

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT:
ATTRIBUTIONS ABOUT THE CAUSES
OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN JOB SEEKING**

A thesis presented in fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Psychology
at Massey University.

Beryl Lilian Hesketh

November, 1982

ABSTRACT

The validity of applying Kelley's covariation attribution model to understanding the perceived causes of success and failure of job seekers was tested on 168 psychology students using hypothetical case descriptions in a laboratory study. The same model was also tested on the self attributions of 82 newly registered unemployed in a field study. Results from the laboratory study provided support for Kelley's predictions for ability and luck attributions. Mixed support was obtained for task difficulty/ease attributions, partly because of the influence of order effects and the bias against attributing success to task ease. Little support was obtained for effort attributions, with only distinctiveness demonstrating the predicted significant main effect. In the field study, where self attributions were obtained for a previous success in job seeking and for currently being unemployed, support for Kelley's covariation model was weak with only distinctiveness relating significantly to lack of ability and consistency to bad luck. Possible reasons offered for the lack of support for the theory in the field study include the influence of group identity, individual differences in the perception of the stability and locus of causes, and the greater realism of the field setting. The fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias were tested in the laboratory setting for other attributions and in the field study for self attributions. More support was obtained for the predicted relationships involving attributions about others' behaviour in the laboratory study than for self attribution in the field study. For both self and other attribution, internal factors were stressed more than external factors. In the field study the combined influence of self-esteem and locus of control on the perceived causes for being unemployed was examined. Those with high self-esteem and an internal locus of control attributed success to ability and failure to lack of effort as predicted. Those with low self-esteem and an external locus of control did not attribute failure to lack of ability, but they did attribute success to unstable factors. Of the 82 unemployed, 51 were followed up one month later when 24 had jobs

while 27 remained unemployed. Those with jobs had, at the first interview, made stronger task difficulty attributions for being unemployed and stronger effort attributions for a previous success than had those who remained unemployed. It appeared that the successful group externalised their difficulty while taking credit for success. In the group as a whole lower G.H.Q. scores (fewer negative mental health symptoms) were obtained among those who made strong lack of effort attributions for failure. The G.H.Q. correlated positively and significantly with the number of job interviews attended and with age. The dilemma of an active job search strategy which was associated with lower well-being as well as a greater likelihood of obtaining work is discussed. Supplementary analyses, including detailed case descriptions, were used to explore the relationship between personality variables, demographic variables, work importance and measures of well-being. Recommendations arising out of the research are offered and the importance of perceived skill level (distinctiveness) in influencing the extent to which blame attaches to the unemployed themselves for being out of work is stressed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisors, Professor G. Shouksmith and Dr J. Kang for their constant encouragement, help and support; Dr K. McFarland for improving my understanding of statistical procedures; Mrs A Stewart for preparing the graphs; my colleagues and graduate students for their informal support, interest and advice; the many community workers whose interest in the research was a major source of motivation; the staff of the Department of Labour for their help in obtaining access to the newly registered unemployed; the City Librarian and Public Relations Officer for providing interviewing facilities; the 93 unemployed who shared with me a part of their lives; and most of all, Tim, my husband still.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Chapter One:</u>	General introduction	1
<u>Chapter Two:</u>	Research into psychological aspects of unemployment.....	5
1.0	Trends in unemployment research	5
2.0	Antecedents and consequences of unemployment.....	6
2.1	Self-esteem, locus of control and unemployment.....	7
2.2	Employment status and well-being moderated by work involvement and demographic variables.....	10
2.3	Summary of research examining the antecedents and consequences of unemployment	13
3.0	Attribution related unemployment research.....	14
3.1	New Zealand studies relevant to perceived causes of unemployment.....	14
3.2	Questionnaire based studies examining attributions and unemployment.....	16
4.0	Summary	19
<u>Chapter Three:</u>	Kelley's covariation attribution theory and Weiner's causal classification model.....	21
1.0	Attribution theory	21
2.0	Kelley's covariation attribution model.....	23
3.0	Kelley's covariation model applied to unemployment.....	26
4.0	Weiner's causal classification and unemployment examples.....	27
5.0	Research on Kelley's covariation model and Weiner's causal classification.....	29
6.0	Summary.....	34
<u>Chapter Four:</u>	Antecedents and consequences of attributions made about success and failure in job seeking..	36
1.0	Fundamental attribution error.....	36
2.0	Differences in attributions for success and failure.....	37
3.0	Antecedent influence of the personality variables on causal attributions.....	39
3.1	Self-esteem.....	39
3.2	Locus of control.....	41
3.3	Combined influence of self-esteem and locus of control on causal attributions.....	44
4.0	Relationship of information antecedents to other antecedents of attributions.....	44
5.0	Consequences of attributions.....	45
5.1	Consequences on a behavioural level.....	45
5.2	Consequences on an affective level.....	46
6.0	General summary.....	47

<u>Chapter Five:</u> Aims, hypotheses and rationale for the laboratory and the field study.....	48
1.0 Kelley's covariation model.....	48
2.0 Attributional biases.....	52
3.0 The antecedent influences of the personality variables on attributions.....	54
4.0 Consequences of attributions.....	56
<u>Chapter Six:</u> Laboratory test of Kelley's covariation model and attributional biases.....	57
1.0 Method	
1.1 Design.....	57
1.2 Subjects.....	59
1.3 Instruments.....	59
1.4 Procedure.....	60
2.0 Results	
2.1 Comments on the approach used in testing Kelley's theory in the laboratory study.....	61
2.2 Planned comparisons test of the predictions from Kelley's theory.....	62
2.3 Main effects from the multivariate and univariate analyses of variance.....	63
2.4 Task difficulty/ease.....	67
2.5 Ability.....	71
2.6 Luck.....	73
2.7 Effort.....	74
2.8 Success failure bias and the fundamental attribution error.....	77
3.0 Discussion.....	80
4.0 General conclusions.....	84
<u>Chapter Seven:</u> Field research: Method.....	86
1.0 Preliminary negotiations and rationale for general procedure.....	86
1.1 Access to unemployed subjects.....	86
1.2 Interview protocol.....	87
1.3 Pilot study.....	88
2.0 Subjects.....	88
2.1 Assessment of bias in the 82 subjects interviewed.....	89
2.2 Follow up interviews.....	91
2.3 Demographic data relevant to the 82 unemployed interviewed.....	92
3.0 Measuring instruments used.....	93
3.1 Structured questions in the interview protocol.....	93
3.1.1 Demographic variables.....	93
3.1.2 Information antecedents: consensus, distinctiveness and consistency.....	94
3.1.3 Causal attribution dependent measures	95
3.1.4 Motivation to continue seeking a job.	96

3.1.5	Life satisfaction.....	97
3.1.6	Happiness measure.....	98
3.1.7	Job satisfaction items for follow up interviews.....	98
3.1.8	Recreational activities.....	98
3.1.9	Relative importance in life of work, social activities and family.....	99
3.2	Standardised Instruments.....	99
3.2.1	Self-esteem.....	99
3.2.2	General Health Questionnaire (G.H.Q.)	100
3.2.3	Locus of Control.....	101
3.2.4	Social Desirability.....	102
4.0	Procedure.....	103
<u>Chapter Eight: Results from the field research.....</u>		105
1.0	Introductory comments.....	105
2.0	Test of Kelley's covariation theory in the field setting.....	106
2.1	Test of Kelley's theory on the full sample..	106
2.2	Separate test of Kelley's theory among males and females.....	108
2.3	Test of Kelley's theory on the follow up sample.....	109
3.0	Differential attributions made for success and failure and the fundamental attribution error....	112
3.1	Success failure bias.....	112
3.2	Fundamental attribution error.....	113
3.3	Combined influence of the success failure bias and the fundamental attribution error..	114
4.0	Test of the predicted relationships between the personality variables and causal attributions....	115
5.0	Consequences of attributions made.....	118
5.1	Outcome of obtaining and not obtaining a job.....	118
5.2	Affective consequences of attributions.....	120
6.0	Summary.....	121
<u>Chapter Nine: Discussion of results and supplementary analyses.....</u>		122
1.0	Discussion of the results testing Kelley's covariation model.....	122
2.0	Biases in the attributions for success and failure.....	127
3.0	Self-esteem and locus of control.....	131
4.0	Discussion of results relating to the consequences of attributions.....	132
<u>Chapter Ten: Interrelationship among the personality variables and well-being measures.....</u>		135
1.0	Intercorrelations among the personality, demographic and well-being measures.....	135

2.0	Suggested causal influences on weeks unemployed and GHQ.....	136
3.0	Relationship between unemployment and well-being.	141
3.1	General Health Questionnaire (GHQ).....	142
3.2	Happiness.....	143
3.3	Life satisfaction.....	144
3.4	Comment on results.....	145
4.0	Intercorrelations among job satisfaction and well-being measures at the follow up interviews..	146
5.0	Importance of work as a moderator variable.....	147
6.0	GHQ: Discussion and comparative data.....	151
7.0	Summary discussion.....	153
<u>Chapter Eleven: Case studies.....</u>		156
1.0	Working and unhappy.....	156
2.0	Working and happy.....	160
3.0	Unemployed and unhappy.....	162
4.0	Unemployed and happy.....	165
5.0	General discussion of these and other cases.....	167
<u>Chapter Twelve: Summary and conclusions.....</u>		169
1.0	Results relating to the hypotheses outlined in Chapter Five.....	169
1.1	Kelley's covariation model.....	169
1.1.1	Task difficulty/ease attributions.....	169
1.1.2	Ability attributions.....	169
1.1.3	Luck attributions.....	170
1.1.4	Effort attributions.....	170
1.2	Attributional biases.....	170
1.3	Personality variables.....	171
1.4	Consequences of attributions.....	171
2.0	Summary of additional findings.....	171
3.0	General discussion.....	173
4.0	Recommended action for helping the unemployed....	177
5.0	Conclusion.....	178
		183
		245

LIST OF APPENDICES

App.	Page
A. Instruments used in laboratory research and justification for their development.....	180
B. Trend analysis using a constructed factor.....	186
C. Analysis of variance tables.....	188
D. Interview protocol.....	191
E. Pilot study.....	200
F. Letter and short questionnaire used by employment officers in approaching registered unemployed to volunteer for the study.....	206
G. Comparison of sample with official Department of Labour statistics.....	208
H. Results and discussion relevant to the operationalisation of the key variables in the field study....	212
I. Expectancy based models of behavioural intention: Discussion relating to the test of the model in the present study.....	224
J. General Health Questionnaire (GHQ).....	231
K. Locus of control and social desirability items.....	233
L. Cross lagged or panel correlations.....	236
M. Summary of repeated measures analysis of variance for sex by causal attribution by success failure on the 82 registered unemployed.....	239
N. Intercorrelations among key variables.....	240
O. Algorithm for reconstituting correlation coefficients in simplified path diagram 10.2.....	241
P. Analysis of variance tables for the well-being measures obtained on the 51 subjects involved in the follow up interviews.....	243

LIST OF TABLES

Table Number		Page Number
2.1	Variables examined in research on psychological aspects of unemployment, assigned antecedent or consequential status.....	7
3.1	Conceptual framework after Kelley and Michela (1980).....	22
3.2	Summary predictions from Kelley's covariation attribution theory.....	24
3.3	Weiner's two way classification of attributional causes and predictions from Kelley's model.....	28
5.1	Predicted ordering of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency influences on causal attributions..	51
5.2	Combined predictions from the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias.....	53
5.3	Influence of self-esteem and locus of control on causal attributions.....	54
6.1	Results from the one by seven planned comparisons testing Kelley's theory, collapsing across order of presentation of information and success and failure.....	63
6.2	Multivariate and univariate F values for the main effects of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency and success/failure on the four causal attributions.....	64
6.3	Rank order correlations between the predicted order of cell means based on Kelley's theory and the order based on the actual mean attributions made to different levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency.....	67
6.4	Results from the main effects of the ANOVA and the mean attributions made for success and failure to each of the causal categories.....	77
6.5	Analysis of variance, success vs failure by internal vs external attributions (university students).....	78
7.1	Age and sex of those interviewed and those in the sample not interviewed.....	89
7.2	Assessment of educational bias among the males in the sample.....	90

Table Number		Page Number
7.3	Assessment of educational bias among the females in the sample.....	91
7.4	Reasons for non follow up.....	92
7.5	Weiner's causal classification illustrated with examples used in this research for success and failure.....	95
8.1	Beta weights from the multiple regressions testing Kelley's covariation model using the attributions made for failure among the 82 registered unemployed.....	107
8.2	Beta weights from the multiple regressions testing Kelley's covariation model on failure attributions made among the 48 unemployed males.....	108
8.3	Beta weights from the multiple regressions testing Kelley's covariation model on failure attributions made among the 34 unemployed females.....	109
8.4	Beta weights from the multiple regressions testing Kelley's covariation model on attributions made for failure among the 27 unemployed at the second interview.....	110
8.5	Beta weights from the multiple regressions testing Kelley's covariation model for success attributions made among the 24 respondents offered jobs by the time of the second interview.....	111
8.6	Success failure bias among males and females.....	113
8.7	Analysis of variance, success vs failure by internal vs external attributions (registered unemployed respondents).....	114
8.8	Mean attributions made by respondents with combinations of high and low levels of self-esteem and an internal or external locus of control.....	116
8.9	Results from the discriminant function analysis between the group offered jobs and those still unemployed at the second interview.....	119
9.1	Attributions made in response to success and failure, university and unemployed sample.....	128
10.1	Intercorrelations among personality and well-being measures in the 82 newly registered unemployed obtained at the first interview.....	136

Table Number		Page Number
10.2	Simple correlations and reconstituted correlations for the variables given in Figure 10.2.....	140
10.3	Overall and total life satisfaction means for the unemployed and employed group at both times.....	145
10.4	Intercorrelation among job satisfaction and well-being measures for respondents working at time two and those still unemployed.....	147
10.5	Well-being by ranked importance of work among the 27 respondents still unemployed.....	148
10.6	Well-being by ranked importance of work among the respondents actually working.....	149
10.7	Relative importance of work in the unemployed and working subsample.....	150
10.8	GHQ results from the various studies for respondents working and those unemployed.....	151
11.1	Means and standard deviations of key variables used in the case discussions.....	156
A.1	Design for laboratory study with six student groups.....	185
B.1	Means and F values for the trend analysis using a constructed factor.....	187
E.1	Characteristics of respondents in pilot study....	201
E.2	Means and standard deviations of the attribution scores for success and failure (pilot study).....	203
G.1	Sampling rate for males and females.....	208
G.2	Age of all registered unemployed in the Department of Labour District compared with the age of the research sample.....	209
G.3	Stated usual occupation of subjects interviewed and not interviewed.....	211
H.1	Test retest correlations for structured causal attribution questions.....	213
H.2	Intercorrelations among the causal attribution measures for success and for failure at the first interview.....	213

Table Number		Page Number
H.3	Correlations between locus of control and causal attributions made to Weiner's four causal categories for success and failure at time one	215
H.4	Correlations between locus of control and causal attributions for being unemployed and for obtaining a job at time two.....	216
H.5	Weiner's causal classification for failure.....	217
H.6	Weiner's causal classification for success.....	217
H.7	Interjudge agreement on the classification of attributions to one of Weiner's four causal categories collapsing across the first and the second interviews.....	218
H.8	Responses to the open causal questions for both success and failure.....	219
H.9	A comparison of the open and structured causal attribution responses for failure.....	222
H.10	A comparison of the open and structured causal attribution responses for success.....	223
I.1	Test retest correlations for the variables in the Behavioural Intention model.....	228

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure Number	Page Number
3.1 Kelley's covariation (cubic) attribution model.....	23
5.1 Relationship among the antecedent information and personality variables and the causal attributions.....	55
6.1 Diagrammatic representation of the 2x2x2x3x2 mixed design with a repeated measure on the last factor...	58
6.2 Main effect of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency on task difficulty/ease, ability, luck and effort attributions collapsed across success and failure and order of presentation of information.....	65
6.3 Consensus by order interaction for attributions to task difficulty/ease collapsed across success and failure.....	68
6.4 Consensus by consistency by order interaction for failure attributions to task difficulty.....	70
6.5 Consistency by order for ability attributions collapsed across success and failure.....	72
6.6 Distinctiveness by success vs failure for ability attributions.....	73
6.7 Consensus by consistency by success failure interaction within the cab order, consistency first, followed by consensus, followed by distinctiveness.....	75
6.8 Consistency by success vs failure for effort attributions.....	76
6.9 Mean attributions for testing predicted linear and quadratic trends in the combined fundamental attribution error and success failure bias.....	79
10.1 Path diagram of selected demographic, attributional and behavioural variables.....	138
10.2 Simplified path diagram for the same variables as Figure 10.1.....	139
10.3 Cross lagged panel correlations between GHQ and locus of control on the 51 respondents in the follow up sample.....	141

Figure Number		Page Number
10.4	Marginal means for the GHQ score obtained at the first and the second interview for the 27 subjects still unemployed and the 24 offered work.....	143
10.5	Marginal means for the happiness item obtained at the first and the second interview for the 27 subjects still unemployed and the 24 offered work...	144
H.1	Placement within Weiner's two dimensional model, the categories derived from responses to the open question about reasons for being unemployed.....	220
H.2	Placement within Weiner's two dimensional model, the categories derived from responses to the open question about the reasons for getting a previous job.....	221

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Traditionally there has been full employment in New Zealand with an expectation that everyone could obtain work. Under these circumstances there was a tendency to blame the unemployed themselves for being out of work. Unfortunately New Zealand has not escaped the rapid increase in unemployment in the rest of the world. In March 1974 there were 701 people registered as unemployed while 76 were on special work programmes, but in June, 1981, half way through the data collection for the present study, there were 46,096 people registered as unemployed while 13,194 were on special work (Department of Labour, Labour and Employment Gazette, June, 1982; Renwick, 1980). As unemployment rose it became unjustifiable to continue assuming that everyone could obtain a job if they wanted to. This resulted in a widespread debate about the causes of unemployment which was one of the motivating factors for the present study.

Through a series of articles the news media have attempted to enlighten the public as to the economic and structural basis of unemployment (e.g Campbell, 1980; Easton, 1981). In addition various organisations such as the Workers Unemployed Rights Centre have been formed with the stated aim of helping the unemployed to understand the "real causes of unemployment" and to externalise their difficulty in obtaining work. Despite this publicity on a community level, when faced with an example of someone out of work there remains a tendency to blame the person who is unemployed. Failure to obtain work is often attributed to factors such as a lack of skill and low work motivation which contribute to the "dole bludger" image.

With the high level of public debate about the causes of unemployment it seemed important to find out what the unemployed themselves felt was responsible for their difficulty in obtaining work. It is possible that differences in the extent to which individuals blame themselves for being out of work might relate to different consequences of unemployment. Although a number of writers have examined the relevance of various theoretical areas in social psychology to unemployment in general (Hayes & Nutman, 1981; Kelvin, 1980), and to the attributions made about its causes in particular (Gurney & Taylor, 1979), theoretically based research is scant.

In response to this need, the present study aimed to investigate empirically the relevance of Kelley's (1967) covariation attribution model to understanding the perceived causes of unemployment. Kelley's theory was chosen because it was broad enough to cover the explanations the unemployed themselves offered for being out of work as well as the reasons offered for others' success and failure in job seeking. In addition, the theory deals with the influence of information such as the number of people out of work, the skill level of the unemployed and the history of their success and failure in job seeking, on the perceived causes of unemployment.

Furthermore Kelley and Michela (1980) outline a framework which places the covariation model within a context of antecedents, attributions and the consequences of attributions. This provides a structure for integrating the variables examined in research on psychological aspects of unemployment. Many of the studies examining the relationship of personality variables and well-being measures to unemployment have failed to clarify which are more likely to influence reactions to being out of work and which to reflect the consequences of being unemployed. A structure such as that provided by Kelley and Michela (1980) may help to provide conceptual clarity when reviewing the literature. The framework also serves to remind one of the motivational influences on attributions.

Attributions are distorted by "biases, errors and illusions" (Kelley, 1967, p. 219), although using motivational and belief variables it is possible to partly explain and predict these. For example, it is more comfortable for individuals to blame external factors for their own difficulties and to take credit for success, although individual differences in personality and expectancies influence the extent to which this is done. McClure (1980) suggests that these "distortions" occur not only on an individual level, but also on a societal level. It is possible to predict these "societal level distortions" and Furnham (1981) demonstrated that this could be done from political beliefs. Conservatives in the United Kingdom tended to favour individualistic explanations for unemployment more than did Labour supporters. Labour supporters in turn chose societal explanations more than did the Conservative voters. It seems that if blame attaches to individuals for being out of work, no need is seen for society to intervene or for the economy to be restructured to alleviate the problems.

In light of these "distortions" on both an individual and a societal level, one aim of the present study was to examine the role of biases in the attributions made by the unemployed themselves and by others. An understanding of these attributional biases may help to explain the lack of understanding of the unemployed shown by the general public. Of interest too was the relationship of self-esteem and locus of control to the causal attributions and the attributional biases among the unemployed.

A criticism often levelled at social psychological research is its heavy dependence upon analogue studies using university students as subjects. There is an obvious need for more field research, as many laboratory based findings lack external validity (Campbell & Stanley, 1966). As stated by Felson and Bohrnstedt (1980) "since the noise and complexity one encounters in 'real life' situations is eliminated in the laboratory, it is difficult to know whether corresponding effects outside the laboratory are trivial or non-existent" (p. 805). What may be lost in the control of variables in field studies is more than gained through a greater degree of realism. Unless we attempt to validate theories through field research we run the risk of developing a set of social psychological theories which are artifacts of an analogue or laboratory situation.

The present research first tested the validity of applying Kelley's covariation model to understanding the attributions made about success and failure of others' job seeking activities in a laboratory setting, before testing the same theory on self attributions made by the unemployed in a field study. Using the two separate studies also allowed for the examination of attributional biases. Furthermore, the field research provided an opportunity to investigate the consequences of the attributions made by the unemployed. Of particular interest was the consequence of obtaining a job or not and the relationship of this outcome and measures of well-being and negative mental health to the various antecedent demographic, behavioural and personality variables as well as to the attribution variables.

Chapter Two reviews research examining psychological aspects of unemployment and attempts to differentiate conceptually factors which moderate the impact of unemployment (antecedents) from those which reflect the consequences of being out of work. Chapter Three introduces Kelley's covariation model, applies it

to unemployment and reviews the research testing the model. Chapter Four covers the literature relating to attributional biases and the influence of personality variables on attributions. This chapter also comments on the likely consequences of attributions. The aims and hypotheses are summarised in Chapter Five, while Chapter Six presents in full the laboratory based test of Kelley's covariation model and the predicted attributional biases. The focus in this chapter is on attributions made about others' behaviour.

Chapter Seven outlines the method used in the field research. Chapters Eight and Nine provide the results relating to self-attribution from the field research and the discussion of these results in light of supplementary analyses. In Chapter Nine field results are also compared with those from the laboratory study. Chapter Ten summarises the results relating to well-being and personality measures in light of obtaining and not obtaining work. This chapter also provides a comparison of the relationship between negative mental health and unemployment obtained from the present research with relationships obtained in other studies reported in the literature. Chapter Eleven contains case studies chosen to demonstrate the complexity of the relationship between work, non work and well-being, while Chapter Twelve presents the summary and conclusions.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH INTO PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF UNEMPLOYMENT

This chapter provides a review of the relevant literature examining psychological aspects of unemployment. Only the more recent research is stressed as Harrison (1976) and Hayes and Nutman (1981) provide adequate coverage of earlier studies. Emphasis is given to studies which have examined the relationship of unemployment to various personality and well-being measures with the aim of documenting the consequences of unemployment and factors which moderate its impact. Unemployment research which has examined the reasons given for being out of work is reviewed in more detail at the end of the chapter.

1.0 Trends in unemployment research

With the recent increase in unemployment in the Western world renewed interest (Harrison, 1976; Jahoda, 1979) has been shown in research which described the negative consequences of unemployment in the 1930's (Bakke, 1933; Eisenberg & Lazarsfeld, 1938; Jahoda, Lazarsfeld & Zeisl, 1933). During the subsequent years of relatively full employment most unemployment research focussed on redundancy (e.g. Kasl & Cobb, 1970; Kasl, Gore & Cobb, 1975; Warr, 1978; Wedderburn, 1964) or the hard core unemployed (e.g. Salipante & Goodman, 1976; Tiffany, Cowan & Tiffany, 1970). Recently there has been a marked increase in research documenting the impact of unemployment with a movement away from simple descriptive studies to those using more sophisticated subjective and objective indicators of well-being.

Hayes and Nutman (1981) discuss the effect of cumulative stress on the individual resulting from job loss which may translate itself into mental and physical health difficulties sometimes culminating in suicide. Analyses undertaken by Brenner (1977) in the USA and in other Western countries (1979), and by MacDonald, Pearce, Salter and Smith (1982) in New Zealand indicate that a relationship does exist nationally between unemployment levels on the one hand and such indices as admissions to mental hospitals and suicide rates on the other. However, Hartley (1980a, 1980b) and Hepworth (1980) point to the dangers in overgeneralising. The unemployed do not all react to joblessness in the same way. Work involvement has been shown to differentiate reactions to work and non-work (Warr, 1982), but the search for other moderating variables remains important.

2.0 Antecedents and consequences of unemployment

Gurney and Taylor (1981) in a "state of the art" article highlight the conflicting evidence about psychological aspects of unemployment arising from the research. They rightly suggest that this is partly because of a failure to identify moderating variables in the relationship between unemployment and well-being. In addition it would seem that part of the confusion in the literature results from a lack of conceptual clarity regarding the variables likely to moderate responses to unemployment and those likely to reflect the consequences of being out of work. This fits with Warr's (1981) suggestion that "a multi-layered model of personality seems appropriate, with some layers shifting in response to life change, whilst other layers remain unaffected" (p. 13).

Table 2.1 provides a summary of the main variables included in the unemployment literature reviewed in this section. These variables have been assigned the status of "moderator/ antecedent/ trait" type variables or "consequential/ state" type variables. The latter are more likely to be responsive to the effects of being unemployed. Although aware that some of the antecedent variables may be sensitive to prolonged unemployment, the conceptual clarity provided by the framework is useful.

TABLE 2.1

Variables examined in research on psychological aspects of unemployment, assigned antecedent or consequential status

<u>"Moderator/antecedent trait" type variables</u>	<u>"Consequential/ state" type variables</u>
<u>Personality/ attitudinal belief variables</u>	<u>Subjective indicators</u>
Self-esteem	Well-being measures
Locus of control	Negative mental health
Work involvement	Subjective stress indicators
<u>Behavioural variables</u>	<u>Objective Indicators</u>
Job search activity	Mental hospital admissions
Use of time	Suicide rates
Length of time unemployed	
<u>Demographic variables</u>	
Age	
Sex	
Years education	
Socio-economic status	
Occupational level	

2.1 Self-esteem, locus of control and unemployment

Much of the unemployment research using locus of control and self-esteem measures has failed to clarify whether these are more likely to be antecedents or consequences of unemployment. The need for conceptual clarity is illustrated by an earlier study examining the relationship between unemployment and self-esteem.

Tiffany et al (1970) used the Tennessee Self Concept Scale to compare the self-concepts of 31 work inhibited subjects (uneven work histories with frequent job changes, extended periods of unemployment and an inability to complete training programmes) with 23 subjects who had held a steady job for one year. The unemployed subjects had significantly lower self concepts on the total positive, identity, behaviour, moral-ethical, personal self and social self scales. No differences were found on the physical self or self-acceptance scales. However, as pointed out by Hartley (1980a) no causal relationship can be inferred from the results.

Hartley (1980a) failed to find significant deficits in the self-esteem of 64 unemployed managers, nor was there any relationship between the length of unemployment and self-esteem. This finding should be interpreted in light of the other research reported by Hartley (1980c) which indicated that unemployed managers did not fit the expectation of being less entrepreneurial or less well-adjusted than managers in general. If we accept that personality variables are relatively stable then it is not surprising that the personality of managers was unaffected by becoming unemployed. However, the research reveals little about the impact of unemployment on the well-being and general mental health of this group, variables which are more likely to be responsive to situational stress.

Warr (1981) refers to a follow up study of school leavers where measures of positive and negative self-esteem were used. Obtaining jobs decreased negative self-esteem while remaining unemployed increased negative self-esteem. Changes in positive self-esteem were insignificant. These measures of positive and negative self-esteem were not the same as global self-esteem used by Hartley, (1980a). The low correlation between positive and negative self-esteem (.25) suggests that one cannot make a simple link between these measures and high and low levels of global self-esteem respectively. However, it would be interesting to examine whether high self-esteem subjects were less affected by employment status than low self-esteem subjects, pointing to the potential role of self-esteem as a moderator variable.

Gurney (1980a), (1980b) and (1981) has contributed much of the published research on psychological aspects of unemployment among school leavers. His methodology involved obtaining data from potential school leavers still at school and then following them up in the next year. Subjects naturally divided into those who were working (N=220), those who returned to school or other tertiary institutions (N=139) and those who were unemployed (N=53).

Gurney (1980a) reports on the relationship between unemployment and self-esteem. Self-esteem was measured using a 10 item adaptation of the Rosenberg scale. The only significant change in self-esteem was found among the group of females who obtained employment, partly because their self-esteem was considerably lower than that of the other groups while still at school. The employed males also showed an increase in self-esteem, but the

difference was not significant. The unemployed group did not show any decrease in self-esteem. The mixed results relating to self-esteem are not surprising if one accepts that conceptually self-esteem is a more stable personality variable unlikely to reflect situational stress.

Gurney (1980b) reports the results of the impact of unemployment and employment on the psychosocial development of the adolescents using a measure of Erikson's developmental stages. Although this aspect of Gurney's research is thorough, and clearly points to the important role of work in the transition into adulthood, it is not directly relevant to the present study.

O'Brien and Kabanoff (1979), in a half percent household sample of a metropolitan area in Australia, obtained a group of 74 unemployed respondents. The questionnaire they administered included a variety of measures as well as Rotter's (1966) locus of control scale. Discriminant analysis performed between those working (N=1385) and those unemployed pointed to the unemployed being younger, citing significantly more physical ill health symptoms and having a stronger external locus of control than the employed in the sample. Other variables also discriminated significantly, but are not directly relevant to the focus of the present research. O'Brien and Kabanoff interpreted their results to mean that physical and psychological problems were not the causes of unemployment, but resulted from it. While they assumed that unemployment would make respondents more external in their locus of control, there is also considerable theoretical justification for viewing locus of control as an antecedent variable within the framework of Rotter's (1966) social learning theory.

Haines and Macky (1982), in a small study of New Zealand school leavers, compared a group of 15 unemployed leavers with a matched group of 15 employed leavers from the same school. They found no significant differences between the two groups on Rotter's locus of control scale. Haines and Macky (1982) had anticipated that unemployment would lead to an external locus of control. It is perhaps unrealistic to assume that a short period of unemployment could affect locus of control. If a relationship did exist, it is more likely that locus of control would be predictive of employment status among a group of school leavers, particularly in light of the known relationship of locus of control to achievement and socio-economic status (Coleman,

Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld & York, 1966). In comparing these results with those of O'Brien and Kabanoff (1979), the smallness of the Haines and Macky (1982) sample size and the different age group should be remembered.

From the studies reviewed above, no consistent relationship emerges between employment status and self-esteem or locus of control. It is suggested that it might be more helpful to examine whether self-esteem and locus of control moderate the effect of being unemployed rather than expecting gross differences in these measures between people with and without jobs.

2.2 Employment status and well-being moderated by work involvement and demographic variables

A number of studies have been more careful in distinguishing between variables which reflect the consequences of being unemployed and those which moderate its impact. Many of these studies have used the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) as a subjective indicator of negative well-being (Goldberg, 1972). This instrument provides a measure of the number of minor psychiatric symptoms cited by respondents. Studies illustrating that unemployment does affect well-being as measured by instruments such as the GHQ are discussed first, before reviewing research which examines the moderating role of work involvement and other demographic variables.

Stafford, Jackson and Banks (1980) report the results of one of the most comprehensive studies of youth unemployment. School leavers with less than 2 GCE 'O' levels were the focus of the study, interviews being completed with 647 respondents. Path analysis was used to assess the factors which appeared to predict unemployment and psychological well-being. Their model treated ethnic group and social class as fixed variables, which were seen to influence fathers' employment status, qualifications and work involvement. These, in turn were seen to influence employment status of the school leavers which affected mental health. Negative mental health as measured by the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) was thought to be influenced by the preceding variables, but not to influence them. Of interest in the results from the test of their model was the very strong path between employment status and the GHQ; the employed reported fewer mental ill health symptoms.

Warr (1981) summarises the results of the studies undertaken at the Social and Applied Psychology Unit at Sheffield on employment and unemployment. Not reported elsewhere are the results of a follow up study of unemployed school leavers which clearly pointed to the influence of unemployment on GHQ scores; becoming unemployed increased the number of minor psychiatric symptoms cited while obtaining work resulted in a decrease in reported symptoms.

Haines and Macky (1982) in their small study of 15 employed and 15 unemployed school leavers in New Zealand found that the unemployed group reported significantly more minor psychiatric symptoms on the GHQ than did their employed counterparts (after eliminating one pair because of an extreme score). Length of unemployment was not correlated with GHQ, perhaps understandably because of the small sample size and because, being school leavers, most would have been unemployed for a similar length of time.

Stafford et al (1980), Warr (1981) and Haines and Macky (1982) demonstrate that employment status is associated with negative well-being as measured on the GHQ. However, not all unemployed are affected equally by joblessness.

Hepworth (1980), reporting data on 78 unemployed men, indicated that semi-skilled or unskilled subjects were more likely to endorse symptoms of mental ill health on the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) than were those with a trade. The research, not surprisingly, showed that the length of unemployment affected both the General Health Questionnaire score and general well-being. In addition, unemployed men who were able to fill their time with meaningful activities enjoyed better mental health and well-being. Hepworth's study clearly differentiates between factors which moderate the impact of joblessness and those which reflect the consequences of it.

Although the sample size is small, Swinburne (1981), provides more insight into these aspects of unemployment. The study, based on intensive interviews with twenty unemployed managers, was influenced by Jahoda's (1979) ideas about the latent function of work (time structure, regular shared experiences and contacts, broader goals and purposes, personal status and identity and enforced activity). Swinburne (1981) found that the subjects'

awareness of the consequences of unemployment and inactivity, and a conscious fight against these, contributed to the delay in the impact of unemployment among members of the group. The degree of self direction which the managers had experienced in their previous work helped them to provide their own time structure for their activities in the absence of work.

From a number of studies (Hartley, 1980a; Hepworth, 1980; Swinburne, 1981) it seems likely that skilled workers and managers suffer less from being unemployed than do unskilled and semi-skilled workers. The unskilled workers may view their failure to get a job as less distinguishable from their failure to gain skills than would managers and skilled workers.

Stafford et al (1980), in their study of school leavers, showed that for the employed school leavers, high work involvement was associated with a low GHQ score (absence of symptoms) while for the unemployed group high work involvement was associated with a high GHQ score, indicating the presence of mental ill health symptoms. Warr (1981) reviews other studies which similarly point to the role of work involvement as a moderator of the impact of joblessness.

Feather and Davenport (1981) obtained data from 212 unemployed youth contacted through helping agencies in a large Australian metropolitan area. They showed that depressive affect was associated with higher levels of motivation to seek work. Among the unemployed it seems that high work involvement and motivation to work is associated with negative well-being.

The O'Brien and Kabanoff (1979) study is helpful in identifying other individual differences in reactions to being out of work. Subjects who were more active in their job search showed higher stress levels. Unemployed subjects in their sample who sought more variety, autonomy and challenge in jobs demonstrated higher stress levels than those for whom these work characteristics were unimportant. In general, low work involvement seemed to moderate the impact of joblessness. However, the younger unemployed were less work-involved than the older unemployed. In addition, unemployed males had lower work involvement than unemployed females, the reverse of what occurred in the general population. This suggests that females could have been more at risk, but the impact of unemployment on women is complex. The paper by Warr and Parry (1982) provides a welcome summary of relevant research

and suggests a theoretical basis for investigating the role of work, non-work and unemployment in women's lives.

In New Zealand, Mary Hancock (1981) provides a rich descriptive study outlining the impact of the closure of a woollen mill at Mosgiel on the lives of the women. The financial difficulties which these women faced was a recurring theme in their comments. The women, many of whom had been working all their lives also commented on the "loneliness and boredom of the now long hours and days of isolation at home" (p. 5). They also stressed feelings of depression, but unfortunately no objective measures of well-being or general mental health were used. Shipley (1982) undertook a survey of the extent of female unemployment in Palmerston North, New Zealand, but the focus of the study was sociological, not psychological.

2.3 Summary of research examining the antecedents and consequences of unemployment

The more recent empirical research reviewed in this section indicates that unemployment does affect the well-being and mental health of many individuals. Unemployment has an effect on negative well-being (Haines & Macky, 1982; Hepworth, 1980; Stafford et al, 1980; Warr, 1981), on depressive affect (Feather & Davenport, 1981) and on the number of physical ill health symptoms cited (O'Brien & Kabanoff, 1979). It also impedes the psychosocial development of youth in their transition into adulthood (Gurney, 1980b), and is related to mental hospital admission and suicide rates (Brenner, 1977 & 1979; MacDonald et al, 1982).

There are, however, individual differences in the reactions to being out of work. More mental ill health symptoms were reported among semi-skilled and unskilled workers (Hepworth, 1980), and by those unemployed with higher work involvement (Feather and Davenport, 1981; O'Brien & Kabanoff, 1979; Warr, 1981). Managers who were able to structure their own time appeared to be less affected (Swinburne, 1981). Other factors which may well be important include the length of time unemployed (Hepworth, 1980), job search activity (O'Brien & Kabanoff, 1979), age (Warr, 1981) and years of education and sex.

A number of studies have examined the relationship of unemployment to self-esteem (Gurney, 1980a; Hartley, 1980a;

Tiffany et al, 1970; Warr, 1981) and locus of control (Haines & Macky, 1982; O'Brien & Kabanoff, 1979) with mixed results. Most of these studies have assumed that employment status would influence self-esteem and make individuals more external in their locus of control. As these are personality variables with their roots in early childhood and adolescent experiences, it may be more sound to assume that self-esteem and locus of control would moderate the effects of unemployment, particularly among adult groups. When undertaking research on unemployment it is useful to have in mind a framework such as that outlined in Table 2.1 on page 7.

A number of the studies reviewed in this section have also examined the reasons offered by the unemployed for being out of work. The results, outlined in the next section, provide background for Chapter Three which applies Kelley's covariation attribution model to understanding the antecedent influences on attributions made about the causes of unemployment.

3.0 Attribution related unemployment research

Although three New Zealand studies have included questions about the perceived causes of unemployment, no reference has been made in the reports to social psychological attribution theories. Other studies which have acknowledged attribution theory have not systematically assessed the relevance of applying the theory to unemployment.

3.1 New Zealand studies relevant to perceived causes of unemployment

One of the few reported large scale New Zealand studies on unemployment is the Christchurch Employment Advisory Committee "Study of Unemployed Youth in Christchurch" (1979). This involved a two part survey comprising quantitative data collected through structured interviews and qualitative data obtained through non-directive interviewing. Despite sampling difficulties 136 registered unemployed youth between the ages of 15 and 21 were subjected to a structured interview, with 15 finally being interviewed in depth. Of interest in relation to the consensus variable in the present research are the responses to the question about the employment status of their friends. Eleven percent stated that most of their friends were unemployed, 68 percent stated that their friends were working and 21 percent

said their friends were equally divided between work, school and being unemployed. These subjects perceived low consensus for their situation in 1978/1979.

In the interviews the respondents were asked why they thought they had not obtained the jobs for which they applied. Most thought it was because they lacked qualifications and experience. The report interprets this as follows: "It became obvious in the interviews that many were lacking in self-confidence. This lack of self confidence was at the root of their difficulties in looking for jobs" (p. 20).

Only 22 percent of the subjects answered yes to the question, "Are you aware of any personal reason which makes it difficult for you to obtain work?" The report concludes, "the majority felt that there were no personal reasons preventing them from gaining employment (the reliability of this finding is questionable)." This was the only set of responses where the report questions the reliability, and one suspects that the lack of acceptance of the responses by the researchers may be part of the fundamental attribution error phenomenon. Perhaps the researchers were more likely to assume internal attributions on the part of the unemployed than were the unemployed themselves. Alternatively, social desirability could have accounted for the result. There is a need to make use of the broader base of social psychological research in interpreting findings relating to unemployment.

Thirty two percent of the subjects attributed their unemployment to themselves. The government/prime minister was blamed by 30 percent of the subjects, the uncertain times by 16 percent, the economy by 9 percent while employers, older women, schools and the Labour Department received the residual blame. Adding these figures, more external than internal attributions were made.

The Haines and Macky (1982) study of 15 employed and 15 unemployed school leavers included an attribution type question. Subjects were asked what they thought was responsible for their having or not having a job. Although no systematic tests were undertaken, the researchers claim that there were no differences between the groups with regard to internal attributions. The employed group favoured parents as an external reason for getting a job while the unemployed group blamed the government and society for their failure to get a job. No attempt was made by

the authors to interpret their findings in light of attribution theory.

Wilkinson (1981) undertook a participant observation study of a small group (approximately 20, although the actual numbers are not quoted) of young unemployed in Palmerston North, New Zealand. The study aimed at portraying a picture of the young unemployed in much the same way as was done by Marsden and Duff (1975) and by Jahoda et al (1933) in their study of Marienthal. Despite a limited data base, Wilkinson's report is insightful. The manner in which the young unemployed interpreted the reasons for their situation is illustrated in the following comment quoted in the report.

"There's not really much show of getting a job unless you are particularly outstanding. Even jobs advertised where you don't really need qualifications, employers usually pick the better ones and in my experience there is always someone better than me" (p. 27).

Wilkinson (1981) suggests that, "each job interview becomes a degrading ceremony through which the young person must pass" (p. 27). The isolation experienced by some of the young unemployed made it difficult for them to realise the extent of unemployment and hence to make external attributions.

The above three studies have used open questions to explore the reasons offered for being out of work. Although the studies present a picture of the type of reasons considered important, one is left wondering why some unemployed blame themselves while others do not, and what the consequences are of self-blame as distinct from making external attributions.

3.2 Questionnaire based studies examining attributions and unemployment

Feather and Davenport's (1981) study of 212 unemployed youth included 28 questions relating to causal attributions and a single item measure of depressive affect. Factor analysis of the attribution questions yielded a first factor (five items) labelled external difficulties and a second factor (four items) labelled competence deficiency. Surprisingly, they found a significant relationship between external attributions and depressive affect as measured on the single item. They interpreted this in light of the subjects with higher depressive affect also having higher initial confidence and a stronger need

to work. As a result of their initial confidence internal factors were discounted and external attributions were made for being unemployed. As outlined earlier, subjects with higher work involvement (need to work) are more affected by being unemployed. Feather and Davenport (1981) interpret their results as incompatible with learned helplessness theory, which would have predicted that external attributions would lead to helplessness. However, they suggested that the results supported a valency-expectancy motivation model; the depressive affect associated with external attributions being the result of strong motivation to work (valence) and a high expectancy for success because of their initial confidence.

Gurney's (1981) article deals with causal attributions and unemployment and has direct relevance to the present study. Unfortunately the article is not conceptually as clear as Gurney (1980b) which outlines the impact of unemployment on the psychosocial development of school leavers. For example, Gurney claims that the predictions from Jones and Davis (1965) correspondent inference theory and those from Kelley's covariation model lead to alternative expectations in relation to unemployment attributions. This is simply not so when care is taken in interpreting Kelley's theory in relation to self and other attribution. Gurney appears to have confused Kelley's consensus and distinctiveness variables, although given the lack of clarity in many of the secondary sources discussing the covariation model such misinterpretation is understandable.

The findings from Gurney's (1981) attribution studies were based on an eight and a twelve item attribution questionnaire. The attribution measures used by Gurney should perhaps be thought of as attitude questionnaires as they did not focus on attributions made to a particular event for a particular person, but on unemployment in general. It is doubtful that the attribution theories which are based on interpersonal and self perception relate clearly to such generalised attitudes. The quoted reliabilities were low ($\text{Alpha} = .442$ for the first 8-item version and $.54$ for the 12-item revised scale). However, this is not surprising if, as it seems, the reliabilities were calculated for the scale as a whole and not for separate attributional dimensions.

In Gurney's (1981) first study using the 8-item scale no significant differences were found in the attributions made by

the employed and unemployed group. When separate analyses were run for males and females, unemployed males blamed unemployment on external factors more than did employed males. Study two, a longitudinal study using the 12-item scale, showed that the unemployed group agreed less with the statement that work can be obtained by looking often and hard than they had while still at school. In addition, unemployed girls made attributions to their poor performance at the interview. Bigger changes were found among the employed group, with a tendency for the attributions about unemployment in general to be more internal, particularly among the working males, than was evident while still at school. Although Gurney did not discuss this in relation to the fundamental attribution error (to be outlined in Chapter Four), it does fit the phenomenon. While at school, being unemployed was still a possibility for many of the subjects, but those in the group who obtained jobs may subsequently have distanced themselves from their unemployed counterparts. Gurney found an insignificant .09 correlation between his questionnaire measure of attributions and self-esteem. This is not surprising as it appears that the correlation was based on responses to the attribution questions collapsed across internal and external factors thereby cancelling any potential relationship between self-esteem and causal attributions.

Although Gurney's study did not include a measure of locus of control a positive suggestion was made relating to the relationship between attributions and locus of control. "It may be worthwhile to explore the possibility that it is the particular combination of an internal attribution with an external locus of control which has the devastating effect on self-esteem reported among some unemployed" (Gurney, 1981, p. 14). As will be shown in Chapter Four much confusion has resulted from failure to distinguish between locus of control as a relatively stable personality variable and attributions which are made fleetingly to particular behaviours, and Gurney's suggestion begins to do this.

Furnham (1981) administered an attribution questionnaire similar to that of Feather and Davenport (1981) to 184 employed and 100 unemployed respondents. Factor analysis of the questionnaire pointed to three broad groups of causes: individualistic, societal and fatalistic. Unemployed respondents rated societal and fatalistic causes as more important than did the employed in the sample, while the employed saw a number of individualistic

causes as more important than did the unemployed. Both groups stressed individualist causes less than other causes. Despite these general findings, contradictory results were obtained on a number of individual items. As for Gurney's study, Furnham's (1981) questionnaire should be thought of as an attitude questionnaire rather than being concerned with attributions made for particular individuals about particular events.

The studies using questionnaires have attempted to examine what other factors are associated with causal attributions made about unemployment. From Gurney (1981) and Furnham (1981) we know that employed and unemployed subjects differ in their attitudes about the causes of unemployment. Feather and Davenport (1981) suggest a complex relationship between causal attribution and depressive affect and interpret their results in terms of a valence expectancy type model. As none of the studies have used a specific attribution theory as a basis for their research, the present study aims to do so.

4.0 Summary

There has been a marked increase in the publication of research into unemployment since 1979, but many studies lack conceptual and theoretical clarity. Kelvin (1980), Hayes and Nutman (1981), Warr (1982) and Warr and Parry (1982) have started to redress this balance by suggesting the theoretical frameworks which might help to guide research and pointing to the questions which should be addressed.

As a result of many of the studies a clearer picture is now available of which groups of people are most at risk from being unemployed. Most at risk are semi-skilled and unskilled workers (Hepworth, 1980), those unemployed with higher work involvement (Feather & Davenport, 1981; O'Brien & Kabanoff, 1979; Warr, 1981) and the unemployed unable to structure their time (Swinburne, 1981). Although a number of studies have examined the relationship of self-esteem and locus of control to unemployment, (Gurney, 1980a; Haines & Macky, 1982; Hartley, 1980a; O'Brien & Kabanoff, 1979; Tiffany et al, 1970) most have assumed that employment status would affect self-esteem and make individuals more external in their locus of control. It seems more likely that levels of self-esteem and locus of control might moderate the consequences of being unemployed.

Studies have also examined the causal attributions made by the unemployed using open descriptive questions (Christchurch Employment Advisory Committee Study of Unemployed Youth in Christchurch, 1979; Haines & Macky, 1982; Wilkinson, 1981) or more structured attribution questionnaires (Feather & Davenport, 1981; Furnham, 1981; Gurney, 1981). Gurney (1981) found sex differences on some of his attribution items. These studies have not made adequate use of the now growing body of attribution theory as a guide to their research and to aid the interpretation of their results.

Table 2.1 on page 7 provided a basis for conceptualising the variables used in the studies reviewed in this chapter in terms of their likelihood of reflecting the consequences of unemployment, or as moderating reactions to being out of work. Kelley and Michela (1980) outline a framework which places the cognitive attribution variables within a context of antecedents, attributions and consequences of attributions. Their framework, adapted for the present research so that it incorporates the variables outlined in Table 2.1, is introduced in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

KELLEY'S COVARIATION ATTRIBUTION THEORY AND WEINER'S CAUSAL CLASSIFICATION MODEL

1.0 Attribution theory

For effective interpersonal functioning it is important to understand our own behaviour and that of others. In our attempt to do this we often try to infer the causes of behaviour. Attribution theories suggest some of the rules which people use in inferring causes from the behaviour they observe in themselves and in others.

Heider (1958) was the first of the social psychologists to suggest the processes which we use in trying to understand what influences behaviour. Like Lewin with his equation of $B = f(P, E)$ and Murray's analysis of needs and press, Heider considered that behaviour is the result of an effective environmental force plus an effective personal force. The personal force in turn depends upon ability multiplied by effort or in Heider's (1958) terminology a "can" component multiplied by a "trying" component.

Subsequent theories have elaborated the rules which are used in making attributions about the causes of behaviour. The correspondent inference theory of Jones and Davis (1965) concentrates on dispositional or internal attributions. Kelley (1967, 1973), on the other hand, presents a more general covariation model which is able to be applied to attributions about one's own behaviour and that of others, and which deals with attributions to external as well as internal factors. The covariation model is so named because "an effect is attributed to the one of its possible causes with which, over time, it covaries" (Kelley, 1973, p. 108). Multiple observations of behaviour and normative information about the behaviour are necessary for the covariation model to apply. However, Kelley (1972a, 1972b and 1973) suggested an additional model, the causal schemata or configurational model, which deals with a situation where information from a single observation of behaviour is all that is available. The configurational model focusses on dispositional or internal attributions and it is therefore similar to the correspondent inference theory of Jones and Davis (1965).

Kelley's covariation model lends itself more readily to understanding the varied attributions made by people in response to unemployment than other attribution theories (Heider, 1958; Jones & Davis, 1965) which are less general. The covariation model also fits within the broader framework suggested by Kelley and Michela (1980) for integrating the varied antecedents and consequences of attributions. The structure which they suggest is outlined in Table 3.1 adapted for the variables relevant to the present research.

TABLE 3.1
Conceptual Framework after Kelley and Michela (1980)

ANTECEDENTS	ATTRIBUTIONS	CONSEQUENCES
<u>Information variables</u>		<u>Behavioural</u>
-Consensus	<u>For success and</u>	- job or not
-Distinctiveness	<u>failure to:</u>	at Time 2
-Consistency	-task difficulty	- behavioural
	-ability	intention
<u>Belief/ Motivation</u>	-luck	model
<u>Variables(personality)</u>	-effort	<u>Affective</u>
-Self-esteem		- life sat.
-Locus of control		- happiness
-Attributional biases		- Mental ill
-Work involvement		health
<u>Behavioural Variables</u>		
-No of jobs applied for		
-Length of unemployment		
<u>Demographic Variables</u>		
-Age		
-Sex		
-Years of education		
-Socio-economic status		
-Occupational level		

Note: For self attribution it is the perceived levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency which are important, some of the demographic and behavioural variables providing relatively more objective indices of the cognitive information variables

The primary focus of the present study is an examination of the validity of applying Kelley's (1967, 1973) covariation attribution model to unemployment. This model, which provides the predictions for the relationship between the information antecedent variables and the attribution variables in Table 3.1,

is explained below followed by a review of the relevant literature. Chapter Four then discusses the various biases, and reviews the literature linking the antecedent personality variables to the attributions and the attributions to consequences.

