CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION
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The high incidence of educated unemployment has led to a
in emphasis in social sciences from economic analysis to
an understanding of the experiences personally lived of the
unemployed as these are linked to various social pathologies.
This research used available theoretical frameworks and
addressed the issue of the role of social and psychological
factors in shaping the perceptions and attributions of
unemployment among graduates. Some testable hypotheses had been
formulated and the results are discussed below by focusing on
them.

5.1 Effects of Context, Course and Gender on Perceptions and
Attributions of Unemployment.

Hypothesis 1 stated that there will be significant main
and interaction effects of context, course and gender on the
perceptions and attributions of unemployment among graduates.
This is found partly confirmed. Results showed that the context
in which students function and the gender do significantly
affect their attributions of unemployment but not the
perceptions of unemployment, whereas course has significant
effects both on perceptions and attributions of unemployment.
Context interacted with course to influence perceptions of
unemployment, internal and fatalistic attributions of
unemployment. Context and gender interact together to influence
the internal and fatalistic attributions of unemployment. The
interaction effect of course and gender on fatalistic
attributions is significant. The context, course and gender interact together to influence the external and fatalistic attributions of unemployment. The main and interaction effects of context, course and gender are also found significant on some dimensions of perceptions and attributions of unemployment.

The structural approach to human behaviour indicates that the aggregate characteristics of an area would independently affect the experiences and behaviour of its inhabitants. The differentials in labour market structure may, hold some clues to differences in the experiences of unemployment among graduates. The finding of comparable perceptions of unemployment among metro and nonmetro graduates is not supportive of other researches. Jackson and Warr (1987) stated that unemployed people living in areas of high unemployment have significantly better psychological health than those living in areas of moderate and lower unemployment. Similar have been the findings of many others (Tigges and Tottle, 1990; Bokemeier, 1988; Dooley et al, 1988; Miller and Bluestone, 1988, and Lichter and Costanzo, 1987), who reported different consequences for individuals in metro and non-metro areas. Some Indian researchers (Verghese, 1989 and Panchamukhi, 1984) have reported relatively better employment prospects for metropolitans than non-metropolitans. The opportunity structure explanations suggest that in the given labour markets and educational system the groups having dissimilar socio-demographic characteristics have qualitatively different experiences in the world of work (Johnson and Herring, 1989) and that there is a strong link between employment market and placement (Honess, 1989).
The present findings may be a consequence of high uncertainty of employment in which no educated person feels sure/thinks of a placement within localities. The local labour market has little attraction and meaning as the information about unemployment/employment opportunities sensitizes students. Even before entering into labour market they join the educational institutions in metropolitan areas, where employment scope is perceived better. Students from all corners of country enrol at the higher educational institutions in metro areas. The migration thus operates from moffusil town to metro areas, making later a hunting ground for job-seekers from outside. As Oliver (1964) pointed out the level of unemployment in an area also influences the migration.

Kerckhoff (1989) stated that from the perspective of the students of social mobility process, a combined structural and social psychological approach opens up the possibility of increased understanding of the dynamics of movement from origin to destination in the stratification system. Not only the individual is employed, but also the future employment opportunities become relevant for individuals' considerations. The higher rate of migration to metros creates an unbalanced 'demand-supply culture'. Though the scope for placement is better in metro areas, the presence of large number of aspirants makes everybody perceive it with uncertainty, against the non-metro areas which have low employment opportunities and overproduction of educated youth. Thus, while the labour market situations in metro and non-metro are somewhat different, the
perceptions of uncertainty of placement are intensified in both by the differences in the nature and type of educated youth, and the increased competition. This is also reflected in similar perceptions of unemployment between metro and non-metro students.

It may also be that the devaluation of education is higher among metropolitans. The private sector in general prefers well qualified and groomed up persons and the competition for such jobs is confined to the highly qualified persons. A large number of students work to acquire higher educational degrees resulting in "qualification inflation" (Blaug, 1969). The non-metro students more than the metro feel satisfied even as graduates because they find that a large number of their friends are not able to reach even this level. The frames of reference for the metro and non-metro graduates remain very different. Metro graduates perceive graduation as minimum necessary education, whereas non-metros perceive it sufficient for their placement. This perhaps determines their 'perceptual field' where they expect to reach at the goal. In other words, while the metro graduates look for job more realistically, the non-metro graduates, because of the valued perceptions of education create a world of their own. This explains why in a poor labour market they are still optimistic and can feel the intensity of unemployment equal to metro graduates.

This study included only science graduates but the perceptual gap in the social status between the science and social sciences may be still wider for non-metro than metro graduates. This might have generated a high hope among them even
in a poor labor market. The metro graduates, on the other hand, might rely on competition only and consider social science graduates equally competent in their respective fields, each characterised by similar type of labour force. The similarity in perceptions of unemployment between metro and non-metro graduates may be a function of the interactions of 'extra importance' of education and poor labour market in non-metro and perceptions of 'severe competition' and better labour market in metro areas. As Moos and Mitchelle (1982) observed 'unemployed are embedded in a social structure which has significant others. This structure provides resources to the job seeker in the form of emotional understanding and cognitive guidance. It sometimes governs choice, sequence and relative effectiveness of coping responsiveness.

The respondents here were asked to evaluate their chances of getting a job, once they would graduate. Both feel hypothetically extra uncertain because of the inadequate employment opportunity. Their own experiences of job market and success/failure of seniors makes them equally apprehensive and frightened of unemployment. As Meyer and Wise (1982) observed the experiences of pregraduation employment have a bearing not only on future occupational patterns, but also in shaping the perceptions of unemployment.

