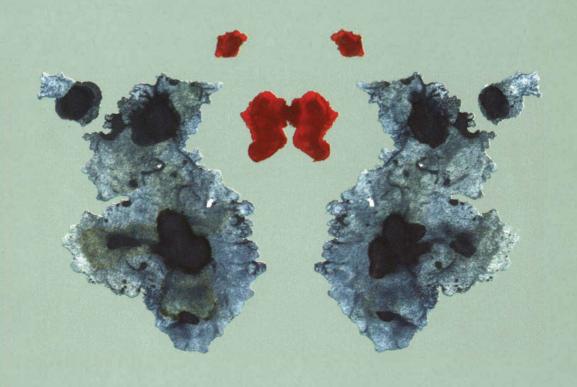
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Ailo Uhinki



Distress of Unemployed Job-seekers Described by the Zulliger Test Using the Comprehensive System



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Esitetään Jyväskylän yliopiston yhteiskuntatieteellisen tiedekunnan suostumuksella julkisesti tarkastettavaksi yliopiston vanhassa juhlasalissa (S212) kesäkuun 8. päivänä 1996 kello 12.

Academic dissertation to be publicly discussed, by permission of the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Jyväskylä in Auditorium S212 on June 8, 1996 at 12 o'clock noon.



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ABSTRACT

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Yhteenveto: Työttömien työnhakijoiden ahdinko kuvattuna Comprehensive Systemin mukaisesti käytetyllä Zulligerin testillä.

Diss.

The aim was to analyse the distress of unemployed people in relation to the stability of their previous employment and the duration of their current unemployment. The subjects were unemployed men (n = 169) and women (n = 169)= 116) aged 30 - 50. The theoretical model used in this study was based on psychodynamic theory. One of the elements of the model was the deprivation theory of Jahoda, according to which unemployment means a loss of manifest and/or latent functions of work. Jahoda's theory was broadened by the ideas of Winnicott, who analysed the experiences of the deprived child. A third element was formed by the findings of the Finnish psychoanalysts Ikonen and Rechardt, who have studied the origins of shame as a consequence of failure in striving for an approving reciprocity. The emotional experience of this failure was considered to resemble that of an unsuccessful job-seeker. Distress was studied by the Zulliger inkblot method. The protocols were coded and interpreted according to the Comprehensive System. Distress appeared to be more pronounced among subjects who had experienced a stable career line than among those having experienced an unstable or stagnated career line. A further finding was that the distress seemed to be at its lowest in the group of subjects having the longest duration of unemployment. The findings were in accord with the hypotheses. The usability of the theoretical model and the Zulliger technique in research regarding the psychological aspects of unemployment is discussed, as well as the applicability of the findings for developing client services in employment offices.

Keywords: Unemployment, distress, psychodynamic theory, Zulliger, Exner Comprehensive System

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Turku, International Labour Day 1996

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- II Uhinki, A., Mattlar, C-E. & Alanen, E. (1995). Psychological distress of unemployed jobseekers described by the Zulliger and explained with a model based on psychodynamic theory. Studi Rorschachiani, in press.
- III Uhinki, A., Mattlar, C-E., Forsander, C. & Alanen, E. (1995). Career lines and symptoms of distress in unemployed jobseekers aged 30 50, analysed by the Zulliger. Revista de la Sociedad Espanola del Rorschach y Metodos Proyectivos, in press.
- IV Uhinki, A., Forsander, C., Mattlar, C-E., Norrlund, L. & Alanen, E. (1994). The psychological distress in three groups of adult jobseekers differing in the duration of unemployment, described by the Zulliger. British Journal of Projective Psychology, 39 (2), 8-20.

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Motto: "These findings have convinced us that studying the effects of one stressful life event, such as job loss, is an exceedingly complex business" (Kasl, Gore & Cobb, 1975, p. 121).

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Employment in the 1990s

The rapid rise in unemployment during the early 1990s led the author, who was at that time working as head of the manpower services division at the Turku Labour District Office, to undertake a study of the distress experienced by unemployed clients of employment offices.

Employment in Finland was on the whole high during the 1980s. In 1990 the unemployment rate was still 3.4 %, one of the lowest in the OECD countries. In practice that meant, to all intents and purposes, full employment (Tasavallan Presidentin Työllisyystyöryhmä, 1994). During the same year, however, the employment situation began to deteriorate. Figure 1 indicates that the rise in unemployment was rapid. At the end of 1993, the number of unemployed job-seekers exceeded half a million. During those three years unemployment increased fivefold and reached a higher level than ever before.

The material for the present study was collected in 1992. In the last quarter of that year, the unemployment rate, according to the Labour Force Survey, was 15.1 % for the country as a whole and 11.6 % in the Turku labour district (Työministeriö, 1995). Mass unemployment had become a reality, not only in the northern parts of the country, but also in the south. This was unparalleled in the Turku area, as well as the fact that anybody, regardless of personal employment history, education or occupation, stood to lose his or her job involuntarily (Varsinais-Suomen Liitto, 1995). It may be, however, that the very phenomenon of mass unemployment, when practically anybody can become unemployed, can be a factor that, in some cases at least, reduces negative reactions such as self-blame (cf. Kasl & Cobb, 1978).

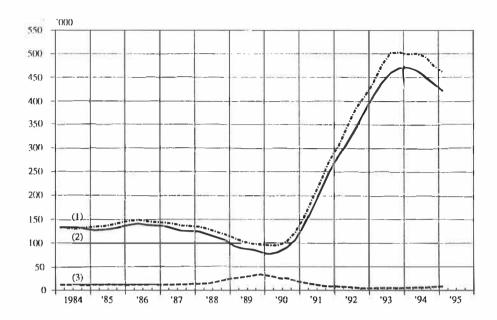


Figure 1. Unemployed persons according to the Labour Force Survey (1), unemployed persons seeking jobs (2) and unfilled vacancies (3), (2) and (3) according to the Employment Service Statistics. Seasonally adjusted quarterly figures (Työministeriö, 1995).

The unemployment security for the unemployed comprised, in 1992, when the material for this study was being collected, two forms of allowances. The statefunded basic daily allowance was paid to unemployed job applicants who were in need of economic support. The largest group among recipients of the basic daily allowance had for several years been formed by unskilled jobseekers and people without an earlier occupational or employment history. The basic daily allowance was FIM 116 (approximately USD 26) per day. Child supplements were added to this and the allowance was means tested. The average sum paid was FIM 119.8 (USD 27) per day (Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö, 1993). The earnings-related daily allowance was paid to unemployed people who were members of trade unions and who had an employment history in accord with regulations. The amount of this allowance was determined on the basis of prior income when employed and it was paid for a maximum of 500 days. The average sum paid in 1992 was FIM 222.3 (USD 50) per day (Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö, 1993). Recipients of unemployment allowances sometimes also benefited simultaneously from certain other forms of social insurance, but a deduction was then made in the unemployment benefits (Lehtinen, 1992).

Individual financial resources affect the emotional experience of unemployment (e.g. O'Brien, 1986; Fryer& Payne, 1986; Fryer, 1992). That is why the compensation levels for unemployment in different countries and at different

times have to be borne in mind when comparing research findings. In the Nordic countries in 1993, the highest compensation level was found in Sweden and the lowest in Iceland. The net unemployment benefit for a single male was, as percentage of net income per day, in Denmark 73, in Finland 73, in Iceland 49, in Norway 71 and in Sweden 81 (Nielsen, 1995). To the best of our knowledge, no study has been made in which Finnish conditions have been compared to those in other countries, but existing information suggests that unemployment insurance in Finland is of a high standard (European Commission, 1995; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 1995).

The prevailing employment situation, which seemed at the inception of this study (1992) to be deteriorating still further, made necessary the study of distress among unemployed job-seekers and especially those who had had a stable career line, as opposed to those whose careers had been more or less unstable.

1.2 Psychological aspects: On earlier research

Earlier research, since the 1930s, has indicated that psychological change, which generally, but not universally, is negative, is causally related to unemployment (Fryer, 1986a; cf. Ezzy, 1993). This causality was established, for example, by Lahelma (1989, 1992) who by means of longitudinal studies demonstrated that re-employment restores mental well-being. However, at least one study, that of Kasl and Cobb (1978), revealed only limited mental health effects due to job loss. The negative effects which have been found include impaired psychological well-being, anxiety, depression, reduced selfconfidence, social isolation and reduced levels of activity (Fryer & Payne, 1986; Fryer, 1992; Kirchler, 1993). Ruoppila (1981) found in a sample of unemployed young adults economic difficulties, passivity in planning and consumption of time, symptoms of stress and elevated strain symptoms of the central nervous system especially when the duration of unemployment exceeded three months, increased use of medical drugs particularly among females, a narrowing and shortening of the time perspective when planning the future, and a narrowing of social relations, including a tendency to seek the company of other unemployed people.

Reactions to unemployment seem, however, to vary individually depending on a number of moderating and mediating factors, such as the individual's economic and social status, age, gender, personality factors, health as well as the general economic climate (e.g. Dew, Penkower & Bronet, 1991; Eisenberg & Lazarsfeld, 1938; Fryer, 1986a). In the present study age, gender and education (years of schooling) were used as background variables. The relationship between age and reactions to unemployment have been shown to be curvilinear (Hepworth, 1980; Jackson & Warr, 1984). According to Jackson and Warr (1984) the age group 20 - 59 was most heavily hit by unemployment. Broomhall and Winefield (1990) found that middle-aged unemployed men displayed poorer mental health than young ones. Lahelma (1989, 1992) studied unemployed men and women aged 25 to 49 and found that age did not relate to the ill-health of the subjects of that age group, but that the impact of unem-

ployment was stronger for males than for females. Several other studies have also indicated that unemployment has a stronger impact on men than on women (e.g. Huppert & Garcia, 1991; Rodgers, 1991; Studnicka et al., 1991). Vuori and Tervahartiala (1995) noted that in particular active job-seekers were considerably distressed by unemployment. There did not appear to be any correlation between education and psychological reactions to unemployment (Lahelma, 1989, 1992; Vuori and Tervahartiala, 1995).

1.3 Unemployment and distress

Career line types and distress

One of the first researchers to note the importance of a person's prior experiences of employment for his or her reactions during unemployment was Bakke (1940). His purpose was to show that the effects of unemployment could not be understood without studying a person's earlier experience of employment. One possible mode of investigation is to consider the type of a person's "career line" during his or her preceding employment. In the present study it was presupposed that it would be related to the distress experienced during unemployment.

An individual's career line does not seem to be a matter of chance. The stability of the career lines of young adults can, according to Pulkkinen (1989), be predicted on the basis of estimates made by primary school class teachers. Self-control in behaviour, manifested during childhood, was, she found, related to health in adulthood (Pulkkinen, 1982) and differences in young adults' health were related to their career lines. In men, there was a positive correlation between their own positive estimate of health and stable employment (Pulkkinen, 1990). Stability of career line thus seems to have its roots in some aspects of the life style of childhood.