2.0 Kelley's covariation attribution model

Kelley (1967, 1973) suggests that three factors, consensus, distinctiveness and consistency influence the causes to which behaviour is attributed. Behaviour varies across people, entities (types of behaviour) and time. These provide the 'people', 'entities' and 'time/modality' dimensions in Kelley's cubic model outlined in Figure 3.1 (Kelley, 1973; Shaver, 1975).

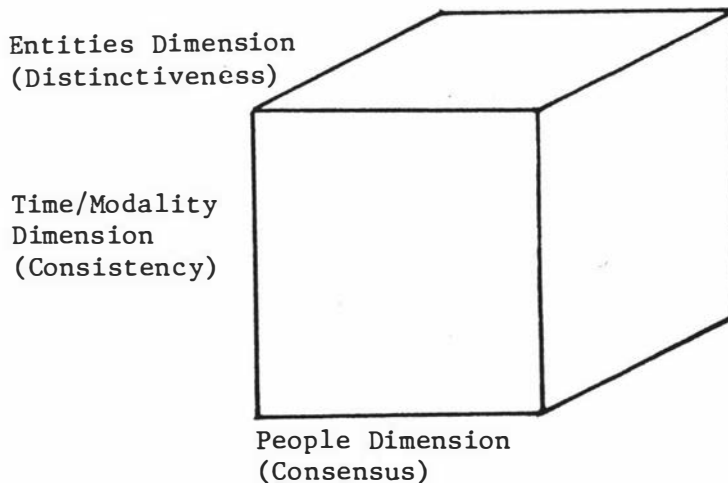


Figure 3.1. Kelley's covariation (cubic) attribution model.

1. Consensus is concerned with answering the question "Does everyone behave in the same way in this situation?" This relates to the extent to which others on the "people" dimension demonstrate the same behaviour.
2. Distinctiveness depends on the answer to the question "Is the behaviour different on other related tasks?" Distinctiveness refers to the generality across other entities or behaviours.
3. Consistency is concerned with answering the question "Is the behaviour similar across occasions - the time and modality dimension?"

Kelley's (1967, 1973) theory makes specific predictions regarding the influence of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency information on causal attributions. If the answers to the above questions are "no", "no" and "yes" respectively, (low consensus, low distinctiveness and high consistency) then the behaviour is more likely to be attributed to some stable attribute or characteristic within the person, such as ability or personality. A combination of three "yes" answers to the above questions, (high consensus, high distinctiveness and high consistency) will result in attributions to an external stable factor. Any combination involving a "yes" answer to question two above (high distinctiveness) and a "no" answer to question three (low consistency) will lead to an unstable or circumstantial attribution. Although the evidence is far from clear, the theory suggests that unstable or circumstantial attributions are also likely to follow low consensus. These predictions from the model, summarised in Table 3.2, apply both to the attributions made about the behaviour of others and one's own behaviour.

TABLE 3.2
Summary predictions from Kelley's
covariation attribution theory

<u>Attributions to</u> <u>the person</u> (stable internal)	<u>Attributions to the</u> <u>external situation</u> (stable external)
Low consensus, low distinctiveness and high consistency LLH 1	High consensus, high distinctiveness and high consistency HHH
<u>Attributions to a</u> <u>particular circumstance</u> (Unstable) Low consistency ?HL 2	

Note 1 The abbreviations for levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency are widely used in the literature (L=low,H=high), and when used in this thesis they are always presented with consensus first, distinctiveness second and consistency third.

Note 2 A "?" is used when the predictions from Kelley's theory are not clear.

Kelley (1967) developed an analysis of variance analogy for the model, the assumption being that people in general use a naive version of the statistical method of analysis of variance when making causal attributions. This implies that consensus, distinctiveness and consistency information influence attributions independently (main effects) as well as by interacting as illustrated in Table 3.2 above.

Pruitt and Insko (1980) point out that not all the possible relationships between the elements (people, entities and time/modality) in Kelley's cubic model are included. For example, Kelley does not discuss the influence of comparing others' behaviour on other entities --comparison behaviour consensus. Incorporating this new dimension Pruitt and Insko (1980) suggest that external stable attributions should be greater with high target-behaviour consensus, high distinctiveness, high consistency and high comparison behaviour consensus, an HHHH pattern with the new dimension being positioned last. Internal stable attributions should be greater with low target-behaviour consensus, low distinctiveness, high consistency and low comparison-behaviour consensus, an LLHL pattern. Comparison behaviour consensus does not influence unstable attributions.

Kelley's covariation model has been applied to a wide variety of behaviours (self or other attribution, with attributions being made about emotional reactions to objects, behaviours, interpersonal events etc.). It is not surprising therefore that there have been varied interpretations of the relationship between consensus, distinctiveness and consistency on the one hand, and the people, entities and time/modality dimensions outlined in Figure 3.1, on the other. Semin (1980) in his criticism of attribution theory points to this as a weakness in Kelley's theory. Kelley's model "does not specify how an attributor identifies which part of the environment is 'entity', 'situation', or 'person', or how an attributor knows to which dimensions the criteria of distinctiveness, consistency and consensus should be applied" (p. 294).

In light of this, it is important to clearly outline the interpretation of Kelley's model in relation to unemployment. The next section provides this interpretation which is explored more fully in Hesketh (1982a).

3.0 Kelley's covariation model applied to unemployment

In order to ensure a sensible use of the model it is particularly important to bear in mind the focus of the application. In the present research the comparison of the individual's success or failure in job seeking with that of a reference group (consensus) will fall on the 'persons' dimension. Comparing job seeking behaviour to other work related skills (distinctiveness) will comprise the 'entity' dimension. Previous success and failure in job seeking (consistency) will fall on the 'time/modality' dimension.

Given the above interpretation of Kelley's theory, examples of the different levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency in relation to unemployment are illustrated below.

If a person is the only one who is unemployed then this represents low consensus, while high consensus is represented by many individuals being unemployed. High distinctiveness for failure to get a job would be represented by the person having strong work related skills, while low distinctiveness would be represented by the individual having weak work related skills. If the person has a history of failure in job seeking this represents high consistency for failure, while a history of previous successes in job seeking would represent low consistency for failure.

Applying Kelley's theory to unemployment we would predict that self-blame for being unemployed is more likely when few others are out of work, when one has weak work related skills and a history of unsuccessful attempts at job seeking (LLH). External societal factors are likely to be blamed when many others are out of work, when one has strong work related skills, and when numerous attempts to find a job have been unsuccessful (HHH). Attributions would be made to circumstantial or unstable factors when other related skills are strong and when the failure experience associated with job seeking is relatively new (HL). Although the theoretical relationship of consensus to unstable attributions is less clear, the most frequent interpretation suggests that these would also be strong when few others are out of work.

Unemployment illustration of the extension to Kelley's model.

An internal stable attribution is made if the individual is the only person unemployed (low consensus) and if they show similar unsuccessful behaviour on other activities (low distinctiveness). The importance of the reference or comparison group is implied in the consensus dimension but Pruitt and Insko (1980) suggest that the performance of one's reference group on other related activities will also influence the role of distinctiveness in determining the causal attribution. For example, the influence of low distinctiveness on an internal attribution will be weakened if one's reference group also shows a similar lack of success on other work related skills (high comparison behaviour consensus). Alternatively, an ability attribution would be enhanced by one's reference group having strong work related skills (low comparison behaviour consensus for one's own weak work related skills). As stated by Pruitt and Insko (1980) "low comparison object (behaviour) consensus, therefore decreases the assumed validity of a person's judgment and increases person attributions" (p. 41).

4.0 Weiner's causal classification and unemployment examples

Weiner (1974) outlined a theoretically satisfying causal classification system which has been used extensively in the research relating attribution theory to achievement motivation. The basis for this lies in Heider's (1958) naive analysis of action, but the two dimensional nature, and the focus which it provides for research into the consequences of attributions is more useful than the simpler three category system found in earlier attribution research. The division of the circumstance category into internal unstable and external unstable factors is supported by Pruitt and Insko (1980) who found that subjects did distinguish between the two categories.

Weiner's (1974) two dimensional system is presented in Table 3.3 with unemployment examples to illustrate it.

TABLE 3.3

Weiner's two way classification of
attributional causes and predictions
from Kelley's model

	INTERNAL	EXTERNAL
STABLE	ability or personality (low consensus, low distinctiveness, high consistency LLH) ₁	availability of jobs - task difficulty (high consensus, high distinctiveness, high consistency HHH)
UNSTABLE	effort made to find a job (low consensus(?) high distinctiveness low consistency ?HL LHL (?)	luck or chance (high consensus(?), high distinctiveness and low consistency ?HL HHL (?)

Note 1 The combinations of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency which Kelley's theory predicts should lead to each of these attributions is given in brackets in each quadrant. The research underlying these predictions will be discussed in the next section. The (?) refers to uncertainty surrounding particular predictions.

More recently, however, the range of causal categories used has been expanded by Weiner (1979), Elig and Frieze (1979), and by a series of researchers testing Abramson and Seligman's (1978) reformulated learned helplessness model. In light of this it is not surprising that Meyer (1980) has specifically investigated what attributional dimensions are used when subjects' attributions are not constrained by preconceived dimensions. Using factor analysis, a three factor structure for the causal attributions made by the subjects was identified, corresponding to the stable - unstable, internal - external categories of Weiner, and to a third dimension "controllable-uncontrollable" which has been included in the Weiner model in recent years. In their study they found some confusion concerning the locus of luck, as certain subjects perceived it as an internal cause, as though luck belonged to the individual. In general though, results were interpreted as supporting Weiner's model. Little other research has been undertaken using the newer intentionality dimension and by including it the orthogonality of the dimensions is lost (Harvey & Weary, 1981). For this reason, only the original two dimensional model will be used in the present research.

Research pertaining to the relationship between Kelley's covariation model and Weiner's simple two by two causal classification is discussed in the next section.

5.0 Research on Kelley's covariation model and Weiner's causal classification

Early support for Kelley's covariation model was derived mainly from analogue laboratory based research using a minimum information vignette and questionnaire format (Frieze & Weiner, 1971; McArthur, 1972; Orvis, Cunningham & Kelley, 1975). These and other studies based on similar methodology do provide relatively strong evidence in favour of Kelley's theory. They have been widely quoted and reviewed (Kelley & Michela, 1980; Schneider, Hastorf & Ellsworth, 1979). In particular these studies have provided support for Kelley's predictions about the attributions to ability and task difficulty, the stable factors, although the influence of consensus is often weak.

McArthur (1972) found that distinctiveness information had the greatest effect on attributions made to the person (21.72%), followed by consistency information (15.76%), with consensus information having the smallest influence (6.25% of the total variance), all in the directions predicted from Kelley's theory. There were complex interactions suggesting clearly that distinctiveness had the predominant influence. Stimulus (external stable) attributions resulted from high distinctiveness (12.12%), high consistency (5.88%) and high consensus (5.17%). Again distinctiveness accounted for most of the variance, with consensus having the smallest influence. Higher order interactions suggested that consensus only influenced the stimulus attributions when paired with high distinctiveness. In McArthur's research circumstance (unstable) attributions were greater under low than high consistency (41.36%) and with high than low distinctiveness (7.58%). Consensus had little effect.

McArthur and other attribution theorists (Kelley, 1967; Orvis et al 1975) classified all unstable causes under circumstances, so that differentiated predictions to effort and luck were not tested. This has caused some confusion in attempts to map Kelley's theory onto Weiner's two dimensional model. Kelley (1973) interpreted the circumstance category to include both the

internal and the external unstable factors. He states that "particular circumstances' are unstable and fleeting, namely, bad luck and lack of effort" (p. 111).

Like McArthur (1972), Orvis et al (1975) interpreted the theory to predict circumstantial or unstable attributions from low consistency and high distinctiveness, to which they added low consensus.

Stevens and Jones (1976) have a different and somewhat confused interpretation of the relationship between Weiner's classification and the three earlier causal attribution categories.

"Weiner et.al.'s four variables are easily mapped into Kelley's three attributional loci: person (ability and effort), stimulus (task difficulty) and circumstance (luck)."

(Stevens & Jones, 1976, p. 810).

Here we see that effort, sometimes classified as an unstable factor is classified under Kelley's personal (internal stable) factor. Despite this their hypotheses grouped luck and effort together as they predicted that attributions to both effort and luck were likely to be associated with low consistency primarily, and also low consensus and high distinctiveness. The lack of clarity in their handling of the relationship of consensus to the unstable factors reflects the confusion about this particular aspect of Kelley's theory.

Orvis et al (1975) tested Kelley's theory in a slightly different way. They assumed that subjects would make a logically consistent attribution when incomplete consensus, distinctiveness and consistency information was provided. The only attribution predicted from high consensus is an external stable (stimulus) attribution. The sole attribution relating to low distinctiveness is an internal stable (personal) attribution. Low consistency fits only an unstable (circumstantial) attribution. For example, it was hypothesised that if subjects were given high consensus information they would project the remaining levels of each of the other dimensions (high distinctiveness and high consistency) to ensure an attribution which would be compatible with external stable factors. The appropriate projections would also occur when given low distinctiveness information, and low consistency information only.

Results from the study supported their hypotheses as subjects did accurately infer the remaining levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency in the key cells. Using their results as a more direct test of Kelley's theory Orvis et al (1975) found that high consensus always produced stimulus (or external stable) attributions, low distinctiveness always produced a personal (or an internal stable) attribution and low consistency always produced a circumstantial (unstable) attribution. However, the addition of other information seemed to decrease the attributions, not increase them. For example, external stable attributions were less frequent with the HHH pattern than they were with high consensus on its own. Such a finding does throw some doubt on the analysis of variance interpretation of Kelley's theory which stresses that consensus, distinctiveness and consistency interact in influencing the attributions. This contrasts with the results from Pruitt and Insko (1980) who found support for the predicted interaction of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency in influencing attributions as well as for the main effects.

Studies employing a different methodology have also been used to test Kelley's covariation model.

In an interesting twist to Kelley's theory Zuckerman and Mann (1979) examined the impact of causal attributions on estimates of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency. Their hypotheses were the obverse of those embodied in Kelley's covariation model except that the basis for their predictions relating to unstable attributions is not clear. In contrast with other theorists they predicted that unstable attributions would lead to high consensus and low distinctiveness estimates. Perhaps not surprisingly their results indicated a tendency for the reverse, namely low consensus and high distinctiveness estimates from unstable attributions. The results relating to the stable factors were directly supportive of the usual predictions for Kelley's theory. Interestingly, their subjects made inflated consensus estimates which the authors felt may have been the result of the tendency in self attribution to make external attributions (fundamental attribution error -- see Chapter Four).

In a series of experiments Major (1980) examined what information subjects freely sought when making causal

attributions in an attempt to assess whether the three variables in Kelley's theory are comprehensive. The literature which Major reviewed suggested that there may have been differences between the preferences which subjects had for information acquisition and those which they had for information utilisation. It was found that subjects made attributions long before seeking all the available information. Consistency information was sought first in both studies, but at the close of the search there were no differences in the type of information being sought.

The main effects from both Major's (1980) experiments supported Kelley's primary predictions regarding distinctiveness (low distinctiveness relating to an internal stable attribution), but only the first experiment supported a relationship between high consensus and external stable attributions. This accords with McArthur's (1972, 1976) finding regarding the relatively weak role of consensus. Consistency failed to support Kelley's predictions in either study.

Like Major (1980), Orvis et al (1975) found a bias favouring high consistency inferences. Where information was ambiguous there was a greater tendency to infer high consistency than either high distinctiveness or low consensus. If there is a bias against perceiving low consistency it would help to account for the mixed results which have been obtained in relation to circumstantial (or unstable) attributions. As one of the aims of interpersonal perception is to render the interpersonal world more predictable, it is understandable that there is a preference for inferring consistency. Consistency lends itself to predictability more readily than does inconsistency.

Hansen (1980) has similarly studied the procedures used by subjects in searching for consensus, distinctiveness and consistency information. Subjects appeared to take a path of least resistance ("cognitive economy") and selected consensus, distinctiveness or consistency information in accordance with their preconceived attributional biases.

The findings of Orvis et al (1975), Major (1980) and Hansen (1980) point to the role of bias in the perception of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency, which probably accounts for Kelley and Michela's (1980) recommendation that the covariation principle should apply to perceived covariation rather than objective levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency.

The framework suggested by Kelley and Michela (1980) given at the start of this chapter reminds us that other factors such as biases influence attributions. Support for Kelley's theory is to be expected where the motivational biases and conflicting information or beliefs can be controlled. The clearest threat to Kelley's covariation model arises out of the research of Stevens and Jones (1976) which pointed to the distorting influence of the motivational bias for success and failure. It should be stressed that self attribution was tested in their study.

Collapsing across success and failure, Stevens and Jones (1976) found significant main effects in the reverse direction to that predicted from Kelley's model for consistency on task difficulty and for distinctiveness on luck. Significantly stronger attributions were made to ability and effort for success than for failure, while stronger luck attributions were made for failure than for success. When separating responses to success and failure, more support was found for Kelley's predictions in the success condition.

Kelley and Michela (1980) point out that the results from Stevens and Jones (1976) relate only to self attributions, and comparison with uninvolved observers' attributions would have been instructive. To test Kelley's theory it may be necessary to control for success and failure.

A finding which emerged from earlier studies such as that of McArthur (1972) was the weak role of consensus. However, Ruble and Feldman (1976) and Zuckerman (1978) suggest that this might well have been an artifact of the order of presentation of consensus information in much of the laboratory based research. Such an interpretation is supported by Kassin (1979) in his review of relevant research. Primacy and recency effects are important (Warr & Knapper, 1968). Ways of overcoming the primacy effect is to present case information in a logical sequence, to increase the length of the case information or to make it more complex as was done by Pruitt and Insko (1980).

"If the material is very simple, it may be that being received first is the important characteristic. If the material has to be recalled it may be that coming last is what counts. But in many cases where complex stimulus material is studied the answer is far from obvious."

(Warr & Knapper, 1968, p. 285)

As for success and failure, order effects must be controlled if an analysis of variance approach is to be used (e.g. Pruitt & Insko, 1980; Stevens & Jones, 1976) to assess the relative contribution of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency to causal attributions in laboratory research.

6.0 Summary

The major findings from McArthur's (1972) test of Kelley's model and the Orvis et al (1975) study have been replicated by Ruble and Feldman (1976), Cordray and Shaw (1978) and by Zuckerman (1978) using minimum information vignette methodology. In addition the research of Read and Stephan, (1979) and Pruitt and Insko, (1980) provides support for the predicted interactions and for the main effects. Low distinctiveness results in ability attributions, while high distinctiveness contributes to task difficulty, luck and effort attributions. High consistency produces stable attributions while low consistency produces unstable attributions. (Major (1980) however, did not find support for the role of consistency).

Among the stable attributions, the influence of consensus lies along the internal external dimension, high consensus resulting in an external stable attribution while low consensus results in an internal stable attribution. The role of consensus in influencing unstable attributions is unclear, although low consensus is usually thought to produce circumstantial (unstable) attributions. Knowing that effort is internal and unstable and that luck is external and unstable, logically one might predict that high rather than low consensus would produce a luck attribution, while low rather than high consensus would be more likely to result in an effort attribution. Unfortunately the lack of clarity in the interpretation of this aspect of Kelley's theory in the literature reviewed above (McArthur, 1972; Orvis et al, 1975; Stevens & Jones, 1976) means that this prediction for consensus must be considered tentative. The role of consensus is further confused by its sensitivity to order effects (Kassin,

1979; Ruble & Feldman, 1976; Zuckerman, 1978).

The importance of biases when testing Kelley's theory is indicated by the studies employing a different methodology (Zuckerman & Mann, 1979), by those examining what information subjects use in making attributions (Hansen, 1980; Major, 1980) and by applying the theory to attributions for success and failure (Stevens & Jones, 1976). These attributional biases are discussed more fully in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANTECEDENTS AND CONSEQUENCES OF ATTRIBUTIONS MADE ABOUT SUCCESS AND FAILURE IN JOB SEEKING

Biases and errors have been the subject of much research in the field of attribution theory. This chapter explores the manner in which these biases operate and discusses the relationship between the personality variables, the information antecedent variables, the attributions and the consequences of the attributions (See Table 3.1 on page 22).

1.0 Fundamental Attribution Error

Jones (1979) provides an excellent discussion of the tendency which exists for observers to over-emphasise internal causes while actors see their behaviour as determined by external factors. This fundamental attribution error was demonstrated in McArthur's (1972) classic study and has been reported in other attribution research reviewed by Zuckerman (1979). Jones and Nisbett (1972) suggest that the discrepant attributions arise because actors know the history of their own behaviour and they are therefore more likely to see it as distinctive and similar to that of others than are observers. Observers, in their search for predictability in others, see behaviour as unique and over-representative of the person (low consensus and low distinctiveness) and they, in turn, stress internal causes. Most studies testing the fundamental attribution error have done so using neutral behaviour which does not have motivational consequences for the individual.

More recently some doubt has been thrown on the generality of the fundamental attribution error. Sumpton and Gregson (1981) found that the under-estimation of situational influences only occurred in areas directly related to the experimental task in question in the laboratory. They suggest that some of the robust "fundamental attribution error" findings are artifacts of laboratory situations. These and other contradictory findings have prompted a call for research into the circumstances surrounding the fundamental attribution error rather than merely testing for its existence (Harvey & Weary, 1981). In addition it would seem important to examine the contradictions between the fundamental attribution error and other attributional biases.

Despite the above criticisms, the frequency with which the fundamental attribution error has been found (Zuckerman, 1979) suggests that a similar phenomenon may be observed in the attributions made about unemployment; observers stressing internal factors, while the unemployed themselves favour external explanations. The accuracy of the attributions may be less important than the consequences for the unemployed of such a bias. The stereotyped "dole bludger" image may be in part a function of the fundamental attribution error.

2.0 Differences in attributions for success and failure

The study by Stevens and Jones (1976), reviewed in Chapter Three, illustrates the tendency which exists for failure to be attributed to external factors and success to be attributed internally. This bias, variously referred to as the success failure, ego-defensive or self-serving attributional bias, has received extensive attention in the literature and has been the subject of a number of reviews (Arkin, Cooper & Kolditz, 1980; Bradley, 1978; Miller & Ross, 1975; Zuckerman, 1979). That differences in the attributions made for success and failure exist is not questioned, but the interpretation of the meaning of these differences is.

The ego-defensive view of the bias is presented by Arkin et al (1980), Bradley (1978), Stephan, Bernstein, Stephan and Davis (1979) and Zuckerman (1979). It is argued that there are distinct advantages to the individual in taking personal credit for success and attributing failure externally as this can serve to enhance and maintain self-esteem. Self attribution research reviewed by these authors presents compelling support for their interpretation. However, if the bias was purely ego-defensive one would not expect to observe it in attributions made about the behaviour of others. Kelley and Michela (1980) reviewed 12 studies involving attributions made about the success and failure of a person not known to the attributor, or of people in general (other attribution). They found that nine of the twelve studies supported stronger internal attributions for success than for failure, two studies were inconclusive while only one study showed the reverse. This review can only be seen as providing support for the ego-defensive interpretation of the attributional bias for success and failure if one assumes that the observer identified with the stimulus person involved.

Miller and Ross (1975), Ross (1977) and Miller (1978) offer an information processing interpretation of the bias, with expected results being attributed to internal factors and unexpected results to external factors. They suggest that individuals expect success more than failure and that more attention is paid to response outcome relations for success than for failure. This, according to the information processing interpretation, accounts for the discrepant attributions for success and failure. It could be argued that their view simply shifts the motivational component from the attributions to the expectations, self-esteem being maintained through expecting success. In accordance with the view presented in Chapter Two it might be better to think of self-esteem having an antecedent role. Rather than the success failure bias enhancing self-esteem, self-esteem would influence the extent to which success or failure were expected thereby playing an antecedent or moderating role in the bias.

Zuckerman (1979) summarises the research relating to expectancies. Expected outcomes are attributed to ability and unexpected outcomes are attributed to luck. This finding spans both the internal external dimension and the stable unstable dimension in Weiner's two dimensional model reviewed in Chapter Three. However, the research of Weiner, Nierenberg and Goldstein (1976), and other studies reviewed by Kelley and Michela (1980), suggest that in relation to expectancies it is the stable unstable dimension which is important, expected outcomes being attributed to stable factors, while unexpected outcomes are attributed to unstable factors.

There are certain variables which ~~inter~~act with the success failure bias. In particular Zuckerman (1979) and Kelley and Michela (1980) review the research on sex differences which suggest that for self attribution the success failure bias may be less marked among the females than among male subjects. Females are less likely to attribute failure externally and success internally than their male counterparts. Females may attribute failure to ability because they have a higher expectancy for failure than males. On the other hand, males are more likely to expect success, so that it will be attributed to ability (Feather & Simon, 1975). As will be shown in the next section, personality variables such as self-esteem and locus of control also relate to attributional biases, primarily through their influence on expectancies. The role of expectancy in the information processing interpretation of the success failure bias

has the power to explain the varied influences on attributions. In future it may well be incorporated into Kelley's covariation model with consensus, distinctiveness and consistency information, thereby providing a mechanism for explaining success failure biases.

Whatever explanation is accepted for the success failure bias, the bias itself is likely to be found in the laboratory based test of Kelley's covariation model as well as in the field research. To the extent that the university students identify with the unemployed, success failure biases similar to those found in Stevens and Jones (1976) are likely to emerge. Warr and Knapper (1968, p. 45) cite evidence which supports the notion that the greater the similarity between the person being perceived and the perceiver, the more able is the perceiver to use his or her own frame of reference.

The literature has been surprisingly silent about the conflicting predictions arising from the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias. This may be because the fundamental attribution error has not been tested in studies involving both success and failure. The success failure bias and the fundamental attribution error make the same predictions for attributions made about the success of others, but opposite predictions for the attributions made about the failure of others. For self attributions, the same predictions are made for failure, but opposite predictions for success. The joint influence of these two biases will be examined in both the laboratory study and the field research.

3.0 Antecedent influence of the personality variables on causal attributions

3.1 Self-esteem

Much of the theorising about self-esteem arises from the classic work of Adler (1927), Rogers (1951) and Sullivan (1953). Brockner and Hulton (1978) summarise and refer to wide ranging research which has established that low self-esteem is associated with "many negative emotional and behavioural consequences" (p. 565). They argue that people low in self-esteem set lower expectations for themselves leading to lower effort expenditure.

Coopersmith (1967) defines self-esteem as "the evaluation which

the individual makes and customarily maintains with regard to himself: it expresses an attitude of approval or disapproval, and indicates the extent to which the individual believes himself to be capable, significant, successful and worthy." (p. 4). The Coopersmith measure of self-esteem provides an estimate of relatively enduring general self-esteem, not subject to transitory fluctuations. The measure focusses on achievement and family expectations.

As discussed in the previous section, expected outcomes are attributed to ability. Unexpected outcomes are attributed to unstable factors in general (Weiner et al, 1976) or more specifically to luck (Valle & Frieze, 1976; Zuckerman, 1979) or effort (McMahan, 1973, Shrauger & Osberg, 1980). The work of Shrauger and Osberg (1980) provides insight into the relationship between attributions and self-esteem. They found that low self-esteem subjects with a tendency to expect failure attributed expected outcomes more to ability and unexpected outcomes more to effort. High self-esteem subjects attributed success to ability and failure to effort regardless of prior expectations. This means that "since low self-esteem subjects may often be in situations in which success is unexpected there may be relatively few chances for them to enhance their self-esteem by seeing themselves as possessing additional positive attributes." (Shrauger & Osberg, 1980, p. 376.) High self-esteem subjects, in turn are more likely to be in situations where success is expected.

Based on Shrauger and Osberg (1980) primarily, and on other research relating expectancies to attributions, we might hypothesise that high self-esteem subjects will attribute success to ability (stable internal factor) while failure will be attributed to lack of effort (internal unstable factor). Low self-esteem subjects might expect to fail so that failure will be attributed to ability (an internal stable factor). Unexpected success for low self-esteem subjects will be attributed to effort or luck (unstable factors). No apriori predictions can be made for stronger attributions to effort or luck for success among the low self-esteem group.

Consistent with Kelley's covariation model and with the antecedent role of self-esteem, high self-esteem subjects who attribute failure to lack of effort will also perceive low consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency for their

failure. Low self-esteem subjects who attribute their failure to lack of ability will perceive low consensus, low distinctiveness and high consistency for their failure. As no empirical basis exists for predicting the relationship of self-esteem to consensus, distinctiveness and consistency these are based on a logical extension of the known relationship of the information variables to causal attributions (Kelley's model) and on the predicted relationships between self-esteem and causal attributions.

Accepting Coopersmith's (1967) view, self-esteem can be thought of as a relatively stable attribute resulting from childhood and adolescent experiences. As such it is likely to be an antecedent of perceived levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency and of causal attributions. In addition it is likely to influence reactions to joblessness rather than to reflect the consequences of being unemployed, unless the unemployment is severe and prolonged.

3.2 Locus of control

Rotter (1966) outlined a series of experiments showing how people differed in their generalised expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcements, and summarised the development of the Rotter I-E scale. Research using this and other scales, reviewed by Lefcourt (1966), pointed to the relationship of locus of control to ethnic groups, social class and sex. American negroes, lower social classes and females are more external. Locus of control also predicts performance in learning situations and on achievement related tasks (Coleman et al, 1966).

Rotter (1975) suggests that some subjects may express externality on the locus of control measure as a defense or rationalisation for expected failure. He labels these subjects defensive externals, and distinguishes them from congruent externals.

Wright, Holman, Steele and Silverstein (1980) examined the role of defensive externality in locus of control and mastery in a field study. Mastery was defined in terms of the subjects' mastery of an incentive programme in a residential reformatory. Theoretically defensive externals were defined as subjects with a high external locus of control, who made defensive attributions following failure, who valued success and who achieved greater

mastery than non-defensive externals. Defensive externals also had lower expectations for success than internals. Wright et al's operational definition of defensive externals is not as clear as their theoretical definition and relies on a rather tenuous argument that interpersonal trust scores would differentiate defensive from congruent externals. To have used attributions as a means of defining defensive externals would have resulted in circularity as attributions were the dependent measure in their study.

Wright et al (1980) found that internals attributed their success more to ability and less to luck, fate and powerful others than did externals. However, contrary to their predictions, defensive externals (using the interpersonal trust scale as a moderator) attributed their failure to lack of ability and effort more than did congruent externals. The nature of the sample must be borne in mind. Most other studies have used college students who, Rotter (1975) suggests, have learned the value of defensive externality for purposes of attributing failure externally. A group of offenders, usually from disadvantaged homes, would be more likely to endorse external items because of a general lack of control over events in their past. The interpersonal trust scale may well tap a self-concept or self-esteem dimension in such a group, rather than defensiveness. The results from Wright et al's study fit the idea put forward by Gurney (1981) that subjects with an external locus of control but making internal attributions for failure are perhaps more at risk.

The study by Wright et al (1980) is a welcome change involving field research and addressing itself to some of the more subtle aspects of attribution theory and locus of control. However, it fails to differentiate between generalised and specific expectancies, a point which Rotter (1975) stressed. Expectancies for a particular situation are made up of specific experiences relevant to that situation (one can think of the attribution variables being important here) and experiences in a wide range of other situations that the person perceives as having some similarity (the generalised expectancy such as locus of control).

Rotter's (1966) social learning theory is a personality theory and as such examines enduring traits or characteristics within the individual rather than specific attributional behavioural outcomes. Broedling (1975) has made a similar point in discussing the relationship between locus of control and Vroom's (1964)

expectancy theory. "I-E is conceived of as a relatively enduring, stable personality trait, while instrumentality is conceived of as a perception based primarily on a person's current job situation" (Broedling, 1975, p 66). Despite this clear conceptual difference between Rotter's locus of control concept and specific expectancies or causal attributions, the distinctions do blur at an operational level, partly because of the similarity of the wording in locus of control measures to that used for causal attribution questions.

An analysis of the items in Rotter's (1966) locus of control scale indicates that these span the diagonal of Weiner's two dimensional causal classification given on page 28. A high internal locus of control score is obtained through endorsing items which tend to fit into Weiner's stable internal attribution category (ability) while a high external locus of control score is obtained through endorsing items which fit into the external unstable attribution category (luck or chance). This latter is particularly so for the James 11 item scale used in the present research (see Robinson and Shaver, 1973). Weiner et al (1976) argue that it is the stable unstable dimension, not the internal external dimension which relates to expectancies for success. They criticise Rotter's expectancy based locus of control concept for failing to include a stability dimension. However, if we assume that the locus of control scale (not the concept) does cut across the diagonal in Weiner's model, then the scale is in fact measuring an internal stable versus an external unstable, and therefore uncontrollable, locus of control.

As for self-esteem, the link between locus of control and attributions may lie in expectancies. Where there is a perception of control over events (internal locus of control) outcomes may be expected. Expected outcomes tend to be attributed to ability and unexpected outcomes to luck (Zuckerman, 1979). With an external locus of control, events may not be perceived to be controllable, and attributing failure to lack of ability and success to luck is compatible with this.

Rotter's social learning theory can explain how a generalised expectancy in the form of a bias for ability attributions (internal locus of control) or luck attributions (external locus of control) can be developed. Locus of control, like self-esteem, is more likely to influence reactions to unemployment than to be influenced by being out of work.

3.3 The combined influence of self-esteem and locus of control on causal attributions

Self-esteem^{III} and locus of control are moderately correlated (-.24 to -.30), those with high self-esteem tending to have an internal locus of control (Bhagat & Chassie, 1978; Kishor, 1981). However, conceptually the measures are distinct and they do have unique variance justifying the inclusion of both variables. Research has not examined the combined influence of self-esteem and locus of control on causal attributions. This will be done in the present study.

Subjects with an internal locus of control and high self-esteem will have a generalised expectancy to make internal stable attributions, but because of their high self-esteem, failure will be attributed to lack of effort. Subjects with an external locus of control and low self-esteem, will have a generalised expectancy for luck attributions, but as failure will be expected it will be attributed to lack of ability. Success for the low self-esteem, external locus of control group will be unexpected and will be attributed to luck or following Shrouger and Osberg (1980), to effort. This may represent the group which Gurney (1981) suggested were at risk.

4.0 Relationship of information antecedents to other antecedents of attributions

The information variables in Kelley's model (consensus, distinctiveness and consistency) provide a picture of an individual's cognitive representation of their situation compared with that of others. As such they will relate to demographic and behavioural variables. Perceived levels of consensus are likely to depend upon the publicised demographic picture of the unemployed. Distinctiveness will depend in part on education level and previous work history. Perceived consistency will be influenced by length of unemployment and the number of job applications made. The relationship of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency to the demographic and behavioural variables can provide an indication of the validity of the measures of the information variables.

There is no a priori empirical research from which to predict the relationship between the personality variables and the antecedent

information variables. Such relationships can only be deduced logically. However, consistent with the view that the personality variables are relatively stable it is likely that they will have an antecedent influence on perceived levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency as well as on the causal attributions.

5.0 Consequences of attributions

The model presented on page 22 focusses on antecedents, attributions and the consequences of attributions. It is particularly important to examine what the outcomes are for the unemployed of the different causal explanations they make for themselves.

5.1 Consequences on the behavioural level

A theme emerging from the literature reviewed in this chapter is the important influence of expectancies for success and failure on causal attributions. Expected outcomes are attributed to stable factors (usually ability) while unexpected outcomes are attributed to unstable factors. The personality variables help to explain individual differences in expectancies for success and failure.

Future expectancies are dependent upon whether attributions are made to stable or unstable causes. Success attributed to a stable factor will lead to future expectations for success, while success attributed to an unstable factor does not guarantee future success. Similarly failure attributed to a stable factor (ability) would lead to future expectancies for failure while attributing failure to an unstable factor leaves open the possibility of success in the future (Anderson & Jennings, 1980).

It is these ideas which underlie the attribution based models of achievement motivation put forward by Weiner (1974, 1980), Deiner and Dweck (1978) and others. They also relate to the motivation theories of Vroom (1964) and Azjen and Fishbein (1972 & 1980). If attributions influence future expectancies we can assume that expectancies for future success will be higher when failure is attributed to lack of effort and success to ability. To the extent that expectancy relates to actual behaviours, attributions which maximise expectancy for future success are likely to

predict the behavioural outcome of obtaining or not obtaining a job. These predictions are based on the expectancy type motivation theories (Azjen and Fishbein, 1972 & 1980; Vroom, 1964).

5.2 Consequences on the affective level

Weiner, Russell and Lerman (1979) summarise the predicted affective responses associated with various attributions made for success and failure. Ability attributions for success, for example, result in feelings of competence and confidence whereas ability attributions for failure evoke feelings of incompetence. Effort attributions for success result in feelings of activation and augmentation, while questionably they suggest that attributing failure to lack of effort results in shame and guilt. Attributions to luck produce a surprise reaction. Attributing one's success to others (perhaps similar to task ease) results in feelings of gratitude, while attributing one's failure to others evokes feelings of aggression. They tested these affective responses using a critical incident technique, which they acknowledge may have resulted in distortions in perceptions of both the attributions made (success failure bias) and the accompanying emotions.

In a second experiment they were able to show that knowledge of an actor's emotions resulted in the appropriate inferences about the actor's causal attributions, particularly along the internal external dimension. For example, if an actor was presented as feeling incompetent, inadequate or panicked, the highest attribution inferred was lack of ability. If they felt astonished, luck was the highest attribution.

Covington and Omelich (1979) examined the hypothesis that attributing failure to lack of effort resulted in shame while attributing failure to lack of ability would not. Their results in fact, showed that attributing failure to lack of effort decreased rather than increased shame, while attributing failure to lack of ability increased rather than decreased shame. Nicholls (1976) obtained a similar result. On the other hand, success attributed to ability is valued more highly than success attributed to effort.

Attributions along the stable unstable dimension affect future expectations (Anderson & Jennings, 1980). Well-being and absence

of minor psychiatric symptoms are likely to be associated with expectations for future success, while expectations for future failure to get a job are likely to have negative affective consequences. Positive well-being should therefore be associated with ability attributions for success and lack of effort attributions for failure. Negative well-being would be associated with ability attributions for failure and external attributions for success.

6.0 General summary.

The literature reviewed in this chapter indicates that people are not always as logical in their search for causal explanations as Kelley's model might suggest. For self attributions there is a tendency to over-emphasise situational factors while internal factors are stressed when explaining the behaviour of others (Jones, 1979). Attributions made for success and failure differ (Arkin et al, 1980; Bradley, 1978; Miller & Ross, 1975; Stevens & Jones, 1976; Weiner et al 1976; Zuckerman, 1979) with self-esteem (Shrouger & Osberg, 1980) and locus of control (Wright et al, 1980) providing a further biasing effect. The personality variables are related to attributions through their influence on generalised expectancies (locus of control) and specific expectancies for success and failure (self-esteem).

A case has been made for viewing the personality variables as having an antecedent influence on consensus, distinctiveness and consistency and on the causal attributions. The motivational role of expectancies suggests that causal attributions may have an influence on the outcome of obtaining work or not (Anderson & Jennings, 1980; Azjen & Fishbein, 1972 & 1980; Vroom, 1964; Weiner, 1974 & 1980). In addition, causal attributions for success and failure are likely to influence feelings of well-being and mental health of the unemployed. Based on this it may be possible to add attributions to the list of variables which moderate the impact of joblessness.

The next chapter summarises these predicted relationships and provides the hypotheses based on Kelley's covariation model which will be tested in the present research.

CHAPTER FIVE

AIMS, HYPOTHESES AND RATIONALE FOR THE LABORATORY AND FIELD STUDY

This research was aimed at assessing whether attribution theory in general, and Kelley's covariation model in particular, could provide a basis for understanding what factors influenced the unemployed in making attributions about their situation and what the consequences were of such attributions. The study was intended to test the validity of applying Kelley's theory to the attributions made by others about job seeking outcomes using traditional laboratory based methodology, before applying the model to the self-attributions made by the unemployed in a field study. In addition it was possible to test for the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias in both the laboratory and field research, and to assess the role of self-esteem and locus of control in influencing attributions in the field research.

As obtaining access to registered unemployed subjects for research in New Zealand is not easy, the study aimed to use the opportunity provided by the data collected for the field research to explore the relationship among the various demographic variables, the personality variables, measures of well-being and negative mental health, and the outcome of obtaining a job or not. In doing this, the conceptual distinction between those variables moderating the impact of joblessness and those reflecting the consequences of it was emphasised.

1.0 Kelley's covariation model

The laboratory based study using case descriptions was undertaken to assess the validity of the interpretation of Kelley's model to unemployment outlined in Chapter Three, page 26. The present study differed from the earlier tests of Kelley's theory in that it controlled for order of presentation of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency information and it both controlled for and tested the success failure bias in attributions made by others. In addition, the main manipulations for levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency were completed between subjects; the use of extensive within subject manipulations in earlier research having been criticised. Kelley and Michela (1980) pointed out the need for research such as this

testing the covariation model. Although the sex of the stimulus person in the case description for the laboratory research was kept constant (male), a separate laboratory study (Hesketh, 1982b) found that sex of the stimulus person in the case description resulted in no significant main effects. In addition there were no significant interactions between success failure and the sex of the person described in the case study.

Most of the research testing Kelley's theory has been based on laboratory studies, but field tests are essential to assess its generality. In its second phase the present research used registered unemployed subjects to test the validity of relating the covariation model to self attributions made for failure to get a job. The study was valuable because the unemployed subjects obviously identified more strongly with the problem of failure to get a job than the subjects in the laboratory study. The field research also obtained information about attributions made for a past success in job seeking allowing for a test of the attributional biases, and enabling a more positive focus in the interview (see page 96 in Chapter Seven). It was impractical to obtain consensus, distinctiveness and consistency estimates for success as well as for failure. For this reason the test of Kelley's theory in the field study relates to failure only, although supplementary analyses testing the theory in relation to success were possible for a small group of subjects who later obtained jobs.

Males and females differ in the self attributions which they make; females are less likely to attribute their own failure externally and their own success internally than are males (Kelley and Michela, 1980; Zuckerman, 1979). However, Kelley's theory makes no predictions about sex differences in the relationship between consensus, distinctiveness and consistency on the one hand, and causal attributions, on the other. Presumably the bias extends to perceived levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency. The primary test of Kelley's theory among the unemployed will use the combined sexes, but the hypotheses will also be tested separately for each sex because of the known differences in the way in which they make attributions.

The interpretation of Kelley's theory (given on page 28 in Chapter Three) in relation to the stable attributions in Weiner's model is clear, with high consensus, high distinctiveness and

high consistency resulting in stable external attributions, and low consensus, low distinctiveness and high consistency resulting in stable internal attributions. The empirical evidence reviewed in Chapter Three (e.g. Major, 1980; McArthur, 1972; Orvis et al, 1975; Pruitt and Insko, 1980) supports these predictions, although the influence of order effects and the success failure bias must be controlled.

Kelley's theory clearly predicts that unstable attributions are associated with low consistency and high distinctiveness, and empirical evidence (McArthur, 1972; Orvis et al, 1975; and Pruitt & Insko, 1980) supports this. Predictions relating consensus to unstable attributions can only be tentative because of the lack of clarity in interpreting this aspect of Kelley's theory, and the mixed results from research. The need to re-interpret the earlier tests of Kelley's theory which did not divide 'circumstances' into 'effort' and 'luck' categories partly accounts for this difficulty. Circumstantial attributions were predicted from low consensus. Given that consensus in the cubic model is meant to influence whether attributions are made to internal or external factors, logically we can assume that low consensus would lead to internal unstable attributions (effort), while high consensus would lead to external unstable attributions (luck). This logical interpretation was tested in the present research.

The comparison behaviour consensus dimension, varied in the Pruitt and Insko (1980) study, was not varied in this study. To have done so would have required more subjects than were available. Following McArthur (1972) and other laboratory tests of Kelley's theory, comparison behaviour consensus was assumed to be kept constant. In addition, it is doubtful that the independent variables are actually independent with the extra dimension included, as the operational definition of comparison behaviour consensus changes in relation to the operational definition of distinctiveness (see page 45 in Pruitt & Insko, 1980).

The following hypotheses relating to Kelley's covariation model and unemployment were tested in the laboratory study for other attribution and in the field research for self attribution.

- 1.1 Task difficulty attributions will be stronger for high than low consensus, for high than low distinctiveness and for high than low consistency. (HHH)
- 1.2 Ability attributions will be stronger for low than high consensus, for low than high distinctiveness and for high than low consistency. (LLH)
- 1.3 Luck attributions will be stronger for high than low consensus, for high than low distinctiveness and for low than high consistency. (HHL)
- 1.4 Effort attributions will be stronger for low than high consensus, for high than low distinctiveness and for low than high consistency. (LHL)

No specific predictions are made for order effects or for the precise influence of success and failure on Kelley's theory. These variables have been included partly for control purposes.

In the above hypotheses the term "task difficulty/ease" is used to indicate that the discussion covers both success and failure attributions. The terms "ability", "luck" and "effort" can be applied more easily to either success or failure. The order of presentation of the information variables is always consensus first, distinctiveness second and consistency third, while "H" and "L" represent high and low levels of these variables respectively.

In relation to hypotheses 1.1 to 1.4 predictions for the cumulative effects of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency on the four measures in the laboratory research are given in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1
Predicted ordering of consensus, distinctiveness
and consistency influences on causal attributions

	<u>Effort</u>	<u>Luck</u>	<u>Ability</u>	<u>Task Difficulty</u>
1	LHL	HHL	LLH	HHH
2	HHL	LHL	HLH	HHL
3	LLL	HLL	LLL	HLH
4	HLL	LLL	HLL	HLL
5	LHH	HHH	LHH	LHH
6	HHH	LHH	HHH	LHL
7	LLH	HLH	LHL	LLH
8	HLH	LLH	HHL	LLL

Note: Letters refer to High (H) and low (L) levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency given in that particular order.

Stronger attributions are predicted for those cell combinations ranked near the top. This ranking is based on the interpretation that consensus has a major influence on task difficulty/ease, distinctiveness on ability and consistency on effort and luck attributions. In addition the predicted different influence of consensus on effort and luck attributions affects the ordering of the cells (see pages 29 to 31 in Chapter Three).

2.0 Attributional biases

The fundamental attribution error predicts that one attributes one's own behaviour externally while the behaviour of others is attributed internally (Jones, 1979; Zuckerman, 1979). A second bias, the success failure bias, which predicts that success will be attributed internally while failure will be attributed externally, is as likely in attributions made about the behaviour of others as it is for self attribution (Kelley & Michela, 1980).

For attributions made about the behaviour of others, the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias make the same predictions for successful outcomes, but opposite predictions for failure. For self attribution, the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias make the same predictions for failure, but opposite predictions for success. Jones and Nisbett (1972) in their discussion of the fundamental attribution error admit to the role of competing motives in making attributions:

"The individual, whether he is an actor or an observer, is a self-esteem enhancer, a balance maintainer, a dissonance reducer, a reactance reliever, a seeker after truth, and more. The relative strength of these motives, in competition with one another and with more purely cognitive processes, is a problem best pursued empirically".

(Jones & Nisbett, 1972, p. 93).

It does not appear that the problem has been pursued either theoretically or empirically. Although there is a vast amount of literature dealing with the success failure bias specifically, and with the fundamental attribution error per se, little attempt has been made to reconcile the conflicting predictions to which they give rise on a theoretical level, nor have both been tested within one study.

Table 5.2 provides a summary of the predictions relating to the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias for attributions for one's own success and failure and for that of others to internal and external factors.

TABLE 5.2
Combined predictions from the fundamental
attribution error and the success failure bias

	Failure External	Failure Internal	Success External	Success Internal
Attributions for the be- haviour of others	FAE=Weak S/F=Strong	FAE=Strong S/F=Weak	FAE=Weak S/F=Weak	FAE=Strong S/F=Strong
<u>Combined</u> <u>Predicted Order</u>	2	2	4	1
Self Attributions	FAE=Strong S/F=Strong	FAE=Weak S/F=Weak	FAE=Strong S/F=Weak	FAE=Weak S/F=Strong
<u>Combined</u> <u>Predicted Order</u>	1	4	2	2

Note: FAE=Fundamental Attribution Error Prediction
S/F=Success Failure Bias Prediction

Based on these predictions the following hypotheses will be tested in the laboratory study for attributions about the behaviour of others and in the field research for self attribution.

- 2.1 Internal attributions will be stronger than external attributions for others' behaviour, while the reverse will occur for self attribution. This fundamental attribution error prediction will be constrained by the tendency for success to be attributed internally and failure externally for both self and other attribution.

From Table 5.2 the combined influence suggests that for attributions made about the behaviour of others the strongest attribution will be for success to internal factors (both biases predict this), while the weakest attribution will be for success to external factors (neither bias predicts this). Because of the competing predictions, intermediate attributions will be made for failure.

For self attribution, the highest attributions will be for failure to external factors (both biases predict this), while the lowest will be for failure to internal factors (neither bias predicts this). The success factors will receive intermediate attributions.

3.0 The antecedent influence of personality variables on attributions and on the perception of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency

Self-esteem and locus of control are likely to affect the attributions made for success and failure through their role in determining expectancies (see Chapter Four, pages 39 to 44). Subjects with an internal locus of control will have a generalised expectancy for stable internal attributions, while subjects with an external locus of control will have a generalised expectancy for external unstable attributions. Levels of self-esteem however, will influence the specific expectancies for success and failure, those with high self-esteem expecting success while those with low self-esteem will expect failure. Expected outcomes are attributed to stable factors, mainly ability, while unexpected outcomes are attributed to unstable factors, mainly luck (Weiner et al, 1976). High self-esteem subjects attribute success to ability and failure to lack of effort irrespective of expectancies. Low self-esteem subjects, particularly if they expect to fail will attribute failure to ability and success to effort (Shrauger and Osberg, 1980).

Table 5.3 summarises these predictions. A priori predictions for the high self-esteem external locus of control group (Quadrant Four) and the low self-esteem internal locus of control group (Quadrant One) are not possible. These relationships will be explored empirically.

TABLE 5.3
Influence of self-esteem and locus
of control on causal attributions

	LOW SELF-ESTEEM	HIGH SELF-ESTEEM
INTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL	Relationships to be explored empirically (1)	Failure to effort Success to ability (2)
EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL	Failure to ability Success to effort/luck (3)	Relationships to be explored empirically (4)

This leads to the following a priori hypothesis tested in the field research.

- 3.1 Subjects with high self-esteem and an internal locus of control will attribute failure to lack of effort and success to ability, while subjects with low self-esteem and an external locus of control will attribute failure to ability and success to effort or luck.

Although it was anticipated that the personality variables would have an antecedent influence on the perception of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency in the field research, no empirical basis exists for predicting the exact nature of this influence. It is anticipated that the personality variables will not be more important predictors of causal attributions than Kelley's information variables but this remains to be answered empirically. Figure 5.1 depicts the proposed relationship between these three sets of variables.

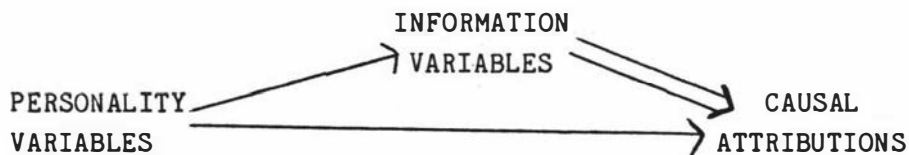


Figure 5.1
Relationship among the antecedent information and personality variables and the causal attributions

4.0 Consequences of attributions

Attributions influence future expectancies for success and failure (Anderson & Jennings, 1980; Weiner et al, 1976) and expectancies are important for motivation (Azjen & Fishbein, 1972, 1980; Vroom, 1964). If the unemployed subjects attribute their failure to obtain a job to lack of effort, it is likely that they will still perceive that getting a job is possible if they try. They would be less likely to give up hope than if they attributed their failure to lack of ability. However, if success is attributed to internal factors, but particularly internal stable factors, success in the future will be expected. In Heider's (1958) terms, if a person says to themselves "I can",

and they multiply this by "trying" then success is more likely.

Well-being and absence of minor psychiatric symptoms should be associated with expectations for future success, while expectations for future failure to get a job would be likely to have negative affective consequences. Expectations for success can be maintained by attributing failure to lack of effort and success to ability (Anderson & Jennings, 1980; Weiner et al 1976). Nicholls (1976) and Covington and Omelich (1979) demonstrated that in relation to success, ability was a more desired attribute than effort.

