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WIVES' EXPERIENCES OF RELOCATION:
STATUS PASSAGE AND THE MOVING CAREER

WIVES' EXPERIENCES OF RELOCATION:
STATUS PASSAGE AND THE MOVING CAREER

by

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ABSTRACT:

This study conceptualizes the married woman's experience of relocation as a passage through a moving 'career'. This passage follows a prescribed, regularized sequence of stages involving decision-making, planning, relocation, and settling-in. Such a conceptualization allows the examination of geographic mobility as a process occurring over time and within the context of other life events; and of the role of the previous environment in shaping the definition of, and response to, the new social world.

The data for this study were collected through interviews with 123 married women who moved with their spouses into the metropolitan area of Hamilton and Burlington, Ontario. All had moved within Canada, but not less than 35 miles; had not lived in the target area within the preceding five years; and were interviewed within a year of their move. They were contacted through the cooperation of national van lines agents, a federal government mobility programme, and a municipal department of social services.

A focus of the research is on the wife's role in and response to her moving career. Her control over that career varies considerably

with each stage. Women have little control over the initiation of the passage during the decision-making stage, but have substantial control over what they consider to be the 'mundane' tasks which comprise the planning and relocation stages. During the settling-in stage, however, most women play the key role in establishing the home and making the move successful for their families. Thus many women feel responsible for the success of a moving career which they had little role in initiating.

This research also addresses the question of whether, why, and in what ways women perceive their experience of relocation as different from that of their spouse. Most wives felt that moving was more difficult for them than for their husbands. The major differentiating factor was not the husband's occupational career per se, but rather the continuity of that career through working for the same employer or in a related field. Few women in this study experienced such occupational continuity.

The husband's experience of relocation not only differed from but also complicated that of his wife. This was most apparent in his leaving for the new community weeks or months before the wife and children. Although rarely examined by migration researchers, this sequencing of the moving career is an important aspect of wives' experiences of relocation. Many women found this period of separation from the spouse the most difficult and disruptive stage of the moving career.

Family life cycle stage also emerged as an important factor distinguishing wives' experiences of geographic mobility. Women who became mothers or whose children left the nuclear family at the time of

the move found themselves in competing status passages. Relocation complicated the experiences of those who became mothers; for those who launched children from the home, the moving career both initiated and complicated passage through this family life cycle stage.

Migration researchers fundamentally disagree on whether the experience of relocation has primarily beneficial or disruptive consequences for people. In the short term, most women found moving to be highly disruptive of routine, taken-for-granted reality, and social life. There was no support for the proposition that as familiarity with the role of mover increases, women learn techniques for easing the disruptiveness of the passage. While the wives could generalize the passage so that the physical aspects of relocation became easier, the experience of social and emotional disruption actually increased with repeated relocation.

Nevertheless, most women felt that they had personally benefitted from geographic mobility, by becoming more independent, confident, and assertive. The long term consequences of relocation are more uncertain, however. Many women suffered a sense of rootlessness and lacked a concept of a life-plan, of where and who they would be when the moves were over.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
Introduction.	1
Chapter One: Significant Others and Status Passages: The Study of the Migrant Wife.	5
Chapter Two: Approaches to the Study of Women in Relocation	20
Chapter Three: Research Design: The Setting, Sampling, Instrumentation, and Profile of the Respondents.	57
Chapter Four: The Moving Career: Individual and Collective Passages.	89
Chapter Five: Embarking Upon the Moving Career: Decision-Making and Planning	117
Chapter Six: Passing through the Moving Career: Relocation and Settling-in	156
Chapter Seven: Multiple Status Passages: Individual and Family Life Cycle Stage and Relocation	209
Chapter Eight: A Moving Experience: Relocation and Identity Change.	226
Chapter Nine: Summary and Conclusions.	255
Appendix A: Cover Letters.	274
Appendix B: Interview Schedule	279
Appendix C: The Sample: Locating the Relocated.	305
Appendix D: A Profile of the Migrant Wives	318
References.	327

LIST OF TABLES

<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
Table 3.1 Types of Migration by Females, 15 years and over, 1966-1971.	60
Table 3.2 Number of Inter-Municipal Moves by Female Migrants	62
Table 3.3 Change in Occupational Status Coincident with Relocation.	72
Table 3.4 Number of Relocations Since Marriage	81
Table 3.5 Total Relocations by Respondents	82
Table 3.6 Length of Residence in Last Community.	84
Table 4.1 The Relationship between Performance of the Key Role and the Perception of Relocation as Different for Spouses	114
Table 5.1 Spousal Decision-Making: Deciding Whether to Leave, and Move to Hamilton-Burlington.	131
Table 5.2 Division of Labour During Planning and Relocation Stages.	143
Table 5.3 Task Completion During the Moving Career	145
Table 6.1 Husband's Assistance after the Move.	171
Table 6.2 The Relationship between the Perception of Difficulty of Relocation and Occupational Status	172
Table 7.1 The Relationship between Age and Enjoyment of Relocation Experiences.	213
Table 8.1 Wives' Assessments of Change in Feelings with the Move.	237
Table 8.2 The Relationship between Perception of Change in Others and Perception of Change in Self.	247
Table C.1 Sample Source for Relocation Study	313

<u>Title</u>	<u>Page</u>
Table D.1 Years of Marriage of Sample.	319
Table D.2 Age Distribution of Sample	320
Table D.3 Comparison of Sample's Age Distribution with General Female Migrant Population.	321
Table D.4 Level of Education of Sample	321
Table D.5 Level of Education of Spouses.	322
Table D.6 Occupational Status of Sample.	322
Table D.7 Occupational Categories of Female Movers and their Spouses.	324
Table D.8 Income Distributions of Respondents and their Spouses.	326

INTRODUCTION

Every five years, approximately half the Canadian population changes its dwelling place, moving to a new neighbourhood, a nearby city, or a distant province. Every five years some two million women are involved in these moves. This study examines the experiences of some of these women: married women who moved with their families to the cities of Hamilton and Burlington, Ontario.

Moving has become such an accepted part of Canadian life that it is almost taken for granted. Only when the sudden movement of large numbers of people occurs (as in the migration of Anglophone Quebecois) do we as a society particularly notice the high mobility of our population. Because of the almost routine nature of geographic mobility in this country, one can overlook the many changes in identity and social world which many migrants experience.

There is general consensus in the migration literature that the experience of moving differs for men and women. The data suggest that the social lives of women are affected by migration more than those of men, so much so that Herbert Gans refers to the situation of migrant women as the "female malaise". He attributes this to the nature of the sexual division of labour, with women expressing family tensions more visibly or frequently.

For a man, the job is often supportive, rewarding him even if he is emotionally disturbed, whereas for a woman, household and maternal functions provide fewer tangible rewards and more minute-to-minute tensions. Being alone with small

children seems to result in a kind of sensory deprivation for mothers causing them to lose touch with their adult selves, particularly when they are unduly isolated from the husband or other adults (Gans, 1967: 237).

Other investigators suggest that a move necessitated by a job change is usually initiated by the husband who views it quite differently from his wife. While he feels like an instigator, the wife often feels like a helpless victim (Weissman and Paykel, 1972). As one migrant wife states,

...many women who are forced to move because of their husband's careers suddenly feel worthless... You don't count. You are the penniless, powerless half of the couple. Without control over your fate. Utterly diminished. Psychologically wiped out. The equation - better salary, better male job equal happier us - is the work of male logic (Dienstag, 1972: 110).

Relocation also differs for spouses in that many women do not as such have "credentials" like those of their husbands. Without such credentials to help integrate her into the new community, the migrant wife has

...little personal identity. All the parties that she had given, all of the successful affairs that she had arranged were in no one's memory. These were all things that people had to experience and could not be told about. This was now lost (Seidenberg, 1972: 12).

There is also evidence that women frequently feel and are made to feel that they personally are to blame if they are unhappy with a situation. Men, by contrast, can always blame external factors. Social scientists have observed that because of societal acceptance of moving as a way of life, migrant women tend not to associate their problems with moving. Rather, they internalize the stresses of moving and blame themselves for any difficulties (Weissman and Paykel, 1972: 24).

Even that celebrated spokeswoman of societal mores, Ann Landers, suggests that the woman unhappy with migration is herself somehow sick. In response to a woman describing herself as a "Gypsy" who always packs the dishes "with tears streaming down my face" and affirms that "making new friends...isn't easy", a pitiless Ms. Landers responds,

I say you should go where the grapes grow.
If your husband's job requires you to move -
then do it without complaining...The trouble
is you, dear, and you take yourself wherever
you go. Get some counselling and find out why
you are so bitter and hostile...

My interest in this topic evolves directly from my Master's thesis, a study of community cohesiveness among Newfoundlanders living in Hamilton, Ontario (Martin, 1974). One finding of that study was that husbands and wives responded differently to their relocation, and used different criteria in the evaluation of their satisfaction with the move. The move frequently brought economic security to the family, which was satisfying to the husband. In the process, however, the wife's concerns about maintaining extended family ties and raising children in an unfamiliar environment were not resolved. The move clearly held different meanings for the spouses.

The structure of the research at that time did not permit me to explore those findings. I have rectified this in the present study, focusing exclusively on female migrants. This research explores whether, why, and in what ways women perceive their experience of relocation as different from that of their spouses. The move is analyzed as a sequence of transitional stages, with the focus on the wife's response to her passage through those stages.

Perhaps the most important feature of this research is that its focus of interest is different from that in many other studies of

migrant people in which the wife is merely "there" (Lofland, 1975: 145). The emphasis of this study is not on the social agencies which serve the migrant wife, the larger community which receives her, nor on the voluntary associations through which she participates in the community, although these are all considered. Instead, the emphasis is on the migrant wife herself. While in many sociological studies women are objects rather than subjects, perceived rather than perceivers (Smith, 1974), this study examines the wife's experience of relocation as she herself perceives it. In considering her motivation for moving to a new community, her expectations, her interaction with spouse, family, and friends, and how these affect her response to the new social environment and her view of herself, the focus is

upon people rather than places. This...
should be the heart and soul of any sensible
and just policy formulations with respect to
migration....(Schwarzweiler et al., 1971:
208).

CHAPTER ONE

SIGNIFICANT OTHERS AND STATUS PASSAGES: THE STUDY OF THE MIGRANT WIFE

Social scientists have long maintained that the process of residential mobility is both disruptive of social relations and damaging to the mover. Migration forces the disruption of old social relationships while simultaneously minimizing opportunities for the creation of new and stable relations with others (Hunt and Butler, 1972). Researchers have, however, given cursory treatment to the significant and related issues of identity change, and relocation as an upheaval of taken-for-granted reality. This study investigates these concerns within a social psychological framework. This chapter examines concepts related to the symbolic interactionist perspective within sociology and social psychology, and develops from them a theoretical approach appropriate to the study of social change and identity change experienced by migrant wives.

Most research on population movement is demographic and primarily concerned with "migration", generally defined as a change of residence from one community to another while remaining within the same national boundaries. This type of residential movement is distinguished from a short distance change of residence within the same community, or local movement (see Bogue, 1959, for further clarification and elaboration). This is a critical distinction, as the amount of disruption or 'social dislocation' resulting from a change of residence is generally assumed to be proportional to the distance of the move*.

*For further discussion of the implications of differing definitions of migration, see Chapter Three.

migration and rural to urban movement are regarded as sources of considerable social disruption. Literature focusing on the issue of adjustment to the move further tends to examine the adjustment of marginal groups such as southern migrants to northern urban centres (Killian, 1953) or rural people to urban areas (Schwarzweiler *et al.*, 1971). In the present study, however, the focus is on the experience of a rarely considered participant in the migration process: the wife.

While migration research itself is generally without an overall theoretical orientation (Martin, 1974; Mangalam, 1977), there are four major themes or lines of enquiry emphasized in current investigations. These include the more strictly demographic studies, studies of motives for migration, studies of the 'social problems' aspects of migration, and studies of the nature of kinship affiliation among migrant groups. None of these themes strictly apply to the more social psychological perspective emphasized in this research.

Elsewhere (Martin Matthews, 1975) I have demonstrated the utility of a symbolic interactionist approach for the study of identity changes accompanying the transition to widowhood. The first part of this chapter examines the applicability of this approach to the study of change in identity and social world of the migrant wife. The basic tenets of symbolic interactionism are presented, and then applied to the subject of this research.

As elucidated by George Herbert Mead and his students, symbolic interactionism utilizes such conceptions as meaning, symbols, taking the role of the other, society, and self to explain how our ways of thinking about our world and acting in it change as the others with whom we interact change themselves or are replaced (Becker, 1970: 290). Changes

in the self derive from continual adjustments in the person's notions of how others will respond to her actions, and the meaning she gives to her own actions based on the earlier responses of others.

From the standpoint of symbolic interaction, the social roles we play (wife, mother, sister, daughter, friend) set the conditions of our interaction with others, but do not determine that action. The role thus helps to shape situations in which people act and "...supplies fixed sets of symbols which people use in interpreting their situations" (Blumer, 1969: 88). Between initiating factors and the action that may ensue, Mead interjects a process of self-interaction. Mead's concepts of the "I" and the "me" become relevant to the analysis here. Put simply, the "I" is the response of the organism to the attitudes of others; the "me" is the organized set of attitudes of others which one herself assumes. The attitudes of others comprise the organized "me", and then one acts toward that as an "I" (Mead, 1964: 230). The individual thus becomes a part of her own experience only as an object, not as a subject. Only on the basis of social relations and interactions can she become that object (Mead, 1964: 244).

In this orientation, interaction with significant and generalized others provides the basis for an individual's sense of the reality of the world, and also for the way in which one views oneself. The concern here is with what happens when the migrant wife is confronted with a change in her world of generalized others. Mead's thesis leads us to expect that, since the "me" is the organized set of attitudes of others, when the 'others' change, the individual's very sense of self, and who she is, will be thrown into jeopardy. The process of migration thus becomes an example of what Berger and Luckmann term 'the disconfirmation of

subjective and objective reality' (1967: 152). The 'mechanics' of the relation between this subjective and objective reality are explained thusly:

Identity is, of course, a key element of subjective reality, and, like all subjective reality, stands in a dialectical relationship with society. Identity is formed by social processes. Once crystallized, it is maintained, modified, or even reshaped by social relations. The social processes involved in both the formation and the maintenance of identity are determined by the social structure (Berger and Luckmann, 1967: 173-174).

For Berger and Luckmann, as for most symbolic interactionists, the self is a reflected entity, reflecting the attitude first taken by significant others toward it. The individual becomes what her significant others define her to be. Far from being a one-sided mechanistic process, this entails a dialectic between identification by others and self-identification, between objectively assigned and subjectively appropriated identity (1967: 132).

These fundamental tenets of the symbolic interactionist perspective have definite implications for the study of women and relocation. One of the most crucial of these emerges from Berger and Luckmann's statement that "the individual not only takes on the roles and attitudes of others, but in the same process takes on their world. Indeed, identity is objectively defined as location in a certain world and can be subjectively appropriated only along with that world" (1967: 132). The process of becoming settled and integrated subsequent to relocation involves not only taking on the attitudes and reflected identity of others in her social world, but also that very world itself. In this world she roots her identity. Relocation changes part of that world (the part based outside the family). By implication, this change has an effect

on the wife's identity as well.

The issue of whether a shift in geographic world necessarily implies a shift in social world is open to debate. A variety of factors are associated with whether both the social and geographic worlds change for the migrant wife. These include the continuity of her occupational status, the distance of the move, previous contacts in the area, and her ease and familiarity with the role of mover. In this study, a number of women experienced discontinuity not only of occupational status but also of family life cycle stage. Such circumstances imply a substantial change in social world associated with the move.

We are not merely passive observers of our social world, but are both created by and creators of it. While various factors influence the extent of change in social world accompanying change in geographic world, the migrant wife herself will also influence this process. An example of this is the woman who continues contact with the previous community and resists integration into the social world of the new community because she knows that she will soon be moving on again.

The Stranger

Symbolic interactionists generally contend that some change in social world accompanies change in geographical world. Perhaps the most direct statement of this relationship is made by Alfred Schutz in his analysis of the role of the stranger. He provides the example of the stranger as an immigrant who must grapple with a foreign language and new culture. However, for the migrant not confronted with such concerns there is the disruption of her routine, a need to make friends, and establish new significant others. For Schutz, thinking-as-usual can be

maintained as long as certain basic assumptions about the world hold true (Schutz, 1964). Whether or not these questions become problematic for the migrant is something which we can learn only from the migrant herself.

Schutz does suggest, however, that being a stranger may lead one to doubt one or more fundamental assumptions. One may question whether life and especially social life will continue to be the same as it has been so far, whether the same problems requiring the same solutions will recur. A related question concerns whether our former experiences will suffice for mastering future situations. A second area of concern may be whether we can continue to rely on the knowledge we acquired through socialization from parents and teachers; whether the norms internalized through them will apply now. One may also doubt that in the ordinary course of affairs it is sufficient to know something about the general type or style of events we may encounter in our life-world in order to manage or control them. And fourth, thinking-as-usual will be jeopardized unless individuals, in spite of being strangers, continue to believe that these three assumptions are not their own private affair, but that they are also accepted and applied by others. According to Schutz, "the stranger, by reason of his personal crisis, does not share the above-mentioned basic assumptions" (Schutz, 1964: 96).

Schutz also states that, "The discovery that things in his new surroundings look quite different from what he expected them to be at home is frequently the first shock to the stranger's confidence in the validity of his habitual "thinking-as-usual" (1964: 99). Despite the fact that she may have identities as wife, mother, daughter, sister, present (or former) teacher, musician, plumber, former member of particular

voluntary associations, and so forth, the stranger - the migrant wife - may feel she lacks any status as a member of the social group she is about to join, and is therefore likely to find it difficult to get a starting-point on her bearings. The stranger is no longer validated in her previous assumption of herself as the centre of her social environment.

The status of the stranger is clearly marginal to that of those integrated into the social environment. According to Schutz, the first requirement for the stranger is to define her situation. This definition will condition her process of approaching the new social situation. Before the processes of self-definition and situation-definition are complete, the stranger may experience a disruption of the taken-for-granted reality of her world. She may oscillate between feelings of remoteness and intimacy, may experience hesitation and uncertainty, and may show distrust in matters which seem to be so simple and uncomplicated to those for whom they are "routine".

In summary, Schutz maintains that "strangeness and familiarity are not limited to the social field but are general categories of our interpretation of the world...in such a way that the strange fact and its meaning become compatible with all the other facts of our experience and their meanings" (1964: 105). The process of social adjustment which the newcomer has to undergo is but a special case of this general principle. The integration of the newcomer to the in-group which at first seemed to be strange and unfamiliar to her is a continuous process of inquiry into the norms of the approached group. If this process of inquiry succeeds, then this pattern and its elements will become to the newcomer "a matter of course, an unquestionable way of life, a shelter, a protection" (1964: 105).

Significant Others

Coincident with being in the role of the stranger, the wife is in interaction with significant others. As we know from Berger and Kellner, "In each partner's psychological economy of significant others, the marriage partner becomes the other par excellence, the nearest and most decisive coinhabitant of the world" (Berger and Kellner, 1970: 58). When spouses move together, a large part of the sense of reality of the world will be maintained through the continuation of contact with this most significant of significant others. Further, as Berger and Luckmann note, "It would be a mistake to assume that only significant others serve to maintain subjective reality. But significant others occupy a central position in the economy of reality-maintenance. They are particularly important for the ongoing confirmation of that crucial element of reality we call identity" (emphasis mine) (1967: 150). To retain confidence that she is indeed who she thinks she is, the individual requires not only the implicit confirmation of this identity that even casual everyday contacts will supply, but the explicit and emotionally charged confirmation that her significant others bestow on her. The individual will likely look to her family and other private associates (Berger and Luckmann refer to these as the "chorus": neighbourhood, church, club and the like) for such confirmation, although close business associates may also fulfill the function.

This study confirms the importance of significant others as a source of continuity and integration for the migrant wife. Women who are separated from their spouses during the move frequently describe the loss of a sense of routine and continuity which the separation occasions. After the move, women who are employed outside the home and who thus

have a "chorus" of significant others find the relocation less disruptive than do women who lack such contacts.

Status Passage and Career

Integration into the new social environment is a process of leaving a previously taken-for-granted reality, a world of significant others, becoming a stranger, approaching and defining that new social world, establishing meaningful relationships with new significant others, constructing a new reality, and experiencing a change in identity while doing so. This process involves a sequence of stages which may be thought of as a status passage or career.

The concept of career was developed initially by Hughes who defines it as "the moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and the things which happen to him" (1971: 137). It has been further elaborated by Hewitt:

Just as an orientation toward the solution of everyday problems and the ongoing negotiation of social order link people and their activities in a 'horizontal' way, the activities of individuals themselves are linked 'vertically' over time. The concept of 'career' captures the nature of this vertical linkage. (Hewitt, 1976: 177).

As Marshall (1979: 350) observes, the concepts of career and status passage are closely related. Status passages also involve movement, as well as "a changed identity and sense of self" (Glaser and Strauss, 1971: 2). Glaser and Strauss identify several properties of status passages, a principal one being

...their relatively scheduled character...There are also prescribed sequences of steps the person must go through to have completed the passage and regularized actions that must be carried out by various relevant participants in order that the passage actually be accomplished (1971: 3).

Other properties or characteristics of status passages are that they may or may not be desirable, inevitable, reversible, repeatable and voluntary. Individuals undergoing the passage may or may not be aware of it, and will vary in the extent to which they have control over that passage. In addition, they may undergo the passage alone or collectively.

Both of these concepts have been little utilized in research on geographical mobility, despite their apparent relevance. Within a social psychological perspective it is clear that families who relocate must adapt to status changes in much the same way that one does in moving from childhood to adolescence, or from being a graduate student to being a university professor. Jones (1976) made reference to the repeatable nature of migration as a status passage. Christiansen-Ruffman (1976) made extensive use of the concept of career in her research on migrant families to Halifax, Nova Scotia. She conceptualized the 'newcomer career' as consisting of five stages: the preamble, moving-in, settling-in, feeling-comfortable and feeling-accepted. The utility of this concept in analyzing the individual's role and experiences at each successive stage of the move is evident.

In this research the concepts of career and status passage are utilized in the analysis of the wife's experience of relocation. This experience is conceptualized as the wife's movement through a 'moving career'. Her progression or passage through that career follows what Glaser and Strauss call 'transitional statuses' or stages. The four stages examined in this research are the decision-making, planning, relocation, and settling-in. Most migration researchers, like Christiansen-Ruffman, combine the first two stages into one 'pre-move'

or 'preamble' stage. Such a combination was not appropriate to this analysis.