Metro and non-metro graduates differed significantly on attributions of unemployment. Non-metro graduates attributed unemployment both to internal and external factors much more than the metro graduates. This may be because of a strategy
dominant in one’s cognitive map leading to the most beneficial results in alleviating negative experiences (Lazarus and Launier, 1978). They differed in attributions because of differences in what they valued most. A higher tendency of non-metro graduates to attribute unemployment to internal and external factors perhaps helped them to cope better with social expectations. A higher tendency of non-metro graduates to attribute unemployment to internal factors may be due to the fact that they have already experienced the rare and prized chance of moving for higher study. They accept that a lack of higher qualifications would deprive them of opportunities to move upward in the society. Their higher tendency of making external attributions may be due to the feeling of uncontrollability over the job situation. Students perhaps adopt the social approach of attribution, and the argument that social conditions would lead to the differential attributional tendencies (Jasper and Hewstone, 1984; Henwood, 1984; Feather, 1983) is well supported. Miller (1984) pointed that the differences in attributions result from divergent conceptions of the person in the two situations rather than the motivational and cognitive biases. The present finding is partially supported by the finding of Warr (1984) who reported that the local level of unemployment encourages external causal attributions of unemployment.

The significant effect of course on perceptions of unemployment indicates a link between the type of education and occupational attainments. The finding of positive perceptions of unemployment among professional graduates than the non-
professional graduates is consistent with the data showing
variations in the rate of unemployment among graduates of
different courses, and a lower rate of unemployment among
professional graduates.

It had been expected that professional graduates would
have less negative experiences of unemployment. Unemployment
situation would seem less threatening to them. Their subjective
well-being in relation to their placement should thus be more
positive as compared to the non-professional graduates. As the
professional graduates included medical and engineering
graduates, they perhaps thought of their placement in private
sectors and self employment than wage employment. They are more
sure of utilizing their educational skills in earning an
occupational status. It remains thus true that the professional
and non-professional courses affect one’s opportunity structure
and expectation. In terms of the deprivation theory of
unemployment (Jahoda, 1981) the professional graduates feel less
deprived of the experiences of employment and have better mental
health.

The findings demonstrate an incongruence between
demand and supply of labour force, which has meaning for the
labour market situation, and for the motivational and
emotional state of job seekers. Inspite of higher relevance of
professional and technical skills the education system
oversupplies the non-professional graduates and creates a
mismatch. This in itself may be a sufficient factor for
differential perceptions of unemployment between professional
and non-professional graduates. The results have support in Census data. Verghese (1986) also reported lower incidence of unemployment and relatively shorter waiting period for professional graduates in comparison to the non-professional graduates.

The finding of significant effect of course on attributions of unemployment is consistent with the cultural interpretation of attributional diversity, and supports the argument of greater social orientation in theories of attributional process (Jasper and Hewstone, 1984; Howard, 1984). It had been expected that individuals during their professional training would learn certain ways of explaining social events. They would acquire different beliefs, ideologies and values, which would exert normative pressure on the individual’s cognitive processes. They would learn to see the world according to the beliefs and values of social group they represent. As the interpretive theories of socialization (Vygotsky, 1978; Bruner, 1986; Wertsch, 1989) recognize, it is "not just that the individual must make his knowledge his own, but that he must make it his own in a community of those who share his sense of belonging to a culture". Individuals enter into a social nexus and interact and negotiate with others, establish understandings that become fundamental social knowledge on which they continually build. The formal training programme prescribes a "code of cognitive conduct" (Guimond et al, 1989) to guide the cognitive processes such as causal attributions. The finding that the non-professional graduates ascribe significantly greater importance to external and
fatalistic factors than the professional graduates, but they do not differ significantly on internal attributions of unemployment, implies that while individual dispositions are basic to employment, students attach differential importance to the situational and luck factors.

The higher tendency of the non-professional graduates to attribute unemployment to external factors may be due to the fact that they perceive their placement unpredictable. They find a large number of students in their field confronted by the crisis of unemployment. This may lead them to presume that the chances of achieving or not is a function of external forces operating at the right time. Since the functioning of individual is determined by the forces in the field (Lewin, 1951), the state of high uncertainty of non-professional graduates may limit the individual factors to the interactions within the field. The motivational forces within the individual may be weakened to create a state of 'disequilibrium' first and then to look for alternatives to have a positive self image. They may find an easy way of keeping the mental state balanced, by blaming the external forces. This may happen when there is uncertainty about the expected outcomes and the individual feels that no matter how hard he/she may try, the inner resources would not be effective.

The finding that one's choice of educational programme accounts for the variations in attributional tendencies for unemployment presents a challenge to the explanation of the attribution processes focusing on psychological needs and
motivations. The perceptions of causality are affected by the needs or motivations with the socialization perspective in general and the differences in educational programme in particular in a variety of intergroup contexts.

These findings seem to be corroborated by studies showing the impact of education on intergroup attitudes and beliefs (Hyman and Wright, 1979; Brenier, 1978; Feldman and Newcomb, 1969), and the sociological researches indicating that people with different educational training are differentially preoccupied with the 'why' of things (Baer and Lambert 1982; Frances, 1980; Gouldner, 1979). It is also consistent with the findings of Azad (1991) and Panchamukhi (1984) that Indian graduates in different fields of study differ in their explanations of unemployment. A significant relationship between educational programme and causal attributions has been reported by Guimond (1990), and Payne and Furnham (1990). However, it may be true that the accounting of intergroup differences within system-blame and luck-blame causal attributions involves a learning process parallel to the motivational factors. Feather and O'Brien (1986a, 1986b), Schaufeli (1989) and Guimond et al (1989) found that the self-serving bias as well as the socialization effects increased the system blame among unemployed. It suggests that the cognitive and social factors are important in understanding how people explain different social events.