The following hypotheses will be tested in the field study.

- 4.1 Attributing failure to lack of effort and success to internal stable factors (ability) will be predictive of behavioural intention to continue seeking a job and hence to obtaining work.
- 4.2 Attributing failure to internal stable factors (ability) will be related to lower well-being and more negative mental health symptoms (higher GHQ), while attributing success to ability and failure to unstable factors will be related to higher well-being and the absence of symptoms.

5.0 Factors moderating well-being among the unemployed

Based on the model presented and the unemployment literature reviewed in Chapter Two it is anticipated that well-being and mental ill health among the unemployed will be related to a number of antecedent variables. The GHQ scores will be higher for those who have been out of work longer (Hepworth, 1980), and for those who have been more active in their job search (O'Brien and Kabanoff, 1979). GHQ scores should be lower for those who later obtain work than for those who remain unemployed (Stafford et al, 1980; Warr, 1981). The importance placed on work in life is likely to moderate the well-being among those with and without work (Warr, 1981). The field research offered the opportunity to explore these relationships and the interrelationship between the personality variables and the well-being measures, using a series of post hoc analyses (see Chapter Ten).

CHAPTER SIX

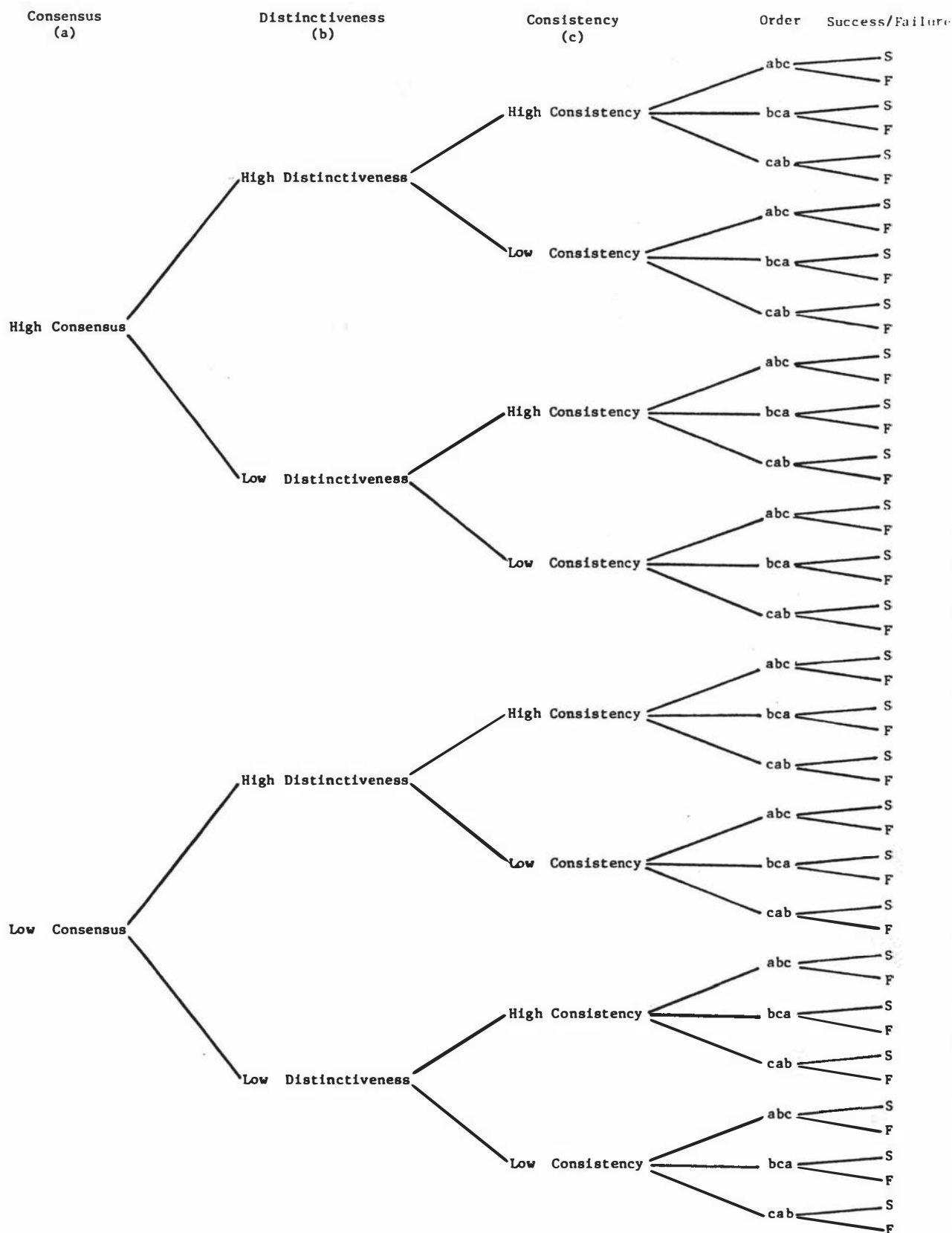
LABORATORY TEST OF KELLEY'S COVARIATION MODEL AND ATTRIBUTIONAL BIASES

This chapter outlines the laboratory test of Kelley's covariation model applied to the attributions made about success and failure in job seeking. It provides a basis for applying the model to the attributions made by the unemployed themselves for their failure to get a job. Throughout this chapter the term "task difficulty/ease" is used where the attribution refers to both success and failure. Bipolar terms are not used for "ability", "luck" and "effort" as these can apply to both success and failure.

1.0 Method

1.1 Design

The design was a five way $2 \times 2 \times 2 \times 3 \times 2$ multivariate mixed design with a repeated measure on the last factor (Kirk, 1968). The factors were consensus (high and low), distinctiveness (high and low) and consistency (high and low), position of consensus(a), distinctiveness(b) and consistency(c), (abc, bca or cab) and a repeated measure on failure and success. Task difficulty/ease, ability, luck and effort attributions formed the multivariate dependent measures. The design is illustrated in Figure 6.1.



Dependent variables = task difficulty/ease, ability, luck and effort

Order refers to order of presentation of consensus (a), distinctiveness (b), and consistency (c)

Figure 6.1. Diagrammatic representation of the 2x2x2x2 mixed design with a repeated measure on the last factor (Success (S) vs Failure (F)).

1.2 Subjects

The subjects in this study were undergraduate psychology students in a first year psychology course ($N=140$) and in a second year extramural social psychology course ($N=60$). It had originally been intended to use the second year students to pilot test the study, but as no changes were necessary to either the questionnaire or the instructions, and as the first year course was smaller than had been anticipated, the two groups were combined.

The average age of the 138 females in the sample was 24.73 years ($S.D.=8.76$), while that of the 62 males was 22.89 years ($SD = 6.37$). There was no significant difference in age between the males and females ($F(1,198) = 2.219$, NS). At the time of completing the questionnaires none of the subjects had covered the topics relating to attribution theory.

Thirty-two subjects were randomly eliminated to ensure that there were equal numbers in each cell as the only MANOVA computer packages available for unequal subject numbers used a weighted means solution which would have been inappropriate (Keppel, 1973, p. 349). Results reported are based on 168 subjects.

1.3 Instruments

The task was presented to the subjects in the form of a personnel decision-making exercise. The consensus, distinctiveness and consistency information was varied under the general comments made by the "personnel manager" on a summary sheet following an interview. Levels of consensus were varied by referring to the numbers of applicants for the jobs, levels of distinctiveness were operationalised in terms of references indicating weak or strong work related skills, while consistency related to previous job seeking activities being successful or unsuccessful.

Examples of the case descriptions and attribution dependent measures for failure and success together with the wording appropriate for the different levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency are given in Appendix A. A rationale for the development and presentation of the case descriptions is also included in the appendix. The methodology is similar to that used by McArthur (1972) and others testing Kelley's theory.

The variation of the order of presentation of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency was based on a latin squares procedure. Assuming that consensus = a, distinctiveness = b and consistency = c, then the latin square used is outlined below:

a	b	c
b	c	a
c	a	b

Each variable was placed in the first position, the intermediate position and the last position in each of the eight cells made up from combining levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency. This made it possible to assess the impact of the position of an information variable on the attributions made. Although recognising that not all combinations of order were used, it was not possible with the sample size available to do so. The latin squares procedure did allow for a measure of control of order effect, and for the exploration of the influence of order on Kelley's predictions.

After reading the information relating to consensus, distinctiveness and consistency, subjects were asked to rate the importance of Weiner's (1974) four causes (task difficulty/ease, ability, luck and effort) using a nine point scale with verbal anchors "Very Important" and "Very Unimportant". This dependent measure was based on Elig and Frieze (1979), who supported the superiority of rating scale measures over open responses and percentage allocation. A 9-point scale has been used in most attribution studies. Furthermore, Warr and Knapper (1968) suggest that a 9-point scale is appropriate for use with university students. The wording of the dependent measures, given in Appendix A, was chosen to be as similar as possible to that used by Elig and Frieze (1979) based on the four original causes in Weiner's model. Following Elig and Frieze (1979) the structured responses were worded separately for success and failure.

1.4 Procedure

The questionnaires were handed out and the instructions on the cover sheet (see Appendix A) were read aloud to the subjects.

When all subjects had completed the exercise they were asked to answer the question "What do you think the main purpose was of

this exercise?" Only two subjects clearly identified the primary purpose of the study, and these were omitted from the analyses prior to the random elimination of subjects.

Subjects were debriefed as the exercise did involve a minor deception. The results from the two additional case descriptions were used to illustrate aspects of Kelley's covariation theory in a tutorial session.

2.0 Results

Results were analysed using a multivariate analysis of variance program available in GENSTAT, with supplementary analyses being completed with a univariate analysis of variance program obtained from Flinders University, Australia.

2.1 Comments on the approach used in testing Kelley's theory in the laboratory study

There appears to be uncertainty in the literature as to the best way of actually testing the hypotheses derived from Kelley's theory. Pruitt and Insko (1980) demonstrated the appropriateness of the analysis of variance interpretation of Kelley's theory through the use of trend analysis with a constructed factor. A similar check was completed on data derived from the present research (see Appendix B). The linear trend was significant for all dependent measures except attributions made to effort, providing general support for the use of analysis of variance in testing Kelley's theory.

One can also test whether the attributions resulting from the predicted best combination of levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency for each of the four dependent measures were significantly higher than attributions associated with the remaining seven combinations of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency, using planned one by seven comparisons. Keppel (1973) argues for a planned comparisons approach to testing theory-related a priori hypotheses, although any post hoc analyses should be undertaken only if a significant omnibus F allows it. The formula for the planned comparisons tests used in the present research was obtained from Keppel (1973, p. 98).

In the five way analysis of variance design for the present

study, the last two factors, order and the repeated measure of success/failure, were included partly as control variables. Again, Keppel (1973) suggests that this is an acceptable approach. Where the key theoretical variables have a significant interaction with either order or success/failure, it is likely that the generality of the main effects could be limited to either success or failure or to a particular order of presentation of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency. Post hoc analyses were used to explore this when omnibus interactions were significant. With only a limited number of theory related comparisons being of interest, the Dunn multiple comparisons test (Keppel, 1973, p. 147) is appropriate for post hoc analyses. This test adjusts the experiment-wise error rate to ensure that the probability of Type I errors is controlled for the number of comparisons to be undertaken. The formula for the Dunn test is provided in Keppel (1973).

In the present research a conservative approach was taken to the post hoc analyses, univariate interactions only being examined if the appropriate multivariate analysis was significant, and separate analyses for success and failure for a particular dependent measure only being examined if the equivalent F value involving success and failure was significant. The complexity of interpreting a five way analysis of variance justifies referring to the analyses completed separately for success and failure providing the above procedure is used to protect against Type I errors.

Wherever there was some doubt about a threat of a Type I error the significance level was made more conservative by using the .01 instead of the .05 level.

2.2 Planned comparisons test of the predictions from Kelley's theory

The results of the simple one by seven planned comparisons completed on all dependent measures are presented in Table 6.1.

TABLE 6.1.

Results from the one by seven planned comparisons testing Kelley's theory, collapsing across order of presentation of information and success and failure

<u>Causal Attribution</u> <u>Dimension</u>	<u>Predicted highest</u> <u>Cell</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>F Value</u>
Task Difficulty/ ease	HHH	1,144	0.719
Ability	LLH	1,144	5.76*
Luck	HHL	1,144	9.65**
Effort	LHL	1,144	0.347

*= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

Note 1. Cell means can be obtained from Table 6.3 (p. 67)

Note 2. Error terms are available in Appendix C.)

The results of these planned comparisons indicated that the hypotheses for ability and luck were confirmed, but the hypotheses relating to task difficulty/ease and effort were not. Ability attributions were significantly higher for low consensus, low distinctiveness and high consistency than for the remaining seven cells while luck attributions were significantly higher for high consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency than for the remaining cells. There was no significant difference between the task difficulty/ease attributions for high consensus, high distinctiveness and high consistency and the remaining cells, nor between effort attributions associated with low consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency and the remaining cells.

Examination of the main effects from the multivariate and univariate analyses of variance provided a further test of the hypotheses.

2.3 Main effects from the multivariate and univariate analyses of variance

Table 6.2 presents the F values for the main effects of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency on the four dependent measures, together with multivariate F values. Main effect and multivariate F values for the repeated measure (success/failure) are also provided in this table.

TABLE 6.2

Multivariate and univariate F values for the main effects of consensus, distinctiveness, consistency and success/failure on the four causal attributions

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Effort</u>	<u>Luck</u>	<u>Ability</u>	<u>Task</u>	<u>Difficulty/ ease</u>	<u>Multivariate Note 1</u>
Consensus (1,144)	0.625	0.285	0.886		6.681**	2.445* (4,150)
Distinctive ness (1,144)	27.44**	51.39**	63.89**		25.36**	34.051** (4,150)
Consistency (1,144)	2.25	4.195*	1.695		0.050	3.076* (4,150)
Repeated Measure:						
Failure vs Success (1,144)	72.547**	16.05**	0.284		17.677**	13.589** (4,149)

*=p<.05, **=p<.01

(Note 1. Multivariate F values were obtained by converting Lambda coefficients according to Rao (1952) cited in Finn (1974). Degrees of freedom used according to this conversion were 4,150 for the non repeated stratum and 4,149 for the repeated measure stratum).

The remaining F values for the univariate and multivariate analysis are given in Appendix C together with the results from the univariate analyses completed separately for success and failure.

All multivariate F values for the main effects were significant, thereby offering a measure of control against Type I errors and in accordance with Finn (1974), allowing one to interpret the four univariate analyses.

Means for the main effects are depicted graphically for consensus, distinctiveness and consistency in Figure 6.2. Significant differences are asterisked on this figure.

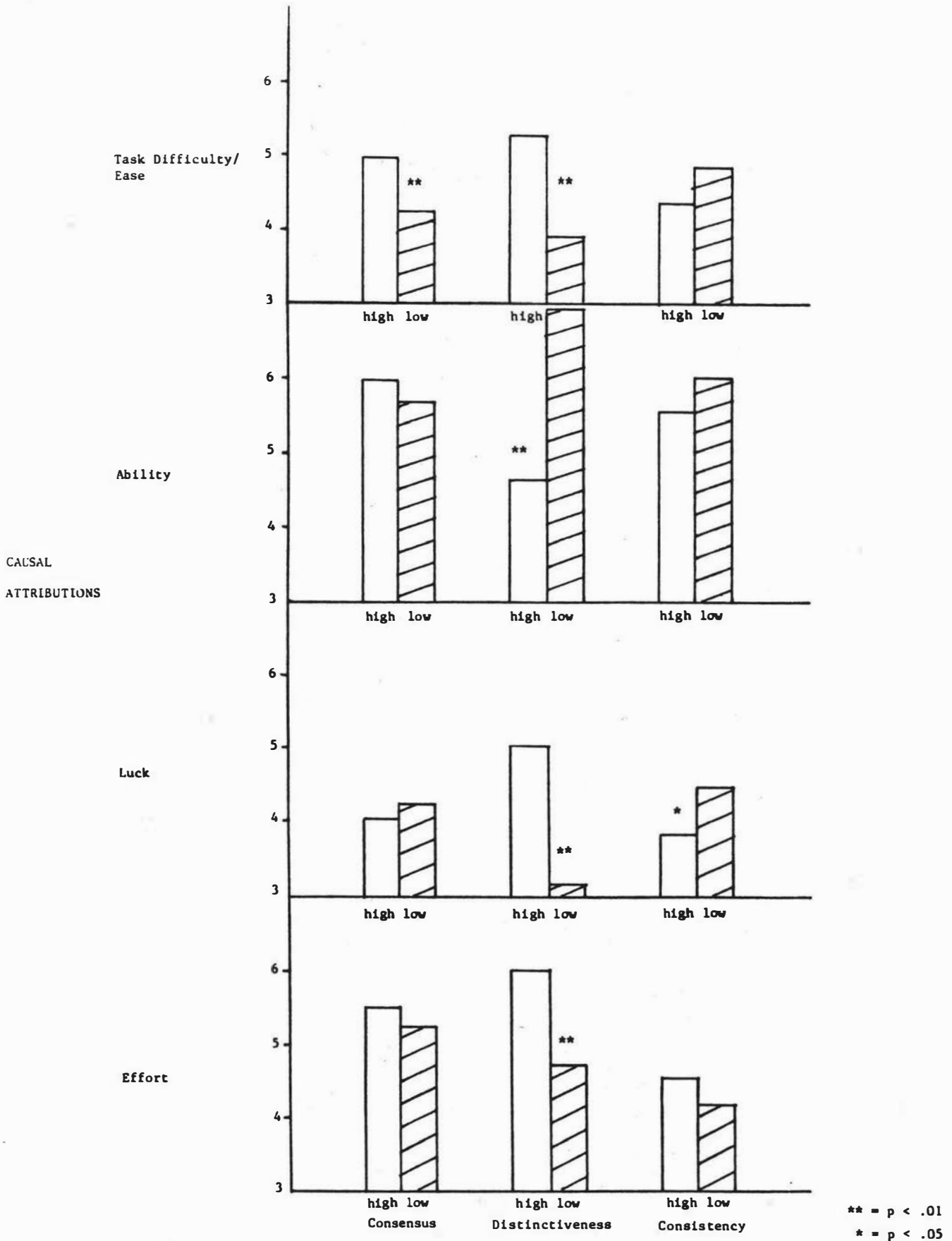


Figure 6.2. Main effects of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency on task difficulty/ease, ability, luck and effort attributions collapsed across success and failure and order of presentation of information.

The results in Figure 6.2 give support to Kelley's theory with regard to the primary effect of consensus on task difficulty/ease, consistency on luck and distinctiveness on ability. Distinctiveness had an overpowering influence on all attributions, and the prediction for the effort attribution was not upheld, except with regard to the role of distinctiveness. All significant differences were in the directions predicted; task difficulty/ease attributions were stronger for high than low consensus and for high than low distinctiveness; ability attributions were stronger for low than high consensus; luck attributions were stronger for low than high consistency and for high than low distinctiveness; while effort attributions were stronger for high than low distinctiveness.

These results in combination with the one by seven planned comparisons provided clear support for the hypotheses for ability (1.2) and luck (1.3) attributions, but only limited support for task difficulty/ease (1.1) and effort (1.4) attributions.

As the generality of the main effects was limited by interactions with the success/failure variable and order of presentation of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency, exploration of these interactions is important. However, before becoming too involved in post hoc analyses it is helpful to examine the marginal cell means based on levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency collapsed across order and success/failure so as to compare these with the predicted rank ordering of the means based on Kelley's theory (see Table 5.1, page 51). The means obtained from the present research are presented in Table 6.3. Rho is provided as a descriptive statistic only simply to illustrate the degree of similarity between the observed and the predicted order of the cells.

TABLE 6.3

Rank order correlations between the predicted order of cell means based on Kelley's theory and the order based on the actual mean attributions made to different levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency. Data is collapsed across success/failure and order of presentation of the information

<u>Condition</u> ₁	<u>Effort</u>	<u>Luck</u>	<u>Ability</u>	<u>Task difficulty</u> <u>/ease</u>
LLL	4.41 (8)	3.69 (5)	6.95 (3)	3.91 (7)
LLH	5.0 (5)	3.26 (6)	7.14 (2)	3.31 (8)
LHL	5.69 (4)	5.12 (2)	4.55 (7)	4.86 (4)
LHH	6.07 (2)	4.76 (4)	4.02 (8)	4.93 (3)
HLL	4.83 (6)	3.14 (7)	7.36 (1)	4.31 (5)
HLH	4.64 (7)	2.62 (8)	6.52 (4)	4.17 (6)
HHL	5.88 (3)	5.69 (1)	5.31 (5)	6.26 (1)
HHH	6.64 (1)	4.81 (3)	4.59 (6)	5.02 (2)
Rho with predicted order	=.071	=.643	=.619	=.738

Note The conditions refer to consensus, distinctiveness and consistency respectively. Actual ranks are given in brackets, predicted ranks can be obtained from Table 5.1 on page 51.

The rho for task difficulty/ease is surprisingly high given the insignificant result of the one by seven planned comparison test for this dependent measure. Examination of the means indicates that for the HHL cell (high consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency) there was a much higher task difficulty/ease attribution than for the other cells. It appears that the role of consistency in task difficulty/ease attributions in the current data bears further examination. Post hoc analyses provided an opportunity to explore this. The remaining rho values accurately reflected the significant results obtained for ability and luck attributions, and the insignificant result obtained for effort attributions in the one by seven planned comparisons and from the main effects of the analysis of variance.

2.4 Task difficulty/ease

The one by seven planned comparison of the HHH cell with the remaining cells did not support the predictions from Kelley's theory (Hypothesis 1.1). However, as predicted there was a significant main effect for consensus; high consensus produced higher task difficulty/ease attributions (collapsing across

success and failure) than did low consensus. Distinctiveness had a strong effect, also in the predicted direction. High distinctiveness resulted in a stronger task difficulty/ease attribution than did low distinctiveness. Consistency approached significance but in the direction opposite to that predicted, low consistency resulting in a marginally higher attribution than high consistency. These results are graphed in Figure 6.2 on page 65.

The main effect for consensus on task difficulty/ease attributions needs to be examined in light of a number of significant interactions. Significant consensus by order interactions were obtained for the multivariate F ($F(4,150) = 2.513, p < .05$) and for the univariate F ($F(2,144) = 4.171, p < .05$) suggesting that the main effect may have been dependent upon a particular order of presentation of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency. The relevant marginal means are produced in Figure 6.3.

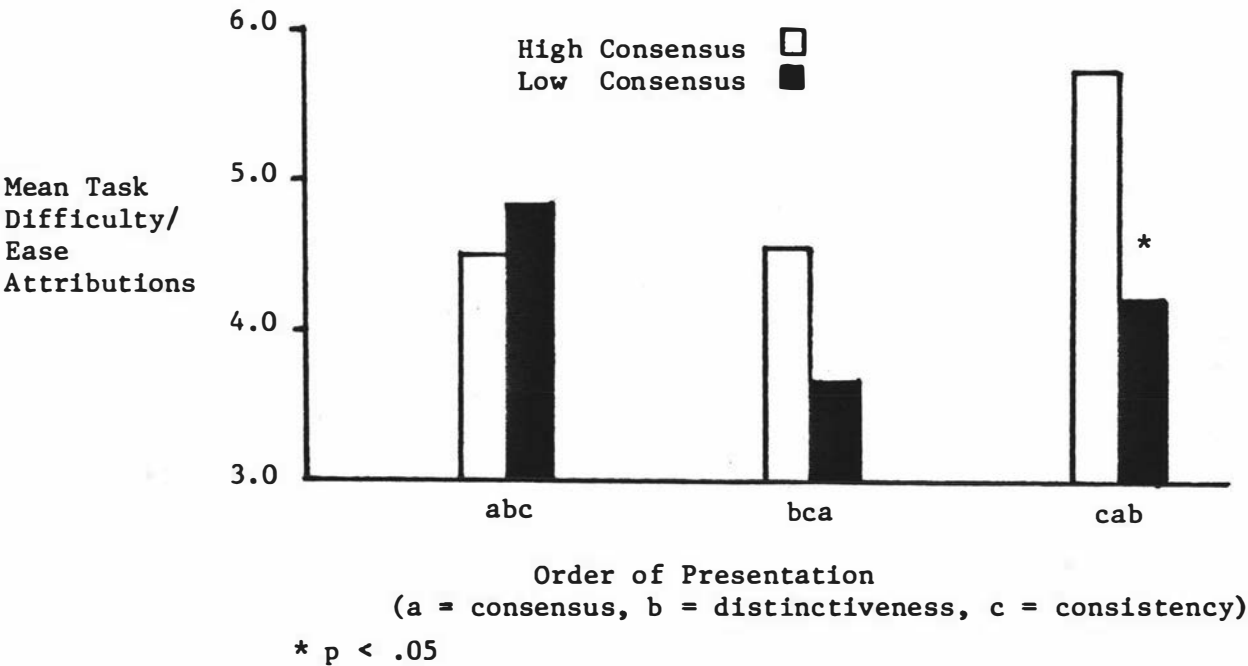


Figure 6.3. Consensus by order interaction for attributions to task difficulty/ease collapsed across success and failure

Using the Dunn test the significance of the differences between the task difficulty attributions associated with high and low consensus for each of the three orders was examined. The only difference exceeding the critical range (Dunn (3,144)CR = 1.18, $p < .05$) was found for the cab (D=1.5) order, where consistency occupied a first position, consensus the second position, and distinctiveness the last position.

Post hoc analyses suggested that the main effect for consensus on task difficulty/ease was largely due to information being presented in the order consistency, consensus and finally distinctiveness. This applied to both success and failure as there was no consensus by order by success/failure interaction, and the consensus by order interaction F was significant for both success and failure in the separate analyses (See Appendix C). Because the order was not completely crossed, it is impossible to make conclusive statements about its influence on task difficulty/ease attributions, but this interaction reinforces the decision to include order as a variable in the design. Had either the abc or bca order been chosen for presentation without any attempt at control, it is possible that no significant main effect for consensus on task difficulty/ease would have been obtained. On the other hand, had the cab order been chosen, this effect might have been inflated.

The multivariate F and the univariate F for the five way interaction was significant (see Appendix C). The complexity of interpreting a five way interaction justifies the use of simplifying strategies in order to obtain meaningful information. For this reason results from the separate analyses for success and failure were examined. From Appendix C it can be seen that the interaction of consensus by consistency by order within the failure stratum was significant ($F(2,144) = 4.727$, $p < .05$) and appears to be the most likely contributor to the five way interaction. Focussing on this interaction is acceptable as the multivariate F for consensus by consistency by order by success/failure was significant ($F(4,149) = 6.864$, $p < .01$), as was the univariate F ($F(2,144) = 3.586$, $p < .05$). The relevant interaction for success attributions to task ease was insignificant. It appears that there was a significant bias against attributing obtaining a job to task ease (Mean for failure = 4.958, for success = 4.232) as indicated by the significant main effect of success versus failure on task difficulty/ease. This may account for the different effects within success and

failure.

Figure 6.4. presents the information relating to task difficulty attributions for failure only with each combination of high and low consensus and high and low consistency for each of the three orders of presentation of information.

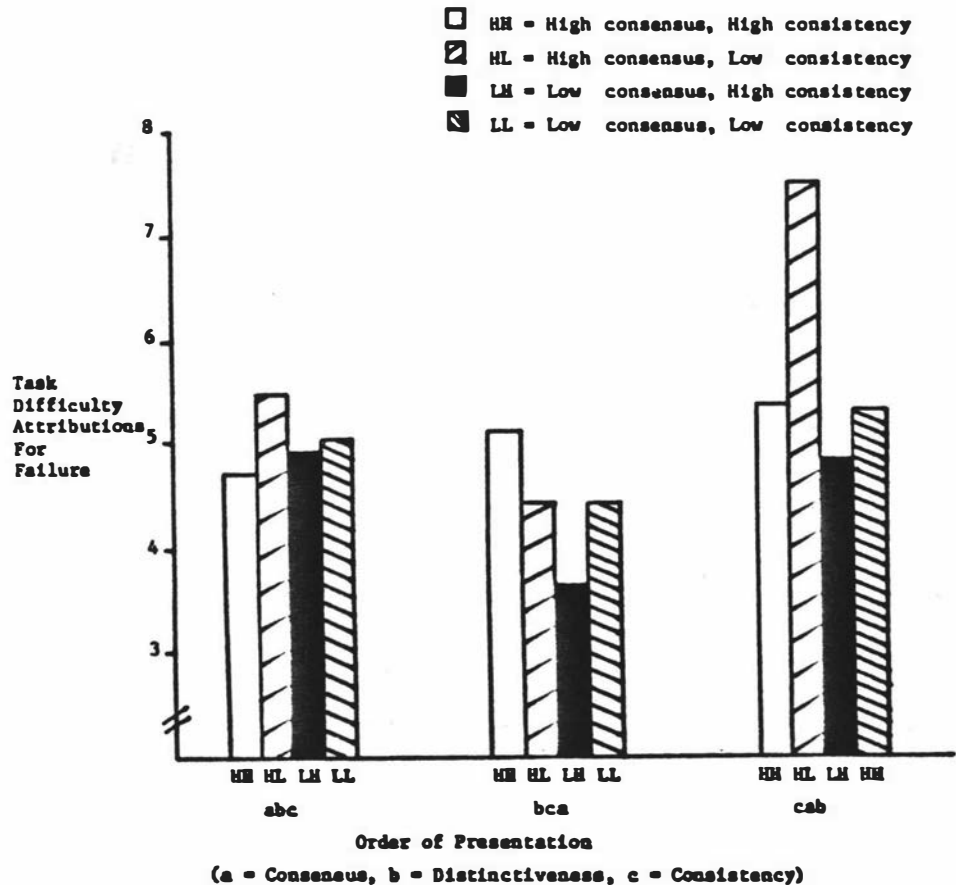


Figure 6.4. Consensus by consistency by order interaction for failure attributions to task difficulty.

There is a limit to the power of statistical post hoc analyses of higher order interactions such as this. Inspection of Figure 6.4 supports the earlier interpretation that the main effect of consensus on task difficulty/ease was largely due to the information being presented in the order consistency, consensus followed by distinctiveness. Of particular interest in Figure 6.4 is the very high task difficulty attribution for failure

associated with low consistency and high consensus when low consistency (previous job seeking activities were successful) precedes high consensus (one of many applicants turned down). In relation to unemployment this particular combination of information in this order leads people to make a strong task difficulty attribution for not getting a job.

To summarise, for task difficulty/ease attributions the predictions from Kelley's theory regarding consensus only hold when information is presented in the order consistency, consensus followed by distinctiveness. Low consistency (the opposite of what the theory predicts) when preceding high consensus, appears to alert respondents to the high consensus information resulting in a particularly high task difficulty attribution for failure but not a task ease attribution for success. This reverse effect of consistency probably accounts for the insignificant one by seven planned comparison for task difficulty/ease attributions, the cell with high consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency having an exceptionally high rating (see Table 6.3). Distinctiveness, however, does have a robust influence on task difficulty/ease attributions in the predicted direction. The influence of distinctiveness is not limited to either success or failure, nor to a particular order of presentation of the information.

2.5 Ability

Hypothesis 1.2 relating to ability attributions was supported. The one by seven planned comparison indicated that the cell with low consensus, low distinctiveness and high consistency produced significantly stronger ability attributions than the average of the remaining cells. In addition the highly significant distinctiveness main effect on ability was predicted, low distinctiveness leading to a much stronger ability attribution than high distinctiveness, collapsing across success and failure. The main effects for consensus and consistency were not significant.

The means presented in Figure 6.2 pointed to consistency having the opposite effect on ability to that predicted, and in light of this the significant order by consistency interaction ($F(2,144) = 4.012, p < .05$) was examined. The multivariate F for the consistency by order interaction was significant, ($F(4,150) = 3.772, p < .05$) thus permitting the interpretation of the univariate

interactions. These means are graphed in Figure 6.5.

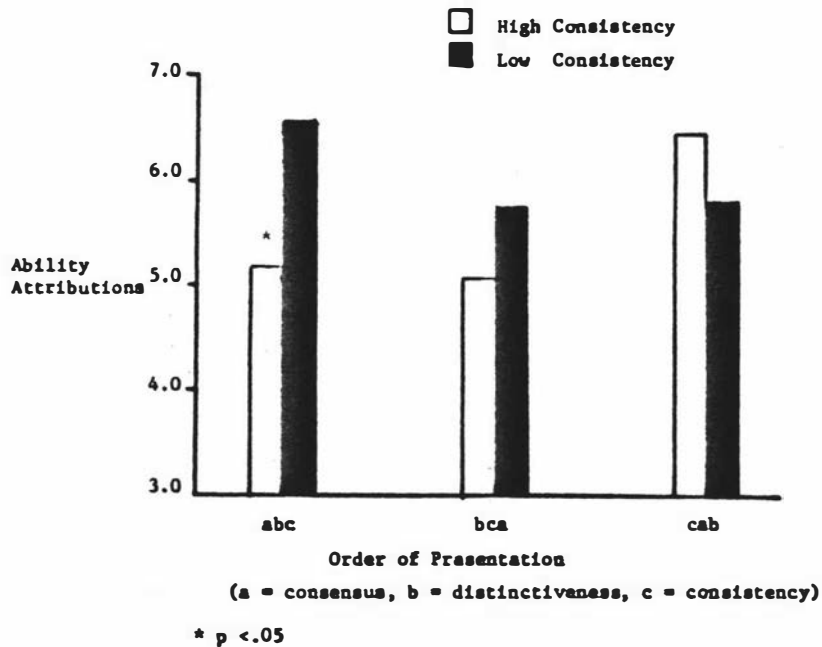


Figure 6.5. Consistency by order for Ability attributions collapsed across success and failure.

Using the Dunn test the pairs of means were compared within each order. Only the difference between the means for the abc order ($D=1.4$) was greater than the critical range (Dunn (3,144) CR = 1.231, $p < .05$). Although it seems best not to read too much into this interaction, an examination of the means indicated that the position of the consistency variable seemed to determine whether it influenced ability in the manner predicted from Kelley's theory or not. When consistency was in the final position following distinctiveness, low consistency was associated with a high ability attribution, the opposite to the theory based prediction. However, when consistency was in the first position prior to distinctiveness, the direction, while insignificant, accorded with Kelley's prediction (high consistency resulted in a higher ability attribution). With consistency in the intermediate position following distinctiveness, again the direction was different from that predicted.

The only other significant multivariate and univariate F value obtained in relation to ability attributions was for distinctiveness on success/failure ($F(4,149) = 3.465$, $p < .01$ for

the multivariate analysis and $F(1,144)=7.902$, $p<.01$ for the univariate analysis). The means are presented in Figure 6.6.

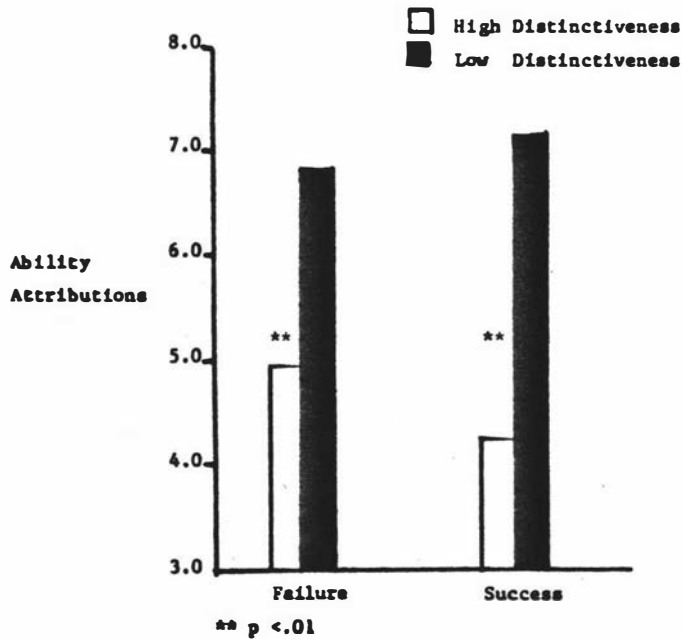


Figure 6.6. Distinctiveness by Success vs Failure for Ability Attributions.

The significant interaction embodied in Figure 6.6 was obtained because the effect of high and low distinctiveness on ability attributions was much stronger for the success attributions than for the failure attributions, although both were significant (see Appendix C for separate analyses on success and failure where the main effect for distinctiveness was significant at the .01 level protecting against Type 1 errors).

To summarise, the results are supportive of hypothesis 1.2 relating to ability attributions, although the overpowering influence of distinctiveness has masked the role of consensus and consistency.

2.6 Luck

As predicted (hypothesis 1.3) the one by seven planned comparison between the high consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency cell and the remaining cells was significant ($p<.01$).

The main effect of consistency on luck was also significant; low consistency resulted in a stronger luck attribution than did high consistency. As can be seen in Figure 6.2, page 65, luck attributions were significantly stronger for high than for low distinctiveness, which accords with Kelley's predictions. The differences in the luck attributions for high and low consensus were in the opposite direction to that predicted but they did not even approach significance.

There were no significant interactions between consensus, distinctiveness, consistency, order or the repeated measure (success/failure), supporting the generality of the results for luck across all orders of presentation of information and across success and failure attributions. The significant difference in the attributions made to luck for success and failure will be discussed later.

2.7 Effort

The results for the effort attribution are the most damaging to Kelley's theory (hypothesis 1.4). The predicted one by seven comparison of the low consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency cell with the remaining cells was insignificant and only distinctiveness produced a main effect in the predicted direction. High distinctiveness for success and failure resulted in a stronger effort attribution than did low distinctiveness.

There was a significant interaction between success/failure, consensus, consistency and order for the univariate analysis ($F(2,144) = 5.067, p < .01$) and for the multivariate analysis ($F(4,149) = 6.864, p < .01$). In the light of this finding, post hoc exploration of differences between lower order means was permissible. There was evidence of a strong success failure bias, with a much higher mean effort attribution for success (6.089) than lack of effort attribution for failure (4.702). Because of this the results of the analyses of variance completed separately for success and failure were examined. The interactions between consensus, consistency and order in the separate analyses for success and failure were insignificant. This pointed to the importance of success/failure in the consensus by consistency by order by success/failure interaction. Examination of the marginal means suggested that the source of the interaction was probably within the cab order where consistency was presented before

consensus and distinctiveness information. Figure 6.7 illustrates this graphically. No attempt was made to test for significant differences between the means, the power of any test within a higher order interaction such as this being very small.

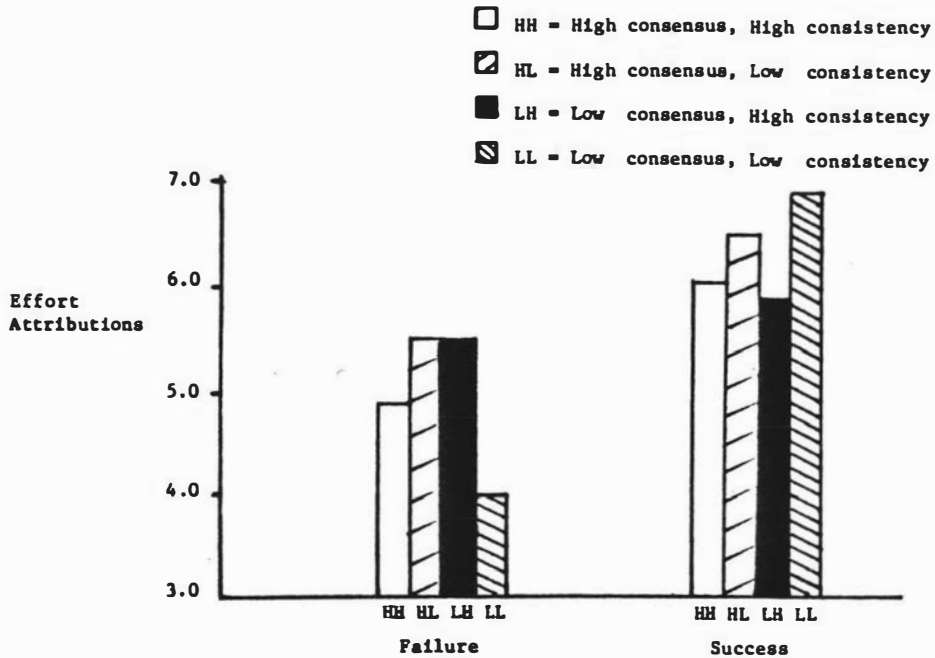


Figure 6.7. Consensus by consistency by success failure interaction within the cab order, consistency first, followed by consensus, followed by distinctiveness.

Visual inspection of Figure 6.7 indicates that for failure attributions to lack of effort, low consensus-low consistency results in the lowest attribution, while for success it results in the highest attribution when information is presented in the cab order. The bias against attributing failure to lack of effort means that low consistency does not result in the predicted higher lack of effort attributions. This is further supported by the significant consistency by success/failure interaction for the univariate analysis ($F(1,14) = 8.340, p > .01$) and for the multivariate analysis ($F(4,149) = 3.865, p < .01$). This interaction

was due to the effect of consistency on lack of effort attributions for failure only, but in the direction opposite to that predicted. The means relevant to this interaction are given in Figure 6.8.

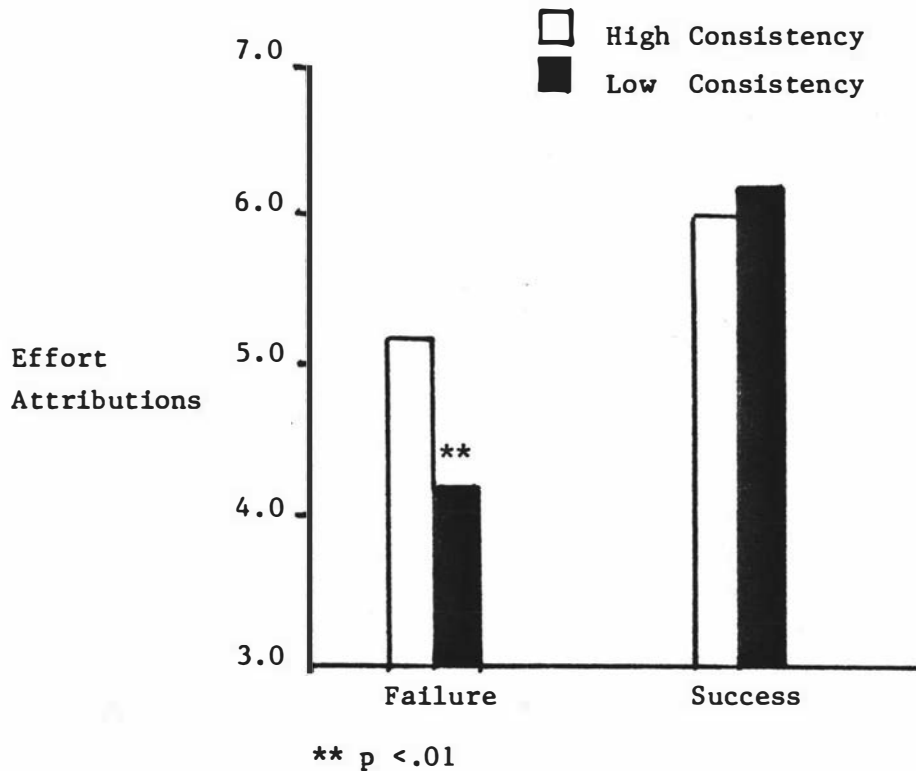


Figure 6.8. Consistency by Success vs Failure for Effort Attributions.

For success, low consistency resulted in a slightly higher effort attribution than high consistency (the predicted direction but insignificant $F(1,144)=0.070$, NS), but for failure this was significant in the direction opposite to that predicted ($F(1,144)=8.467$, $p<.01$). The significance at the .01 level protects for any Type I error encountered in making the comparison within both success and failure.

To summarise, the only support for Kelley's theory in relation to effort attributions was found in the influence of distinctiveness; high rather than low distinctiveness resulted in higher effort attributions for both success and failure. Among effort attributions for success low consensus and low consistency influenced attributions in the direction predicted by Kelley's theory, but only when presented in the order consistency,

consensus and finally distinctiveness. Somewhat surprisingly, consistency influenced attributions for failure to lack of effort in the opposite direction to that predicted from the theory. As was found for task difficulty/ease attributions, effort is vulnerable to biases and to order effects.

2.8 Success failure bias and the fundamental attribution error

The success failure bias predicted that attributions to ability and effort would be stronger for success than for failure, while attributions to task difficulty and luck would be stronger for failure than for success.

The results of the main effects from the repeated measure of success/failure in the multivariate analyses of variance provides a way of testing this hypothesis. Mean values for success and failure for each dependent measure together with the F values are given in Table 6.4.

TABLE 6.4

Results from the main effect of the ANOVA and the mean attributions made for success and failure to each of the causal categories

	<u>Ability</u>	<u>Effort</u>	<u>Task Difficulty/</u> <u>ease</u>	<u>Luck</u>
Success	5.714	6.089	4.232	4.446
Failure	5.899	4.702	4.958	3.872
F Value				
DF=(1,144)	0.284	72.547**	17.677**	16.05**

**= $p < .01$ (Multivariate $F(4,149)=13.589, p < .01$)

As predicted, effort attributions were stronger for success than for failure while task difficulty attributions were stronger for failure than were task ease attributions for success. There were no significant differences in ability attributions for success and failure. The significant difference obtained for luck attributions was in the opposite direction to that predicted, success receiving stronger luck attributions than did failure.

In order to test the fundamental attribution error, a two (success/failure) by two (internal/external) repeated measures

analysis of variance was completed. The summary table is presented in Table 6.5.

TABLE 6.5

Analysis of Variance, success vs failure
by internal vs external attributions,
(N=168 University Students)

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Within Subjects				
(A) Fail vs Succ	24.923	1	24.923	13.090**
Error	317.9531	167	1.904	
(B) Int vs Ext	511.244	1	511.344	55.612**
Error	1535.531	167	9.195	
AB	36.336	1	36.336	11.042**
Error	549.539	167	3.291	

**= $p < .01$

The main effect for internal versus external attributions in this analysis provided the basis for testing the fundamental attribution error, while the significant interaction was used to test the predicted combined influence of the success failure bias and the fundamental attribution error.

The fundamental attribution error predicted that on average, internal attributions for the behaviour of others would be stronger than external attributions. The grand mean for the internal attributions (effort and ability) was 5.601, while that for external attributions (task difficulty/ease and luck) was 4.362. This difference was highly significant ($F(1,167) = 55.61$, $p < .001$) supporting the hypothesis.

When referring to attributions made about the behaviour of another person the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias make the same predictions when a successful outcome is involved, but opposite predictions when failure is involved. With the combined influence of attributing success internally (success failure bias), and attributions in general internally (fundamental attribution error) it was predicted that the strongest attribution for this group would be made for success to internal factors, while the weakest attribution would be for success to external factors, with intermediate attributions being

made for failure. The means obtained from the laboratory study are plotted against the predictions in Figure 6.9 below.

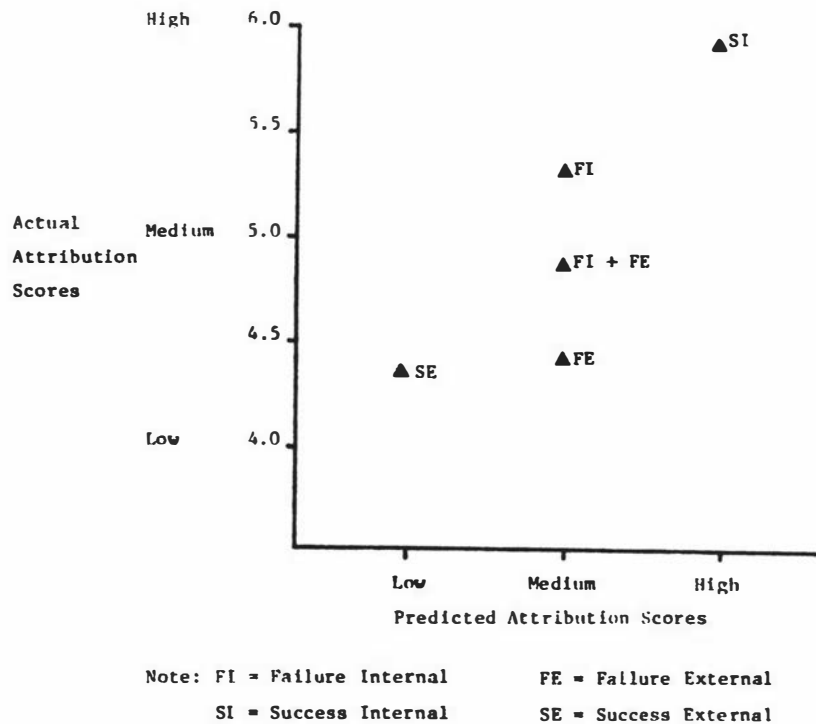


Figure 6.9 Mean attributions for testing predicted linear and quadratic trends in the combined fundamental attribution error and success failure bias.

A highly significant linear trend was obtained ($F(1,167) = 62.12$, $p < .001$). As the linear trend uses only two data points, a check was made for a quadratic trend combining the internal and external attributions for failure. This was insignificant ($F(1,167) = 2.48$, NS). Inspection of the means in Figure 6.9 points to a slightly stronger role of the fundamental attribution error, internal attributions for failure being stronger than external attributions for failure.

To summarise, the fundamental attribution error was supported for attributions made about the behaviour of others. The success failure bias received mixed support. Significantly different attributions were made for success and failure to effort and task difficulty/ease in the predicted direction. Significantly different attributions were made for success and failure to luck in the opposite direction to that predicted while no significant differences emerged for ability attributions. The test of the combined influence of the success failure bias and the fundamental attribution error was supported.

3.0 Discussion

The results of the planned one by seven comparisons testing the specific hypotheses derived from Kelley's theory provided clear support for the following hypotheses listed in Chapter Five.

1.2 Low consensus, low distinctiveness and high consistency resulted in a significantly higher ability attribution than the remaining cells.

1.3 High consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency resulted in a significantly stronger luck attribution than the remaining cells.

The following hypotheses were not supported:

1.1 High consensus, high distinctiveness and high consistency did not result in a significantly stronger task difficulty/ease attribution.

1.4 Low consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency did not result in a significantly stronger effort attribution than the remaining cells.

Support for the predicted main effects were obtained for:

1. Consensus in relation to task difficulty/ease attributions (limited to "cab" order);
2. Distinctiveness in relation to all four dependent measures; and for
3. Consistency in relation to luck attributions.

Taken in conjunction with the research reviewed in Chapter Two these findings provide laboratory based support for most of the key simple main effect predictions from Kelley's covariation theory and for the strong influence of distinctiveness. The pattern of results is similar to those of Orvis et al (1975) who also found a primary role for one main effect on each attribution category.

The strong role of distinctiveness accords with the findings reported by McArthur (1972). The lack of support for hypotheses 1.1 and 1.4 when tested in the planned one by seven comparison

is largely due to the reverse influence of consistency. Low rather than high consistency resulted in a strong task difficulty/ease attribution while there was a tendency for high rather than low consistency to result in stronger effort attributions. Stevens and Jones (1976) also found this reverse effect.

Consensus

Consensus was sensitive to the influence of order effects. The significant order by consensus interaction for task difficulty/ease attributions and the subsequent post hoc analyses pointed to the influence of consensus on task difficulty/ease occurring mainly when the order of presentation of the information was consistency, consensus followed by distinctiveness.

The consensus by consistency by order by success/failure interaction is also of interest. It appears that low, not high, consistency does have a priming effect on consensus, but mainly when the order is such that it is not masked by the strong role which distinctiveness plays. It is possible that the current views regarding the stability or otherwise of the economic downturn (making jobs difficult to get) accounts for this unexpected finding. With regard to failure, if a person has succeeded in job seeking previously (low consistency) and if there are many others who fail (high consensus), then perhaps the attribution to task difficulty is seen as an unstable one -- "jobs must be really hard to get just now". That the same interaction was not obtained for the task ease attributions for success supports this interpretation, but it does remain speculative. Perhaps the subjects wished to believe that the difficulty of the task was unstable with the hope that it would be easier for them to get a job in future. In New Zealand there is a history of full employment with a traditional belief that everyone has a right to get a job. This would contribute to a belief that difficulty in getting a job was only a temporary phenomenon.

