

**National School of Political and Administrative Studies**

**Department of Sociology**

**Alexandra DIACONESCU**

***The role of personal resources in adapting former workers to  
the status of dismissal in post-communist Romania***

***Case study: aluminum production and processing plant,  
ALRO Slatina***

**SUMMARY**

**- thesis -**

**performed under the guidance**

**Conf. Univ. Dr. Alfred BULAI**

**- 2020-**

The research is dedicated to the analysis of the factors that influence the life strategies of individuals, taking into account the social, mental or material resources they have. The general framework of the paper is given by the processes of post-communist transition that produce large-scale changes both in the private lives of citizens and at the public level. Firstly, the research aims to describe the factors that determine the choices of individuals and then the conditions that make strategies successful. Secondly, the research aims to explain what are the most important mechanisms for adapting individuals to stressful situations.

The starting point of the research is the analysis of the strategies adopted by unemployed from the aluminum production and processing plant (ALRO) from Slatina during 2008-2009. The city of Slatina during the communist period was considered to be the epicenter of the industry, in antithesis with the current situation of the city that has undergone transformations with the start of the deindustrialization process. The context of the research takes into account the process of privatization and later the modernization, which led to the reconfiguration of the organizational chart, resulting in massive layoffs. The research focuses on people who lose their jobs at the ALRO plant, do not have the necessary retirement age but remain concerned in various degrees of professional reintegration.

The object of analysis is the former ALRO workers, who are seen as unemployed from the perspective of the fact that they lost their jobs and the most important aspect is the fact that they lost their only income on which both they and their family depended. From an institutional point of view, the former workers are uncompensated unemployed due to the fact that they accepted the conclusion of the employment contract with the agreement of the parties and were remunerated with compensatory salaries.

The issue of the study is to identify the most important resources that individuals in hard time manage to mobilize to overcome particularly difficult times. At the same time, the paper aims to investigate the mechanism of response of subjects to a stressful situation, more precisely if they decide and manage to concentrate all their resources to adapt to the new context.

The research has three major objectives. The first objective is to investigate the factors that determine the choice of life strategies of former workers in the city affected by post-communist deindustrialization. This first objective starts from the premises already existing in the specialized literature from the perspective of several determining factors: self-esteem, social capital, motivation and financial buffer. Therefore, the prerequisites are the following: (1) Unemployment affects self-esteem and thus confidence in the re-employment process; (2) The perspective of finding a job is strongly influenced by the social capital available to the

individual; (3) Motivation has a positive impact on re-employment; (4) Financial capital, seen as an invigorating source, helps in the job search process.

The second research objective is to investigate the characteristics of an individual that lead to the successful reintegration into the labor market of the unemployed from the ALRO aluminum plant. This objective aims to identify the subjects seeking employment. This objective is based on the following premises: (1) The intensity of accessing acquaintances through the network is closely related to the duration of unemployment; (2) Social networks are an information channel through which people find jobs; (3) Demographic variables influence the probability of finding a job;

The third objective concerns the factors that influence the adaptation to the post-unemployment situation of the former workers in the factory that deals with the production and processing of aluminum. The objective starts from the following premises, extracted from the researches of sociologists in the field: (1) In the process of adapting to the status of unemployed, individuals manage to replace the routine of the workplace with other constructive activities; (2) The health status of the subjects after dismissal improves compared to the period before the loss of the job; (3) The level of professional training influences the way of self-assessment on the new situation in which the individual finds himself, broadening his perspective on the event and on the actions that can counterbalance the effects of desired unemployment rates; (4) The phenomenon of unemployment is to a greater extent more problematic for men than for women.

Research questions are constructed starting from the three research objectives. At the same time, the explanatory factors and models describe the survival strategies that are divided into two large families, namely decisions of the subjects oriented towards leaving the labor market and decisions oriented towards looking for a job. In addition to the main determining factors, they are defined as: high or low self-esteem that can lead to focus on the problem or emotion, the existence or lack of social support, the level of motivation, the level of financial and goods capital, the existence of useful social capital or lack the age of the unemployed, self-assessment of the unemployment situation, routine and self-regulation, education and sex of the unemployed. Thus, the research questions are outlined as follows:

*I. What are the factors that determine the choice of life strategies of the unemployed in a city affected by post-communist deindustrialization?*