Given the general cultural expectations about gender roles and sex-typing and variations in rate of unemployment, it had been predicted that gender would have significant main effect on
perceptions of unemployment. Results show that males and females do not differ in their perceptions of unemployment. By implication, it shows that unemployment has similar consequences for the psychological functioning of males and females. Females have alternative roles to play, yet the employment is meaningful. The unemployment does not hit them less hard than males. The gradual changes in social and cultural climate have induced among males and females an urge to have a recognised social status and independence. The variety of social pressures, legislations and movements have encouraged them to acquire comparable social status, identity and assertiveness.

The absence of gender differences in perceptions of unemployment is consistent with the findings in other researches. Daniel (1975) reported apparent similarity on job expectancy scores (Males = 23% and Females = 22%). Henwood (1983) reported no gender differences in the categories of experiences of employment. The findings of no gender difference have also been reported by considering similar levels and processes of educational and occupational attainments (Featherman and Houser, 1976; Treiman and Terrell, 1975). There are no significant gender differences in use of ability, effort and task difficulty (Fiorentine, 1988). Employment has equal meaning for both (Nathanson, 1980). The unemployed young males and females report a similar pattern of distress and self-esteem (Henwood and Miles, 1987; Breakwell et al; 1984; Jackson et al 1983; Banks and Jackson, 1982). It has been argued that the rise in percentage of females in educational institutions is directly related to their aspirations of employment.
Some researchers however, have reported significant gender differences in the experiences of unemployment (Arbona and Novy, 1991; Winefield and Tiggeman, 1989; Feather and O'Brien, 1986; Warr et al, 1985; Antil, 1985). Females are found less confident of finding a job (Feather, 1986; Warr, 1985) in the labour market.

The labour market composition in the Indian context is quite complex. The present finding differs Census data which show gender-specific variations in the rate of unemployment. The expectation that the lower rate of unemployment would lead to relatively better perceptions of unemployment is not found true. The higher rate of unemployment among females may be because of the way unemployment figures are put forth. As Singhal (1988) argued unemployment figures do not always distinguish between people who actively look for job, those who should like to have regular jobs but do not actively look for them, those who are 'just lazy' and those who have a job, are still registered and are actively looking for jobs. The males and females in this study perceived the unemployment from their point of view, implying that they would definitely look for jobs once they are done with their course. It can thus be argued that an equal involvement or concern with employment/unemployment should activate similar motivational and cognitive forces within all individuals and thus similar experiences.

The effect of gender on attributions of unemployment reveals that females have higher tendency to make internal, external and fatalistic attributions than the males. It appears
that the controllability of females over an aversive situation may be threatened by personal as well as structural factors. They lack self confidence and are unable to make persistent effort, perhaps due to their over reliance on social factors. The higher emphasis on external factors and luck, equal to males, may generate negative perceptions as structural factors at times address limits to individual possessions by over representation (Fligstein et al 1983)

The differences between perceptions and attributions of unemployment indicate that though at the cognitive level males and females have similar perceptions of unemployment, they are socialized in different ways. The males perhaps consciously avoid making true attributions as society expects much from them. Even though they perceive the severity of unemployment in a manner similar to females, they try to keep the causal factors subliminally active.

Some other researches have also demonstrated that the attribution process is affected by gender (Payne and Furnham, 1990; Heaven, 1989 Feather and O'Brien, 1986, Furnham, 1984; Feather, 1983c), but differently. The other researches have examined the attributional style of males and females, in an employed or unemployed condition but here the problem is examined in an imaginary situation. While other studies have shown that the males have higher scores on internal attributions and females on external, here the females attach importance to all the factors of attribution process (internal, external and fatalistic). This may be explained in terms of implicit personality theories which states that individuals are 'naive'
judges who observe situations in different ways of behaviour. There are some studies which do not report any significant effect of gender on attribution process (Gaskell and Smith, 1985; Feather, 1982c).

While the structural approach categorizes labour force on the basis of labour market composition, the socialization approach considers students of various courses of study as different social groups. The psychoanalytic theory of socialization groups males and females, on the basis of gender roles and identities. What is important that all these approaches place differential values on actions and decisions. A realistic model should integrate both the structural and individual factors to explain how the social structure and individual characteristics interface in the experiences of an individual.

Based on multi-level models (Teckamyer and Bokemeier, 1988), it was hypothesized that the factors of context, course and gender would interact with each other to affect perceptions and attributions of unemployment significantly. It has been found that while context and course interacted together to influence the perceptions of unemployment significantly, these interacted with gender to influence external attributions of unemployment. On the perceptions of unemployment the non-metro professional graduates scored higher than their metro counterparts, but the metro non-professionals had higher score than the non-metro non-professionals. This may be due to the different status values attached to the professional and non-
professional courses in different areas. Social perceptions of professional education are more positive in non-metro than metro areas. Professional graduates in non-metro feel that they are on the top of the education ladder, while the non-professionals are not. The professionals in metro do not feel so. They realise that they can successfully compete with their own profession group only as each type of job requires specific skills. The metro, non-professionals do not feel inferior to professionals in terms of ability or qualifications. The occupational status may create a perceptual gap but the training before getting a job, induces in them a sense of optimism. The intergroup differences in attitudes in metro and non-metro can help to explain their differential perceptions of unemployment.

The interaction effect of context, course and gender on external attributions of unemployment revealed that the males and females in professional and non-professional courses in metro and non-metro also differ significantly in their attributions. Males in professional course in metro make external attributions much less than their counterparts in non-metro areas. The females in the professional courses in metro make more external attributions than their counterparts in non-metro areas. Males and females in non-professional courses in non-metro make external attributions more than the males and females in metro areas.

