147-176; Savolainen 2008b). Relationen mellan informationssökningsbeteende och bemästring av olika stressande situationer har också studerats väldigt lite. Den forskning som utförts har visat att människor som använder aktiva bemästringsstrategier också söker information mera aktivt (van Zuuren & Wolfs 1991, Ben-Zur 2002).

Arbetslösas informationssökning är hittills ett tämligen outforskat område. Savolainen (2008a) har studerat arbetslösas vardagliga informationspraktiker som består av orienterande och problemspecifik informationssökning. Han har också studerat hurdana informationskällor och -kanaler arbetslösa använder för att söka jobb (Savolainen 2007c). Arbetslösas tillvägagångssätt för att söka jobb har även studerats av McQuaid et al. (2004). Resultaten har visat att arbetslösa aktivt följer vardagliga händelser via media och att de populäraste källorna för att söka orienterande information är dagstidningar och television. I sökandet av problemspecifik information ansågs också personkällor, såsom vänner och bekanta, vara viktiga. Informationsöverflöd

och informationens tillförlitlighet uppgavs orsaka de flesta problemen i informationssökningen. (Savolainen 2008a).

Föreliggande studie fokuserar huvudsakligen på vardaglig informationssökning, som är indelad i orienterande och problemspecifik informationssökning (Savolainen 2008a, 5-6, 83-84), hurdana källor arbetslösa använder för dessa aktiviteter, och hurdana problem de stöter på när de söker information.

Resultat

Då det empiriska materialet analyserades, märkte man genomgående att de äldre arbetslösas situation var en helt annan än de yngre arbetslösas, vilket ofta hade en avgörande betydelse för resultaten. Därför var det många gånger inte meningsfullt att dra slutsatser gällande långtidsarbetslösa som en helhet.

Resultaten visade inte på särskilt många betydande skillnader mellan finsk- och svenskspråkiga långtidsarbetslösa och de flesta skillnader som fanns verkade inte forma något specifikt mönster. Svenskspråkiga kände sig inte lika fast anknutna till sitt bostadsområde, sin hemkommun och det finländska samhället i stort som de finskspråkiga, men hade å andra sidan starkare sociala nätverk. Deras position som språkminoritet reflekterades sannolikt i det att deras informationssökningsproblem mest var relaterade till brist på information, medan finskspråkiga däremot hade problem med informationsöverflöd.

Arbetslöshetssituationen bemästrades på olika sätt av långtidsarbetslösa män och kvinnor och yngre och äldre arbetslösa. Långtidsarbetslöshet ansträngde män och yngre arbetslösa mest. Arbetslöshet hade oftare en negativ effekt på deras hälsa och de hade mera generellt upplevt stress och finansiella svårigheter. Copingstrategierna som män och yngre arbetslösa använde var också oftare negativt orienterade och undvikande.

I allmänhet hade arbetslösheten en negativ effekt på arbetslösas sociala relationer, eftersom antalet vänner och bekanta oftare blev färre än fler i och med arbetslösheten. Detta var vanligt speciellt bland män. Att ha bara en eller ingen nära pålitlig vän, var också mera allmänt bland de långtidsarbetslösa än finländare i allmänhet. Långtidsarbetlösa kvinnor verkade ha ett gynnsammare socialt skyddsnät, de var också mera familjorienterade och fick mera stöd från sina starka sociala band. Bland män verkade sociala relationer vara mera arbetslivsorienterade. Utgående från resultaten i denna studie är långtidsarbetslösa inte påtagligt inaktiva vad

gäller deltagande i organisationella aktiviteter, även om motsatsen inte heller kunde påvisas.

Långtidsarbetslösa följde aktivt aktuella händelser och nyheter. De sökte också aktivt information, speciellt om samhälleliga och aktuella saker liksom om hälsa. Problem i informationssökning verkade i högre grad gälla informationsöverflöd än brist på information. Det fanns dock signifikanta skillnader mellan äldre och yngre samt finsk- och svenskspråkiga arbetslösa gällande den saken. För de yngre arbetslösa och svenskspråkiga arbetslösa var det mera problematiskt att få tillräcklig information, medan svårigheterna för de äldre arbetslösa och finskspråkiga arbetslösa i större omfattning orsakades av informationsöverflöd. Resultaten visade också att långtidsarbetslösa i allmänhet blev aktivare i sin vardagliga informatiossökning i och med arbetslösheten. Ålder påverkade också informationssökningen, eftersom de äldre arbetslösa följde med nyheter oftare än de yngre. De äldre långtidsarbetslösa var även mera aktiva i orienterande informationssökning.

Aktivitet visade sig vara en gemensam nämnare mellan socialt kapital, bemästring av arbetslöshetssituationen och informationssökningsbeteende. De långtidsarbetslösa, som var socialt inaktiva, följde mindre frekvent med media och nyheter, medan aktiv informationssökning var relaterad till mera aktiv användning av copingstrategier. Detta var speciellt framträdande hos arbetslösa som använde problem-fokuserade strategier, vilket ytterligare framhäver aktivitetens roll som en gemensam nämnare. Långtidsarbetslösa som mera aktivt följde med media och nyheter kände sig också mera rotade i sitt bostadsområde och sin hemkommun.

Förslag till fortsatt forskning

Denna studie gav flera resultat, där bakomliggande faktorer och orsaker vore värda att undersöka mera ingående. Sådana är, t.ex, orsakerna bakom skillnaderna mellan långtidsarbetslösa män och kvinnor som framkom i många skeden under analysen. Hur fast man kände sig tillhöra det finländska samhället väcker också frågor. Varför kände svenskspråkiga långtidsarbetslösa svagare samhörighet med det, och finns den här skillnaden också mellan finsk- och svenskspråkiga finländare i allmänhet?

Betydelsen av socialt stöd kunde också studeras mera djupgående. Frågor som delvis blev obesvarade gäller t.ex. hurdant stöd emottar arbetslösa (känslomässigt, praktiskt, informativt), hurdant stöd upplever de som mest väsentligt eller viktigt, samt hurdant stöd upplever de att de skulle behöva och vilja ha och från vem? Gällande informationsbeteende var

informationssökning i huvudsak i fokus i denna studie, och t.ex. långtidsarbetslösas specifika informationsbehov undersöktes inte närmare.

Den sista frågan i frågeformuläret erbjöd de långtidsarbetslösa en möjlighet att fritt kommentera och beskriva sina upplevelser av arbetslöshet. Den gav mycket information som var viktig för undersökningen och som annars skulle ha blivit onoterad. Det mest intresseranta alternativet med tanke på fortsatt forskning skulle vara en intervjustudie för att hitta svar på flera frågeställningar som resultaten av den här studien har gett upphov till.

The aim of the research was to study Finnish long-term unemployed people's social capital, coping and information behaviour, and the possible connections between them. The results indicate that the way long-term unemployment is experienced and coped with is considerably dependent on gender and age. Unemployment can also have a significant effect on an individual's health, social relations and information seeking behaviour.

Another goal was to find out whether there are differences between Finnish- and Swedish-speakers in these three areas and a few distinct disparities were found. These varied from problems experienced in information seeking to social networks and the feeling of connectedness with Finnish society.

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