This study examines the 'vertical linkages' between the previous and current social environments of the migrant wife. The focus must thus be on the transitional stages during which the wife decides to leave and then takes leave of the previous community. In examining her passage through the moving career, the stages before the actual move (stages during which the definition and expectations of that move are made) become as important as what occurs after the actual move. Much migration research fails to recognize the importance of the previous environment in shaping the definition of and the response to the new one.

This study found further evidence that the decision-making and planning stages of the move should not be considered as one. The migrant wife and her husband together generally are involved in the decision-making stage. However, the wife frequently experiences the planning stage alone, while her husband moves directly to the stage of the move itself. The stages of decision-making and planning are structurally and emotionally quite distinct for the migrant wife.

The multiple properties of status passages are a focus of this analysis. As Glaser and Strauss observe, "If an investigator's research is to have richness and integration...several properties must be analyzed and integrated during the course of the total investigation" (1971: 10). In this analysis, the 'shape' of the wife's passage through the moving career is of major concern. This includes the direction of the passage and the issue of control. The data indicate that the wife's control over her passage varies considerably with each stage. Women have little control over the initiation of the passage during the decision-making

stage, but have considerable control over the "unimportant" tasks in the planning stage.

The desirability and voluntary character of the passage is also important. Husbands and wives evidently negotiate the desirability of the passage, and distinguish between the decision to leave the previous community and the decision to come to the current one. The wives of men who had been transferred in their jobs frequently felt that they had no choice in the move, and for some, the move was involuntary.

Another property which distinguished the moving careers of these women was the 'circumstantiality' of the passage. This examines whether the passage is made by one person alone, or collectively. Glaser and Strauss note that "group interest and personal interests may support or run counter,...but the potential discrepancy between the two types of interest is inherent in group membership" (1971: 117). Although the husband and wife were theoretically involved in the same collective passage, their individual passages not only differed but sometimes 'ran counter'. For example, when the husband's passage involved his immediate move to the new job, the wife often found the planning stage more disruptive. Circumstantiality also involves the issue of assistance with the passage. The extent of assistance from others varied for the women. Many received financial assistance from companies and the help of moving companies during the relocation stage. During the planning and settling-in stages, however, the women had fewer sources of assistance available to them.

The multiple nature of status passages was very much related to how these women experienced the move. Women who became mothers or whose children left the nuclear family around the time of the move found them-

selves in competing rather than supportive passages. This frequently complicated their progression through the moving career.

The temporality of the passages was also highly variable. This was most apparent in the planning and settling-in stages. Some women planned their moves for several years, while for others it was a matter of days. Similarly, women who defined 'feeling settled' in physical terms generally felt so almost immediately. Those who defined it in emotional terms found that the completion of this stage took far longer.

Summary

The general perspective of symbolic interactionism lends itself well to the study of relocation. It allows us to conceptualize geographical mobility in terms of the interaction between the migrant wife and her significant and generalized others (spouse, children, friends, and the social environments of the communities of origin and destination). In addition, it theoretically affirms that change in geographical world necessarily involves some change in social world and in identity.

The concepts of career and status passage allow us to conceptualize geographical mobility as a process occurring over time and within the context of other life events. In the analysis of both the interaction and the process, the issue of continuity through each stage of the passage is an underlying theme. A variety of factors are related to the continuity of the passage and continuity of identity while in passage. As Jones (1973: 217) suggests, the importance of material artifacts (such as newspapers and chain stores) and personal possessions (furniture) for the maintenance of a sense of continuity in relocation should not

be underestimated. Similarly, continuity of passages through other careers (the occupational career, the aging career) will be related to the shape of the passage through the moving career.

The next chapter, "Approaches to the Study of Women in Relocation" reviews current research on this topic. The migration literature's emphasis on the disruptive versus beneficial implications of relocation for women is examined. An analysis of research material on such variables as decision-making role, occupational status of women, social contacts, age and family life cycle stage, then follows. In the process of this analysis the major research questions guiding this research are presented. A description of the methodology of the study, including the empirical setting of the research, the sampling procedures, the research instrument, and a profile of the sample complete Chapter Three.

Chapters Four to Eight present and analyze the data gathered by the research. Chapter Four examines the meaning, implications, and unique features of the wife's role as the key person in establishing the home and making the move successful. Chapters Five and Six focus specifically on the 'career' of the move and the wife's role and the shape of her passage through each of four successive stages: decision-making, planning, relocation, and settling-in. Chapter Seven examines variations in the wife's passage through the moving career as they relate to her family life cycle stage. While Chapters Four through Seven examine the wife's role in the relocation in an interactive sense (in terms of her involvement with other family members), Chapter Eight deals with the internal dynamics of the relocation. It focuses on the changes in self occurring in association with the moving career, on the wife's pre- and post-relocation attitudes toward the mobility, and on

her assessment of its personal benefit to her and her satisfaction with it. General conclusions and summary of the findings comprise Chapter Nine.

CHAPTER TWO

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF WOMEN IN RELOCATION

In this chapter, I present a review of the literature and analyze it in terms of the theoretical constructs just elaborated. I examine the major themes which characterize the study of women and relocation, drawing on the works of social scientists, clinicians, and the personal accounts of female migrants. These themes include the effect of geographical mobility on individuals and on families, the variations in response which individuals make to relocation, and how these responses differ for individuals of diverse backgrounds and in varied life circumstances.

Most research on this topic concerns the variable of adjustment to migration. Adjustment is generally defined as satisfaction with the new community. This definition has been used in the research of Landis and Stoetzer (1966), Berardo (1966) and Fried (1963). Some researchers have added other dimensions to their definitions. For example, Jones (1976) included social-psychological response on the part of the migrant as a dimension of adjustment. In this research, however, I employ a broader concept than adjustment in considering the migrant's reaction to the relocation experience. The concept is response, encompassing a wider range of reactions than implied in the concept of adjustment. The usage of the 'response' is more consistent with the symbolic interactionist orientation of this study. Social psychological response to the move is conceptualized as perceived change in identity on the part of the migrant

wife, with reference to such self-defined affective states as happiness, loneliness, and depression. This concept thus includes the very dimensions raised by Berger and Luckmann and Schutz. While satisfaction with the community is still important in assessing overall reaction to the move, the concept of response is useful in analyzing different reactions at different stages of the move. It is also less value-laden a concept than is adjustment. Because the circumstances and meanings of the move vary considerably among migrant women, a broad concept like response allows for a range of individual interpretations of meaning in a way that adjustment may not. While this research does not itself employ the concept of adjustment as an analytical tool, much of the migration research does; hence the concept of adjustment is still cited when referring to specific research findings.

There are two bodies of research data on the impact of relocation on the lives of women. One emphasizes the disruptive effects of relocation on women; the other portrays the beneficial consequences of relocation for women. There is little empirical support for a pattern of totally non-problematic adjustment to migration. Nevertheless, this position is represented in the writings of William H. Whyte on the bonds between the wife and the corporation. He observes that the displacement occasioned by job transfers is difficult "for no one more than the wife. It is she, who has only one life in contrast to her husband's two, who is called upon to do most of the adjusting" (1962: 123). However, he then asserts that the wife revels in such an environment, and thus experiences exclusively beneficial consequences of relocation.

What are the wife's basic unadjusted feelings about all this? The answer is clear: she likes the way of life. To picture her as a helpless

sort being pushed around by the corporation would be to attribute to her a sense of plight she does not feel; she must be considered not only an object of the integration but a force for it in her own right. She has become such an ally of the corporation, in fact, that on several matters it would almost appear that she and the corporation are ganging up on the husband (Whyte, 1962: 123).

To document this, Whyte quotes one migrant wife who purportedly claims, "Anytime the curtains get dirty, I'm ready to move. I enjoy meeting new people and seeing new places. And it's kind of a vacation sometimes."

The research of Landis and Stoetzer (1966) concludes that relocation is not only desirable but also has generally positive consequences for individuals. They observed high levels of independence, self-reliance and adaptability associated with relocation. They observed that families adjusted to the new environment with no obvious difficulty. They are alone, however, in emphasizing exclusively positive and desirable consequences of relocation.

Most research emphasizes the disruptive consequences of moving for families, and for women in particular. It varies according to the form of disruptive consequence being emphasized: physical disruption, social-psychological disruption, and economic disruption. In the process of relocation, disruption in one sphere is generally associated with disruption in another.

Physical Disruption

Research on the physically disruptive character of relocation deals mainly with either the disturbance of routines during the move, or with the effects of physical isolation subsequent to the move. In an

American study of geographical mobility as it affects the wife and mother, Jones noted general disruption in women's routines in the period immediately preceding and following the move. In light of the symbolic interactionist assumption of routines, and everyday taken-for-granted reality, as the basis for the continuity of self and identity, Jones' findings raise questions of the social-psychological consequences of disruption of physical routines during this time. Jones herself hints at this when she observes that

...a definite change in behaviour occurs in terms of the amount of time allocated to specific activities during the moving process...The changes in demands placed upon the wife by the moving process have an impact upon the emotional dimension of her life... there is a slight increase in feelings of depression or unhappiness two weeks prior to the move and a further increase during the first two weeks in the new community (1973: 215).

In terms of physical isolation subsequent to relocation, research by McAllister and his associates notes that even local movements, generally believed to be not as socially disruptive as longer-distance moves, may indeed be quite disruptive of the lives of women in traditional households. Given the familiar roles of housewife and mother, these women are "more likely to find themselves tied to a new home after a move and thus limited in their opportunity for interaction with old neighbours. Disruption seems as likely to occur in such cases of local mobility as in cases of migration" (1973: 198).

Social-Psychological Disruption

Psychological Disruption

The Introduction presented research attesting to the psychologically disruptive consequences of relocation for women (Kantor, 1969;

Martin, 1974; Hunt and Butler, 1972). This theme characterizes many of women's personal accounts of relocation (Dienstag, 1972; Rosen, 1972), as well as clinical reports (Seidenberg, 1972; 1975).

One of the most in-depth studies on this topic is Weissman and Paykel's study of moving and depression in women. As part of a larger study, they gained access to a clinic treating depressed women, and determined in which cases the women were also recent migrants. The women in the study did not attribute their illness to the move*. Rather, they related it to other events in their lives such as financial problems, increased loneliness, increased marital friction, problems with children, career frustrations and identity confusion. All these situations can be consequences of the move, but what is significant is that the women blamed themselves for their problems. The relationship between migration and depression is not a simple one. Women who are depressed after the move may well have been chronically depressed prior to displacement. In those cases where women are involved in initiating a move, Weissman and Paykel observe that moving may well represent an abortive attempt to solve other problems. In such cases depression may arise as a consequence of what migration did not do, in comparison to what it might have done. Discrepancy between the expectations of the move and the realities of the new situation may complicate response in such cases. Weissman and Paykel conclude that moving tends to be much more stressful to women (and men) than cultural expectations would have us believe.

*On a phenomenological level the findings of Weissman and Paykel present us with the dilemma that if their respondents do not see the move as the cause of their problem, why should Weissman and Paykel claim that it is.

We believe we are documenting here a stress which is extremely common, although often ignored or underestimated. Although most studies of the psychological effects of mobility have focused on groups that make up only a small portion of people who move... our study covered a wider socio-economic range of families...The impact of moving, we found, was stressful to women in all classes. (Weissman and Paykel, 1972: 25).

Research by Melitta Leff also cites the psychologically disruptive consequences of relocation. She found geographical mobility to be the third most frequent of stressful events preceding the development of depressive illnesses in 40 patients. Clinician Robert Seidenberg (1972, 1975) also found evidence of "frustration, disappointment, and disillusionment" and feelings of being "left behind" as common sentiments expressed by women experiencing relocation.

In other research, Hunt and Butler (1972: 440) adapt Park's concept of marginality to describe individuals who are unable to separate themselves psychologically from their origins or be completely accepted in their new circumstances. Such individuals experience the turmoil of the divided self, living in two worlds, in both of which they are more or less strangers.

Social Disruption

The debate over the socially disruptive consequences of relocation pervades the migration literature. The argument is whether, as some researchers contend, mobility endangers meaningful social relationships by disrupting social ties to others and placing migrants in the stressful situation of having recurringly to establish new ones. In A Nation of Strangers, Vance Packard states that mobility results in fewer friendships, and fewer individuals who manifest empathetic concern for the migrant and

who can offer assistance in time of need (1972: 199)*. Relocation deprives individuals "of the fundamental human requirement of social continuity and personal stability" (Tiger, 1974: 139). The extreme result of this recurring disruption is cited by Lionel Tiger in his description of a woman whose repertoire of significant others was so reduced by repeated relocation that she observed "'Only my husband knows and cares about my past and future'" (Tiger, 1974: 139).

Belief in the socially disruptive consequences of relocation had been well established in the behavioural sciences since the work of Park (1928) and Thomas and Znaniecki (1927). However, the publication of Litwak's (1960) findings that modified extended family relationships are maintained in spite of mobility, was viewed as a challenge to this assumption. If, as Litwak claimed, "technological improvements in communication systems have minimized the socially disruptive forces of geographical distance" (1960: 385), then perhaps repeated relocation was not as bad as thought. Investigators began considering the effects of relocation, not only on extended family relationships, but also on those informal interactions, with relatives, friends and neighbours, which comprise the everyday social life of the individual. Subsequent research found that migration often is disruptive of these social relations (Tilly and Brown, 1967; Gulick, Bowerman and Back, 1962; McAllister et al., 1973; Hunt and Butler, 1972; Seidenberg, 1972; 1975). Occasionally, researchers find no evidence of ruptured informal social relationships as a result of

* The observations of Packard and Tiger differ from those of other investigators cited in this chapter. Their research is frequently plagued by vagaries of sampling and data gathering techniques. While some of their more negative views of relocation are supported by scientific research, others are not.

residential mobility (Butler et al., 1973). Nevertheless, the general consensus in the migration literature is that some social disruption accompanies relocation. Because the world of significant and generalized others changes with change of physical environment, the symbolic interactionist model would argue that some social disruption occurs.

This study investigates the nature of this social disruption. First, it explores the types of contacts that women maintain through relocation (whether kin, neighbours, colleagues, and so forth). Second, it examines their responses to changed social interaction, particularly the adaptive strategies they employ in attempting to re-establish a social world. The migration literature suggests several possible strategies which I explore. McAllister and his associates observed a period of heightened social interaction on the part of most recent movers in their study. During this time the migrants made a concentrated effort to establish integrative social contacts. They further note that this heightened interaction appeared to decrease after about six months (1973: 202). This is obviously one type of adaptive strategy. Another possible response is suggested by Tiger in his analysis of corporate moves. He maintains that relocated families may develop a long-term strategy of

detachment as a matter of personal psychological survival. When one's social network will be destroyed every few years, there is little gain and considerable cost in trying to establish the complex mixture of trust, commitment, self-exposure, and freedom that is essential to serious friendships (1974: 182).

While this particular response to relocation has been virtually ignored in migration research, it is examined in this study. I am concerned with the meaning which migrant wives attach to social disruption, as evidenced in the adaptive approaches they employ (or whether they bother to employ

them at all).

Third, this study examines how the extent of this social disruption can vary in different occupational circumstances. It has been suggested that "separation from family and friends may be far more personally disturbing for a female who migrates without the support of a work situation..." (Hunt and Butler, 1972: 448). I will examine the role of the occupational career in the maintenance of social continuity for migrant wives. Does even a fragmented, frequently interrupted occupational career facilitate social continuity in a way that exclusive homemaking does not?

Economic Disruption

The disruptive effects of relocation on the economic situation or occupational careers of women are infrequently examined by migration researchers. Weissman and Paykel observed a high correlation between psychological and career disruption associated with moving. In response to relocation, women often give up their education or career, take secondary jobs to earn extra money for the family or assist a husband during his training, or pursue a career on a part-time basis. "In most cases, her career has been disrupted during the period of life when the pressures for its development are usually the greatest, ages 28 to 35" (1972: 28). The result is often a fragmental work or educational career coupled with geographic mobility, which inhibits career placement and the development of a clear image of oneself as competent and adequate in a particular field.

As a result we found a number of educated and sometimes talented women who held a multitude of jobs often below their training. They felt hopeless and discouraged about their own chances

of ever doing gratifying work in their field of training. The majority of these women felt that their husbands would have to relocate in the next five years (1972: 28).

In supporting this view of the occupational disruption accompanying relocation, Tiger speaks of the dilemma of the 'corporate wife'.

On the principle of last hired, first fired, the wife of the mobile executive is always vulnerable to adjustments in the economy. She is very unlikely to be a candidate for serious posts, because she will lack seniority and will be unable to provide her employers the continuity they may seek in their higher management (Tiger, 1974: 140).

In analyzing the ways in which wives' experiences of relocation differ from that of their spouses, a central concern of this study is with the influence of the disjointed work career on women's experiences.

The theme of the disruptive consequences of relocation for women obviously dominates much of the literature on this topic. This is in direct contrast to Whyte's presentation of women as delighting in the prospect of each successive move. A number of researchers, this author included, now question the validity of these antithetical images of adjustment outcomes for migrant women. The broadly-based concept of 'response' to the passage allows for a wide range of possible outcomes. A conceptualization of adjustment as occurring along a continuum also is found in the research of Stella Jones (1973; 1976). Indeed, her research represents a departure from the described pattern of viewing adjustment as falling into one of two extreme categories. She concluded that

...geographic mobility tends to be stress producing and not infrequently quite traumatic. But as the data reveal, the stress and strain vary and so does the level of adjustment achieved in the new community...This body of research indicates that either a maladaptive or adaptive adjustment can be a consequence of migration (Jones, 1976: 155, 152).

In the present research I conceptualize response not only in terms of both community satisfaction and social-psychological satisfaction, but also in terms of a broad continuum of potential responses. In this view, the completely negative outcome of debilitating depression following migration is conceptualized as an ideal-typical negative outcome at one end, and total ease with, and beneficial consequences of, moving at the other. I postulate that most wives fall somewhere in between the psychiatrically diagnosed depressed woman who views herself as a helpless victim in the decision-making process and the woman with itchy feet who pressures her husband into job transfers for the sake of advancement.

Gender Differences in Adjustment

Certainly the most relevant of these variables to the present study is that of gender. In the Introduction, I noted the general consensus in the literature (Gans, 1967; Schwarzweller et al., 1971; Weissman and Paykel, 1972; Seidenberg, 1975) that migration disrupts the lives of women moreso than the lives of men. Butler and associates (1973) observed definite gender differences in the reporting of psychological disruption following relocation. Female movers were more likely to report symptoms of 'mental disorders' than were males, regardless of the desirability of the move. The researchers conclude that

It is quite apparent...that recent residential mobility experiences affect the mental health of females more than that of males. In fact, the only relatively large differences found in this research exist between residentially mobile males and females and symptoms of suspected mental disorder suggesting a greater effect of moves upon the mental stability of females than males. Evidently, the continued level of social interaction by residentially mobile females does not overcome all of the disruptive aspects of moving (Butler et al., 1973: 226).

This pattern of greater psychological disruption for women than for men was further confirmed in research by Schwarzweller, Mangalam, and Brown on rural Kentucky migrants. In their analysis of patterns of adaptation among the migrants, they were struck by the fact that, although more satisfied and at ease with (or perhaps resigned to) the urban situation than men, women showed a higher incidence of anxiety symptoms and were much less socially active (Schwarzweller et al., 1971: 178). These researchers accounted for the strong, positive association between the females' level of anxiety and degree of social contacts in the receiving area with the finding that the women "tend to be more situationally isolated from the kinship system and its supportive mechanisms or have modified their ties with kinsfolk more than male migrants..." (1971: 180).

A number of researchers have noted these gender differences in adjustment to relocation, wondering why relocated husbands "who were subjected to the stress of moving, did not develop the same symptoms of depression" (Weissman and Paykel, 1972: 27). I maintain it is because they were not subject to the same stresses of moving and because of the different meanings a move may have for a husband and wife, based on their different vantage points as instigator and onlooker*. One of the main research questions of this study is how women perceive their roles, the behavioural expectations of them during relocation, as different from their spouse's roles. What are these differences? What meanings

* Not only do spouses have different perspectives on the move, but they also attach different meanings to the experience. These data also reveal that husbands and wives may experience relocation quite differently, even in terms of the stages through which they are going at any one time. This is discussed further in Chapter Five.

do these differences have for women? As we know from Mead, individuals' roles set the conditions of interaction with others, and supply the symbols which people use in attributing meaning to action. It is one thing to know that more than three-quarters of the respondents in Jones' sample of migrant wives felt that the wife is the key person in making the move successful (1973: 212). The present study goes beyond this, to ask that it means to women to be the key person in the move, and how this relates to their perception of the move and its implications for them.

Earlier I cited Dienstag's account of how her husband, pre-occupied with his career, failed to provide assistance in the move, and how the burdens of selling the house, selecting a new one, making new friends, and so on, fell to her. Playing the 'key role' in the move in this case meant responsibility for a variety of burdensome tasks. This research examines what the key role in the move means for the wife and mother. Is it simply a way of highlighting the segregated roles she and her spouse play with respect to the relocation? Are these segregated roles the basis of their different patterns of response to the move? Is playing the 'key role' related to their response to relocation? All of these questions are examined as I analyze women's roles in the relocation of their families.

Other variables may influence women's experiences of relocation, not only affecting their pattern of response, but also serving to differentiate that pattern from that of men. The variables of decision-making power, attitudes and expectations of the move, age and family life cycle stage, social contacts, occupational status, and socio-economic status are particularly germane to this analysis.

Decision-Making Power

In the migration literature, discussion of this variable is generally restricted to the actual decision to relocate. In keeping with my conceptualization of the move as a 'career', my analysis of this variable extends beyond the decision to move to subsequent stages of the relocation process.

As with other variables influencing response to relocation, there is conflicting evidence in the literature with respect to the relationship between the voluntariness of the move and subsequent adjustment. Generally it is assumed that "moves which are forced tend to be more disruptive and leave the migrant feeling he is losing control over his own destiny" (Jones, 1976: 158). Evidence of this is particularly strong with respect to the pattern of recurring mobility of people in business and corporate life (Dienstag, 1972; Seidenberg, 1975). The importance of this variable was also emphasized in the research of Jones (1973; 1976). She found that the general happiness of the wife in the new community was highly correlated with the degree of her involvement in the decision-making and planning stages of the move. This finding recalls my earlier reference to the unhappy wife as one who sees herself as a victim involved in a move instigated by her husband or his employer.