Nyyssölä (1992) evaluated the career history of long-term unemployed subjects by means of a career typology based on the research of Sinisalo (1986) comparing three categories designated as stable, unstable and stagnated. He found that those in the stable category were strongly work-orientated. It has been posited that people who are highly attached to employment, for whatever reason, will be more severely affected by the loss of paid employment than those whose devotion to work is weaker (Fryer & Payne, 1986). The question as to whether it is possible to find relationships between employment experiences defined by career lines and the degree of distress experienced during unemployment, thus arose as the first topic of the present study.

Duration of unemployment and distress

Several findings suggest that negative emotional experiences related to unemployment generally show a certain pattern of variation in terms of its duration. The pattern was outlined already in the findings of Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld (1938). The unemployed were found to pass through a series of psychological

responses, from shock through phases of optimism and pessimism and, if the unemployment persisted, finally adapted themselves to their new state. Recent research has indicated that a long period of unemployment correlates negatively with psychological well-being (e.g. Claussen, Bjørndal & Hjort, 1993; Hepworth, 1980; Jackson & Warr, 1984); that prolonged unemployment or reunemployment leads to depression, reduced hope (Frese & Mohr, 1987) and a progressive loss of optimism about finding employment (Amundson & Borgen, 1987). In a Swedish study (Arnetz, Brenner, Hjelm & Levi, 1988) psychological and physiological indicators of well-being during different phases of unemployment were analysed. The strongest negative reactions were recorded in the anticipation phase and more positive reactions immediately after that. Although stress was expected to increase to a high level, the findings indicated that adaptation took place. Kirchler (1985) found that the mood of unemployed people deteriorated immediately after lay-off. During the second and third months, well-being returned, but again declined significantly during the fourth and sixth months. Brenner and Starrin (1988) reported that general well-being was at its weakest about seven or eight months after job loss, whereafter a slight positive change occurred and psychological stress stabilized at a medium-high level, significantly higher than that of the employed control group. The second aim of the present study was to examine distress in three groups varying in the duration of their unemployment.

1.4 Theoretical background of the study

O'Brien (1986) concluded after his review of research into the psychological effects of unemployment that there was no general theory available that could explain the complexity of the findings. His survey of theoretical approaches confirms that statement. In psychodynamic literature very little attention has been paid to work (Neff, 1977) in spite of the importance given for work already in Freud's definition of health "lieben und arbeiten". This was a starting point for creating a model, based on psychodynamic theory, for use in the present study. An attempt was made to approach the psychological phenomena related to unemployment from a new point of view (see article II).

The theoretical model of the present study was based on elements derived from the theories of Freud, Jahoda, Winnicott, Ikonen and Rechardt. According to Freud (1930), together with love, work forms the basis of human society. In a civilized society, various restrictions and rules prevent people from satisfying their basic instincts. Instead of the pleasure principle, people must therefore adopt the principle of reality. It is implemented distinctively in work, which, therefore, is not a pleasure for human beings. Even so, work binds human beings libidinally to each other and provides ways for those who work to satisfy their originally aggressive and sexual instincts. The primary motive for working is the necessity of survival, but there are, thus, also other motives which may be partly subconscious (cf. Neff, 1977; O'Brien, 1986). According to Neff's interpretation (1977 p. 113) "The manner in which (a human being) works - or the guilt he may feel over not working - is a function

of a complex set of feelings, attitudes, and ideas which develop as the child perceives, reacts to, and incorporates the parental models of behavior."

The theory of Jahoda (1979, 1981, 1982) has common elements with the theory of Freud. Both emphasize the importance of income, but Jahoda stresses the meaning of the social environment in a different way. It has been stated that Jahoda's is the most influential deprivation theory in unemployment studies (O'Brien, 1989; O'Brien, Feather & Kabanoff, 1994). Employment, by which Jahoda (1982) means economically relevant forms of work, has manifest and latent functions or consequences. The manifest function of employment is earning a living. The others, some of them latent, comprise five categories: time structuring, regular activity, expansion of social activity, identity and involvement in collective purposes. Later, Jahoda added the control function of work (Fryer, 1986b). She argues that these categories correspond to enduring human needs, because, during the normal development of an individual, they are modified by a growing ability to perceive reality, and employment brings satisfaction. Unemployment, which endangers social self-preservation (Rupp, 1988), means a deprivation in each of the five original categories of Jahoda, and this has also been verified by research (Jahoda, 1982; cf. Ruoppila, 1981).

According to Winnicott (1971) the experience of deprivation has its origins in the transitional phenomena of early childhood. Winnicott depicts a potential illusional space between baby and mother, the conditions of which he later examines also in situations between an individual and society or an individual and the world. The illusional space is a mutual surrounding where the infant has an opportunity to find the self through play and creativity. Loss of the mother means for the child a falling away from this area of safe interplay and a threat to the developing self. A parallel can be drawn between the experience of being deprived of one's mother and that of losing one's job (Madsen, 1977). Mental experiences are preserved through the whole life of an individual (Freud, 1930).

The Finnish psychoanalysts Ikonen and Rechardt have analysed the lifelong human strivings for reciprocity, as the actions of two opposite aspirations, Eros and Thanatos, which interact in a wide variety of ways (Ikonen & Rechardt, 1978). The libido matrix, Eros, tries to increase reciprocity by creating new connections. Thanatos aims at standing still, at peace, by limiting connections and removing elements which do not fit into the prevailing forms of psychic events. It destroys, but at the same time it also reinforces psychic structures. The authors note that this interpretation differs from earlier ones, which emphasize the destructive functions of Thanatos (Ikonen & Rechardt, 1993).

A feeling of shame is typical "when the pursued reciprocity remains unrealized, although we thought that it had or would be realized" (Ikonen & Rechardt, 1993, p. 106). In such a situation, a human being turns against himself or herself, evaluates himself/herself as good-for-nothing and worthless. The experience of distress in this situation is related to a failure of reciprocity witnessed by others. By giving up himself/herself or a part of himself/herself as he/she is or by hiding something, he/she then tries to save the failed relationship or to hold on to the important others and retain their acceptance. The price of this defensive procedure is a feeling of shame. This is what happens to people who unsuccessfully try to re-employ themselves, and in recent

Finnish studies symptoms of shame have been found to be common among unemployed men (Kortteinen, 1994). Lewis has indicated that, as in deprivation, the self is focal also in feelings of shame. Shame is an acute state of distress, and it affects the self in the form of depression or paralyzing disability (Lewis, 1981, 1987). According to Ikonen and Rechardt the origins of shame are in the death drive, Thanatos. Other manifestations of shame are, for example, hiding, withdrawal and lack of thinking. Shame may also turn into depression (Ikonen & Rechardt, 1993).

If one considers the functions of employment in the light of the above ideas, it is tempting to think that, besides the function of income, employment also has another function, based on the premiss that employment is an expression of approving societal reciprocity and trust. Unemployment would then be experienced as a deprivation of this relationship. In a related area, Winnicott (1971, 1987) found that restlessness, inability to play, inability to be affectionate or to accept affection were typical of deprived children, who also had an impaired capacity for experience in the cultural field.

According to the dualistic drive theory, Thanatos solidifies the forms of psychic events. If we compare those who have experienced stable employment with those whose careers have been characterized by alternating employment and unemployment, the attained form of psychic structures will certainly be different. For the former individuals, unemployment would mean a greater mental change, and consequently more serious distress, than for the latter. It could be argued that, in the former group the psychic mechanisms, which control emotions, solidified by Thanatos to a higher degree than in the latter group. This would result in more modulation or control of affective displays in the former group.

In the aspiration to be re-employed it is the libido matrix, Eros, that is emphasized. Failure would actualize experiences of distress and the Thanatos reaction would produce shame, or some modifications thereof. Repeated unsuccessful and thus unreinforced activities aiming at re-employment would then gradually be extinguished by some of the functions of Thanatos: "It's no use trying".

1.5 Considerations regarding the collecting of data

Problems related to the use of direct methods

As far as research methods are concerned, interviews have commonly been used, often combined with standardized questionnaires, e.g. the GHQ 12 or 30 (see Bland, Stebelsky, Orn & Newman, 1988; Ensminger & Celentano, 1988; Hepworth, 1980; Huppert & Garcia, 1991; Jackson & Warr, 1984; Lahelma, 1989; Rodgers, 1991), the Beck Depression Inventory (Hall & Johnson, 1988; Rife, 1989), as well as other scales regarding, among other things, shame (Eales, 1989), self-esteem and stress-related events, locus of control (O'Brien & Feather, 1990; O'Brien, Feather & Kabanoff, 1994; Frost & Clayson, 1991), and health (Leeflang et al. 1992; Merriam, 1987; Turner, Kessler & House, 1991). Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld (1938, p. 366) suggested that the Rorschach method should be

used, because, together with the use of some other techniques, it "will produce material which can be utilized in penetrating analyses". To the best of our knowledge the Rorschach technique has not been used in this field of research.

Interviews and questionnaires have been widely used in psychological studies of unemployment. There is, however, evidence to suggest that subjects'self-evaluations of their health or psychic state are not always easy to interpret. For example Rostila (1982) found that in the first interview the unemployed usually conceal their real problems and try to maintain a faultless facade. Mechanic (1980) argued that an individual's readiness to differentiate psychological and physiological symptoms and to report them may be partly determined by his or her actual experience of illness on the one hand and by cultural influences on the other. Watson and Clark (1984) demonstrated that some individuals have a stable and pervasive tendency to experience discomfort at all times, even in the absence of any overt or objective source of stress. The inaccuracy of concepts and difficulties in operationalizing them has also caused problems of measurement (Depue & Monroe, 1986; Fletcher, 1991). Roberts and Vernon (1983) noted that most short psychiatric symptom checklists measure a syndrome which they described as "nonspecific psychological distress". Conversely, in the study of Kalimo and Vuori (1991, see also Vuori, 1993), the factor named psychological distress included feelings of depression and of having lost self-confidence, feelings of loneliness, nervousness, feelings of worthlessness, tension, overstrain and sleep disorders. With these considerations in mind, an indirect technique, the Zulliger, was chosen for use in this study.

The Zulliger

The Zulliger Test is a variation of the Rorschach inkblot technique (Mahmood, 1990). It was originally devised by Hans Zulliger (1948) as a group screening method for the Swiss army, to screen out candidates who did not fulfil the norms required for given tasks. Psychological methods suitable for group use were either not available, or it was thought that existing ones might be invalidated through over-use (Mahmood, 1990). Zulliger had become acquainted with the Rorschach method, and his idea was to create a new form-interpretation test to be administered to groups by means of slides. He made experiments with about 1,000 blots, and selected three of them to be standardized.

Zulliger (1954) stated that the advantages of the method, as compared to the Rorschach, were its speed and practicality, particularly with groups. He did not go into any great detail regarding the possible applications of his method, but he did give some examples of how it might be used. He pointed mainly to personality assessment cases in connection with educational problems as well as counselling and guidance. Zulliger did not originally intend to produce a modification of his test for use with individuals, but demand for such an application encouraged him to produce a variant. The first English translation of both the individual and the group version of the test was published in 1969. The Zulliger method has been used in several countries, although it has never been as well known as the Rorschach (Mahmood, 1990). The method was used

in Finland in vocational counselling and guidance during the 1950s and 1960s. A manual for the coding and interpretation of protocols was prepared by Kalevi Takala (1956).