*II. In the case of people who choose a reintegration strategy on the labor market, what are the factors (e.g. types of social capital, age) that lead to the successful reintegration on the labor market of the unemployed from the aluminum plant ALRO Slatina, Olt?*

*III. What are the factors that influence the adaptation to the post-unemployment situation?*

**The first chapter** analyzes the effects of economic and social change on individuals. The great economic crises as well as the oil crises have left an upward trajectory on the number of unemployed people around the world. Studies<sup>1</sup> in the field show that there is a correlation between rising unemployment and oil price fluctuations, economic shocks that can provide a prediction of unemployment in times of recession. Also, the change of the communist system has attracted changes of economic nature in Romania such as hyperinflation, currency instability, industrial restructuring, poverty and of course high unemployment. The nature of social change outlines the way in which individuals respond to the consequences of job loss and, implicitly, of income, social status, routine. The blurring of social ties during the communist period, along with the non-existence of associative forms created on an organic basis at the social level, distorted in a way the construction of the social capital of individuals. Social networks are forcibly rebuilt around the channels imposed by the political factor, depriving individuals of mechanisms for relationships, promotion, help offered / received in the community as they are understood and developed in free societies. These types of networks have undergone transformations, including during the Romanian transition to a democratic society. This chapter investigates the extent to which economic factors condition the unemployment process and how changes of a social nature influence the individual's relationship to significant events such as loss of income and employment.

**The second chapter** investigates Romania's path after the fall of communism from several points of view: (1) *economically* by examining economic processes specific to the transition such as: inflation, instability of the national currency, privatization, deindustrialization, development of the Romanian market; (2) *social* by examining the evolution of the types of social relations and of the autochthonous communities in the process

---

<sup>1</sup> Hamilton James D., „Historical Oil Shocks” Handbook of Major Events in Economic History (2011); Carruth A.A., Hooker M.A., și Oswald A.J., „Unemployment equilibria and input prices: theory and evidence from the United States”, nr. 80 (1998): 621–28; Cuestas Juan Carlos și Gil-Alana Luis A., „Oil price shocks and unemployment in Central and Eastern Europe” Economic Systems, nr. 42 (2018): 164–73; Cuestas Juan Carlos, Gil-Alana Luis A., și Staehr K., „A further investigation of unemployment persistence in European transition economies”, nr. 39 (2011): 514–32; Møller N. F., „How to Decode Unemployment Persistence: An Econometric Framework for Identifying and Comparing the Sources of Persistence”, nr. 70058 (2016); Dogrul H.G. și Soytaş U., „Relationship between oil prices, interest rate, and unemployment: evidence from an emerging market”, nr. 32 (2010): 1523–28.

of adaptation to the new context; (3) *legislative* by analyzing the reforms of the social insurance program and their evolution, including during the economic crisis of 2008; (4) *culturally* by analyzing the transformations at the level of the concept stigmatized by the unemployed in the common consciousness and the acceptance by the population of the restructuring process as a necessary part in Romania's transition to a western civilization. The internalized physical and mental repercussions of both job and financial loss, which have a major impact on the individual's budget and standard of living, are also brought to light. The adaptation of the individual to the post-communist transition of the Romanian society implies an effort of self-evaluation of the personal resources at his disposal, in order to manage the stressful situations and to initiate adaptation strategies. The chapter summarizes the processes of the unemployment phenomenon in a general historical and economic context, but also specific to the case of Romania, on the personal capacity of the individual to cope with a stressful situation and to take action to reintegrate into the labor market.

**The third chapter** analyzes the theoretical framework of research that is built through the prism of three dimensions and explanatory theories: (1) Theories of unemployment; (2) Theories of stress and strategies for coping with job loss and income; (3) Theories of social capital. These three theoretical levels each provide tools for analyzing empirical research data country. The first explanatory theory of unemployment group studies related to the phenomenon of unemployment which is the most important factor of social influence on well-being and satisfaction in life. Unemployment groups a series of perceptions that affect mental well-being such as: depression<sup>2</sup>, suicide<sup>3</sup>, shame<sup>4</sup>, fear<sup>5</sup>, dissatisfaction<sup>6</sup>. These symptoms in turn influence the individual's occupational path once he leaves the labor market, often representing obstacles in the re-employment process. Therefore, unemployment means not only the loss of income and the decline in living standards but also the accumulation of stressors that produce long-term changes at the mental level.