In her admittedly inadequate examination of this variable (1976: 158), Jones concentrated on the majority of cases in which the move was a joint decision, which accounted for 58 percent of her respondents. My research examines in more depth the situation of those migrant wives who were either not involved in the decision-making process, or who relocated against their personal wishes. How the wife perceives her non-involvement in the decision to move is of interest. Does it lead to a sense of loss

of control over her own fate, as Jones suggests? If she relocates against her personal wishes, how does she reconcile her personal misgivings with her role as the key person in establishing the home and making the move successful?

Evidence that involuntary moves result in greater disruption is not consistent in the literature, however. Butler and associates observed that both voluntary and involuntary movers are more likely than stayers to report symptoms of psychological and social disruption. They note only slightly more psychological disturbance among involuntary than voluntary movers, and concluded that this variable was not significant in explaining differences in adjustment. Similar findings were reported by Weissman and Paykel. They found that "the pattern of depression occurred even though the moves were voluntary and related to presumably desirable circumstances, such as improved housing and financial status" (1972: 24).

While the findings of these two studies indicate that adjustment to relocation can be difficult for both voluntary and involuntary movers, they do not explicitly challenge evidence that decision-making power facilitates adjustment. A number of shortcomings plague these and similar studies. For one, the very term 'voluntary' remains ill-defined in much of this research. A fundamental question which lingers as one reads the literature is "Voluntary for whom?" If a husband and children, for example, wish to relocate while the wife-mother does not, then is this move 'voluntary' for this family? What also of the cases where one 'theoretically' has a choice of whether or not to relocate, but to reject the move would virtually eliminate opportunities for upward mobility for the husband? Is this move 'voluntary'? There is the

further complicating factor that one may 'voluntarily' relocate from a particular community, but be reluctant to move to a particular community. The pattern of anglophone Canadian families departing Quebec is a case in point (Ferrante and Dewar, 1977). Would we define these moves as 'voluntary'? In the present study, I empirically separate these two decisions, to leave a particular community and to go to another specific community, in order to clarify the analysis.

Another problem with much of this body of research is reflected in the preceding excerpt from Weissman and Paykel. This research often assumes a correspondence between voluntariness and objectively desirable circumstances. An intervening variable, the gap between the expectations on which the 'voluntary' decision was based and the reality experienced in the new environment, is frequently ignored in this research.

In the present research, rather than utilizing ill-defined concepts such as voluntary and involuntary mobility, I turn the focus to the decision-making process itself, and analyze the decision to relocate in terms of the wife's involvement in the actual choice. The analysis considers whether the decision is perceived as joint, or husband- or wife-influenced, and how this relates to the wife's subsequent perceptions of the move.

My analysis is not restricted solely to this decision, however. The ability to choose and to make decisions rests frequently upon access to the information upon which that decision must be based. Jones' (1976) research found that women who are unhappy after relocation are more likely than satisfied movers to say that they had no information about the new location prior to the move. This again points to the issue of the discrepancy between expectations and reality. An uninformed or

misinformed decision to relocate, however 'voluntarily' made, can make for difficult adjustment. Consequently, my analysis of the variable of decision-making power considers such factors as the wife's decision-making resources (in terms of information or prior contact with the area), in order to better understand the climate within which the decision was made (if indeed the wife had a choice).

Correspondingly, my analysis involves also the period after the actual relocation. I expect that the wife's feelings of status passage control are related to her experience of the post-relocation stages of the move. Schwarzweller, Mangalam, and Brown observed a relationship between the extent of social disruption experienced by migrant rural women, and the extent of their husband's decision-making powers.

In a typical...migrant family, it is the husband, not the wife, who makes the decision to visit in (the area of origin), and it is the husband, not the wife, who drives the car and decides where to go on a Sunday afternoon (Schwarzweller et al., 1971: 180).

In this example the wife's adjustment to the new location is hindered by her powerlessness to control the maintenance of continuity with significant others. In this research, I examine not only this dimension of decision-making powers, but also such factors as the power to choose one's own friends, (rather than spouse's business associates), where to live, whether to relocate again, and so on. I consider all these issues to be central to the understanding of women's experiences of relocation. Based on my reading of the current migration literature, I postulate that the more involved women are in the decision-making, planning, and 'settling-in' phases of the move, the more ease they will report in their passage through each stage of the moving career.

Attitudes and Expectations of the Move

In the preceding discussion I observed the importance of attitudes toward and expectations of the move to the understanding of the decision-making process. As one of the major research questions guiding this study concerns the wife's definition of the situation of the move, this variable is central to my analysis. In addition, the literature contains much empirical support for the importance of this variable in predicting wives' adjustment to relocation. Thus, as both an indicator of the wife's definition of the move, and as a factor related to her passage, this factor is important to the study.

In the migration literature, this variable has most frequently been analyzed in terms of the consequences of mobility for children. In the research of Pederson and Sullivan, to cite one example, it was observed that parental attitude toward the move was more important to the adjustment process than the actual amount of mobility experienced by the family (1964). In research not restricted to the adjustment of children, Fried emphasizes the importance of attitude toward the move in his discussion of "transitional readiness" or "pre-location evidence of preparedness for change" (Fried, 1965).

A wide variety of personal and life situational factors influence whether the definition of the move is a positive or negative one. Those factors important to women in shaping their definition of the move are examined in this research. Are factors related to family (such as moving closer to or farther away from extended family members, or moving to a situation where spouse's job will allow him more time at home) important in shaping the definition? Or are factors related to employment (moving to a better-paying job for the spouse, or to an area perceived as offering

more job opportunities for the wife herself) more salient? Numerous factors, such as the length of time lived in the previous community, family life cycle stage, and reason for the move, can influence the definition of the move as desirable or not.

Another dimension of this variable, however, involves the expectations associated with these positive and negative definitions of the move. If, for example, the wife defines a move positively, it may be because she is anticipating more ready opportunities for part-time employment in the new location. Upon arrival, the discovery that this is not the case, that her expectations will not be met, may lead to great disappointment and may impede her adjustment to the new area.

The importance of this discrepancy between the expectations and realities of the move has been emphasized by a number of researchers. As one conclusion of her study on women and relocation, Jones suggests that the greater the gap between expectations and reality, when reality is less desirable than anticipated, the less positive will be the level of adjustment following relocation (1976: 158). In this research, this discrepancy between expectations and reality is considered as it relates to the wife's satisfaction with the move.

Much of the literature on life satisfaction has also highlighted the importance of this discrepancy between expectations and reality as an indicator of global satisfaction. In the work of Michalos (1979), this discrepancy, referred to as the goal-achievement gap, was an important factor in contributing to life satisfaction. This was true across a dozen different domains, such as health, family life and self-esteem. Other investigators of the components of life satisfaction (Andrews and Witty, 1976; Campbell, Converse and Rodgers, 1976) report

similar findings.

This variable relates to my earlier discussion of 'informed' decision-making, in terms of one's power of access to information before making a decision. This is also true of expectations. Migrants must have adequate information upon which to base realistic expectations. This follows directly from the discussion in Chapter One about a migrant's knowledge of how different a 'new' world may be from her everyday-taken-for-granted reality. This knowledge will influence her subsequent ability to construct a new reality in that environment. It will shape her expectations of that new location as well. This research thus examines the expectation-reality discrepancy in three ways: first, in terms of the elements which shape those expectations; second, as an indicator of the wife's definition of the move; third, its relationship to her response to the moving career.

Age and Family Life Cycle Stage

Earlier I alluded to the importance of the variables of age and family life cycle stage in influencing the wife's definition of the move as desirable or undesirable. There is also in the migration literature evidence of their relationship to the variable of adjustment. My research question asks whether there are certain stages in the individual life cycle when relocation is associated with more social-psychological disruption than at other times.

The research evidence on the association between age and adjustment to relocation is contradictory. Smith and Christopherson observe that "Parents have more difficulty adjusting to a new community than do their children" (1966: 671), suggesting that adjustment becomes more

difficult with age or family life cycle stage. Omari, on the other hand, concludes that "the older the migrant, the better adjusted he is" (1956: 51). Jones' research concluded that "wife's age has only a trivial direct effect on adjustment" (1976: 126). She did find, however, that a number of age-related variables were important in explaining adjustment. Experience with geographical mobility had a "sizeable direct effect" on adjustment to the new area. For most people we would expect that experience with relocation will increase as age increases.

In this study I am also interested to know whether experiences of relocation differ for women in different family situations, such as married without children, with preschool age children, with adolescents, in the post-parental stage, and so on. The variable of family life cycle stage has been all but ignored in migration research, with the exception of some discussion of moving with adolescents. There is some evidence that adolescents, with their more intense and extensive peer associations, are more likely than younger children to oppose family relocation, and thereby trigger social-psychological disruption for the family. In their study of migration and family adjustment, Smith and Christopherson (1966) observed an increase in difficulty of adjustment in families with age of child through 18 years. Glueck (1969) and Whyte (1951) as well report greater adjustment problems not only for adolescents, but also for their families. Jones, on the other hand, found that "youth pressure is not a major factor in explaining variation in (current adjustment)" (1976: 117).

A concern of this research is to ascertain whether and in what ways children's pattern of response to relocation affects their mother's experience. There is some research evidence that mother's attitudes

towards relocation are often "infectious" and can affect the adjustment of children. The mother's attitudes also affect her judgement regarding the effect of the move on her children (Barrett and Noble, 1973). These findings do not complicate the present research, however, because my concern here is with the mother's perception of her children's response vis-a-vis her own. If she perceives her child's passage through the moving career as difficult, it is not, for purposes of this study, important to know whether it is in fact difficult. However, it is important to know whether and how wives' and mothers' perceptions of their own passage are coloured by their perceptions of their children's passage.

This research explores the relationship between the age of the migrant wife and her experience of relocation. I anticipate that two age-related variables, familiarity with the role of mover, and family life cycle stage, are related to the wife's experience of relocation. With age, increasing familiarity with the role of mover will be associated with greater ease of passage. Counterbalancing this is family life cycle stage. As the family ages, the increasing age of the children will be associated with a more complicated passage for the mother. Increasing age may augment the disruptive consequences of the move in the short-run. The presence of younger school-age children, however, may have the opposite effect of facilitating the passage of the wife-mother. Pre-adolescent children, with their many requirements or parental supervision at extra-curricular activities, chaufferring to and from events, and the like, may well facilitate the social integration of the relocated wife. This is explored in this research.

Social Contacts

The symbolic interactionist perspective of this research emphasizes the role played by significant others and the "chorus" in facilitating integration into the new environment. This is empirically supported in the findings of a number of studies on adjustment to relocation. Jones found that current social involvement contributes significantly to current adjustment (1976: 113). Those migrants who exhibited the greatest amount of happiness with the move were those who already had friends or relatives in the area, significant others whose presence would contribute to the continuity of both sense of reality and of identity in the migrant.

An analysis of which types of contacts prove most salient in terms of women's adjustment has emphasized the importance of neighbouring, "perhaps the most important type of interaction for women in households" (McAllister et al., 1973: 199). Jones' research also found evidence of "the vital role played by neighbours and other casual friendship contacts in the adjustment process...Of all interpersonal contacts in the adjustment process neighbours are the most significant" (1973: 216). She found that if neighbours are perceived as unfriendly, there is a much greater tendency to report unhappiness in the new city.

There is also evidence that women who migrate are more sociable (defined in terms of frequency of interaction with neighbours) than non-movers (McAllister et al., 1973). Two possible explanations of this phenomenon are advanced: either the women moved into a new social context which put them in contact with more compatible neighbours, or the increased interaction is simply one pattern of response to the new

environment. Such heightened activity is perhaps a manifestation of an attempt at reality reconstruction and identity maintenance. Once these essential elements of subjective reality have been stabilized the requirements of intense interaction deteriorate. McAllister et al., observed this in a trailing off of frequent interaction after the initial six months in the new area.

There is an apparent search for integrative contacts on arrival which trails off after an introductory period only then giving way to the gradually deepened social life of those who remain (1973: 200).

In this study, I explore not only the relationship between social contacts and response to the relocation, but also the forms that this "heightened search for social relationships" takes. What are the resources that women employ as they attempt to initiate these social contacts? To what extent do they rely upon husband and children as "sponsors" in this process? And, if they do utilize other family members in this way, how does this vary for women of different ages, family life cycle stages, occupational statuses and socio-economic statuses? These questions are all examined.

Occupational Status

Another variable which has received cursory attention in the research literature concerns the occupational status of the migrant wife. This factor relates directly to the discussion of family life cycle stage. Almost 44 percent of the adult Ontario female population are employed in work outside the home, and the years of highest participation of women in the labour force are the years between 20 and 24 (67 percent of them are in the labour force), with 53.7 percent of Ontario women in the paid labour force between the ages of 25 and 34 (Women's Bureau,

Ontario Ministry of Labour, Factsheet #1). This period of high participation rate corresponds to the period during which most people relocate. The average age at migration is between 20 and 29 years (Statistics Canada, 1974b). We expect the majority of female movers to be in the paid labour force. However, the research of Miller (1966), Choldin (1973) and Duncan and Perrucci (1976) suggests that migrant wives are less likely than other women to be in the employed labour force because of the disruptive impact of relocation upon employment. The labour force participation of women is clearly influenced by relocation: "...the migration of husbands interferes substantially with the formation and achievement of clear occupational goals among women" (Long, 1974: 347). This research examines whether occupational status is associated with different relocation experiences for women.

In distinguishing between women in the paid work force and those who are exclusively homemakers, Hunt and Butler observe that "separation from family and friends may be far more personally disturbing for a female who migrates without the support of a work situation or formal organizations" (1972: 448). In my extensive examination of the literature on migrant women, this is one of the few references to occupational status as a factor influencing women's adjustment to relocation.

One question raised by Hunt and Butler is whether the occupational career of the migrant wife is so disjointed that any potential beneficial results of it are lost. They note that migration for work comprises a very different set of circumstances than migration with it. Men who relocate do so often with work; migrant wives who work outside the home, generally migrate for work. The beneficial consequences of

continuity of a job and a ready-made peer group may thus be automatic for the husband but something the wife must struggle and search to attain. Because of the lack of job continuity for them, there may be few essential differences between them and their counterparts who remain at home. In this study, I examine whether women who are employed outside the home have more personal contacts in the new location than women who are exclusively homemakers, and whether occupational status is related to ease of the passage.

Miller (1966) and Choldin (1973) also suggest that for migrant wives who follow their husband's jobs and careers from one location to the other, the most desirable characteristic in their own jobs is transferability. The jobs in which women have generally found this characteristic are those of nurse, teacher, bank teller and so forth. Miller and Choldin suggest that migration not only discourages career involvement for women, it also serves to keep them in what are thought of as traditional female occupations. This study examines the validity of this assertion.

Socio-Economic Status

People of different socio-economic status frequently experience relocation in different ways. The migration literature provides evidence of the direct effect of socio-economic status on both the extent and direction of adjustment (Jones, 1976: 123; Tallman, 1969; Hunt and Butler, 1972; Schwarzweller et al., 1971).

The evidence is that middle-class movers fare better with respect to relocation than do working class movers. Jones (1973) found that the lesser the amount of formal education, the more women felt

lonely and remote from others during the actual moving period. She also observed that wives of clerical workers and craftsmen exhibit more difficulty in adjustment than do other women. Other research suggests that the experience of relocation for middle class and working class wives differs in a variety of ways. Here these variations are discussed in terms of first, differences in response patterns (involving differences in types and extent of social contacts, and differences in world view and past experiences) and then differences in the auspices of migration.

Response: Social Contacts

The works of Komarovsky (1967) and Rainwater and associates (1962) are major contributions to the body of research on working class wives. Their research indicates that blue-collar wives tend to maintain close ties with their premarital peer group associations. Social and psychological support emanates not from marriage partners, but from same-sex friends and kin who form long-standing, tight-knit social networks. There is a relatively high degree of conjugal role segmentation which is characterized in part by a lack of communication between the spouses (Rainwater et al., 1962).

This suggests that migration causes more disruption in the social world of the working class than the middle class wife. Expanding upon Berger and Kellner (1970: 58), we assume that the middle class wife's most significant of significant others, her spouse, plays a vital role in her process of adjusting to the new milieu. Her significant other in this case accompanies her in the relocation. If, as Rainwater et al. and Komarovsky suggest, the spouse does not hold the position of most significant other for the working class wife, then he will not as likely

play a role in her adjustment. In short, her most significant others (kin and local neighbourhood contacts) will not accompany her in her relocation. This alone would suggest a different experience of relocation from that of the middle class wife.

Response: Worldview and Past Experience

Research on blue-collar marriage suggests other complications for the working class wife in coping with migration. Rainwater et al. suggest that these women have minimal experience with the external world and tend to view the world fearfully (1962). Mobility under these circumstances would be especially difficult, not only because it means a break with a well-established system of structural supports, but also because of group pressures to remain in the fold and a pervasive personal sense of concern about maintaining a secure environment - all of which result in a reluctance to take risks with an unknown future (Tallman, 1969: 66). This would be especially true for the working class wife, who feels that the world external to her immediate family and friends is chaotic, dangerous, and beyond her control (Rainwater et al., 1962). When mobility destroys the fabric of their social relationships, the result may be particularly devastating for such women, principally because they have no support outside their small group. Packard observes that "Working class wives with no more than a high school education are usually more fearful of strange situations than college-educated wives, who are not only higher in socializing skills but have often moved enough times to be old hands at the techniques of integrating themselves into a strange neighbourhood" (1972: 153).

In his research on the disruptive effect of relocation on social relationships, Tallman suggests that "working class women's experiences are circumscribed and their dependence on extra-nuclear family primary group relations so fundamental, that they are less able to make adequate adaptations to the move"*. He further maintains that on the basis of such evidence, one might postulate a sequence of events resulting in "social disaffection" in working class women.

The sequence begins with migration away from the neighbourhood and family of orientation leading to both increased isolation and greater demand for changes in conjugal and extra-marital roles. This, in turn, results in increased marital conflict, a state which, given the condition of separation from friends and relatives, results in an increased sense of general disaffection (Tallman, 1969: 71).

In conclusion, Tallman maintains that residential (and social**) mobility particularly disrupts the lives of working class women. Schwarzweller et al. (1971) corroborate these findings in their research on rural migrants. They suggest that working class women who relocate experience greater isolation, marital conflict, and stronger anomic reactions to the world around them than do other wives.

* At the annual meeting of the Canadian Sociology and Anthropology Association in Quebec, P.Q., in May, 1976, Professor Linda Moffatt of the University of Western Ontario suggested that the extended family might well be perceived as a source of power for women in traditional societies and certain sectors of modern society. Such a consideration would help account for the feelings of depression and loss of control of their fate experienced by many mobile women. This issue is discussed later in this study.

** In many studies, factors of geographical and social mobility are considered together, without attempts to isolate the relative effects of each. This is a problem of all such research. All effort was made to avoid compounding of issues and to focus on the consequences of geographic mobility alone.

While there is firm evidence of the more problematic adjustment of the working class wife, there is one resource which the working class wife may avail herself of. This resource is usually not available to the middle class wife, and its basis lies in the auspices of migration.

Auspices of Migration

By the auspices of migration are meant the social structures which establish relationships between migrants and the receiving community before they move. Individuals migrate under the auspices of kinship when their principle connections with the area of destination are kin, even if they arrive desperately seeking jobs. The impact of the auspices of migration on the adjustment patterns of working class women has been largely ignored in migration research. Mobility under the auspices of kinship must, however, be considered as a resource available to the working class wife.

Migration under the auspices of kinship seems to be the most common among groups which have the least skill in dealing with impersonal urban institutions like markets, bureaucracies, and communication systems, or the most uncertain relationships to these institutions. The support and protection of their kinfolk balances their weakness in these other respects (Tilly and Brown, 1967: 143).

From his research on migration to an American city, Tilly established that blue-collar workers are the most inclined toward chain migration, the continuous recruitment of migrants from a single distant locality via an informal chain of communication. They most frequently begin their stay in the city by lodging temporarily with kin and friends while exploring for housing and employment (Tilly, 1965: 24). Ascriptive solidarities, then, tend to form the basis of the working class migrant's

relation to the city while structures built around work provide the nucleus of the middle class migrant's relation to the city (1965: 21).

This is, however, a complex relationship. Choldin found that, among a group of migrants to metropolitan Chicago, "affiliation with kinfolk or others who have migrated earlier seems to hinder the migrant in breaking his attachment to the community of origin" (1973: 175). Perhaps because such kin and friends remind the migrant too much of people and lifestyle left behind, Choldin found that "migrants without kinship affiliation and support...maintain higher morale than do migrants who join kinfolk or others" (1973: 175). What appears to be an asset for the adjustment of the working class wife becomes instead a liability. Choldin's findings contain the only evidence of this inverse relationship between auspices of kinship and adjustment of which I am aware in the migration literature. In this study, I anticipate that the auspices of kinship are an asset rather than a liability to the working class wife. I do, however, explore the concerns expressed by Choldin.

The limited research on the effects of auspices of migration on the adjustment of the wife generally suggests that her experience of relocation may not be as traumatic as the research on social contacts and worldview indicates. Based on my previous research*, I assume that

*This assumption is based on research findings from a study of Newfoundland migrants to Hamilton, Ontario. In that sample, 67 percent of the upper class and 22 percent of the middle class respondents moved to Hamilton without knowing anyone there. Every one of the lower-ranking migrants had such a contact in the receiving area, however - in 15 percent of the cases this was a spouse or a friend from Hamilton; in an overwhelming 85 percent of the cases it was a Newfoundland relative or friend now living in the receiving area (Martin, 1974: 113).

many working class wives do in fact move to areas where they already have contacts. This should give them the advantage of more immediate social contacts and social involvement, and be beneficial in terms of identity continuity and integration to the new environment. Clearly there is a question of the balance to be achieved here. The working class wife may have the social resources to facilitate her passage through the settling-in stage of the moving career, but lack educational and economic resources. The middle class wife may have the educational and economic resources (perhaps even the assistance of the spouse's employer in financing the move), but may have to establish her social contacts on her own (unless she involves herself exclusively in the social world of her spouse's contacts). In either case, the experiences of relocation will differ considerably for these women. The purpose of this research is not to analyze for whom the relocation is easier or better; rather it considers the ways in which socio-economic status relates to different experiences of relocation for women.

Other Variables

In addition to the factors just examined in some detail, there are others which are included in this research and which have been studied in migration research. These include the variables of the distance of the move, length of residence in past and current community, and anticipated departure from current community.