The course did not influence the tendency of making internal attributions of unemployment independently, but did in interaction with the context. The metro professionals attributed their unemployment to internal factors more than the non-metro
professionals, whereas the non-metro non-professionals attributed to internal factors more than their counterparts in metro areas. The context also interacted with gender to influence the internal attributions of unemployment significantly. While males in metro and non-metro areas differed marginally, the females in the two areas showed a greater difference. Males and females in metro as well as non-metro differed significantly. The findings support the model emphasising the interface between structural and individual characteristics. A significant difference between females of metro and non-metro on internal attributions of unemployment may be due to the internalization of values regarding the occupational attainments in addition to the social climate.

The context also did not affect fatalistic attributions independently but did so in interaction with the course and gender. Males and females in the professional and non-professional courses and in metro and non-metro areas differed significantly in fatalistic attributions of unemployment. While other studies are not to comment on, it may be for future research to replicate these by using multi-level models.

Although a separate hypothesis had not been formulated, an analysis of variance using factors of perceptions (job expectancy and perceived success) and attributions of unemployment (effort, ability, education, economics and support) showed some meaningful results. The graduates of metro and non-metro, and professional and non-professional courses differed significantly in their job expectancy. The non-metro and
professional graduates had higher job expectancy than the metro and non-professional graduates. But males and females had a comparable job expectancy. On the perceived success the context and course exercised significant influence independently as well as interactively similar to job expectancy. The professionals scored higher on perceived success but unlike job expectancy, the main effect of context on perceived success showed that the metro graduates had higher perceived success than the non-metro. It seems that while the perceptions of unemployment for non-metro graduates are determined maximally by job expectancy the perceived success is important for metro graduates. In other words, while metro graduates cope with unemployment in terms of the probability or chances of the job outcome, non-metro graduates cope with it by being optimistic. Both have comparable perceptions of unemployment.

The analysis on dimensions of internal attributions of unemployment showed that metro and non-metro graduates differed significantly on effort attributions, but not on ability attributions. Non-metro graduates scored higher on effort attribution than the metros. While professional and non-professionals tend to make similar effort attributions, the non-professionals scored higher on ability attributions. Females made both effort and ability attributions more than males. Context and course interacted to influence the effort and ability attributions significantly. Gender in interaction with context as well as course affected effort attributions but not ability attributions.
While context and course affected the education and economic attributions significantly, gender affected support attributions. The non-metro and non-professional chose both educational and economic factors more than the metro and professional graduates. The non-metro and non-professional graduates blamed the education system and planning as they perceived weak link between education and job in the limited opportunities of labour market. The females attributed unemployment to lack of support more than the males indicating higher social dependence for achievement. This may be because of the restrictions society imposes on their actions, lack of commitment to job searching and lower family expectations (Gore, 1965). Also females desire more emotional support than males during job search (Ullah, Banks and Warr, 1985). The interaction effects of context, course and gender on education, economic and support attributions are not significant.

5.2 Effect of Context, Course and Gender on Alienation and Locus of Control

Hypothesis 2 stated that there will be significant main and interaction effects of context, course and gender on alienation and locus of control. It is found partly confirmed. While context, course and gender independently and together exercised significant influence on alienation, only gender had effect on locus of control. The non-metro graduates felt more alienated than the metros, as they have less well defined goals. Miller (1960) pointed out that alienation results when plans are unclear and ineffective. The social support received by the non-metro graduates may not be sufficient in developing purposes and
priorities. Metro graduates on the other hand, may have enough networks and social interactions helping in identifying opportunities to put their plans in actual practice. The difference between metro and non metros on alienation may be caused by differential perceptions of the resources at their disposal, which give a sense of efficiency and controllability. Differences in alienation had been explained in terms of socio-cultural factors (Kohn and Scholler, 1969; Goldthorpe, 1968).

Moreover, the educational institutions in non-metro areas train to be dependent and not have a clear identity. Institutions are governed by local norms and practices which make the institutional climate less supportive. As Mau (1989) reports contingencies of the school setting are linked to students alienation. The role of social organization in alienation was also emphasised by Blauner (1964). He stated that if a situation constantly frustrated one's need for autonomy and control it created alienation. The present finding however, is different from the findings of Verma (1990) and Singh (1991) who reported insignificant rural-urban differences in alienation.

The non-professionals feel more alienated than the professionals. The non-professionals are still less clear about their future goals and less sure of success. To them education does not necessarily facilitate the employment opportunities and expectations. On the other hand, the according of a higher social status to the professional courses induces in graduates a valued feeling and thus less alienation. A direct relationship between curriculum and alienation had also been reported by

The finding of females having higher on alienation than males was consistent with the expectation, as the former sense lesser personal and social freedom. Social orientation processes less emotional support to females to cope with pressures. There is role ambiguity (Kottkamp and Mansfield, 1985) and the learning conditions, institutionalised norms and values are not effective in consolidating their identities. Females are more confused about their expectations (Etzioni, 1968), they have less meaningful goals and in turn more alienation. Mackey et al (1984) also reported that females had higher score on total alienation as well as on three dimensions (isolation, powerlessness and normlessness) of alienation. Gender differences on alienation were observed by Srivastav (1971) and Mizruchi (1986). But Verma (1989) and Singhal (1990) did not find significant gender differences on alienation.

The professional and non-professional graduates in non-metro felt more alienated than their counterparts in metro areas. The context and gender interacted to influence alienation, indicating a significant difference between males and females from metro and non-metro. The males and females in the non-professional courses felt more alienated than their counterparts in the professional courses. The gender interacted
with both context and course to influence the feeling of alienation, suggesting that alienation resulted from complex relationships of environment, contents and gender.