---

<sup>2</sup> Jefferis Barbara J. et al., „Associations between unemployment and major depressive disorder: Evidence from an international, prospective study (the predict cohort)”, *Social Science & Medicine* 73, nr. 11 (2011): 1627–34; Madianos Michael et al., „Depression and economic hardship across Greece in 2008 and 2009: two cross-sectional surveys nationwide”, *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 46, nr. 10 (2011): 943–52.

<sup>3</sup> Stuckler, D. et al., „The public health effect of economic crises and alternative policy responses in Europe: an empirical analysis” *Lancet* (2009): 315–23; Madianos Michael et al., „Depression and economic hardship across Greece in 2008 and 2009: two cross-sectional surveys nationwide”.

<sup>4</sup> Eales M.J., „Shame among unemployed men”, *Social Science & Medicine* 28, nr. 8 (1989): 783–89.

<sup>5</sup> Lucas Richard E. et al., „Unemployment Alters the Set Point for Life Satisfaction”, *Psychological Science* 15, nr. 1 (2004): 8–13.

<sup>6</sup> Clark Andrew E., Georgellis Yannis și Sanfey Peter, „Scarring: The Psychological Impact of Past Unemployment”, *Economica* 68, nr. 270 (2001): 221–41.

The second explanatory theory states the direct link between unemployment and (a) systemic / physical stress<sup>7</sup> and (b) psychological / mental stress<sup>8</sup>. Stress seen as a transaction between individuals and the environment depends on the individual's appreciation of environmental factors, but also on the "cognitive and behavioral effort made by the individual to master, tolerate and reduce both external and internal requirements," as well as the conflicts between them"<sup>9</sup>.

**The third chapter** refers to the theories of social capital that generate an important source with multiple benefits: trust, recognition, mutual aid, support, favors. Taking into account the informal side of the recruitment process, the social capital of the individual plays a key role in the re-employment process through the mechanism of recommending or disseminating relevant information about potential jobs. This model is based on mutual trust and the exchange of services or favors between members of the same group which is the key to the mechanism of cooperation and implicitly successful.

**The fourth chapter** analyzes the mechanism of choosing life strategies, the success of reintegration into the labor market and the adaptation of the individual to unemployment. The phenomenon of unemployment has a variety of meanings depending on the field of research that investigates it and has a strong impact on a significant number of important aspects of the individual's life. The individual's response to a stress stimulus is made taking into account the way in which the individual perceives the event and the personal resources available or can mobilize them for a specific purpose. Which leads to the fact that reintegration into the labor market depends on a number of demographic factors as well as personal resources such as social or financial capital. In this sense, the strategies undertaken by individuals in finding a job depend on internal factors such as motivation, health but also on external factors such as the country's economic context, the degree of development of the labor market locally or nationally, the size of the wave layoffs, economic crises, social security system. Thus, the path of the unemployed immediately after dismissal is different from individual to individual and the job search process being a volatile one makes its analysis difficult. The chapter investigates the negative and positive effects of unemployment in order to classify the factors that influence individuals' choices, life strategies and the mechanism that differentiates

---

<sup>7</sup> Selye Hans, ed., „VI - Theories”, în *Stress in Health and Disease* (Butterworth-Heinemann, 1976), 928–1163.

<sup>8</sup> Lazarus Richard S., *Emotion and adaptation*, 1991; Lazarus R.S. și Folkman S., *Stress, appraisal and coping* (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 1984).

<sup>9</sup> Susan Folkman și Richard S. Lazarus, „An Analysis of Coping in a Middle-Aged Community Sample”, *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 21, nr. 3 (1980): 219–39.

between unemployed who succeed in employment and the unemployed who leave work permanently.

**The fifth chapter** outlines the profile of the unemployed in the aluminum industry in order to capture the defining elements of the research topic. For this purpose, the history of the industry and especially of the volume of workers in the aluminum producing and processing industry in Slatina was analyzed. The local labor market and the social policies developed at the county level are also analyzed in order to support the dismissed worker following the restructuring process. The portrait of the industrial unemployed ALRO in the decline of the industry presents a series of characteristics of the Romanian unemployed in the industry but it also has a series of particularities. The chapter follows the unemployed ALRO from the historical perspective of the communist worker, who later becomes a post-communist worker and who feels the strongest changes following the change of system and the start of the transition process that leads to privatization, restructuring and deindustrialization.