Consensus resulted in no significant main effects for ability or either of the unstable attributions. The role of consensus in relation to the unstable attributions was far from clear in the literature, and it is perhaps not surprising that the hypotheses were not supported. This result, taken in conjunction with the literature reviewed, suggests that in future no predictions about the influence of consensus on unstable attributions should be

made.

Distinctiveness

Distinctiveness produced highly significant effects in the predicted direction for all four attributions. High distinctiveness (references indicated strong work related skills for failure or weak work related skills for success) resulted in stronger task difficulty/ease, luck and effort attributions, while low distinctiveness produced a stronger ability attribution. The interactions involving distinctiveness did not limit the generality of its influence implied in the highly significant main effects. Distinctiveness has an extremely robust effect, a finding similar to that reported by McArthur (1972). The perceived importance of work skills in determining the outcome of job seeking probably accounts for its strong influence.

Consistency

Low consistency resulted in stronger luck attributions than high consistency, and this finding was not limited to either success or failure or to order of presentation of information.

The role of consistency in relation to effort attributions for failure is also interesting. The decomposition of the significant consistency by success/failure interaction pointed to high consistency resulting in stronger lack of effort attributions for failure than low consistency, while consistency had no influence on attributions made for success. When making attributions about another person's job seeking activities it seems that lack of effort is seen as stable. Stevens and Jones (1976) in their study involving self attribution also found a tendency for effort to be viewed as stable, but only when making attributions for success. This suggests the possibility of a more subtle bias occurring. An effort attribution for one's own success is viewed as stable, while a lack of effort attribution for someone else's failure is viewed as stable. This will be discussed again when comparing the results of the field research with those from the laboratory study.

Perhaps the most surprising outcome of the present research was the insignificant influence which consistency had on stable attributions and on effort. Previous research found that

consistency had a particularly strong influence on all attributions. Orvis et al (1975) for example found that high consistency augmented the stable attributions. In the present study the interactions with consensus, consistency, order and success/failure set clear limits to this influence.

Attributional biases and errors

The success failure bias received mixed support. Based on the review of Kelley and Michela (1980) it was anticipated that there would be significantly stronger ability and effort attributions for success than for failure, while the reverse would occur for task difficulty/ease and luck. The predictions were supported for effort and task difficulty/ease, but not for ability and luck. The significant difference for luck was in the opposite direction to that predicted. In the current economic climate, obtaining a job may be viewed as lucky by many.

The success failure bias in relation to task difficulty/ease attributions may partly account for the insignificant results of Kelley's theory for lack of effort attributions for failure and task ease attributions for success. As a group university students might be expected to have sympathy for those out of work so that they would not want to consider the unemployed "dole bludgers", lacking in effort. Also, there was an obvious reluctance to claim that jobs were easy to get in the current climate. The reasoning for failure attributions could perhaps be as follows: "I know they must be trying hard, so it can't be lack of effort, but they simply don't have the ability". Although apparently kind to the unemployed such an attribution should be viewed in light of Nicholls' (1976) finding that for self attribution university students preferred to blame lack of effort than lack of ability, while for success they preferred to credit ability rather than effort.

The strong luck attribution for success in relation to job seeking is probably a function of the widespread view that in the current economic climate, getting a job is pure luck.

In accordance with the fundamental attribution error, for the behaviour of others, internal factors received stronger endorsement than did external factors. The results from the trend analysis testing for the combined influence of the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias supported the

predictions. Strongest attributions occurred where both biases predicted a strong attribution (internal attributions for success), the weakest attribution occurred where both predicted a weak attribution (external attributions for success) and intermediate attributions were found when the two biases made opposite predictions (for failure). More research is needed to explore the combined role of biases and errors as this appears to be a neglected area in attribution theory.

4.0 General conclusion

The complexity of Kelley's covariation theory demands that it be carefully interpreted and tested if it is to be applied to new aspects of behaviour. Major (1980) found that the nature of the information sought varied with the problem faced by the perceiver. The findings "underscore the importance of considering the particular attributional problem when attempting to describe attributional processes" (Major, 1980, p1020). This is especially so in light of the widespread newspaper coverage about the increase in unemployment and the difficulties which the unskilled unemployed face in getting jobs.

The results obtained from the laboratory based test of Kelley's theory provided considerable support for the interpretation of the covariation model in relation to unemployment outlined at the beginning of Chapter Three. The results support an interpretation of Kelley's theory which stresses the influence of consensus on task difficulty, distinctiveness on all attributions and consistency on unstable attributions (luck at least provided a significant main effect). It appears that the influences of consensus and consistency on attributions other than the above are subject to the success failure biases and order effects in a laboratory situation.

These findings highlight the need for caution in using an interpretation of Kelley's covariation model which suggests that consensus, distinctiveness and consistency have equal influences on all the different attributions irrespective of the problem to which the model is applied.

The field research, to be reported in Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine, provides an opportunity to assess whether the laboratory based findings applying the covariation model to success and failure in job seeking were supported in a field setting. Without

the laboratory study applying the model to success and failure in job seeking using the traditional minimum information case study methodology, it would have been impossible to determine whether the outcome of the field research was due to the particular interpretation of Kelley's model or to the greater realism of the setting.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FIELD RESEARCH: METHOD

1.0 Preliminary negotiations and rationale for general procedure

As the nature of this research was influenced considerably by the practical difficulties associated with working with the unemployed and with the Department of Labour, the situational factors constraining the research are outlined below.

1.1 Access to unemployed subjects

Volunteers from among the registered unemployed were obtained with the cooperation of the Department of Labour subject to a number of restrictions. Access to files was not allowed, parental permission had to be obtained before interviewing those who were "underage" and staff involvement from the Department of Labour minimised. In order to meet these restrictions the duty employment officer approached those registering for work on pre selected days to ask for volunteers by giving them a letter from the researcher.

The volunteers could not be interviewed on the same day as they registered for work as this would have added another interview following visits to the Departments of Labour and Social Welfare. In addition, it was considered important to keep the research independent from the Employment Service of the Department of Labour.

Obtaining a suitable venue for interviewing proved a problem. Interviewing in the respondents homes was ruled out because of the likely distractions from other family members. One organisation approached clearly did not want the unemployed on their premises. However, the city librarian agreed to the use of space in the Public Library while the City's Public Relations Officer made the Information Office available for the follow up interviews carried out after hours.

Making initial contact in the library was often difficult, and it was necessary to wait for the unemployed who volunteered for the research in an accessible spot for a quarter of an hour before their appointment time, and for those who did not show for their interviews, for up to a quarter of an hour afterwards as well.

This, coupled with the need to constantly remind and prompt the Employment Service to approach people registering for work on the specified days, made the data collection phase of the research extremely time consuming and frustrating. Although the local Employment Service was supportive of the research, the pressures under which the service was operating with the high levels of unemployment, understandably meant that the research had a low priority.

1.2 Interview protocol

Thought was given to administering a questionnaire for the study, but it was felt that the nature of some of the questions required a flexible medium allowing for more sensitivity in responding. Crano and Brewer (1973) state that "in testing hypotheses, interviewing provides a means to study sensitive topics while, at the same time avoiding some of the distorting effects which can be produced in the research laboratory." (p. 166). In addition questionnaires are inappropriate when there is a suspected low reading level among the sample. Where there is little opportunity to assess the subjects' uniform interpretation of the questions, Kerlinger (1964, p476) stresses the advantages of the interview over a self-administered questionnaire, providing the questions are carefully constructed.

In an attempt to minimise reactivity, standardised questions with precoded responses on cards were used. However, flexibility was retained to facilitate the responsiveness necessary to bridge sex and age gaps between the interviewer and the unemployed where these existed.

Crano and Brewer (1973) and Kerlinger (1964) point to the costly nature of the interview as a method of data collection. This is particularly so when taped transcripts of the interview are used as the source of data. The decision to use precoded response categories greatly facilitated the processing of results, and removed the need for extensive inter-judge reliability checks. Only one of the variables in the study was dependent upon post interview judgements.

The structured questions, used to test the hypotheses, were followed by an unstructured part of the interview allowing for an exploration of the issues associated with unemployment. The information obtained during the unstructured phase of the

interview provided a rich source of ideas for developing creative responses to unemployment in addition to adding depth to the numerical data. Short standardised personality measures were administered as part of the interview protocol. Detailed case notes were written immediately after seeing each subject.

1.3 Pilot study

The interview protocol, given in Appendix D and discussed in detail in section 3.0 of this chapter, was pilot tested using 11 subjects. During the pilot testing the exact wording of the structured questions was finalised, the procedures involving the Department of Labour and the City Library were clarified, and an interviewing style was developed. A report on the pilot study is given in Appendix E.

2.0 Subjects

On the day before interviews were held the duty employment officer gave each person registering for work a letter asking them to volunteer for the research and to complete a short questionnaire obtaining their age, sex, education level and occupation (see Appendix F). This information was used to detect any differences between the group approached and those finally interviewed.

A total of 184 newly registered unemployed were approached by the duty employment officer, 128 of whom volunteered (70 percent), while 82 were finally interviewed (45 percent of original number of unemployed approached or 64 percent of those volunteering). Six of those who did not show for their interviews telephoned to cancel their appointments for various reasons. Of the 82 unemployed who were interviewed, 51 were followed up one month later. Discussion relating to the follow up sample is given in section 2.2.

The response rate was low, but comparable to that obtained in the New Zealand Christchurch Employment Advisory Committee "Study of Unemployed Youth in Christchurch", (1979), when visits were made to the respondents' homes. Also, reading between the lines, the rate is similar to that of Haines and Macky (1982), although the response rate for the unemployed in their sample is not clear.

Although the primary aim of the research was to test Kelley's

covariation model, not to undertake a survey of the unemployed, sample bias does influence external validity. For this reason a series of analyses were completed comparing the subjects finally interviewed with those who were approached but who were not interviewed and with statistics publicly available from the Department of Labour. In addition, a check was made for bias in the 51 subjects followed up.

2.1 Assessment of bias in the 82 subjects interviewed

To assess the bias in the sample interviewed, those who declined to be interviewed and those who volunteered, but did not show or telephoned to cancel were grouped, and compared with those who were interviewed. Table 7.1 provides the data relating to age and sex characteristics in the two groups.

TABLE 7.1

Age and sex of those interviewed and
those in the sample not interviewed

		NOT INTERVIEWED	INTERVIEWED
MALES	Average age	24.32	24 35
	S.D.	8.129	8.94
	Number	71	48
FEMALES	Average age	20.13	24.74
	S.D.	7.361	10.31
	Number	31	34

A 2x2 Chi Squared analysis (corrected for continuity) was performed on the numbers of subjects in each category indicating that there was no significant sex bias in the sample interviewed ($\chi^2(1) = 1.99$, NS)

No age bias was found among the males, the t value for the males was negligible ($t=.0007$). There was however a significant age bias among the females ($t(63) = 2.93$, $p<.01$); those who were interviewed were older than those not interviewed. An examination of the data in more detail revealed that this was probably due to a group of young female school leavers who volunteered to be interviewed, but who did not show for the

interviews. As parental permission was required for any person under the age of 18, it is possible that parents refused to sign the letter giving permission (see Appendix F), although there is no way of knowing this for certain. Many of the older women who were seen were under considerable stress and they may have perceived the interview as an opportunity to talk about their situations, the sex of the researcher perhaps having an influence on this.

In order to simplify the information relating to education level, two categories were used for purposes of assessing bias: no qualifications and some School Certificate qualifications and above (including trade and technical qualifications). Tables 7.2 and 7.3 provide information relating to the education levels of those interviewed and those not interviewed for males and females respectively.

TABLE 7.2

Assessment of educational bias
among the males in the sample

	NOT INTERVIEWED	INTERVIEWED	TOTAL
NO QUALIFICATIONS	47 41.2	22 27.8	69
SOME S.C. PASSES AND ABOVE	24 29.8	26 20.2	50
TOTALS	71	48	119

($\chi^2(1) = 4.03$ $p < .05$, corrected for continuity)

TABLE 7.3

Assessment of educational bias
among the females in the sample

	NOT INTERVIEWED	INTERVIEWED	TOTAL
NO QUALIFICATIONS	15 15.7	18 17.3	33
SOME S.C. PASSES AND ABOVE	16 15.3	16 16.7	32
TOTALS	31	34	65

($\chi^2(1) = .01$, NS, corrected for continuity)

There is an educational bias evident in Table 7.2 for males, but not in Table 7.3 for females. The males with "no qualifications" were under-represented in the group interviewed.

Appendix G provides information comparing the sample interviewed and approached with what official figures were available for the Palmerston North District. The results of these analyses suggest that the registered unemployed who were approached by the Department of Labour were representative of those registering for work during the period in which the research was conducted.

2.2 Follow up interviews

Of the 82 unemployed interviewed, follow up interviews were completed with 51 (62 percent). As far as could be ascertained the reasons for not having follow up interviews with those remaining are given in Table 7.4. This information was obtained either at the first interview when the participants stated their movements over the next month, or from family, flat mates or the unemployed themselves when telephoning to arrange the follow up interviews. At least three attempts were made to locate the respondents, including telephone calls or visits to the new addresses when these were available.

TABLE 7.4

Reasons for non follow up

Left Town	9
No Address/moved	10
Working, preferred not to be interviewed	3
Did not Show	5
Information not available	4

Comparisons between the sample for whom a second interview was completed (N=51) and those who were only interviewed once (N=31) revealed no significant sex differences ($\chi^2(1) = 2.55, NS$), and no significant differences in ethnic origin ($\chi^2(1) = 3.4, NS$) although this approached significance. It was necessary to collapse across categories in order to test for differences in ethnic origin, and the resultant two by two analysis, as well as the analysis for a sex bias was corrected for continuity. There was no significant difference in the education level of the two groups, collapsing across categories in order to obtain adequate numbers in each cell, ($\chi^2(2) = 1.77, NS$). However, there was some bias in relation to socio-economic status ($\chi^2(2) = 7.12, p < .05$) indicating that subjects with a higher socio-economic status were more likely to have been included in the follow up interview. This may be reflecting the lack of permanent address already discussed which is no doubt more prevalent among the lower socio-economic status groups.

2.3 Demographic data relevant to the 82 unemployed interviewed

Information about marital status and ethnic origin was only obtained from those interviewed. Of the 82 unemployed interviewed, 61 were single, 9 were married and 11 were separated or divorced. Two subjects had de facto relationships. Seventy two were European/Pakeha, eight were Maori, and a Cook Islander and Samoan were included in the sample.

The large proportion of the respondents grew up in households with the breadwinner's occupation falling in the intermediate socio-economic status categories (Seven subjects fell into Category 1, high status, 9 in SES 2, 23 in SES 3, 25 in SES 4, 8 in SES 5, while 10 subjects had the lowest SES rating of 6). A

similar distribution of SES ratings is found in urban areas in New Zealand as a whole (Elley & Irving, 1976).

Of those interviewed, 28 were under 20 years, 34 were between 20 and 24 years, five were between 25 and 29, eight were in their 30's, and seven were over 40 years. The mean age for the sample was 24 years.

As would be expected among a sample of newly registered unemployed, most had been out of work for between one and two weeks (N=35), but many had been unemployed for much longer. For some this was because they allowed their registration to lapse and needed to reregister, while others had been registered in a different district before moving. In addition, many of the unemployed lived off their savings before economic necessity motivated them to register for work in order to obtain the benefit. Sixteen participants had been out of work for between two and four weeks, 13 for between four and eight weeks, nine for between two and six months, while nine subjects had been unemployed for more than six months.

3.0 Measuring Instruments Used

3.1 Structured questions in the interview protocol

The structured questions used in the interview protocol are reproduced in Appendix D, with the rationale for their development and inclusion given below.

3.1.1 Demographic variables

The demographic variables used in this study (see pages 191 and 192 in Appendix D) were taken, with only minor modifications, from the New Zealand Social Indicators Pilot Survey (1980) run by the Department of Statistics.

The socio-economic status of the major breadwinner in the family during the formative years of the subjects (up to the age of 15) was obtained from these questions (Elley and Irving, 1976;

Irving and Elley, 1977). The ratings were checked by the Social Indicators Section of the Department of Statistics.

3.1.2 Information antecedents: consensus, distinctiveness and consistency

As recommended by Kelley and Michela (1980) these questions assessed perceived consensus, distinctiveness and consistency for failure to obtain a job, not objective levels of the variables (see page 192 in Appendix D). In the follow up interviews these variables were assessed in relation to success in getting a job for those with jobs, and the wording and/or scoring was reversed accordingly (see page 195 in Appendix D). Relatively more objective measures of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency were obtained from the unemployment figures relevant to a respondent's age and qualification level (consensus), from their past success in educational settings (distinctiveness) and from their length of unemployment or number of job interviews attended (consistency) respectively.

The consensus question simply asked respondents to estimate what percentage (grouped into seven intervals) of people with skills and qualifications like theirs were out of work. Kassin's (1979) review of research on the consensus variable indicated that degree of consensus was important, and using finer distinctions than have been manipulated traditionally in analogue laboratory based studies testing Kelley's theory was justified.

Distinctiveness was operationalised by having the unemployed estimate the strength or weakness of their job related skills other than their job seeking skills. Renwick (1980) lists the attributes which the New Zealand Employer's Federation states employers are looking for in job seekers (page 41). These attributes include job seeking skills, the most directly related to this study. The subjects' perceived strength or weakness on the remaining attributes was assessed providing measures of their perceived level of distinctiveness for their lack of success in job seeking. If the unemployed rated themselves as strong on most of the other attributes, then their failure in job seeking was considered highly distinctive. If they rated

themselves as weak on these skills, then their failure in job seeking was considered to be low on distinctiveness.

In this research (N=82) the seven distinctiveness items demonstrated an alpha of .704, and as this was not improved through the deletion of items, all seven were used to form a self rated distinctiveness score.

Consistency was operationalised in terms of perceived past success and failure in job seeking activities.

3.1.3 Causal attribution dependent measures

The structured causal attribution questions were based on the attribution items widely quoted in the literature (Elig and Frieze, 1979) and on Weiner's (1974) two-by-two classification given in Table 7.5.

TABLE 7.5

Weiner's (1974) causal classification illustrated with the examples used in this research for success (S) and failure (F)		
	INTERNAL	EXTERNAL
STABLE	-lack of ability or skill (F)	-jobs are too difficult to get (F)
	-you had the ability or skill for the job (S)	-jobs like that were easy to get (S)
UNSTABLE	-you havn't tried hard enough to get a job yet(F)	-bad luck (F)
	-you tried particularly hard for the job (S)	-good luck (S)

Respondents were asked to rate the importance of each of the reasons given in the table by referring to a card with a 7-point scale containing verbal and numerical anchors for each point ranging from extremely unimportant (1) to extremely important (7) (see page 193 in Appendix D). Warr and Knapper (1968) provide evidence that the 9-point scale is suitable for use with a university population, but that a shorter scale is better for

use with the general population. For the field research the attribution measures were based on a 7-point scale. The failure question related to the reason for their being unemployed while the attributions for success were made in response to the last job offered.

In addition, the responses to the open ended questions regarding the reasons for not having a job (failure) and for obtaining their last job (success) were recorded verbatim and rated blind and independently by two post graduate psychology students and the author. This data was used to check the validity of the structured responses (See Appendix H for details of the rating, and the comparisons of the structured and unstructured responses).

Asking subjects about the cause of their being unemployed proved too clumsy and this was abandoned in favour of asking subjects what they thought the reason was for their not having a job. Although aware of the debate in the attribution literature regarding the distinction between causes and reasons (Buss, 1978 & 1979), in practical terms in an applied setting, the unemployed do not make the distinction between something which fits a strictly scientific cause and effect model and something which is more teleological in meaning. Questions were chosen to be as simple and natural as possible.

One of the reasons for the inclusion of the questions dealing with attributions for success was to help to shift the focus of the unemployed respondents from thinking about their failure to get a job to a previous success, the ethics of focussing only on failure being questionable. For this reason the success questions always followed the failure questions, the same order as was used in the present laboratory study reported in Chapter Six.

3.1.4 Motivation to continue seeking a job

The operationalisation of the various components of the Azjen and Fishbein (1972 & 1980) and Fishbein and Azjen (1975) behavioural intention model (pages 193-194 in Appendix D) is discussed fully in Appendix I, together with the relevant

literature and results.

3.1.5 Life Satisfaction

Items assessing life satisfaction were selected from Warr, Cook and Wall (1979) but they are quite similar to those used in the New Zealand Social Indicators pilot survey (1980) and in Chamberlain's (1980) survey in Palmerston North. The items in Warr et al which were specific to the British situation were not included.

Warr et al (1979) define life satisfaction as "the degree to which a person reports satisfaction with salient features of his life and life-space. Total life satisfaction is the sum of all separate items, and overall life satisfaction is reported satisfaction with ones life as a whole" (p. 133).

Warr et al (1979) report the results of a cluster analysis of the life satisfaction items which produced three separate components, items 5, 6, 9, and 10 (Appendix D, pages 194 and 195) dealing with immediate personal concerns about health, education, social and family life; items 7, 8, and five other items specific to the U.K. relating to satisfaction with standards of achievement; and the third cluster, items 1, 2, 3, and 4 covering satisfaction with life style. Internal consistency of the scales (alpha) were .59 for satisfaction with personal life, .81 for satisfaction with standards and achievements and .6 for satisfaction with life style. Overall life satisfaction (with 15 items in their study) produced an alpha of .78.

Internal consistency checks were run on the present sample resulting in an alpha of .301 for the personal scale, .511 for the lifestyle scale and .75 for the two items included from the achievement scale. The alpha for the ten items included in the research reported here was .71. The lower consistency of the individual scales precluded their use on an individual basis. Overall life satisfaction was used to test relationships. The consistency with which the subjects expressed dissatisfaction with the education they had received probably accounted for some of the inconsistency within the personal scale. This may well be

a feature of the attitudes to education among the unemployed, as similar dissatisfaction was evidenced among the unemployed in the Christchurch survey.

3.1.6 Happiness measure

The three point happiness scale widely used in national surveys (Andrews & Withey, 1976; Quinn & Shepard, 1974), was included (see page 194 in Appendix D). Warr et al (1979) checked its suitability for use with blue collar workers.

3.1.7 Job Satisfaction items for follow up interview

Those subjects who were employed at the time of the second interview were given a set of job satisfaction questions taken from Warr et al (1979). They define job satisfaction as "the degree to which a person reports satisfaction with intrinsic and extrinsic features of the job. Total job satisfaction is the sum of all separate items, and overall job satisfaction is reported satisfaction with the job as a whole" (p. 133). Warr et al (1979) provide a breakdown of the items clustering together to form intrinsic job satisfaction and those clustering to form extrinsic job satisfaction and various other sub scales. The alpha coefficients for total job satisfaction are in the region of .85 to .88, intrinsic job satisfaction .79 to .85, and extrinsic job satisfaction .76 to .72. Construct validity is provided by the pattern of intercorrelations with other relevant measures. In the present research the scale was only administered to those subjects who were actually in jobs at the second interview (N= 22). This sample was too small to obtain an equivalent reliability estimate. The scale is given on page 196 in Appendix D.

3.1.8 Recreational activities

The major categories in the revised classification of types of recreation activity put out by the New Zealand Advisory and Research Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, was used as a stimulus to elicit a list of recreational activities. This information was supplementary to the main thrust of the research

reported in this thesis.

3.1.9 Relative importance in life of work, social activities and family

A simple question was formulated asking for a rating of the importance of these three variables using the 7-point importance scale (see page 197 in Appendix D). In addition subjects were asked to rank order the three factors in terms of importance to them. This question was not based on any previous research, but was thought to be important and was included for exploratory purposes. The importance question was only included in the follow up study.

3.2 Standardised instruments

3.2.1 Self-esteem measure

In choosing a measure of self-esteem the Coopersmith (1967) self-esteem scale, the Rosenberg (1965) scale and the Tennessee Self Concept Measure were considered.

The Tennessee Self-Concept Measure was too long for the time available. Although a modification of Rosenberg's scale was used by Gurney (1981) in his research examining the effect of unemployment on the self-esteem of school leavers, the items were not suitable for the age range of subjects forming the sample in the present study. Coopersmith's (1966) scale has been used with adult samples (Robinson & Shaver, 1973), and was chosen for the present research.

One of the strengths of Coopersmith's scale is the theoretical basis provided for it in the form of a "nomological net", with the emphasis on parental relationships as one of the major sources of low or high self-esteem.

Robinson and Shaver, (1973) provide information about the reliability and validity of the scale. Split half reliability of the longer scale (50) items was .90 with a test retest reliability of .7 over three years, indicating a degree of

stability, to be expected in a more enduring personality attribute. The 25 item scale used in the present research correlated over .95 with the longer scale, but as Robinson and Shaver (1973) point out, the stability would probably be less than for the longer scale.

To support the convergent validity of the scale Robinson and Shaver report correlations of .59 with the Rosenberg scale for college students, and correlations in the region of .60 with other scales. It correlated .44 with the Crowne Marlowe Social Desirability scale and .75 with the Edwards Scale, pointing to a need to control for social desirability.

The scoring of the scale followed that outlined by Robinson and Shaver (1973) with a maximum high self-esteem score of 25. As the scale is easily obtained it is not reproduced in this thesis.

The internal consistency of the 25 item scale was assessed on the present sample with an alpha of .74. The scale correlated .163 with the social desirability items.

3.2.2 General Health Questionnaire (GHQ)

The 60 item General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) was designed to detect minor psychiatric disorders in a community setting (Goldberg, 1972). The 12-item version of the GHQ was used in the present study. Banks, Clegg, Jackson, Kemp, Stafford, and Wall (1980) discuss the use of the 12-item version in industrial settings as a measure of negative mental health.

There are two methods of scoring the GHQ, the Likert method where scores range from 0 for the responses on the extreme left (see Appendix J) to 3, for responses on the extreme right, and the special method developed for the GHQ which is essentially binary, a "0" being given for either of the first two responses, and a "1" for either of the second two responses. The current research made use of both methods of scoring with preference being given to the Likert method. Banks et al (1980) found that the Likert method produced "consistently higher item-whole correlations than the GHQ-method", and demonstrated better psychometric properties

for multivariate analyses. They reported alpha coefficients ranging between .82 and .90. Factor analysis suggested that the scale was a unidimensional measure appropriately used as a single assessment of the degree minor psychiatric disturbance. Additional normative data for the GHQ, provided by Banks et al, (1980), will be discussed in Chapter Ten.

On the present sample an alpha of .889 was obtained for the GHQ, with no improvement being indicated through the deletion of items.

The original validation of the scale, described in Goldberg (1972), was based on correlations between the scale and independent clinical ratings which were in the region of .70. The significant difference between employed and unemployed subjects found by Banks et al (1980) and by Haines and Macky (1982) provides additional validity for its use among the unemployed.

3.2.3 Locus of Control

In choosing a short measure of locus of control there were only two to consider: Valecha's (1973) abbreviated 11 item Rotter I.E. scale, and the 11 items chosen from James I-E scale, recommended for use by Robinson and Shaver (1973). These last mentioned 11 items loaded on the first factor in the Macdonald and Tseng (1971) study (cited in Robinson & Shaver, 1973). The James Scale seems to have a simpler factor structure than the Rotter I-E Scale (1966) in that a more general first factor has been found, and the items are common to both sexes. This has not been demonstrated for Valecha's scale yet, and since concern has been expressed about the multidimensionality of the longer Rotter scale (e.g. Crandall, Katkovsky, & Crandall, 1965; Hersch & Scheibe, 1967 and Reid and Ware, 1974) it was decided to choose James' items in preference to those of Valecha. The response format used by James (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree) was chosen.

The alpha for the James items obtained from the present sample was .768 (N= 82) at time one and .803 (N=51) at time two. The

deletion of one item would have increased the alpha coefficients to .78 and .82 respectively, but the value in using the full scale for any future comparisons decided against its exclusion. The test retest correlation for this scale was .903 (N=51), suggesting a high degree of stability.

3.2.4 Social Desirability

The minor theoretical importance of this variable coupled with the limited attention span of the subjects had precluded the inclusion of the full 33 item Crowne Marlowe Scale. As the items needed to be read aloud for the respondents with reading difficulties, length of the scale was of essence. Following the suggestion of Robinson and Shaver (1973), based on Smith (1967) a measure of social desirability was obtained by selecting items from the Crowne Marlowe Scale. In choosing the items the percentage of the nationwide sample of tenth grade boys answering the items in the keyed direction was taken into account (Robinson & Shaver 1973), and a degree of balance was sought between the "deny bad" items (4, 5, 8, 9, 10 and 14 in Appendix K) and the "claim good" items (3, 13, 15, and 17). This also served to provide a balance for direction of responding, necessary for the control of an acquiescent response set.

Full scale reliabilities for the Crowne Marlowe scale are quoted as .88 both for internal consistency and test retest reliability (Robinson and Shaver, 1973).

The internal consistency of the 10 items used in the present research was .613 at time one (n=82) and .683 at time two (N=51). The deletion of items had a marginal influence on the alpha, so it was decided to use all ten items in the research. The test retest correlation of these ten items was .806 (N=51). While the alpha coefficient is only marginally acceptable, it was decided that this shortened scale could provide some indication of social desirability in the present research in addition to providing "filler items" for the locus of control scale.

The same response format was used for the social desirability scale as for James' locus of control scale. The two sets of

items (locus of control and social desirability) were randomly intermixed to form a scale which pilot testing indicated was acceptable (see Appendix K).

4.0 Procedure

The duty employment officer in the Department of Labour asked for volunteers among those people registering for work on the day before interviews were scheduled. The letter and form in Appendix E were given to all unemployed who were approached. The form was completed by both those who volunteered and those who declined, with an appointment being made for the group who volunteered. For ethical reasons it was stressed to the employment officers that no pressure should be placed on the unemployed to volunteer, but that all who registered on that day should be approached.

The interview followed the interview protocol outlined earlier for the majority of the respondents. For some of them it was necessary to be more flexible in the timing of the structured parts of the interview as they were under considerable stress and needed to talk through their situations. Everyone interviewed was told at the start of the interview that a follow up would be undertaken and that they would be contacted by telephone (or visited if they had no telephone) in two to three weeks to find out "how things were going", and again in a month to six weeks in order to arrange the follow up interview. A standard procedure was followed in doing this, although the time span varied across respondents because of difficulties involved in making contact with them, particularly when some had left Palmerston North to seek jobs elsewhere.

All interviewing was done by the author between April and September, 1981.

To summarise, the structure of the procedure is outlined on the next page.

Summary of procedure

1. The first interview comprised a structured and an unstructured part. At this interview, information and help was given when required and where necessary referrals were made to other professionals. Detailed notes were kept of such help and of the more descriptive data obtained. Although aware of the possible confounding effect of this, to have ignored the needs of the unemployed when help was sought would have been unethical. Future contact was outlined at the start of the interview.
2. Two to three weeks later a follow up telephone call (or visit) was made to check on the participant's current situation. A standard telephone procedure was followed, but the flexibility of response required rendered data obtained over the telephone of little use for formal hypothesis testing.
3. Four to six weeks later a second follow up telephone call (or visit) was made and the follow-up interview arranged. A longer follow up period had been intended but the likely further attrition of the sample made this impractical.
4. The follow up interview comprising structured questions and an unstructured part was completed. The impact of the help given at the first interview was assessed, and assistance obtained from other sources in the interim period noted. If further help was sought this was given or referrals made. The purpose of the study was explained to the participants at the end of this interview and they were promised a follow up letter.
5. Follow up thank you letters containing a simple outline of the results were sent to all who participated approximately four months after the completion of the interviewing.

CHAPTER EIGHT

RESULTS FROM THE FIELD RESEARCH

(Antecedents, attributions and consequences
of attributions)

This chapter first gives the results of the field research testing Kelley's covariation model and the attributional biases, and then looks at the relationship of the personality variables and behavioural and affective outcomes to the causal attributions.

1.0 Introductory comments

As pointed out by Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973), natural phenomena are complex, and one is seldom able to achieve the degree of control in field research which is possible in an experimental situation. Analysis of variance enables one to examine the relationship between one independent variable and a dependent variable, controlling for other variables. However, when studying natural phenomena the problems are usually of the ex post facto nature where one does not have control over independent variables. In this situation multiple regression procedures can be used to test theoretical relationships.

Cook and Campbell (1979) stress the differences between predictive and structural multiple regression. Although often based on blind empiricism, predictive multiple regression has immediate payoff for behavioural scientists. It can be used for selection in personnel work or for the detection of people at risk in clinical or counselling psychology. Structural multiple regression, which involves partialling out variables normally controlled through experimental design, provides one way of testing theoretically based causal relationships in applied settings.

Structural multiple regression was used to test Kelley's covariation model, while planned comparisons based on repeated measures analysis of variance were used to test attributional biases. Most analyses reported here have been completed with SPSS (Nie, Hull, Jenkins, Sternbrenner & Bent, 1975), Minitab (Ryan, Joiner & Ryan, 1976), or a factorial analysis of variance programme from Flinders University, Australia.

2.0 Test of Kelley's covariation theory in the field setting

If Kelley's theory applies to behaviour in a field setting as well as to laboratory based situations, one would expect that the Beta weights in multiple regression and the tests of their significance would indicate the predicted relationships of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency with task difficulty/ease, ability, luck and effort respectively. To achieve similar control in the field research to that afforded by the analysis of variance based design in the laboratory study, standard multiple regression was used. This procedure treats each independent variable (consensus, distinctiveness and consistency) as though it were entered last, thereby controlling for the influence of the other two predictors (see page 338 in Nie et al, 1975). Kelley's theory does not predict causal relationships among the predictor variables, so that a hierarchical method of multiple regression would have been inappropriate (see Nie et al, 1975 p 339). The same hypotheses as were tested in the laboratory study reported in Chapter Six (see page 51 in Chapter Five) were tested in a field setting, using the self attributions made for being unemployed. If the laboratory study results reflect accurately the application of Kelley's model to the attributions made about success and failure in job seeking then at least we would expect a strong effect for distinctiveness on all attributions, for consensus on task difficulty/ease attributions and for consistency on luck attributions.

2.1 Test of Kelley's theory on the full sample

Table 8.1 provides the Beta weights from the standard multiple regressions where consensus, distinctiveness and consistency were the predictor variables, and attributions for failure to task difficulty, ability, luck and effort the criterion variables. The Beta weights for each of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency represent their relationship with each of the dependent measures, controlling for the remaining two predictors. A significant Beta weight (the significance based on an F test) represents a significant incremental contribution of that predictor to the criterion variable in addition to the contribution of the other two predictor variables. Asterisks indicate the significance level.

A test for interactions between the three predictor variables and

the significance of the contribution of these interactions to the criterion measures was completed following the procedure outlined in the SPSS manual (Nie et al, 1975, p. 373) and discussed in relation to the experimental design regression based method of analysis of variance in Overall and Klett (1972, p. 443). No two- or three-way interactions added significantly to the prediction of the criterion variables, allowing for direct interpretation of the main Beta weights in Table 8.1.

Multiple correlations (R) and the coefficient of determination (R^2) between the three predictor variables and each of the attribution variables are given on the bottom row of the table.

TABLE 8.1

Beta weights from the multiple regressions
testing Kelley's covariation model using the
attributions made for failure among the 82
registered unemployed

<u>Predictors</u>	<u>Task Diff.</u> _a	<u>Ability</u> _a	<u>Luck</u> _a	<u>Effort</u> _a
Consensus	0.162	0.118	0.248*	0.064
Distinctiveness	-0.033	-0.331**	0.096	-0.025
Consistency	0.063	0.040	0.208	-0.138
R	0.188	0.388**	0.310*	0.154
R^2_b	0.035	0.152**	0.096*	0.024

*= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$, using the appropriate F test for the Beta weights or the multiple correlations (a=DF 1,78; b=DF 3,78).

The results presented in Table 8.1 provided limited support for Kelley's covariation model. The only significant linear relationships between the predictor variables and the attributions were found between distinctiveness and ability and between consensus and luck attributions. The direction of these significant Beta weights was as predicted, low distinctiveness resulting in a high ability attribution, and high consensus resulting in a high luck attribution.

2.2 Separate test of Kelley's theory among males and females

Although it was anticipated that males and females would differ in the attributions they made for success and failure, no specific predictions were made for sex differences in the information variables (consensus, distinctiveness and consistency) nor in the relationship between the information variables and causal attributions. Significant sex differences were found for a number of key variables. Females perceived higher consensus for their unemployment ($F(1,80)=5.531$, $P<.05$), lower distinctiveness for failure ($F(1,80)=10.61$, $p<.01$) and they made stronger ability attributions for failure ($F(1,80)=5.48$, $p<.05$). Because of this, Kelley's theory was also tested separately for the two sexes.

The results of the multiple regressions completed separately for the males and females are given in Tables 8.2 and 8.3 respectively. These can be interpreted directly as the two and three way interactions among the independent variables did not add significantly to the relationship with the dependent measures.

TABLE 8.2

Beta weights from the multiple regressions testing Kelley's covariation model on failure attributions made among the 48 unemployed males.

	<u>Task Diff.</u> _a	<u>Ability</u> _a	<u>Luck</u> _a	<u>Effort</u> _a
Consensus	-0.008	0.056	0.104	0.197
Distinctness	-0.171	-0.113	0.071	0.010
Consistency	0.118	0.215	0.269	-0.025
R	0.217	0.276	0.293	0.192
R ² _b	0.047	0.076	0.086	0.037

No F tests for the Beta weights or the multiple correlations were significant (a=DF 1,44; b=DF 3,44).

TABLE 8.3

Beta weights from the multiple regressions testing Kelley's covariation model on failure attributions made among the 34 unemployed females

	<u>Task Diff._a</u>	<u>Ability_a</u>	<u>Luck_a</u>	<u>Effort_a</u>
Consensus	0.336	0.136	0.400*	-0.201
Distinctiveness	0.231	-0.545*	0.182	-0.152
Consistency	0.049	-0.217	0.194	-0.448*
R	0.375	0.593*	0.416	0.448
R ² _b	0.141	0.352*	0.173	0.201

*= $p < .05$, based on appropriate F test for the Beta weights and the multiple correlations (a=DF 1,30; b=DF 3,30).

No predicted relationships reached the .05 significance level among the males. Among the females, the low distinctiveness high ability attribution, the high consensus high luck attribution and the low consistency high effort attribution had significant Beta weights in the predicted direction. What limited support was found for Kelley's covariation model was mostly due to the relationship found in the female group.

2.3 Test of Kelley's theory on the follow up sample

Even though the numbers were small, the follow up data from the 24 unemployed who were offered jobs by the time of the second interview and the 27 who remained unemployed were used to test Kelley's theory on attributions made for success and failure. Multiple regressions were completed separately for the two groups, the results of which are given in Table 8.4 for the unemployed group and Table 8.5 for the employed group. As in previous analyses the two and three way interactions between the predictor variables were checked to see whether they added significantly to the prediction of the criterion variables. Only the three way interaction among predictor variables for ability attributions for failure among the group who remained unemployed was significant ($F(7,19)=3.062$, $p < .05$). This suggests a complex

relationship between consensus, distinctiveness and consistency in relation to ability attributions among this group.

TABLE 8.4.

Beta weights from the multiple regressions testing Kelley's covariation model on attributions made for failure among the 27 unemployed at the second interview.

	<u>Task Diff._a</u>	<u>Ability_a</u>	<u>Luck_a</u>	<u>Effort_a</u>
Consensus	0.126	0.495*	-0.135	-0.066
Distinctiveness	-0.457*	-0.250	-0.216	0.013
Consistency	-0.032	-0.271	-0.287	0.081
R	0.457	0.563*	0.469	0.101
R ² _b	0.209	0.317*	0.219	0.010

*= $p < .05$, based on the appropriate F tests for the Beta weights and the multiple regressions (a=DF 1,23; b=DF 3,23).

Both of the significant Beta weights in Table 8.4 were in the opposite direction to that predicted. Among the 27 respondents still unemployed, task difficulty attributions were associated with low, rather than high distinctiveness, and ability attributions with high, rather than low consensus. The reversal of Kelley's theory within this small "failing" group, together with the significant contribution of the three way interaction between the predictors consensus, distinctiveness and consistency for ability attributions, suggested the need to explore the causal relationships among these variables.

Crosslagged or panel correlations can be used to explore causal relationships where measures are obtained on the same variables at two different times. This occurred for the group who remained unemployed as they responded to the same key attribution questions at the first and the second interview. Appendix L contains the results of the crosslagged correlations performed between consensus and distinctiveness, on the one hand, and task difficulty and ability attributions, on the other. A similar analysis was completed to explore the causal relationship between consensus and distinctiveness.

Although far from equivocal, analyses do suggest that consensus estimates are complex, with ability and task difficulty

attributions perhaps influencing, rather than being influenced by consensus. In addition, distinctiveness may influence consensus estimates, while Kelley's model would assume that these should be independent.

Table 8.5 provides the results of the test of Kelley's theory in relation to the 24 respondents who were offered jobs by the time of the second interview.

TABLE 8.5

Beta weights from the multiple regressions testing Kelley's covariation model for success attributions made among the 24 respondents offered jobs by the time of the second interview

	<u>Task Ease_a</u>	<u>Ability_a</u>	<u>Luck_a</u>	<u>Effort_a</u>
Consensus	-0.313	0.130	-0.021	-0.110
Distinctiveness	-0.016	-0.355	-0.209	-0.217
Consistency	-0.008	0.159	-0.397	0.656**
R	0.313	0.497	0.360	0.752**
R ² _b	0.098	0.247	0.130	0.565**

**= $p < .01$, using the appropriate F tests for the Beta weights and the multiple correlations ($a = DF \ 1, 20$; $b = DF \ 3, 20$).

Among the 24 subjects offered work the only significant Beta weight was found between consistency and effort attributions. This was in the direction opposite to that predicted, with high, not low, consistency relating to strong effort attributions. It appears that effort attributions for success were seen as stable.

Results from the follow up sample provided no support for Kelley's theory, although a number of interesting significant relationships emerged which will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.

3.0 Differential attributions made for success and failure and the fundamental attribution error

3.1 Success failure bias

When comparing the self attributions made by the unemployed for success and failure it is important to remember that the failure attributions referred to the reasons for being unemployed ("In general what do you think the reason is that you haven't got a job yet?"), while the success attributions were made in response to a question about the reasons for obtaining a particular job in the past. Success and failure were not therefore as directly comparable in the field research as they were in the laboratory based study.

The success failure hypothesis predicted that attributions to ability and effort would be stronger for success than for failure while attributions to task difficulty and bad luck would be stronger for failure than would attributions to task ease and good luck for success.

Because of the sex differences in attributions for success and failure, the success failure bias was tested separately within each sex using a planned comparisons approach. The results from these planned comparisons are given in Table 8.6. By way of a control against Type I errors a three way analysis of variance (sex by causal attribution by success/failure) with repeated measures on the last two factors was completed. The full ANOVA table is given in Appendix M. The significant three way interaction ($F(3,240) = 2.8, p < .05$) provided a check for the planned comparisons approach to testing the predicted success failure differences in causal attributions within each of the sexes (Keppel, 1973).

TABLE 8.6

Success failure bias among males and females

	<u>Task Difficulty</u>		<u>Ability</u>		<u>Luck</u>		<u>Effort</u>	
	<u>Ease</u>							
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
<u>Males</u> (N=48)								
Failure	4.96	1.87	3.83	1.91	3.0	1.95	4.52	2.03
Success	3.60	1.81	4.81	1.81	4.0	1.87	4.79	1.85
F Value	12.983**		6.796*		6.583*		0.465	
<u>Females</u> (N=34)								
Failure	5.5	1.33	4.79	1.66	3.50	1.65	4.26	1.74
Success	4.0	1.63	4.21	1.92	4.71	1.82	5.15	1.40
F Value	17.283**		1.825		8.098**		5.328*	

*= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$ DF(Males)= 1,47 DF(Females)= 1,33

Note: Error terms were derived from the appropriate S.D.s

As predicted, both males and females made stronger attributions to task difficulty for failure than to task ease for success. Among the males, ability attributions for success were stronger than for failure, while among the females effort attributions for success were stronger than were lack of effort attributions for failure. Contrary to predictions, both males and females made stronger attributions to luck for success than to bad luck for failure.

3.2 Fundamental attribution error

The fundamental attribution error predicted that for self attribution, external factors would be more important than internal factors. As in the laboratory study, a two way repeated measures analysis of variance (success vs failure by internal vs external) was completed. The full results of this analysis are reproduced Table 8.7. The main effect for internal/external in this analysis provided the basis for testing for the existence of the fundamental attribution error while the interaction term allowed for a test of the combined effect of the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias.

TABLE 8.7

Analysis of variance, success vs failure
by internal vs external attributions,
(N=82) registered unemployed respondents

<u>Source</u>	<u>SS</u>	<u>DF</u>	<u>MS</u>	<u>F</u>
Between Subjects	2.820	81		
Within Subjects				
(A) Fail vs Succ	2.820	1	2.80	0.669
Error	341.305	81	4.214	
(B) Int vs EXt	29.453	1	29.453	8.264**
Error	288.672	81	3.564	
AB	14.342	1	14.342	3.449
Error	336.783	81	4.158	

**= $p < .01$

The internal/external main effect was significant ($F(1,81)=8.264, p < .05$) although, surprisingly, the direction of the difference between the means was the opposite to that predicted. Internal factors received slightly stronger attributions (Mean=4.536) than external factors (Mean=4.113). Separate analyses completed for males and females demonstrated that this reverse effect was strong among the males ($F(1,47)=9.02, p < .01$) while no difference was found among the females ($F(1,33)=0.677, NS$). The fundamental attribution error is not supported when tested on the self attributions made by the registered unemployed.

3.3 Combined influence of the success failure bias and the fundamental attribution error

From Table 8.7 it can be seen that the interaction between success/failure and internal/external attributions was insignificant ($F(1,81)=3.449, NS$) for the sample as a whole. Because of this no further analyses were completed testing for the combined influence of the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias.

4.0 Test of predicted relationships between personality variables and causal attributions

Hypothesis 3.1 predicted that those unemployed with high self-esteem and an internal locus of control would attribute failure to lack of effort and success to ability, while those with low self-esteem and an external locus of control would attribute failure to ability and success to effort or good luck. No theoretical or research basis exists for making a priori predictions for the high self-esteem external locus of control group or the low self-esteem internal locus of control group.

Hypothesis 3.1, embodied in Table 5.3 on page 54 in Chapter Five, was examined by assigning respondents to one of four quadrants on the basis of their falling above or below the median on self-esteem and on the locus of control scale. As can be seen in Table 8.8 the median split did not result in equal numbers of high and low self-esteem scorers and this could not have been achieved without arbitrarily assigning the 12 cases who fell on the median to one or other category. Upper and lower thirds were not used as this would have made the sample size too small.

Among the unemployed sample the females had significantly lower self-esteem ($F(80,1)=5.941, p<.05$) than the males. This difference influenced the correlation between consensus and self-esteem markedly (-0.501 for males, and -0.039 for females), but the relationship between self-esteem and the causal attributions was not affected. Because of this and because of the smallness of the sample size the hypotheses were tested only on the group as a whole.

Table 8.8 provides the mean attributions made for success and failure to each of task difficulty/ease, ability, luck and effort by respondents in each of the four quadrants. A series of one way analyses of variance were completed on each set of four means, results of which are also given in Table 8.8. These analyses provided the appropriate error terms for the planned comparisons for quadrants two and three. They also provided the basis for deciding whether post hoc analyses on quadrants one and four were permissible.

TABLE 8.8

Mean attributions made by respondents with combinations of high and low levels of self-esteem and an internal or external locus of control

		LOW SELF-ESTEEM		HIGH SELF-ESTEEM	
		Failure	Success	Failure	Success
INTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL	TD/E	5.154	3.846	4.733	3.900
	A	4.462	4.307	3.667	5.067
	L	3.307	4.923	2.533	3.800
	E	3.846	5.231	4.767	4.667
		F=2.50	F=1.17	F=13.82**	F=3.12*
		Quadrant one (N=13)		Quadrant two (N=30)	
EXTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL	TD/E	5.750	3.458	5.200	3.933
	A	4.917	3.875	4.067	4.867
	L	3.667	4.417	3.733	4.533
	E	4.375	5.083	4.267	5.000
		F=8.43**	F=4.23**	F=1.72	F=1.02
		Quadrant three (N=24)		Quadrant four (N=15)	

*= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

None of the overall F values were significant for quadrants one and four (low self-esteem internal, and high self-esteem external respectively) and because no a priori predictions were made, no further exploratory analyses were completed. The insignificant overall F values for these two quadrants is consistent with the theoretical analysis and review of previous research which failed to allow a priori hypotheses for these two groups. Quadrants two and three are relevant to the hypotheses relating to the joint influence of self-esteem and locus of control. All the overall F values for these quadrants were significant.

High self-esteem and an internal locus of control (quadrant two)

For the group with high self-esteem and an internal locus of control, the overall F for both failure attributions ($F(26,3) = 13.82, p < .01$) and success attributions ($F(26,3) = 3.122, p < .05$) was significant. To test the hypothesis a planned one by three comparison was completed. As predicted, failure attributions to effort were significantly stronger than the average of

attributions to task difficulty, luck and ability ($F(26,1) = 11.71, p < .01, \text{error} = 2.43$). It must be noted that the task difficulty attributions too were high. For success, as predicted, ability attributions were significantly stronger than the average of task ease, luck and effort attributions ($F(26,1) = 5.65, p < .05, \text{error} = 3.583$).

The responses which the unemployed in this group made to the open attribution question follow the same pattern. Of the 30 respondents with high self-esteem and an internal locus of control, 13 made lack of effort attributions for failure, five lack of ability attributions, eight attributed failure to task difficulty with no-one attributing failure to bad luck. For their past success 14 of these respondents attributed their success to ability, seven to effort, none to task ease, four to luck and five to contacts.

Low self-esteem and an external locus of control (quadrant three)

A significant overall F was obtained for failure attributions among the group with low self-esteem and an external locus of control ($F(3,20) = 8.425, p < .01$). The overall F value for success attributions was also significant ($F(3,20) = 4.231, p < .05$). A one by three planned comparison was used to test whether ability attributions were stronger for failure than were task difficulty, effort and luck attributions. No significant difference was found ($F(20,1) = 0.858, \text{NS}, \text{error} = 2.20$). However, this group did make stronger attributions to effort and luck than to ability and task ease for success ($F(20,1) = 10.06, p < .01, \text{error} = 2.80$). This was tested by averaging the means for effort and luck (the unstable factors) and comparing this with the averaged means for task ease and ability using a planned comparison.

In response to the open attribution questions, seven of these 24 low self-esteem external locus of control respondents attributed failure to ability, nine to lack of effort, eight to task difficulty, and none to luck. For success none made effort attributions, six made ability attributions, six thought the task was easy while two attributions were made to luck. Ten of these respondents made success attributions which were classified as being due to "contacts".

To summarise, the support for hypothesis 3.1 relating to the

combined role of self-esteem and locus of control is clearest among those with an internal locus of control and high self-esteem, with failure being attributed to lack of effort and success to ability. Among the group with low self-esteem and an external locus of control, the group Gurney (1981) claimed could be at risk, the predictions for failure attributions do not hold, although success is attributed to unstable factors.

5.0 Consequences of the attributions made

The behavioural and affective consequences of the causal attributions are of particular interest in this research because of the potential practical application for counselling the unemployed. These are presented below.

5.1 Outcome of obtaining or not obtaining a job

To examine the relationship of the antecedent information variables (consensus, distinctiveness and consistency), the personality variables (self-esteem, locus of control and social desirability) and the attribution variables to the actual consequence of obtaining work or not obtaining work, discriminant function analysis was performed. The two groups, those offered a job by the second interview ($N=24$) and those still unemployed ($N=27$), formed the dependent measure. A hierarchical procedure was used to ensure that the eight attributions made for failure and success, obtained at the first interview, were entered into the discriminant function at step one, followed by the three information variables in Kelley's theory at step two, and finally the three personality measures at step three.