The Comprehensive System

Hermann Rorschach published his book, Psychodiagnostik, in 1921. Rorschach died at the age of 37, whereafter his colleagues continued to use the technique. However, it was not until 1936 that the first notable new approach to the technique was published. During the period 1936 - 1957, altogether five different Rorschach systems were developed in the United States (Exner, 1993). There were similarities between them, because they contained common elements deriving from Rorschach's original work.

Exner embarked on a research project to analyse and compare the five approaches mentioned. The main conclusion of the analysis was that the differences between the systems were so remarkable that they could actually be seen as five distinct and separate tests (Exner, 1993). In analyses conducted by The Rorschach Research Foundation since 1968 it has been found that each system includes some scores, scoring criteria and interpretative postulates for which no empirical support exists. At the same time, each system includes empirically sturdy elements. The next step, therefore, was to integrate the empirically defensible features of all the systems.

The eventual result of this research was the creation of what is known as the Comprehensive System. The System has made a successful breakthrough and it is now the preferred approach to the Rorschach in the USA (Watkins, 1991). In contrast to many of the previously used systems of analysis, it has a sound empirical basis, satisfactory reliability and documented validity (Carlsson & Levander, 1993). Although in use on all continents, the System is still developing as research goes on and as experience regarding its use accumulates (Exner, personal comunication, May 6, 1993 Amsterdam).

The Comprehensive System applied to the Zulliger

Towards the end of the 1980s, Dr. Zahid Mahmood (1990) had the idea of bringing the Zulliger method into wider use. The new scoring and interpretation method for the Rorschach, The Comprehensive System, had been presented by John E. Exner (1990, 1991, 1993), and Mahmood's idea was to apply the Comprehensive System to the Zulliger. He also emphasized the importance of a standardized approach to the administration and scoring of the Zulliger.

For these purposes, a working group, later called the ZIG, i.e. the Zulliger Interest Group, was formed by Mahmood, Associate Professor C-E. Mattlar and Associate Professor C. Sandahl. The author of the present paper became one of its members (Mattlar et al., 1993). The Scandinavian members of this group prepared a number of papers on the Zulliger to be presented at the Rorschach Congress in Paris in 1990, during a Zulliger Workshop. In the paper by Mattlar et al. (1990) methodological issues were dealt with. The paper of Uhinki, Mattlar, Sandahl, Vesala & Carlsson (1990) was about adolescents,

that of Sandahl, Mattlar, Carlsson, Vesala & Rosenqvist (1990) was about normal adults applying for demanding jobs and in the paper of Ruth et al. (1990) old age and loneliness were studied by means of the Zulliger method.

Thereafter, the group decided to start collecting normative material for the users of this method. By the end of 1992, in all 771 protocols, containing 6,410 responses, were available, most of them having been collected in groups. Of the subjects, 103 were adolescents having participated in vocational counselling, 32 were elderly people and the other 636 persons were adults. The protocols were recorded either in Finnish or in Swedish, and all of them were translated into English. When applying the Comprehensive System to group test protocols, without an inquiry, the procedure proposed by Ritzler and Nalesnik (1990) was used.

The material was then elaborated according to the principles proposed by Exner (1990, 1993). In applying these principles to the Zulliger material the following decisions, among others, were made:

- For an area to be coded as D (Common Detail Response) it was required to have been used by 5% of the subjects.
- For an area to be coded as numbered Dd (Unusual Detail Response) it was required that it be used by fewer than 5% of the subjects, but at least 6 persons.
- The Affective Ratio Afr was defined as the ratio that compares the number of answers to the second card with those given to the first and third cards.

Group administration of the Zulliger does not allow an inquiry, which would facilitate decisions regarding the location and determinants of the response. For this reason, it is sometimes necessary to examine the contents of the response first. Thus, rules regarding the recording of the contents had to be formulated. As regards the scoring of Form Quality, popular responses and Z, the Organizational Activity, principles stated by Exner (1990, 1993) were applied.

On the basis of the elaborations described A Zulliger Workbook for applying the Rorschach Comprehensive System (Mattlar et al., 1993) was produced. It is a research report, which includes instructions and the special rules and working tables which are needed for scoring responses. The next step was to write a Zulliger Handbook for vocational counselling psychologists (Uhinki, Mattlar, Forsander & Alanen, 1994) (see publication I).

2 PROBLEMS AND HYPOTHESES

In the light of previous research, and the theory itself, the following problems and hypotheses were formulated.

I Are there differences in the distress experienced between groups of unemployed adult job-seekers having had different types of career lines when previously employed (see article III)?

Hypothesis 1. The distress experienced during unemployment is more marked for subjects who have had a stable career line than for subjects whose working career has been unstable or stagnated.

Hypothesis 2. The control of emotions is better in the group having a stable career line than in the groups having an unstable or stagnated career line.

II Are there differences in the distress experienced between groups of unemployed adult job-seekers according to the duration of their current unemployment (see article IV)?

Hypothesis 3. Among people having been unemployed for a short time (in this study defined as a period of 0 - 3 months), psychological distress is at a low level. Among subjects whose unemployment has lasted longer (4 - 9 months), distress is high. Among subjects who have been out of work for a longer time (\geq 10 months) the level of distress is lower than in the latter (4 - 9 months) group.

3 DESIGN

3.1 Subjects

The subjects were unemployed men and women, aged 30 - 50, who were applying for a number of employment training courses arranged in 1992 by the employment authorities in south-west Finland. In all, 517 persons were investigated. The subjects' work histories were taken from the files of the employment offices. Exclusion criteria were: 1) being in retirement, 2) being a housewife or 3) insufficient information available regarding work history. The demographics of the 285 subjects are presented in Table 1. No significant difference was found between females and males in age or in duration of unemployment. The average number of years spent in formal education was higher among males than among females. Duration of education correlated with several Zulliger variables (cf. Appendix 3) but it did not correlate with age (Pearson r = -0.094, value of p = 0.115) or duration of unemployment (r = -0.070, p = 0.239).

TABLE 1. Gender, age, education and duration of unemployment of subjects

		All N 285	% 100	Fema N 116	ales % 40.7	Males N 169	% 59.3	Т	р
Age	Mean	39.6		39.9		39.4		0.638	0.524
	SD	5.3		5.1		5.5			
Education	Mean yrs	11.9		10.7		12.8		- 5.515	0.000
	SD	3.2		2.8		3.3			
Out of work	Mean *	7.3		6.8		7.6		- 1.262	0.208
	SD	5.7		5.5		5.9			

^{*} Duration in months at the time of examination

3.2 Comprehensive System variables used in this study

The subjects of the present study were examined during information sessions arranged for people who had enrolled for employment training courses, or in connection with entrance examinations. The Comprehensive System designed for the Rorschach by Exner (1990, 1991, 1993) was applied to the Zulliger, according to the principles laid down in the Workbook and Handbook of Mattlar et al. (1993) and Uhinki et al. (1994), including working tables regarding the Form Quality and Populars, as well as areas by card. The instructions for the procedure are presented in Appendix 1.

To ensure adequate coding reliability, the entire material was independently evaluated by Carl-Erik Mattlar and Camilla Forsander, both co-authors of the papers included in this study. For all the main categories, agreement was well above the generally required 80% (Location 89%, Developmental Quality 90%, Determinants 82%, Active-Passive superscripts 100%, Form Quality 95%, Pairs 91%, Contents 93%, Populars 90%). Regarding all differences a considered decision was made. There was a problem, however. It does not seem to be possible to reach a sufficient level of agreement with respect to the Special Scores, where the agreement was 76%. On the other hand, these were not included in the analyses made. After completed scoring, the data were organized into frequencies, and the necessary ratios and sums, on which the interpretation is based, were calculated. The following description of the Comprehensive System variables used in the present study is based on research carried out by Exner (1993).

Number of responses R and the Lambda. The Lambda which is the proportion of pure form-responses (F) in the protocol, and the R are used, among other things to determine whether a protocol is valid for interpretation.

The Erlebnistypus (EB) is the ratio of the Sum of the M answers to the Sum of the weighted chromatic colour responses (WSumC). When the ratio is weighted in the M direction, the subject is prone to be introversive. If the ratio is weighted in the opposite direction, the subject has a tendency to be extratensive.

<u>The Experience Actual EA</u> (SumM + WSumC) is an index of the extent to which psychic resources are organized and accessible.

The human movement or M responses, as a single variable, relate, among other things to the elements of reasoning, imagination, and the capacity to use a delaying tactic, giving oneself time to analyse the stimulus field and potential responses to it before making decisions.

The experience base, eb (Sum FM + m : Sum all C'+ all T+ all Y+ all V). Elevation of the value of the right side of the equation in relation to the left side suggests that unusual experiences of distress are occurring in the subject's life.

The left side of the equation is the sum of the frequencies of animal movement (FM), which relate to a pronounced peripheral ideation, indicating behaviour provoked by unmet need states, and inanimate movement responses (m), which relate to situational stress. The right side

consists of the sum of the frequencies of achromatic colour responses (C'), which relate to a marked experience of tension created by internalized emotions the subject would prefer to externalize, texture responses (T), which relate to experiences of failure, feelings of emotional deprivation and an experience of loneliness, shading responses (Y), which relate to emotional experiences fomented by situations of helplessness, loss of control, or of being unable to respond effectively (the affects associated with Y can take various forms, e.g. anxiety, apprehension, tension, uneasiness), and vista responses (V), which are related to negative emotional experience (Exner, 1993).

The experienced stimulation, es (Sum FM+m+ all C'+ all T+ all Y+ all V), which is the sum of the elements of eb, relates to current stimulus demands. Its value is a measure of the stress experienced.

<u>The D Score (EA - es)</u> gives information concerning the availability of resources in relation to stress tolerance.

The a:p ratio is the number of active movement responses in relation to the number of passive movement responses. It relates to cognitive flexibility, or narrowness. As the numbers in the ratio become more discrepant, ideational sets tend to be more fixed and difficult to alter.

The Form-Color Ratio (FC:CF+C) relates to modulation of emotions. The left side of the ratio, FC, relates to an affective experience that has been controlled and/or directed by cognitive elements. CF and pure C responses relate to instances in which cognitive control is reduced and the subject tends to give way to affective stimuli. A higher right-side value in the ratio suggests that emotional behaviour will be marked more often by intensity or impulsiveness.

<u>The number of S-responses</u> or space respones, if elevated, reflects a tendency to oppositionality which might lead to hostility or anger.

The Affective Ratio Afr gives information about the subject's receptiveness to emotionally provocative stimuli.

The frequency of pure H responses is a measure of social interest.

The egocentricity Index (3r + (2))/R, which is the proportion of reflection and pair responses in the total record, relates to self-esteem.

The sum of form-reflection and reflection-form responses (Fr + rF) relates to narcissism.

<u>The number of Form Dimension (FD)</u> responses relates to constructive introspection.

<u>Body concern</u> (An + Xy) is the sum of responses that contain Anatomy of X-ray contents and it provides information about problems in self-image or self-concern.