**The sixth chapter** presents the research methodology carried out in the field. The chapter outlines the steps that were followed after establishing the research topic, research objectives and research method. The research method chosen was the qualitative one. First of all, the specialized literature was reviewed in order to draw as clearly as possible the issue of the study and the research questions. In order to clarify the research questions using the theoretical framework, the research tools were developed: the standardized interview and the in-depth interview. With the completion of the analysis tools, the research strategy was established together with the data collection method. The field research started to study the former workers in the aluminum industry of Slatina municipality from Olt county has started. The pool of subjects consisted of the 1300 workers made redundant in the period 2008-2009 from the aluminum plants of the ALRO enterprise, following the restructuring plan and the modernization of the production and processing halls. The research started in 2014 and was completed two years later in which 60 standardized interviews and 30 in-depth interviews were conducted. All in-depth interviews that took place at the subject's home were attended by family members such as spouse or children, who highlighted important aspects in the development of events and how to perceive their own feelings or the subject. Although a period of time had elapsed from the time of dismissal to the time of the interviews and the history of emotions was reduced, valuable information could be extracted from the statements of the subjects and those who knew them. One of the main limitations of the field research was the small number of interviewed subjects. This limit is based on several factors, first of

all it was not possible to initiate a collaboration with the ALRO aluminum plant in order to obtain relevant information about the restructuring process. The former ALRO workers accepted the conclusion of the employment contract with the agreement of the parties, which made them unable to benefit from unemployment benefits and therefore they were not even registered with AJOFM in order to be identified. Thus, it was decided to identify the subjects with the help of social resources held by the researcher at the local level by the snowball method, ie each subject interviewed recommended other potential subjects. Following the qualitative analysis of the data collected from the field, it was highlighted that most of the subjects managed to successfully integrate into the labor market (over half), a quarter of them chose the option of early retirement and less than a quarter of individuals have chosen to return to the countryside.

**The seventh chapter** analyzes the data collected from the field. The analysis of empirical data is divided into three interpretive sections based on the model of the three research questions. According to the first question: What are the factors that determine the choice of life strategies of the unemployed in the city affected by post-communist deindustrialization? four determining factors were identified: self-esteem, social support, motivation, financial resource. The reaction of the subjects was influenced by the four determining factors and refers to the choice of life strategies. The explanatory model presents the determining factors and the way in which these factors generate a response / reaction. According to this model and the research factors, the following statements are highlighted: (determining factor 1.1) Individuals with high self-esteem believe in their ability to get a new job, leading to problem-focused activities. Individuals with low self-esteem have low confidence in their ability to re-engage, leading to emotion-focused activities. The focus on the problem, as opposed to the focus on emotion, was consistently related to re-employment; (determining factor 1.2) Individuals who possess social support, obtain pragmatic benefits (networks, moral support, requesting management positions, help in writing a CV and interview information, coping strategies) to ensure a new job. Without social and emotional support, individuals compensate by dealing with the situation with strategies based on emotion, which means withdrawal and avoidance. Social support in search of a job was positively related to the focus on the problem and negatively associated with the focus on emotion for the unemployed; (determining factor 1.3) Motivation to find a job has a positive impact on re-employment in 6-12 months and lack of motivation to look for a job has led to inhibition of re-employment and increased depressive symptoms; (determining factor 1.4) Individuals who have a financial buffer, focus on activities focused on the problem through