Distance of the Move

The migration literature generally assumes that longer distance moves present greater problems of disruption and adjustment than do shorter distance moves. Long distance moves often make it difficult if not impossible to maintain everyday, ongoing, routine contact with

significant others and "chorus" in the previous community. The theoretical model for this research suggests that, as a consequence, one's sense of continuity will more likely be disrupted for long-distance than short-distance movers.

Long-distance moves also involve other kinds of changes. In Canada, inter-provincial moves often involve changes in climate, in employment opportunities, in level of taxation, in cost of living and in educational system, to name but a few. In addition, there will often be variations in patterns of speech, in accent, even in mother-tongue, all of which may serve to immediately identify the newcomer as a 'stranger'. Some researchers, such as Packard (1972: 155, 156) suggest that different areas have varying degrees of "friendliness" which may influence subsequent adjustment.

In this research, I anticipate that the greater the distance of the move, the more extensive will be the changes in everyday taken-for-granted reality that the migrant wife encounters. Women involved in inter-provincial relocation likely have different experiences of relocation from those of women who relocate within a province or region of a province.

Length of Residence in Previous Community

In the migration literature there is general consensus about the relationship between length of residence in the previous community and adjustment to relocation. Among a variety of demographic variables such as distance moved, size of previous and present community, wife's age, socio-economic status and number of long distance moves, Jones found that length of residence in the previous community had the "greatest total effect on current adjustment" (1976: 121).

The longer migrants lived in their previous community, the less familiar they are with the role requirements of being a mover. They are thus less well acquainted with the demands of seeking and initiating new social contacts, locating and establishing contact with agencies and community services, and the like. They also have more strongly developed ties to the previous community which may be more painful to disrupt than short-term associations. For a variety of reasons, the longer the time in the previous community, the more disruptive the wife's experience of relocation is likely to be.

Length of Residence in Present Community

The importance of this variable to the process of adjustment to relocation has been empirically established by a number of researchers. In a study of migrants to an aerospace community in Florida, Berardo found that "the community adaptation of newcomers appears to be considerably and primarily conditioned by the length of time they had resided in the new locality" (1966: 303). In research on rural American southern migrants, Omari concludes that the most important factor in the process of adjustment to all phases of life is the length of time the migrant has lived in the new community (1956: 53). Jones too found that length of time since relocation was a definite factor influencing adjustment to the move, but it was not quite as important as the research of Berardo, Omari and others, described it to be. As her respondents had all relocated within two years prior to her study, she suggests that "length of residence lacks the explanatory power anticipated for current social involvement and current adjustment for the study population as all the respondents were comparatively recent migrants" (1976: 138).

She observed that studies which found length of current residence to be of major importance all involved much longer time intervals since relocation.

These findings raise questions as to the actual length of time before evidence of adjustment emerges. McAllister et al. note that the heightened interaction observed among movers "trails off" after the initial six months in the new community. This suggests that by this time, the migrant has made some contacts and has begun to feel settled. Landis and Stoetzer also emphasize the relatively short period of time within which migrants feel settled. Nearly half their respondents reported "feeling settled" within two months, and over three-quarters in less than six months. However, feeling "settled in" itself does not constitute adjustment. Feeling "settled in" implies that routines have been established and a certain order come to characterize life in the new location. This is not the same as having well-established social contacts and a sense of taken-for-granted reality about life in the new environment.

The question of what it means to the migrant to be settled in has been ignored in most research on geographic mobility. One exception is the work of Linda Christiansen-Ruffman on civilian and military newcomer families to Halifax, Nova Scotia (1976). Her research describes five stages in the newcomer career: the preamble, moving-in, settling-in, feeling comfortable, and feeling-accepted. For Christiansen-Ruffman, the settling-in stage involves such things as becoming familiar with the essentials of the new environment (learning where facilities are) and the non-essential environment (the social life of the new community).

While Christiansen-Ruffman's research focuses on the newcomer

career, this research examines the moving career, which ends with the achievement of a feeling of being settled in. The feeling-comfortable and feeling-accepted stages as conceptualized by Christiansen-Ruffman are later stages not included in the present study where the focus is more on the early stages (decision-making and planning).

For Christiansen-Ruffman, such psychological factors as "feeling comfortable" and social factors as "having a best friend" come after settling in. The arrival at these feeling states thus should come later than two to six months after the move.

The physical act of residential relocation is of brief temporal duration. The processes of absorption which follow in its wake, however, may take many years before resultant tensions are resolved and the individual migrant learns to cope effectively with his new environment so as to become a functional member of the recipient community (Schwarzweiler and Seggar, 1967: 662).

As this study is based on interviews with women within one year of their relocation*, I anticipate that while many will have achieved the settling-in stage described by Christiansen-Ruffman, they will by no means have all achieved the feeling-comfortable stage. This is sufficient, and indeed beneficial for my purposes, as the intent is to study women in passage through the moving career, not subsequent to their passage. The focus is upon the meaning of the move and the wife's role in it, not on the resolution of the whole process. In so doing the research does explore the antecedents and meaning of getting settled-in and the importance of the "six month" period as emphasized in the work

* Further elaboration of the eligibility criteria of the study is contained in Chapter Three.

of McAllister et al. and Landis and Stoetzer.

Anticipated Duration of Residence in Current Area

Christiansen-Ruffman distinguishes between those migrants who want to complete all the stages she describes, and those who do not. Those whose goal is the feeling-accepted stage are described as "settlers", while "sojourners" are those who are oriented only to the stage four of feeling-comfortable (1976: iv). In my research, these concepts of settlers and sojourners are linked to the migrant's anticipated duration of residence in the current community. The importance of this variable was suggested in the earlier discussion of social contacts. I speculated whether wives who know that their stay will be brief will bother to invest the time and the personal resources in the development of new contacts. The meaning of the relocation itself will differ for women who relocate to establish a retirement home and spend their time near family than for those who know from past experience that within a year or two they will be moving again. The situation of the wife who is uncertain as to the duration of the move will also differ. The relationship between anticipated duration and the wife's experience of and attitude toward the move is explored in this research.

Summary

This chapter has surveyed the migration literature pertaining to the topic of women and migration. In so doing, a range of factors related to the response to the relocation were considered, and the theoretical approach of the research clarified. As the literature relevant to each of a number of variables was surveyed and analyzed, the major research questions guiding this study were elucidated. The methodology employed in answering these questions is presented in Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN: THE SETTING, SAMPLING, INSTRUMENTATION, AND PROFILE OF THE RESPONDENTS

This study is based on intensive interviews with 123 migrant wives who moved within Canada to the cities of Hamilton and Burlington, Ontario. Their names were obtained through the co-operation of several national van lines agents, the Hamilton district office of Canada Manpower, and the Hamilton-Wentworth Department of Social Services. In this chapter I examine three aspects of the research methodology: the setting in which the research was conducted; the research design, including the eligibility criteria, sampling procedures, and description of the sample; and the research instrument used in the data gathering.

The Setting:

Hamilton is a heavily industrial centre, with a 1978 population of 411,000 in its metropolitan area. While not included in the census metropolitan area of Hamilton, Burlington is very much within its service area. With a 1978 population of 108,000, Burlington is considered a middle class suburb of Hamilton, although it also serves as a distant dormitory for the Toronto metropolitan area. The target area was defined as all communities which could be telephoned without charge from the city of Hamilton itself*. In this way, I could identify those

*The target area thus included Stoney Creek, Ancaster, Dundas, Burlington, Lynden, Mount Hope, Binbrook, Caledonia, Grimsby and Waterdown. These towns and villages varied considerably in size, from Lynden (1976 population 457) to Dundas (1976 population 19,000).

who relocated into the centre city and suburban areas, as well as those who settled in the city's more rural hinterland.

The centres surrounding Hamilton differ substantially from the city itself in the income profile of their residents. While the 1971 average family income for Hamilton was \$9,931, it was \$13,046 for Ancaster Township, and \$13,009 for Burlington. These two centres were thus among the wealthiest municipalities in Canada (Statistics Canada, 1975b). I anticipated that families relocating into them would be of a higher socio-economic status than those moving into Hamilton itself. Restricting the target area to Hamilton only would therefore exclude an important segment of the migrant population in the area.

In defining the target area, the 'typicality' of migrants who move to Hamilton and Burlington is of concern. A comparison of the local migrant population with national and provincial samples helps to profile the 'typical' migrant into the region. Between 1966 and 1971, 47 percent of the Canadian population changed its place of dwelling. A quarter of the population changed residence within the same municipality. Approximately five million Canadians, however, made a more dramatic change in their locale. A full 14 percent of Canadians moved across municipal boundaries within the same province, and four percent made inter-provincial moves (Statistics Canada, 1974a)*.

* Figures based on sample data from the 1976 Census indicate that between 1971 and 1976, 49 percent of the Canadian population changed its dwelling place. Seventeen percent of Canadians made inter-municipal moves within the same province, and four percent moved from one province to another. These data suggest that more Canadians were mobile between 1971 and 1976 than in the preceding five year period (Statistics Canada, 1978).

As Table 3.1 illustrates, Hamilton is typical in the proportion of different types of movers that it attracts. It does, however, receive proportionally fewer inter-provincial movers than other Canadian cities. This is not to say, however, that inter-provincial migrants do not relocate into the Hamilton area. They may move into Burlington or Ancaster, for example. The city of Hamilton itself, being a steel centre, has a rather negative national image, with its high levels of industrial pollution and older housing stock. It is likely that out-of-province movers, aware of that image, and who could afford to do so, moved into the suburban areas while working in Hamilton (or even Toronto). Such a pattern of movement was common among respondents to this study.

Analysis of census data* indicates that the age distribution of women moving into metropolitan Hamilton parallels that of female movers within Canada in general. The data confirm the general finding in the migration literature that the average age at migration is between 20 and 34 years. This is the largest age group of migrants into metropolitan Hamilton, and among my sample population as well.

In reference to their labour force participation, the women moving into the target area parallel Canadian female migrants generally. Just over half (55 percent) of the women moving into Hamilton between 1966 and 1971 were not in the paid labour force (Statistics Canada, 1975a). For movers within Ontario overall the proportion of women not in the paid labour force was 51 percent, and for women moving within Canada, it was 56 percent (Statistics Canada, 1975d).

* Census data on the age distribution of female migrants in Canada is presented in Appendix D, Table D.3.

TABLE 3.1

Types of Migration By Females, 15 Years and Over
1966-1971*

Category	Canada		Ontario		Hamilton**	
	N	%	N	%	N	%***
Movers Within Same Province	1,100,000	59.2	298,025	51.2	24,685	59.7
Movers From Different Province	316,535	17.0	82,785	14.2	3,660	8.8
Movers From Outside Canada	330,735	17.8	170,720	29.3	10,590	25.6
1966 Residence Not Stated****	110,955	5.9	31,000	5.3	2,400	5.8
Total Movers	1,858,230	100.0	582,535	100.0	41,340	100.0

* Figures based on sample data from the 1976 Census indicate an increase in the proportions of intra-provincial movers in Canada between 1971 and 1976 (from 59 percent to 66 percent of all movers). The proportion of inter-provincial movers was unchanged and the proportion of movers from outside Canada declined (Statistics Canada, 1978) (percentage calculations mine).

** I could gather no comparable statistics for Burlington, as only Census Metropolitan areas are included in the census analysis of the characteristics of the migrant population. In these tables, the reference is to metropolitan Hamilton, including Dundas, Stoney Creek, and Ancaster.

*** The percentage calculations are my own. The tables are compiled from Statistics Canada, 1974b; 1974c.

**** From an analysis of the census data I was able to determine that the migrants in this category were not international migrants. As they were Canadian internal migrants, they are included in the subsequent tables in this chapter, although their point of origin is unknown. International migrants are excluded from subsequent analysis.

Beyond these comparisons I was unable to assess how movers into metropolitan Hamilton compared to movers in Canada and Ontario generally, because further Census data on metropolitan areas is not available. However, since Hamilton appears to be typical of Canadian cities in the area of origin, age, and labour force participation of its in-migrants, I assume that it is similar in other ways as well. In the following analyses comparative data are available for movers within Canada and Ontario only.

Movers within and into Ontario are similar to those in Canada as a whole in their level of schooling. Census data indicate that they are generally better educated than women in the Canadian population generally. While only one-fifth of migrant women have less than a Grade Nine education, approximately a third (34 percent) of Canadian women finished their schooling at this level (Statistics Canada, 1974b).

The disparity between movers and the overall female population is also evident in post-secondary education. Twenty-two percent of the mobile women have received some vocational or post-secondary training, in comparison to 15 percent of all Canadian women. Only eight percent of Canadian women have had some university education, in comparison with 11 percent of mobile women. Migration in Canada evidently involves highly educated women.

Census data also indicate that most female migrants are not experienced in the role of mover. Table 3.2 illustrates the generally low number of moves made by women moving within and into Ontario. Nearly two-thirds of Ontario women making inter-municipal moves between 1966 and 1971 were making their first relocation of this type. I expect this to be true of movers into Hamilton as well.

TABLE 3.2

Number of Inter-Municipal Moves by Female Migrants*

Category	Canada		Ontario	
	N	%	N	%
One inter-municipal move	1,198,825	61.1	417,820	62.7
Two inter-municipal moves	385,765	19.6	126,660	19.0
Three inter-municipal moves	197,645	10.1	65,405	9.8
Four inter-municipal moves	77,440	3.9	25,520	3.8
Five or more inter-municipal moves	103,640	5.3	31,455	4.7
Total, 5 years ⁺	1,963,320	100.0	666,865	100.0

* Compiled from Statistics Canada, 1974b. Percentages are my own calculation.

These data suggest that the majority of women moving into the Hamilton-Burlington area are intra-provincial movers; have between nine and 13 years of schooling, but are no longer students; are experiencing inter-municipal relocation for the first time; are between 20 and 34 years of age; and are not active in the paid labour force. The "typical" female migrant is thus young, fairly well educated, working within the home, and moving across municipal lines within her home province for the first time. With this basic profile of the study population and the empirical setting of the research, I now define the eligibility criteria and develop the sampling procedures of the study.

The Research Design:

(a.) Eligibility Criteria

As migration researchers readily admit, "the records of migration are probably the least satisfactory of population data....Yet the fault is partly that migration is a vague statistical concept, with few uniform criteria to distinguish who is a migrant and who is not" (Barclay, 1958: 242-243). This lack of consensus about migration as a delineated phenomenon for study and about basic concepts used in studying migration has the consequence that

...most studies incorrectly treat the migrant of one day, one month, one year, and then years as equivalent, and obviously there are differences in the social situations at varying periods after migration (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1976: 11).

Christiansen-Ruffman, Mangalam (1977) and others call for an adequate conceptualization of the migrant that "in time will enable the sociologist to specify the conceptual end-point of being a migrant and hence eliminate the need to use crude and inconsistent empirical measures" (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1976: 12). In the meantime, however, researchers have adopted a variety of empirical measures of what migration is and who migrants are*. The plethora of definitions of the time frame of migration

* Empirical measures of the temporal delineation of migration range from eight weeks (Shulman and Drass, 1975), to one and a half years (Tallman, 1969), two and a half years (Barrett and Noble, 1973), to ten years (Berardo, 1966). They sometimes include as a migrant anyone who was not born in the target area (Blizzard and Macklin, 1952) or people who lived outside the study area until the age of 15 (Windham, 1966) or the age of 16 (Choldin, 1973). In one case a migrant was anyone who had had one member of his or her household move after age 14 (Gulick *et al.*, 1962). Hunt and Butler (1972) developed an "exposure index" for each of their respondents, dividing the years of residence in the target area by the respondent's current age. Recent migrants were those who had spent 0-20 percent of their lives in the area, while established migrants were those who had spent 21-50 percent of their lives there.

helps explain the often contradictory findings of migration research. The extensive variability of definitions also compounded my task of defining eligible respondents in a time framework. Following from the research of Jones (1973, 1976), Christiansen-Ruffman (1976) and others, I set a time limit of relocation within the previous year for inclusion in the study. Because the research required respondents to recall issues related to decision-making and other aspects of the pre-move phase, locating the migrants soon after their move was appropriate. However, I did not want to contact them before they had had time to begin the process of settling into the new environment.

Families who moved into the target area between July 1976 and July 1977 were deemed eligible for inclusion in the study*. I chose this particular time span, rather than one based on a calendar year for several reasons. One sample source, national van lines agents, conveyed that the May-August period is the busiest season for change of dwelling. By including a 12-month period that began and ended on consecutive Julys, I was able to identify movers in two peak periods rather than only one. I also anticipated completing the data-gathering by August, 1977, and felt that respondents who had moved more than a year previous to their interview would be too far removed from the relocation experience for accurate recall. I also wanted to ensure that any migrants moving in June of 1977 should have at least a month in the receiving area before being interviewed, in order to be able to assess neighbourhood contacts, relative satisfaction, and so forth.

*The respondents were subsequently interviewed between March and September, 1977.

Migration must also be conceptualized in terms of a spacial framework, and this was a further consideration of my eligibility criteria. Some migration theorists, such as Everett S. Lee, minimize the importance of spatial criteria in the conceptualization of migration.

Migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. No restriction is placed upon the distance of the move...and no distinction is made between external and internal migration. Thus a move across the hall from one apartment to the other is counted as just as much an act of migration as a move from Bombay, India to Cedar Rapids, Iowa....(Lee, 1969: 285).

Despite this well-known aspect of Lee's theory of migration, most researchers consider the spacial framework an essential component of migration research.

In any set of statistics, a traveller must cross a boundary of some sort before he can be counted as a migrant....Migration...must always have specific reference to some territory. The size of the territorial district and counting becomes part of the statistical definition of what a migrant is (Barclay, 1958: 243).

For purposes of this research I limited eligibility to people who had relocated within Canada into the target area. This avoided the special problems of international migrants. Part of the stated intent of the study is to examine changes in the wife's taken-for-granted reality and in her social world. The sample should thus be restricted to those migrants who had moved a sufficient distance to find it at least difficult if not impossible to maintain everyday, ongoing routine contact with significant others and "chorus" in the sending area*. For

* In compiling the Canadian Census, researchers have developed the following criteria: "If residing in the same municipality five years prior to the 1971 Census, the person was classified as a 'non-migrant', even though he or she may have changed dwellings within the municipality or have moved out of the municipality and returned to it within the five

this reason, I developed a minimum criteria of a move of 35 miles to the Hamilton-Burlington area, for inclusion in the study. I later learned that this figure corresponds with the van lines' definition of a local versus a non-local move. As some companies carry out local moves under different corporate bodies than non-local moves, this distance criteria was a fortunate choice in that it greatly facilitated my sample-gathering procedure.

One further eligibility criteria involved previous residence in the target area. I decided that people who had lived in the Hamilton-Burlington area in the very recent past and were now returning would be much more familiar with the area and have more contacts and thus face a quite different situation than people who were moving into the area for the first time. Therefore it was decided that people who had lived in the target area within the preceding five years would not be included as eligible migrants for this study (see also Shulman and Drass, 1975: 11).

To summarize, the criteria of eligibility for the study were thus:

ELIGIBILITY CRITERIA

A Migrant Must:

- have moved into the target area from within Canada and beyond a radius of 35 miles;
- not have lived in the target area in the preceding five years;
- have arrived between July 1, 1976 and July 1, 1977
- be a married or formerly married woman who relocated with her spouse.

year period. If the place of residence five years ago was outside the municipality of present residence, the person was classified as a 'migrant'. Non-migrants were further classified according to whether or not they were living in the same dwelling five years ago, while migrants were classified according to geographic location of their place of residence in 1966 (i.e., same or different province, etc.)." Thus, in Census data, a reference to movers includes intra-municipal movers, while a reference to migrants does not.

(b.) Sampling Procedures*

After developing an operational definition of the study population, the primary methodological problem was the selection and identification of a sample. Since Canada does not maintain systematic records of the movement of its population, the location and identification of internal migrants is very problematic. While the acquisition of a completely representative sample was not a feasible goal, the objective was to gather as unbiased a sample as possible from a variety of potential sources, in order to gain access to a wide range (in terms of age, socio-economic status, employment status, distance of the move, and so forth) of married female migrants. Three sample sources were ultimately utilized in the gathering of the sample**. They included national van lines agents, Canada Manpower, and the Hamilton-Wentworth Department of Social Services.

The five national van lines agents who provided information on potential respondents included two Allied Van Lines agents, one United Van Lines agent, one Mayflower agent, and a North American Van Lines agent. Thus all the major van lines with agents in the Hamilton-Burlington area were included in the sample gathering. The sample was drawn by culling literally hundreds of bills of lading of moves into Hamilton-Burlington after July 1, 1976***.

* For a more detailed statement of the sampling procedures used in this research, see Appendix C.

**See Appendix A for a copy of the letter of introduction and request sent to all potential sample sources.

***Examination of the files of the van lines offices took place in February, 1977, as this was considered a 'slow time' in the moving business, and therefore the only time when company managers felt they could spare the staff and office space to assist me. The moving companies sample therefore includes all movers between July 1, 1976 and February 15, 1977. Later efforts to up-date this sample met with resistance from the companies who were by then in their busiest time of the year.

The district office of Canada Manpower in Hamilton permitted access to families who had relocated to Hamilton and Burlington under the auspices of the Canada Manpower Mobility Programme. Their cooperation was particularly fortunate because if any segments of the migrant population were likely to be systematically lost in the national van lines sample, they would be those in the lower socio-economic strata. The sample of movers through the Canada Manpower Mobility Programme was able to compensate for this middle-income bias in the van lines sample.

Another group of migrants was contacted through the assistance of the Hamilton-Wentworth Department of Social Services. This contract proved the most unsatisfactory in yielding an adequate sample. Because of computer delays in identifying potential respondents and social case-workers' delays in acquiring their consent to be interviewed, only seven respondents were contacted through this sample source.

The three sample sources together identified 187 potential respondents who appeared to fit the eligibility criteria of the study. Each and every name gleaned from these three sources was sent a letter introducing the research and the researcher (Appendix A). This was followed by a telephone contact or visit, in order to arrange a time for an interview. Slightly over a quarter of the names were eliminated from the survey population because they could not be contacted, had moved to an unknown address, or were ineligible*.

* For a more detailed description of the sampling procedures and the sample sources sought, see Appendix C.