3.3 Career line analysis

The employment histories were analysed for the five-year period immediately preceding the current unemployment of the subject. The concept of employment career lines and their criteria were based on the research of Sinisalo

(1986). Some modifications to the criteria were necessary, because the original criteria were designed for adolescents. The career lines and the modified main criteria used in the present study were as follows:

- 1) Stable working career. The principal criterion was that the subject's own occupation, corresponding to his or her training or skills, could be identified, and that he or she had worked in it for at least half of the five-year period. Participation in training or education was included. In the case of the building industry, which is sensitive to seasonal economic fluctuations, unemployment of up to 30% was accepted.
- 2) Unstable working career. The principal criterion was that the subject had been employed for at least half, and unemployed for at most a third, of the five-year period, and had worked in various jobs, mostly other than those corresponding to the subject's own occupation (if identifiable), and including also subsidized employment work.
- 3) A stagnated working career, where the principal criterion was that the subject had been unemployed for more than one third of the five-year period. A variety of jobs and tasks, as well as subsidized employment was included, because the subject's occupation was in many cases unclear. Temporary participation in training or education was included.

It was found that 232 subjects (81.4%) had had a stable career line, 20 (7.0%) an unstable one and 33 (11.6%) a stagnated career line during the five-year period prior to unemployment. No difference was found between males and females concerning the career line categories. The results of the career line analysis are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Subjects by gender and their career lines

Career line type	Fema N	ales % (row) % (col) *	Males N	% (row) % (col)	All N	% (row) % (col)
Stable	95	41.0 82.0	137	59.0 81.0	232	100.0 81.4
Unstable	10	50.0 8.5	10	50.0 6.0	20	100.0 7.0
Stagnated	11	33.0 9.5	22	67.0 13.0	33	100.0 11.6
All	116	40.7 100.0	169	59.3 100.0	285	100.0 100.0
* * *			01 : 0	1.465		0.401

* Note: Column

Chi-Square = 1.465

p = 0.481

3.4 Classification of subjects according to duration of unemployment

The subjects were classified in three groups according to the duration of their unemployment. The unemployed period was defined as the time lapse between the onset of the current unemployment and the date of the test. As indicated in Table 3, 88 of the 285 subjects had been out of work for 0 - 3 months, 101 had been unemployed for 4 - 9 months and 96 had been out of work for 10 months or more. Longer unemployment periods were more frequent among males than among females. The primary data are presented in Appendix 2.

Table 3. Distribution of subjects according to gender into groups of 0 - 3, 4 - 9 and \geq 10 months of unemployment

Duration of unemployment	Fem. N	% (row) % (col)*	Male N	es % (row) % (col)	All N	% (row) % (col)	М	SD
0 - 3 months	46	52.3 39.7	42	47.7 24.9	88	100.0 30.9	1.9	0.8
4 - 9 months	31	30.7 26.7	7 0	69.3 41.4	101	100.0 35.4	6.0	1.7
≥10 months	39	40.6 33.6	57	59.4 33.7	96	100.0 33.7	13.6	5.1
All	116	40.7 100.0	169	59.3 100.0	285	100.0 100.0		

^{*} Note: Column

Chi-Square = 9.07

p = 0.011

3.5 Statistical procedures

As the measure of association between continuous variables, the Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient was used. Comparison of averages between groups was implemented by means of the t-test, or by using a one-way analysis of variance connected with Tukey's test. The paired t-test was used when examining differences between variables within groups. Regarding classification variables, the relationships were analysed and comparisons between groups were made by means of the Chi-Square test. A two-way analysis of variance was used to determine the interaction between variables.

4 RESULTS

4.1 Validity of the Zulliger protocols

The unemployed subjects of this study had, on the average, fewer responses than was the case in the Zulliger reference material of Mattlar et al. (1990). The subjects in the reference material were randomly selected adolescents, adults and elderly people (n = 140).

The protocols were quite short, but the value of Lambda was at the normal adult level when compared to the Rorschach norms (Exner, 1993), although lower than that of the controls. This points to the conclusion that, on the average, the protocols are valid for interpretation. (Table 4).

Table 4. Number of responses and values of Lambda for the unemployed (n = 285) and the reference material (n = 140) of Mattlar et al. (1990)

	Unemployed		Reference	material		
	Mean	ŚD	Mean	SD	T	p
R	7.0	4.1	10.5	6.2	- 6.06	0.000
Lambda	0.6	0.9	0.9	0.9	- 3.23	0.001

4.2 Distress and career lines

The distress experienced was studied by means of the experience base, eb (see section 3.2 for definitions). Table 5 indicates that the right side of eb had a higher value than the left, both in the groups and in the whole material. The difference had its highest numerical value in the stable career line group and the lowest value in the unstable career line group.

The left and the right sides of the eb ratio were further examined separately in relation to the career line groups. For this analysis the unstable and stagnated career line groups were combined. Although theoretically doubtful, this was done with the intention of accentuating the possible differences between the stable career line group an the other groups. The right side of eb includes four variables, each of which is related to irritating affective experiences (Exner, 1993). Because of its composition, it is of special interest as regards the responses of unemployed subjects. In the present study it was found that eb-right had the highest value in the stable career line group (Table 6). The difference was statistically significant. In spite of the significance of differences between the averages, the standard deviations indicate that the distributions do overlap. Regarding eb-right no difference between the career line groups was found.

Experienced stimulation, or stress, was analysed by means of the es. The highest mean value of es is found in the stable career line group (Table 6).

TABLE 5. The eb, FC: CF + C and a: p ratios in the stable, unstable and stagnated career line groups and the whole material*

Ratios	Career line gr stable N = 232	oups unstable N = 20	stagnated N = 33	All N = 285
eb-ratio	0.8 : 1.9	0.7 : 1.4	0.6:1.4	0.8 : 1.8
difference / SD	- 1.1 / 1.7	- 0.7 / 1.4	- 0.8 / 1.7	- 1.0 / 1.7
T	- 9.68	- 2.10	- 2.94	- 10.31
p	0.000	0.050	0.006	0.000
FC : CF + C	1.4 : 1.0	1.4 : 1.2	1.0 : 1.2	1.3 : 1.1
difference / SD	0.4 / 1.7	0.2 / 1.3	- 0.2 / 1.7	1.2 / 1.7
T	3.19	0.53	- 061	2.85
p	0.002	0.603	0.544	0.005
a : p ratio	1.3 : 0.7	1.3 : 0.6	0.8 : 0.6	1.3 : 0.7
difference / SD	0.6 / 1.5	0.7 / 1.3	0.2 / 1.2	0.6 / 1.5
T	6.52	2.22	1.04	6.88
p	0.000	0.039	0.304	0.000

^{*} Note: The differences between the left and right sides of the ratios were examined by means of the paired t-test.

TABLE 6. Distress in the groups of stable career line, unstable career line and stagnated career line, indicated by eb left, eb right and es

	Caree stable N = 2			ble (2)	stagn N = 3	ated (3)	(2 + 3 N = 5		(1) vs.	(2+3)
	Mean		Mean	SD	Mean		Mear	-	T	p
eb left eb right es	0.8 1.9 2.6	1.0 1.5 2.0	0.7 1.4 2.1	0.9 1.1 1.5	0.6 1.4 2.0	0.9 1.2 1.4	0.6 1.4 2.0	0.9 1.2 1.4	1.00 2.42 2.67	0.318 0.017 0.009

<u>Responding to affect.</u> The Comprehensive System includes several possible variables for analysing the subjects' responses to affect. Two of them were used here, the Form-Color Ratio and the space responses, S.

Modulation of emotions was defined by using the Form-Color Ratio. Table 5 shows that the mean of the left side of the ratio was significantly higher than the mean of the right side in the stable career line group and in the whole material. The right side had a higher value in the stagnated career line group, but the difference was not significant.

To determine possible oppositional tendencies, differences in the mean frequencies of S-responses between the three career line groups were studied. There were no significant differences between the groups in this respect (Table 7).

<u>Social interest</u>. It was found that the mean frequency of Pure H was significantly higher in the stable career line group than in the group of unstable and stagnated career line groups (Table 7).

TABLE 7. Space responses (S), human content responses (H), human movement responses (M) and active (a) and passive (p) movement responses compared to career lines.

	Cared stable N = 1			able (2)	stagr N = :		3) (2 + 3) N = 53		(1) vs.	(2+3)
		SD		n SD		n SD	Mean	-	T	p
S	0.8	1.0	0.9	1.4	0.6	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.70	0.482
Н	1.1	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	2.39	0.018
M	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.6	1.1	0.9	1.3	1.3	2.55	0.012
a	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3	0.8	0.9	0.9	1.1	1.99	0.048
p	0.7	1.1	0.6	0.8	0.5	0.8	0.6	0.8	0.90	0.371

Reasoning and cognitive flexibility. Aspects of reasoning were studied by means of human movement responses (M). In the present study, the average number of M responses was significantly higher in the stable career line group than in the categories of unstable and stagnated career lines (Table 7), although also in this case the distributions overlap, as indicated by the standard deviations.

The ratio of the number of active movement responses to that of passive movement responses, a : p, relates to cognitive flexibility. The smallest difference between the averages of a and p was found in the stagnated career line group (Table 5).

In individual assessment, the values of a and p are mostly dealt with in the form of the a : p ratio. The separate values of a and p are presented in Table 7, in relation to the career line groups. The mean frequency of active responses was significantly higher among subjects in the stable career line group than in the combined group. The difference between the p responses was not significant.

4.3 Distress and duration of unemployment

Three groups were formed at the time of examination according to the duration of unemployment of the subjects. The time limits were defined as 0 - 3, 4 - 9 and 10 months or more unemployed. The distribution of the subjects into these groups has been presented in Table 3.

Symptoms were analysed by means of the following ratios, percentages and derivations, belonging to four interpretative variable clusters of the Comprehensive System (Exner, 1990). The variables are defined in chapter 3.2.

- Four Square variables EB (SumM and WSumC)

EΑ

eb (eb left and eb right)

D

- Affect-related variables Form-Color Ratio (FC, CF+C and C)

Affective Ratio (Afr)

S

- Self-perception variables Reflections (Fr + rF)

Egocentricity Index (3r + (2))/2

FD

Body Concern An + Xy

- Interpersonal and social area H

When studying the values of the components of eb in the three groups it was found (Table 8) that the differences between the averages of the left side of eb were not statistically significant. Regarding the value of eb-right, a significant difference was found between the groups, the highest value being in the 4 - 9 month group and the lowest in the \ge 10 month group.

The averages of es in the three groups differed significantly. The highest value was found in the 4 - 9 month group and the lowest in the group of subjects who had been unemployed for 10 months or more.

The eb and es are among the "core variables" of the Comprehensive System. Of the other variables belonging to the same cluster, EB, EA and D were reviewed in relation to the three groups. No significant differences were found. This was to be expected, since these variables are quite stable in nature.

Three affect-related variables were studied in relation to the duration of unemployment, with the aim of depicting the distress from another point of view besides that given by eb and es. In only two of these variables, Afr and S, were significant differences found. The group differences of the Affective Ratio, Afr, were slight. In any case, Afr had a higher value in the 4 - 9 month unemployment group than in the other two. The variation in the averages of S was parallel to that of Afr. In the components of the Form-Color Ratio (FC, CF + C and C) no significant variation was found.