Among the dimensions of alienation, the main effect of course is found significant on isolation. The non-professional graduates had higher feeling of isolation. The education system does not provide many opportunities to non-professionals to develop a sense of belongingness. Their need of social status and identity get frustrated. In terms of the social influence theories (Jones and Gerard, 1967) the non-professionals perhaps, perceived social norms as restrictive and in conflict with personal goals, resulting in higher feeling of isolation. Neither the metro differ from non metro nor the females from males.

The factors of context, course and gender independently affect the feeling of normlessness and powerlessness. Graduates in non-metro and non-professional course, and the females report significantly higher feelings of normlessness and powerlessness than the graduates of metro and professional and the males. The group differences on normlessness are in line with the social comparison theory (Festinger, 1954; Maslow, 1954) which states that normlessness is determined by continuous frustration of the social need to evaluate oneself through social comparison. When individuals find group norms not providing useful information for self evaluation, they keep themselves away and experience a state of normlessness. The non-metro, non-professional and female graduates may be perceiving the institutional norms as
weak facilitators of personal goals. A higher feeling of powerlessness may be induced by the perceptions that the social system deprives them of control over the occurrences of outcomes. The situations frustrate their need for autonomy and control. The finding of significant main effect of gender on normlessness is in conformity to the finding of Singhal (1990) but the finding on powerlessness is different. The results indicate that while context, course and gender interact with each other to influence powerlessness significantly, gender influences normlessness in interaction with context and course separately.

The finding that gender is a significant covariate of locus of control reflects that males and females hold different values. A higher externality among females indicates lack of control over the situation and dependence on external support. There may be normative barriers and specified social desirabilities. Hesih et al (1969) noted that individuals raised in a culture that values self-reliance and individualism are likely to be more internally oriented than those brought up with a different set of values. This is consistent with the finding of Feather (1983) and others who report higher externality among females than males (Kunhikrishnan and Stephen, 1992; Boor, 1974; Sinha, 1972). It is however, in contradiction to the findings of some researchers (Payne and Payne, 1989; Mishra, 1986; Rohner et al, 1980) reporting no gender effect, and a stronger internal orientation among females (Parwat et al, 1979; Nowicki and Walker, 1973).
The metro and non-metro graduates were externally oriented to an equal extent. So were the professional and the non-professional graduates. This similarity can be explained in terms of development of achievement motivation (Weiner, 1979) and situational ambiguity (Rotter, 1975; Mischel, 1973). Rotter (1975) emphasised that the locus of control orientation in a particular situation is a function of both specific expectancy and generalized expectancy. Thus, if locus of control orientation is primarily situation specific, then extensive experiences of different situations would produce a generalized expectancy and similar orientation. The present finding was different from of Soloman and Oberlander (1974) and Bradly and Gaa (1977), who argued that the persons' experiences in particular situations would always lead to different control orientations. The finding related to context is different from the findings of Mishra (1982) showing a rural urban difference and Millers (1973) reporting a cultural difference.

5.3 Differences in Personal and Social Characteristics

The hypothesis 3 stated that there will be significant differences between metro and non-metro, professional and non-professional, and male and female graduates in their personal and social characteristics. This is partly confirmed by the data. The metro graduates come from higher socio-economic status than the non-metros. The educational and occupational status of their father and mother are higher, as their main source of earning is wage employment. The metropoles are center of activities. Since the education remains passport for employment, those who get work should also have higher education. On the
other hand, in the non-metro areas agriculture and other farming activities are the basis of earning, the education of father and mother is not essentially high. A higher educational status of mothers of metro graduates is due the husbands' educational status. Their, higher occupational status is due to the need of financial support or social status. The mothers of non-metro graduates even if educated remain unemployed because of social pressure. The sources of income of non-metro parents are varied with no clearcut accounts and thus one does not know about the true income of the family.

A higher percent of students from non-metro register at employment exchanges, and they start job seeking earlier. A higher job need among persons of backward region has also been reported by Rath (1983) and Sinha (1969). The non-metro students consider employment exchanges as more reliable source of information for jobs and keep their search limited. The metro graduates try for jobs more number of times than the non-metros, perhaps because of the low cost per attempt for job. Also the non-metro graduates anticipate a longer waiting period for job and they feel more threatened by the unemployment situation.

The professionals have better socio-economic background than the non-professional graduates. Evidently professional education involves high cost and better guidance from parents. Their parents' education and fathers occupation are high. Professional graduates constitute higher age group, as a large number of students do not succeed in the first attempt. They also have extra experiences, either because they consider their
general education as extra experiences or go through other short-term courses and coaching classes. An anticipation of a shorter waiting period for a job among the professional graduates suggests that they perceive better job prospects for them and thus less disappointment about the future employment.

The females have better socio-economic background than males. Interestingly the males and females did not differ significantly on fathers’ education but differed on mothers education and occupation of father. The higher education of mother and occupation of fathers’ suggest that these factors act as positive incentives to value the females education. The males tried more number of times for job than the females indicating higher job need and active job seeking behaviour. Further the males are older than females. The parents in general prefer the male child to be educated over female as his education would be a source of earning and social status for the family. Even if the male child does not do well in education in early stages every effort is made to push him to do well. Some male children begin their education late, some repeat but the girls who come to the college stage are often of normal age group.