In total, 123 interviews* with married women who moved to Hamilton and Burlington between July, 1976 and July, 1977, were conducted. Of those interviewed, 89 (72 percent) were located through the van lines, 27 (22 percent) through Canada Manpower, and seven (six percent) through the Hamilton-Wentworth Department of Social Services**.

Nearly half the sample resided within the city of Hamilton, and 40 percent within Burlington. While 11 percent lived within the surrounding area, nearly half of them lived within the town of Dundas. However, families relocating under the auspices of Canada Manpower were most likely to reside in Hamilton, and those who employed van lines in the move more likely to live in Burlington. This confirms the utility of using a multi-sample source approach to identifying the respondents. I expect them to be certainly more heterogenous a sample than that identified by researchers such as Jones (1976) and Barrett and Noble (1973), who used van lines lists exclusively.

The Sample: A Profile of the Respondents

Having previously profiled the "typical" Canadian female migrant in terms of age, labour force participation, education, and experience with relocation, I now profile the sample population. The comparison of Census data and the demographic characteristics of this sample of migrant wives reveals several differences between the two. The women in this

* This represents a response rate of 92.5 percent. See Appendix C, Table C.1, for clarification.

** There was minimal duplication of names between the Canada Manpower and the van lines samples. At least three families who were interviewed were identified on both lists. These were recorded as identified by the sample source which first noted them.

sample are the same age as the typical Canadian female migrant, but are also generally better educated, and decidedly more mobile*. Proportionally fewer of them are involved in the paid labour force than were Canadian female migrants who moved between 1966 and 1971.

A third of the sample were less than 30 years of age, and two-thirds were less than 35 years of age. The mean age category for the sample was 30-34 years. In absolute frequencies, only one respondent was less than 20 years of age, and only three were over 65 years of age. The sample differed only slightly from the age profile of most Canadian female movers. The biggest difference relates to women between the ages of 15 and 19. Twelve percent of female movers over the age of 15 are in this age category; the sample included only one woman under age 20. However, while the Census figures identify all female movers over age 15, this study considers married movers exclusively. We expect a small proportion of married female movers to be between ages 15 and 19. The sample is thus less deficient than it first appears.

As with the general female migrant population, the majority of women in the study were between 20 and 34 years of age. Indeed, the sample was somewhat over-representative of movers in this age category. While Census figures for Canada, Ontario and Hamilton reveal that approximately half all women who relocate are in this age range, almost two-thirds of the sample are. In the 35 years and over group, the sample matches the proportion of this age category in the general female migrant population**.

*The migrant population's familiarity with the role of mover is central to the analysis in subsequent chapters in this research. It is, therefore, examined separately and at some length later in this chapter.

**Appendix D provides an extensive analysis of the sample characteristics.

The respondents were generally better educated than women in the Canadian population and better educated than the average female mover into Hamilton. Almost half (46 percent) had some post-secondary training, in comparison with only a third of all female migrants in Canada.

As a group, the respondents were somewhat less well educated than their spouses. Only a quarter of the husbands had failed to complete high school, in comparison with over a third of the wives. And, while only two of the wives had completed university graduate work, 12 percent of the husbands were reported as having done so. The percentage of the husbands with some post-secondary training (59 percent) is considerably higher than that of male movers in Canada generally (35 percent) (Statistics Canada, 1974b).

Less than a third of the respondents were employed outside the home. Of these, 12 percent were employed part-time, 17 percent were employed full-time, and two percent were full-time students. However, over a third of the respondents experienced a change in occupational status coincident with the move. For over a quarter of the sample, this change involved a leaving of the paid labour force, to work at home. Thirteen women (10.5 percent of the sample) also experienced the birth of a child in the period either six months prior to or six months following their relocation. This factor likely contributed to the change in occupational status of this portion of the sample.

The employed women held a variety of occupations. Over half were employed in the skilled and semi-skilled clerical, sales, and services areas. Another 20 percent were in the employed professional and semi-professional categories, with the majority being teachers and nurses.

TABLE 3.3

Change in Occupational Status Coincident with Relocation

Category Previous Occu- pational Status	Present Occupational Status		Total %
	Working at Home %	Working Outside Home %	
Worked at Home	59.5	20.5	47.2
Worked Outside Home	40.5	79.5	52.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	84	39	123

Tau B = .364, Sign. = .00

The husbands of the respondents were indeed a highly skilled group. The modal response category for the occupation of the husband (27 percent of the sample) was in management. Twenty-two percent of the husbands were in professional occupational categories.

The sample was also financially well-off in comparison to the typical family in Hamilton and Burlington. Two-thirds of the husbands earned more than the average annual family income for Burlington, and over four-fifths (83 percent) earned more than the average family income for Hamilton. The wives as a group drew significantly lower salaries than their spouses. This is in part explained by the lower-ranking occupational categories held by the wives. There is also ample research evidence that women earn less than men at the same age, and with the same educational level, occupation, and years in the labour force (Suter and Miller, 1973)*.

* Long (1974) and Gallaway (1969) suggest that at least some of the income differences between men and women arise from the interruptions of women's careers caused by the migration of their husbands. Many wives are unable

The assessments of family income, level of education, and the prestige ranking of the husband's occupation (Pineo and Porter, 1967) suggest that these families were generally of high socio-economic status. However, research by Margrit Eichler on the prestige of the occupation housewife concluded that

studies which use the occupational prestige of husbands in one-job families as an indicator for both spouses have slightly over-estimated the family's social standing in the case of husbands with high prestige occupations, and have slightly underestimated the family's social standing in the case of husbands with low prestige occupations (1977: 170).

Eichler found that people rank housewife as a medium prestige occupation when the occupation of the husband is unspecified (1977: 169). Hence, the combination of the prestige of the wife's and husband's occupations must be used in the analysis of socio-economic status of such families. Since the status of the housewife is derived from rather than independent of her husband's occupational status, the status of sample remains high*.

One characteristic differentiating the sample from some Canadian female migrants is their marital status. The mean for years of marriage to the present spouse was 13 years, although this ranged from several

to utilize migration to further their careers in the same way that their husbands do. Gallaway found that while men usually increased their earnings through migration, women experienced either no change, or a decrease in their earnings.

*The occupational status of the respondents and their spouses is examined more extensively in Appendix D. A profile of the occupational classifications is presented in Table D.7.

months to 49 years. Almost a third of the sample had been married between 5 and 10 years, and over half had been married for 10 years or less. Few respondents fell in the extreme categories of either very recent marriage or over 30 years of marriage.

Research Instrument:

Coincident with the initial stages of identification of a sample, the research instrument was pretested among a sample of married women identified by students attending evening and extension classes in a variety of Sociology courses at McMaster University in January, 1977. Students in these classes were asked to identify any married women whom they knew had relocated to Hamilton within the preceding year (Appendix A). Some students who fit the eligibility criteria identified themselves. Eleven potential respondents were identified, and nine participated in the research. This pretest group generally fit the criteria that "the people interviewed in the pretest should be similar in characteristics to those who will be interviewed in the final study" (Selltiz et al., 1959: 551).

In the pretest, difficulties experienced in interpreting and replying to questions were elucidated. As a result of an analysis of the pretest interview responses, comments by respondents, and the observations of the interviewer, several minor revisions were made to the research instrument. A number of questions which proved ambiguous, repetitious, or simply not productive of useful information, were restated or deleted. Considerations of the length of the interview resulted in a refinement of some additional questions.

With the instrument pretested and the sample gathered, the research situation, in keeping with the symbolic interactionist

orientation of this study, proceeded by means of an intensive interview situation, with many open-ended questions allowing for a maximum of flexibility in the interview. Most studies cited in the preceding literature review utilized a mailed-questionnaire rather than an interview situation in the gathering of data. Interviewing was considered much more appropriate to the types of concerns addressed in this research. I could probe for the meanings behind the wives' experiences, rather than merely ascertaining the facts of their experiences. The formulative and discovery functions of the research required that the respondents be given the opportunity to raise issues and questions which I had not previously considered. This same methodological procedure in my Master's thesis enabled me to discern the variations between spouses in satisfaction with the move, a discovery which a more rigid structure would perhaps have prohibited.

I therefore utilized an interview method featuring a variety of open-ended and forced-choice questions. Part of the interview schedule (see Appendix B) contained mostly closed-answer items pertaining to such factual information as age, education, migration history, and so forth. It also contained sections of open-ended questions which constituted a framework of topics to be covered in the interview. However, the order in which they were asked and the length of time allotted to them varied with the interview.

This type of interview allowed me to explore reasons and motives and to probe further in unanticipated directions (Selltiz et al., 1959: 264). I was thus able to obtain sufficient information to characterize and explain both the unique features of the case being studied, and those which it holds in common with the histories of other migrants. In

providing answers to the queries, the respondents helped to test propositions, and, to the extent that they made unexpected responses, gave rise to fresh questions for later investigation.

Interview Situation:

Most interviews took place in the homes of the respondents*. I always tried to arrange the interview so that the spouse or other family members would not be present**. Although husbands were present in 21 (17 percent) of the interview situations, stringent efforts were made to reduce their participation in the actual interview. They were not interviewed. Even when the wife's reaction to the move as different from her husband's was examined, the wife alone was asked for her opinion. As William and Dorothy Swaine Thomas note, "if men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences" (1970: 154). If the wife perceives such discontinuities between herself and her husband, for her purposes they are real. Rather than having to ask the husband himself, it is sufficient to know whether they are real for the wife. In those few cases where the husband was present for the interview, however, it was interesting to note those cases where spouses disagreed in their assessment of each other's experience. These differences are noted in

*Five of the 123 interviews were conducted outside the respondent's home. One was held in the respondent's office; two in restaurants during the respondents' lunch time from work; and two were held in my university office because the respondents were students and found this arrangement most convenient for them.

**Sixty-three percent of the interviews were conducted with the wife alone; 15 percent with the respondent and her husband present; 17 percent with pre-school age children present; two percent with school-age children present; two percent with both the husband and children present, and one interview where a friend of the respondent was present.

the following chapters where appropriate.

Most respondents agreed to have the interview tape-recorded. The length of the interview, the number of open-ended questions, and the varying order in which the questions were asked would have required an inordinate amount of attention to writing, simply to make notes and copy verbatim comments. While notes were made during the interview situation, all tapes were transcribed in full following the completion of the data-gathering. I could verify the accuracy of the comments I had written at the time of the interview, and have a complete transcript of each interview*.

This study is based on two types of data, quantified and non-quantified, or qualitative, data. In terms of quantified data, a part of the interview schedule included pre-coded, forced-choice questions. Data on responses to all questions were also systematically tabulated and summarized in terms of pre-selected classification categories. These data were transferred to machine-readable form on cards even before all the open-ended questions were transcribed. The machine-readable data were then subjected to statistical analysis. This analysis served the purpose of providing background information on this sample of migrants, as well as contributing to the confirmation or refutation of propositions derived from the research of other investigators.

The transcripts of the interviews were used in the qualitative data analysis. The verbatim accounts of the respondents are frequently relied upon in social science research, because they enable the

*In only one case did a mechanical failure limit the taping of an interview. Fortunately the problem was discovered during the interview, when fresh notes could be made by the interviewer.

investigator to capture "the person in his fullness or emptiness" (Daniel Levinson in Sheehy, 1976: 21). In the data analysis in the following chapters, the qualitative data are emphasized. In social science research generally, the use of qualitative data in the course of analysis "fulfills two distinct functions: to illustrate the range of meaning attached to any one category, and to stimulate new insights" (Selltiz et al., 1959: 433).

A stated purpose of this research is to explore the different meanings which migrant wives may attach to objectively similar circumstances. I am also interested in the different meanings which wives attach to apparently similar responses. For example, wives may respond that it is the wife and mother who performs the key role in the family relocation. Beyond knowing quantitatively how many women feel this way (which is all that Jones' research tells us), I also want to examine qualitatively what it means to women to occupy this key role. The examination of the verbatim responses of the wives themselves is thus central to this analysis.

Inspection of the 'raw data' also enables the investigator to develop new and important insights into the topic, and this function is central to this research. As Selltiz and her associates observe,

much of the analytical effort of social scientists is devoted to establishing relationships between objective characteristics of a group of people and their subjective reactions. However, the demonstration that a relationship exists does not in itself provide an understanding of the way in which the factors are related. The scrutiny of the raw data may be rewarding in the search for such understanding (Selltiz et al., 1959: 436).

I use the qualitative data not only to give a better understanding of some of the relationships in the quantitative data, but also to help

explain when an expected relationship does not exist. It also contributes to the consideration of cases which do not demonstrate the same trends or pattern of relationships as most of the cases in a study. And further, the analysis of the qualitative data contributes to the elucidation of aspects of phenomenon that were not anticipated in this research.

Thus there is an emphasis on the verbatim quotes of the respondents throughout the data analysis*. This is valuable not only for all the reasons cited above, but it sets this study apart from related research on migrant wives (Jones, 1973, 1976; Seidenberg, 1975).

Familiarity with the Role of Mover

Having described the research design and sample characteristics of this study, I now examine the sample's familiarity with the role of mover. Subsequent chapters examine the passage of the wife through the moving career. Her familiarity with that passage is related to how she approaches and experiences it. In examining her familiarity with the mover role, I discuss the wife's previous experiences of relocation, from her place of birth to the present residence.

Place of Birth

Information on the place of birth of the respondents reveals that over half of them were born within the province of Ontario. Of these women, only four percent were born within a 35 mile radius of Hamilton-Burlington, and only six women (five percent) were born within the target area itself. Thus few of the respondents are living in an area familiar to them from their earliest childhood. The same is true of the

* Where verbatim accounts are used, such identifying features as place names, or the names of husbands and children, have been altered slightly to protect the identities of the respondents.

respondents' spouses as well, with 50 percent of the husbands being native-born Ontarians.

A further third of my sample of wives were born elsewhere in Canada (30 percent of the husbands were) and the remaining 15 percent of the wives (20 percent of the husbands) were born outside Canada.

However, more significant than the place of birth itself is the constancy of that place of residence* throughout the childhood of the respondents. A third of the respondents moved away from their place of birth as children, a fifth moved after they had completed their schooling, and almost half (47 percent) remained in their place of birth until after their marriage. By comparison, two-thirds of the husbands had left their place of birth prior to their marriage (31.7 percent in childhood, 34 percent after schooling). For the majority of the sample, then, relocation is by no means a way of life familiar to them since childhood.

As a child I never moved. I lived in one house until I got married, which was great. We just got married, which is a big change in itself, and then we got moved. (004)

Familiarity with role of mover in childhood appears to be of advantage for some migrant wives.

I was an army brat in India and moved many times as a child. My family moved nine times, but it seemed like I moved every year, because I went back to the same boarding school each year....From when we moved in the army, I know some of the unspoken 'laws' of moving....You get into a routine and you learn the priorities....That really helps a lot when you're moving. (098)

* Throughout the data analysis, a move always refers to a change of residence across municipal boundaries. Respondents may thus have changed neighbourhoods or schools as children but these would not be recorded if they were within the same municipal boundaries.

Although slightly over half the respondents did leave their place of birth before their marriages, the majority of this group had relocated only once. Only ten percent of the respondents had made more than three moves before marriage. Virtually all were associated with the mobile occupational careers of their fathers. No respondent made more than two moves on her own, in pursuit of education or career opportunities, or the like.

While not a highly mobile group as children, the women had certainly become so since marriage, as Table 3.4 illustrates. Just as childhood mobility related to the father's occupational career, mobility after marriage related to the husband's occupational career. These women relocated because they were daughters and because they were wives, and rarely instigated moves in and of themselves.

TABLE 3.4
Number of Relocations Since Marriage

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
One move	21	17.1	17.1
2-3 moves	54	43.9	61.0
4-5 moves	29	23.6	84.6
6-7 moves	10	8.1	92.7
8 or more moves	9	7.3	100.0
TOTAL	123	100.0	-

Given that the mean length of marriage for the sample was 13 years, the high mobility of these respondents is apparent. Their extensive experience with the role of mover is illustrated further in Table 3.5 where pre- and post- marital relocations are combined.

TABLE 3.5

Total Relocations by Respondents

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
One move	7	5.7	5.7
2-3 moves	44	35.8	41.5
4-5 moves	34	27.6	69.1
6-7 moves	19	15.4	84.6
8-10 moves	13	10.6	95.1
11 or more moves	6	4.9	100.0
TOTAL	123	100.0	-

Almost two-thirds of the sample had relocated between two and five times. For almost another third (29.9 percent) the move to Hamilton-Burlington was but the latest in a long series of six or more moves. Because the term "move" is operationalized as only inter-municipal movements, many of these respondents had in fact changed residence more frequently than these statistics indicate.

This is my ninth city, although I've moved many more times than that, and I hope it's my last. In all those moves I only made one on my own, and I mostly did it for the kick of doing it myself. (008)

This sample of movers have been far more mobile than the population of female movers in Ontario generally. As we recall from Table 3.2, the majority (62.7 percent) of female movers over age five in Ontario had made but one inter-municipal move at the time of the 1971 census. In my sample 5.7 percent had made one inter-municipal move. Although four percent of Ontario female movers had made five or more such moves, nearly a third of the sample had made six or more such moves.

The sample was thus over-representative of the very mobile. In analyzing the processes involved in the carrying through of a move, one could not ask for a more experienced sample of respondents.

The respondents attach different meanings to the frequency of their moves, however. Throughout the interviews I noted that the same number of moves was interpreted quite differently by different respondents. The observations of these two women, who had each moved three times, within approximately the same time span attest to this.

This is our third move in four years. When we were in Waterloo, they transferred him to a branch in Kitchener, so we were able to stay in the same house. So we haven't moved often yet. (069)

* * * * *

Three moves in seven years, and that's a lot, let me tell you. (027)

Not only had the sample experienced many moves, they had also experienced a high rate of mobility within a relatively short time span. This is best illustrated by the average length of residence of the respondents in their previous community.

As Table 3.6 illustrates, almost three-quarters of the sample had lived in their previous community of residence less than five years, and nearly half had lived there less than three years*.

The distance of these moves is also relevant to this analysis. While there are data on each of the places the respondents lived, there was no opportunity for respondents to indicate the distance of each of

* Those respondents who had lived in their previous community of residence for 20 or more years were obviously not a highly mobile group. They generally represented people who had relocated after retirement, or as a result of illness.

TABLE 3.6

Length of Residence in Last Community

Category	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
One Year or Less	14	11.4	11.4
One-Three Years	43	35.0	46.3
Four-Five Years	30	24.4	70.7
Six-Ten Years	11	8.9	79.7
Eleven-Twenty Years	11	8.9	88.6
Twenty or More Years	14	11.4	100.0
TOTAL	123	100.0	-

their moves. If the assumption that their most recent move reflects the pattern of previous moves is correct, then their moves are within a fairly limited geographical area. The move to Hamilton-Burlington was an inter-provincial move for 50 women (40.7 percent) and an intra-provincial move for 73 (59 percent). While the proportion of the sample who are movers within the same province parallels that of female movers in Canada generally (see Table 3.1), the sample does overrepresent those who move across provincial boundaries.

Another indicator of familiarity with the role of mover is the mobility of the sample since their relocation to Hamilton. The eligibility criteria for the study meant that all the respondents had lived in Hamilton-Burlington less than a year. Indeed, three-quarters

of them had lived in the target area less than nine months, and a third had lived there for less than six months. Despite the recency of their relocation, however, 18 families (14.6 percent of the sample) had already changed residence once by the time they were interviewed.

The future moving plans of the respondents are also pertinent to the discussion of frequency of relocation. Over a third of the sample could say with certainty that they would relocate out of the Hamilton-Burlington area. Others were less certain, but felt that future moves were likely. This finding is important for two reasons. It suggests the extent to which the role of mover is a continuing one for these respondents. It also provides an indication of the respondent's definition of the move, in the assessment of the length of time before again embarking upon the moving career*.

The wife who expects to spend a considerable period or indeed the rest of her life in the Hamilton-Burlington area will presumably define the move differently from the woman who knows that her husband will soon be transferred again. Christiansen-Ruffman distinguishes between such movers in her discussion of settlers and sojourners.

...some newcomers who may be called "settlers" consider themselves permanent residents and plan to remain... for a long period of time while other newcomers who may be called "sojourners" are oriented toward settling in the area temporarily...The distinction between settlers and sojourners appears to be based in their experience of other newcomer careers as well as the amount of time that they expect to be in (the receiving area) (1976: 208).

* Approximately five percent of the sample were in fact involved in another moving career by the time of the interview. In several other cases, a "For Sale" sign was erected by respondents' homes within a few weeks or months of the interview.

Such distinctions were apparent among the migrant wives. Of those who knew that they would relocate out of the area, many had moved to Hamilton-Burlington with the expectation that they would leave it before too long.

I'd be awfully shocked if we were here more than another year. I can't see us being here any more than that. The longest we've ever been anywhere was...for four years. (043)

These women's lives have been and clearly will continue to be characterized by a high frequency of relocation.

For the majority of the respondents, however, future mobility was either uncertain or entirely out of the question.

I would think that this move would be more permanent now, and if we should have another change of job, it would be within the area.... Now that is what we think. Of course, we've said so many times that we're never going to move again. I always say, "This is absolutely the last time. I'll never do this again." My husband often used to tease me and we'd no sooner be settled and sit down to dinner some night and he'd say "Gee, I wonder where we'll go next?" But I find we're not doing that anymore. (072)

* * * * *

My husband was thinking of working here a year and then going back up north. And I said "No way." With all the disruption and expense of coming here, we've got to stay here for a few years until it's paid off. That's the period for me. (075)

* * * * *

I know my husband isn't happy here and wants to go back, but that would present problems with my daughter's schooling and that's what worries me. I can't see us moving while she's going to school, but...it's hard to know the future. It's either going to be this summer when she's been away from that school only a year, or not until she's finished school. (058)

Even women who were less certain of future moves had evidently taken the possibility of them into account. Over two-thirds of the respondents contemplated a return to a previous community and named a specific location.

Oh, we would love to go back to Montreal. But I told him not to expect that because the company already said that few of the jobs they have now are in Quebec....So it's no use thinking we'll go back to Montreal. (112)

The remainder had considered the issue of a return move, and rejected it for a specific reason.

I'd like to move back to North Bay. I say that now, but I know that if I moved back there, it wouldn't be the same. Friends change, I think they do. Things change...I truly believe you can't go back again. (068)

Many women also had aspirations to relocate to another area entirely. Nearly half the respondents specifically named another location to which they would like to eventually move. The majority, however, expressed no such preference. Some suggested that having a preference was not really feasible for them.