Regarding self perception, four variables were studied in relation to the duration of unemployment. The variables in question were The Egocentricity Index (3r + (2))/R, the sum of form-reflection and reflection-form responses (Fr + rF), the form dimension responses (FD) and Body concern (An + Xy). None of these was significantly related to the duration of unemployment.

Pure H, the measure of social interest, had its highest value in the 0 - 3 month group and the lowest in the ≥ 10 month group.

TABLE 8. The eb, es, Afr, S and H variables in three groups of unemployed subjects, differing in duration of unemployment

	All (n=285)		Duration of unemployment in months $0 - 3 \text{ (n=88)}$ $4 - 9 \text{ (n=101)} \ge 10 \text{ (n=96)}$						
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean		Mean	SD	F	p
eb left eb right es	0.7 1.8 2.5	1.0 1.5 1.9	0.8 1.8 2.6	1.0 1.6 1.9	0.8 2.0 2.8	1.1 1.5 1.9	0.7 1.5 2.2	0.9 1.3 1.7	0.75 3.12 3.33	0.472 0.046 0.037
Afr S	0.5 0.8	0.3 1.0	0.5 0.7	0.3 1.1	0.6 1.0	0.4 1.1	0.5 0.7	0.3 0.9	4.59 3.10	0.011 0.047
Н	1.0	1.1	1.3	1.4	1.0	1.1	0.7	0.9	5.17	0.006

For Table 8, the significance of the differences between the three groups under conditions of the significance of F was calculated by means of Tukey's Test. The significant differences were (cf. Appendix 5):

```
eb left: none

eb right: 4 - 9 - \ge 10

es: 4 - 9 - \ge 10

Afr: 4 - 9 - \ge 10 and 4 - 9 - 0 - 3

S: none

H: 0 - 3 - > 10
```

4.4 Interaction of career line type and duration of unemployment with Zulliger variables

The two variables, career line type and duration of unemployment, were found to be clearly related (Table 9). The interaction of these variables was examined by means of the two-way analysis of variance, in relation to those Zulliger variables which had been found to be associated with one or other of them separately. The variables in question were eb left, eb right, es, S, H, M, a, p and Afr. The analysis showed no interaction between the variables in question (cf. Appendix 6).

TABLE 9. The relationship between career line type and duration of unemployment

Stable Unstable Stagnated	78	33.6 88.6	89	38.4	65	28.0	222	
Unstable	78		89		65	28.0	222	
				88.1	00	67.7	232	100.0 81.4
Stagnated	5	25.0 5.7	5	25.0 5.0	10	50.0 10.4	20	100.0 7.0
	5	15.2 5.7	7	21.2 6.9	21	63.6 21.9	33	100.0 11.6
All	88	30.9 100.0	101	35.4 100.0	96	33.7 100.0	285	100.0 100.0

*Note: Column Chi-Square = 17.944 p = 0.000

4.5 Age, gender, education and duration of unemployment of the subjects in relation to Zulliger variables

The relationships between gender and the Zulliger/Comprehensive System variables were analysed by means of the t-test. As indicated in Appendix 3, significant differences between males and females were found regarding the variables R, eb right, S and Fr + rF. The relationships of age, education (defined as years in school) and duration of unemployment (in months) were analysed as Pearson correlation coefficients. Age did not correlate with the dependent variables. Education was related to the variables R, EB left, EA, es, S and FD. Duration of unemployment did not correlate with the dependent variables.

The demographic variables did not seem to be associated with the ratios FC: CF + C, EB, eb and a: p. The correlation coefficients between age, education and duration of unemployment, on the one hand, and EB on the other, were significant, but their values were low, explaining only an insignificant proportion of the variation in question (cf. Appendix 4).

5 DISCUSSION

5.1 Summary of main findings

Distress and career line types

Distress was analysed by means of the eb ratio and es. The results are interpreted as indicating that distress was more marked in the group of subjects who had experienced a stable career line than for those whose career line had been unstable or stagnated. The results supported Hypothesis 1.

Control of emotional discharge was analysed by means of the Form Color Ratio. The results showed that in the stable career line group the expression of emotions was under control. It might be argued that in the unstable career line group, and especially in the stagnated career line group, emotions did not seem to be as well controlled as in the group with a stable career line. It might be tentatively argued that the results partially supported Hypothesis 2. Oppositionality, studied by means of the frequency of S responses, was low and there were no differences between the groups.

The material was also studied in order to determine whether there existed any differences between the career line groups as far as social interest, reasoning and cognitive flexibility were concerned. Distribution of the Pure H responses in the career line groups was interpreted tentatively as indicating that the subjects in the stable career line group generally had a greater social interest than the subjects belonging to the stagnated career line group. Elements of reasoning were evaluated by means of the frequency of M responses. It seems possible that a kind of thoroughness of thinking and a capacity for using delaying tactics are more typical of the stable career line group than of the two other career line groups. The information given by the a: p ratio suggests that the subjects in the stagnated career line group had, on the average, more cognitive flexibility than subjects in the other two groups.

Distress and duration of unemployment

Distress, defined by the right side of the eb-ratio, was most obvious in the group of subjects who had, on the average, been out of work for at least four and at most nine months. It was lowest in the group of subjects whose unemployment had lasted 10 months or more. The values of es, indicating the stress experienced, showed a parallel variation to that of eb. According to earlier research (e.g. Brenner & Starrin, 1988) negative symptoms related to unemployment typically show a modest decline after reaching an extreme. In this respect, the decline found in the present study was remarkable. It is nevertheless concluded that Hypothesis 3 was supported by our findings.

It was also found that receptiveness to emotionally provocative stimuli, defined by the Affective Ratio, and oppostionality, defined by the frequency of space respones (S), were slightly elevated in the 4 - 9 month group.

The mean frequencies of the pure human content responses, the measure of social interest used, revealed significant differences between the groups. The highest value, suggesting a more mature attitude towards the social environment and its realities, was found in the group having the shortest period of unemployment, and the lowest value in the group of subjects who had experienced the longest period of unemployment. This is an interesting finding, which perhaps points to the need for further studies of the value of the content variable of pure human responses. In the present material, the subjects of the ≥10 month group having the lowest mean H may already initially have had an attitude to the social environment different from that of the subjects in the two other groups, or their prolonged unemployment may have influenced it.

Regarding self-perception, four variables were studied in relation to the duration of unemployment No significant relations were found. This is an unexpected finding, because several studies have indicated that unemployment has an effect on a person's self image (recently Vuori, 1993; Vuori & Tervahartiala, 1995) and that the self image usually worsens the longer the unemployment continues (see, for example, Frese & Mohr, 1987; Kirchler, 1985).

Interaction of the independent variables with Zulliger response variables

The independent variables, career line type and duration of unemployment, were clearly related. The distribution of subjects who had had a stable career line was slightly accentuated in the 4 - 9 and the 0 - 3 month groups of unemployment, whereas subjects having had an unstable or a stagnated career line were prominent in the ≥ 10 month group. This finding, it may be said, was to be expected.

When examining the possible interaction of these two variables with the Zulliger variables, a combination of the unstable and stagnated career line categories was needed because of the small number of cases. The analysis indicated no interaction between the variables (see Appendix 6).

One would have expected an interaction to be found especially concerning pure H, because both career line type and duration of unemployment were obviously related to it. Pure H is a content variable scored when a response involves a percept of a whole human form, and it is understood to be a

measure of social interest. No interaction was established, but pure H is, in any case, an interesting variable. The findings of Pulkkinen (1982, 1989, 1990), according to which social aspects of behaviour were in some respects linked to young adults' vocational development, suggest that in any subsequent study, using either the Zulliger or the Rorschach method, greated emphasis should be placed on pure H.

Demographic variables in relation to Zulliger/Comprehensive system variables

In earlier research it has been found that with adults differences of age and gender are inconsequent for most variables of the Rorschach method (Exner, 1991; Mattlar, 1986). In the present study, some interesting observations were made regarding the variables age, gender, education and duration of unemployment and the Zulliger variables used (cf. Appendix 3).

In the present study males had a slightly greater number of responses, higher eb-right and higher S, than females. These findings parallel those of earlier research which has shown that the impact of unemployment is greater on males than on females (Huppert & Garcia, 1991; Lahelma, 1989, 1992; Rodgers, 1991; Studnicka et al., 1991). Age and duration of unemployment did not correlate with the Zulliger variables.

The correlations of the Zulliger variables with educational level, defined as years in school, were mainly modest, although a number of them were significant. It seems probable that the number of responses, R, which was greater for those who had been in school longer, explains most of these findings. It may, nevertheless, be important to note that those with a better education had a greater capacity for control (EA) and for introspection (FD) and were able to stand up for themselves (S). Perhaps those who know more, also experience more pain or distress (es) (cf. Appendix 3).

General evaluation of findings

The main finding of the study was that unemployed people experience distress that is apparently related to their prior career line type and also to the duration of their unemployment. Distress is experienced among the unemployed in Finland notwithstanding the sophisticated unemployment security system. Thus the importance of the functions of employment other than income for the mental welfare of human beings, suggested by Jahoda (1979, 1981, 1982), is brought into relief.

The fact that the average income of unemployed people is lower than that of those who are working has, nevertheless, to be taken into account when discussing the psychological situation of the unemployed. In 1992, the average gross income of employed people in Finland was FIM 116.000 (approximately USD 26.360) and that of those having lost their jobs FIM 91.000 (USD 20.680). On the average, the proportion of people with a low income was in all age groups larger among the unemployed than among the employed (Myrskylä & Ruotsalainen, 1994). These findings were based on statistical data. The picture was sharpened by Kangas and Ritakallio (1995), whose research showed that

in Finland the risk of poverty is radically higher for the unemployed than for any other group of adults. The incidence of unemployment suggested further that the risk of poverty will increase in Finland in the future. Of people having part-time work in 1995, 56 per cent had experienced unemployment during the previous five years, as compared to 26 per cent among the fully employed. The study by Kangas and Ritakallio was conducted in 1995 and circumstances had probably changed since 1992. In any case, the notion of Fryer (1992, p. 119) that it is "vital for researchers to bring the poverty, which is so central and corrosive a feature of unemployment for so many people, back into focus" seems to hold good even for European welfare states like Finland. It may be that the risk of poverty experienced has been a self-evident truth for many unemployed people and has, as such, influenced their emotions in the form of distress.

5.2 Evaluation of research data and classification criteria

The material for the present study consisted of unemployed middle-aged men and women having an employment history of at least five years before the onset of their current unemployment. The lower and upper age limits were set at 30 and 50 years. It was argued that people of this age are, on the average, in their best working years and have become established in society and working life. One reason for the choice of this age group was an earlier finding that the middle-aged react to unemployment in a different manner from younger and older people (Fryer & Payne, 1986). The age group 30 - 50 was also one in which the risk of losing one's job was smaller than in younger or older age groups (Myrskylä & Ruotsalainen, 1993).

The subjects were registered as unemployed job-seekers in three employment offices of the Turku labour district. They were applying for employment training courses with the aim of improving their possibilities of being reemployed. In this respect they could be characterized as active job-seekers, a fact which has to be taken into account regarding the general validity of the findings of this study.