5.4 Dependence of Perceptions of Unemployment on Attributions.

Causal thinking occurs when the unexpected is observed, such as the success at a task believed to be too difficult, the non attainment of goals, one’s sense of control being under threat and while trying to make sense of the observed events. It is an important determinant of everyday thoughts, emotions and actions. It influences beliefs about self and others, motivations, success expectancies and behavioural approaches to
tasks in a wide variety of task settings (Anderson and Weiner, 1991). Social perceptions are known to be susceptible to persuasion attempts inspired by the particular causal thoughts (Anderson et al., 1985; Slusher and Anderson, 1989). The hypothesis No. 4 which stated that perceptions and attributions of unemployment will be significantly related and perceptions can differentially be predicted by attributions is found partially, confirmed. Perceptions of unemployment are found significantly related to external attributions only. The external attributions is explained 3 percent of variance in perceptions of unemployment. Internal and fatalistic attributions explained 1 percent of variance each. There was a positive correlation between internal and external attributions, positing that both internal and external factors interface, although external attributions predominantly influence the perceptions of unemployment.

The negative correlation between perceptions of unemployment and external attributions suggests that those who perceive fewer employment opportunities blame the external factors. The causal attributions are thus related to one’s structure of thinking and the dynamics of feeling and action (Weiner, 1984). The causal attributions are used to fulfill some underlying motives and to explain and understand events (Kelley, 1973). As Abramson (1978) argued a feeling of uncontrollability occurs, when one believes that the desired outcomes are improbable and that no response in his/her repertoire will change the likelihood. As one finds 'response outcome
in future unemployment situations one attributes it to external factors. These results in a reverse manner support the finding of Feather (1983c), that adolescents having higher expectation of obtaining employment make more internal attributions. Weiner (1979) observed a higher tendency among low achievement motivated individuals to attribute their failure to uncontrollable factors. It also indicates how peoples' attributions of their success or failure influences the expectancies for future (Eiser, 1980).

Although negative perceptions of unemployment are associated with a higher tendency to make external attributions, the positive perceptions are not necessarily related to internal attributions. This makes a deviation from the established logic of attribution that success leads to internal attributions and failure to external attributions. There does not seem to be any 'attribution bias' (Heider, 1967) in the attribution process however. It seems that the 'attributional bias' does not occur if the involvement of ego is not linked to causal attributions. The 'fundamental attribution error' (Russell, 1982) occurs only when persons themselves experience the taste of success or failure, and not through the experiences of others. In this study the respondents were asked to explain the causes of an event by placing them in a hypothetical or imaginary situation, because of which perhaps the respondents did not show any 'attribution bias' Eiser (1980) argued that "the information on the basis of which we make self descriptions may be somewhat different from that to which we have access when judging others". The result of this study did not agree with earlier.
finding that people make attributions to protect their self-esteem and sense of personal worth.

The implicit personality theory (Passini and Norman, 1966) indicated that individuals may be 'naive' judges to attribute causes of behaviour. They observe the social interaction processes and develop definite conceptions which are 'naive' assumptions. These implicit assumptions may become salient when naive judges attribute causes. These may, facilitate undifferentiated judgements (Passini and Norman 1966). In this study, while the subjects are put in a 'hypothetical situation' to attribute the causes of possible unemployment, they act as naive judges and explain unemployment in terms of implicit assumptions, The attributions may thus be both internal and external.

The findings are consistent with the Jones and Nisbitt's (1972) model of "actor-observer difference in attribution", that looked at causal attributions as a function of "informational and perceptual reasons" and "ego involving motivational reasons". To Jones and Nisbitt "for the observer behaviour is figural against the ground of the situation whereas for actors it is the situational cues which are figural and that are seen to elicit behaviour". The actors and observers might differ in their explanations not only because they have different information available to them, or/and the actors want to attribute the responsibility for their actions to the environment, but also because of the simple perceptual differences. This model has been found useful by Feather (1983a)
who used students as 'observer' and unemployed as 'actor' to attribute unemployment.

Schaufeli (1988) distinguished between 'imaginary' and 'real' life situations. These two situations put the subjects in 'observer' and 'actor' roles. The 'attribution bias' has been found in real life situations in which the subjects treat themselves as actors. In the present study the subjects used an imaginary situation in which they treated themselves as observers of the unemployment situation. A 'attributional error' is not found, but a tendency of attributing both internal and external factors developed among graduates.

The graduates show a balanced attributional style about their future unemployment. This supports Kelley's (1967) idea of "mental computation along the lines of a logical analysis". The perceiver collects consciously or unconsciously information about how often the actor has done that action in similar circumstances elsewhere in the past (consistency information), how often the actor performed the same sort of action in different circumstances (distinctive information) and finally how many other people did that sort of things in those circumstances (consensus information). When the graduates try to perceive the causes of unemployment in future, they process the information about others' failures (unemployment) and derive the possible inferences.

The Kelley's (1973) cube (attribution = person x stimuli x occasions), has been used by Novick and Cheng (1990a) to propose an input-versus-inferences hypothesis according to which the information process may be unbiased with respect to a normative
model, when the input to it is accurately identified. They made a distinction between the input to the inference process and the process of inference computation perse. The input was called 'focal set' consisting of a set of events, each of which is described by the presence or absence of the potential causal factors as well as the presence or absence of the effect. In previous researches where 'attribution bias' was common, the focal set is equated with the configuration (success/failure); but the hypothetical situation here has forced them to compute their inferences from input (information/experiences).

In Indian unemployment situation the experiences of different types (inability, lack of effort, favourtism, nepotism and social influences) induce in the respondents perhaps contradictory values about the importance of internal and external factors.