The first step which included the attributions made to task difficulty/ease, ability, luck and effort for failure and success discriminated significantly between the two groups ($F(8,42)=2.655, p<.01$). The overall discriminant function was still significant ($F(11,39)=2.849, p<.01$) when the key information antecedent attribution variables (consensus, distinctiveness and consistency) were added at the second step, although the discriminant function did not increase significantly. When the personality variables were added the discriminant function remained significant, ($F(14,36)=2.127, p<.05$), although the personality variables did not improve the prediction. The discriminant function and the mean values for the variables are given in Table 8.9.

TABLE 8.9
Results from the discriminant function
analysis between the group offered jobs
(N=24) and those still unemployed (N=27)
at the second interview

<u>Discriminant Function</u>	<u>Mean unemployed</u>	<u>Mean employed</u>
<u>1. Causal attributions</u>		
Failure Task		
Difficulty .9342	4.148	5.666
Failure		
Ability .0605	4.259	4.375
Failure		
Luck -.4799	2.815	3.458
Failure		
Effort -.0448	4.555	4.583
Success Task		
Ease -.5073	4.074	3.417
Success		
Ability -.2243	4.778	4.167
Success		
Luck -.0510	4.259	4.417
Success		
Effort .7486	4.296	5.250
<u>2. Information variables</u>		
Consensus -.4859	3.370	2.958
Distinctiveness .3909	43.518	45.833
Consistency .3327	3.000	3.500
<u>3. Personality variables</u>		
Self Esteem -.0390	16.963	17.083
Social		
Desirability -.0700	15.963	17.208
Locus of		
Control .1761	15.593	15.667

Note 1. Group centroid for the unemployed group = $-.8406$
 Group centroid for the group working = $.9457$
 The group centroid merely represents the most typical
 location for a subject in the group in question.

Note 2. Overall the discriminant function was significant
 ($\chi^2 (14)=25.323, p<.05$), and it would be possible to
 classify the respondents into those likely to remain
 unemployed and those likely to obtain jobs with 82.35
 percent accuracy using the function.

Examination of the univariate F values pointed to only two variables having significantly different mean scores for the two groups, and both of these were entered at the first step. The group of respondents who were working at time two had a significantly higher mean attribution to task difficulty for failure ($F(1,49)=10.82, p<.01$) and a significantly higher mean effort attribution for success ($F(1,49)=4.228, p<.05$).

The variables making some contribution to the discriminant function in approximate order of importance are: attributions to task difficulty for failure, to effort for success, to task ease for success, consensus estimates, bad luck attributions for failure and distinctiveness and consistency estimates. Using the mean values for the two groups a picture emerges of the person still unemployed at the second interview having attributed failure less to task difficulty, success less to effort and more to task ease, and failure more to bad luck at the first interview relative to those working. In addition the unemployed group produced higher consensus and lower distinctiveness estimates, and, interestingly, lower consistency estimates for failure. The group who obtained jobs took credit for success, but attributed failure externally, while the unemployed group did not evidence the same self-serving bias.

Hypothesis 4.1 in Chapter five stated that attributions for failure to internal unstable factors such as effort and for success to internal stable factors such as ability would predict continued motivation to seek work. The data do not support this hypothesis. However, the results from the discriminant function analyses do provide considerable support for the general predictive and discriminating facility of the cognitive variables which are part of attribution theory.

5.2 Affective consequences of attributions

Hypothesis 4.2 predicted that attributing failure to lack of ability would lead to lower well-being and mental health. Attributing success to ability and failure to unstable factors would be associated with higher well-being and lower GHQ scores. Only one correlation between the well-being measures and attributions was significant. The unemployed with lower GHQ scores (representing low negative mental health) made stronger lack of effort attributions ($r(80) = -.270, p<.05$). Negative

mental health as measured by the GHQ was lowest for the unemployed who were still able to attribute their failure to a lack of effort, indicating that they had not yet exhausted trying. The other predicted relationships were not found. (See Appendix N for a full intercorrelation matrix).

6.0 Summary

In the field research there was little support for Kelley's covariation model or for the hypothesised influence of the combined role of the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias. Only distinctiveness related significantly to ability and consensus to luck attributions in the predicted directions for the group as a whole, and this was found mainly in the female group. A complex relationship was found between consensus and distinctiveness estimates, and attributions to ability and task difficulty among the group who remained unemployed.

The unemployed group with high self-esteem and an internal locus of control made the predicted attributions for success to ability and for failure to lack of effort, but among the group with low self-esteem and an external locus of control only success attributions to effort and luck were as predicted.

Attributing failure to effort and success to ability did not discriminate between those who were offered jobs and those who were not, as was hypothesised. However, failure attributed to task difficulty and success attributed to effort did discriminate significantly between the two groups. As expected, a lower negative mental health scores (lower GHQ) was associated with having attributed failure to lack of effort. The next chapter discusses these results more fully and compares them with the findings from the laboratory study.

CHAPTER NINE

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND SUPPLEMENTARY ANALYSES

The results presented in the previous chapter are discussed with supplementary exploratory analyses included where appropriate. In addition, comparisons with the findings from the laboratory study testing the same hypotheses are made.

1.0 Discussion of the results testing Kelley's covariation model

This section discusses separately the results relating to each of the causal attribution dependent measures.

Task difficulty/ease attributions

As high consensus, high distinctiveness and high consistency were predicted to lead to a high task difficulty attribution (hypothesis 1.1), the Beta weights between these variables and task difficulty should have been significant and positive. None were, although consensus did have the highest Beta weight in the predicted direction (Table 8.1).

More support was obtained for this hypothesis in the laboratory than in the field setting. In the laboratory based study, high distinctiveness resulted in higher task difficulty attributions than did low distinctiveness. High consensus affected task difficulty attributions as predicted when presented before the distinctiveness information and after consistency information (particularly low consistency information). In both the field research and in the laboratory study the relationship between consistency and task difficulty suggested that task difficulty may not have been considered as stable as implied in Weiner's model. If difficulty in obtaining jobs was not viewed as a stable phenomenon, it might partly explain why the predicted relationships were not found in the field study.

In addition, partial correlations pointed to the role of age as a source of error variance among the unemployed which should have been controlled. Partialling out age enhanced the consensus, task difficulty correlation ($r(79) = .202$, NS). Older unemployed respondents understandably rated themselves as low on consensus, but they did not, as would be predicted from the theory, necessarily make a low attribution to task difficulty. For

example, a man in his 30's who was a qualified carpenter perceived low consensus for his unemployment, yet he gave a high rating to task difficulty as well as to lack of effort. A woman in her 50's, a qualified teacher, also estimated low consensus for being out of work yet she made a strong attribution to task difficulty. These two respondents were typical of a number of older unemployed who faced situations which did make it difficult to get jobs. Despite this, the prevalence of youth unemployment meant that they perceived low consensus for their situation.

Ability

Kelley's theory predicted that low consensus, low distinctiveness and high consistency would relate to high ability attributions (hypothesis 1.2).

As predicted there was a significant negative Beta weight between distinctiveness and ability attributions, low distinctiveness relating to high ability attributions for failure. Although not significant, the consensus ability relationship was in the direction opposite to that predicted by Kelley. Consistency explained little additional variance in ability attributions. When examining the analysis separately for males and females, the significant distinctiveness ability relationship was found only among female respondents. The negative Beta weight between consistency and ability attributions ($-.217$) among the females countered the positive Beta weight ($.215$) among the males. The direction for the males was at least as predicted.

For the group who were still unemployed at the follow up interview, low distinctiveness was associated with a high ability attribution, as predicted. However, the Beta weight between consensus and ability was significant in the direction opposite to that predicted. This, taken in combination with the low distinctiveness high task difficulty relationship presented in section 2.3 on page 110 for the 27 respondents who remained unemployed, requires further comment. There appeared to be a complex relationship between consensus, distinctiveness, task difficulty and ability attributions among these respondents. It is possible that high task difficulty, as indicated by still being out of work at time two, resulted in a low distinctiveness (I lack skills) estimation. For this group Kelley's theory may have operated the other way around as suggested by Zuckerman and Mann (1979). Although the data from the unemployed sample

cannot provide any conclusive test of this, the crosslagged or panel correlations outlined in Appendix L, between consensus and task difficulty attributions offer a slight indication that the reverse influence may have occurred. The cross lagged correlations also suggested that distinctiveness may have influenced consensus estimates in this group, although the conditions for inferring causality were not good.

A possible explanation for the findings in the group who remained unemployed may lie in the influence of group identity. The reasoning could have been as follows -- "I am one of the many unemployed who lack skills and it is difficult to get a job if one has no skills". This group did not see the task as difficult for everyone, but only for those with no skills, a group with whom they identified. Task difficulty and lack of ability may have been seen as interrelated causes for this group.

Pruitt and Insko's (1980) additional dimension of "comparison behaviour consensus" discussed in Chapter Three (page 27) may be relevant to the idea of group identity. If others who are out of work also lack skills (high consensus for weak work related skills among a reference group) then Pruitt and Insko's laboratory research would suggest that attributions to internal stable factors would be weakened. Their laboratory finding is different from that hinted at here. In the field research, on a very different sample, group identity may well subvert the moderating influence of perceived high comparison behaviour consensus in a reference group. Instead of making a weaker attribution to ability with high comparison behaviour consensus, it appeared that a stronger ability attribution was made for themselves as well as for the group with whom they identified. Group bias has been suggested by other researchers. For example, Taylor and Doria (1981) found that a group serving bias was stronger than a self-serving bias in a field study involving athletes.

To summarise the results in relation to hypothesis 1.2, the role of distinctiveness in influencing attributions to ability for failure to obtain a job at time one, and for failure and success at time two was as predicted from Kelley's theory. This reinforced the strong main effect obtained from the laboratory based research for distinctiveness on ability. The results for consensus and consistency do not follow Kelley's predictions. A similar lack of relationship was found in the laboratory

research, although for consensus the direction was as predicted. The reversal in the consensus ability relationship may be due to group identity among the unemployed, and to the influence of ability and task difficulty attributions and distinctiveness estimates on perceived levels of consensus. The discussion in Appendix H suggests that ability was seen as a stable and internal factor for both success and failure. Perhaps this may help to explain why the predicted relationships were stronger for ability attributions than for the other causal attribution categories.

Luck

The predictions from Kelley's theory for luck were that low consistency would result in a high luck attribution, and that high consensus and high distinctiveness would further enhance this (hypothesis 1.3). Unfortunately the role of consensus is far from clear in the literature reviewed or in the results from the present laboratory study reported in Chapter Six.

As was tentatively predicted consensus was positively and significantly related to luck attributions in the field study, although this was mainly due to the female respondents. Contrary to the predictions, consistency demonstrated a positive Beta weight with luck attributions, although this was not significant.

The results provided little support for Kelley's theory. The relationship of locus of control to the attribution variables provides some insight into reasons for the insignificance. The unemployed with an external locus of control (high score) were more likely to rate themselves as having high consistency for failure ($r=.16$) yet they attributed failure to bad luck ($r=.22$). For those with an external locus of control, failure was perhaps seen as due to stable bad luck. The weak support for Kelley's theory in relation to luck may be because luck, in the context of unemployment, does not fit within Weiner's unstable external category. This is supported by the discussion in Appendix H which indicated that responses to the open question about the reasons for failure did not include any responses which could be classified as external and unstable. Future research could explore whether perceiving luck as a stable feature is related to having an external locus of control.

Although some support was found in the field research for the

prediction from Kelley's theory in relation to luck attributions (hypothesis 1.3), this was not nearly as strong as was indicated by the laboratory study where both consistency and distinctiveness showed significant main effects in the predicted direction.

Effort attributions

Kelley's theory predicted that low consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency would relate to effort attributions (hypothesis 1.4). Consensus and distinctiveness demonstrated virtually no relationship with effort, and the consistency Beta weight, while in the predicted direction ($-.138$) was very low and insignificant. Separate analyses for the males and females revealed that among the females the predicted relationship between consistency and effort attributions was found (Beta = $-.448$), while no relationship was found for males.

The significant positive Beta weight found between consistency and effort attributions for the succeeding group of 24 respondents at the follow up interview suggests that for this particular group effort was seen as a stable factor. Consistency has a primary influence on attributions along the stable unstable dimension. Future research could well examine whether perceiving effort in relation to success as stable and lack of effort for failure as unstable, may account for the known relationship of effort attributions to achievement motivation (Weiner, 1974, 1980).

Neither the laboratory study nor the field research provided support for the hypothesis (1.4) from the covariation model relating to effort attributions.

Antecedent influences on attributions

Because of the relationship between the personality variables and causal attributions, and the suggested influence of certain demographic variables on attributions, the relative importance of the different antecedent variables (including the information variables) outlined in Table 3.1 in Chapter Three was assessed. To do this, four step-wise multiple regressions using Wilks' Lambda as a criterion (.05 level) were completed. For these regressions, all the antecedent variables were treated as

predictors and each of task difficulty, ability, luck and effort attributions as criterion variables. For task difficulty, the number of jobs applied for was retained; for ability, only distinctiveness was retained; for luck only consensus was retained; and for effort only the number of job interviews attended was retained. The main predictors of causal attributions appear to be the information variables and the behavioural variables. It was anticipated that consensus would have had some influence on task difficulty attributions and consistency on luck attributions but this did not occur. The personality variables are not more important than the information variables in predicting causal attributions, although even the information variables proved to be weak predictors. The R^2 values between the information antecedents and the attributions, given in Tables 8.1 to 8.5 in Chapter Eight, indicate that much variance is left unexplained.

The attributional biases dealt with in the next section may provide further insight into the mixed support obtained for the covariation model.

2.0 Biases in the attributions for success and failure

Table 9.1 presents the mean attributions made by the university students and by the unemployed sample to the structured questions. The classification of the unemployed's responses to the open question into Weiner's categories is also included.

TABLE 9.1
Attributions made in response to success and failure, university and unemployed sample

	University laboratory study		Unemployed structured responses		Unemployed Open responses	
	<u>Fail</u>	<u>Succ</u>	<u>Fail</u>	<u>Succ</u>	<u>Fail</u>	<u>Succ</u>
TASK DIFF/ EASE	4.96 **	4.23	5.18 **	3.77	23 **	8
ABILITY	5.89	5.71	4.23	4.56	21	34
LUCK	3.83 **	4.45	3.21 **	4.29	1 **	11
EFFORT	4.70 **	6.09	4.42	4.94	31 **	9

** =sig differences F values $p < .01$, or Binomial Test, $p < .01$.

Note:-The means for the unemployed are based on the combined male and female responses.

-The university means are based on a 9-point scale, while the unemployed means are based on a 7-point scale.

Task difficulty attributions were consistently stronger for failure than were task ease attributions for success in both groups. This is understandable in the current economic climate. With the general knowledge that jobs are hard to get it is not surprising that the bias was observed and that consensus information had little influence on task difficulty attributions.

Among the registered unemployed, only the males showed the predicted success failure bias for ability (see Table 8.6 on page 113). There were no significant differences in the ability attributions made for success and failure among the university students or among females (see Table 8.6) in the field research. This lack of bias may account for the stronger support for Kelley's theory in relation to ability attributions in the laboratory research and among females in the field research.

The significantly higher luck attribution for success than for failure obtained in both samples is probably a feature of applying the model to unemployment. Obtaining a job in the current economic climate may be unexpected, and unexpected outcomes are attributed to luck (Zuckerman, 1979). In addition, 25 percent of the unemployed interviewed, attributed their success to "contacts" in response to the open question about the reason for getting a job. When answering the structured

questions these respondents may well have endorsed luck. There is a widespread feeling that "it's who you know that counts" in getting a job, which makes obtaining a job seem lucky. The role of luck was rather well illustrated by one person who responded, "Going for a job interview is like being in a lottery, and I never won anything in my life". The statement also reflects a tendency to think of luck as belonging to the person which may explain why failure was not attributed to it (internal factor).

Significantly stronger effort attributions were made for success than for failure among the university students (other attribution). Among the unemployed, only females made stronger effort attributions for success than for failure in response to the structured questions. However, in response to the open question about reasons for being unemployed many respondents stated that they had not really looked for a job yet which was understandable as many had only just registered for work. Those unemployed respondents who had not tried to get a job yet still had hope that they would get one when they did try. Attributing failure to lack of effort had positive benefits for these respondents who had no need to defend self-esteem through attributing their failure externally. The relationship between GHQ and lack of effort attributions supports such an interpretation.

Relative strength of causal attributions

For success, the university students and the unemployed respondents placed the same relative importance on the four causes in Weiner's model (see Table 9.1). Effort received the strongest rating followed by luck, then ability and finally task ease. However, for failure, the unemployed saw task difficulty as the most important reason for their being out of work, followed by lack of effort, then ability and finally bad luck. The university students, (other attributions), placed more emphasis on lack of ability for failure which received the strongest rating, followed by task difficulty, then effort and finally luck.

Nicholls (1976) found that for self attribution among university students, attributing failure to lack of effort was more acceptable than attributing it to lack of ability. For success the reverse was the case. It is more desirable to have ability than to try hard. If we accept this, bias is occurring, but not

simply along the internal external dimension suggested in the literature. For failure, the unemployed would prefer to make a lack of effort than a lack of ability attribution. Others may think it more kind to attribute being unemployed to lack of ability than lack of effort with the connotation which the latter has of "dole bludgers". While speculative, it is also possible that the university students distanced themselves from the same fate as the unemployed by attributing the failure of others to lack of ability (see for example "just world hypothesis", Lerner & Miller, 1978).

The fundamental attribution error moderated by other biases

The university students made much stronger internal than external attributions about the behaviour of a stimulus person, but contrary to predictions, so did the unemployed sample for self attributions. Previous laboratory studies have found support for stronger external than internal attributions for one's own behaviour (Jones, 1979; Zuckerman, 1979). It is possible that among the unemployed there was a tendency for self focussing which can be associated with low self-esteem and depression (Brockner & Hulton, 1978; Shrauger, 1972). The lack of support for the fundamental attribution error among the unemployed may also have been due to the confounding influence of sex differences and the success failure bias. Males made strong attributions for success to ability while females did the same to effort, both internal factors.

Previous research has not dealt with the contradictions which exist in the predictions arising from the fundamental attribution error and the success failure bias. The present research provided the opportunity to test for their combined influence (hypothesis 2.1). The results from the laboratory study confirmed the predicted trend for the combined influence when making attributions about the behaviour of someone else. In the field research, results bore no resemblance to the predicted trend for self attributions. The greater realism of the field setting, the biasing influence of sex differences as well as the possible tendency for more self-focussing among the unemployed may all have contributed to the insignificant results. It is also possible that for self attribution the success failure bias is stronger than the fundamental attribution error, but this remains to be tested.

3.0 Self-esteem and locus of control

Self-esteem and locus of control also influenced the causal attributions in the field research, although not more strongly than the information antecedent variables. As predicted in hypothesis 3.1 the unemployed with high self-esteem and an internal locus of control attributed failure to effort (and task difficulty) and success to ability. For the unemployed with low self-esteem and an external locus of control, success, as predicted, was attributed to effort and luck. Shrauger and Osberg (1980) also found that the low self-esteem group attributed success to effort. As the group in the present study had an external locus of control as well as low self-esteem the equally strong luck attribution was predicted.

If effort is a less valued attribute, as various writers suggest (Nicholls, 1976; Shrauger & Osberg, 1980), then attributing success to effort is a way of devaluing oneself, perhaps typical of individuals with low self-esteem. Females attributed their success to effort while males did the same to ability. Despite changing attitudes, some females may still view it as socially undesirable to have ability, and effort attributions for success may be more acceptable. If this is the case there is no way of knowing whether the more modest attributions for success to effort simply represent socially desirable self-presentations. Bradley (1978) suggests that public statements about causal attributions may be motivated by a "desire to maintain or gain a positive public image (i.e., a public-esteem motive) rather than a concern for one's private self-image" (p. 63). Other than the measure of social desirability which only correlated .187 with effort attributions for success, the present research offers no way of knowing the extent to which this occurred.

In addition the present study did not differentiate between stable and unstable effort, and it is difficult to know for certain how respondents were using effort attributions for success. For example, among the group who obtained jobs, effort attributions for success were viewed as stable (positive relationship between effort attributions for success and consistency). Attributing success to effort appears to be motivated by a variety of factors, and individuals may well differ in their reasons for using this causal category.

4.0 Discussion of results relating to the consequences of attributions

The results from the discriminant analysis indicated that task difficulty attributions for failure and effort attributions for success did play an important role in discriminating between those respondents who were eventually successful in obtaining a job and those who were not. To further explore the discriminating role of the attribution variables in comparison with other demographic data, another discriminant analysis was performed. The same variables outlined in Table 8.9, (p. 119) were used as well as the demographic variables (age, years of education and socio-economic status) and behavioural variables (weeks unemployed, number of jobs applied for and number of job interviews attended). No significant differences were found between the two groups on any of the demographic or behavioural variables excepting, as one might expect, on the number of jobs applied for ($F(1,49)=11.70, p<.01$) and the number of job interviews attended ($F(1,49) = 11.63, p<.01$). Those who had been more active in their job search were more likely to obtain jobs. The mean age for the employed group was 26.25 as compared with 22.26 years for the unemployed group, but the difference was not significant ($F(1,49)=3.184, NS$).

The four variables retained in the step wise discriminant function analysis using Wilks' Lambda as a criterion are given in Table 9.2

TABLE 9.2
Variables retained in the Discriminant
Analysis using attribution variables,
demographic variables and behavioural
variables

	<u>Discriminant Function</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>unemployed</u>	<u>Mean</u> <u>employed</u>
Number of Job interviews	.6338	0.974	1.551
Consensus	-.4696	3.379	2.958
Failure: Task difficulty	.7644	4.148	5.666
Success: Effort	.3998	4.296	5.250

The group centroid for the unemployed group was -0.793, while that for the employed group was 0.892. The number of jobs applied for was removed from the discriminant function after attributions to effort for success was included, indicating that the remaining variables adequately accounted for the variance embodied in "number of jobs applied for".

The retention of consensus in the stepwise discriminant function is probably a result of this variable being related to a number of demographic and behavioural indices. Respondents seemed to go through a complex cognitive process in estimating consensus. It is possible that they compared their own sex, age, educational and skill level with that presented by the media as typical of the unemployed, and then assessed their level of consensus. (Consensus correlates negatively with age ($r(80)=-.172$, NS), years of education ($r(80)=.290$, $p<.05$), and positively with socio-economic status, ($r(80)=.274$, $p<.05$) and weeks unemployed ($r(80)=.329$, $p<.05$), and females gave significantly higher consensus estimates than did males ($F(1,80)=5.531$, $p<.01$)). Older, better educated male respondents with higher socio-economic status (lower ratings) and a shorter period of unemployment perceived lower consensus for their failure to obtain work. Respondents whose consensus estimate at the first interview was low were more likely to obtain work.

Hypothesis 4.1 stated that failure attributed to lack of effort and success attributed to ability would be predictive of obtaining work. This was not confirmed in that form. However, the results of the stepwise discriminant analysis reinforce the important discriminating role of the cognitive attributions made by the unemployed at the first interview. Obviously the job applicant must get as many job interviews as possible, but lack of success should not be internalised. If unsuccessful, it is better for failure to be attributed to task difficulty. Only by doing this is the motivation to continue searching for a job maintained. It would seem important for the unemployed to be given a realistic idea of how difficult the task is and employers should be encouraged to provide feedback to applicants about the number of people applying for a job.

The results from the discriminant analysis also suggest the value of attributing success to one's own efforts. Perhaps this provides a feeling of personal control. The present research has not examined the consequence of an increasing reliance on contacts or the Department of Labour to obtain jobs, but one wonders what the long term effect will be on people who have decreasing opportunities to obtain work through their own resources.

While the predicted affective consequences of attributions were

not upheld (hypothesis 4.2), there was a negative correlation between GHQ and attributions for failure to lack of effort. Those unemployed who felt that they had not tried still had hope that they might succeed if they did try.

The unemployed frequently commented about the disheartening experience of applying for jobs or being sent to apply for jobs when they had little chance of obtaining the position. One respondent commented "if they (Department of Labour, Employment Service) have jobs and they know you don't stand a chance, they still send you for an interview. Often they have sent a stream of others for the same job". Another respondent commented "they had a job but they lost the card. I was sent for the job anyway, but the person wanted a senior typist -- she wasn't even interested in seeing me". With every job interview attended there was less chance of making a lack of effort attribution (correlation between number of job interviews attended and lack of effort attributions $r(81) = -.389, p < .01$). Shrauger and Osberg (1980) found that subjects manipulated the amount of effort they put into a task so as to ensure that they could continue to blame lack of effort rather than a lack of ability. From the comments of the unemployed it would seem that the negative consequences of going for an interview, particularly when success was not expected, could easily outweigh the advantages of attending an interview. It is understandable if many unemployed cease trying to get work, as the job search process is stressful. The stress associated with seeking work was also observed by O'Brien and Kabanoff (1979). Hesketh and Shouksmith (1982) suggest ways in which the job search process could be made less stressful for the unemployed.

A summary of all the results in relation to the hypotheses is given in the concluding chapter (Chapter Twelve). While post hoc in nature, the next next chapter outlines the results of analyses performed to explore the antecedent influence of the demographic and personality variables on well-being. These results are included because of the scarcity of research on unemployment, the difficulty of accessing subjects, and the importance of using what insight we can to generate ideas for future research.

CHAPTER TEN

INTERRELATIONSHIP AMONG THE PERSONALITY VARIABLES AND WELL-BEING MEASURES

The interrelationships among the demographic variables, personality measures and the various well-being indices are reported in full in this chapter. Results from the GHQ in the present sample are compared with those of other unemployed samples available in the literature.

1.0 Intercorrelations among the personality, demographic and well-being measures

The intercorrelations are given in Table 10.1. In examining these, the characteristics of this particular sample should be remembered, and results should be generalised with caution.

The relationships were in the expected direction; high self-esteem scores related to an internal locus of control (low score, $r = -.40$); a low GHQ score (small number of negative mental health symptoms) was associated with high well-being (happiness, $r = -.47$, overall life satisfaction, $r = -.44$ and total life satisfaction, $r = -.60$). Locus of control, in addition to its correlation with self-esteem, was significantly correlated with the GHQ ($r = .23$), lower GHQ scores being obtained by those with an internal locus of control. Respondents who had been unemployed for a longer period had higher GHQ scores ($r = .29$) and were more external in their locus of control ($r = .24$). However, the negative correlation (although insignificant) between length of unemployment and years of education ($r = -.11$) must be taken into account. Social desirability did not correlate significantly with any of the personality measures.

TABLE 10.1
Intercorrelations among personality and
well-being measures in the 82 newly
registered unemployed obtained at the
first interview

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Self Esteem										
2. Locus of control	-.40**									
3. Social De- sirability	.16	-.05								
4. G.H.Q.	-.33**	.23*	-.10							
5. Happiness	.38**	-.20	.11	-.47**						
6. Overall Life Sat.	.21*	-.17	.06	-.44**	.56**					
7. Total Life Sat.	.35**	-.27*	.183	-.60**	.49**	.69**				
8. Weeks unemployed	-.09	.24*	-.01	.29**	-.14	-.22*	-.24*			
9. Years Education	.08	-.23*	-.23*	-.09	-.08	-.11	-.03	-.11		
10. Age	.15	-.01	.18	.37**	-.11	-.08	-.13	.10	.17	
11. SES	-.10	.27*	.05	.12	.04	.23*	.04	.16	-.45**	-.12

*= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$ DF = 80

2.0 Suggested causal influences on weeks unemployed and GHQ

One way of analysing the relationships between GHQ, weeks unemployed, locus of control, years of education and socio-economic status (SES) of the breadwinner during the respondents' formative years is to make use of path analysis and a path diagram. Path analysis allows one to assess the extent to which data represents a preconceived theoretically based causal network of relationships. Blalock (1964) states that "one can never demonstrate causality from correlational data", but one can "make

causal inferences concerning the adequacy of causal models" (p. 62).

It could be suggested that the SES of the breadwinner of the family would have influenced the years of education the respondents received as well as their locus of control. Those whose fathers (or mothers if the major breadwinner) were in the lower SES groups (higher score) would have been more likely to have had fewer years of education and to have developed an external locus of control.

Vellekoop (Baldock) (1971) in her work on vocational choice and opportunity in New Zealand, demonstrated that the occupation of the breadwinner in a family had an overriding influence on the career choice of high school pupils. It is to be expected that SES would have had a similar influence on years of education received and the development of a personality variable such as locus of control in the present sample. Conceptually, self-esteem is less likely to be influenced by SES and years of education and the correlations from the present study reflected this.

Consistent with the theoretical view presented in Chapter Two it is assumed that a personality variable such as locus of control would influence the length of time out of work, rather than being influenced by joblessness, unless unemployment was prolonged. Chapter Two suggested that well-being in general, and the GHQ in particular, should be viewed as one of the consequences of unemployment. In their path analysis, Stafford et al (1980) also treated GHQ as being dependent on variables such as SES and employment status, although unlikely to influence them.

Figure 10.1 provides the path diagram depicting these relationships. The assumed causal influence is from SES through years of education and locus of control to weeks unemployed and finally GHQ scores.

The path coefficients between the variables in the diagram and GHQ were obtained by regressing GHQ with SES, years of education, locus of control and weeks unemployed. Path coefficients are equivalent to the standardised Beta weights in standard multiple regression (Nie et al, 1975). The coefficients for the paths leading to weeks unemployed were obtained by regressing weeks unemployed with SES, years of education and locus of control using standard multiple regression. Where there is only one path

leading to a variable, the path coefficient is equal to the correlation coefficient between the two variables. The path coefficients from SES to years of education and to locus of control are equal to the correlations between these variables. The relationship between years education and locus of control is assumed to be an unanalysed correlation in path analysis terminology, there being no theoretical justification for one variable having a prior causal influence on the other.

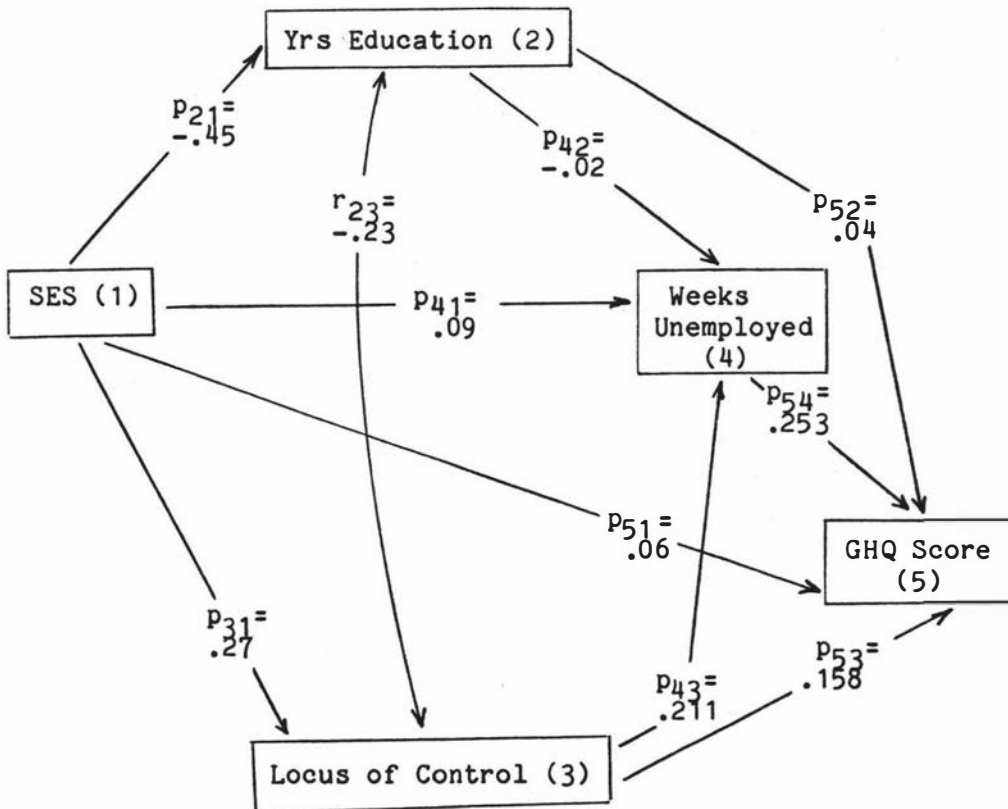


Figure 10.1
Path diagram of selected demographic,
attributional and behavioural variables.

Path analysis may be used as an analytic tool for theory testing (Kerlinger and Pedhazur, 1973, p. 317). Correct reconstitution of the correlation coefficients from a particular model is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for acceptance of a causal model. This technique is usually used to test the acceptability of a more parsimonious model, resulting from the omission of some paths from a more complete original model. Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973) suggest that paths smaller than about .05 can be eliminated. Given the size of the path coefficients in the diagram in Figure 10.1 it would be possible

to simplify the model by eliminating the path between years of education and weeks unemployed (p_{42}), years of education and GHQ (p_{52}) and between SES and GHQ (p_{51}). This simplified model is given in Figure 10.2. The path coefficients for the simplified model were obtained by re-regressing the variables in the new model with GHQ and weeks unemployed respectively. For example, the paths from weeks unemployed and locus of control to GHQ were obtained by regressing GHQ with these two variables. The reconstituted correlations for the simplified model are given in Table 10.2. The algorithm used to reconstitute these correlations is given in Appendix O. The method follows that outlined by Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973, pp 322 - 326).

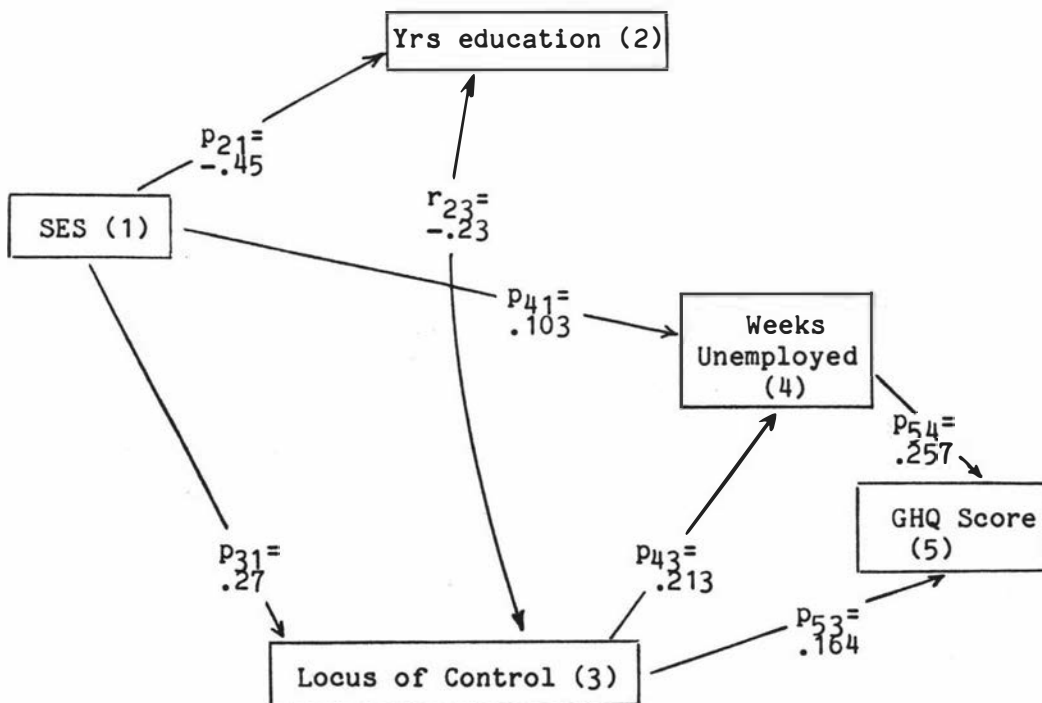


Figure 10.2
Simplified path diagram for the
same variables as in Figure 10.1.

TABLE 10.2
Simple correlations and reconstituted correlations
for the variables given in Figure 10.2

	1	2	3	4	5
1. SES		-.45	.27	.16	.12
2. Yrs Education	-.45		-.23	-.11	-.09
3. Locus of Control	.27	-.23		.24	.23
4. Wks Unemployed	.16	-.10	.24		.29
5. GHQ Score	.09	-.06	.23	.30	

Note: Simple correlations are given above the diagonal;
reconstituted correlations below the diagonal.

The simplified model is feasible as in no case is the difference between the reconstituted correlation and the simple correlation greater than .05, a criterion suggested by Kerlinger and Pedhazur, (1973, p. 318).

Socio-economic status had an indirect influence on weeks unemployed primarily through locus of control. In addition there was a relatively strong path between weeks unemployed and negative mental health (GHQ). It is possible that there was a reciprocal causal influence between years of education and locus of control, but such a relationship cannot be inferred from the data reported here. The data given in Figure 10.2 are compatible with the view put forward in Chapter Two, but one cannot rule out that alternative models might fit the data equally well. It would be necessary to test the model on another group before generalising the results.

Locus of control did have a direct influence on GHQ ($p_{53} = 0.158$), but there was also some indirect influence through weeks unemployed ($.23 - .158 = .062$). If personality variables are "trait" measures while the GHQ is a "state" measure then one might expect locus of control to be the more stable measure, perhaps moderating the influence of remaining unemployed or obtaining an unsatisfactory job on negative well-being.

This idea was explored using cross lagged or panel correlations between locus of control and GHQ. It was possible to do this

because the locus of control scale and the GHQ had been administered to the respondents at the first and the second interview.

Results for the 51 respondents included in the follow up study are given in Figure 10.3.

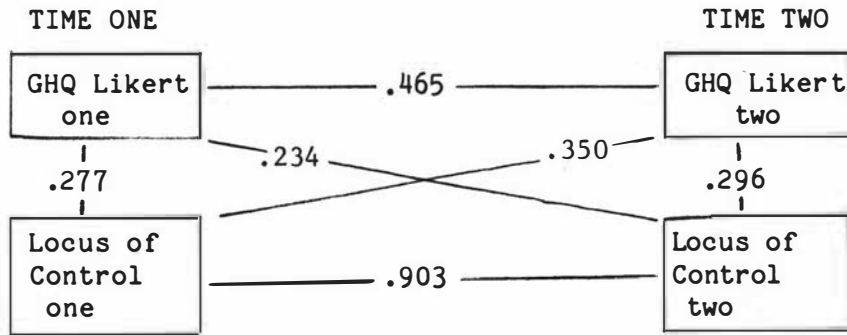


Figure 10.3: Cross lagged panel correlations between GHQ and locus of control on the 51 respondents in the follow up sample.

All correlations were significant. The stationarity of the relationship between locus of control and GHQ at time one and time two is suitable for interpreting cross lagged correlations (Cook & Campbell, 1979). The higher stability of locus of control coupled with the stronger correlation between "locus of control one" and "GHQ two", than between "GHQ one" and "locus of control two" or between either of the two variables at time one and time two does suggest that locus of control is the more stable variable, having some influence on the GHQ scores at time two. These data should be considered exploratory only, but it does suggest the value of viewing locus of control as a more stable aspect of personality unlikely to reflect the fluctuating consequences of unemployment in the short term.

It was not possible to undertake a similar analysis with self-esteem as the Coopersmith inventory was only administered at the first interview.

3.0 Relationship between unemployment and well-being

Warr (1981) reports research which showed that there was an increase in the GHQ score (negative mental health) among school leavers who remained unemployed, while GHQ scores decreased for those who obtained jobs. The correlations in Table 10.1 indicate that the person who had been out of work longer at the time of

the first interview also had a higher GHQ score ($r(81) = .29$, $p < .01$), lower overall life satisfaction ($r(81) = -.22$, $p < .05$) and lower total life satisfaction ($r(81) = -.24$, $p < .05$). This relationship was also reflected in the fairly strong path between weeks unemployed and GHQ.

In light of this it was expected that in the present study there would be significant differences in well-being between the group who were still unemployed ($N=27$) and those who had been offered jobs ($N=24$) by the time of the second interview. To test this, four separate analyses of variance were completed. The design for all four analyses was mixed, comprising a two (with and without jobs) by two (well-being at first vs well-being at follow up interview) analysis of variance with a repeated measure on the last factor. An unweighted means solution was used, but results were checked with a weighted means solution and no differences emerged. Summary tables are given in Appendix P, and the results are discussed below.

3.1. General Health Questionnaire (GHQ)

Respondents who were working did not have a higher GHQ score, collapsing across the data from the first and the second interview ($F(1,49) = 2.64$, NS). There was however, a significant decrease in the GHQ scores from the first to the follow up interview collapsing across groups ($F(1,49) = 5.59$, $p < .05$). As there was no significant interaction, the change was examined separately for the two groups using a related samples t-test. The decrease in the GHQ scores at the second interview was not significant for the group still unemployed ($t(26) = 1.64$, NS) nor for the group working ($t(23) = 1.66$, NS) indicating that the significant main effect was due to the greater power of the combined groups.

The relevant means are given in Figure 10.4

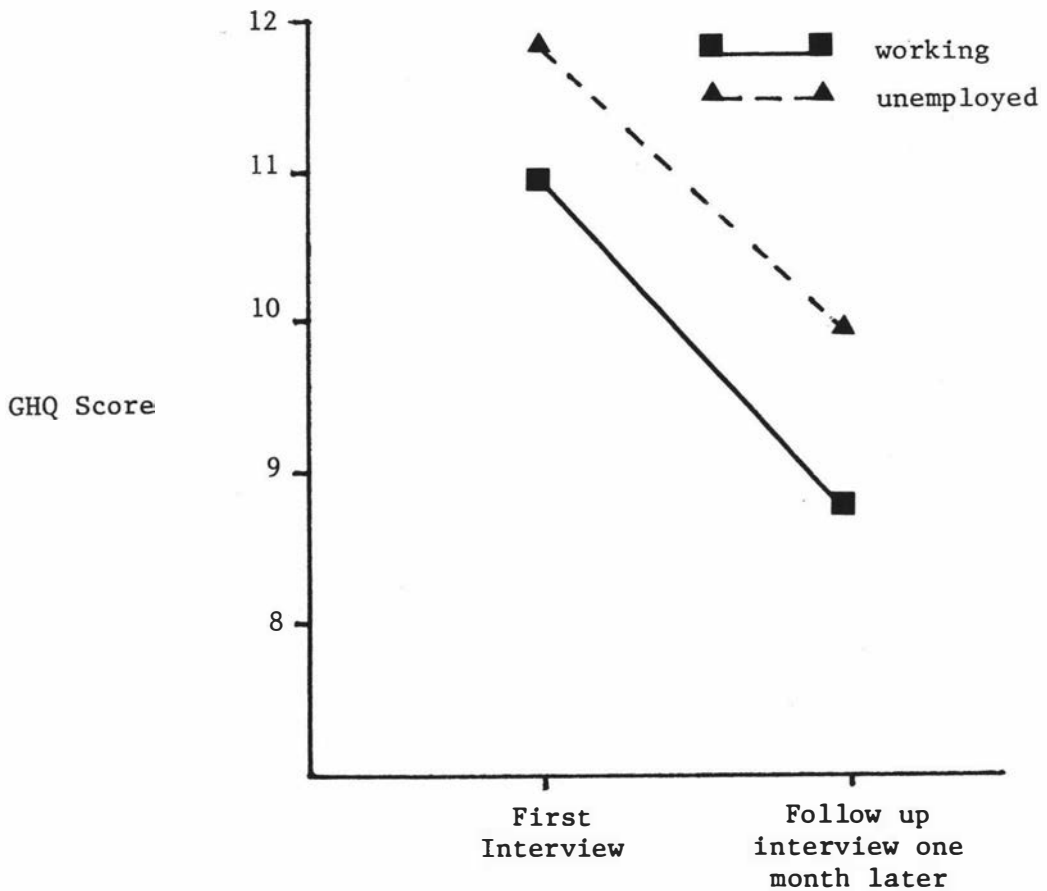


Figure 10.4: Marginal means for the GHQ score obtained at the first and second interview for the 27 subjects still unemployed and the 24 offered work.

3.2 Happiness

The results from the three point happiness item followed a similar pattern to that for the GHQ. There was no significant difference between the two groups collapsing across the data obtained at the two interviews ($F(1,49) = 3.209$, NS). Collapsing across the unemployed and working groups, there was a significant increase in happiness between the first and the follow up interviews ($F(1,49) = 6.273$, $p < .05$). As the interaction was not significant, the change was examined separately for the two groups. There was a significant increase in happiness among the respondents who obtained jobs ($t(23) = 2.29$, $p < .05$), but not for those still unemployed ($t(26) = 1.280$, NS). The relevant means are provided in Figure 10.5.

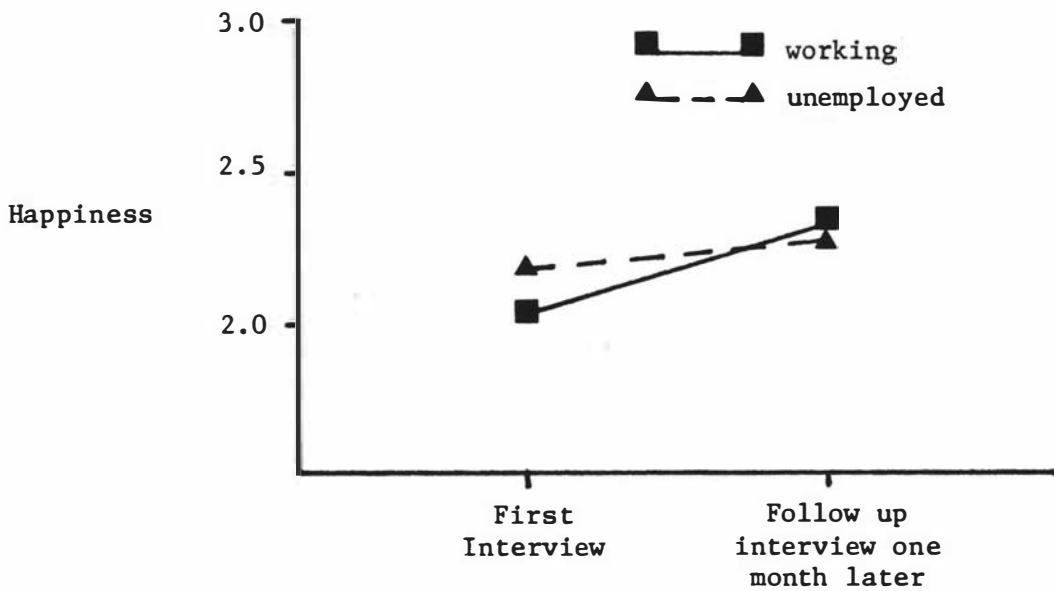


Figure 10.5: Marginal means for the happiness item obtained at the first and second interview for the 27 subjects still unemployed and the 24 offered work.

The improved happiness within the employed group was expected, but while insignificant the unemployed group change was in the direction opposite to that expected.

3.3 Life satisfaction

No significant differences were obtained from the analysis of variance for the measures of overall or total life satisfaction (see Appendix P). Relevant means are reproduced in Table 10.3.

TABLE 10.3
Overall and total life satisfaction
means for the unemployed (N=27) and
employed (N=24) group at both times

	UNEMPLOYED		EMPLOYED	
	<u>Time one</u>	<u>Time two</u>	<u>Time one</u>	<u>Time two</u>
OVERALL LIFE SAT.	5.37	5.15	5.42	5.54
TOTAL LIFE SAT.	49.29	49.77	51.67	52.21

Although insignificant, the unemployed group means are just below those for the employed group and there is a minimal increase in total life satisfaction among the employed group. The measure of overall life satisfaction shows a drop among the unemployed group.

3.4 Comment on results

As other research reported in the literature found significant differences in the GHQ scores of those working and those unemployed (Banks et al, 1980; Haines & Macky, 1982; Warr, 1981), and also that obtaining work decreased GHQ while remaining unemployed increased it (Warr, 1981), it becomes important to examine why the same did not occur in the present study. One possible reason could be that the respondents in the present study had not been in their jobs long enough to experience the benefit of working.

In a further attempt to understand why the employed and unemployed groups did not differ significantly in their well-being and negative mental health, four groups of respondents were identified from their responses to the happiness question at the follow up interview: a group who were unemployed and happy, a group who were unemployed and unhappy, those who were employed and happy, and those who were employed but unhappy. Chapter Eleven provides detailed case descriptions of a few respondents taken from each group. The descriptive data in these cases provides a rich understanding of each person and the complex interrelation of variables at an individual level.

The increase in well-being evidenced at the follow up interview

requires comment. At the time of the first interview many of the unemployed respondents were under stress. Some had made a decision to register for work after having been unemployed for a considerable period of time. Others had just been dismissed, and a small group had recently experienced marital difficulties. The GHQ, which is a "state" rather than a "trait" type measure, may well have detected these situational stressors, particularly those associated with registering for work and the benefit. This stress had abated by the time of the second interview, when accordingly some of the respondents indicated that they were experiencing fewer symptoms than usual. The results from the GHQ reinforced the informal data obtained from the interviews which identified registering for work and for the unemployment benefit as a stressful process for many. No-one, it seems, had the time to listen to their "story", with the result that many were still tense when they came for their research interview the following day.

On most measures there was an indication of improved well-being at the second interview, irrespective of employment status. This could perhaps fit the cycle which suggests an increase in optimism after the first shock of becoming unemployed (Harrison, 1976; Hayes and Nutman, 1981). Unfortunately there were not enough time samples in the present study to test this directly. The information obtained during the unstructured part of the interviews tended to suggest that the stress at the time of the first interview was more associated with the process of registering for work and the benefit than with being unemployed per se, but such an interpretation is impressionistic.

4.0 Intercorrelations among job satisfaction measures and well-being measures at the follow up interviews

The intercorrelations between intrinsic and extrinsic job satisfaction and the various measures of well-being are given in Table 1.4. The data for the group of respondents who were working at the time of the follow up interview appears above the diagonal in the table. Results were based on 22 respondents, two not having started work yet. The same data, excluding the job satisfaction scales, are given for the unemployed group (N=27) below the diagonal in the table.

TABLE 10.4

Intercorrelation among job satisfaction and well-being measures for respondents working at time two (N=22, above the diagonal), and for those still unemployed N=27, below the diagonal

	2. Ext. J. S.	3.Happ.	4.Overall life sat	5.Total l.s.	6. GHQ
1.Intrinsic job Satisfaction	.610**	.534**	.708**	.563**	-.549**
2. Extrinsic Job Satisfaction		.586**	.544**	.189	-.469*
3. Happiness			.805**	.569**	-.502**
4. Overall life satisfaction		.540**		.777**	-.698**
5. Total life satisfaction		.447*	.386*		-.534**
6.General Health Questionnaire		-.666**	-.511**	-.651**	

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Almost all correlations were significant showing a high degree of interrelatedness of the well-being variables and the GHQ among both those working at the time of the second interview and those still unemployed. The correlations between well-being and satisfaction highlight the variability in feelings about work which was associated with variability in well-being.

5.0 Importance of work as a moderator variable

Warr (1981) suggested that importance of work might be the moderating variable which could help to explain why unemployment affected some people more than others and why work satisfied some and not others. The simple ranking of the importance of social, family, and work aspects in the lives of the respondents was used to explore this. Table 10.5 presents the F values for the one way analyses of variance performed to test for significant differences in the well-being of respondents who ranked the importance of work as first in their lives, those who ranked it second and those for whom work was least important. Mean well-being values for each group are also provided.

TABLE 10.5
Well-being by ranked importance of work
among the 27 respondents still unemployed

<u>Well-being measure</u>	<u>F Value</u> DF=2,24	<u>Rank One</u> Mean N=13	<u>Rank Two</u> Mean N=9	<u>Rank Three</u> Mean N=5
Happiness	2.429	2.077	2.444	2.600
Overall Life Satisfaction	4.583*	4.615	5.778	5.400
Total Life Satisfaction	0.423	48.92	49.11	53.20
GHQ	1.504	11.77	9.33	6.40

Only the F value for overall life satisfaction reached significance. Post hoc analyses based on the Dunn test (Keppel, 1973, p. 148) indicated that respondents who ranked work as most important in their lives had lower overall life satisfaction than those who ranked it second most important ($D=1.15$) or third most important ($D=.82$) (Dunn, (3,24) CR = 0.739, $p<.05$). There is a consistent pattern in all the mean scores, with those unemployed respondents who ranked work as the most important showing the lowest happiness and overall and total life satisfaction, and the highest GHQ score. Given the limitations of the simple measure used, this suggests that work importance may have been a moderator in the affective reactions to being unemployed in the present sample.

However, by way of comparison, the same data are reproduced for the employed group in Table 10.6.