We can't afford to have a preference, because it would be hard on David's position. It might mean we would be on what the bank calls "refief" - held in assorted positions for six months, having to go to head office, until that preference we wanted came up. (041)

Other respondents had no preference simply because they were content with the present location.

As long as the children are here, I'm happy in Burlington. I'm satisfied here. (055)

This discussion of future mobility reveals that most of these women have considered the likelihood of future moves, and contemplated where that next move might lead. While a third of the sample are

certain that their present location will not be permanent, a far larger proportion has addressed the issue, and likely has taken this into account in their approach to the moving career. The actual shape and direction of that career is examined in the following three chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR
THE MOVING CAREER: INDIVIDUAL AND
COLLECTIVE PASSAGES

In this chapter I focus on the role of the wife within the context of her family's collective status passage. As Glaser and Strauss (1971: 116) observe, "Among the structural conditions that profoundly affect the nature and consequences of status passages are those pertaining to the number of...passagees, in combination with the respective relationships of all concerned." One of the most important properties of the wife's passage through the moving career is its "collective" nature. The concern thus becomes not only the shape of the wife's individual passage, but also its shape relative to that of other members of the collective passage, most particularly her husband.

Beyond comparing the passages of spouses, however, the issue of control over one's own and the collective passage remains. Members of collective passages are concerned not only with gaining some control over their individual passages but also "with achieving some measure of control over the shape of their collective passage" (Glaser and Strauss, 1971: 117).

This chapter examines the wife's role in shaping the collective passage, measured as her performance in 'playing the key role in making the move successful'*. This key role may be performed by the wife

* This is not to say that women who do not play the key role have no role in shaping either the collective passage or their own passage. The variable of key role, however, provides an indication of both the magnitude of the role played relative to that of other passagees, and its relationship to the completion of the passage.

exclusively, by the husband exclusively, or by both spouses jointly. Relationships between such factors as the presence of children in the family, the wife's occupational status, and the playing of the key role are also examined.

I then analyze the wife's perception of her passage through the moving career, relative to that of her husband. The majority of women feel that moving is more difficult for them than for their husbands. Others feel it is more difficult for the husband, or the same for both spouses. Variables perceived as facilitating the passage for either spouse are examined.

The analysis of the 'key role' variable assumes the wife's solo passage within the context of her family's collective passage. The analysis of the wife's passage relative to her husband's assumes a multiplicity of status passages. Husband and wife experience many status passages at any one time. The shape of one's passage through the moving career is related to the continuity or discontinuity of other passages as well*.

This chapter examines the wife's role in the overall move. Subsequent chapters examine her passage through each of four stages of decision-making, planning, relocation, and settling-in. Although the key role may be played at all stages, the wives' comments focus on the post-move stages, and most particularly on the settling-in stage.

Many of the home-related tasks associated with playing the key role are typically thought of as "women's work": caring for the children,

* In this chapter, continuity refers to continuity of the occupational career. In Chapter Seven, the importance of continuity of passages emerges again in the analysis of age and family life cycle stage.

establishing and maintaining contacts with utility companies and service personnel. One might, therefore, "assume" that the wife and mother plays the key role in the move because these are things she "typically" does, irrespective of relocation. This is true. However, the analysis of the wife's performance of that role emphasizes that migration is most disruptive of the very "home"-related concerns with which women, rather than men, are typically involved.

This analysis also emphasizes the traditional division of household labour among these migrant families. This contrasts with the observations of some researchers who maintain that families with looser social ties, such as migrant families,

cannot count on stand-ins in traditional roles, and the husband and wife are forced to give up a traditional arrangement and to share more than families with closeknit networks. Mobility... may thus develop more egalitarian relations between spouses (Holter, 1972: 154).

Jansen also observes that "in general the pattern of conjugal roles will be quite different among migrant couples" (1970: 25), with household duties likely to be shared. While a minority of the respondents suggested that migration had brought them "closer" to their spouses, the analysis of the key role in the move provides no evidence of increased egalitarianism in the roles played by migrant husbands and wives.

Shaping the Collective Passage

In the Introduction, I alluded to Jones' (1976) finding that the wife and mother is "the key person in establishing the home and making the move successful". While Jones presented this as an "interesting" discovery of her research, her study made no effort to utilize or analyze it. Of all the material in Jones' research relevant

to my interests, this one fact, somewhat of an aside in her study, was a major catalyst for this research. The meaning of the key role for the migrant wife is my concern. What does playing the key role involve? What are its ramifications? How are women who play the key role, who help to shape the collective passage, different from those who do not?

In order to ascertain the wives' perceptions of the playing of the key role, I used an open-ended question which asked, "Do you think that in a family anyone in particular is the key person in establishing the home and making the move successful?" Forty-five percent of the sample specified the wife exclusively, and a further 36 percent named the husband and wife both as sharing the key role. In sum, fully 81 percent felt that the wife is involved in the key role in making the move successful.

More than a third of the respondents felt that the wife is not alone in this capacity. By contrast, Jones' research question* and her lack of analysis of it, made no provision for the possibility that the wife might not be alone in playing this key role.

The Performance of the Key Role

The wife who states that she alone plays the key role feels quite differently about her role in shaping the collective passage from the wife who plays this role jointly with her husband. The following

*The format of Jones' question was a Likert scale item which stated: "The wife is the key person in establishing the home and making the move successful" (1976: 196). Migrant wives filling out her questionnaire were to respond "strongly agree", "agree", and so forth. Seventy-eight percent of her respondents agreed with this statement. Because of the format of the question, however, they could not indicate whether the wife was exclusive or joint player of this role.

observations are by women who feel that the wife alone plays the key role in the move.

I don't mean to sound funny about it, but I think it's the wife. The wife has got to have a positive attitude about it or else everybody will suffer...I felt it was very important in Vancouver to never let on to the children that there was any flaw in the Vancouver set-up. Because they have a difficult enough time to make the adjustment so that things that you don't like about it, you don't bother mentioning to them, because they're going to have their own little things. If you go around grumbling that it's rainy and that it's a creepy old house, that won't do any good. And I think that the husbands have their work and that's of prime importance, and they don't want to come home at the end of the day and hear what's wrong with the new house or the new environment. (059)

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It's the mother. I think when a family moves, if you're not happy, then the job's not going to work out for your husband and then the kids are going to be unhappy... Even though the husband may be the main breadwinner, it's the mother that really keeps happiness in the family. If she's miserable, so is everybody else. The kids sense how the mother feels because they see their mother more than their father. And I think women try to hide it if you're miserable. You try to do something else to forget about it, for the sake of the family. (097)

For some women, the key role evidently involves being socio-emotional leader for the family*. They feel that they are responsible for their family's adjustment. The social psychological response of

*The respondents' emphasis on the socio-emotional elements of the mother's key role is consistent with Parson's and Bales' assertion that the mother's role within the nuclear family is generally more expressive than instrumental. They observe that "...'mother'...is the more likely expressive focus of the system as a whole" (1955: 314). The expressive leader in the family is the one who "soothes over disputes, resolves hostilities,...is affectionate, solicitous, warm, emotional to the children,...the 'comforter', the 'consoler'" (1955: 318). While this expressive key role was more typical of the female migrant, husbands play such a role as well.

the family to the collective passage is dependent upon the mother's outward appearance of satisfaction with the move.

The statements of these respondents echo the observations of Giammattei and Slaughter of the heavy load of responsibility which the wife and mother bears for the morale of the rest of the family. "If the mother is positive and forward-thinking..., the family swings happily along. If she is negative and grumbling, the whole family is soured" (1970: 21).

For other women, the responsibility for the key role in the move has a different meaning. Rather than having an affective or emotional basis, the key role is based on responsibility for specific tasks.

I have seen families where the wife just fell apart. In fact, one had a nervous breakdown, and the whole structure just fell apart. The husband didn't know what to do, because the wife does so many key things in settling the house: the decorating, unpacking, easing the kids in, helping them make friends. The husband hated to come home because he knew what he was going to have to face when he got there. (022)

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The mother plays the most important role in a move. When I was at home when we moved, it was always my mother that did everything. Like she was the one that was settling in, and that had to be moving and making meals and looking after all the kids, and doing fifty things at the same time, to get everything done. Whereas it always seemed like my father,...had to report immediately to the new job,...while my mother was still back moving. But even here, if it hadn't been for me, there would still be boxes piled up all over the place of things that...just hadn't been unpacked. So I feel that in the family the mother plays the more important role with the kids, etc., and helping the kids know the neighbourhood. (066)

The affective key role and the structural key role differ in focus. In the former, the wife and mother helps shape the family's responses to the collective passage. In the latter, her role involves the completion of specific tasks necessary to completing the actual passage. This latter type of key role often relates specifically to the maintenance of children while in passage.

I think it's the wife, especially if you have children. Let's face it, the men are out to work all day, and I know that even now that they're teenagers, my children look to me more than my husband. It's a question of, if they want to do something, it's 'Let's phone Mom', because they can't wait for Dad to come home in the evening...So I tried to help them and broaden their interests by being with them and push them out, not just telling them to make friends. (098)

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I've seen cases where it's all the husband, everything is on him. But most of the people, a lot of the people we know, generally the wife, I think, has more to contend with. The husband is going to a new job, and he's meeting new people, and the wife is putting up with the children being upset and the whole new turmoil, and the husband comes home after eight hours, and all he's really interested in is getting some food in his tummy and having a rest. (063)

A third of the sample felt that establishing the home and making the move successful involves a joint spousal role. Their responses also distinguish between the affective and structural elements of the role. They also indicate that playing a joint role has a meaning quite different from playing a solitary key role. In some families, the playing of the joint key role takes on an almost sequential character, with the wife being the key until she begins to feel depressed, at which time the husband takes over.

I would say we both do it. I think it's joint. We have to be best friends, considering we're the only ones we have in these situations, and you have to get along. You

have to kind of work together, because there's no one else that's going to help you. So you need each other. (057)

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As far as making the move successful, after a while you get depressed, I find. You move in here. You ache. You sort of wish to tell some of your - some things - some little incidences to somebody. And you're not going to tell them to the neighbours, because they're not interested. You rely on your husband. You tell him everything, and when he doesn't respond, or he's busy, you get so depressed. When we move in, I usually take over...I sort of make things. I get things in order, I get everything all set. Then I sort of get depressed and go into my slump, and that's when he takes over. I tell you when you move...like this, you have to have co-operation between the two of us, to know what the other's doing, to rely on them to do it, or else it won't work. You each do what you do every time, and then the other person knows what you're doing. So it's a shared thing between the two of you. It has to be. (047)

* * * * *

I think it's a joint thing between us. I figure if we're happy, the kids have got to be happy. If we're miserable, they're going to be miserable. So, you try and make an effort at making it pleasant...When the kids come out with something like 'I wish I was in Winnipeg', we will come back with a counter against it, even though we don't particularly...We'll say something good about it here rather than about Winnipeg. And Jim understands that we have to do this, that we need to share this. (043)

For some migrants, joint playing of the key role involves the couple shaping each other's response to the collective passage; for others, it involves both parents shaping the child's response to the passage.

It's kind of hard. We comforted one another. "Don't worry, things will be all right", or "Things will start to get back to normal". I don't think either one of us particularly took a major role. It's a shared thing for us. (028)

* * * * *

I think it's been more of a shared role, a joint effort.

I sort of think of it in an emotional sense, in terms of emotional stability, and we've both had to play a large role. My husband does take a lot of time with the kids, taking (our daughter) off to school when we first came and making sure everything was all right, and this kind of thing. As far as the physical unpacking goes, I think it's the wife's spot to do it because she's home to do it. (042)

The comments of the last respondent highlight the distinction between the affective and task-completion components of the key role. Sometimes a wife perceives the role as shared because her husband is empathetic about her problems in adjusting to the move. She may structurally do as much as the wife in the "solitary" key role, but her husband's empathy means that the responsibility for the success of the move is not hers alone. She contributes to the shape of the passage without being completely responsible for its outcome.

Both of us. I do all the settling in like most women do, but Randy is very - how can I say - aware of how things are concerning me. And he told me, "If you can't adjust, and it makes you sick, and you can't accept, we'll go back". He's good, he's good to me that way, and I don't have to worry. (054)

Affective responsibility for the family is an important dimension of the wife's shared and solitary key roles. But the meaning varies considerably. In many cases, a joint role simply means that the wife relies or knows she can rely on the husband if she falters in this affective responsibility. In other cases, it is a matter of joint responsibility from the outset. As in the case of the solitary key role, however, sometimes it is not based on affective responsibility at all, but rather on quite circumstantial structural factors.

I think it's shared, but it depends on who moved first. I think when Paul moved out to Edmonton and found a home and everything, he knew the area, and made contacts with all our old friends, and I came in on the tail end of the situation. Whereas when we made this move, and I came out here first, I think I was much more in control of the

situation...Paul came in and didn't know anything and I showed him around. I think we share that role, and who takes precedence varies with the situation. (052)

In other situations husbands and wives may have quite segregated home and office roles, but because certain specific activities are shared over a specific time span, the overall key role is defined as shared.

He tends to go to work, so I'm at home, so I get things organized here mostly. But during the first month to six weeks, we're just exhausted getting things done. He comes home and gets into his work clothes and we just work until midnight. We wallpaper and decorate, and hang on walls, and put up shelves. We feel if we don't get it done in the first month, then there's no sense bothering with it. We do it together. We don't even move unless it's decided between the two of us. (039)

These comments provide an insight into the wife and mother's perception of her part in the key role. It is composed of both affective and structural elements, and involvement in a joint role with the spouse provides her with a sense of support and eases her from a feeling that she must 'hide' her true feelings if she is unhappy. But what if the wife herself does not play the key role, either exclusively or in conjunction with her husband? Who plays it and what meaning does this have for her?

The remaining 18 percent* of the sample felt that the husband alone played the key role in shaping the collective passage of the family. Once gain the distinction between the affective and structural aspects of this role is apparent.

My husband gets the management part of it and gets things rolling. He keeps saying, "It'll be all right". I don't always trust my own opinions. He more or less takes over and gives us confidence that it's going to work. If the girls are having any problem or worries, we have ideas of

*With the exception of one respondent who did not know who played the key role.

how they might work out, but we say, "Maybe Daddy can figure out what we can do". So this is where I think he takes over. (092)

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My husband made everybody feel happier, and tried to keep our spirits up. Even though he felt bad himself, he still really tried hard. "A" for effort. He tried to prepare me, and make it as easy as possible, and to have a nice sort of holiday along the way. Except that we had car trouble all the way over, but he tried. (053)

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Since it's my husband's work that brought us here, I feel that he's the one. I can be down at times, and he would be the redeeming factor bringing it all together. My husband always points out the advantages...Every now and then he says how I come through in a crisis...but if I'm down, he'd take over. And if the children are down, he'd be the one to boost them up and get them feeling good about it. (037)

A few wives related their husband's key role in the move to his sense of responsibility for, and guilt about, the family's relocation.

It's my husband. It wasn't me, I'll be honest. I was miserable and kind of happy at the same time. He did everything to make it better. He felt guilty. He kind of spoiled me, because he knew I felt bad. That probably wasn't the right thing to do, but he said he felt guilty because he realized how much we were really unhappy about the whole thing. But he sure did everything to help make it better, definitely. (031)

I have considered the broad trends in responses to this question of key role: whether it is shared, or wife-exclusive or husband-exclusive; its basis in the affective-support dimension, or in the structural-task completion dimension, or a combination of both; and the variety of meanings attached to it. These have presented a composite of those factors which comprise the key role: shaping the family's response to the passage by being optimistic and 'cheering up' the family; and/or performing tasks necessary to the completion of the passage. Two other

characteristics of the key role, although expressed by a small number of respondents, warrant consideration. These are, first, the presence of children as it influences the playing of the key role; and second, the distinction between how the role is generally played and how this particular family plays it.

The Influence of Children on the Playing of the Key Role

Seven women, representing 5.7 percent of the sample, experienced the birth of their first child around the time of the move*. All of these women commented on how the presence of a child altered the playing of the key role.

Normally I have taken charge of everything, other than contacting the company about the move. But other than that, he has always had it...well, not easy, but he's gone to his new job and has not had any of the household responsibilities. I have set up the new home, and done my drapes and everything without his assistance, and this time, having a new baby, Gary had to do a lot of it himself, and he said to me, 'Boy! This moving around isn't as easy as I thought!'. So I'm glad that we had this experience because otherwise now, with the children, he wouldn't really have realized what I go through with the moves, but now he knows. (063)

Other women, who had not experienced recent childbirth, made similar distinctions between the playing of the key role in families with and without children.

With children, the woman can really help to make it a lot easier move. She can be well organized and this will make it a lot easier for the children, whereas if the mother is really disorganized, the children are all disorganized. I think she could have more of an influence than perhaps the husband can. I think I could have played more of a key role if we had children. With just the two of us to come down here, we both sort of took the responsibility. (040)

*The experience of the birth of the first child as a competing status passage is examined in Chapter Seven.

Other respondents, in highlighting the presence of children as factors, emphasized the importance of family life cycle stage in the performance of the key role*.

Theoretically, it should be the homemaker, the one who establishes the home and sets the environment. Realistically, it depends on...circumstances. My family are all grown up and I don't think it was particularly my responsibility to make them feel at home. If the children had been very young, possibly I would be required to take the initiative... I think we were all strictly on our own in this particular circumstance. (051)

The comments of these latter two respondents also emphasize the distinction between how others play the key role and how this particular family plays it. Although the question in the interview was phrased in general terms, most respondents answered in terms of their own family circumstances. Further probing by the interviewer ascertained that respondents generally perceived their own key role as typical of migrant families. There were, however, exceptions.

For us, the key person in the move was (my husband). He's much more outgoing, a very happy-with-himself kind of guy...He most definitely would be the one to try to make the move successful and to make us happy with it....I don't think it's usually true that it's the husband who does this. I think the wife makes the effort in most cases, I'm sure....And then too by my telling you that, I have to put myself in not the light that I would like to be in. Well, I like to think that I can make it up some other ways. Because he...will turn himself inside out to make sure that my needs are first, and then the boys, and then himself, which is not right. (026)

Some respondents contrasted their role in the move with that of other women, but attached a different meaning to it than that of the respondent just cited. While this respondent expressed some embarrassment

*The role of family life cycle stage in shaping the woman's passage through the stages of the moving career is considered more fully in Chapter Seven.

that she is not the key person in the move, other wives appeared to feel sympathetic for women who must play the key role on their own.

In our case, it was (my husband). I was just a mess when I got here. It was just awful, and I cried all the way across the country....But I think that during the whole move, Kevin was definitely the stabilizing force...,and he gave me the option that if I was still miserable in two years that we could go back. At the time it made me feel good, because if you don't have any options, it's like anything else, you hate what you're doing....But in most cases, and I've seen this, it's the mother who gets everything settled....And yet at the same time, they don't have a role in the moving itself. It's his job or his transfer or his brainy idea. I think in a lot of cases women don't have much to say about it, simply because it's their husband's job....I really feel sorry for women in the situation where their husband is transferred...because I react adversely to a situation where I have to do something. You don't have a choice, the company says you have to go. They have no choice, but really they're the crux of the whole thing. If they didn't get the kids going, if they didn't find a doctor, they didn't do this... or that, you'd be in a hell of a mess. You really, really would. (033)

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To answer that quite honestly, I would say I am. Yes, in our family. It's just making a home a home, that has always been my role. And so often my husband has told me that if it weren't for me, it wouldn't be a home. Some men are very domineering. My husband isn't, but I can see that in some families it would be the man but I think on the whole if you're talking about the home itself, it's the mother. (058)

Respondents who view their key role as atypical may attach a variety of meanings to that 'difference': some may feel awkwardness at relying so much on their spouse; others may feel that they are fortunate to be able to rely on the spouse and that they alone are not responsible for the success of the move. This latter sentiment was more commonly expressed by the respondents.

These data indicate that while some women play the key role

jointly with their spouses, others play it exclusively, and yet others not at all. However, the data did not identify any factors significantly related to performance of the key role. There was no relationship between the playing of this role and the wife's current or past occupational status, the reason for the move, her husband's occupational status, or her age. There was, however, a slight relationship between the playing of the key role and the number of children living at home. The more children in the family, the more likely the wife was to play the key role exclusively (Tau C = .133; Sign. = .06).

This examination of the variable of key role in the move provides several insights into the wife's role in shaping the collective passage of her family. Playing the key role involves either helping to shape the family's response to the passage, or performing tasks which facilitate or expedite that passage. In either case, playing the key role does not involve having control over the overall shape of the passage. Glaser and Strauss (1971: 64) make the subtle distinction that "Sometimes the issue for the passagee is not one of controlling shape but of how to live while in passage." Playing the key role in the move allows the wife to control how she and other family members will livewhile in passage through the moving career, but not the ultimate shape of that career. Playing the key role in making the move successful does not involve altering the scheduling, sequencing, or direction of the passage (who moves, when, how, at what time). It merely allows the wife to work within the restrictions of the passage, as imposed by the husband's employer, the moving company, and/or the

husband*.

The analysis of the variable key role indicates the level of the wife's involvement in shaping the collective passage and how she lives while in passage. It is also important to understand her experience of her individual passage, and how that differs from that of other family members.

Experience of the Individual Passage

A minority of migrant wives perceived their experience of relocation as similar to that of their husbands. For most, passage through the moving career was not only different from that of their husbands, but also more difficult. In the ensuing analysis, the perception of the move as more difficult for the wife is examined. I then analyze the perception that it is more difficult for the husband, and that it is the same for both spouses.

Nearly two-thirds of the sample feel that relocation is more difficult for the wife than it is for her husband. They offer a variety of explanations of why they face a more difficult passage through the moving career. These include such factors as the husband's occupation and his previous experiences of relocation as facilitators of his passage, and the responsibilities which fall to the wife as hindrances to her passage.

The most frequently cited factor accounting for the different

* Some women have more control over the overall shape of the passage in that they actively participate in the decision-making, or perhaps even instigate the move. This will be considered in more detail in Chapter Five. This is a different dimension of status passage control, and as such is not related to the playing of the key role.

experiences of husband and wife is the husband's occupation. The husband's job was commonly seen as a means of integrating him into the community. It provides him with a ready-made peer group, and 'gets him out of the house'. Not having the benefit of such occupational ties, many of the wives felt that relocation was a much more lonely and isolating experience for them than for their husbands.