Of the 285 subjects, 41% were female and 59 % male. The numbers are comparable to the ratio of unemployed females (39 %) to unemployed males (61%) in the country as a whole in 1992 (Työministeriö, 1995). There was no significant difference between the genders concerning age and duration of unemployment. In education a significant difference was found between the genders, which in practice means a disparity of not more than about one school year. The distribution of years in school did not correlate with the age and duration of unemployment of the subjects.

A reference group consisting of employed people, particularly a community sample, would have been valuable for the present study. For the time being, however, no such data exist, and such data are in any case scarce in psychology, because so difficult to compile. The research material consisted of people who were registered applicants for jobs in employment offices. Thus they could be motivated, or even obliged by the employment office, to participate in research activities with the aim of developing manpower services. The offices in question, however, had no means of calling employed people

together for a meeting to study them and their employment history. It was therefore decided to confine the study to making comparisons between groups of unemployed subjects.

Of the subjects 81.4% had been on a stable career line, 7.0% on an unstable one and 11.6% on a stagnated career line for a period of five years prior to the onset of unemployment. Between the distributions of females and males there was no significant difference. The skewed distribution of the career line groups reflects the employment situation, which had rapidly worsened. It is also possible that people who have experienced a stable career line will seek training courses more readily than those with a different type of employment history.

The career line analysis was based on a five-year period, as in the study by Nyyssölä (1992). It is possible that the analysis would have been on a firmer basis, especially regarding older subjects, if a longer period had been used. Also the criteria for the career line groups could have been formulated differently. For example, the duration of employment during the period under study could have been emphasized and it could have been used as a continuous variable. In the present study, however, also other types of criteria were applied, for example the subjects' own occupations or professions, when it was possible to identify them.

According to earlier research the well-being of unemployed people, after the initial shock, typically improved during the first three months of unemployment. A deterioration was found to occur from about the fourth month, up to and including the eighth month of unemployment, whereafter a change for the better was found (cf. Arnetz et al. 1988; Brenner & Starrin, 1988; Kirchler, 1985). The author's professional experiences support these findings. The time limits were then defined in such a way that it was possible to examine as precisely as possible the phases of unemployment mentioned. The mean periods of unemployment in the three groups were 1.9, 6.0 and 13.6 months. The value of the standard deviation was considerably higher in the ≥10 months group, for which the lowest value was 10 months and the highest 43 months, than in the other two groups. That the upper limit of this group was undefined is also indicated by the distribution of the primary material (cf. Appendix 2). Another principle was to get the subjects divided into groups in such a manner that statistical comparisons between them were possible. An alternative would have been to use the duration of unemployment as a continuous variable. The duration of unemployment did not, however, correlate with the Zulliger variables used, probably due to the curvilinear association between personality and duration of unemployment (cf. Appendix 3). A significant difference was found between the distributions of females and males in the three groups. Especially in the group of 4 - 9 months of unemployment, and also in the group of ≥ 10 months of unemployment the proportion of males was high.

5.3 Evaluation of the theoretical model

O'Brien (1986) has stated that there is no theory available by means of which all findings regarding the psychological impact of unemployment could be explained. The same conclusion could be drawn from a general survey of literature on the subject (e.g. Fryer, 1992; Fryer & Payne, 1986). A further deduction from reviews of literature is that in research on employment and unemployment psychodynamic approaches are rare.

The theoretical model used in the present study was based on psychodynamic theory. Employment has, according to Freud (1901), an important meaning both for the individual and for society. Jahoda (1979, 1981, 1982) found that employment has, besides economic, also individual and societal functions and that, in unemployment, a person is deprived of these functions. Using the ideas of Winnicott (1971), employment was in the present study argued to be a field of reciprocal interaction between the individual and society. Job loss was seen as a falling away from this area of interaction and approval. Continuity is a central idea in psychodynamic thinking. It means that developmental and dramatic experiences are preserved, for example experiences of deprivation in childhood, and these are at least to some extent activated in adulthood by the loss of a job. Ikonen and Rechardt have studied the experience of shame as a consequence of failure in pursuit of reciprocity. In the present study, unemployment was understood to be such a failure, leading to distress in which shame is a main affect. Activities aiming at interaction are a function of the libido matrix, Eros, and shame originates from Thanatos (Ikonen & Rechardt, 1978, 1993).

In an empirical study, it is difficult to formulate relationships between theoretical concepts like those used in the present study and the concomitant hypotheses. Another problem is the difficulty of conceptualizing arguments derived from the model in a measurable form. The using of psychodynamic concepts in an empirical study has isometimes been criticized in the philosophy of psychology (see Robinson, 1985). It has also been stated that explanations, in a study based on psychodynamic theory, ought to be primarily of a theoretical (cf. Little, 1991), or perhaps hermeneutic (Lesche, 1978), nature. Recently, however, it has been suggested that hypotheses based on psychodynamic theory con be tested empirically (Karlsson, 1994).

The metapsychology of psychodynamic theory postulates unobservable mechanisms and structures which cannot be measured. The concepts are on a different level from clinical concepts, which in this study were used to depict observable phenomena. Karlsson (1994) notes that there are recent models for research where several different theoretical levels are taken into account. When using such models we confront certain philosophical problems. In spite of the difficulties involved, a purposeful attempt was made in the present study to explain manifestations of distress by means of a metapsychological model. In addition, an indirect technique, the Zulliger, which has probably not earlier been applied in such a context, was used. In any further research, also the operational and theoretical levels of the Zulliger in relation to the observable phenomena should be analysed.

Freud's assertion that a healthy person is able to work and love has been accepted. In his work Civilization and Its Discontents, Freud (1930) elaborates the meaning of work in relation to society and civilization, as well as to love. Considering the importance of his thoughts in this area, it is surprising how little research has been based directly on Freud's theory. In the present study, an impartial attempt has been made to enter this field of research by means of new adaptations of theory and method. It was discovered that it is possible to predict and explain psychological experiences connected with unemployment by means of a model based on psychodynamic theory. The model also helped to clarify the multiple forms of experiences related to unemployment and why the life history of a human being is so important for understanding his or her situation as an unemployed job applicant. There is good reason for extending the application of the theoretical model used in psychological research to include forms of behaviour and ways of reacting in different phases of employment and unemployment. Not only distress, but also the positive feelings experienced by some unemployed people, could probably be explained by means of a psychodynamic model.

5.4 Evaluation of research technique

In the present study, the Comprehensive System, devised for the Rorschach by Exner (1990, 1991, 1993), was applied to the Zulliger method. The scoring categories and guidelines for interpretation were based on the Comprehensive System. This was justified by the findings of Mattlar (1990). He stated that the Zulliger corresponds to the Rorschach regarding its stimulus properties (cf. Lis & Rossi, 1995). Mattlar also concluded from his findings that it should, theoretically, be legitimate to use interpretative principles based on Rorschach research when interpreting the Zulliger protocol (Mattlar, 1990).

Zulliger compared his method with the Rorschach and found that the results of these two methods could be seen as equivalent (Zulliger, 1968). Later, however, also converse findings have been made. After studying the comparative literature concerning the Rorschach and the Zulliger, Mahmood (1990) noted that the Zulliger is a variation of the Rorschach but, lacking the subtleties of the original method, is not exactly equivalent to it. Lis criticized studies that accept the similarity between the Rorschach and the Zulliger because of the inadequate control of the mode of administration. She also noted that such studies are small in number, that they were carried out a long time ago, with a limited number of subjects, and that especially comparative studies using Exner's method are few and far between (Lis & Rossi, 1995; cf. Rossi & Lis, 1995).

Recent research suggests that differences between the results of individual and group administration of the Zulliger are not very great (Lis & Rossi, 1995). There are, however, some practical problems connected with group administration. For example, in that mode no inquiry is normally used. The aim of an inquiry is to make sure that the bases for the coding of responses exist, and its lack leaves many questions unresolved. The intention of the instructions given in the Zulliger Workbook (Mattlar et al., 1993) and Handbook (Uhinki et al.,

1994) is to improve the reliability of the scoring in the case of group administration, where no inquiry is made. The interrater agreement between the two final scorers was above 80% for all the main categories used. This suggests, besides competency in the scorers, a contributory influence from the scoring instructions. As a general estimate, it might be said that the Zulliger proved to be useful and that the available information about its use, including the instructions for presentation and coding, was adequate.

Decisions regarding the type of research instruments required for a particular study activate questions about the level of consciousness at which the phenomena are manifested. Revonsuo (1994) has an important notion when he emphasizes the importance of differentiating between consciousness and self-awareness. He says that consciousness is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for self-reflection. In an interview, or when using a questionnaire, the subject is presumed to be able to be self-aware and willing to co-operate with the researcher. Methods like the Rorschach and the Zulliger obviously do not operate at the same level of consciousness as questionnaires and interviews. Relationships between the so-called projective techniques and other research methods regarding unconsciousness, consciousness and self-consciousness should be analysed. The way in which knowledge comes about, when on the one hand projective techniques and on the other interviews or inventories are used, is also an important question. These and possibly other questions, which of their nature touch on the field of the philosophy of psychology, should be taken into consideration when selecting research methods. With these considerations in mind, it is noteworthy that Rorschach himself never explicitly defined either the theoretical foundation of his work or his conception of human personality (Mattlar, 1986). To the best of our knowledge, the same can be said of Zulliger.

Mahmood (1990) has stated that a universally agreed method of administration and scoring should be developed for the Zulliger, in order to establish it as an independent technique in its own right. In the light of the experience gained in the course of the present study it can be asserted that the Rorschach Comprehensive System is well suited to be the method called for by Mahmood.

5.5 Generalizations and practical implications of findings

The study was concerned with unemployment as a real-life problem. The findings might be generalized for 30 - 50 year-old active job-seekers at employment offices under exacerbating employment conditions corresponding to those of the early 1990s. By active clients is meant people who have dealings with an employment office, and who, for example, are interested in employment training. The usability of the present findings is limited by the fact that this was a cross-sectional study, in which the important question of causality could not be investigated.

When comparing the findings of the present study to those of earlier research, it should be remembered that contextual differences alter cases and that changes in social and economic conditions must be taken into account. For

example, unemployment security in the Europe of the 1930s was entirely different from what it is today. Jahoda (1982) depicts this difference as a change from absolute to relative physical deprivation. That the economic and social conditions of a given country should be taken into account is illustrated, for example, by the work of McLaughlin (1992) which deals primarily with the United Kingdom. The study of van Raaij and Antonides (1991) should be understood in the light of contemporary social conditions. These two investigators assessed the advantages and disadvantages of employment and unemployment by comparing their economic and psychological experiences with the income of employed and unemployed subjects. The aim of their study was to define the optimal difference between minimum wage and unemployment benefits, so that paid work would become more attractive than remaining unemployed. Actual differences in income were found to be considerably in excess of the marginal of nine per cent, by which amount income from employment should, according to the study, have been higher than unemployment benefits, in order to compensate for the negative consequences of work.

The findings of the present study were intended to be applied in developing the client service of Finnish employment offices. They might also be usable in other contexts involving unemployed people, such as social welfare offices. The task of an employment counsellor, when facing a distressed client and his life situation, could generally speaking be described as very demanding. When employment conditions are difficult, when there are only limited possibilities for finding work for a client, irrespective of his or her education, vocational training and former occupation, the complexity of the task is increased a hundredfold.