TABLE 10.6
Well-being by ranked importance of work
among the 22 respondents actually working

<u>Well-being measure</u>	<u>F Value</u> DF=2,19	<u>Rank One</u> Mean N=3	<u>Rank Two</u> Mean N=11	<u>Rank Three</u> Mean N=8
Intrinsic Job Satisfaction	2.701	36.00	37.18	28.5
Extrinsic Job Satisfaction	1.802	40.00	45.45	39.63
Happiness	2.407	1.667	2.545	2.125
Overall Life Satisfaction	2.528	4.667	5.909	5.00
Total Life Satisfaction	0.550	47.67	52.36	51.50
GHQ	0.227	9.00	8.455	10.25

None of the differences were significant. Interestingly, the highest well-being was found among the respondents who ranked work as second most important, a similar pattern to that found among the unemployed group on the total and overall life satisfaction measures. The case analyses provided in Chapter Eleven also suggested that higher well-being was found among those individuals who placed only intermediate importance on work, irrespective of whether they were working or not. This may be particularly so in the current economic climate where jobs are scarce and scope for personal growth within jobs limited. Where jobs are unrewarding, meaning will need to be obtained in other domains of life. Lifestyle and career counselling in the broadest sense become important.

Of interest in its own right was the different ranking placed on the importance of work relative to social and family aspects of life by the group who were working and by those who were still unemployed. This information is given in Table 10.7.

TABLE 10.7

Relative importance of work in the
unemployed and working subsample
(Expected frequencies given in brackets)

	WORK RANKED FIRST	WORK RANKED SECOND	WORK RANKED THIRD	
WORKING GROUP (N=22)	3 (7.2)	11 (9.0)	8 (5.8)	22
UNEMPLOYED GROUP (N=27)	13 (8.8)	9 (11.0)	5 (7.2)	27
	16	20	13	49

$$\chi^2 (2) = 6.7, p < .05$$

The average rank for the unemployed group indicated that work was most important, followed by family, with social aspects being considered least important. The employed group ranked family first with social and work aspects tying for the second position.

This finding supports a hunch developed during conversations with the unemployed. Work means different things to those in it and those out of it. When out of work, even a day's work becomes meaningful as illustrated by one respondent who, although assigned to periodic detention as punishment, simply longed for Saturdays when he had something meaningful to do. However, when in a job, particularly an unsatisfactory one, work appears to become less important.

The different views held about the importance of work partly explain the lack of understanding for the plight of the unemployed. People working in unsatisfactory jobs may view unemployment as a more enjoyable alternative. Only those who are out of work know the real impact, and the negative feelings about having been unemployed are often repressed once successfully back at work.

6.0 GHQ: Discussion and comparative data

As the GHQ has been used in other studies examining psychological aspects of unemployment, it is worth comparing the results obtained from the present research with those from other studies reported in the literature. Table 10.8 summarises these findings.

TABLE 10.8
GHQ results from various studies for respondents
working and those unemployed

	<u>Sample size</u>	<u>GHQ Likert Mean</u>	<u>Scoring SD</u>	<u>GHQ Point Mean</u>	<u>Scoring SD</u>
UNEMPLOYED					
Present Study	82	11.62	6.27	2.71	2.97
Hepworth (1980)	78			4.68	3.52
Banks et al ₁ (1980) Youth	81	14.06	6.79	3.85	3.30
Adults	80	15.16	7.86	4.57	3.69
Haines & Macky (1982) ₂	15			2.43 (6.07)	
EMPLOYED					
Present Study ₃	24	8.78	5.6	1.58	2.63
Banks et al ₁ (1980) Youth	431	8.67	5.07	1.52	2.18
Adults	630	8.76	3.97	1.01	1.90
Haines & Macky (1982) ₂	15			1.87 (4.67)	

Note 1: Means and standard deviations reported here are based on averaged data from married and unmarried samples cited in Banks et al (1980).

Note 2: The Haines and Macky (1982) study used the 30 item GHQ. Scores have been scaled to facilitate comparison with the 12 item version. The 30 item mean is provided in brackets. No standard deviations were provided in the study.

Note 3: The employed group for the present study represent a subsample of the unemployed group, but obtained from the second interview by which time they had jobs.

The GHQ mean score from the current study using the point scoring method is slightly below the mean obtained by Hepworth (1980) on 78 registered unemployed managers, and that reported by Banks et al (1980) on unemployed school leavers and unemployed adults. It is very similar to the scaled mean obtained by Haines and Macky (1982) for their 15 unemployed school leavers. The same pattern holds for the Likert scoring method. For both the point and the Likert scoring the GHQ scores from the present sample fall above the means for the employed samples quoted by Banks et al (1980) and Haines and Macky (1982).

The 82 unemployed in the present sample obtained a mean on the GHQ which fell midway between the employed and unemployed samples quoted in the literature. This is to be expected as the present respondents comprised largely newly registered unemployed while the comparison samples had been unemployed longer. Given the significant correlation between GHQ and length of unemployment in the present sample ($r=.29$) and in Hepworth's (1980) sample ($r=.22$), the pattern is predictable.

In Hepworth's sample 61 percent scored more than two using the GHQ point scoring method while in the present sample the equivalent figure was 42 percent. It has been suggested that people scoring above two are at risk in terms of their mental health, with base rates in the community being estimated at 20 percent (Goldberg, 1972). This does indicate a higher degree of potential for negative mental health problems among the registered unemployed interviewed.

Hepworth (1980) found that among the males interviewed the GHQ score peaked at ages 35 - 44. In the current research the relationship between age and GHQ ($r=.37$) was linear, perhaps because there were few respondents older than 45 years. The non linear relationship found by Hepworth (1980) accounts for the low negative correlation ($r=-.10$) between GHQ and age found among the males. In the present sample there can be little doubt that older respondents suffered more through being out of work than did the younger unemployed, the GHQ results supporting the anecdotal reports from employment officers that their older clients were usually under more stress. On a sample of 564 prison officers, a research team in the Psychology Department at Massey University obtained a correlation of .08 between GHQ and age. This low

correlation was not because of a non linear relationship. Although the prison officer sample was heavily weighted with males, it does suggest that the GHQ age relationship may be specific to the unemployed group.

Banks et al (1980) report no relationship between GHQ and age among 659 employees in an engineering plant. They also found higher GHQ scores among young females than among young males in their employed sample, but not in the unemployed sample or among adults. In the present sample the 34 females obtained significantly higher GHQ scores (Mean=13.5, SD= 7.02) than did the 48 males (Mean=10.29, SD=5.37) ($F(1,80)=5.503, p<.05$).

Although the results from the GHQ are interesting, more work is needed to improve our understanding of exactly what the instrument is measuring. It was often clear that the GHQ failed to give a true reflection of the state of absolute mental health of some of the unemployed, particularly those who had in the recent past been receiving psychiatric care. This was largely a result of the response categories which required endorsement of responses such as "better than usual", "the same as usual", "less than usual" or "much less than usual". A number of such people responded that they were experiencing fewer of these symptoms than usual even though from the discussions with them it became obvious that they were experiencing more symptoms than most others were. This is an aspect which has not been discussed in relation to the use of the GHQ in research on psychological aspects of unemployment. Corser and Alistaire, (1978) also expressed doubts about the psychiatric nature of the emotional upset measured by the GHQ. The high intercorrelations with other well-being measures (life satisfaction and happiness) suggest that it may simply be a "state" type indicator of negative mental health.

7.0 Summary discussion

A number of interesting findings emerged from the results presented and discussed in this chapter. The length of time the 82 respondents had been unemployed at the first interview appeared to be directly influenced by their locus of control and indirectly, through locus of control, by years of education received. Socio-economic status of breadwinner during formative years had some direct influence on the length of time unemployed, but a much more marked indirect influence through years of

education and locus of control. The direct influence is possibly related to the role of contacts in obtaining work. Twenty-five percent of the respondents cited "contacts" as the reason for obtaining jobs, and those with a higher SES (lower number) would have the better "contacts". There was a strong path between the number of weeks unemployed and the number of negative mental health symptoms cited (GHQ). Locus of control also had a relatively strong path to GHQ, but part of this was indirect through weeks unemployed. A cross lagged correlation suggested that locus of control did have a stronger influence on GHQ scores than vice versa for the 51 respondents followed up for a second interview.

The unemployed in the present sample obtained GHQ scores which fell in between those of the employed and unemployed samples quoted in Banks et al (1980) and Hepworth (1980). Females obtained higher GHQ scores than did males, and there was a significant positive correlation between age and GHQ. The older respondents in the present research were frequently faced with a number of stressors simultaneously, perhaps explaining this relationship.

The 51 respondents in the follow up sample demonstrated higher levels of well-being at the follow up interview than when first interviewed. This was explained in terms of the stress associated with the process of registering for work and the benefit. The most surprising result from the present study was the lack of difference in well-being between the 24 who had been offered jobs by the time of the follow up interview and the 27 who were still unemployed. The quality of the jobs obtained was suggested as a possible reason for low well-being among some of those working. Also, those working may not have been in their jobs long enough to obtain the benefit from working again. Work importance also partly accounted for the non significant differences. Unemployed respondents for whom work was not the most important aspect of their lives expressed higher levels of well-being. Interestingly, there was a tendency for the highest levels of well-being to be found among those for whom work was ranked second most important in both the employed and unemployed groups. Further research examining this with better instruments is warranted. Perhaps the value placed on work in New Zealand may be different from the U.K. where those in jobs with high work involvement had higher well being. In general, a greater number of those still unemployed ranked work as most

important in their lives than did those who obtained jobs. When out of work, work assumes importance; but once in a job, particularly an unsatisfactory one, work is valued less.

These relationships are explored more fully in the next chapter using case discussions to illustrate the complexity at an individual level.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CASE STUDIES

In a further attempt to understand why the employed and unemployed groups did not differ significantly in their well-being and mental health, four groups of respondents were identified from their responses to the happiness question at the second interview. These groups represented those who were working and unhappy, those working and happy, those unemployed and unhappy and those unemployed and happy. The cases described below also illustrate examples of group identity, cumulative stress, and the varied importance placed on work. Table 11.1 provides the means and standard deviations of the variables used descriptively for each case. Following Cattell, Eber and Tatsuoka (1970) a case is described as low average or high on a particular measure on the basis of obtaining a score which is less than one half a standard deviation below the mean, within one standard deviation of the mean or which is more than half a standard deviation above the mean for this sample as a whole.

TABLE 11.1
Means and standard deviations of key
variables used in the case discussions

	<u>N</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Standard Deviation</u>
GHQ First Interview	82	11.62	3.05
Self-esteem	82	17.15	4.26
Locus of Control	82	15.84	4.32
Social Desirability	82	17.01	3.05
GHQ Second Interview	51	9.39	5.79
Job Satisfaction:			
Extrinsic factors	22	42.59	7.34
Intrinsic factors	22	33.86	8.86

1.0 Working and unhappy

1.1 Case one, a female in her early 20's with no formal qualifications, had been engaged in a variety of seasonal work over the past few years. It was not her first experience of unemployment, as she had been unemployed for six months during the winter of 1980. She blamed her unemployment on "the type of work I do --its my own fault". She felt she obtained her last job because it was "difficult to get staff. They take anyone who applies, skilled or not". Her feelings about getting a job at

the time of the first interview were neutral. Her scores on the measures given in Table 11.1 were as follows:

GHQ First Interview:	8	low
Self-esteem:	16	Average
Locus of control:	27	High external
Social desirability:	15	Low
GHQ Second Interview:	21	High
Job Satisfaction:		
Extrinsic factors:	22	Low
Intrinsic factors:	12	Low

At the first interview she appeared to be coping quite well with being out of work, except that she felt her family disapproved of her lifestyle.

The job she obtained was under the Project Work Scheme and she was not at all satisfied with it as demonstrated by her job satisfaction scores. She stated at the second interview that she was "not very happy" and as can be seen, her GHQ score had increased. Her dissatisfaction with working was probably reflected in the fact that she ranked social life and family as more important than work in her life. She was not intending to remain in the job, and hoped to move on to another district where she could continue her lifestyle involving seasonal work without any regular commitments.

1.2 Case two was a male in his early 20's, with 13 years of education and U.E. In the past he had done "parts" work and laboured on a farm, but he had been unemployed for the six months prior to the interview. He was re-registering having allowed his registration to lapse for a few months. The reason given for being unemployed was "so many other people trying -- I have no references -- I was good at the job but the manager didn't like me." His last job had been under the Project Work Scheme and he thought the reason for getting it was "lucky - the Department of Labour phoned me -- others had been on the dole longer than me." Positive affect for work was strong, but the negative affect associated with not working was weak. He commented that a number of his friends were out of work "and it becomes a habit".

GHQ First Interview:	9	Low
Self-esteem:	18	Average
Locus of control:	9	High internal
Social desirability:	15	Low
GHQ Second Interview:	16	High
Job Satisfaction:		
Extrinsic factors:	42	Average
Intrinsic factors:	33	Average

At the first interview he responded that he was feeling fairly happy. He had a number of well developed but expensive interests such as boating and motor racing. The loss of earning through being unemployed was particularly difficult. In the recent months preceding the first interview he found that he had needed to cut back on visits to the pub or week-end activities, and he relied increasingly on his friends coming to see him.

By the time of the second interview he had obtained a job as a storeperson in a factory. The reason given for getting the job was "I knew the chap doing the hiring -- qualifications helped a bit. I didn't mention that I was on the dole". His job dissatisfaction was nowhere near as low as for case number one. His main dissatisfaction related to pay, the amount of variety in the job and the chances for promotion. He commented that "I never thought I would be forced to work in a factory. I feel insignificant".

At the time of the second interview he stated that he was "not very happy", and his GHQ score had increased considerably. In discussion in the interview it appeared that he felt very isolated and restricted in the job. He had debts to pay off, otherwise he would have considered leaving New Zealand. He commented retrospectively that the work on his boat had kept him sane while unemployed. This person ranked work as most important in his life with social life second, and family life third.

1.3 Case three was a female in her late teens with no School Certificate passes. She had held a variety of factory jobs earlier, but had been unemployed for the past seven months. She was registering for the first time in the local office, although she had been registered in another district. (Department of Labour statistics do not detect such changes and the average length of unemployment on the official statistics may well be underestimated.) She attributed her unemployment to a "lack of qualifications", and her previous success in job seeking to

"contact with a friend". She expressed neutral affect about both obtaining or not obtaining a job. A comment: "my friends would feel terrible if they had jobs but I didn't", indicated a degree of group identity at the first interview while still unemployed. The same had occurred for case two. Her scores on the standardised instruments are given below:

GHQ First Interview:	20	High
Self-esteem:	9	Low
Locus of control:	24	High
Social desirability:	21	High
GHQ Second Interview:	17	High
Job Satisfaction:		
Extrinsic factors:	34	low
Intrinsic factors:	10	low

At the first interview she responded that she was "not very happy". Despite this, she stated that pressure from society and her parents was the only unpleasant aspect about being unemployed, although she really missed the money.

She obtained project work through the Department of Labour but her interpretation of the reason why the firm took her on is an interesting example of her externality -- "I got it because I wasn't trying too hard to get it. He wasn't fussed". Her job satisfaction was very low. She responded at the second interview that she was still "not very happy". Family came first in her life, social life second and work third. With family being most important, she had felt their sense of disapproval of her being out of work quite strongly.

At the second interview she commented that she had withdrawn from her social life since taking the job which she found extremely boring. She felt that the other people working with her were "intellectually handicapped" and that she had no companionship. The Department of Labour in her view had exerted pressure on her to take the job.

1.4 Comment

Two of the three cases present a picture of unsatisfactory project work jobs. All three had been unemployed long enough to start adapting to being out of work, and the adjustment required for returning to work was not easy. This was not helped by the feeling which two of the three cases had that the jobs had been created just to keep them working. One suspects that all three of

respondents in this group left their jobs shortly after the follow up interviews. At the time of the first interview case two and three illustrated a degree of identification with the unemployed perhaps understandable in light of the length of time they had been out of work. The relationship between the well-being measures in these three respondents follows what might be expected from the intercorrelations given in Chapter Ten. They either ranked work as most important or least important in their lives, not of intermediate importance.

2.0 Working and happy

2.1 Case four was a 20 year old male with U.E. who had been working in a semi-skilled job for a number of years. Prior to registering he had been on territorial training for six weeks. Before that he had been unemployed for six weeks. His response to the question about the reasons for being unemployed was "jobs available are for experienced people" and the reason for getting a previous job was "had a temporary job --knew someone who could get me the job". He expressed a positive affect toward work and a negative affect about being unemployed. His scores on the various measures were as follows:

GHQ First Interview:	5	Low
Self-esteem:	17	Average
Locus of control:	15	Average
Social desirability:	17	Average
GHQ Second Interview:	6	Low
Job Satisfaction:		
Extrinsic factors:	46	Average
Intrinsic factors:	40	High

After the first interview he obtained a job in the electronics field because his "mother knew the person involved". At this stage he stated that he was "very happy" and his scores on the other well-being instruments reflected this.

At the follow up interview this respondent made some interesting retrospective comments about his period of unemployment. He found that he had coped better with being unemployed when one of his friends was also out of work, but when his friend got a job he became very depressed. He felt insecure about not having a job and helpless to do much about getting one. This again illustrates the role of group identity. In relation to the new job he commented that he was being given a "honeymoon" period because he was new to the work and they did not expect him to have skills.

He felt that if he had been going back to a job for which he was already trained the adjustment would have been more difficult. Work for this person ranked second in importance with family life being considered the most important.

2.2 Case five was a female in her early 20's with no qualifications and a history of four years of unemployment at an earlier time while in another major centre. She stated that after two years of unemployment she received treatment for depression, which meant that eventually she was able to be placed in a sheltered workshop facility. Although obviously having been unhappy in the past, she had moved locally for positive personal and social reasons. It appeared both in her interaction in the interview and from her responses to the questionnaire that she had benefitted from the counselling received in the other centre. Her scores are given below:

GHQ First Interview:	5	Low
Self-esteem:	18	Average
Locus of control:	15	Average
Social desirability:	18	Average
GHQ Second Interview:	2	Low
Job Satisfaction:		
Extrinsic factors:	52	High
Intrinsic factors:	43	High

She attributed her failure externally "not much jobs around", and she felt that she obtained her last job because "I thought I would do well in that situation." At the first interview she responded that she was "fairly happy".

She obtained a factory job shortly after her first interview -- "I didn't want to go on being unemployed" being the reason she gave. The Department of Labour did find the job for her -- one hopes that a referral system was operating as in her situation to have remained unemployed would have had serious consequences for her.

She stated that she was "very happy" at the second interview, and her GHQ score was only 2. Work followed family in importance in her life.

2.3 Case six was a 24 year old male with two children and a wife who worked part time. He was enjoying being unemployed as it gave him time to work in the garden and look after the children.

Although he had UE most of his previous jobs were of a labouring type. He clearly attributed his being unemployed to lack of effort -- "if my wife wasn't working and I was short of money I'd hassle until I got a job. I can put myself over well in an interview". There was no indication that he thought of himself as unemployed. His affect for getting a job was positive, but he felt neutral about remaining unemployed.

GHQ First Interview:	9	Low
Self-esteem:	21	High
Locus of control:	14	Average
Social desirability:	16	Average
GHQ Second Interview:	7	Average
Job Satisfaction:		
Extrinsic factors:	47	High
Intrinsic factors:	40	High

At the second interview he had obtained a job at a new factory "I knew the manager, and I was suited to the job" being offered as reasons. He responded that he was very happy at both the first and the second interview. This person would no doubt enjoy life and make the best of it no matter what his circumstances. Work was only ranked second in importance in his life.

2.4 Comment

The three cases in this section represent the diversity encountered in the sample. Two of the respondents were young and were obviously benefitting from having work after a period of unemployment. The older case appeared to have resources which would have enabled him to cope with being out of work, but also meant that he was positive enough about himself to obtain a job. He did not think of himself as one of the "unemployed". All three respondents ranked work as second most important in their lives, and the other well-being measures reflected their general sense of happiness.

3.0 Unemployed and unhappy

3.1 Case seven was a seventeen year old girl with one UE pass who had been unemployed for seven weeks. She had an unpaid job which helped to fill in time, but this involved her working with her family. She attributed her failure to get a job to "lack of effort" and a previous success in job seeking to "contacts". She expressed strong positive affect toward working and negative

affect about being unemployed.

GHQ First Interview:	8	Low
Self-esteem:	12	Low
Locus of control:	19	High external
Social desirability:	22	High
GHQ Second Interview:	12	Average

Her consensus estimates indicated that she felt she was one of many out of work at the first interview.

At the second interview, she stated that she was not very happy. Family came first in her life, work second and social life third. The unpaid help given to her family was valued by them and from her point of view it gave her something useful to do in the interim: "I am doing some of Mum's job, but I feel as though I am marking time". For this girl an independent paid job may well have provided an opportunity to increase her self-esteem (Gurney, 1981), and to resolve the obvious identity crisis she was going through. The part time unpaid work in which she was involved decreased her motivation to find an independent job.

3.2 Case eight was a 15 year old school leaver with no qualifications and no work history other than holiday jobs. He attributed his unemployment to lack of qualifications, and he had a very high consensus estimate. This illustrates the group identity which it was suggested in Chapter Nine results in a feeling that "I'm one of the many out of work because we lack skills and qualifications." At the first interview he responded that he was "fairly happy".

GHQ First Interview:	12	Average
Self-esteem:	10	Low
Locus of control:	15	Average
Social desirability:	15	Low
GHQ Second Interview:	14	High

He remained unemployed at the time of the follow up interview and he still felt "fairly happy", but his GHQ score had increased slightly. He had not applied for any jobs and had not been outside the home other than to visit a friend. The follow up interview was completed in his home as he had no transport. His parents were present and their concern for their son was evident. His shyness and lack of knowledge of how to start looking for jobs meant that he was highly unlikely to initiate an independent job search. While his parents had wanted him to stay at school

and obtain qualifications he was so unhappy that he had left on his 15th birthday. He responded extremely well to all the questions indicating that he probably did not lack ability. With his permission and that of his parents, the Department of Labour was asked to place him either in special work or on one of the Work Skills Development Programmes. For the young unskilled unemployed the Department of Labour schemes have increasingly become the only way of obtaining work related experience for those who do not have the "personal contacts" through family connections. He rated work as most important in his life.

3.3 Case nine was a graduate in her late 20's. She had been unemployed for six weeks before registering. She attributed her unemployment to "shyness and lack of confidence" and a previous success to "lucky -- two applicants for two jobs". At the first interview she responded that she was "not very happy", but despite a history of depression, her GHQ was not exceptionally high.

GHQ First Interview:	14	High
Self-esteem:	9	Low
Locus of control:	15	Average
Social desirability:	13	low
GHQ Second Interview:	28	High

At the second interview she attributed her continued failure to obtain a job to her depression, she was still "not very happy" and her GHQ score had increased to 28. She rated work as most important in her life.

Being unemployed had not helped her to cope with her depression. She needed a supportive environment in order to start to develop her work confidence, but with the competitive employment market such an opportunity was not available. This case illustrates how someone with existing psychological problems may well have these aggravated through a period of unemployment. Among those interviewed, unemployment on its own was seldom responsible for psychological difficulties, but in combination with a history of difficulty, or with other severe personal stress such as the break-up of a marriage, it appeared to make a substantial contribution. There were other cases in the unemployed, unhappy category who demonstrated the consequences of cumulative stress.

3.4 Comment

Two of the three unemployed in this section illustrated the role

of group identity. Both were young and perceived high consensus for being out of work, yet they attributed their failure to themselves. The third case represents an older person for whom unemployment added an extra stress to her life when she was already suffering from depression. In a period of full employment, such a person may have been given the sort of supportive job necessary to develop her professional competence. Two of the three cases in this section rated work as most important in their lives.

4.0 Unemployed and happy

4.1 Case ten was a male in his late teens with UE and one and a half years of university education. He left university midway through the year having found the course he was taking unenjoyable. While at university he was feeling very unhappy doing seven days work every week. Having made the decision to leave he felt much happier. He attributed his unemployment to "having only looked for three days" and that he was "overqualified for some jobs but underqualified for others". A job he obtained in the past was seen as the result of "word of mouth".

GHQ First Interview:	7	Low
Self-esteem:	21	High
Locus of control:	16	Average
Social desirability:	17	Average
GHQ Second Interview:	5	Low

His decision to leave university was not because he felt he lacked ability as his grades were all extremely high.

At the second interview, he was still unemployed and he stated that this was because "I haven't found the job I would want to get". He was "very happy" and rated work as third in his life after social life and family. He felt that the perspective he had obtained on his decision to leave university left him much happier. He had kept himself busy renovating an old house and he was enjoying learning the skills associated with this. His parents were putting pressure on him to work, but he had decided that it was more important to wait for the right job than to rush into any job.

This case represents one of a number of respondents with higher qualifications who were obviously able to structure activities for themselves and keep relatively happy while being unemployed,

at least in the short term.

4.2 Case eleven was a male shearer in his early 20's with no formal qualifications, married and with one child. He had worked as a shearer for 7 years and attributed his unemployment to its seasonal nature. He expressed neutral affect about working or being unemployed, and at time one stated that he was "very happy".

GHQ First Interview:	7	Low
Self-esteem:	21	High
Locus of control:	17	Average
Social desirability:	21	High
GHQ Second Interview:	6	Low

General discussion at the first interview revealed that he had never registered in the "off season" before, but he needed to save money for a house. He intended moving to the South Island for a period to shear there. He expressed frustration at the benefit system which worked against his taking "one off" shearing jobs where he could earn up to \$100 per day.

At the second interview it transpired that he had been offered a shearing job in the South Island, but he didn't have the money to get there. He still had a low GHQ score (6), and stated that he was "very happy". This person obviously had a history of successful work upon which to depend, and the confidence to know that he could get work eventually. Unemployment was perceived as only temporary. He valued his social life ahead of work.

4.3 Case twelve was a male in his late teens who was half way through an apprenticeship. He attributed his unemployment to "lack of jobs". He expressed positive affect about working, but was neutral about being unemployed. His apprenticeship contract had been terminated by mutual agreement as he had a personality clash with the boss. He had been unemployed for three months with only a temporary job in the interim. He stated that when he was first unemployed he had felt worse, but that he was now more at ease with it.

GHQ First Interview:	1	Low
Self-esteem:	20	High
Locus of control:	11	Low (Internal)
Social desirability:	18	Average
GHQ Second Interview:	1	Low

He had a strong internal locus of control, high self-esteem and an average social desirability score. His GHQ was one at the first interview.

At the second interview he was still "very happy" with a GHQ score remaining at one, despite ranking work as the most important aspect in his life. He attributed his well-being to his involvement with the church, which he felt had helped him cope with being unemployed. The regular attendance at prayer meetings provided him with good social contacts.

4.5 Comment

Only one of the three cases representing respondents who were unemployed but happy rated work as most important in their lives. These respondents had not been out of work long which partly accounted for their higher levels of well-being. Each person was engaged in activities which went part of the way to meeting their needs: renovating a home, planning and working toward building a house or becoming actively involved in church activities.

5.0 General discussion of these and other cases.

The analysis of these cases together with the results presented in the previous chapter point to the importance of not having an oversimplified view of work and non-work. The unemployed who were happy while out of work offer interesting insight into the coping strategies which can be used. In general, many of this group became involved in the informal economy (DeGrazia, 1980; Watts, 1980) often indicating a high degree of initiative and creativity. A few of those out of work were making use of the opportunity to gain further education, but the financial disincentive to study further (student bursaries are much lower than the unemployment benefit) meant that they often studied only part time.

Among the unhappy working group many of the jobs which they obtained were not the type of jobs they had hoped to get,

particularly if they knew that the jobs had been "created" for them under the Project Work Schemes. Out of the 24 respondents who were offered jobs, 11 were full time permanent positions, 1 was a part time permanent position, 3 had temporary full time jobs and 9 were on Department of Labour Project Work schemes (as far as could be ascertained -- respondents were not always sure about the status of their jobs). Wilkinson (1981) referred to the disjointed work history of some of the less skilled young unemployed. Many work in unsatisfactory jobs, until the job becomes unbearable at which point they either leave or are dismissed. They then remain unemployed until the boredom forces them to go back to another unsatisfactory job only to repeat the cycle. Given the nature of many of the jobs held by the respondents, work cannot be seen as a panacea.

Many of those who were unemployed and unhappy were experiencing other difficulties in their lives, and their inability to obtain suitable work simply added another negative aspect to an already stressful situation. It is this group of people whose psychological need for some of the functional benefits of work is greatest.

The role of group identity was illustrated by a number of the cases discussed in this chapter. Another respondent, an 18 year old female, commented that she became very depressed when going to the Department of Labour to register because "there were so many other girls my age there, and I thought what little chance I had of getting a job." Another 21 year old girl had come to accept that she wouldn't get a job. She had lost her job at a fish shop when the owner sold the business. She commented "there are so many of us out of work, there's not much chance of getting a job. I guess I must find other things to do." She arranged to look after her sister's children for a few weeks, and she was intending to take responsibility for the care of her sick father, all unpaid work within a family situation. One suspects that this is typical of many young unemployed females.

The case analyses help to provide a picture of the variety of reactions to work and worklessness evidenced by the unemployed respondents in this sample. As such they provide more depth than can be conveyed through the more structured results summarised in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWELVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The outcome of the tests of the hypotheses were discussed in detail in Chapter Nine. This chapter provides a summary of the findings relating to each hypothesis and discusses the main reasons for these findings before providing suggestions for future research and for practical interventions with the unemployed.

1.0 Results relating to the hypotheses outlined in Chapter Five

1.1 Kelley's covariation model

More support was obtained for Kelley's model in the laboratory setting using case studies portraying the success and failure of hypothetical job applicants than in the field research where the unemployed made attributions about their own behaviour.

1.1.1 Task difficulty/ease attributions

This hypothesis was not supported. No results were significant in the field study for the group as a whole. In the laboratory research, high consensus and high distinctiveness did result in higher task difficulty/ease attributions. However, the effect of consensus was influenced by order of presentation of information. Consistency had no direct effect, although when low consistency appeared just before high consensus information in the case study, a particularly high task difficulty attribution was made for failure.

1.1.2 Ability attributions

The results were supportive of this hypothesis. In the laboratory study, low consensus, low distinctiveness and high consistency resulted in a higher ability attribution than the remaining cells. Distinctiveness had a particularly robust effect, and was not influenced by order or success failure biases. In the field research ability attributions were influenced by distinctiveness estimates, but when tested separately for the sexes, the relationship was only significant among the females.

1.1.3 Luck attributions

This hypothesis was supported in the laboratory study where the cell with high consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency received a stronger mean attribution than the remaining cells. Both distinctiveness and consistency demonstrated the predicted main effects for luck in the laboratory study. In the field study, only consensus showed the predicted significant positive Beta weight with luck attributions for failure, and this too was found only among the females when tested separately for the sexes.

1.1.4 Effort attributions

This hypothesis was not supported. In the laboratory study low consensus, high distinctiveness and low consistency did not result in stronger attributions than the remaining cells. Only distinctiveness influenced effort attributions as predicted. In the field research the only significant Beta weight obtained was between consistency and effort attributions among the females. This was in the predicted direction.

1.2 Attributional biases

As was expected in both the laboratory study and in the field research, stronger task difficulty attributions were made for failure than task ease attributions for success. Also success was attributed more strongly to effort than was failure to lack of effort among the university subjects in the laboratory study. There was a tendency for the reverse among the unemployed respondents who attributed failure more than success to effort, particularly in response to the open question. No significant differences were found in success and failure attributions to ability in either group. Significant differences were found in the attributions for success and failure to luck in both studies, but these were in the direction opposite to that predicted; success was attributed to luck more than was failure.

The fundamental attribution error was supported in the laboratory study; internal attributions for someone else's behaviour were stronger than were external attributions. Surprisingly the unemployed also made stronger internal than external attributions about their own behaviour.

The predicted combined influence of the success failure bias and the fundamental attribution error was supported in the laboratory study. The predicted combined influence received no support in the field research.

1.3 Personality variables and attributions

The hypothesis was clearly supported for respondents with high self-esteem and an internal locus of control. This group attributed their failure to lack of effort and success to ability. Those with low self-esteem and an external locus of control attributed their success to unstable factors, but they did not attribute their failure to lack of ability more than to the other factors. The personality variables did not have a stronger influence on causal attributions than the information antecedent variables of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency.

1.4 Consequences of attributions

Attributing failure to lack of effort and success to ability did not relate to obtaining a job. However, other attribution variables did discriminate significantly between those who succeeded in obtaining a job and those who remained unemployed. Respondents who succeeded in obtaining work tended to make stronger task difficulty attributions for failure and effort attributions for success. Only limited support was obtained for the predicted affective consequences of attributions; respondents who attributed failure to lack of effort cited fewer negative mental health symptoms (lower GHQ).

2.0 Summary of additional findings

The relationship between attributions for failure to lack of effort and fewer negative mental health symptoms should be interpreted in light of the relationship between the number of job interviews attended and lack of effort attributions. From the data it appeared that the more job interviews the respondents attended the less able they were to endorse lack of effort as a reason for failure. Because of this they were more likely to have higher GHQ scores. On the other hand, it is both obvious and shown from the present research that the number of job interviews attended contributes to the likelihood of obtaining work. This highlights the dilemma faced by the unemployed; the need to

sustain effort in the job search process which both the present research and that of O'Brien and Kabanoff (1979) suggest is stressful.

The respondents in the present study demonstrated higher GHQ scores shortly after registering for work than they did a month later. This could be part of the process of moving out of the shock phase into the optimism phase (See Hayes and Nutman, 1981). However, it could equally well have been due to the stress associated with registering for work. As the respondents had been out of work for varied lengths of time, an interpretation which relies on the cyclical response to losing a job seems unlikely. Comments made by the subjects suggested that registering for work was a major event which many found stressful.

The path analysis and the cross lagged correlations provided results which were consistent with the view that locus of control had a prior influence on GHQ. In addition, there was a relatively strong path between weeks unemployed and GHQ scores.

Age and GHQ scores were related positively and significantly, and females in this sample had significantly higher GHQ scores.

No significant differences were found in the well-being of respondents who were working and those who remained unemployed at the time of the second interview. This was surprising in light of the findings cited by Warr (1981) which showed that obtaining a job decreased scores on the GHQ while remaining unemployed increased the scores. An analysis of the cases pointed to a group of respondents working in jobs which they found unsatisfactory and which contributed to their higher stress level. It is also possible that the working respondents may not have been in their jobs long enough to overcome the effects of their previous unemployment.

Although only suggestive, it appears that for those who remained unemployed in this sample, the highest well-being was found among those who ranked work as second in importance (compared with family and friends). In addition, work was ranked as relatively more important by those who remained unemployed than it was by those with jobs.

Although no conclusive statements can be made from the present

study, the intercorrelations found between the personality measures (self-esteem and locus of control) and the well-being measures (happiness, life satisfaction, job satisfaction and GHQ) suggest that these do offer potential as moderating variables. Respondents with high self-esteem and an internal locus of control tended to have higher well-being whether they were working or not.

From the present study the factors which are potential moderators of well-being among the unemployed are age, length of unemployment, work not being ranked most important in life (this applied to the employed group as well) and perhaps self-esteem and locus of control. Having a job did not seem to make a difference to well-being on this particular sample. However, the nature of the jobs involved (many of which were created under job creation schemes) and the length of time spent in them must be remembered.

3.0 General discussion

The laboratory test of Kelley's theory applied to others' success and failure in job seeking resulted in more support for the predicted hypotheses than did the same interpretation of the theory in a field study involving self attributions by the unemployed themselves. The same tendency held for hypothesis 2.1, with support being shown for the predicted fundamental attribution error and the combined success failure bias in the laboratory study. No support was obtained for the specific predictions in the field research, although there were significant differences in the attributions made for success and failure.

There are a variety of possible reasons why there was limited support for the attribution theories in the field research. There were success failure biases among the unemployed sample which could not be controlled as well as in the laboratory study. However, the pattern of biases in the field research was similar to that obtained in the laboratory study, suggesting that this was not the primary reason. Associated with this is the possibility that Kelley's theory is more valid for "other attribution" than for "self attribution", particularly where attributions for success and failure are involved. Despite the existence of the success failure bias in self and other attribution, the bias may be stronger in self attribution.

The different results obtained in the two phases of the present research may also have been due to the greater realism of the field research and to differences in the subjects used. Group identity may have accounted for the findings in the field research as was suggested among the 27 respondents who remained unemployed at the second interview. This group saw the task of obtaining a job as difficult for people without skills, a group with whom they appeared to identify. This meant that high, not low, consensus resulted in an ability attribution, and low, not high, distinctiveness in a task difficulty attribution.

However, not all the respondents in the present field research seemed to think of themselves as "unemployed", and it appeared that the strength of the consensus variable reflected this. Those who perceived low consensus for being out of work tended to have higher self-esteem, feel that their failure to get a job was not indicative of weakness on their part, and consequently rejected thinking of themselves as "unemployed". This was illustrated by comments such as --"I feel really sorry for people who can't get work because they lack skills", "Its just a matter of time until I get a job", and "I'm just waiting for the right job to come up". These respondents had rationalised why they were registering with the Department of Labour for work. They did not feel unemployed.

Unfortunately the information available from the present research does not allow for more than speculation about group identity or rejection among the unemployed. Kelley's covariation model does not deal with it and no direct measure of group identification was obtained, although retrospectively the consensus variable appeared relevant. Pruitt and Insko's (1980) "comparison behaviour consensus" dimension has the potential to deal with the group identification phenomenon, but it needs to be tested in a field setting. The role of group identity may vary in different groups of individuals. University students, the source of much of the research in social psychology, are more competitive and may be less likely to be influenced by it.

Future research should investigate at what point the unemployed person moves from rejecting seeing themselves as unemployed to identifying with the unemployed. Depending upon background and personality variables both strategies might be considered ways of coping. What is needed is an understanding of how effective such

coping strategies are, and what outcomes these strategies have at each stage of unemployment. Kelvin (1980) includes a discussion of the likely shift which may take place at a societal level from rejecting the unemployed to accepting them. Such acceptance will happen when "people become adapted to the possibility of unemployment among 'ordinary' people like themselves" (Kelvin, 1980, p. 309). Although this may occur in the long run, the present research suggests that even among those who register for work, identification with the unemployed is rejected by some. Kelvin (1980), using attribution theory, suggests that those who do identify with the unemployed will attribute their difficulty to the situation. Although not directly tested this does not appear to have been so in the present study. Those who did identify with the unemployed made joint ability/task difficulty attributions -- jobs were only seen as difficult to obtain for people like themselves who lacked skills.

Many of the insignificant results may also be able to be explained by respondents having differing perceptions as to the stability or internality of task difficulty/ease, ability, luck and effort. In Weiner's model these are assumed to be external stable, internal stable, external unstable and internal unstable causes respectively. There is a possibility that some respondents viewed task difficulty as unstable, although this was not so for task ease. Luck appeared to be perceived as stable and even internal by some respondents. For example, those with an external locus of control tended to use the luck category as though bad luck was a stable phenomenon, and no doubt for them it felt that way. An effort attribution for one's own success was perceived as stable, and an effort attribution for someone else's failure was also seen as stable. Ability was the only category which was viewed consistently as internal and stable for failure and success. Perhaps this partly explains why greater support was obtained for Kelley's theory in relation to ability attributions.

Future research should check how respondents perceive these causes. They should perhaps be asked to rate the extent to which task difficulty, ability, luck and effort are seen as stable or unstable and internal or external. It would seem possible that personality variables and biases may influence respondents' perception of the stability or internality of particular causes.

The present research did reinforce the importance of distinctiveness in influencing both self and other attributions

for success and failure in job seeking. While the unemployed perceive that they lack skills, they will continue to make ability attributions for their failure. Similarly, while the general public view the unemployed as lacking work skills they will continue to blame them for being out of work. Attempts by the news media or organisations such as the Workers Unemployed Rights Centre to persuade the public not to blame the unemployed for being out of work are unlikely to succeed unless the message is accompanied by a picture of the unemployed having skills to offer. Many do, as became obvious to the author during the interviews, but the unemployed are often not aware of the relevance of their skills. Unfortunately many employment officers lack the training and time to make the connection between the skills which those registering for work do have and the jobs which are available.

The main strength of the present research was that it combined a laboratory and a field study. Much stronger support was obtained for hypotheses testing Kelley's theory and the attributional biases in the laboratory study for other attribution than in the field research for self attribution. These hypotheses were based on theories derived originally from laboratory studies, and clearly more field research is needed to check their validity and to obtain ideas for modification. Although the realism of field research is ultimately more desirable, laboratory studies do have a place. As the results from the laboratory study were generally supportive of the application of Kelley's theory to success and failure in job seeking, the insignificant findings in the field research cannot be blamed on the particular application of Kelley's model to unemployment. Without the laboratory study a criticism such as this could have been offered. Ideas have been derived from the field study which could perhaps be tested again in a laboratory situation with tighter control (e.g. group bias and the perceived stability and internality of causes).

One other aspect examined in the present research which is not reported in the literature is the combined influence of the success failure bias and the fundamental attribution error. The opportunity to test this arose because the present research addressed itself to a variety of issues. It seems that many studies have attempted to confine the focus of their research so as to obtain a tight research problem with the result that these contradictory hypotheses never become bedfellows. By testing Kelley's theory in relation to Weiner's model using attributions

made for success and failure about one's own behaviour and that of others, these contradictions were brought into sharp relief. Most studies focus on only one key element at a time. Future research could well attempt to test the contradictions within predicted biases making use of better controls.

If Kelley's covariation model is to be applied to studies which involve attributions about success and failure it may be necessary to incorporate an additional variable to predict attributional biases. Perhaps consensus, distinctiveness and consistency information can be combined to provide a prediction of the individual's expectancy for success or failure. As has been shown in other research (see Zuckerman, 1979) and by the role of the personality variables in the present study, expectancies do influence attributions.

To summarise, future research should examine the following areas, preferably using field studies:

- the role of group identity in influencing causal attributions;
- the point at which people move from rejecting the unemployed to identifying with them;
- individual differences in the perception of the stability or internality of task difficulty, ability, luck and effort; and
- the inclusion of an expectancy component in Kelley's model to predict biases in attributions made for success and failure.

4.0 Recommended action for helping the unemployed

Through the informal discussions with the 82 registered unemployed who were interviewed many insights were obtained into the difficulties they experienced and what could be done to ease these. Recommendations arising out of the research are outlined below. These have already been made available to various authorities.

4.1 Skills training should be provided so that failure to obtain work is seen as low in distinctiveness. Such skills training does not need to be related only to traditional work roles.

4.2 Active support and skilled help should be provided during the job search process. There is no point in an indiscriminating job search. Applying for jobs with little likelihood of success only adds to the stress and decreases the chances of making a

lack of effort attribution.

4.3 The rules surrounding the job creation programmes should be relaxed to make it easier for individuals to create their own jobs. This might allow for a continued perception that success was due to one's own efforts.

4.4 More counselling should be provided at the time of registering for work. Many respondents needed more sympathy for their situation than they were given.

4.5 Career counselling should be broadened in scope. Work is not a panacea, and people will increasingly need to find meaning in other spheres of life.

4.6 Employers should be made aware of the consequences for applicants of their current selection procedures. Where using "contacts" is the main method of obtaining a job, a large group of people in society are denied access to jobs. Employers should be encouraged to use functional criteria in their selection. They should also inform applicants of the numbers of people applying for jobs. To be one of fifty turned down is better than thinking that you may have been the only person turned down.

4.9 When out of work, even a little work is valued. Society will need to move more urgently to a notion of work sharing. There is little reason why job sharing could not be introduced into the job creation schemes. This would seem particularly sensible where some of the jobs are undesirable.

14.10 With the prevalence of youth unemployment the primary focus has been on programmes for the young. In the present sample, older unemployed were under more stress, yet little attention has been devoted to them. More attention will need to be given to identifying individuals in need of help because of cumulative stress.

5.0 Conclusion

The theory based findings in the field research were weak with only threads of results from the laboratory study generalising to the field setting. Despite this it would be incorrect to undervalue the role of theory based laboratory studies in providing direction for the field research, but the influence must

go both ways.

Field research is not easy; the theories available often lack an empirical basis in field settings, control is difficult to attain, and the practical constraints may appear insurmountable. Despite this, laboratory studies should be tied to real world research to help delineate the dimensions along which generalisation of findings can be expected. This is essential if psychology is to make any progress in understanding the social contingencies influencing self and interpersonal perception. At the time Heider (1958) first mooted attribution theory, social psychology relied more heavily on field research than on laboratory studies. Perhaps we should go back to the field to obtain our hypotheses, not continue to generate research based on theories removed from reality by several decades of increasingly sophisticated, but sometimes trivial, laboratory based studies.

The present study was originally motivated by the public debate regarding the causes of unemployment. Attributions did relate to consequences for the unemployed in the present sample, but not quite as theory would have predicted. The evidence collected suggested that those who subsequently obtained jobs by the time of the follow up interview had originally attributed success to their own effort and failure to task difficulty. The group who remained unemployed were less likely to have blamed their unemployment on the difficulty of the task or to have credited their own efforts for a previous success. Being able to attribute failure to lack of effort, with the implication that there was still hope in trying, was related to citing fewer mental ill health symptoms but not to obtaining a job. Skill level (distinctiveness) and ability attributions were clearly related. However, it seems that a simple estimate of the number of people out of work (consensus) on its own does little to influence the attributions made. Even with a marked increase in the level of unemployment, the perceived skill level of the unemployed will need to be altered before society at large or the unemployed themselves will cease making lack of ability attributions for being out of work.

APPENDIX A**Instruments used in laboratory research and
justification for their development****Cover Sheet : Instructions**

"We are examining the selection decision-making processes used in two large firms, Organisation A and Organization B, in relation to four applicants, two who are turned down and two who are accepted for jobs.

The procedure used in both these organisations is to employ between one and ten school leavers per year, depending upon the quality of the applicants and the work needs of the two firms. The jobs do not require any specific training or experience, although the respective personnel managers always request school leavers to present references and other information about their holiday or part-time jobs.

The sheets which I am handing out represent the summary notes made by the personnel managers on each candidate following the interviews.

Read the notes twice for each candidate before answering the questions regarding the probable causes for the outcome of these applications."

Appendix A

(FAILURE)

Name of applicant: Alan Brown

Age: 16 plus years

Qualifications: some School Certificate passes

General Comments:

- references indicate weak work related skills
- previous job seeking activities successful
- only applicant turned down for a job

Given the above information, what do you feel caused Alan not to be offered the job? Indicate how important each of the following was in his failure to get the job by circling the appropriate number.

Alan didn't try hard enough for one of these particluar jobs

VERY IMPORTANT 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 NOT VERY IMPORTANT

Bad luck in not being offered one of these particular jobs

VERY IMPORTANT 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 NOT VERY IMPORTANT

Alan lacks the ability or skill needed for this type of job

VERY IMPORTANT 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 NOT VERY IMPORTANT

Jobs of this type are difficult to get

VERY IMPORTANT 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1 NOT VERY IMPORTANT

If you feel something else caused Alan's failure to get one of the jobs then briefly describe the other cause in the space provided below.

Now please place a tick next to the single most important cause for Alan not getting the job.

1. Didn't try hard enough

2. Bad luck

3. Lack of ability or skill

4. Difficulty of getting jobs

5. Other:(specify if any)_____

P.T.O.

Appendix A

(SUCCESS)

Name of applicant: Peter Dodds

Age: 16 plus years

Qualifications: some School Certificate passes

General Comments:

- references indicate strong work related skills
- previous job seeking activities unsuccessful
- only applicant offered a job

Given the above information, what do you feel caused Peter to be offered the job? Indicate how important each of the following was in his getting the job by circling the appropriate number.

Peter tried particularly hard for one of these jobs											
VERY IMPORTANT	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	
Good luck in being offered one of these particular jobs											
VERY IMPORTANT	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	
Peter has the ability and skill needed for this type of job											
VERY IMPORTANT	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	
Jobs of this type are easy to get											
VERY IMPORTANT	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	NOT VERY IMPORTANT	

If you feel that something else caused Peter to be offered one of these jobs then briefly describe the other cause in the space provided below.

Now please place a tick next to the single most important cause for Peter getting the job

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Tried particularly hard | _____ |
| 2. Good luck | _____ |
| 3. Ability and skill | _____ |
| 4. Ease of getting jobs | _____ |
| 5. Other: (Specify if any) _____ | _____ |
| _____ | _____ |

Appendix A

These two cases were followed by two similar female cases, one being turned down for the job while the other was accepted. The data from the female cases were not analysed, the male case descriptions being used to test Kelley's theory. The wording for each level of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency for success and failure for the male case studies is given below:

CONSENSUS

Failure to get a job

a1

Only applicant turned down for a job

a2

One of many applicants turned down for a job

Success in getting a job

a1

only applicant offered a job

a2

One of many applicants offered a job

DISTINCTIVENESS

Failure to get a job

b1

references indicate weak work related skills

b2

references indicate strong work related skills

Success in getting a job

b1

references indicate strong work related skills

b2

references indicate weak work related skills

CONSISTENCY

Failure to get a job

c1

Previous job seeking activities successful

c2

Previous job seeking activities unsuccessful

Success in getting a job

c1

Previous job seeking activities unsuccessful

c2

Previous job seeking activities successful

The two levels each of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency, and the three orders meant that the study involved 24 different versions of a success case (Peter Dodds) and the same number of variations for the failure case (Alan Brown). The two additional female case descriptions had only two different versions of each

Appendix A

of the failure and success candidates. These two case descriptions and the response format requiring the choice of a major cause were used for teaching purposes only in the data collection exercise. While sex was controlled it was not an independent variable in the study, and the use of the two female case descriptions did help to disguise the purpose of the study.

The names of the success and failure candidates were kept as nearly similar as possible. An earlier version of the case description named Grant Ellis as the success candidate, but a pilot exercise revealed that given two names only, Grant Ellis and Peter Brown, the former was more likely to be offered a job. Alan Brown and Peter Dodds were finally chosen for their similarity.

The age and educational background was made relatively non specific so as to ensure that there were no differences between the success and failure candidates, while retaining the logical acceptability of the exercise from the respondents' point of view. In addition an attempt was made to present an average relatively unqualified school leaver, likely to have employment difficulties.

The different levels of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency were chosen after many trials and pilot tests. The wording needed to ensure that one could accommodate both high and low levels of each variable for both the success and failure conditions, while retaining similarity in every other way. This meant that of necessity the statements were relatively non specific. The exercise illustrates the trivialising effect which results from the the need to standardise conditions for tight experimental control.

Success and failure were treated as a repeated measure to test for bias. Although thought was given to randomly alternating the success and failure cases and to counterbalancing order of presentation of the dependent measures (task difficulty/ease, ability, luck and effort), this would have required non uniform questionnaires in the group situation, alerting students to between subject manipulations.

Similarly, in order to avoid the detection of differences in the wording resulting from the manipulation of the order of presentation of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency

Appendix A

information, this was varied across different groups or clusters of students, and not within such groups. It is possible that order effect may therefore be confounded with tutorial group but there is no theoretical reason for attaching any importance to this.

As it was impossible to include all eight variations involved in combining the two levels in the first three factors in each of the six student groups, one factor was held constant for each group, with high and low levels of each of the other two factors being presented to the group. Despite these restrictions, the existence of six separate student groups (labelled A - E) allowed for a conveniently tight design. The design and its relationship to student groups is given below.