It was much easier for him to adjust. As I've said to him, "Well, this winter...,it was pretty lonely around here....You go out to work every morning. You meet different people. You're in contact with people all the time, all day long, whereas I sit here, like a bump." (071)

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It's harder for me than for my husband, because... he's got this guy he works with, and he's close to this guy...and they talk about everything under the sun, but for me, I don't meet anybody, and I've got to gossip with somebody. And my husband enjoys the seclusion here once he comes home. He enjoys it, but I don't, because I have to live with it here all day long. (075)

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I think Bob more easily adjusted because...he sees people in the daytime. I think if I were working now, I would have taken the move extremely well. I would have gone from A to B just fine. But I think my hatred - or my unpleasantness towards Burlington is that I feel I'm by myself. And I'm never by myself. My husband is just on the end of the phone, and if worse came to worst my mother could get on a flight tomorrow and come on down. So, I'm not alone. But I feel alone. He adjusted much easier than I did....I think he misses people too, but he just loves his job, and it makes all the difference in the world. (050)

Continuity distinguishes the relocation experiences of husbands and wives. Many respondents suggested that passage through the moving career would be easier for women if they too were employed outside the

home*. The issue here is not so much the job itself, however, as it is the continuity of other concurrent status passages. Among these migrants, relocation was associated with job continuity for the husband, and the wife perceived this as a major asset to him in his adjustment. For a number of the women, the difficulties of finding employment when the husband is transferred appear to negate initial beneficial consequences of being employed outside the home. Women who are employed outside the home, who must seek employment, and women at home who must establish most of the family's contacts with the new community**, do not have the same continuity of passage as men who are transferred within the same company.

Spouses' passages through the moving career are not only different; they may be competing passages as well. A few respondents noted that husbands' and wives' differing solo passages within the same collective passage can be the cause of tension within the family. Their differing experiences of the move may make it difficult for spouses to be empathetic about each other's situation.

There's a bit of tension with moving....You're busy trying to organize everything and get everything going, while your husband goes quietly off to work. He's involved, and he's got his thing going, and you're here and you're trying to get things organized, and it gets a bit hairy for a while. And of course your husband comes home, and he's tired, and he says, "What's the matter?" and you're smiling and saying, "Nothing. Absolutely

*The role of an occupation outside the home in facilitating the wife's passage is examined further in Chapter Six, in the analysis of resources available to the wife during the settling-in stage of the moving career.

**The analysis of the performance of the key role and occupational status indicates that employed women must perform both of these tasks.

nothing...."But inside you're just screaming to get out. But he realizes and he says, "We'll go out to dinner" or "We'll take the day off. We're not going to paint. We'll go for a drive"...but he really doesn't want to get involved in it because he's nervous, he's starting a new job. He's trying to make a good impression. He's got a million customers to meet, and he's hoping that you will handle the other end of it, so he can get his thing going, and get it settled, and then he comes around saying, "How are things?" and you say "Fine", so as not to upset him. (022)

Glaser and Strauss consider discrepancies between personal and group interests as inherent in collective passages. These data suggest that conflicting personal interests may be another source of discrepancy. The husband's occupation, while facilitating his passage, may also be a source of discrepancy and tension between spouses.

The husband's familiarity with the role of mover is yet another factor distinguishing the moving careers of some men and women. A number of wives indicated that their husbands had travelled and relocated more frequently than they had, and this expertise facilitated the husband's transition.

It was very much more difficult for me than for Kevin. Very much so. He's used to leaving. He's travelled for eight years, in and out of 40 countries, and he's met a lot of friends and had to say a lot of good-byes.... You get used to saying a lot of good-byes. I've never had that. So he had travelled about quite a bit, and had gotten used to that, whereas...I had made some really good friends, and never thought about it ever ending or having to say good-bye or any of that sort of thing. So, in that way it was more difficult, and I was the one who ended up having the good-bye parties, and the good-bye dinners and this type of thing, because he was already gone. (033)

* * * * *

It was harder for me to adjust....He'd moved around. He'd been in the Navy, and he'd travelled, and he travels all the time anyhow, so...it wasn't so hard for him...because he knew what he was coming to, and I didn't have any idea. And I found that very traumatic, even though...he tried to

warn me that it would be hard, but I just wanted to think it would be okay....I was really sorry I moved. And I said to him, "Now, if we ever have to move again, I'd know what to expect." (053)

As later analysis* indicates, the wife's familiarity with the role of mover does not generally facilitate her passage through the moving career. Nevertheless, the comments of these respondents indicate the importance which some women attached to experience with relocation in easing their husbands' passage**.

* See Chapter Six, pp. 160-165.

** Personality differences which made the move easier for the husband than for the wife were also important to some migrants' experiences of relocation. In each case where personality factors were perceived as distinguishing husbands' and wives' experience of the move, the husband's ease in making new friends and adjusting to new circumstances were mentioned. The move was seen as having a greater emotional impact on the wife than on her husband.

In a sense, you could say that the move is the same for both of us. He had to make just as many new friends as I did, and he's really good about helping - it's great. But he's so easy going, it doesn't bother him. He finds it easier to make new friends, to forget the past. I probably seem selfish, but it does take more out of me. Each move takes more out of me. (069)

A number of the wives who felt that the move was harder for their husbands also cited personality differences as factors. Generally, however, these were noted along with job responsibilities as complicating the husband's move.

I think I always have an easier time to adjust than he does, because I think I psyche myself up. I can pretty well make up my mind about the move. His work has an overall influence on him, too. He's having a difficult time with his work so he can't in all honesty say he's enjoyed the move as much as I have. (059)

One other type of explanation was advanced for why relocation is more difficult for the wife than for her husband. These accounts focus on the different responsibilities which husbands and wives have in relocation. The responsibilities described by the wives fell into three categories: responsibilities in the previous community before the move; responsibilities in the new community; and least common of all, responsibility for the decision to move itself. First, a respondent's reference to responsibilities before the move:

We had a different move, because he was up here first. He had no responsibilities at all with this move. He was up here and all he had to do was work. I had (our son) with me, and I had to finish everything up, and finish up the house and that. It was our move, but I had all the responsibilities. And I didn't like it. (025)

Responsibilities during the relocation and settling-in stages of the moving career are even more extensive and demanding of the wife. Here she faces the compounding issue that she is the stranger, and each responsibility facing her must generally be carried out in a social world where taken-for-granted reality has yet to be established.

When women are moving from place to place and especially companies that are indiscriminately moving, it's very difficult for women to get out. They've got to find the babysitter, they've got to find this and that. It's very difficult,...and usually men...move two to three weeks prior to the wife, and women have to arrange every single detail,...and once you arrive in the new place, the man's too busy establishing his career or whatever. Now my husband is very attentive and he comes home for lunch. And we think we have the ideal situation...He sees the baby a lot. But if I complain I want to get out to a show, he says, "Call a babysitter". He has no idea of where to get a babysitter. I establish all the initial contacts with the neighbours and the merchants. I establish the credit system with the paint company. (099)

Quite a different perception of responsibility coloured the comments of a small minority of the migrant wives. For them, responsi-

bility means responsibility for the actual fact of the move itself, not for the task performance associated with it. Their responsibility stemmed essentially from their role in the decision-making stages of the move.

A feeling of responsibility for the success of the moving career was associated with their role as instigator of the passage.

He doesn't find any change in the situation nearly as difficult as I do. I think I felt - I had a lot of guilt feelings, I think about moving the kids. I wanted to come here, and I think I probably - I think that's what made it so much more difficult that I wanted to come, and I felt that everybody else would have been happy if I'd been happy there, and we could have stayed there. But I wanted to come, and - basically it was - I was the one who really wanted to move, and so then I think that's why I probably felt that it was more difficult for me. Since I'm the one who wanted to be here, I should be beside myself with joy to be here, and if I'm not, well, there's a lot of guilt with that.
(065)

There are evidently a variety of reasons why migrant wives' experiences of relocation are more difficult than their husband's. In some cases, different objective circumstances - involving the husband's job or the responsibilities of the wife - face spouses in relocation. In other cases the passage may involve objectively similar circumstances for the spouses, but because of the husband's familiarity with the role of mover, the couple will have subjectively different responses to it.

While most respondents perceived relocation as more difficult for the wife, nearly a quarter of the sample felt that it is more difficult for the husband. In the preceding analysis, I noted that most wives felt that the husband's job facilitated his adjustment to relocation. By contrast, most of the wives who felt that relocation was more difficult for the husband cited his job as the problematic factor.

He had to learn a new type of work. It was harder for him. It was more responsibility for him. To me, I keep on with the house and housework and children. That was the same for me. I think it must have been harder for him. (054)

* * * * *

I think it might have been easier for me to adjust because I was just basically making a move and didn't have a job to go to, so in one respect I think Paul may have been a little bit apprehensive of what he was getting into, being a first job....I don't think he was quaking in his boots or anything, but you don't know what it's going to be like, or what the people in the department will be like, who you'll be working with. It's like that with any new job. If I'd known I had a job to go to, and I hadn't met any of the new people or anything, I may have been a little more apprehensive, but I was primarily concerned with making the move and finding a place to live. So...it was harder for him. (052)

The similarities between the responses of those who feel the move is more difficult for the wife and those who think it is more difficult for the husband are striking. Most women perceive such factors as the husband's job as facilitating his move. A minority, however, regard them as complicating his passage. Many of this latter group, however refer to 'a new job' or 'new type of work' for their husbands. Such circumstances would obviously make the experience of relocation different for these husbands than for men experiencing a job transfer, or work in a related field. This finding lends further support to my suggestion of the importance of continuity in facilitating passage through the moving career. Women whose husbands experience job transfers, thereby generally maintaining continuity of their occupational environment, perceive the occupation as facilitating passage through the moving career. Women whose husbands take on new jobs or new areas of employment, involving less continuity, are more likely to perceive the occupation as hindering

his transition.

Among the 123 respondents, 16 (13 percent)*, felt that the experience of relocation was the same for both spouses. In most of these cases, respondents interpreted the question in terms of the sharing of experiences during relocation. They indicated that, being surrounded by strangers, spouses become so aware of and involved in each other's lives that it becomes essentially the same experience for them both.

We both feel the same way. You become one another's best friend when you really move around, because you really don't have anybody else to talk to that much and as you go up in the company, it's funny, you meet a lot of people and you really can't say what you really think...My husband and I do talk about his job and things that are happening, and I can't say it to anybody because other people aren't supposed to know...Well, you've really just got each other that you can say what you jolly well feel like...It becomes the same for us in that way. (043)

Before closing this discussion of the differential experiences of relocation for husbands and wives, one further factor warrants attention. I stated at the outset of this research that it is not important to this study to know whether in fact the move is different for husbands and wives; my interest here is to know whether wives perceive it differently. The data indicated that not only did the wife view her situation as more difficult, but that the husband concurred in this assessment. Such comments as "He realizes and he says, 'We'll go out to dinner'", or "He told me I was going to find it traumatic" appear to substantiate the wife's definition. However, comments by other wives suggest a different definition on the part of the husband. Such comments

*Two respondents (1.6 percent of the sample) didn't know or couldn't say whether the move was different for spouses or not.

as "He says, 'What about me?'" suggest that the husband perceives the move as equally, if not more, difficult for him than for his wife.

In the research, however, only three respondents actually verbalized their recognition that their husband's definition of the move differed from their own.

I think (my husband's) opinion is different from mine on this. I think it's easier for him because he has a job to go to. There are people there to... help him, for instance, whereas I'm stuck in a house and have to get it all settled. Of course he says, 'I don't know what you're worrying about. All you have to do is move in and get settled. I have a new job to go to.' (072)

One way to indirectly test this would be to have both spouses present for the interview, which actually occurred in 21 (17 percent) of the interviews. In none of these did the husband disagree with his wife with respect to the difficulty of the move. The respondents generally felt that it is more difficult for the wife, and there was little indication that their spouses would dispute that assertion.

Factors Related to Perception of the Move

As Table 4.1 illustrates, the performance of the key role in the move, and the perception of the move as the same for spouses are related. Women who exclusively play the key role in the move are more likely to say that the move is most difficult for the wife than are either joint players or women do not play the role at all.

There was also a relationship between the perception of the wife's move as more or less difficult than the husband's, and the happiness with the relocation. Three-quarters (73.7 percent) of the women who were unhappy with the move felt that it was more difficult for them than for their husbands. By contrast, just over half (55 percent) of happy women

said it was more difficult for the wife (Tau B = .158, Sign. = .03).

TABLE 4.1

The Relationship between Performance of the Key Role
and the Perception of Relocation as Different for Spouses

Perception of Relocation as Different for Spouses	Performance of the Key Role							
	Wife Only		Both Spouses		Husband Only		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Moving Harder for Wife	43	78.2	21	47.7	11	52.4	75	62.5
Relocation Same for Both Spouses	4	7.3	10	22.7	2	9.5	16	13.3
Relocation Harder for Husband	8	14.5	13	29.5	8	38.1	29	24.2
Total	55	100.0	44	100.0	21	100.0	120*	100.0

Tau B = .248, Sign. = .001

* One woman who played the key role, and another whose husband played it, could not assess whether relocation was different for husbands and wives. Another respondent who felt it is more difficult for the wife did not know who played the key role in her move.

The perception of moves as different for spouses also varied slightly by the wife's occupational status. Two-thirds (68.3 percent) of homemaker wives but only half of employed wives (51.3 percent) felt that relocation is more difficult for women. A third of the employed women felt that moving is harder for husbands. Less than a fifth of women working at home felt this way (Tau C = .164; Sign. = .03).

The relationship between current occupational status, and perception of moves as different for spouses was not as strong as

expected, however. Since the wives' accounts consistently defined the husband's occupation as a facilitator, I expected the wife's occupation to operate similarly, making her experience of relocation more like that of her spouse. However, there were no substantial differences between employed women and those who are exclusively homemakers on this dimension.

It is job continuity - not merely the having of a job outside the home - which distinguishes the relocation experiences of husbands and wives. Among this sample of migrant wives, there was very little job continuity. (It occurred in 10 cases, accounting for 26 percent of the employed women*). Hence there is the similarity of experience between employed wives and homemaker wives. The data also indicated that wives employed outside the home, unlike their husbands, still most frequently fulfill the key role in establishing the home and making the move successful. They have the tasks of both a home to settle and a job to find; this dual role does not generally characterize the responsibilities of migrant husbands.

Summary

Chapter Four has portrayed the wife's role within the context of both the collective and individual status passage. Most respondents regarded the wife as the key person not only in shaping how the family lives while in passage, but also in shaping the family members' response to that passage. The women generally perceived their individual passage

* In most of these cases, the wife and husband were employed by the same company, and the policy was that when a person was transferred, the spouse would be transferred also. In the case of chartered banks, however, this transfer could not be to the same branch as the spouse.

as both different from and more difficult than their husbands'. This was primarily because of the continuity of the husband's career, his familiarity with the role of mover, and the wife's burden of responsibility for the collective passage. The focus of analysis in this chapter has been the moving career as a whole. Subsequent chapters examine the wife's role at each stage or transitional status of the moving career. Chapter Five explores her passage through the preliminary stages of the move: the decision-making and planning stages.

CHAPTER FIVE

EMBARKING UPON THE MOVING CAREER: DECISION-MAKING AND PLANNING

Four stages or transitional statuses comprise the moving career: decision-making, planning, relocation, and settling-in. This chapter focuses on the first two of these. The analysis of the decision-making stage addresses issues of the reason for the move, whether the move was requested, whether spouses felt differently about leaving the previous community and moving to Hamilton-Burlington specifically, and whether the wife has a choice in the relocation. The analysis of the wife's passage through the planning stages of the move considers the length of the planning period, the contacts with the receiving area initiated during this stage, the specific tasks performed by spouses during this stage, and whether the family completes this stage together. For each stage, various properties of status passages are analyzed. These include the wife's control over the shaping and sequencing of her passage, and the resources which she employs in exercising this control.

The Decision-Making Stage

In most studies of relocation, this stage of the moving career is given cursory treatment in the discussion of the "initial" or "preamble" stages of the move. However, the reason for the move, and the wife's role in the decision-making are central to the understanding of the definition of the situation as the moving career commences.

Reasons for the Move

The husband's occupation played the central role in the move for over 90 percent of the sample. The most common reason for moving was a transfer for the husband within the same company. This accounted for 53 (43 percent) of the moves. The husband changing to a new job accounted for a further 30 (24 percent) of the moves. The job change usually involved the same type of work as before, but with a new employer. The next most frequent reason for moving was because of unemployment in the previous community (23.6 percent)*.

Among the remaining eleven families (nine percent of the sample), the wives were more involved in the actual reason for the move. These moves were occasioned either by retirement (2.4 percent), family reasons (5 percent), or factors related to health (1.6 percent). However, there was extensive overlap in these factors. For example, one respondent's husband had recently retired. He was quite ill, and they relocated to be closer to medical facilities, but at the same time moved close to a married child. 'Health' was given as the reason for the move. In these cases, the wife was more involved in the reason for the move than in those moves precipitated solely by her spouse's occupational change or transfer. A variety of circumstances surround apparently similar reasons for moving. For example, a company transfer may be a reason for moving, but there are a variety of reasons for accepting that transfer. Desire

* In only one case was the move partly related to the unemployment of the wife. Although she and her husband were both unemployed, she visited a former employer in Hamilton, got a job, and as a consequence the entire family relocated with the assistance of the Canada Manpower Mobility Programme. The wife indicated, however, that she considered relocation for employment only because her husband was also out of work.

for upward mobility, pride, and simply a feeling of having no other options, can all influence the circumstances of the transfer.

He always wanted to get ahead. He's the type of person who likes to get up the ladder. With his job in Timmins...,he really wasn't enjoying it, because it's a bit different from what he's doing now. He wasn't getting ahead there, and his thing is to get ahead. When this transfer came, he just leaped at the chance. (031)

* * * * *

He was promoted in his company; it was a transfer. He was fine in Trois Riviere. He was doing good, but, you know, a promotion is always - a man, eh, they're proud and it wasn't selfish, but he was young, and it was for a good job. (054)

* * * * *

He just couldn't take it anymore in that office in Calgary and when they wanted him to come back here, he said "Yes" right off the bat. He had to come down here on business trips once or twice a year and...when they asked him...,he came back and discussed it with me, and I just said, "Well, I'll go along with whatever you feel you'll be happiest at." (058)

Many wives assured me that one never makes a lateral transfer; there is always a promotion involved as incentive. Whether or not incentives were offered, some respondents felt that they had no real choice in whether to move.

They shipped us down here. Oh, this bank! It sort of peeves you off, you know. There's always, "You're going to be moved soon, you're going to be moved". We have refused one move, but you can be penalized if you refuse too many... so there are different ways of making a person leave. (047)

The statements of this wife raise the important question of the extent of choice in the move, and whether one has control over the initiation of the passage. This will be considered in the next section of this chapter.

Not quite the same degree of diversity characterizes the relocations made after a period of unemployment. In many of these cases, the unemployment had been anticipated for some time, and so these families were relieved to be able to find work and a place to settle. Many already knew people in the area, or had lived here previously*.

The firm he was working for closed down.
We knew the firm was going to close. We
knew we had to make the move. So, he got
a list of textile firms to come for an
interview, and he got a job here. (89)

Where the move involved a different, but related job for the husband, the job itself was often the major factor influencing the move. Other factors, however, contributed to the attractiveness of the move.

My husband saw the ad for the job here, and
although he was happy with the job in Sudbury,
and they asked him to stay, I was wanting to
come south, and he thought this job would be
more challenging, so we took it. (119)

Nearly ten percent of the families had come from the province of Quebec, and their reasons for relocation are unique. In 11 of the 12 cases the move to Ontario was either a requested transfer or a move subsequent to the finding of employment. All of these migrants were either Anglophone Quebecois or English-speaking immigrants who had lived in Quebec for at least five years. The press has described their reasons for moving as "a complex of emotionalism and hard economic considerations" (Ferrante and Dewar, 1977: 18). In my interviews, the emotionalism prevailed. These migrants were either very willing respondents or initially quite unwilling: "Why do you want to ask me questions? I've answered enough questions. Everyone knows why I left Quebec - Mr. Trudeau knows, the government knows, Manpower knows!"

* For more extensive analysis, see Chapter Six.

In February my husband's job came up. He was told there was no way he could be employed as he was not French speaking. Well, he wasn't told it in so many words, but the insinuation was there. "You're no longer required in your job. We have another man to take your place, who is French". So he said to me, "What do we do?" and just joking I said, "Phone _____ (an associated company in Toronto) and they said, "Come immediately", and...he moved down here....We were forced to move. I don't care what the papers say....With two children in school we just couldn't take the risk of losing their schooling now because of having to switch to French. (098)

* * * * *

It was an agreement on both our parts that it was time to leave Quebec. So he went into the office and he wondered if there were any jobs for him available anywhere in the firm outside Quebec, and they gave him two choices....As far as a final event goes, I think this business of not even being able to get an English catalogue in the department store, and the list of professions that required a working knowledge of French, I think that was the final straw. If they're going to go this far, what will be next? Could we cope with another? (042)

While these moves were due to the husband's change of job, (this was how the wife described them), they frequently involved issues of proximity to family. As noted previously, slightly less than five percent of the sample named this as a reason for moving. This often involved a desire to be closer to family, or occasionally a desire to remove the family from a difficult situation.

I wanted to be closer to my family. I was just miserable in Winnipeg without them. I just wanted to be back here, and my husband finally got a job so we could come too. (062)

* * * * *

...my husband and I felt that for a new family starting out on old ground....He'd had it with situations there....With old friends, say, introducing him and by mistake calling him by my first husband's name...there just wasn't enough time to settle down as a family. It was hard enough us getting to know each other, but then the two children, and it was true that I would never move until I knew how solid the relationship was. And once we were sure, then I considered the move. Because it was a very womb-like existence....He just came down here, and didn't have a job arranged here before he came, or anything. (033)

The remaining migrants were very positive toward the move. Some moves were occasioned by the husband's retirement and involved either a return to this area as 'home', or a move to be closer to children and family. Other moves were occasioned by poor health, and were undertaken to be closer to family and medical facilities.

I have dwelled on the topic of the reason for the move at some length because it reflects both the circumstances of the move, and the definition of the situation in which the move occurred. Some respondents emphasized the importance of pre-move orientations in shaping their attitudes toward the moving career. Therefore, the reason for the move was considered relevant to the understanding of what that 'approach' or 'state of mind' might be.