It seems that the career line of a client should be an important clue for the counsellor. A client who has earlier been employed under the conditions of a stable career line might typically be distressed but, as suggested by the level of emotional control, is often unwilling to share, indeed may be incapable of sharing, his emotional state with an unknown person representing a government institution. This same client would probably be simultaneously in need of help and also interested in accepting it. A client representing the stagnated career line category, on the other hand, would in some important respects be different from the one who has worked on his own stable line of occupation. His distress is probably not as severe and it might be easier for him to express it. He might also be less rigid than a person who has followed a stable career line. High professional competence and great sensitivity are needed in order to help clients appropriately and successfully.

The difficulty of a counsellor's task is compounded by the fact that time is also an important factor to be taken into account. The emotional state of the client fluctuates during unemployment and at a certain point, the onset of which varies according to the individual, either adaptation to the situation or resignation begins. Job-search behaviour can be activated by means of well-planned interventions (van Ryn & Vinokur, 1992), but the nature (Arnetz et al., 1988) and timing of them is crucial, because reactions to unemployment are so personal. Ideally, each client requires a unique response.

According to one prediction about changes in Finnish society, the proportion of people whose employment is on a stable basis will be reduced, whereas the proportions both of those in unstable employment and of people outside

the labour force will increase. The supposition is that there will be an accumulation of people who are only at the beginning of their careers trying to find a place in working life (Varsinais-Suomen liitto, 1995). In accord with the findings of the present study, that prediction foreshadows a bleak future concerning employment for those who unexpectedly lose their jobs after a stable employment career line. It would be very hard for them to adapt to the radical changes expected in the employment market. A serious problem is that occupational competence, and hence a valuable national asset, is lost if experienced workers cannot find their way back to working life. If the forecast is correct, it is probable that new groups of long-term unemployed, representing new types of people, will come into existence in Finland.

Theory has it that unemployment affects psychic mechanisms, with the result that the self is endangered. Rechardt (1993) has analysed situations where the normal processes of the self are threatened and disturbed. Help can be sought in three ways, through psychic work, by sticking to old habits of thought, or by destructiveness. Unemployed people who become distressed and who should be helped back to work ought to be directed into psychic work which is the only positive course among the three alternatives mentioned. Perhaps one of the most urgent tasks in this connection would be to help them to elaborate the threats and fears that they have experienced. These negative emotions could perhaps be alleviated by activating unemployed job applicants themselves; by persuading them to plan interventions and measures that would help them to keep a grip on the situation. The present study was carried out during a deteriorating employment situation, when the prognoses regarding national economy were pessimistic. If and when the situation improves, it would be important to undertake a further study of the distress experienced by unemployed people representing the three types of career line history, after different periods of unemployment.

5.6 Implications for research

Some of the issues regarding the philosophy of psychology, which arise when psychodynamic concepts are used in an experimental study dealing with the psychology of unemployment, should be analysed thoroughly in further research. A different kind of question, also raised by the present study, concerns the reasons for, and the forms of association existing between the educational level of the subjects and the Exnerian Comprehensive System variables applied to the Zulliger. The whole matter merits careful examination, both at a general level and from the point of view of the psychology of unemployment. A third point that requires investigation is the activities aiming at re-employment, especially the possible differences between them for people with different career line histories. Close study of that area would be of great value for those developing interventions for activating unemployed job-seekers.

The theoretical model upon which the present investigation was based, and also the methods employed have not earlier been utilized in an empirical study of the psychology of unemployment. The importance of the psychological perspective for illuminating the problematics of this whole area of research

became very evident in the course of this work. Especially clear was this risk group made up by those who have difficulties in resolving their situation of distress. Since the resources available for giving support are limited, it would be imperative to ensure that assistance is given primarily to those who are most in need. The Zulliger method may well be a practicable screening test in situations where it its necessary to decide how allocate aid with justice. Further research along these lines should perhaps combine the Zulliger method used here with some method for measuring the degree of control over their lives experienced by unemployed persons. It would then be possible to determine even more exactly which people stand in greatest need of help.

6 YHTEENVETO

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli analysoida työttömien työnhakijoiden psyykkistä tilaa ja ahdinkoa. Tämän ongelmakentän tärkeys ja samalla käytettävissä olevien mittavälineiden vähäisyys valkeni tutkimuksen tekijälle hänen toimiessaan Turun työvoimapiirin piiritoimistossa toimistopäällikkönä. Vielä vuonna 1990 työllisyys oli Suomessa ollut hyvä, työttömyysaste oli silloin 3.4 %. Tilanne oli huontunut tämän jälkeen nopeasti. Vuonna 1992, jolloin tutkimustiedot kerättiin, työttömiä oli koko maassa jo 15.1 % ja Turun työvoimapiirissä 11.6 % työvoimasta. Uutta oli tilanteessa nyt mm. se, että Varsinais-Suomessakin kuka tahansa saattoi joutua työelämän ulkopuolelle työkokemuksestaan ja koulutuksestaan riippumatta.

Aikaisempien tutkimusten mukaan työpaikan menettäminen vaikuttaa useimpiin, mutta ei kaikkiin ihmisiin kielteisesti. Työttömän ahdinko voi ilmetä esimerkiksi stressaantuneisuutena, syyllisyyden tunteina, ahdistuneisuutena tai masennuksena. Työtön voi tuntea, ettei hän enää voi toimia yhteiskunnan hyväksyttynä jäsenenä tai että hän joutuu itselleen tärkeiden ihmissuhteiden ulkopuolelle. Se, mitä työtön kokee, on kuitenkin hyvin yksilöllistä. Mm. aikaisemman työn laadun, aikaisempien työ- ja työttömyyskokemusten, työttömänäolon keston, sukupuolen, iän, saatavilla olevan sosiaalisen tuen laadun ja määrän sekä yhteiskunnallisen ja taloudellisen kokonaistilanteen on havaittu vaikuttavan siihen, miten kukin reagoi työttömyyteensä. Tämän tutkimuksen tutkittavat olivat Turun työvoimapiirissä työvoimakoulutukseen pyrkineitä 30-50 -vuotiaita henkilöitä, 169 miestä ja 116 naista, yhteensä 285 henkilöä.

Tutkittuja ilmiöitä selitettiin psykodynaamiseen teoriaan perustuvan mallin avulla. Tätä teoriataustaa on käytetty vain harvoissa työn ja työttömyyden psykologiaa koskevissa tutkimuksissa huolimatta työn arvon korostumisesta jo aikoinaan Freudin terveyttä koskevassa määritelmässä "lieben und arbeiten". Tässä työssä käytetyn mallin yhtenä kulmakivenä oli Jahodan teoria, jonka mukaan työttömäksijoutuva ei menetä ainoastaan palkkatyöstä saamaansa toimeentuloa, vaan myös muita työn kautta tarjoutuvia merkityksiä, jotka liittyvät mm. elämän ja ajankäytön strukturoitumiseen, ihmisen ja yhteiskun-

nan välisiin vuorovaikutussuhteisiin sekä minäkuvan muotoutumiseen. Mallin toinen osio muodostui Ikosen ja Rechardtin esittämistä häpeän alkuperää koskevista näkökohdista, joiden avulla tässä tutkimuksessa selitettiin työttömyyteen liittyvän ahdingon muodostumista. Ihminen, joka menettää työnsä, ja joka epäonnistuu yrittäessään palata uudelleen työelämään, joutuu ahdinkoon, jonka keskeisenä sisältönä on häpeän tunne.

Aikaisempien tutkimusten ja teorian perusteella oletettiin, että ihminen, joka on toiminut pääasiassa oman ammattialansa töissä vakaalla työuralla, kokee työnsä menettäessään suuremman elämänmuutoksen ja joutuu voimakkaampaan ahdinkoon kuin henkilö, jolla on ollut vaihtelevanlaatuisia työtehtäviä nykyistä työttömyyttään edeltävänä ajanjaksona tai henkilö, joka on ollut aikaisemmin paljon työttömänä. Työttömyyden keston ja koetun ahdingon odotettiin liittyvän toisiinsa käyräviivaisessa suhteessa. Oletettiin, että henkilöillä, jotka ovat olleet työttöminä suhteellisen lyhyen ajan, tässä tutkimuksessa 0 - 3 kuukautta, ahdinko on lievä. Niillä, joiden työttömyys on kestänyt pitempään, 4 - 9 kuukautta, ahdingon oletettiin olevan voimakkainta. Vielä pitempään, 10 kuukautta tai enemmän, työttömänä olleiden ahdingon oletettiin olevan tätä alemmalla tasolla.

Tutkimuksessa käytettiin Zulligerin menetelmää, joka on muunnos Rorschachin tekniikasta. Zulligeria ei tiettävästi ole aikaisemmin käytetty tämän tyyppisessä empiirisessä tutkimuksessa, eikä siihen ollut suomalaista normiaineistoa. Tutkimuksen ensimmäisenä vaiheena oli sovittaa Rorschachia varten kehitetty, empiirisesti perusteltavissa oleviin havaintoihin pohjautuva uusi koodaus- ja tulkintajärjestelmä, The Rorschach Comprehensive System, Zulligerin ryhmämenetelmään. Tutkimalla yli 700 henkilöä tuotettiin nyt vastausten koodauksessa tarvittavat alue- ja sisältöluokitustaulukot ja oma erillinen käsikirja.

Tutkimuksen päätulokset olivat osittain odotusten mukaiset. Ahdinko oli todella voimakkainta niillä, joiden työura oli ollut vakaa. Sensijaan epävakaan ja pysähtyneen uratyypin kesken ei tässä suhteessa havaittu merkitseviä eroja. Mielenkiintoinen havainto oli ihmissisältövastausten määrän vähyys pysähtyneellä uralla olleiden ryhmässä verrattuna kahteen muuhun ryhmään. Työttömyyden keston mukaisessa tarkastelussa ahdingon kokeminen ilmeni selvimmin 4 - 9 kuukautta työttöminä olleilla ja oli vähintä pisimpään työttöminä olleiden ryhmässä.

Tutkimuksen tuloksia voidaan yleistää koskemaan nopeasti huononevan työllisyystilanteen vallitessa työvoimakoulutukseen pyrkiviä, tässä mielessä aktiivisia, 30 - 50 -vuotiaita työttömiä työnhakijoita. Tutkimus osoitti, että nämä kokevat ahdinkoa huolimatta siitä, että Suomessa on muihin Euroopan maihin nähden hyvin vertailukelpoinen työttömien toimeentuloturvajärjestelmä. Psyykkisessä mielessä vaikeimmassa tilanteessa ovat ne työttömät työnhakijat, joiden aikaisempi työura on ollut vakaa, ja työpaikan menetys oli tullut yllätyksenä. Epävakaalla työuralla olleiden tilanne on tässä mielessä ehkä helpompi. Heidän ahdinkonsa ei tutkimuksen mukaan ollutkaan yhtä voimakas kuin vakaan työuran kokeneilla. He eivät yleisesti ottaen ehkä ole psykologisen ohjausavun tarpeessa samalla tavalla kuin vakaalla uralla olleet.