TABLE A.1
Design for laboratory study with six student groups

		b1 c1	b1 c2	b2 c1	b2 c2
Group A	a1	abc 111	abc 112	abc 121	abc 122
Group B	a2	abc 211	abc 212	abc 221	abc 222
		a1 c1	a1 c2	a2 c1	a2 c2
Group C	b1	bca 111	bca 121	bca 112	bca 122
Group D	b2	bca 211	bca 221	bca 212	bca 222
		a1 b1	a1 b2	a2 b1	a2 b2
Group E	c1	cab 111	cab 112	cab 121	cab 122
Group F	c2	cab 211	cab 212	cab 221	cab 222

Note: a = consensus 1 = low
 b = distinctiveness 2 = high
 c = consistency

APPENDIX BTrend Analysis using a constructed factor

(Test of the ANOVA interpretation of Kelley's model)

Pruitt and Insko (1980) suggest a way of constructing a factor in order to use trend analysis to test whether the variability in cell means for each combination of levels of consensus distinctiveness and consistency fits that predicted for each of the dependent variables. In their study the factor was constructed so that different levels differed in the number of independent variables contributing to the level. This additional factor was constructed within high levels of consistency for the stable factors in their research. For this study the same procedure was used, while the factor was constructed within low levels of consistency for the unstable factors. The theoretical basis for this lies in the predicted role of consistency along the stability dimension. The factors were constructed by taking the appropriate level of consistency as a base level for the new factor, using the averaged means for the addition of the appropriate levels of either consensus and distinctiveness for the next level, while using the appropriate level of all three variables for the particular dependent measure for the third level. As the appropriate coefficients in a linear trend analysis use only two data points, it could be possible to obtain a significant F despite the existence of a quadratic trend. For this reason each data set was checked for a significant quadratic trend in addition to the check for a linear trend. Results for the four dependent measures are presented in Table B.1

Appendix B

TABLE B.1

Means and F values for the trend analyses
using a constructed factor

<u>Constructed factor</u>	<u>Task</u>	<u>Diff/</u> <u>Ease</u> 1	<u>Ability</u> 1	<u>Luck</u> 2	<u>Effort</u> 2
Level 1	LLH	3.31	HHH 4.59	LLL 3.69	HLL 4.83
Level 2	HLH		LHH	LHL	HHL
	LHH	4.56	HLH 5.27	HLL 4.13	LLL 5.45
Level 3	HHH	5.13	LLH 7.14	HHL 5.69	LHL 5.69
Linear trend	F=5.125*		F=9.20**	F=6.994**	F=1.39
Quadratic Trend	F=0.364		F=0.668	F=0.73	F=0.03

*= $p < .05$. **= $p < .05$, $df = 1, 144$

Note 1= factor constructed within high levels of consistency

Note 2= factor constructed within low levels of consistency

Level 1 and 3 means based on $N=21$, Level 2 means based on 42 scores. (Between groups, but doubled if one includes the repeated measure) Error terms obtained from Appendix C.

In all of the dependent measures, except for effort attributions, the linear trend with the constructed factor was significant while the quadratic trend was not. This provides support for the analysis of variance interpretation of Kelley's covariation model in relation to three of the four dependent measures.

APPENDIX C

1. Table of F values from Multivariate Analysis of Variance Reported in Chapter Six

	DF	Effort	Luck	Ability	Task	Diff
<u>Multivariate</u>						
A	1	0.652	0.285	.886	6.681*	2.445*
B	1	27.443**	51.388**	63.859**	25.360**	34.05**
C	1	2.250	4.195*	2.503	3.178	3.076*
D	2	0.718	4.809*	1.931	3.298*	5.455**
AB	1	0.448	2.863	1.695	0.050	1.763
AC	1	0.154	0.335	1.043	0.643	0.517
BC	1	0.514	0.071	0.251	0.161	0.264
AD	2	0.418	0.653	0.537	4.171*	2.513*
BD	2	2.923	0.982	1.380	2.953	4.806**
CD	2	2.149	1.148	4.012*	0.024	3.772*
ABC	1	1.297	0.161	0.491	2.719	1.461
ABD	2	0.897	1.252	0.614	0.495	2.157
ACD	2	0.641	0.342	0.437	1.479	1.514
BCD	2	0.271	0.620	0.831	0.654	1.400
ABCD	2	2.916	0.010	0.549	0.212	1.887
<u>Error</u>						
Term	144	5.588	6.005	7.420	5.994	Note 2
E	1	72.547**	16.055**	1.157	17.677**	32.533**
EA	1	0.301	0.053	2.439	2.513	1.101
EB	1	2.471	2.375	7.902**	0.684	3.465**
EC	1	8.340**	1.336	3.132	0.575	3.865**
ED	2	1.160	0.429	1.837	0.607	2.624*
EAB	1	0.033	0.148	0.030	0.684	0.229
EAC	1	0.108	1.924	0.435	0.575	0.776
EBC	1	3.754	0.481	0.011	0.304	1.367
EAD	2	1.780	0.058	0.220	1.455	1.886
EBD	2	1.160	0.064	1.022	0.773	1.759
ECD	2	0.134	1.340	1.521	1.156	2.679*
EABC	1	1.637	0.855	2.439	0.000	1.395
EABD	2	0.967	0.411	1.425	1.436	2.276
EACD	2	5.067**	1.527	0.926	3.586*	6.864**
EBCD	2	0.278	0.405	1.853	0.842	2.085
EABCD	2	0.486	2.178	0.762	5.605**	3.865**
Error	144	2.227	2.005	2.471	2.506	Note 2

*= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

Note 1: A= Consensus (High and Low), B= Distinctiveness (High and Low), C= Consistency (High and Low), D= Order of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency (ABC,BCA,CAB), E= Success or Failure (Repeated Measure).

Note 2: Multivariate F values were obtained by converting Lamda using Rao's (1952) test statistic reported in Finn (1974) and the accompanying degrees of freedom (4,150 for between groups, and 4,149 for within groups)

Appendix C

2. Separate Analysis of Variance F Values for Success and Failure

Task Difficulty/Ease

	DF	Success	Failure
A	1	1.537	10.398**
B	1	19.605**	16.166**
C	1	3.263	1.333
D	2	1.099	4.281*
AB	1	0.363	0.078
AC	1	0.061	1.333
BC	1	0.001	0.458
AD	2	3.393*	3.342*
BD	2	2.971	1.475
CD	2	0.286	0.448
ABC	1	1.718	2.170
ABD	2	1.300	0.106
ACD	2	0.020	4.727*
BCD	2	0.080	1.504
ABCD	2	0.848	3.006
Error	144	4.744	3.756

Ability

	DF	Success	Failure
A	1	2.479	0.0018
B	1	67.474**	31.288**
C	1	0.230	5.229*
D	2	0.278	3.629*
AB	1	1.054	1.516
AC	1	0.300	1.516
BC	1	0.230	0.150
AD	2	0.718	0.183
BD	2	0.643	1.975
CD	2	4.682*	2.025
ABC	1	1.874	0.031
ABD	2	0.011	1.668
ACD	2	0.563	0.554
BCD	2	0.367	1.847
ABCD	2	1.041	0.139
Error	144	5.081	4.809

A=Consensus

B=Distinctiveness

C=Consistency

D=Order

*= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

Appendix CLuck

	DF	Success	Failure
A	1	0.307	0.132
B	1	44.604**	32.450**
C	1	5.076*	1.569
D	2	4.498*	2.773
AB	1	2.523	1.777
AC	1	0.034	1.569
BC	1	0.307	0.015
AD	2	0.602	0.387
BD	2	0.492	1.063
CD	2	0.263	2.313
ABC	1	0.602	0.015
ABD	2	1.295	0.739
ACD	2	0.967	0.246
BCD	2	0.618	0.504
ABCD	2	0.618	0.475
Error	144	4.363	3.647

Effort

	DF	Success	Failure
A	1	0.892	0.163
B	1	26.011**	13.823**
C	1	0.070	8.466**
D	2	0.475	1.266
AB	1	0.412	0.235
AC	1	0.241	0.026
BC	1	0.173	2.881
AD	2	0.541	1.109
BD	2	0.929	4.127*
CD	2	1.783	1.338
ABC	1	0.070	2.881
ABD	2	0.686	1.181
ACD	2	1.055	2.873
BCD	2	0.096	0.475
ABCD	2	1.971	2.513
Error	144	4.171	3.645

A=Consensus

B=Distinctiveness

C=Consistency

D=Order

*= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

APPENDIX D
Interview Protocol

Subject Number: _____ Date: _____

Introductions: Explain - the purpose of the study
 - length of the interview
 - selection of participants
 - own research affiliation
 - confidentiality
 - need for follow up

Sex Female= 0
 Male = 1

Question: What was your age at your last birthday? _____

Question: How many years secondary schooling did you
 complete? _____
 Other tertiary education? _____

Question: What was the highest qualification you
 obtained? (See Appendix F for coding) _____

Question: What is your marital status? _____
 CARD ONE
 Children? _____

Question: To what ethnic group do you consider
 yourself to belong? CARD TWO _____

Question: What kind of job did your father do during
 most of your childhood, up to the time you
 were 15 years old? (SES) _____
 What did he actually do?

Question: Did your mother have any type of paid work
 during your childhood (that is, up to the
 time you were 15 years old)?
 Did she have any type of paid work before then?
 (If yes to either)
 What kind of job was it? (SES) _____

Question: What jobs have you held in the past?
 (obtained details of work history)

Question: What was the reason for leaving your last
 job? (if applicable).

Question: How long is it since you last had a paid job/
 left school?
 Time in weeks _____

Appendix D

Question: Have you been unemployed before? How long? _____

Question: How many jobs have you applied for since
you left school/your last job? _____

Question: How many job interviews have you been for? _____

Question: What sort of job do you regard as your
usual one? _____

Question: What sort of job would you like to do? _____

Question: (CONSENSUS)

How many people with skills and
qualifications like yours are out of work?

CARD THREE _____

Question: (DISTINCTIVENESS)

Can you tell me how weak or strong you feel your
skills are in the following areas:

CARD FOUR

1. Getting on with people at work -- bosses and
workmates _____
2. Reading and paper work _____
3. Working with your hands _____
4. Working with figures _____
5. Identifying and solving problems _____
6. Learning different parts of a new job _____
7. Overall, how strong or weak do you feel your
work skills are? _____

Question: (CONSISTENCY)

If you think about the applications you have made
in the past, for full time, part time or holiday
jobs -- How successful do you think you have been? _____

CARD FIVE

Questionnaire: Administer self-esteem questionnaire

Appendix DQuestion: (ATTRIBUTIONS FOR FAILURE)

In general what do you think the reason is
that you haven't got a job yet?

Free response _____

Now I'd like you to rate each of the following reasons in terms
of their importance in your not having a job.

CARD SIX

- you haven't tried hard enough to get a job _____
- bad luck _____
- lack of ability or skill _____
- jobs are too difficult to get _____

I'd like you now to think of a time when you managed to
get a job (or nearly managed to get a job) for yourself.
Think carefully about it.

Question: (ATTRIBUTIONS FOR SUCCESS)

What do you think the reason was for your getting the job?

Free response _____

Now rate each of the following reasons in terms of their
importance.

CARD SIX

- you tried particularly hard for the job _____
- good luck _____
- you had the ability or skill for the job _____
- jobs like that were easy to get _____

The next few questions deal more with the future
(BEHAVIOURAL INTENTION MODEL)

How likely is it that you will keep looking for a job
over the next while? CARD SEVEN _____

What do you hope to do to get a job?
(note intentions)

What do you think your chances are of getting a job?
CARD EIGHT _____

What do your family think chances are of your
getting a job? CARD EIGHT _____

Appendix D

What do your friends think your chances are?

CARD EIGHT _____

Overall how would you feel about getting a job?

CARD NINE _____

Overall, how would you feel if you don't get a job?

CARD NINE _____

How will your family feel if you do get a job?

CARD NINE _____

And your friends, how will they feel if you do
get a job?

CARD NINE _____

How will your family feel if you don't get a job?

CARD NINE _____

And your friends, how will they feel if you don't
get a job?

CARD NINE _____

How strongly are you influenced by what your
family feels?

CARD TEN _____

How strongly are you influenced by what you
friends feel?

CARD TEN _____

Questionnaire:

Administer social desirability and locus of control
scale

The next few questions deal more with your life in general
(WELL-BEING)

Question: (HAPPINESS ITEM)

Taking all things together, how would you say things
are these days?

CARD ELEVEN _____

Question scale: (LIFE SATISFACTION)

I would like you to consider some other aspects of your life at
the present moment, and indicate how satisfied you feel about
each one in turn. Please use this scale. CARD TWELVE

1. The house or flat that you live in _____

2. The local district that you live in _____

3. Your standard of living, the things you can buy
or do _____

4. The way you spend your spare time _____

Appendix D

(LIFE SATISFACTION CONTINUED)

5. Your present state of health _____
6. The education you have received _____
7. What you are accomplishing in life _____
8. What the future seems to hold for you _____
9. Your social life _____
10. Your family life _____
11. Taking everything together, your life as a whole
these days _____

Questionnaire: General Health Questionnaire (GHQ)

General Discussion

FOLLOW UP INTERVIEW

Subject Number: _____ Date: _____

Current situation: No Job =1, School=2, Temp PT=2, Perm PT =3
Temp FT = 4, Perm FT =5, Other, Specify

Number of days unemployed since last interview _____

How many jobs have you applied for since I saw you? _____

How many job interviews have you been for since then? _____

Question: (CONSENSUS)

How many people with skills and qualifications like yours
are out of work/have got jobs? _____

CARD THREE

Question: (DISTINCTIVENES)

(Same items as at first interview
scoring reversed for subjects in a job)

CARD FOUR

Question: CONSISTENCY

If you think about all the applications you have made recently
how successful or unsuccessful do you think you have been?

CARD FIVE

(reverse scoring if in job) _____

Questionnaire: locus of control and social
desirability questionnaire _____

Appendix D

IF IN JOB COMPLETE THIS, IF NOT GO TO UNEMPLOYED SECTION

Question: (ATTRIBUTIONS FOR SUCCESS)

What do you think the reason was for your getting the job?

Free response _____

Now rate each of the following reasons in terms of their importance. CARD SIX

- you tried particularly hard for the job _____
- good luck _____
- you had the ability or skill for the job _____
- jobs like that were easy to get _____

Question scale: (JOB SATISFACTION)

The next set of items deal with various aspects of your job. I would like you to tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you feel with each of these features of your present job.

CARD TWELVE

- The physical work conditions _____
- The freedom to choose your own method of working _____
- Your fellow workers _____
- The recognition you get for good work _____
- Your immediate boss _____
- The amount of responsibility you are given _____
- Your rate of pay _____
- The opportunity to use your abilities _____
- Industrial relations between management and workers on in your firm _____
- Your chance of promotion _____
- The way the firm is managed _____
- The attention paid to suggestions you make _____
- Your hours of work _____
- The amount of variety in your job _____
- Your job security _____
- Now, taking everything into consideration how do you feel about your job as a whole? _____

UNEMPLOYED SECTION

Question: ATTRIBUTIONS FOR FAILURE

In general what do you think the reason is that you haven't got a job yet?

Free Response _____

Now I'd like you to rate each of the following reasons in terms of their importance in your not having a job.

CARD SIX

-you haven't tried hard enough to get a job _____
-bad luck _____
-lack of ability or skill _____
-jobs are too difficult to get _____

What jobs have you applied for?

(circumstances surrounding each -- source plus outcome)

Repeat of the BEHAVIOURAL INTENTION items from the first interview

Discussion covering recreational activities and help which could have been given.

Repeat of the HAPPINESS item and the LIFE SATISFACTION questions

Question: (RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF FAMILY WORK AND SOCIAL LIFE)

Overall in your life, how important is:

CARD SIX

	Rating	Ranking
Your social life	_____	_____
Your family life	_____	_____
Work in your life	_____	_____

Now please rank order these three facets of your life

Questionnaire General Health Questionnaire

General discussion: - Current situation,
- Purpose of the study,
- Help given where necessary (referrals)
- Feedback letter promised in February, 1982

Appendix D

RESPONSES ON CARDS

CARD ONE

- 1 — MARRIED
- 2 — WIDOWED
- 3 — DIVORCED
- 4 — SEPARATED
- 5 — NEVER MARRIED
- 6 — OTHER, SPECIFY

CARD TWO

- | | | | |
|---|-------------------|----|------------|
| 1 | CHINESE | 6 | N.Z. MAORI |
| 2 | COOK ISLAND MAORI | 7 | NIUEAN |
| 3 | EUROPEAN/PAKEHA | 8 | SAMOAN |
| 4 | FIJIAN | 9 | TOKELAUAN |
| 5 | INDIAN | 10 | TONGAN |

CARD THREE

- 1 — NONE
- 2 — LESS THAN 25%
- 3 — BETWEEN 25% AND 50%
- 4 — ABOUT 50%
- 5 — BETWEEN 50% AND 75%
- 6 — MORE THAN 75%
- 7 — ALL OF THEM

CARD FOUR

- 1 — EXTREMELY WEAK
- 2 — VERY WEAK
- 3 — MODERATELY WEAK
- 4 — I'M NOT SURE
- 5 — MODERATELY STRONG
- 6 — VERY STRONG
- 7 — EXTREMELY STRONG

CARD FIVE

- 1 — EXTREMELY SUCCESSFUL
- 2 — VERY SUCCESSFUL
- 3 — MODERATELY SUCCESSFUL
- 4 — I'M NOT SURE
- 5 — MODERATELY UNSUCCESSFUL
- 6 — VERY UNSUCCESSFUL
- 7 — EXTREMELY UNSUCCESSFUL

CARD SIX

- 1 — EXTREMELY UNIMPORTANT
- 2 — VERY UNIMPORTANT
- 3 — MODERATELY UNIMPORTANT
- 4 — I'M NOT SURE
- 5 — MODERATELY IMPORTANT
- 6 — VERY IMPORTANT
- 7 — EXTREMELY IMPORTANT

CARD SEVEN

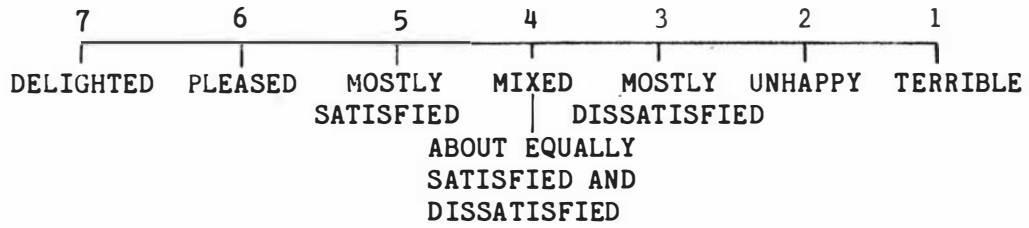
- 1 — EXTREMELY UNLIKELY
- 2 — VERY UNLIKELY
- 3 — MODERATELY UNLIKELY
- 4 — I'M NOT SURE
- 5 — MODERATELY LIKELY
- 6 — VERY LIKELY
- 7 — EXTREMELY LIKELY

CARD EIGHT

- 1 — EXTREMELY LOW
- 2 — VERY LOW
- 3 — MODERATELY LOW
- 4 — I'M NOT SURE
- 5 — MODERATELY HIGH
- 6 — VERY HIGH
- 7 — EXTREMELY HIGH

Appendix D

CARD NINE



CARD TEN

- | | | |
|---|---|---------------|
| 1 | [| NOT AT ALL |
| 2 | [| JUST A LITTLE |
| 3 | [| QUITE A LOT |
| 4 | [| STRONGLY |
| 5 | [| VERY STRONGLY |

CARD TWELVE

- | | | |
|---|---|----------------|
| 1 | [| NOT VERY HAPPY |
| 2 | [| FAIRLY HAPPY |
| 3 | [| VERY HAPPY |

CARD THIRTEEN

- | | | |
|---|---|-----------------------------|
| 1 | [| I'M EXTREMELY DISSATISFIED |
| 2 | [| I'M VERY DISSATISFIED |
| 3 | [| I'M MODERATELY DISSATISFIED |
| 4 | [| I'M NOT SURE |
| 5 | [| I'M MODERATELY SATISFIED |
| 6 | [| I'M VERY SATISFIED |
| 7 | [| I'M EXTREMELY DISSATISFIED |

(ALL CARDS WERE 20 x 12 cm WITH LARGE PRINT)

APPENDIX E

Pilot Study

1.0 Approach to subjects

A mutually convenient interviewing programme was worked out with the local supervising employment officer. A roster of employment officers was set up to approach individuals as they registered for work the day before interviews were to be held. The duty employment officer was given an instruction sheet, sufficient copies of the letter explaining the research and the brief questionnaire (see Appendix F). All individuals approached were asked to complete the questionnaire which was used to assess the degree of bias in the volunteers. Those agreeing to be interviewed filled in their name and address, and were given an interview time written on the bottom of the letter. Those not agreeing did not give a name or address.

Four days were arranged for pilot interviews, but the Department forgot to arrange interviews on one of the days, pointing to the importance of a telephone call to remind the office.

Although there was time for six interviews per day, appointments were made for all six on only one of the three days. Four definite interviews were arranged on both the other two days. It was originally hoped that this was due to the newness of the procedure, but the pattern continued throughout the research. It was difficult to ascertain whether this was due to a shortage of people registering or simply due to the lower priority placed on the research by the employment officers. With the constant changing of duty officers it became necessary to frequently coach and remind the staff of the procedures involved.

2.0 Subjects for pilot interviews

A total of 20 unemployed were approached by the employment officers on the three days, with 15 agreeing to participate in the study.

Of those who agreed to participate 11 turned up for the interviews. One person agreed to participate, but left the letter with the appointment time in the waiting room of the Department of labour, and might not have known where to report.

Appendix E

Of the 11 respondents, six were never married, one was married, three were separated and one was divorced. Two were Maori, and the remainder were Pakeha. Two school leavers had a reasonably high socio-economic status rating, but the remaining respondents were spread at the lower end. All but one of the respondents had no formal qualification.

Many had been unemployed for a considerable period of time (up to 4 months) before registering, and one sensed a distaste on the part of some of the respondents for having to register and even more so for having to obtain the unemployment benefit.

Characteristics of the three categories of respondents are summarised in Table E.1 below:

TABLE E.1

Characteristics of respondents in pilot study

<u>Category of respondent</u>	<u>Sex</u>		<u>Age</u>	<u>Qualifications</u>	
	F	M	Males+Females	No SC	SC
Interviewed	5	6	24.4	10	1
Not Interviewed:					
Volunteer +no show	2	2	20.5	2	2
Non Volunteers	3	2	31.1	2	3
Total not interv.	5	4	26.5	4	5

The newly registered unemployed males were older than the females. The same pattern was found among those who were interviewed. The group interviewed tended to have a lower education level than those not interviewed.

3.0 Interview Protocol

The first part of the interview followed the structured protocol outlined in Appendix D except for some of the respondents who used the questions as a stimulus to pour out the events leading to their having to register for work. There was an obvious need in these respondents to talk about their situation and one could sense a real frustration on their part, that they had not had an opportunity for this previously. Within reason, an attempt was

Appendix E

made to complete the structured questions before talking more generally.

The structured part of the interview took approximately 20 minutes, even when the self-esteem items were asked verbally. Following the first day of pilot interviewing, a few of the questions and responses were changed, with further modifications being made after the second day. It was felt that the protocol used on the third day would not benefit from further modification, but the time allowed for the inclusion of a standardised measure of defensiveness, locus of control and the General Health Questionnaire. This final form of the structured interview and protocol is the one discussed in the present thesis.

It was anticipated that difficulties would still be encountered when dealing with some respondents, but it was felt that improving the items would not overcome this. It is a difficult, and perhaps unrealistic task, to develop a set of items capable of dealing equally well with the wide spectrum of those registering for work with the Department of Labour.

Information was provided to all respondents about sources of help in the community. They were all given a brochure from the Vocational Guidance Centre and one from the Workers Unemployed Rights Centre.

For all those seen, the information obtained from the formal and informal parts of the interview was used to try to leave them feeling just a little more positive about themselves. An attempt was made to identify their strengths and help them to recognise these. Where it appeared that the respondents did not recognise the relevance of their strengths to possible employment this was pointed out.

4.0 Follow up interviews

Following the first day, it became obvious that the original intention to follow up respondents after six months was unrealistic. Two of those in the pilot study indicated an intention to leave Palmerston North shortly if they did not get a job, and two further respondents did not have permanent addresses. This pointed to the likely difficulties of retaining an adequate sample for any follow up work, let alone six months

Appendix E

after seeing them. As no access was allowed to the Department of Labour records, it would not have been possible to obtain changes of addresses. Because of this it appeared necessary to make contact with the respondents after about two weeks in order to ensure that they remained interested in the study and to try to keep track of their movements.

All respondents on the second and third day were asked at the start of the interview whether they minded being telephoned in two weeks and again after about a month, when a subsequent interview would be arranged. The follow up interview protocol and procedure was pilot tested on these respondents. Four out of the eight were subsequently interviewed as part of the follow up; two were working and two were unemployed.

5.0 Comments on findings

With only eleven in the pilot study it was difficult to establish whether there was a trend in the data in accordance with the predictions, many of which were multivariate in nature. The findings were examined primarily to establish whether the spread on the variables was adequate.

Among these eleven respondents the success failure bias was quite marked. Table E.2 illustrates this.

TABLE E.2

Means and standard deviations of the attribution
scores for success and failure

	<u>Success</u>		<u>Failure</u>	
	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>SD</u>
Effort	4.3	2.21	2.63	1.86
Luck	4.6	2.17	4.18	2.09
Ability	5.4	1.84	3.63	2.20
Task Difficulty	3.1	1.66	6.00	1.41

As the exact wording of the questions was altered during the course of pilot testing, comparisons of the results presented here with the final sample should be made with caution. In particular, those interviewed early in the pilot study were asked to identify a specific job for which they had been turned down (a critical incident) and to make attributions about that. Too many in the pilot study could not do so (perhaps due to defensiveness) which led to the decision to ask respondents to make attributions

Appendix E

about their being unemployed in general. -- "In general what do you think the reason is that you haven't got a job yet?" The results reported in Table E.2 include five which were general and six which were made in response to a critical incident.

Each person had established for themselves why they were out of work, and they often did not wish to consider possible alternative reasons. This reaction led to the decision to allow a free response prior to asking the structured causal questions for failure rather than after referring to the structured responses. Respondents had difficulty even considering other causes before they felt that the real cause as perceived by them had been heard.

The responses given by each respondent to the open question, "What do you think the reason is for your being out of work?" are given below:

- 1 Still at school (employers think I should stay there)
- 2 Given the sack while I was sick
- 3 Jobs are just taken before I get them
- 4 None
- 5 Said something that put them off in the interview
- 6 None
- 7 I'm outspoken and too confident - they don't like it
- 8 Company went broke
- 9 Lack of qualification
- 10 Health - want change of career - could get job in old field
- 11 Health - accident

The reasons given in response to the causes for success were:

- 1 None
- 2 Knew the people involved
- 3 Pure fluke
- 4 My friend recommended me to the dairy owner
- 5 None
- 6 It was the right job -- suited my interests and skills
- 7 Person interviewing wasn't up to much
- 8 Through my father
- 9 They needed more staff
- 10 Contacts
- 11 I had riding experience (Apprentice Jockey)

The list of reasons from the pilot study were used to train the raters in the rating exercise described in Appendix H.

The happiness scale and the life satisfaction scores produced a reasonable amount of variability. The one person who did not

respond to the happiness scale claimed that he had been extremely unhappy, but they had put him on drugs, and now he didn't know whether he was happy or unhappy.

A reasonable spread of scores was obtained on the self-esteem inventory, and the scale did appear to be measuring the extent to which the unemployed needed to talk about personal events, those high in self-esteem responding directly to the questions while those low in self-esteem were less focussed in their responses. Although the self-esteem measure together with the life satisfaction scores came close to assessing the degree of maladjustment and unhappiness which surfaced during the interviews, it seemed important to do this more accurately. For this reason it was decided to administer Goldberg's (1978) General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) in the actual study.

APPENDIX F

Letter and short questionnaire used by employment
officers in approaching registered unemployed to
volunteer for the study

ON MASSEY UNIVERSITY LETTERHEAD

As part of my research I am trying to understand more about the problems of being unemployed, and I would like very much to meet and talk with you. It is only by knowing more about being unemployed that the Government and other agencies can do something about it.

The employment officers have agreed to ask for your help, but the work I am doing is for neither the Department of Labour nor the Department of Social Welfare. What we discuss will be confidential. I would appreciate your help in my research and hope that you may find our discussion helpful in some way.

Could you please answer the questions on the attached sheet and if you do agree to being interviewed also fill in your name, address and telephone number. Your employment officer will arrange a time for you to see me at the Palmerston North City Library (opposite the Post Office on the Square) where I have been given a room.

If you are under 18 years of age I need your parent's consent. Please ask them to initial this letter and bring it with you to the interview. If you cannot attend or have any questions you would like to ask please telephone me at 69-099 ext. 841.

Beryl Hesketh

Your interview has been scheduled for:

Day: _____

Date: _____

Time: _____

Place: Please report to the reception desk on the first floor (up one flight of stairs) of the City Library Building opposite the Post Office on the Square.

PARENT'S INITIALS _____
(if under 18 years)

Appendix F

Please answer the questions below:

1. Sex: Male Female
2. Age at your last birthday _____
3. Highest qualification obtained: (Tick where appropriate).
- _____ No School Certificate passes
- _____ S.C. pass in one subject
- _____ S.C. passes in two subjects
- _____ S.C. passes in three subjects
- _____ S.C. passes in four or more subjects
- _____ U.E.
- _____ Trade or Technicians Certificate
- _____ Bachelors degree, University qualification.
- _____ Other, specify _____
4. What sort of job do you regard as your usual one?
- _____
5. Do you agree to being interviewed: Yes No
- If YES please fill in your name etc.
- NAME: _____
- ADDRESS: _____
- TELEPHONE NUMBER: _____

APPENDIX G

Comparison of sample with official Department of Labour statistics

1.0 Sampling rate

There were a total of 3412 new male registrants in the local Department of Labour District between April and September 1981. During that period it was possible to establish the figures of the actual unemployed by sub locality in the district, but not the figures for new registrations. Approximately 57 percent of the males registered in the district were from the city sub locality. Applying this to new registrants (57% of 3412) we obtain an estimate of 1944 local males registering with the department during that period. The equivalent figures for females are 61% of 1690 providing 1031 new registrants in the city sub locality (Note: The city sub locality included some registrants from the satellite townships, while subjects for the research were restricted to those within the city area. Also interviews only started midway through April and terminated midway through September. Sample rates given are therefore conservative estimates). Table G.1 provides the estimated sample rate for males and females.

TABLE G.1
Sample rates for males and females

	MALES	FEMALES
RESEARCH SAMPLE:		
Number approached	119	65
Number interviewed	48	34
LOCAL SUB LOCALITY		
NEW REGISTRANTS	1944	1031
SAMPLING RATE:		
Numbers approached	6.1%	6.3%
Numbers interviewed	2.5%	3.3%

Given that the primary aim of this research was to test hypotheses, not to undertake a survey, precise sampling data is not essential. A higher sample rate could have been obtained through compressing the interview time span, but practical constraints made this impossible. The six month spread of

Appendix G

interviewing did have advantages in that it captured a wider cross-section of registered unemployed, while still excluding the large group of school leavers and those registering for the student work scheme in the summer.

2.0 Age of subjects in comparison with age of registered unemployed

Using the local Department of Labour returns for the months April to September, 1981, an age distribution of the registered unemployed was obtained. (Note this applies to all registered unemployed, not only those registering for the first time). The results presented in Table G.2 do provide some basis for comparing the age distribution of the research subjects with all registered unemployed in the district.

TABLE G.2
Age of all registered unemployed in
the Department of Labour District
compared with the age of the research
sample

	MALES		FEMALES	
	<u>P.N.</u>	<u>Dist</u>	<u>P.N.</u>	<u>Dist</u>
		<u>Subjects</u>		<u>Subjects</u>
15 - 19	330	29%	16	33%
20 - 24	308	27%	20	42%
25 - 29	183	16%	3	6%
30 - 39	143	12%	5	10.5%
40 - 59	181	15%	4	8.5%
60 +	5	.5%	2	.5%
<u>Total</u>	1150		48	

The main difference between the ages of those interviewed and the age of the local registered unemployed is similar to that shown in the bias of those who showed for interviews; females under the age of 19 were under-represented in this research.

1.3 Description of respondents according to occupation

Table G.3 provides information for males and females regarding the stated usual occupation of the two groups categorised

Appendix G

according to the system used by the Department of Labour to facilitate comparisons with their official figures. These figures, in the form of percentages in each category of new enrolments in the district (including other sub localities) are given for males and females. The official classification is based on the type of job the person is seeking rather than what they regard as their usual occupation. More subjects in the research sample did not have a "usual occupation", and would probably fall into the production related category for males and the clerical field for females in the official figures.

Comparing the group interviewed with those who were sampled but not interviewed we find no significant bias in the stated occupation of either the males ($\chi^2(7) = 3.23$ $p > .05$) or the females ($\chi^2(4) = 6.77$ $p > .05$), although there was a tendency for fewer labourers to have volunteered. Direct comparison with the Department of Labour data was not possible because of the different nature of the questions asked, but the tendency remained the same, with more unemployed in general fitting into the "production related other" category. It must also be remembered that the official figures included other sub localities and it is likely that more labouring type work would be sought in the smaller country areas.

Appendix G

TABLE G.3.
Stated usual occupation of subjects
interviewed and not interviewed

	DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR		NOT INTERVIEWED				INTERVIEWED			
	ales	Females	Males		Females		Males		Females	
	%	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Primary Industry	13.1	7.5	6	8.4	1	3.2	3	6.2	-	-
Clerical/Sales	7.2	44.2	8	11.3	8	25.8	6	12.5	19	55.9
Personal/Domestic Service	3.3	17.3	2	2.8	5	16.1	-	-	3	8.8
Building construc- tion	6.6	0.2	2	2.8	-	-	1	2.1	-	-
Production related metal and elec.	6.7	1.4	10	14.1	-	-	7	14.5	-	-
Production related other	51.4	25.0	25	35.2	5	16.1	14	29.2	4	11.8
Transport and mat- erials handling	10.6	1.9	9	12.7	-	-	7	14.5	-	-
No stated occupat- ion	1.1	2.2	9	12.7	12	38.7	10	20.8	8	23.5
<u>Totals</u>	34	12	71		31		48		34	

APPENDIX H

Results and discussion relevant to the operationalisation of the key variables in the Field Study

1.0 Consensus, distinctiveness and consistency

Correlations between the demographic variables and consensus, distinctiveness and consistency and the causal attributions are given in Appendix N.

The significant correlation between distinctiveness and educational level ($r(80) = .251, p < .05$), and the relationships between consensus and age, years of education, socio-economic status and weeks unemployed suggest that perceived consensus and distinctiveness did relate to relatively more objective indices of these variables. For consistency the correlation with weeks unemployed was insignificant ($r(80) = .005, NS$) but it did correlate significantly with the number of jobs for which the respondents had applied ($r(80) = .235, p < .05$). The more jobs the respondents applied for the higher their perceived consistency for failure offering some support for the operationalisation of consistency.

2.0 Causal attribution categories

2.1 Structured attribution questions

Table H.1 provides the test retest correlations for those subjects who were followed up. The sample sizes are small, and results should be interpreted accordingly. Correlations were not expected to be high as respondents were basing their attributions on different samples of behaviour at the first and second interview.

TABLE H.1
Test retest correlations for structured causal
attribution questions

	FAILURE (N=27)	SUCCESS (N=24)
EFFORT	.086	.297
LUCK	.589**	.574**
ABILITY	.377*	.596**
TASK DIFFI- CULTY	.358*	.635**

*= $p < .05$, **= $p < .01$

The low retest correlation evidenced for effort attributions for failure is probably the result of the first measure being obtained soon after registering when many subjects responded that they had not been looking yet. However, after a month of job search they had a different sample of their own behaviour upon which to base an effort attribution. The more stable factors tended to evidence higher correlations and the success attributions too were more consistent. Table H.2 provides the intercorrelations among the eight causal attribution dependent measures at time one.

TABLE H.2
Intercorrelation among the causal attribution
measures for success and for failure at the
first interview N=82

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. F:Task Diff							
2. F:Ability	.156						
3. F:Luck	.312**	.251*					
4. F:Effort	.074	.221*	.175				
5. S:Task ease	-.015	-.013	-.133	-.048			
6. S:Ability	-.109	-.353**	-.121	-.081	-.001		
7. S:Luck	.071	.081	.270**	.088	.191	-.311	
8. S:Effort	.085	.121	.181	-.087	-.071	.061	-.114

The intercorrelations of the failure attributions suggest a

grouping of effort, ability and luck with task difficulty being less related. The success intercorrelations appear to be more distinct and less interrelated. The significant negative correlation between success and failure attributions to ability suggests that the subjects either took credit for success or blamed themselves for failure, but not both. The positive correlation between success and failure attributions to luck suggests that subjects who endorse this do so irrespective of the outcome. The pattern of correlations between locus of control and causal attributions discussed below illustrates the same tendency.

2.2 Locus of control and causal attributions

The relationship between these variables was discussed in Chapter Four where it was suggested that the measures of locus of control related primarily to ability and luck attributions.

Correlations illustrating the relationship between locus of control and the attribution dependent measures obtained from the unemployed sample (N=82) are reported in Table H.3, with the relevant information from the two follow up groups (N=27 and N=24) provided in Table H.4. When comparing the results for success and failure in Table H.3 it should be remembered that the same respondents were involved. At time two, however, success and failure were obtained on different groups.

The correlations contained in the tables allow one to assess whether the suggestion that measures of locus of control span the diagonal of Weiner's model is valid.

TABLE H.3
Correlations between locus of control and
causal attributions made to Weiner's four
causal categories for success and failure
Time One (N=82)

	Internal		External	
Stable	ABILITY		TASK DIFFICULTY	
	Fail	Succ	Fail	Succ
locus of control	.149	-.158	.089	.008
Unstable	EFFORT		LUCK	
	Fail	Succ	Fail	Succ
locus of control	.005	-.008	.221*	.277*

*= $p < .05$, N=82

Partial correlations controlling for social desirability did not change the correlations in any major way.

There were significant positive correlations between an external locus of control and luck attributions for both being unemployed and for a previous success in obtaining a job. The relationship between locus of control and the internal stable attribution for success was negative and almost significant, an internal locus of control being associated with ability attributions for success. Although insignificant, the relationship between locus of control and failure attributions to ability did not follow the predicted direction, subjects with an internal locus of control making lower ability attributions for failure.

The very low correlations between locus of control and either task difficulty or effort attributions given in Table H.3, coupled with the relationships discussed above provide partial support for the suggestion offered in Chapter Four that measures of locus of control (not necessarily the concept) span the diagonal of Weiner's model. Further support for the model can be obtained from the follow up data particularly among the succeeding group. This is provided in Table H.4 below.

TABLE H.4
Correlations between Locus of Control and
causal attributions for being unemployed
(N=27) and for obtaining a job (N=24) at
Time Two

	Internal		External	
Stable	ABILITY		TASK DIFFICULTY	
	Fail (N=27)	Succ (N=24)	Fail (N=27)	Succ (N=24)
locus of control	-.025	-.692**	.351	.298
Unstable	EFFORT		LUCK	
	Fail	Succ	Fail	Succ
locus of control	-.129	-.588**	-.113	.532**

*=p<.05

The different respondents involved in obtaining the correlations for success and failure must be borne in mind. Among the 27 who were still unemployed the predicted relationships between locus of control and causal attribution did not hold. None were significant, with the strongest, but still insignificant correlation emerging between subjects with an external locus of control making task difficulty attributions. Among the 24 subjects who succeeded in obtaining jobs the predicted relationships were highly significant, an external locus of control being associated with strong luck attributions and an internal locus of control with ability and effort attributions. In relation to success there was a consistent pattern of effort being seen as more stable than it was in relation to failure (for the group of 24 respondents who subsequently obtained jobs), aligning effort with ability as a stable factor.

2.3 Classification of responses to open attribution questions

Two graduate student judges were asked to assign each free response to one of the four original Weiner categories in order to facilitate a comparison of the responses to the open question with those given to the structured causal questions. The author acted as the third judge, and a fourth judge was involved in resolving incompatible decisions. The instructions given for the task are provided below.

"Weiner has suggested a two dimensional causal classification

system illustrated in the two tables below with examples relating to failure to obtain a job and success in obtaining a job."

TABLE H.5
Weiner's Causal Classification for **Failure**

	INTERNAL	EXTERNAL
	[2]	[3]
STABLE	lack of ability or skill	jobs are too difficult to get
	[1]	[4]
UNSTABLE	haven't tried hard enough to get a job	bad luck

TABLE H.6
Weiner's Causal Classification for **Success**

	INTERNAL	EXTERNAL
STABLE	had ability or skill for the job	jobs like that were easy to get
UNSTABLE	tried particularly hard for the job	good luck

TASK NOT APPLICABLE [5]

"Please classify each of the causes given for success and failure at time one and time two into one of the four causal categories given above. If the reason given seems to fit more than one category then give both categories. (i.e. 3,4). If none of the four categories applies then classify it as "not applicable" by giving it a "5". Try where possible to assign a response to one of the four categories, but not artificially."

Table H.7 presents the percentage agreement between the different judges for the classification exercises.

TABLE H.7
Inter-judge agreement on the classification
of attributions to one of Weiner's four causal
categories, collapsing across the first and
second interviews (Percentages in brackets)

	FAILURE	SUCCESS
Two graduate judges agree	79 (72%)	61 (57%)
All three judges agree	77 (70%)	58 (54%)
Two out of three judges agree	105 (96%)	104 (98%)
Total number of Judgements	109	106

Table H.7 illustrates good agreement in the classification of the causal attributions for failure. The lower agreement found for the success attributions was largely due to different interpretations of where to place "contacts". Many respondents attributed their success at obtaining a job to family contacts or friends, or knowing the right people. One graduate judge and the author used category five for this as it was felt that it did not fit into one of Weiner's four causes. The other graduate judge consistently placed these in the luck category. On discussion, he agreed that category five could have been used. These responses were finally placed in category five and their similarity to the luck category should be borne in mind.

Where disagreement existed between the judges, majority rule prevailed. For every response where all three disagreed a fourth independent research assistant completed the exercise and in discussion with the author, resolved difficult judgements.

Although the interjudge agreement could be higher, the care and thought involved in resolving difficult cases means that the assigned classifications for the Weiner model could be used.

In an exercise to assess what dimensions emerged from the open questions regarding the causes for being unemployed and for obtaining a past job, two different research assistants were asked to sort the the reasons which were placed on cards into

whatever categories they felt the content of the causes justified.

One research assistant used broad categories, while the other's categories were much more refined, the smaller categories fitting well within the broader categories. Major disagreement existed only for a group of responses including statements such as "the jobs available are for qualified people". The first research assistant classified these as "the state of the economy", while the second research assistant classified these as "lack of qualifications/skills" a difference which indicates that even a classification task such as this is not free from bias.

The categories used by the first research assistant are given in Table H.8, while Figure H.1 and Figure H.2 illustrate the integration of the first and second research assistant's groupings with Weiner's model. The categories used by the research assistants fitted into Weiner's two dimensional causal classification, except for attributions for success made to contacts. For failure the unstable external category was not used. It was easier to place the categories derived from the exercise on the internal external dimension than on the stable unstable dimension.

TABLE H.8
Responses to the open causal attribution
questions for both success and failure

FAILURE	SUCCESS
1. Personal reasons for failure, e.g. haven't looked, no effort don't want any job, lack confidence (N=35)	1. Luck, right place right time (N=22)
2. State of the economy, the external environment (N=35)	2. Skill, ability or references (N=31)
3. Inadequate qualifications, skill, too qualified, age (N=17)	3. I sold myself, personal characteristics (N=21)
4. Some external reason eg. Boss didn't like me (N=3)	4. Need in the environment (N=10)
5. Only just started looking (N=5)	5. Personal contacts (n=27)
6. Don't know how to get one or don't know what I want (N=4)	6. Miscellaneous e.g. external pressure (N=4)
7. Multiple statements and miscellaneous (N=11)	

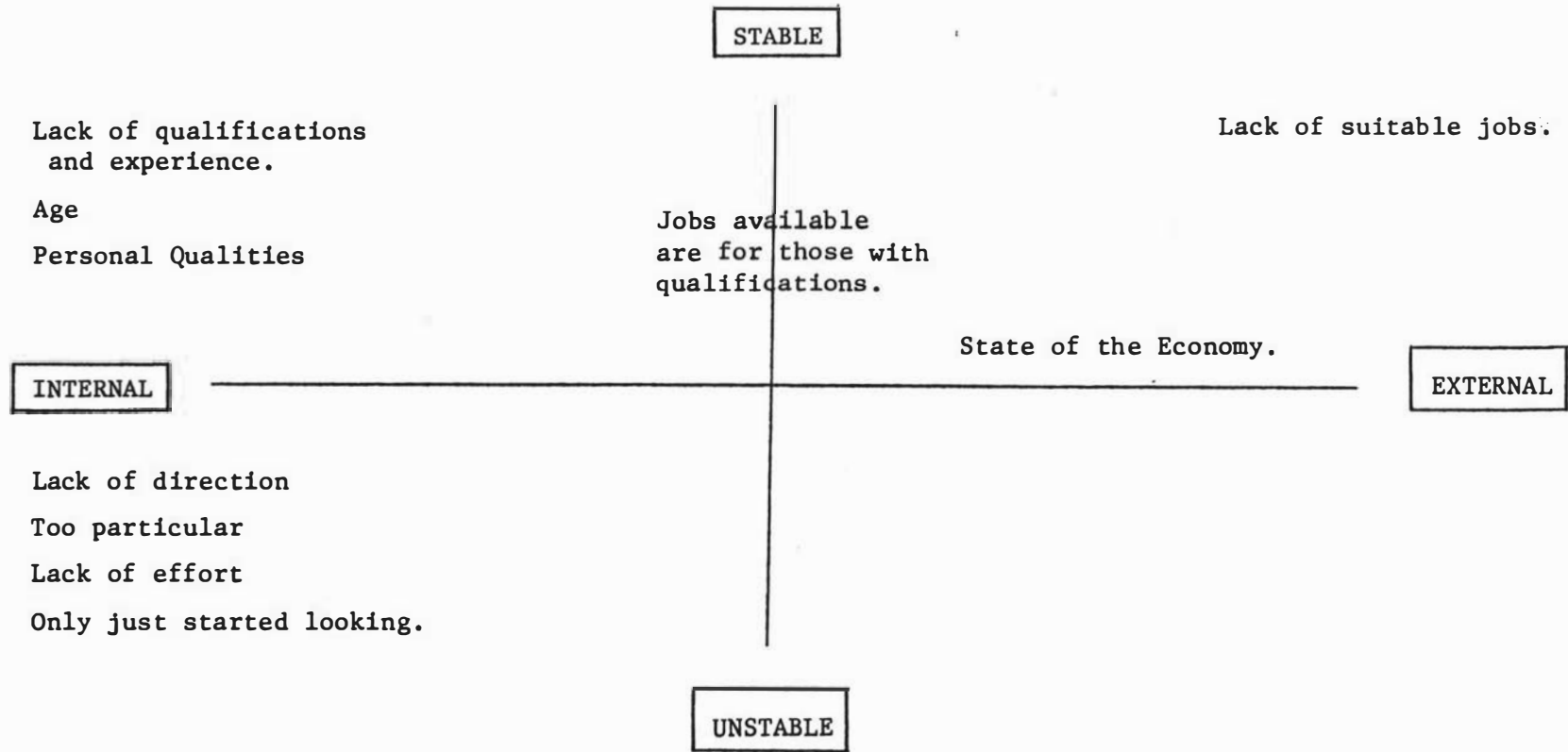


FIGURE: H.1 Placement within Weiner's two dimensional model the categories derived from responses to the open question about reasons for being unemployed.

F A I L U R E

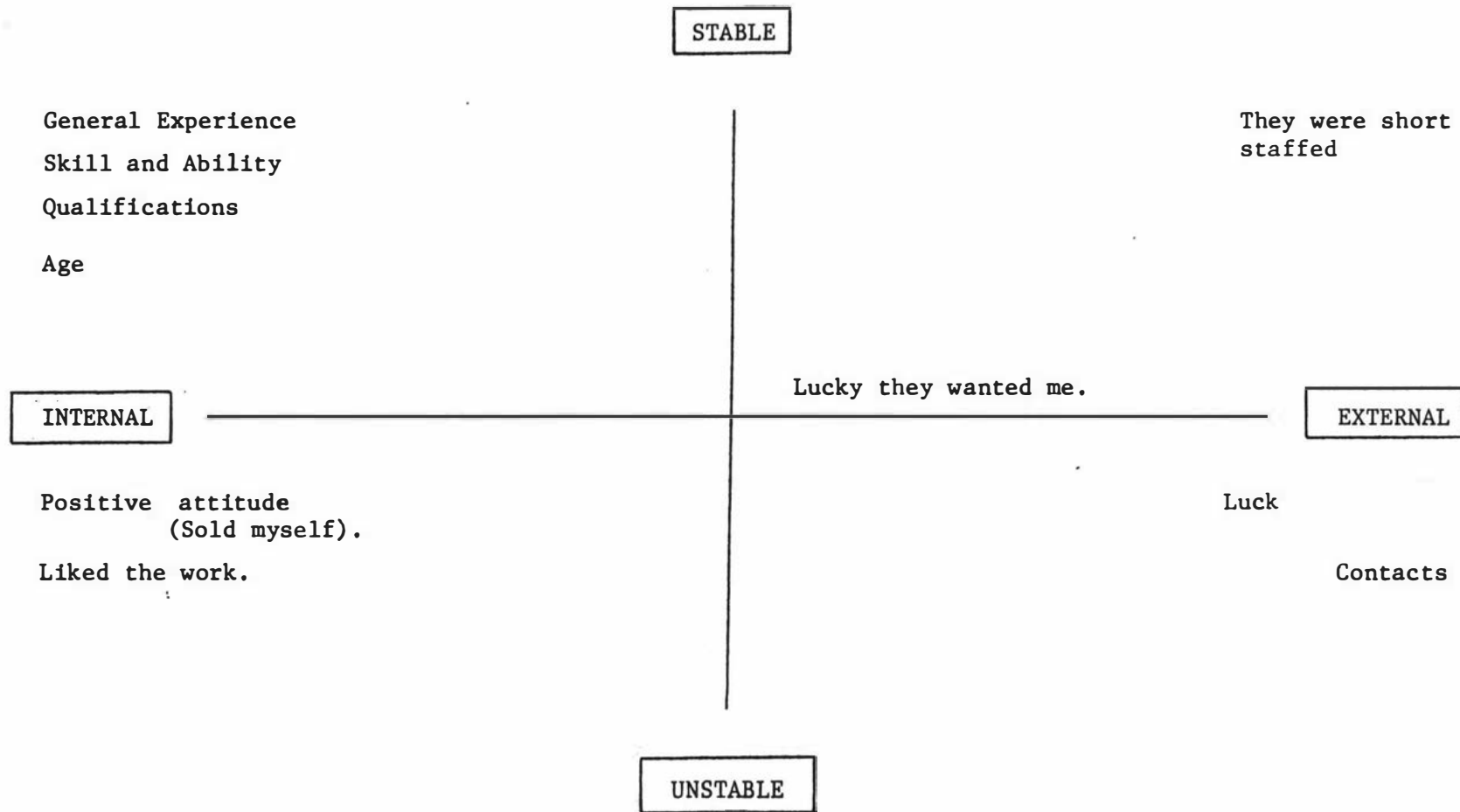


FIGURE:H.2 Placement within Weiner's two dimensional model, the categories derived from responses to the open question about the reasons for getting a previous job.

S U C C E S S

2.4 Relationship between the structured and open attribution questions.

The relationship between the structured and the unstructured causal attribution questions in relation to Weiner's four causal categories provides a measure of construct validity for the structured causal attribution dependent measures. These results are given for the 82 subjects involved in the first interview.

Failure

Twenty three of the open responses were assigned to the task difficulty category, 21 to lack of ability, and 31 to lack of effort and only one to luck. Three responses were assigned to a miscellaneous category, and three respondents had missing values. Because only one respondent attributed failure to bad luck in the open responses this category was omitted from the following analyses.

Mean values for each of the structured responses given to subjects whose open response were assigned to either task difficulty, ability or effort are provided in Table H.9.

TABLE H.9
A comparison of the open and structured
causal attribution responses for failure

<u>Open Responses</u> <u>Classified into:</u>	<u>Mean values obtained on the structured questions</u>		
	<u>Task Difficulty</u>	<u>Ability</u>	<u>Effort</u>
Task difficulty (23)	5.783	4.217	4.328
Ability (21)	5.429	4.905	3.762
Effort (31)	4.484	3.968	4.774

In each case we see that the highest mean rating for task difficulty, ability or effort is obtained among subjects whose open response was attributed to that category providing a measure of construct validity for these three measures. The fact that the luck attributions received the lowest endorsement is supported by the non use of luck as a reason in response to the open question.