5.5 Interdependence among Socio-Psychological Variables.

Hypothesis (No. 5) that socio-psychological variables of alienation, locus of control, socio-economic status, age caste etc. will be significantly related to each other is confirmed partly. The relation between locus of control and alienation show higher externality of alienated students and vice versa. A similar finding was reported earlier (Pal, 1989). It can be argued that the feeling of powerlessness is experienced when person lacks the ability to cope with a given situation. As the possibility of getting job becomes remote, one under-utilizes the skills and feels lack of control over job market. This finding is substantiated by a positive relation between
powerlessness and external locus of control. As Kanungo (1982) argued powerlessness resembles Rotter's (1966) conception of people having an external locus of control. Powerlessness represents an individual’s inability to determine the occurrence of any outcome (Seeman, 1959) and restricted sense of control over events (Middleton, 1963).

Alienation is associated with time input for graduates of non-metro, professional and females. Those who anticipate a longer period of time to find a job feel more alienated. The feeling of alienation is not found influenced by socio-economic status, which is in conformity with the conclusions of earlier studies (Verma and Nayak, 1990; Pal, 1989; Mou, 1985; Mohanty, 1984; Paulson, 1984; Nicassio, 1983; Moyer and Motta, 1982; Powell, 1971). However, some studies (Harshaff, 1978; Sheinberg, 1974; Crawford, 1974; Martin, 1971; White, 1971) report that students with low socio-economic status are more alienated than those have high socio-economic status. The lack of relationship between socio-economic status, and isolation, normlessness and powerlessness is reported by Verma and Nayak (1990). Age and alienation was not found related earlier (Pal, 1989), but the finding is not supported by Martin (1971). It may be that participants here are more homogenous by age. Neither academic performance nor extra experiences were related to alienation. This did not support the findings of Calabrese and Raymond (1990), Calabrese and Cochran (1989) and Preiss (1976). The caste is not found related to alienation indicating that the scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students do not differ from general caste students in the feeling of alienation.
Given the fact that achievement required a degree of effort and persistence in academic tasks, it was expected that locus of control would negatively relate to academic performance. A positive relationship between internal locus of control and academic achievement has been reported by researchers (Payne and Payne, 1989; Mishra, 1986; Hood, 1983; Weisz and Stipek, 1982; Bar-Tal and Bar-Zohar, 1977; Duke and Nowicki, 1974), but no significant relationship is found here between locus of control and academic performance. This finding substantiate an earlier finding (Pal, 1989). The absence of age differences in locus of control is in contradiction to results of Payne and Payne (1989), Nowicki and Strickland (1965) and Crandall et al (1965).

Socio-economic status was not found related to locus of control, which is in contradiction to the finding of Maqsud and Rouhani (1991), Chebat (1986), Payne et al (1984); Phares (1976); Lefcourt (1976); Battle and Rotter (1976) and Graves (1961). It seems that the class differences in societies are important determining factors of this relationships. As Sarson (1972) found children from different societies having different locus of control. Some differences in age, locus of control and academic performance can be attributed to different measures and samples used in the studies. The earlier researchers used school children, teachers, managers etc. as samples, while this study used final year students. They perhaps believed less in effort or skill in outcomes and more in the utilization and manipulation of skills in the right situation. Moreover, the
teacher expectancies which moderated the relationship between the locus of control and academic achievement (Crano and Metto, 1978) are not common at the graduation stage. The scheduled caste and scheduled tribe graduates did not differ from general caste graduates on externality. This is not in line with the argument that socio-economically disadvantaged groups are more fatalistic (Omprakash, 1989).

The students coming from high socio-economic background showed better academic performance. This is perhaps due to the stimulating environment of the family. A similar finding had been reported by others (Monaster, 1992; Panda, 1991; Chopra, 1982). A significant negative correlation between age and academic performance for non-metro, professional and non-professional graduates finds support in the early findings of Gupta (1966) and Raina (1967). The significant gender differences in academic performance showing females having higher percentage of marks than males is inconsistent with the finding of Bisht (1984).

The scheduled caste and scheduled tribe students constituted higher age group. This may be caused either by late entry to education or repetitions because of socio-economic deprivations. The metro, professional and male graduates having higher socio-economic background constituted lower age group. They have got into schools at lower age and are non-repetitors.

The variations in the structure of correlations suggest that the psychological factors are not really stable. Contextual and personal characteristics interact and the relationships evolve in varied manner. The variations can be attributed to the
differential perceptions, value systems, socialization
attitudinal factors in different groups.

5.6 Socio-Psychological Correlates of Perceptions and
Attributions of Unemployment.

The hypothesis (No. 6) that perceptions and attributions of
unemployment will be significantly related to socio-
psychological variables like alienation, locus of control,
socio-economic status, age, caste etc.; and can differentially
be predicted by personal and social variables, is partly
confirmed. Only alienation has been found significantly related
to perceptions of unemployment for various groups. The more
alienated students perceived unemployment less positively and
vice versa. This provides support to the argument that the
source of alienation remains in educational system as it raises
high expectations that can not be fulfilled for a large number
of students. The implication is that the unemployment problem
makes a lasting impact on individual's affective experiences
which dampens one's intrinsic motivation and involvement.
Those who find employment challenging and lack control over it
adopt a negative attitude towards society and become gradually
estranged. Such negative feelings can become the basis of
unpreparedness to handle the future (Caplan, Tripathy and Naidu
1985). The negative perceptions of unemployment may threaten the
desire to gain private ownership of the means of production
(Marx, 1963) and damage one's sense of purpose. Miller (1967)
pointed out that when plans have meaning, these help in carrying
forward one's interests and achievement (Sinha, 1972; Smith,
1972).
Among the dimensions of alienation, powerlessness has been found significantly related to perceptions of unemployment. The feelings of powerlessness result in feeling of uncontrollability (Feather, 1986), which in turn leads to a lower sense of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1977) and higher helplessness (Seligman, 1975) as seen in reduced expectations of an outcome. The relationship between powerlessness and perceptions of unemployment is supported by Feather (1983) in that the higher expectation of finding a job is found negatively related to level of helplessness.