socializing, traveling for interviews, without panicking for survival and daily expenses. Individuals who also face financial difficulties limit their opportunities which leads to activities focused on emotion. Economic resource is the most important resource to cope with unemployment compared to coping resources (self-esteem, life satisfaction and social support). According to the second research question: In the case of people who choose a reintegration strategy on the labor market, what are the factors (eg social capital, age) that lead to Successful integration on the labor market of the unemployed in the aluminum plant, ALRO ?, highlighted factors: type and value of share capital and age and reaction / response to determinants: successful reintegration into the labor market. Combining the determining factors with the explanatory model, the following statements are highlighted: (determining factor 2.1 + 2.2) Unemployed people with rich and "valuable" or influential social capital (friends among former colleagues, employed friends, relatives who have management positions and can influence the employment process), have increased chances of reintegration into the labor market and have access to higher quality and better paid positions. Unlike the unemployed with a poor and less "valuable" or influential social capital (unemployed friends, poorly developed network of friends, who do not have management functions and cannot influence the employment process) have low chances of reintegration into the labor market and do not have access to quality or better paid positions; (Determining factor 2.3.) The age of the unemployed negatively influences the employment process by reducing employment prospects, prolonging the period of unemployment and has a decrease in mental well-being compared to young unemployed. The chances of the unemployed (> 55 years old) finding a job tend to decrease as they approach retirement age. According to the third research question: What are the factors that influence the adaptation to unemployment? determinants were highlighted: daily activity / self-regulation, self-assessment of unemployment, education and gender of the subject. The response of the subjects to the determining factors is given by the degree of psychological adaptation to the loss of the job and implicitly of the income. Combining the determinants with the explanatory model, the following statements are highlighted: (determinant 3.1) The unemployed who manage to have daily activities (routine, structured time) sought to manage their stress level directly: through coping strategies focused on the problem (programs training, relocation to an area with a high need for employees, optimism, participation in other activities) and indirectly: through coping strategies focused on emotion (distancing oneself from the experience of losing a job, devaluing a former job, looking for social and financial support, involvement in the community), and stated that they feel better mental health compared to those who have isolated and become inactive and who

have stated that they feel a poor mental state (stress, upset); (Determinant factor 3.2) Individuals who assess unemployment from a negative point of view stated that they are facing a decrease in well-being, and those who have positive expectations about future re-employment stated that they feel high welfare; (determining factor 3.3) Research has shown that there is a strong link between education and self-perceived state of mental health during unemployment; (determining factor 3.4) Women had lower mental health and life satisfaction than men during unemployment.

**The research conclusions** are detailed according to the empirical data analysis model in which they are divided according to each research question and the determinants. For the first research question, *self-esteem* played an important role in the context of choosing between staying in the job market or leaving the occupational circuit. In the interviews, the subjects who self-assessed as having a high self-esteem, first of all made efforts to re-professionalize, made action plans, remained active in family and social plan, maintained contact with the community they belonged to, were open to participating in interviews and sought positions through acquaintances or employment agencies. But the conclusion is that self-esteem is not the trigger in choosing the strategy for or against employment, but rather on the type of work (e.g. within the family). Subjects who said they were *motivated* tried to use all the resources at their disposal in the strategy planning process. Also, increased motivation causes the subject to intensify their job search, which can lead to re-employment in a shorter time. The motivation of the subjects depends on other factors such as the length of the redundancy period and the economic situation of the subjects. Therefore, the motivation factor was not found to be decisive in the planning process, because some subjects were motivated immediately after dismissal but during the search process they lost their motivation. In the study, the premise that finding a job depends largely on the value and influence of social capital is confirmed. The key to the whole process is to access these personal resources rather as coping resources. In opposition are subjects who do not have this kind of resources, have the desire to be employed and focus on survival actions such as rural retirement or early retirement. Contrary to the observations made by researchers<sup>10</sup>, subjects who have a *financial buffer* give up their job search, are satisfied with the little they have and apply a subsistence plan. They reduce the costs related to clothing, food, heat, holidays and focus on meeting basic needs such as staple foods, medicines, etc. Therefore, most subjects who have a financial buffer and are approaching the age of retirement from the labor market

---

<sup>10</sup> Kinicki Angelo J., Prussia Gregory E., și McKee-Ryan Frances M., „A panel study of coping with involuntary job loss”, *Academy of Management Journal* 43, nr. 1 (2000): 90–100.

tend to choose the option of retirement. Even if these subjects are no longer available on the labor market, they work within the family, take care of the elderly in the family, raise animals, practice subsistence farming or take care of grandchildren. Although they do not have paid jobs, their contribution within the family is felt. These subjects find the utility necessary for daily living and manage to remain active even if they are unemployed.