Appendix H

Success

For success eight of the open responses were assigned to the task ease category, 34 to ability, 11 to good luck, 9 to effort and 18 to miscellaneous (the majority of these were "contacts" which could perhaps be thought of as good luck). The mean ratings on the structured questions given by subjects assigned to these five categories on the basis of their responses to the open questions are provided in Table H.10.

TABLE H.10
A comparison of the open and structured
causal attribution responses for success

<u>Open Responses</u> <u>Classified into:</u>	<u>Mean values obtained on the structured questions</u>			
	<u>Task Ease</u>	<u>Ability</u>	<u>Luck</u>	<u>Effort</u>
Task ease (8)	3.625	2.875	5.875	4.875
Ability (34)	3.618	5.647	3.824	5.353
Luck (11)	4.818	4.000	4.819	4.363
Effort (9)	4.111	3.778	3.222	5.333
Miscellaneous (18)	3.500	3.889	4.500	4.278

The results in Table H.10 illustrate that the structured responses are perhaps less valid for the success attributions than for the failure ones, particularly for the task ease and luck scales where, if one assumes that the open categories are more valid, respondents were using the task ease attributions in the way they would luck and vice versa. The ability attribution for success appeared to be the most valid, while the mean effort rating for the subjects whose responses were classified as due to lack of effort was only marginally lower than ability (also an internal factor). This suggests that for success the respondents may well have used the ability and effort categories more similarly than was the case for the failure attributions, perhaps because effort is seen as a stable factor in relation to success. In discussing the results this will need to be borne in mind.

APPENDIX I

Expectancy based models of behavioural intention: Discussion relating to the test of this model in the present study

1.0 General introduction

A group of work motivation theories known as VIE (Valence, Instrumentality and Expectancy) models have become increasingly popular in industrial psychology. The best known of these is that of Vroom (1964). Mitchell and Beach (1976) suggest that Vroom's valence model can be used to predict attitudes, while his force model relates more to a choice situation such as that embodied in job search behaviour. The force model is given below:

$$\text{The tendency to perform an action} = f \sum_{j=1}^{N^d} E_{ij} V_j$$

E_{ij} = The expectancy (subjective probability) that the action will follow the outcome.

V = The valence of the outcome.

N^d = Number of outcomes.

Expectancy could be related to the perceived probability that searching for a job will result in the outcome of obtaining one. This expectancy, multiplied by the valence or value attached to the outcome of getting a job, might explain the motivation (force) to continue searching for a job. It is easy to understand how in a period of high unemployment the expectancy of obtaining a job is low, with the consequent decrease in motivation to continue the search.

Expectancies can be the result of a number of factors. The attributions made for success and failure may influence one's expectancies, as might self-esteem and of course, locus of control -- a generalised expectancy. Rotter (1975) discussed the precise manner in which generalised expectancies relate to specific expectancies. Broedling (1975) examined the relationship between locus of control and work motivation and showed that subjects with an internal locus of control scored higher on the Vroom VIE model of work motivation, supporting the theoretical contention that a generalised expectancy such as locus of control has an influence on a more specific expectancy model related to work motivation.

Salipante and Goodman (1976) used a variation of expectancy theory as a theoretical guide in their research examining the impact of training and counselling on the retention of the hard core unemployed. They suggest that a worker's decision to come to work and to remain at work can be explained through the use of an expectancy theory framework. The decision to participate can be influenced by:

- a) a workers belief that he has the ability to come to work (expectancy)
- b) the belief that coming to work will be rewarded (instrumentality)
- c) the belief that the rewards or outcomes from coming to work are on balance positive (valence)

Points a) and c) are of particular interest in understanding the behavioural intention to seek work, while point b) would be of interest in understanding motivation to continue working, the primary focus of Salipante and Goodman's (1976) work. Although their results are fascinating, they do not bear directly on this thesis. The value of their research for our purpose lies in its successful application of expectancy theory to the hard core unemployed.

Ajzen and Fishbein (1975) outline a model of behavioural intention which is similar to VIE theories of work motivation. The main difference lies in an additional component in the behavioural intention model, the subjective norm, which incorporates the influence of significant others. Actions have outcomes, not only for oneself, but for others as well and the expectancies and valences of significant others moderated by the motivation to comply with their wishes will influence choice. The behavioural intention model has recently been applied to understanding job and career choice, and it was used in the present research to predict intention to continue seeking work. The main components of the model are discussed below.

Behaviour, which is linked to, but not identical with, behavioural intention is a function of the weighted sum of the attitude toward performing the behaviour in question and the subjective norm.

$$B \sim I = (A_B)w_1 + (SN)w_2$$

B= Actual Behaviour

I=Intention to perform behaviour B

A_B = attitude toward performing the behaviour B

SN = subjective norm

w_1 and w_2 = empirically determined weights

A person's attitude toward a specific behaviour is thought to be a function of the perceived consequences of performing that behaviour and of the person's evaluation of those consequences.

$$A_B = \sum_{i=1}^n b_i e_i$$

b = belief that performing behaviour B leads to consequences or outcomes i

e = person's evaluation of the outcomes

n = number of beliefs the person holds about performing B

The subjective norm is the person's perception that most people who are important (significant others) think that the behaviour in question should or should not be performed. According to the theory the general subjective norm is determined by the perceived expectations of specific individuals or groups, and by the person's motivation to comply with those expectations.

$$SN = \sum_{i=1}^n b_i m_i$$

b_i = normative belief (person's belief that reference group or individual i thinks he should or should not perform behaviour B)

m_i = motivation to comply with referent i

n = number of relevant referents

(Adapted from Fishbein and Azjen, 1975, pages 301 - 306.)

In the present study it was hypothesised that the expectancy and valence variables would combine to provide a prediction about intention to continue seeking work, which would relate to the criterion of having obtained a job or not by the time of the second interview.

2.0 Rationale for the questions relating to the behavioural intention model included in the interview protocol (Appendix D).

The various components discussed below have been operationalised in accordance with Ajzen and Fishbein's (1972 and 1975) models.

2.1 Expectancy or belief about the outcome

The question "What do you think your chances are of getting a job?" was asked with response options being given on a precoded 7 point scale (Card Seven in Appendix D).

2.2 Valence or attitude toward the act

To simplify the model, only two outcomes were assumed: getting a job or not getting a job. A scale (Card nine in Appendix D) developed by Andrews and Withey, (1974) and used extensively in survey research on attitudes, was chosen to summarise attitudes or valences toward or away from work.

2.3 Normative beliefs.

Fishbein and Azjen (1975) argue that normative beliefs may be formed as the result of an inference process; "if a person believes that a given referent would be pleased if he performed the behaviour, the person may infer that the referent thinks he should perform the behaviour" (p. 305). This statement led to the operationalisation of the variable in terms of perceived responses from friends and family to the respondent getting and not getting a job, again using card nine. The model calls for the multiplication of the perceived desires of the respective referent groups by the motivation to comply with their wishes.

Fishbein and Azjen admit that "motivation to comply" is the least understood component in their theory and there is no clear guideline as to how it should be operationalised. They do state that "on both theoretical and empirical grounds it appears that motivation to comply is best conceived as the person's general tendency to accept the directives of a given reference group or individual." (p. 306). The simple question, "How strongly are you influenced by what your family/friends feel?" was used, with the responses being based on Card Ten.

Some pilot testing was needed before the wording of the questions and the response categories given in Appendix D were chosen.

Because Fishbein and Azjen's operationalisation of the model is not altogether clear, it was decided to include a variable measuring the expectations of significant others. ("What do your family/friends think your chances are of getting a job?"). The inclusion of this allowed flexibility for future analysis of the data when different ways of operationalising the normative belief component of their model could be tried.

3.0 Comments on results

3.1 Test-retest correlations

As the behavioural intention questions were asked again of those respondents who were still unemployed (N=27) at the time of the second interview it was possible to obtain test-retest correlations. This information is given in Table I.1.

TABLE I.1
Test retest correlations for the variables
in the Behavioural Intention Model (N=27)

VARIABLE	CORRELATION
Behavioural Intention:	-.026
Intended Actions	.191
Expectancies (Own)	.103
Expectancies (Family)	.096
Expectancies (Friends)	.636
Valence toward a job	.266
Valence toward not working	.595
Valence toward a job (family)	.468
Valence toward a job (Friends)	.199
Valence toward not working (Family)	.565
Valence toward not working (Friends)	.651
Motivation to comply with Family	.821
Motivation to comply with Friends	.689

Theoretically one would not expect stability in all of the elements in the model. Behavioural intention and expectancies, for example might have changed as the respondents experienced rejections to their job applications. One would expect more stability in the questions measuring valence and in the normative component in the model. The lower stability in the respondents' own valence toward a job and that of their friends could reflect

low reliability in the items or a real change in their feelings about working as a result of being unemployed. The small spread obtained on many of the variables deflated the size of the correlations considerably.

3.2 Calculation of behavioural intention

The application of Fishbein and Azjen's (1975) behavioural intention model calls for the calculation of two major components, the attitude of the person toward a particular behaviour (A_B), and the subjective norm (SN). The first component is similar to Vroom's (1964) force model, and was calculated by subtracting the respondents' feelings about not working from their feelings about working and multiplying this by perceived expectancy for getting a job. The subjective norm component was obtained by subtracting the respondents' perceptions of their families feelings about them not working from the perceived feelings of family about them working and multiplying this by the motivation to comply with family. A similar procedure was used for perceived feelings of friends and motivation to comply with friends. The composite variable for family was added to that for friends to provide the Subjective Norm (SN).

In order to obtain the weights in accordance with the model, behavioural intention (direct question) was regressed with A_B and SN in a simple regression and the standardised Beta weights were used as weights to obtain a composite new variable. The results of this regression provide mixed support for Fishbein and Azjen's (1975) model as the multiple R was significant ($R(78,2)=.319, p<.05$), but this was almost entirely due to SN which had a Beta weight of 0.272 ($F(78,1)=5.979, p<.05$). The Beta weight for A_B was only 0.105.

This result tends to suggest that the normative component of the model is indeed important in relation to unemployment, as little variance is explained by the A_B component which is similar to Vroom's (1964) force model. There is an obvious need to incorporate the normative component, although further research will be necessary to determine the best way of operationalising it.

If the model had any validity one would have expected that the composite behavioral intention variable including A_B and SN weighted according to the Beta weights would have predicted the

number of jobs applied for in between the first and the second interview and perhaps explained the outcome of obtaining a job or not by the time of the second interview. The regression of the number of jobs applied for with the composite behavioural intention variable on the 51 respondents followed up produced a multiple R of .247 ($F(49,1) = 3.17, NS$). The regression of outcome at the second interview with the new variable produced a multiple R of .2 ($F(49,1) = 2.05, NS$) which was not significant. The actual outcome of obtaining a job is obviously dependent upon more than simple behavioural intention to get one.

4.0 General Comment

These results suggest a possible danger in applying models derived largely from analogue type studies involving data obtained from university subjects often not including any real criterion measure. As was shown in other research reported in this thesis, field results are not as strong as might be expected from the theories tested in laboratory studies. The strength of the normative component again suggests that a non university sample may be less individualist with group pressures and influences being more important. Additional field research is needed to test the behavioural intention model using more sophisticated measures than were employed in the present study.

APPENDIX J

General Health Questionnaire (Goldberg, 1972)

We would like to know if you have had any medical complaints, and how your health has been in general, over the past few weeks. Please answer all questions below simply by underlining the answer which you think most nearly applies to you. Remember we want to know about present or recent complaints, not those you had in the past.

1. Have you recently been able to concentrate on whatever you're doing?

Better than usual	Same as usual	Less than usual	Much less than usual
----------------------	------------------	--------------------	-------------------------

2. Have you recently lost much sleep over worry?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
---------------	-----------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------

3. Have you recently felt that you are playing a useful part in things?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less useful than usual	Much less useful
-----------------------	------------------	---------------------------	---------------------

4. Have you recently felt capable of making decisions about things?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less capable
-----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	----------------------

5. Have you recently felt constantly under strain?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
---------------	-----------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------

6. Have you recently felt that you couldn't overcome your difficulties?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
---------------	-----------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------

Appendix J

7. Have you recently been able to enjoy your normal day-to-day activities?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less than usual
-----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	-------------------------

8. Have you recently been able to face up to your problems?

More so than usual	Same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less able
-----------------------	------------------	-----------------------	-------------------

9. Have you recently been feeling unhappy and depressed?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
---------------	-----------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------

10. Have you recently been losing confidence in yourself?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
---------------	-----------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------

11. Have you recently been thinking of yourself as a worthless person?

Not at all	No more than usual	Rather more than usual	Much more than usual
---------------	-----------------------	---------------------------	-------------------------

12. Have you recently been feeling reasonably happy, all things considered?

More so than usual	About same as usual	Less so than usual	Much less happy
-----------------------	------------------------	-----------------------	--------------------

Thank you for your co-operation

- Scoring: 1. Likert method = 0, 1, 2, 3 for responses from left to right.
2. G.H.Q. Point method= 0 for either two left hand responses and 1 for either of the two responses on the right hand side.

APPENDIX K

Locus of control and social desirability items

Below are a number of statements about various topics. They have been selected from different groups of people and represent a variety of opinions. There are no right or wrong answers to these questions; for every statement there are large numbers of people who agree and disagree. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements by circling the appropriate statement.

1. Many times I feel that we might just as well make many of our decisions by flipping a coin. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

2. It is difficult for ordinary people to have much control over what politicians do in office. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

3. I never hesitate to go out of my way to help someone in trouble. (S.D.)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

4. I sometimes feel resentful when I don't get my way. (S.D.)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)

5. I have never intensely disliked anyone. (S.D.)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

6. Getting a good job seems to be largely a matter of being lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

7. It isn't wise to plan too far ahead because most things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune anyhow. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

8. On a few occasions, I have given up doing something because I thought too little of my ability. (S.D.)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)

9. When things are going well for me I consider it due to a run of good luck. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

10. I like to gossip at times. (S.D.)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)

11. I have usually found that what is going to happen will happen regardless of my actions. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

12. Success is mostly a matter of getting good breaks. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

13. No matter who I'm talking to, I'm always a good listener. (S.D.)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

14. I am sometimes irritated by people who ask favours of me. (S.D.)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)

15. I'm always willing to admit it when I make a mistake. (S.D.)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

16. There's not much use in worrying about things -- what will be, will be. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

17. I would never think of letting someone else be punished for my wrongdoings. (S.D.)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

Appendix K

18. I sometimes think when people have a misfortune they only got what they deserve. (S.D.)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(0)	(1)	(2)	(3)

19. Success in dealing with people seems to be more a matter of the other person's moods and feelings at the time rather than one's own actions. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

20. I think that life is mostly a gamble. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

21. Many times I feel that I have little influence over the things that happen to me. (LOCUS)

STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
(3)	(2)	(1)	(0)

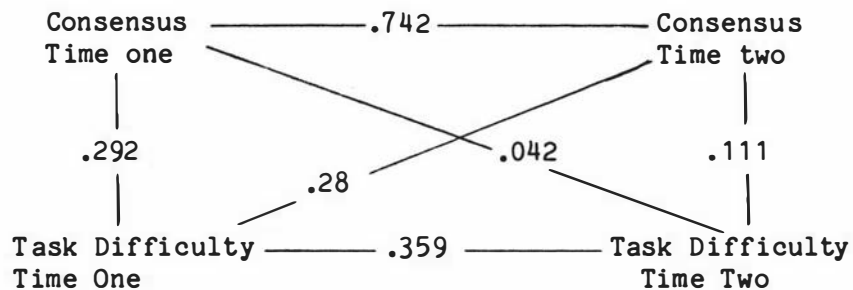
Note: LOCUS = items for James' 11 item locus of control scale
 S.D. = items selected from the Crowne Marlow scale
 Scoring is given in brackets below the responses.

APPENDIX L

Cross Lagged or Panel Correlations

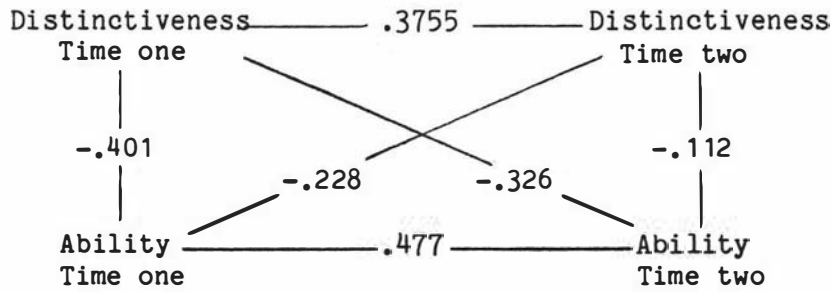
Cross-lagged panel correlation is a weak method of assessing causal relationships, and requires that certain conditions be met before any causal inferences can be made (Cook and Campbell, 1979). The key requirement is stationarity (similar correlations between the two variables at time one and time two). Results from the series of cross-lagged panel correlations are discussed below, with the limitations of the method clearly outlined. The data reported below was based on the 27 respondents still unemployed at the second interview.

1. Consensus and attributions to task difficulty



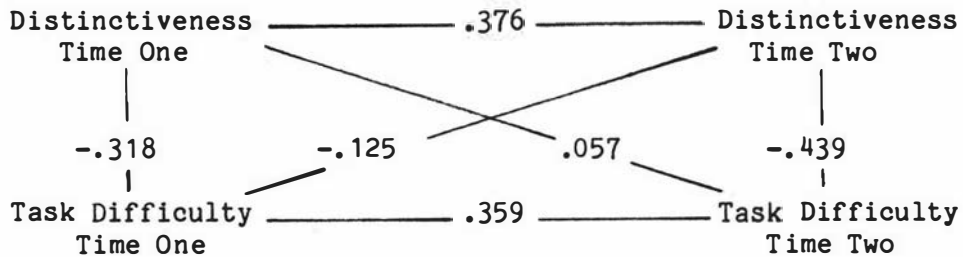
The stationarity of the correlations between consensus and task difficulty at time one ($r=.292$) and at time two ($r=.111$) is not suitable for an unequivocal interpretation of the causal relationship, and as the time two correlation is smaller, this limits possible interpretation even more. However it does appear that consensus is not operating on task difficulty attributions in the manner predicted from Kelley's theory. The higher correlation between task difficulty attributions at time one and the consensus estimate at time two seems to indicate that respondents may be inferring their consensus level from their assessment of how difficult the task is. The greater stability of consensus further suggests this. Correlations are in the direction predicted from Kelley's theory.

2. Distinctiveness and ability attributions for failure



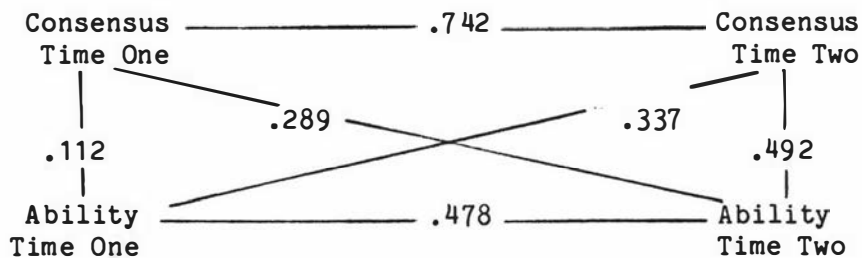
All the correlations are in the direction predicted by Kelley, but the lack of stationarity, ($-.401$ and $-.112$) renders interpretation a problem.

3. Distinctiveness and task difficulty attributions



The diagram provides the conditions which allow for a measure of interpretation from a cross lagged correlation (stationarity and similar stability for both distinctiveness and task difficulty). The higher correlation between distinctiveness at time one and task difficulty at time two ($-.125$) than between task difficulty at time one and distinctiveness at time two ($.057$) suggests that distinctiveness is influencing task difficulty attributions not the reverse.

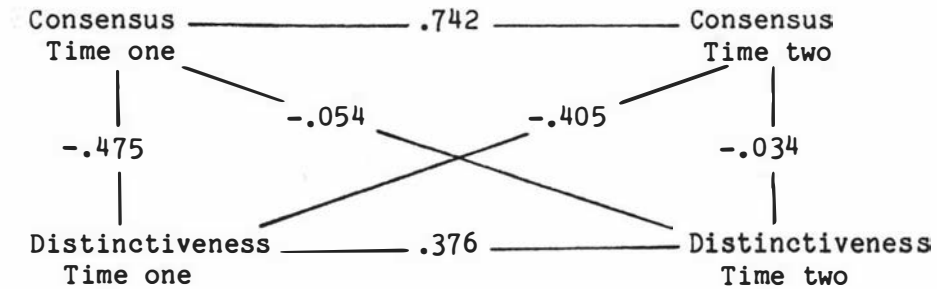
4. Consensus and ability attributions



Here the stationarity is not as good, although the improved correlation between the two variables at time two over that at

time one is better than a reverse situation. There is perhaps a slight tendency for ability attributions to influence consensus estimates as the ability time one consensus time two correlation (.337) is slightly larger than the consensus time one and ability time two correlation (.289).

5. Distinctiveness and consensus estimates



The lack of stationarity creates difficulties in interpreting this. There is a stronger distinctiveness at time one consensus at time two correlation ($-.405$) than consensus at time one, distinctiveness at time two ($-.054$) correlation. Distinctiveness may influence consensus but the higher stability for consensus makes interpretation difficult.

Because of the equivocality of this cross-lagged correlation no firm interpretation can be made, but it does illustrate the complexity of the consensus variable used in this research. The estimates given by the respondents in response to the consensus question offer a complex shorthand of many educational and demographic variables. It is almost as though the subjects are assessing their consensus level by comparing their own characteristics with the picture which is presented by unemployment statistics in the media. The difficulty they experienced in the interim period between time one and time two might have further influenced their assessment of consensus at time two. Consensus appears to have both antecedent and consequential functions in relation to other variables in Kelley's theory.

APPENDIX M

Summary of repeated measures analysis of variance for
sex by causal attribution by success failure on the
82 registered unemployed

SOURCE	SS	DF	MS	F
Sex	16.78	1	16.78	4.30*
<u>Error</u>	312.19	80	3.90	
Success/Failure	1.97	1	1.99	0.47
Sex by Success/ Failure	1.99	1	1.99	0.47
<u>Error</u>	339.31	80	4.24	
Causal				
Attributions	70.32	3	23.44	8.09**
Sex by Causal				
Attributions	7.787	3	2.59	0.9
<u>Error</u>	695.51	240	2.89	
Success/failure by causal				
attribution	142.24	3	47.41	14.83**
Sex by Success/ failure by causal				
attribution	26.81	3	8.93	2.8**
<u>Error</u>	766.32	240	3.42	

Design: 2 x 2 x 4 with a repeated measure on the last factor. (Between groups factor = sex, Males = 48, Females = 34). Weighted means solution used.

APPENDIX N

INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG KEY VARIABLES. (N=82)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1. Age												
2. Yrs. Education	.17											
3. S.E.S.	-.12	-.45**										
4. Weeks Unemployed	.10	-.11	.16									
5. No. of Jobs Applied for	.11	-.20	.07	-.02								
6. No. of job Interviews	.27*	-.15	-.01	-.03	.67**							
7. Self-esteem	.16	.08	-.10	-.08	-.02	-.01						
8. Locus of Control	-.01	-.23*	.27*	.24*	-.08	-.09	-.40**					
9. Social Desirability	.18	-.23*	.05	-.01	-.02	-.09	.16	-.05				
10. Consensus	-.17	-.47**	.27*	.33**	.06	-.09	-.37**	.31**	.02			
11. Distinctiveness	.35**	.25*	.03	-.01	-.05	.08	.48**	-.28**	.27*	-.31**		
12. Consistency	-.05	.10	.08	-.01	.24*	.16	-.15	.16	-.12	.02	-.12	
13. Failure Task Diff.	.14	.04	-.01	.03	.27*	.13	-.16	.10	.17	.17	-.09	.07
14. Failure Ability	-.18	-.24*	.17	.19	.20	-.02	-.21	.15	-.18	.22*	-.37**	.08
15. Failure Luck	.16	-.04	.03	.00	.16	-.05	-.20	.22*	.14	.22*	-.01	.20
16. Failure Effort	-.19	.00	.03	.01	-.21	-.39**	.03	.01	.05	.07	-.03	-.13
17. Success Task Ease.	-.29**	.10	.02	-.16	-.06	-.16	.11	.01	-.17	-.07	-.07	.21
18. Success Ability	.13	-.22*	.06	-.26*	.04	.02	.25*	-.16	.18	-.14	.11	-.05
19. Success Luck	-.05	.07	.09	-.02	-.11	-.07	-.19	.28**	-.08	.06	-.08	.35**
20. Success Effort	.06	-.36**	.10	-.11	.27*	.24*	.03	-.01	.19	.16	-.05	-.11

** = p > .01

* = p > .05

APPENDIX N
Intercorrelations among key variables
(N=82)

APPENDIX O

Algorithm for reconstituting correlation coefficients in simplified path diagram 10.2

The path coefficients are the Beta weights obtained from standard multiple regression. They may also be used as coefficients in the following equations where the z_i are z scores for the appropriate variables:

$$\begin{aligned} z_2 &= p_{21}z_1 + e_2 \\ z_3 &= p_{31}z_1 + e_3 \\ z_4 &= p_{41}z_1 + p_{43}z_3 + e_4 \\ z_5 &= p_{53}z_3 + p_{54}z_4 + e_5 \end{aligned}$$

These equations reflect the inter-relationships between the variables defined in the path diagram of Figure 10.2. The correlation coefficients may be reconstituted using the z scores and the relationship $r_{xy} = (1/N) \sum z_x z_y$:

$$\begin{aligned} r_{12} &= (1/N) \sum z_1 z_2 = (1/N) \sum z_1 (p_{21}z_1) \\ &= p_{21} = -0.45 \end{aligned}$$

where z_2 has been eliminated from the equation by substitution of the expression for z_2 from the equations above. This is the same value as the original simple correlation coefficient between these two variables. The other correlation coefficients are reconstituted in the same way, giving:

$$\begin{aligned} r_{13} &= (1/N) \sum z_1 z_3 = (1/N) \sum z_1 (p_{31}z_1) \\ &= p_{31} = 0.27 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} r_{14} &= (1/N) \sum z_1 z_4 = (1/N) \sum z_1 (p_{41}z_1 + p_{43}z_3) \\ &= p_{41} + p_{43}p_{31} = 0.16 \end{aligned}$$

Note how the correlation coefficient may be calculated by substitution of known values for the quantities in the equation, unknown z scores having been eliminated.

$$\begin{aligned} r_{15} &= (1/N) \sum z_1 z_5 = (1/N) \sum z_1 (p_{53}z_3 + p_{54}z_4) \\ &= p_{53}p_{31} + p_{54}r_{14} = 0.09 \end{aligned}$$

$$r_{23} = -0.23$$

$$\begin{aligned} r_{24} &= (1/N) \sum z_2 z_4 = (1/N) \sum z_2 (p_{41} z_1 + p_{43} z_3) \\ &= p_{41} r_{12} + p_{43} r_{32} = -0.10 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} r_{25} &= (1/N) \sum z_2 z_5 = (1/N) \sum z_2 (p_{53} z_3 + p_{54} z_4) \\ &= p_{53} r_{32} + p_{54} r_{42} = -0.06 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} r_{34} &= (1/N) \sum z_3 z_4 = (1/N) \sum z_3 (p_{41} z_1 + p_{43} z_3) \\ &= p_{41} r_{13} + p_{43} = 0.24 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} r_{35} &= (1/N) \sum z_3 z_5 = (1/N) \sum z_3 (p_{53} z_3 + p_{54} z_4) \\ &= p_{53} + p_{54} r_{43} = 0.23 \end{aligned}$$

$$\begin{aligned} r_{45} &= (1/N) \sum z_4 z_5 = (1/N) \sum z_4 (p_{53} z_3 + p_{54} z_4) \\ &= p_{53} r_{34} + p_{54} = 0.30 \end{aligned}$$

The original and reconstituted values may be shown for comparison in a correlation matrix, the upper half containing the original simple correlations, and the lower half containing the reconstituted correlations. This is shown in Table 10.2.

APPENDIX P

Analysis of variance tables for the well-being measures obtained on the 51 subjects involved in the follow up interviews (27 unemployed, 24 employed).

1. GHQ

Source of Variance	DF	SS	MS	F
Total	101	3499		
Between Subjects	50	2503		
(A) Emp vs Unemp	1	128	128	2.64
S/A	49	2375	48.5	
Within Subjects	51	996		
(B) Time	1	102	102	5.59*
AB	1	0	0	-
SB/A	49	894	18.25	

2. Happiness

Source of Variance	DF	SS	MS	F
Total	101	37.46		
Between Subjects	50	26.96		
(A) Emp vs Unemp	1	1.656	1.656	3.209
S/A	49	25.304	0.516	
Within Subjects	51	10.5		
(B) Time	1	1.185	1.185	6.273*
AB	1	0.059	0.059	0.312
SB/A	49	9.256	0.189	

3. Overall life satisfaction

Source of Variance	DF	SS	MS	F
Total	101	127.76		
Between Subjects	50	98.08		
(A) Emp vs Unemp	1	4.325	4.325	2.261
S/A	49	93.755	1.913	
Within Subjects	51	29.68		
(B) Time	1	0.089	0.089	0.179
AB	1	0.79	5.207	1.60
SB/A	49	24.384	0.479	

4. Total life satisfaction

Source of Variance	DF	SS	MS	F
Total	101	6101		
Between Subjects	50	5148		
(A) Emp vs Unemp	1	325.1	325.1	3.303
S/A	49	4822.9	98.43	
Within Subjects	51	953		
(B) Time	1	6.96	6.96	0.55
AB	1	-	-	-
SB/A	49	614.34	12.53	

REFERENCES

- Abramson, L. Y., Seligman, M. E. P. & Teasdale, J. D. Learned helplessness in humans: Critique and reformulation. Journal of Abnormal psychology, 1978, 87, 49 - 74.
- Adler, A. The practice and theory of individual psychology. N.Y.: Harcourt, 1927.
- Ajzen, I. K., & Fishbein, M. Attitudes and normative beliefs as factors influencing behavioural intentions. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1972, 21, 1 - 9.
- Ajzen, I. K. & Fishbein, M. Understanding attitudes and predicting social behaviour. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1980.
- Anderson, C. A. & Jennings, D. L. When experiences of failure promote expectations of success: the impact of attributing failure to ineffective strategies. Journal of Personality, 1980, 48, 393 - 407.
- Andrews, F. M., & Withey, S. B. Developing measures of perceived life quality: Results from several national surveys. Journal of Social Indicators Research, 1974, 1, 1 - 26.
- Arkin, R., Cooper, H. & Kolditz, T. A statistical review of the literature concerning the self-serving attributional bias in interpersonal influence situations. Journal of Personality, 1980, 48, 435 - 448.
- Bakke, E. W. The unemployed man. London: Nisbett, 1933.
- Banks, M. H., Clegg, C. W., Jackson, P. R., Kemp, N. J. Stafford, E. M. and Wall, T. D. The use of the General Health Questionnaire as an indicator of mental health in occupational studies. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 1980, 53, 187-194.
- Bhagat, R. S. & Chassie, M. B. The role of self-esteem and locus of control in the differential predictions of performance, program satisfaction, and life satisfaction in an educational organisation. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1978, 13, 317 - 326.
- Blalock, H. M. Causal inferences in nonexperimental research. Chappel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1964.
- Bradley, G. A. W. Self-serving biases in the attribution process: A re-examination of the fact or fiction question. Journal of personality and Social Psychology, 1978, 36, 56 - 71.
- Brenner, M. H. Health costs and benefits of economic policies. International Journal of Health Services, 1977, 7 (4) 581 - 623.

Brenner, M. H. Mortality and the national economy: A review and the experience of England and Wales, 1936 - 1976. Lancet, 1979, September, 15, 568 - 573.

Brockner, J. & Hulton, A. J. B. How to reverse the vicious cycle of low self-esteem: the importance of attentional focus. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 1978, 14, 564 - 578.

Broedling, L. A. Relationship of Internal-External control to work motivation and performance in an expectancy model. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1975, 60, 65 - 70.

Buss, A. R. Causes and reasons in attribution theory: a conceptual critique. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1978, 36, 1311 - 1321.

Buss, A. R. On the relationship between causes and reasons. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1979, 37, 1458 - 1461.

Campbell, G. The out of work force. New Zealand Listener, September, 13, 1980.

Campbell, D. T. & Stanley, J. L. Experimental and quasi-experimental designs for research. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1966.

Cattell, R. B., Eber, H. W. & Tatsuoka, M. M. Handbook for the sixteen personality factor questionnaire (16 PF). Champaign, Illinois: Institute for Personality and Ability Testing, 1970.

Chamberlain, K. C. Perceptions of well-being. Unpublished paper, Department of Psychology, Massey University, 1980.

Christchurch Employment Advisory Committee. Study of unemployed youth in Christchurch. Christchurch: Rank Xerox, 1979.

Coleman, J. S., Campbell, E. Q., Hobson, C. J., Mc Partland, J., Mood, A. M., Weinfeld, F. D. & York, R. L. Equality of Educational opportunity. Superintendent of Documents, Catalogue No. FS5 238:38001. Washington D.C. U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

Cook, T. D. & Campbell, D. T. Quasi-experimentation: design and analysis issues for field settings. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1979.

Coopersmith, S. E. The antecedents of self-esteem. San Francisco: Freeman, 1967.

Cordray, D. S. and Shaw, J. I. An empirical test of the covariation analysis in causal attribution. Journal of Experimental Psychology, 1978, 14, 674 - 685.

Corser, C. M. & Alistaire, E. P. Emotional disturbance in newly registered general practice patients. British Journal of Psychiatry, 1978, 15, 172- 176.

Covington, M. V. & Omelich, C. L. Are causal attributions causal? A path analysis of the cognitive model of achievement motivation. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1979, 37, 1487 - 1504.

Crandall, V. C. Katkovsky, W. & Crandall, V. J. Children's beliefs in their control of reinforcements in intellectual-academic achievement situations. Child Development, 1965, 36, 91 - 109.

Crano, W. D. & Brewer, M. B. Principles of research in social psychology. N.Y.: McGraw Hill, 1973.

DeGrazia, R. Clandestine employment: a problem of our times. International Labour Review, 1980, 119, 549 - 563.

Department of Labour. Labour and Employment Gazette, 1982, 32, 2, 7-8.

Department of Statistics. Social Indicators Survey, 1980 - 1981.

Diener, E. I. & Dweck, D. S. An analysis of learned helplessness: continuous changes in performance strategy and achievement cognitions following failure. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1978, 36, 451 - 462.

Easton, B. The rising tide of unemployment: Part 2 : What can be done? New Zealand Listener, February 21, 1981.

Eisenberg, P. & Lazarsfeld, P. The psychological effects of unemployment. Psychological Bulletin, 1938, 35, 358 - 389.

Elig, T. W., & Frieze, I. H. Measuring causal attributions for success and failure. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1979, 37, 621 - 634.

Elley, W. B., & Irving, J. C. Revised Socio-Economic Index for New Zealand. The New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 1976, 11, 25 - 36.

Feather, N. & Davenport, P. Unemployment and depressive affect: A motivational and attributional analysis. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1981, 41, 422 - 436.

Feather, N. & Simon, J. G. Reactions to male and female success and failure in sex-linked occupations: Impressions of personality, causal attributions and perceived likelihood of different consequences. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31, 20 - 31.

Felson, R. B. & Bohrnstedt, G. W. Attributions of ability and motivation in a natural setting. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1980, 39, 5, 799 - 805.

Finn, J. D. A general model for multivariate analysis. N.Y.: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1974.

Fishbein, M. & Ajzen, I. Belief, attitude, intention and behaviour: an introduction to theory and research. Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley, 1975.

Frieze, I. H. & Weiner, B. Cue utilization and attributional judgments for success and failure. Journal of Personality, 1971, 39, 591 - 606.

Furnham, A. Jingoism and joblessness: explanations for unemployment in Britain. Paper to be submitted, Personal Correspondence, 1981.

Goldberg, D. The detection of psychiatric illness by questionnaire. London: Oxford University Press, 1972.

Gurney, R. M. Does unemployment affect the self-esteem of school-leavers? Australian Journal of Psychology, 1980a, 32 (3), 175 - 182.

Gurney, R. M. The effects of unemployment on the psychosocial development of school-leavers. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 1980b, 53, 205 - 213.

Gurney, R. M. Leaving school, facing unemployment and making attributions about the causes of unemployment. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1981, 18, 79 - 91.

Gurney, R. M. & Taylor, K. F. Research on the psychology of unemployment: some criticisms and suggestions. Melbourne Psychology Reports, No 60, 1979.

Gurney, R. M. & Taylor, K. F. Research on unemployment: defects, neglect, and prospects. Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 1981, 34, 349 - 352.

Haines, H. & Macky, K. Employed and unemployed school leavers in New Zealand Community: A psychological study. In M Abbott (Ed) Mental Health Foundation of New Zealand/ New Zealand Psychological Society Symposium on Unemployment. Auckland: Mental Health Foundation, 1982.

Hancock, M. "It just doesn't seem to matter what happens to women": a study of the effects on women of the collapse and takeover of Mosgiel ltd? Auckland: New Zealand Working Woman's Council, 1981.

Hansen, R. D. Commonsense attribution. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1980, 39, 996 - 1009.

Harrison, R. The demoralising experience of prolonged unemployment. Department of Employment Gazette, 1976, 3, 339 - 348.

Hartley, J. F. The impact of unemployment upon the self-esteem of managers. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 1980a, 53, 147 - 155.

Hartley, J. F. Psychological approaches to unemployment. Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 1980b, 35, 412 - 414.

Hartley, J. F. The personality of unemployed managers: myths and measurement. Personnel Review, 1980c, 9, 11 - 18.

Harvey, J. H. Ickes, W. J. & Kidd, R. F. (eds) New directions in attribution research (Vol. 2) Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, 1978.

Harvey, J. H., Town, J. P. & Jarkin, K. L. How fundamental is "the fundamental attribution error"? Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1981, 40, 346 - 349.

Harvey, J. H. & Weary, G. Perspectives on attributional processes. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm C Brown, 1981.

Hayes, J. & Nutman, P. Understanding the unemployed: The psychological effects of unemployment.. London: Tavistock, 1981.

Heider, F. The psychology of interpersonal relations. New York: Wiley, 1958.

Hepworth, S. J. Moderating factors of the psychological impact of unemployment. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 1980, 53, 139 - 145.

Hersch, P. D. & Scheibe, K. E. On the reliability of internal-external control as a personality dimension. Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1967, 31, 609 - 613.

Hesketh, B. Psychological aspects of unemployment. In M. Abbott (Ed) Mental Health Foundation of New Zealand/New Zealand Psychological Society Symposium on Unemployment. Auckland: Mental Health Foundation, 1982a.

Hesketh, B. Attributions about success and failure in job seeking: a test of comparison behaviour consensus, sex of job seeker and the success failure bias. Unpublished Report, Department of Psychology, Massey University, 1982b.

Hesketh, B. & Shouksmith, G. Reasons given for being unemployed and the job search process. New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations, 1982, 7 (2), 137 - 144.

Irving, J. C., & Elley, W. B. A Socio-economic index for the female labour force in New Zealand. New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies. 1977, 12, 154 - 163.

Jahoda, M. The impact of employment in the 1930's and the 1970's. Bulletin of the British Psychological Society, 1979, 32, 309 - 314.

Jahoda, M. Lazarsfeld, P. F. & Zeisl, H. Marienthal: The sociography of an unemployed community. London: Tavistock Publications, 1972 (First published in 1933 as "Die Arbeitslosen von Marienthal").

Jones, E. E. The rocky road from acts to dispositions. American Psychologist, 1979, 34 (2), 107-117.

Jones, E. E. & Davis, K. E. From acts to dispositions: the attribution process in person perception. In L. Berkowitz, (Ed.) Advances in experimental social psychology. (Vol. 2). N.Y.: Academic Press, 1965.

Jones, E. E. & Nisbett, R. E. The actor and the observer. Divergent perceptions of the causes of behaviour. In E. E. Jones, D. E. Kanouse, H. H. Kelley, R. E. Nisbett, S. Valins, & B. Weiner, (Eds.) Attribution: Perceiving the causes of behavior. Morristown, N. J.: General Learning Press, 1972.

Kasl, S. & Cobb, S. Blood pressure changes in man undergoing job loss: a preliminary report. Psychosomatic Medicine, 1970, 32, 19 - 38.

Kasl, S., Gore, S. & Cobb, S. The experience of losing a job: Reported changes in health symptoms and illness behaviour. Psychosomatic Medicine, 1975, 37, 106 - 122.

Kassin, S. M. Consensus information, prediction and causal attributions: A review of the literature and issues. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1979, 37, 1966 - 1981.

Kelley, H. H. Attribution theory in social psychology. In D. Levine (Ed.) Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1967, 15, 192 - 238. Lincoln, Neb: University of Nebraska Press, 1967.

Kelley, H. H. Attribution in social interaction. In E. E. Jones, D. E. Kanouse, H. H. Kelley, R. E. Nisbett, S. Valins, & B. Weiner. Attribution: Perceiving the causes of behaviour. Morristown, N. J.: General Learning Press, 1972a.

Kelley, H. H. Causal schemata and the attribution process. In E. E. Jones, D. E. Kanouse, H. H. Kelley, R. E. Nisbett, S. Valins, & B. Weiner. Attribution: Perceiving the causes of behaviour. Morristown, N.J.: General Learning Press, 1972b.

Kelley, H. H. The process of causal attribution. American Psychologist, 1973, 28 (2), 107 - 128.

Kelley, H. H. and Michela, J. L. Attribution theory and research. Annual Review of Psychology, 1980, 31, 457 - 501.

Kelvin, P. Social Psychology 2001: the social psychological bases and implications of structural unemployment. In R. Gilmour, & S. Duck, (Eds.): The development of social psychology. London: Academic Press, 1980.

Keppel, G. Design and Analysis: A researcher's handbook. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice Hall, 1973.

Kerlinger, F. N. Foundations of behavioural research. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964.

Kerlinger, F. N. & Pedhazur, E. Multiple regression in behavioural research. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1973.

Kirk, R. E. Experimental Design: Procedure for the behavioural sciences. Belmont, Calif.: Brook/Cole, 1968.

Kishor, N. The effect of self-esteem and locus of control in career decision-making of adolescents in Fiji. Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1981, 19, 227 - 232.

Lefcourt, H. M. Internal versus external control of reinforcements: A review. Psychological Bulletin, 1966, 65, 206 - 220.

Lerner, M. J. & Miller, D. T. Just world research and the attribution process: looking back and ahead. Psychological Bulletin, 1978, 85, 1030 - 1051.

MacDonald, A. P. Jr., & Tseng, M. S. Dimensions of internal versus external control revisited: Toward the development of a measure of generalised expectancy. Unpublished paper, West, Virginia University, 1971. Cited in J. P. Robinson & P. R. Shaver (Rev. Ed.) Measures of social psychological attitudes. Michigan: Survey Research Centre, 1973.

MacDonald, M., Pearce, N., Salter, D. & Smith, A. H. Health consequences of unemployment - will effects of recent rises in New Zealand unemployment become apparent in national health statistics? In M. Abbott (Ed.) Mental Health Foundation of New Zealand/New Zealand Psychological Society Symposium on Unemployment. Auckland: Mental Health Foundation, 1982.

Major, B. Information acquisition and attribution process. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1980, 39, 1010 - 1023.

Marsden, C. & Duff, E. Worklessness: some unemployed men and their families. Hamondsworth: Penguin, 1975.

McArthur, L. Z. The how and what of why: Some determinants and consequences of causal attributions. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1972, 22, 171 - 193.

McArthur, L. Z. The lesser influence of consensus than distinctiveness information on causal attributions: a test of the person thing hypothesis. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 33, 733 - 742.

McClure, J. L. Paradigms of attribution and illusion: A critical analysis. M.A. Thesis in Psychology, Auckland University, 1980.

McMahan, I. D. Relationships between causal attributions and expectancy of success. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1973, 28, 108 - 114.

Meyer, J. P. Causal attribution for success and failure: a multivariate investigation of dimensionality formation and consequences. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1980, 38, 704 - 718.

Miller, D. T. What constitutes a self-serving attributional bias? A reply to Bradley. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1978, 36, 1221 - 1223.

Miller, D. T. & Ross, M. Self-serving biases in the attribution of causality: fact or fiction. Psychological Bulletin, 1975, 82, 215 - 225.

New Zealand Social Indicators section, Department of Statistics. Pilot Social Indicators Survey, Wellington, 1980.

Nicholls, J. G. Effort is virtuous, but it is better to have ability. Journal of Research in Personality, 1976, 10, 306 - 315.

Nie, N., Hull, C. H., Jenkins, J., Sternbrenner, K. & Bent, D. SPSS, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, (2nd Ed.). N.Y.: McGraw Hill, 1975.

O'Brien, G. E. and Kabanoff, B. Comparisons of unemployed and employed workers on work values, locus of control and health variables. Australian Psychologist, 1979, 14 (2), 143 - 154.

Orvis, B. R. Cunningham, J. D. & Kelley H. H. A closer examination of causal inference: the roles of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency information. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 32, 605 - 616.

Overall, J. E. & Klett, C. J. Applied Multivariate Statistics. N.Y.: McGraw Hill, 1972.

Pruitt, D. J. & Insko, C. A. Extension of the Kelley attribution model: The role of comparison-object consensus, target-object consensus, distinctiveness and consistency. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1980, 39, 39 - 58.

Quinn, R. P. & Shepard, L. J. The 1972 - 1973 quality of employment survey. Michigan: Institute for Social Research, 1974.

Read, S. J. & Stephan, W. G. An integration of Kelley's attribution cube and Weiner's achievement attribution model. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 1979, 5, 196 - 200.

Reid, D. W. & Ware, E. E. Multidimensionality of internal versus external control: addition of a third dimension and non-distinction of self versus other. Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science, 1974, 6, 131 - 142.

Renwick, W. L. Education and Working Life. In Is there Life After School? Proceedings of the Association for the Study of Childhood Seminar on "The implications of Unemployment for the Education of our Children". Wellington, 1980.

Robinson, J. P. & Shaver, P. R. Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes. (Rev. Ed.) Michigan: Survey Research Centre, 1973.

Rogers, C. R. Client centred therapy. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1951.

Rosenberg, M. Society and the adolescent self-image. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965.

Ross, L. Problems in the interpretation of 'self-serving' asymmetries in causal attributions. Comments on the Stephan et al paper. Sociometry, 1977, 40, 112 - 119.

Rotter, J. B. Generalised expectancies for internal versus external control of reinforcement. Psychological Monographs, 1966, 80, 1, Whole Number 609.

Rotter, J. B. Some problems and misconceptions related to the construct of internal versus external control of reinforcement. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 1975, 43, 56 - 67.

Ruble, D. N. & Feldman, N. S. Order of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency information and causal attributions. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 34, 930 - 937.

Ryan, T. A., Joiner, B. L. & Ryan, B. F. Minitab: Student Handbook. North Scituate, Massachusetts: Duxbury Press, 1976.

Salipante, J. R. & Goodman, P. Training, counselling and retention of the hard core unemployed. Journal of Applied Psychology, 1976, 61, 1 - 11.

Schneider, D.J. Hastorf, A. H. & Ellsworth, P.C. Person perception. (2nd Ed.) Reading, Massachusetts: Addison Wesley, 1979.

Semin, G. R. A gloss on attribution theory. British Journal of Social and Clinical Psychology, 1980, 19, 291 - 300.

Shaver, K. An introduction to attribution processes. Cambridge: Winthrop, 1975.

Shipley, S. The Specific nature and effects of women's unemployment. In M. Abbott, (Ed.) Mental Health Foundation of New Zealand/New Zealand Psychological Society Symposium on Unemployment. Auckland: Mental Health Foundation, 1982.

Shrauger, J. S. Self-esteem and reactions to being observed by others. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1972, 23, 192 - 200.

Shrauger, J. S. & Osberg, T. M. The relationship of time investment and task outcome to causal attributions and self-esteem. Journal of Personality, 1980, 48, 360 - 375.

Smith, D. Correcting for social desirability response sets in opinion-attitude survey research. Public Opinion Quarterly, 1967, 31, 87 - 94.

Stafford, E. M., Jackson, P. R. & Banks, M. H. Employment, work involvement and mental health in less qualified young people. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 1980, 53, 291 - 304.

Stephan, W. G., Bernstein, W. M., Stephan, C. & Davis, M. H. Attributions for achievement: egotism vs expectancy confirmed. Social Psychology Quarterly, 1979, 42, 5 - 17.

Stevens, L. & Jones, E. E. Defensive attribution and the Kelley cube. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 34, 809 - 820.

Sullivan, H. S. The interpersonal theory of psychiatry. N.Y.: Norton, 1953.

Sumpton, R. & Gregson, M. The fundamental attribution error: An investigation of sensitivity to role-conferred advantages in self preservation. British Journal of Social Psychology, 1981, 20 7 - 11.

Swinburne, P. The psychological impact of unemployment on managers and professional staff. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 1981, 54, 47 - 64.

Taylor, D. M. & Doria, J. R. Self-serving and group-serving bias in attribution. Journal of Social Psychology, 1981, 113, 201 - 211.

Tiffany, D. W., Cowan, J. R. & Tiffany, P. M. The unemployed: A social psychological portrait. Englewood cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970.

Valle, V. A. & Frieze, I. H. Stability of causal attributions as a mediator in changing expectations for success. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 33, 579 - 587.

Valecha, G. K. Construct validation of internal-external locus of control as measured by an abbreviated 11-item IE scale. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, cited in J. P. Robinson & P. R. Shaver. Measures of social psychological attitudes. (Rev. Ed.) Michigan: Survey Research Centre, 1973.

Vellekoop, C. (Baldock) Vocational choice and opportunity. Christchurch: University of Canterbury Press, 1971.

Vroom, V. H. Work motivation. N.Y.: Wiley, 1964.

Wallach, M. A. & Kogan, N. Modes of thinking in young children. N.Y.: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1965.

Warr, P. A study of psychological well-being. British Journal of Psychology, 1978, 69, 111 - 121.

Warr, P. B. Some studies of psychological well-being and unemployment. Social and Applied Psychology Unit, Memo No 431, 1981.

Warr, P. B. Psychological aspects of employment and unemployment. Psychological Medicine, 1982, 12, 7 - 11.

Warr, P. B., & Knapper, C. The Perception of People and Events. London: Wiley, 1968.

Warr, P. B., Cook, J., & Wall, T. Scales for the measurement of some work attitudes and aspects of psychological well-being. Journal of Occupational Psychology, 1979, 52, 129 - 148.

Warr, P. B. & Parry, G. Paid employment and women's psychological well-being. Psychological Bulletin, 1982, 91, 498 - 516.

Watts, A. G. Careers education and the informal economies. British Journal of Guidance and Counselling, 1981, 9, 24 - 35.

Wedderburn, D. White collar redundancy: a case study. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964.

Weiner, B. Achievement Motivation and Attribution Theory. Morristown, New Jersey: General Learning Press, 1974.

Weiner, B. A theory of motivation for some classroom experiences. Journal of Educational Psychology, 1979, 71, 3 - 25.

Weiner, B. Human motivation. N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1980.

Weiner, B., Nierenberg, R. & Goldstein, M. Social learning (locus of control) versus attributional (causal stability) interpretations of expectancy of success. Journal of Personality, 1976, 44, 52 - 68.

Weiner, B. Russell, D. & Lerman, D. The cognition-emotion process in achievement related contexts. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1979, 37, 1211 - 1220.

Wilkinson, A. A study of some unemployed young people in Palmerston North. Unpublished report for Community Volunteers Palmerston North (Inc), 1981.

Wright, T. L., Holman, T., Steele, W. G. & Silverstein, G. Locus of control and mastery in a reformatory: a field study of defensive externality. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1980, 38, 1005 - 1013.

Zuckerman, M. Actions and occurrences in Kelley's cube. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1978, 36, 647 - 656.

Zuckerman, M. Attribution of success and failure revisited or: The motivational bias is alive and well in attribution theory. Journal of Personality, 1979, 47, 245 - 287.

Zuckerman, M. & Mann, R. W. The other way around: effects of causal attributions on estimates of consensus, distinctiveness and consistency. Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 1979, 15, 582 - 597.