Tutkimuksen perustana ollut teoreettinen malli sekä siinä käytetty menetelmä olivat molemmat uutta työttömyyden psykologian empiirisessä tutkimuksessa. Tutkimus toi korostetusti esiin psykologisen avun merkityksen koko työttömien ongelmakentässä. Erityisesti tuli näkyyiin riskiryhmä, jonka on vaikea selvivtyä ahdinkotilanteestaan ilman psykologista tukea. Tuen antamiseen käytettävissä olevat voimavarat ovat rajalliset, joten niiden käyttö olisi voitava kohdentaa niihin, jotka ovat eniten avun tarpeessa ja jotka ovat valmiit ottamaan sitä myös vastaan. Tämä asettaa suuren haasteen suomalaisten mielenterveydestä ja maan työvoimapolitiikasta vastaaville tahoille. Zulligerin menetelmä, josta nyt on valmistunut työministeriön kustantamana saatavissa oleva käsikirja suomalaisine normitietoineen, näytti tällä tutkimusaineistolla erottelevan eriasteisesti ahdinkoa kokevat työttömät työnhakijat omiksi ryhmikseen. Menetelmä voisi toimia käyttökelpoisena seulontamenetelmänä tilanteissa, joissa avun oikea kohdentaminen on tärkeätä. Tähän liittyvä jatkotutkimus saattaisi olla tarpeen siten toteutettuna, että tässä työssä käytetyn Zulligerin menetelmän lisäksi käytettäisiin jotakin elämänhallinnan kokemusta mittaavaa menetelmää, jolloin eniten apua tarvitseva ryhmä profiloituisi käytännön tarpeiden kannalta vielä tarkemmin. Menetyksen ja ahdingon kokemisen rinnalla on tärkeätä tutkia myös mielikuvia pidemmällä aikaperspektiivillä ja ihmisen kykyä hahmottaa tulevaisuuttaan.

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Procedure for administration of the Zulliger Test

The materials for group administration of the Zulliger in this study were three transparencies on which the inkblot figures had been photographed, one on each, and booklets for the responses.

On the cover of the booklet there were spaces for personal data. The three following pages had spaces for the written responses, marked Table I, Table II and Table III and carrying the question "What might this be?". After an interleaf there were then three pages containing photocopies of the cards, one on each page.

The maximum number of subjects in an administration was 15. The subjects were to sit comfortably in seats not too close to each other, with tables in front of them. Depending of the shape of the room, there were to be a maximum of five seats in a row and not more than four rows. The minimum distance between a subject and the screen was two metres and the maximum six metres.

The size of the projected stimulus had to be about $180 \text{ cm} \times 120 \text{ cm}$. The height of the projection had to be such that everyone could see it completely. The mirror of the projector was not to be tilted so much that it distorted the projection. The examiner was instructed to check these details when preparing for the administration, and again during it, to make sure that everyone had a clear view of the screen.

The subjects were forbidden to open the booklet, or to leaf through it, before they were instructed to do so. The procedure began with the personalia. The examiner first presented the topics of the questions and then supervised the work of the subjects. When they had finished, the lights were dimmed.

Instructions: "Now turn to page three in the booklet. There you will find spaces for your responses to the first picture. I shall show you three pictures of inkblots by means of the overhead projector, one at a time. When the picture appears you should think what it might be and write it down in your booklet. You will have about three minutes for each picture. That is enough to write all your responses. If you give two or more responses, number them. Please describe clearly, and as exactly as possible what you see."

If any questions were asked, the examiner was to answer briefly, honestly and in a non-directive manner, mainly repeating the instructions by saying for example: "Just write down what you see there". Questions about the number of answers were met by explaining that most people find more than one thing.

The first picture was then presented. If the examiner noted that some of the subjects had given only one response he said: "Take your time and go on looking. People usually see more than one thing in the blot". This last was not repeated when showing Tables II and III. The examiner announced when the three minutes were up and covered the transparency. If anyone was still writing, some further time was given. The subjects were then asked to turn to the next page in the booklet and the procedure continued as described until Table III had been completed. Thereafter normal lighting was restored.

The next phase of the procedure was for the subjects to indicate where the various things were observed. The instructions were: "We still have one task left, but it will not take much time. You will now indicate where you saw all the things you wrote in the booklet. For this purpose, photocopies of the blots you saw are presented on the last pages of the booklet. Look at your first answer to Table I (on page 3). On page 11 you will find a photocopy of table I. Now you should indicate on it where you saw the thing in the first response marked 1. If you used the whole blot, then put a circle around the whole, and mark it 1. If it was only a part of the blot, then outline, as exactly as possible, only that area, and mark it 1. (The examiner illustrated this by means of a drawing on the blackboard. He also had to assist subjects who possibly did not understand the instructions.) When you are ready with the first response you go on to your second answer to Table I (on page 3), marked 2. Indicate it in the picture in the same way. So you mark all your responses to Table I and then go on to the next tables."

The total time needed for the administration was about 20 - 25 minutes.

APPENDIX 2

Duration of unemployment by gender of subjects

Duration of unemployment in months	Females	Males	All
	%	%	%
	18	16	34
	15.5	9.5	11.9
2	15	12	27
	12.9	7.1	9.5
3	13	14	27
	11.2	8.3	9.5
4	7 6.0	21 12.4	0 - 3 months N = 88 28 9.8
5	6	10	16
	5.2	5.9	5.6
6	6	14	20
	5.2	8.3	7.0
7	3	12	15
	2.6	7.1	5.2
8	2	9	11
	1.7	5.3	3.9
9	7	4	11
	6.0	2.4	3.9
10	7 6.0	8 4.7	4 - 9 months N = 1 <u>0</u> 1 15 5.2
11	7	10	17
	6.0	5.9	6.0
12	13	17	30
	11.2	10.1	10.5
13	3	4	7
	2.6	2.4	2.5
14	6	2	8
	5.2	1.2	2.8
15	0	4	4
	0	2.4	1.4
16	() ()	0.6	1 0.4

17	0	2 1.2	2 0.7
18	1 0.9	2 1.2	3 1.1
20	0	2 1.2	2 0.7
21	0	1 0.6	1 0.4
22	0 0	1 0.6	1 0.4
24	1 0.9	0	1 0.4
26	0 0	1 0.6	1 0.4
27	0 0	1 0.6	1 0.4
36	1 0.9	0 0	1 0.4
43	0	1 0.6	1 0.4 10 months or more N = 96

Demographic variables related to Zulliger/Comprehensive System variables: Gender by means of t test, age (years), education (years in school) and duration of unemployment (months) as Pearson correlation coefficients

Z/CS variable	Gender value of t value of p	Age value of r value of p	Education value of r value of p	Unemployment value of r value of p
R	- 3.142	- 0.003	0.273	- 0.045
	0.002	0.957	0.000	0.451
Lambda	0.104	0.068	- 0.200	0.073
	0.917	0.255	0.000	0.220
EB left	- 0.283	- 0.095	0.297	- 0.105
	0.777	0.109	0.000	0.077
EB right	- 0.700	0.08 4	0.183	0.059
	0.485	0.159	0.002	0.321
EA	- 0.626	- 0.023	0.328	- 0.045
	0.532	0.693	0.000	0.450
eb left	- 0.322	0.003	0.216	- 0.059
	0.748	0.965	0.000	0.317
eb right	- 2.120	- 0.052	0.257	- 0.084
	0.035	0.383	0.000	0.157
es	- 1.814	- 0.039	0.316	- 0.098
	0.071	0.510	0.000	0.100
D	1.011	0.011	0.08 4	0.0 43
	0.313	0.860	0.156	0. 47 0
a	- 0.291	- 0.069	0.217	- 0.054
	0.771	0.247	0.000	0.366
p	- 0.796	- 0.054	0.259	- 0.060
	0.427	0.360	0.000	0.311
FC	- 0.721	0.000	0.208	- 0.035
	0.472	0.998	0.000	0.556
CF+C	- 0.499	0.078	0.112	- 0.076
	0.618	0.187	0.060	0.199
S	- 2.527	- 0.041	0.295	0.006
	().012	().488	0.000	0.914
Afr	0.042	0.008	- ().000	0.0 34
	0.967	0.888	0.995	0.566

5	Q
J	O

Н	- 0.960	- 0.145	0.205	- 0.153	
	0.388	0.014	0.000	0.010	
FD	- 1.102	- 0.120	0.258	- 0.144	
	0.271	0.043	0.000	0.015	
An +Xy	- 0.823	- 0.022	0.079	- 0.110	
•	0.411	0.713	0.182	0.065	
Egocentricity	0.667	- 0.076	0.066	- 0.081	
index	0.505	0.203	0.267	0.171	
Fr + rF	- 2.324	- 0.076	0.140	0.029	
	0.021	0.204	0.018	0.630	

APPENDIX 4

Demographic variables related to four Zulliger/Comprehensive System ratios: Gender by means of t-test, age (years), education (years in school) and duration of employment (months) as Pearson correlation coefficients, the ratios calculated as differences between the left and right sides.

Z/CS variable	Gender value of t value of p	Age value of r value of p	Education value of r value of p	Unemployment value of r value of p
FC : CF + C	- 0.156	- 0.053	0.067	- 0.076
	0.877	0.370	0.258	0.201
EB L : EB R	0.227	- 0.135	0.134	- 0.127
	0.820	0.023	0.024	0.032
eb L : eb R	1.633	0.047	- 0.095	0.038
	0.104	0.429	0.109	0.522
a : p	0.313	- 0.020	- 0.001	- 0.003
	0.755	0.734	0.986	0.965

Differences in the means of Zulliger variables between groups of 0 - 3, 4 - 9 and ≥ 10 months of unemployment

Tested by means of Tukey's Studentized Range (HSD) Test. Comparisons significant at the 0.05 level are included. Confidence = 0.95

Zulliger variable	Comparison of groups	Lower confidence limit	Difference between means	Upper confidence limit
eb right	4-9 - ≥10	0.03	0.52	1.01
	≥10 - 4-9	-1.01	-0.52	-0.03
es	4-9 - ≥10	0.06	0.69	1.31
	≥10 - 4-9	-1.31	-0.69	-0.06
Afr	4-9 - ≥10 ≥10 - 4-9	0.00 -0 .2 1	0.11 0.11	0.21 -0.00
	4-9 - 0-3	0.02	0.13	0.23
	0-3 - 4-9	-0.23	-0.13	-0.02
Н	0-3 - ≥10	0.14	0.53	0.92
	≥10 - 0-3	-0.92	0.53	-0.14

APPENDIX 6

Interaction of the variables career line type and duration of unemployment with nine Zulliger/Comprehensive System variables

Zulliger variable	F value	p
eb left	0.42	0.659
eb right	0.32	0.726
es	0.59	0.556
S	0.30	0.738
Н	0.29	0.746
M	0.22	0.804
a	0.65	0.524
	0.19	0.829
Afr	0.43	0.651

* Note: The relationship between the variables career line type and duration of unemployment are presented in Table 9.

The interaction was examined by means of a two-way analysis of variance. Career line type was used in the form of two different categories, a stable category and a combined category of unstable and stagnated career line types. Duration of unemployment was used in three categories, those of 0 - 3, 4 - 9 and ≥ 10 months of unemployment.