The positive relation of external locus of control to external and fatalistic attributions has been expected and is in accord with the general tenets of Rotter's social learning theory. (Rotter, 1966). It proves that every individual learns to elaborate a causal model relating to one's behaviour and its consequences. The externally oriented persons believe that external pressure can change behaviour, so they use external causes to explain an event. Similar results were reported by Chebat et al (1992) and Mitchell et al (1975). However, the converse was not found true. The internal attributions do not show a significant negative correlation with external locus of control. The lack of symmetry may be due to the fact that the students take external factors in definite terms and do not exert any control over them, but the internal factors being 'within the organization' are apparently not internal for the students.
The socio-economic status had no significant relationship with attributions. This is consistent with the finding of Lowe (1988) but not Feather (1983c).

Some variations in the correlations of socio-psychological variables with perceptions and attributions of unemployment were noticed. The locus of control was negatively correlated with perceptions of unemployment for metro and non-professional graduates, indicating that the externally oriented perceived higher probability of unemployment. This supports the finding of De bolt (1973) and Ford and Brehm (1986) that internal control is related to high job aspirations. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) reported strong positive relationship between perceptions of control and achievement oriented behaviour. The internality leads to higher sense of subjective well-being in aversive conditions (Kunhikrishnan and Stephen, 1992).

While age correlated positively with perceptions of unemployment for metro and non-metro graduates and males and females, academic performance did so for only non-metro graduates and males. The finding of positive correlation between age and perceptions of unemployment is not in line with the finding of Rowley and Feather (1987) who observed more psychological distress among older age group. Furnham (1983a) and Banks (1980) found no relationship between age and mental health of the unemployed. One difference may be that students in this study had little age variation. The academic performance of non-meter graduates and males acted as a buffer perhaps in their goal directed behaviour, and enhanced their self-potency.
The socio-economic status facilitated the career orientations and aspirations of non-professional graduates. They get more social support from the family. Similar to this, Furnham (1984c) observed that the higher expectation of finding a job is positively related to the socio-economic status of unemployed. Some other studies have reported association of socio-economic background with young peoples' expectations, aspirations and self confidence (Tanwar, 1988; Gallatin 1975), and psychological well-being of unemployed (Ullah et al, 1985, Payne et al 1984).

The extra experiences provide some stimulants to the achievement behaviour of non-metro graduates and males. The compulsively higher expectations of parents from male child and the poor labour market structure in non-metro areas force the male graduates to explore every source in job search and to keep up a positive self.

It appears that the sons and daughters have differential expectations from father and mother. While the perceptions of unemployment of males had significant positive correlation with fathers' education, and of females' with mothers education. Parental education facilitates the development of career orientation. Malik (1991) has reported that the maternal employment had no effect on daughters' career orientation. This is however, inconsistent with the finding of Hayes (1990) and Tanwar (1988).

The internal attributions were found positively related to fatalistic attributions and alienation, for the non-metro, non-
professional and females and to alienation in males. This implies that the feelings of alienation and belief in luck reduce the self confidence to the extent that the graduates tend to undermine their inner resources. The negative correlation between age and internal attributions of non-metro, non-professional and female graduates supported the findings of Payne and Furnham (1990), Lowe et al (1988), Webley and Wrigley (1983), although Lewis (1984) and Furnham (1982c) did not find age to be a correlate of attributions of unemployment. The metro graduates having lower academic performance made more luck attributions. Metro graduates live in competitive situation and perceive academic performance relevant in the evaluation and selection processes. The academic performance fosters in them a feeling of worthwhileness.

Perceptions and attributions of unemployment were predicted by using personal and social variables as predictors. The social factors have emerged as meaningful predictors of perceptions of unemployment. Ten percent of variance was explained by social variables against 7 percent by personal variables. By implication, social factors determined many of the negative experiences of unemployment. This substantiates the findings of other researchers (Belgrave and Walker, 1991; Feather, 1989; Warr, 1987; Gallatin, 1975) emphasising social variables in the experiences of unemployment. Among the personal and social factors, course (Professional and non-professional) emerged an important predictor of perceptions of unemployment followed by alienation. While course as predictor of experiences
of unemployment has been reported by some researchers (Azad, 1990; Verghese, 1986), little attention has been given to understand the causal relationship between alienation and students' perceptions of unemployment.

Personal variables explain higher variance in internal as well as external attributions of unemployment than the social variables, as the personal variables accounted for 8 percent and 17 percent of variance against 2 percent and seven percent by social variable. This suggested the primacy cognitive and motivational factors over the socio-cultural factors in contributing to attribution processes. While gender and alienation predicted internal attributions (4 percent) alienation only predicted external attributions (16 percent). Gender has been found a predictor of attributions by Payne and Furnham (1990), Heaven (1989) and Furnham (1984). Context and course proved social predictors of internal and external attributions of unemployment. This is supported by the findings of attribution processes associated with context (Henwood, 1984; Miller, 1984; Feather, 1983) and course (Guimond, 1990; Baer and Lambert, 1982). Personal variables explained a significant amount of variance in luck attributions of unemployment. Again alienation and course exerted maximum influence. To sum up, while social factors have little better predictability in perceptions of unemployment, personal factors predict better the attributions of unemployment. Course and alienation are important predictors of perceptions and attributions of unemployment. While some researchers have shown that course can affect the perceptions and attributions of
unemployment, and context and gender can affect attributions of unemployment; empirical findings showing causal links among alienation, perceptions and attributions of unemployment are missing.