Subjects who sought to remain *active in daily life* and managed to self-manage their free time presented a better mental state. By creating a personal routine to replace the routine offered by the lost job, the subjects also improved their health. At the same time, they undertook extra-professional activities (producing seasonal vegetables, tapestries, wooden garments) or domestic activities (caring for grandchildren, elderly parents, sick partners) meant to provide a purpose during the period of professional rest. In contrast, people who showed themselves to be inactive showed anxiety and isolation, they recorded a very low level of mental health. These subjects were marked by the feeling of helplessness and tried to look for external culprits for the situation they were in. Even if the perception of the situation of the unemployed is that of a hopeless man, without health insurance, without money to buy medicines or visits to doctors, with a small budget allocated to daily food and poor health, in reality the situation of the unemployed ALRO is different. The research showed that absolutely all the interviewed subjects showed an improvement in their *physical health*. The lack of inhalation of pollutants emitted by chemical processes in the production and processing of aluminum had positive effects on health, especially since many of the subjects who worked for many years in factories suffered from respiratory diseases. Improving physical health is the only positive aspect of unemployment.

Like the unemployed everywhere, people laid off from the aluminum plant have the same symptoms: distrust, apathy, isolation and guilt. What makes them continue and rethink their action strategies is the need for an income. Lacking financial means, he tries to survive. A less common aspect in studies in the field is the situation of *unemployed women* who, although they want a reintegration into the labor market and have the necessary motivation, they sacrifice themselves for the benefit of the family. The research highlights a less studied aspect in the literature related to the need to find the utility of unemployed people within their own family.

Another aspect of the research that emerged from the research results refers to the large number of subjects who chose the early retirement option. Contrary to the policies related to the retirement age that has increased in recent years, the data show that subjects

over the age of 55 who have worked in particularly difficult conditions choose the early retirement option.

## Bibliography

- Carruth A.A., Hooker M.A., and Oswald A.J., „Unemployment equilibria and input prices: theory and evidence from the United States”, nr. 80 (1998): 621–28;
- Clark Andrew E., Georgellis Yannis and Sanfey Peter, „Scarring: The Psychological Impact of Past Unemployment”, *Economica* 68, nr. 270 (2001): 221–41;
- Cuestas Juan Carlos and Gil-Alana Luis A., „Oil price shocks and unemployment in Central and Eastern Europe” *Economic Systems*, nr. 42 (2018): 164–73;
- Cuestas Juan Carlos, Gil-Alana Luis A., and Staehr K., „A further investigation of unemployment persistence in European transition economies”, nr. 39 (2011): 514–32;
- Dogrul H.G. and Soytaş U., „Relationship between oil prices, interest rate, and unemployment: evidence from an emerging market”, nr. 32 (2010): 1523–28;
- Eales M.J., „Shame among unemployed men”, *Social Science & Medicine* 28, nr. 8 (1989): 783–89;
- Hamilton James D., „Historical Oil Shocks” *Handbook of Major Events in Economic History* (2011);
- Jefferis Barbara J. et al., „Associations between unemployment and major depressive disorder: Evidence from an international, prospective study (the predict cohort)”, *Social Science & Medicine* 73, nr. 11 (2011): 1627–34;
- Kinicki Angelo J., Prussia Gregory E., și McKee-Ryan Frances M., „A panel study of coping with involuntary job loss”, *Academy of Management Journal* 43, nr. 1 (2000): 90–100;
- Lazarus Richard S., *Emotion and adaptation*, 1991;
- Lazarus R.S. and Folkman S., *Stress, appraisal and coping* (New York: Springer Publishing Company, 1984) ;
- Lucas Richard E. et al., „Unemployment Alters the Set Point for Life Satisfaction”, *Psychological Science* 15, nr. 1 (2004): 8–13;
- Madianos Michael et al., „Depression and economic hardship across Greece in 2008 and 2009: two cross-sectional surveys nationwide”, *Social Psychiatry and Psychiatric Epidemiology* 46, nr. 10 (2011): 943–52;
- Møller N. F., „How to Decode Unemployment Persistence: An Econometric Framework for Identifying and Comparing the Sources of Persistence”, nr. 70058 (2016);

- Selye Hans, ed., „VI - Theories”, în *Stress in Health and Disease* (Butterworth-Heinemann, 1976), 928–1163;
- Stuckler, D. et al., „The public health effect of economic crises and alternative policy responses in Europe: an empirical analysis” *Lancet* (2009): 315–23;
- Susan Folkman and Richard S. Lazarus, „An Analysis of Coping in a Middle-Aged Community Sample”, *Journal of Health and Social Behavior* 21, nr. 3 (1980): 219–39.