The only reason for moving associated with differences in expressed satisfaction with the move was 'husband's transfer'. While wives of transferred husbands represented 43 percent of all movers in the sample, they accounted for 63 percent of those who said they were unhappy with the move. By contrast, wives of men who relocated subsequent to unemployment, representing nearly 24 percent of the sample, accounted for only five percent of wives unhappy with the move (Tau C = .139,

Sign. = .04). In bringing employment to the spouse, the move apparently represented an improved economic situation and hence brought satisfaction for these women. Even the disruptive effects of relocation and unemployment could not outweigh the gain for these families. This explanation does not however account for the prevalence of unhappiness among the transferred wives. In order to understand the relationship between these two variables, I examine the issue of 'choice' in the relocation.

Choice in the Move

A crucial factor in examining the reasons for the move and the wife's definition of it, is the variable of choice. This is measured in two ways. The first measure, relevant only for women whose husbands were transferred, concerns whether or not the move was requested*. The second asks the women directly whether they felt they had a choice in the move.

Of the 53 families for whom the question about job transfer was relevant, only in nine (17 percent) was a transfer requested. In some cases, the transfer was requested not because a move itself was actually desired, but because this was seen as the only avenue for upward mobility.

* Christiansen-Ruffman (1976: 620-624) makes the very valid point that researchers must avoid making a distinction between self-initiated and transfer moves on the basis of the amount of choice involved in the decision to move. An inherent fallacy in the usage of these terms is the assumption that the self-initiated move involves more choice, but that the transfer involves a "forced" move initiated by the employer. As Christiansen-Ruffman states, and my data confirm, self-initiated moves may involve little choice, as in the case of the family which relocates in search of employment. Similarly, transfers may involve varying degrees of choice, ranging from the requested transfer, to ones involving a choice of locations, to a lack of choice in the forced move. I am grateful to Christiansen-Ruffman for her analysis of the relationship between choice and the type of move.

With (my husband's company), you say you're available for moving....It's just on a promotional basis. If you don't make yourself available for a move, then you don't move. You stay where you are, but you could die running the paint department. (050)

Among the remainder, not only was the transfer not requested, but most families felt they had little or no alternative but to accept it. The lack of choice of whether or not to embark upon the moving career is apparent in the comments of these women.

It would be detrimental to his career to refuse a move. He can't say no, and I wouldn't expect him to, but when we were in (last community), we talked about it, because my job was really important to me.... But I can't ask him to do that, it's too long to commute. So we gave up on that and moved. I said I'd quit and find something else. (057)

* * * * *

It is more or less understood when you take the job that you'll be transferred, but at the time you don't really think of that happening. In terms of a transfer, it's not an option, where you could do one thing or the other, really. (016)

* * * * *

If you refuse a transfer, you go to the bottom of the list, and you stay there. When you're young and you're a trainee, and you give up a move...it's not looked too highly upon, unless you have a good reason for refusing. (039)

Some wives indicated that company policies concerning the refusing of transfers have eased somewhat in recent years.

There is sort of a penalty for those who do not move - never getting any raises or promotions - and yet the bank is...changing a little now. They're more lenient now than they used to be. I think so. It was in the paper a while ago about banks and corporate people moving, and

the problems for wives, how wives don't want to move, really. (047)

* * * * *

No, you don't really have a choice at all. Mind you, they are getting a little better now. I've seen people in the corporation who've refused a move. It hasn't destroyed them. Not like it used to. (034)

A small group of wives, however, suggested that they had had to wait a long time for their spouse's promotion and current transfer because an earlier proposed transfer had been rejected. One wife indicated that her husband had lost his job as a consequence of refusing moves.

My husband was offered a transfer, and we didn't think the schooling there would be good for our daughter, and we had less than 12 hours to make up our mind. It was ridiculous. After some research at the library, both of us decided, "No, it wasn't what we wanted"...Then he got an offer to transfer to Buenos Aires, which was even more disruptive to schooling. When he rejected that promotion, the company took a huff, and let him go. He was unemployed for ten weeks, and then this job came up in Hamilton. (007)

These observations suggest that employers who wish employees to embark upon a passage which the employee and/or spouse regard as undesirable have recourse to a variety of tactics. The comments of other wives indicate that not only is refusal to enter into the moving career sanctioned, but also attempting to alter the timing or sequencing of the career may meet with resistance.

Even with me 8½ months pregnant with my first baby, he couldn't have asked them to delay the move, no. They would either have said, "You'll stay where you are, and you'll sit for a year or two, at the same salary...,or you take it and we'll fly you home when your wife has the baby." They would have made concessions like that. They would have flown him home every weekend...but it's still no way to advance in the company. At his level then, he didn't have a choice, now he does. But now,

if he chooses to stay, they will overlook him when moves come up again, even if he was due for a promotion and did a good job. (063)

* * * * *

There was no question of us both staying in Ottawa and delaying the move until after I had the baby. For example, he mentioned it to his manager that could he move on the 19th rather than the 15th of the month, because our anniversary was on the 18th. And Mr. _____ just looked at Bob and said, "I'll just ignore that you ever said that!" When you really get down to it, you're supposed to be a professional...and anniversaries don't really enter into it. (050)

The observations of these transferred wives overlap with the responses to the second measure, the actual question of choice itself. Of all the respondents in this study, the wives of men who were transferred were by far most likely to indicate a lack of choice in the move. In the overall sample, 33 women (26.8 percent) felt that they had no choice in whether to relocate. The relationship of this finding to the reason for the move is striking. Women whose husbands were transferred, representing 43 percent of the sample, accounted for 85 percent of those who felt they had no choice in the move. All of the women whose spouses relocated to take up a new job indicated that they had a choice, as did all of the women who relocated for such reasons as family, health or retirement. Even among the women whose husbands had been unemployed prior to the move, only five of the 29 women indicated that they did not have a choice. By contrast, over half the wives of transferred men felt they had no choice in the move (Tau C = .423; Sign. = .00).

Earlier I discussed the relationship between reason for the move and expressed satisfaction with the move. The relationship appeared to hold only for women whose husbands were transferred. In light of the

subsequent finding that many of these women felt they had no choice in the move, I examined the relationship between reason for the move and satisfaction with the move, controlling for choice. This analysis emphasizes the relative importance of reason for the move, for the wife's choice and degree of satisfaction. All of the women who felt they had no choice, and who were unhappy with the move, were the wives of transferred men (Tau C = .250, Sign. = .06).

This is not to say, however, that all of the transferred wives felt this way. Those who are unhappy represent a quarter of those who felt they had no choice. Just over another quarter of the women who felt they had no choice had 'mixed feelings' about the move, but nearly half (46.6 percent) said they were happy (Tau C = .127, Sign. = .07). The comments of the wives cited earlier indicate that many wives feel negatively about the lack of choice* but there were clearly others who saw no problem with this.

Well, I don't think I have a choice....No, I don't, when you get right down to it. I guess there's two things. If you don't want to move, Peter's career wouldn't be advancing. We wouldn't be in the position we are today. We wouldn't have half the things we have today. You've got to look at it that way, and that might be sort of materialistic, but that's the way it goes....You can look at it that way, as far as the money is concerned, or you can just put your foot down and say, "No, I'm not moving. I like it here, and I like my house and I like my friends." You could do that, if you wanted to, but I don't feel that way...I could be stubborn,...but then I'd be hurting myself,...the kids,...and Peter's

*It is important to remember that the variable of satisfaction being measured is overall satisfaction with the move. A wife could be unhappy about the lack of a choice in her move, but indicate an overall satisfaction with the move itself.

career, which I don't want to do because he's worked really, really hard to get where he is now, and why should I wreck it for him by being like that? Because I know some women, ...some wives, who have said that, and...it's just down the drain as far as their (husband's) career is concerned. (012)

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If the position is there, and they think you're the man for the job, they just transfer you.... And this was what happened in our case. And of course it's a much better experience than having to stay in the same area all the time. (009)

Women generally expressed dislike of the lack of choice. For some transferred wives in particular, this was associated with dissatisfaction with the move itself. For many women, however, dislike of the circumstances of the move was evidently outweighed by other factors associated with the move.

Negotiation of the Decision

The issue of choice in the decision to move is related to the process of negotiation and interaction between husband and wife as the potential move is discussed. Many wives felt their choice was restricted by company policy. A few women, however, suggested that the extent of their choice was influenced by their husbands.

We wanted him to be happy. I can't say we had a choice. We could have stayed...for another year, and he would have been miserable... (031)

* * * * *

He was promoted, and was approached about leaving, and first I said, "Oh, no, there's no question about it....The kids don't want to. We're happy this way. What else do you want? Why don't we keep our happiness like this?"....He was very sad, I could see in him that he was sad, and even (our son) said, "Daddy's not the same. He doesn't talk as much and he's sad." And he saw he was upset

and said, "If I were you Daddy, I'd take the job", and that helped my husband very much.... I think he probably would have taken it (even if I hadn't said okay) because he would have said, "My wife and kids are thinking emotionally" - which was true. And he would be sorry in five years if he didn't do the move. (054)

The relative power of the spouses in terms of the desire and the decision to move is relevant here. The examination of the decision to leave one place as separate from the decision to move to another proved useful in that there was some differentiation in the response to each of these variables.

Sixty-seven (54.5 percent) of the wives reported that they and their spouses felt the same way about leaving the previous community. Many of the couples had similar positive feelings about the move, while others had similar negative feelings about it.

We're close anyway, and both know each other's needs, I think, and we had a sense of togetherness about the move. We were both reluctant, and we knew it wasn't going to be easy. (037)

* * * * *

We both knew what we wanted, and we both wanted the move. We could have had a long period to make up our minds and make the move if we wanted. We took ten days. (060)

* * * * *

We sit down and debate it, even when we both want it or don't want it. With this move, when he got the call, we just looked at each other. Then we talked about all the different aspects - if he is on one side of the fence, I'll go and say what I know about the other. Then we work out together what to do. (032)

Another 26.8 percent of the respondents reported that their husbands wanted the move more than they did.

I think in terms of a personal or family standpoint, I was maybe a little more reluctant to leave because the area we lived in offered a great deal....But I could see (my husband) was getting a little more upset with things. I think he had just about enough with the business end of things....He was starting to have stomach problems and just the whole gamut of things, and I think it was frustration, so we sat down one day and talked about it. (042)

* * * * *

It's his career, eh? And he was for it. He thought it was a good thing, and he was terribly unhappy with his job back there. (053)

The remaining 23 wives (18.7 percent of the sample) wanted to move from the community more than did their husbands.

I really wanted it. For about two years I wanted to move, but we couldn't actually plan it until my husband got the job here. (062)

* * * * *

I was increasingly dissatisfied with (husband's employer). I hated them with a passion, and still do. I felt they were giving Bill the run-around, and he was working very hard. When we saw the ad for the job here, I said, "Answer it. Answer it. This is what we're looking for". With me having the baby, he was willing to stick with the job for the sake of security...so I had to talk him into going for the interview. (099)

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...this was a real opportunity for me to renew my career and be closer to my parents, and for us both to be part of a Chinese community. But while his job here he knew would be more challenging, he knew there would be pressures...that would be hard for him. He had decisions to be nervous about, but I had nothing to be nervous about in coming here. And that was the focus of the difference between us. (119)

I have separated the decision to leave the previous community from the decision to come to the current one. The spouses appeared to

regard these as related but distinct decisions. All of the respondents were able to conceptually separate these two decisions with respect to their move. As Table 5.1 indicates, once the decision to leave has been made, the decision to move to this particular community is characterized by more consensus between the spouses. This may well be because inherent in the question of whether or not to leave is the issue of whether or not to embark upon the moving career. Once the decision (if there is a choice) is made, other questions concern the shape and control of the passage and may not require the same degree of negotiation.

TABLE 5.1

Spousal Decision-Making: Deciding
Whether to Leave and to Move to Hamilton-Burlington

Decision to Leave Previous Community	Decision to Move to Hamilton-Burlington						Total
	Husband Wanted More to Move		Spouses Wanted Equally to Move		Wife Wanted More to Move		
	N	%	N	%	N	%	
Husband Wanted More to Leave	17	68.0	12	15.0	4	22.2	33 (26.8)
Spouses Wanted Equally to Leave	8	32.0	53	66.3	6	33.3	67 (54.5)
Wife Wanted More to Leave	-	-	15	18.7	8	44.4	23 (18.7)
TOTAL	25	100.0	80	100.0	18	100.0	123 (100.0)

(Tau B = .401, Sign. = .00)

While just over half of the spouses (54.5 percent) wanted equally to leave the previous community, almost two-thirds wanted equally to come to Hamilton-Burlington. This means that 27 people (22 percent of the sample) who did not want to leave the previous community as much as did their spouses, felt the same as their spouses about coming to Hamilton-Burlington. Once the more difficult decision of whether to leave is made, the decision about moving to a specific location is apparently easier. Occasionally the spouses felt differently about these two decisions. This was particularly true when the move involved a return to the Hamilton-Burlington area. Of the 12 cases where the husband was more anxious to leave but felt the same as his wife about coming to the Hamilton area, four represented a return move. Similarly, of the 15 cases where the wife was more desirous of leaving but felt the same as her spouse about relocating to Hamilton, five moves were return relocations*.

We were reluctant. Although I've been used to moving, I really was a little reluctant and my husband was even more so, as far as the church goes, particularly...he was an elder of the church...and we're still going back there to church, if you can believe it, because he just hates the thought of changing....I was more willing to leave because I accepted that it had to be done....As far as coming here, we looked in this area because my sisters are all here, and my husband liked this area. This was it. (096)

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My husband regretted leaving there more in the sense that he liked a lot of the outdoor life and didn't want to leave that. But in terms of coming to

* In all but two of these cases, the spouses were both desirous of a return to Hamilton-Burlington. The others, because of their previous experience of living in the area, wanted equally not to move there.

Burlington...of having come from there and seen it grow up, it was like coming home, and we were quite pleased to do it. (068)

The data suggest that spouses, in making the decisions to leave and where to move, generally come to a consensus, with perhaps one convincing the other of the benefits of the move. Sometimes husbands and wives switch positions with respect to the move. As Table 5.1 indicated, this occurred in 18 (14.6 percent) of the cases. In 14 of them, the spouses equally desired to leave, but then the husband (in eight cases) or the wife (in six cases) wanted more to relocate to the Hamilton area.

I didn't want to leave there and I didn't want to come down here in the first place, necessarily ...My husband didn't want to leave there, either. He was quite content, too. ...I really didn't want to come to Hamilton. I always thought it was a big, dirty city, in my mind's eye...My husband didn't mind so much about coming here. He always adjusts quicker than I do. (027)

* * * * *

We had good jobs in Winnipeg, and friends there.... We were both really reluctant about leaving.... But as far as coming here, he wants to finish this course, and he was anxious for that. (030)

* * * * *

We were torn about leaving, because we had good friends there. We had a really good set-up there and things were going well and everything was just perfect....But in terms of a transfer to Hamilton, I was happier than him because I was anxious to live near my sisters and relatives again...and I had been to see my sister, so I had seen the city. (021)

In the remaining four cases, the husbands and wives completely changed their positions relative to leaving one area and moving to another. In all four, the husband had wanted more to leave, but the wife was more anxious to come to this particular area. All involved return migration.

As upset as he was about it, and anxious to leave... desperate to leave...when we sat down one day and talked about it, he said, "What if the only place available is Hamilton? I don't know if I want to go back there." ...He didn't want to be back under his father's shadow. I talked to him that I thought ...he had achieved enough...and had enough confidence ...that he could come back in full respect. So, it was quite ironic that they did offer him Hamilton. But,...although I was more reluctant to leave, I thought the big thing was having the children near relatives and grandparents. I thought that was important. (042)

These comments indicate that the decision to leave the previous community and the decision to move to Hamilton-Burlington were separate ones for the migrants. Strong feelings about one decision rarely overshadowed the respondent's feelings about the other decision.

It wasn't that I didn't want to come to Burlington, it was just that I didn't want to leave London. (040)

Most couples had discussed the decision to relocate, to the extent that respondents had no hesitation in stating how each felt about the decisions to leave and to relocate to Hamilton-Burlington specifically.

The wife's role in the negotiation of the decision to relocate was related to her subsequent satisfaction with the move. Women who are happy with the move were more likely to say that they had been more anxious to leave the previous community than were unhappy wives (Tau B = .318, Sign. = .00). Similarly, women who wanted more than their spouses to move to Hamilton-Burlington were most likely to be happy with the move. Only a fifth of the women whose husbands were more desirous of the move were happy with the relocation (Tau B. = .340, Sign. = .00)*.

* These are, of course, retrospective assessments by the wives. It is possible that some women who were currently unhappy with the move rationalized that they did not want it initially. Similarly, women who were now happy may have redefined their previous uncertainty. However, some respondents indicated their current feelings differed from their initial

The role of friends and family is also relevant to the negotiation of the decision to move. Most respondents (71 percent) had social contacts of some type in Hamilton-Burlington prior to the move. The majority of contacts were defined as friends or relatives of both spouses (46 percent); the remainder were friends or relatives of the wife only (25 percent), or the husband only (16 percent); or business associates of the husband (11.5 percent) or of the wife (one percent). Nearly half the respondents felt that having these contacts influenced their decision to move to the Hamilton-Burlington area. Occasionally the presence of these contacts facilitated the move; in other cases they were the reason for the move.

Yes, if I hadn't had any one here that I knew, I would have thought about it twice. (035)

* * * * *

It was the children being here,...and then too another thing as you get older, even while we were down here getting the apartment, one of our friends had died. And that makes quite a difference....And having family around means a lot. (055)

The presence of contacts was considered particularly advantageous by respondents making a return move to the area.

After being here for 10-11 years, it was more like coming home. I think that was quite influential. And I knew that since I'd taught here, if I had any chance of getting a job anywhere, it would be here. Some of my friends here are still principals, so I was known here. If I'd put an application in to the board and they hadn't known me from before, I'm certain no action would have been taken. (068)

decision. Thirteen percent of the women who had been more anxious to leave the previous community held mixed feelings about the move at the time of the interview. Of those women who were more anxious to move to Hamilton-Burlington, 11 percent were now unhappy, and 17 percent had mixed feelings. Similarly 40 percent of the women whose husbands had wanted to move more reported satisfaction with the move.

* * * * *

We knew that maybe they could help us get a job here and we could live with them. (117)

The Planning Stage

The analysis of this stage examines such factors as its duration, contacts with the Hamilton-Burlington area during that time, the perceived usefulness of these contacts, the specific tasks completed by the spouses during this stage, and the structural characteristics of the stage, in terms of whether spouses were together or apart, and their responses to it.

As Christiansen-Ruffman had found, the length of the period between the decision to move and the actual move varied extensively. The length of time the migrants spent planning their move ranged from a couple of days, to two or more years. For some respondents the planning stage involved making hasty preparations for a move to Hamilton-Burlington specifically, while for others it meant an extensive period of time "talking about" the possibility of relocation.

For a third of the sample, the move took place within a month of the decision being made. In the majority of cases, such moves involved a transfer of the husband's job.

We heard on Thursday about the move, and my husband had to be here on Monday. We came with him on Monday, and found this apartment in ten minutes. I came back then with the furniture. (015)

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On November 28th, my husband was told he'd have to be in Hamilton on December 1st. (011)

The observation of this latter respondent in particular warrants attention because it represents a distinctive feature of the planning stage of a number of migrant wives. In those cases where the relocation

involved the husband leaving immediately to go to the new job, most wives defined the planning stage of the move in terms of the interval between the decision and when the wife herself made the actual move. In a minority of cases, the respondent just cited among them, the move was defined as commencing with the departure of the spouse, even though several months elapsed before the remainder of the family joined him in the receiving area. This differentiation in the meaning of when the actual move begins must be kept in mind as one "imposes" upon the data the stages of decision-making, planning, moving, and so forth. I had anticipated the different meanings and activities would characterize what goes on within each stage; I did not anticipate that the very nature of the stages themselves would vary to this extent among the migrant wives. For clarity of analysis, I include within the rubric of the planning stage those events and activities occurring between the decision to move and the wife's departure from the previous community, while recognizing that not all wives in this sample so defined it.

One third of the sample planned the move for between one and three months, and 14 percent for four to six months. However, frequently when a move was planned for a long time, the specific destination was not known until near the end of the planning stage. This was typical of company transfers, and suggests why many respondents separated the decision to leave the previous community from the decision to come specifically to Hamilton-Burlington: temporally they were quite separate events. This phenomenon of "knowing-but-not-knowing-where" occasionally involved long time intervals.

We knew we were to be moved for four to five months,
but not to where. We had a month from the time we
knew we were coming to Hamilton. (013)

* * * * *

When we moved to Thunder Bay, it was supposedly to stay. However...we were only there three or four months when we know that eventually the branch is going to be closed down...,so we had no choice but to look for another job or to accept another transfer. And we were a year knowing that we were moving, but not knowing just where or when. And in the meantime my husband was in this area working, until finally they decided that this was where we were going to be. (072)

Approximately 18 percent of the sample (21 families) planned the move for more than six months, and 14 of these families planned it for close to a year. The long passage of time had varied meanings for the respondents. For most, it provided a leisurely opportunity to weigh the relative advantages and disadvantages of moving. It was also an anxious time for the few families desiring to move but situationally unable to do so.

I can't remember a time when he wasn't talking about it. To tell you the truth, I really didn't believe it until the moving truck was in the driveway, because he had talked about moving so much, for about two to three years. (005)

* * * * *

Gee, we had talked about it for a year off and on.... We hashed it over a lot...and then we came to a decision and I think...in about four months we brought it all together. (033)

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We'd only been there six months before we thought we'd have to move, and then it was a year before the house sold. So he had to commute here all that time, and his boss was on him every day about the gas he was using on the company car and the time commuting and he was never home with all the travelling,...and I was anxious to move. And then after a while when the house wasn't moving and it got to be a bit of a trial to have people coming around to view it. (095)

These varied time intervals provided different opportunities for the migrants to learn about the area before the relocation stage, to be better informed in terms of shaping the passage. In research on migrants to Halifax, Christiansen-Ruffman notes that the process of becoming oriented to the new community is often a haphazard one. I also found evidence of this, with frequent mention of chance conversations with former residents of the area as sources of information. Other respondents exhibited more systematic patterns of orientation, such as making visits to the library for information, consulting encyclopediae, and so forth. In addition, 42 of the respondents (34 percent of the sample) had lived in the Hamilton-Burlington area previously, and did not need to avail of such information sources.

In research on migrant wives, Jones observed that "...the availability of information regarding the new community prior to the move and the making of exploratory trips before the final move are important in the anticipatory part of the moving process....The sources of information...most strongly related to a high happiness rating are friends and exploratory trips" (1973: 213). Sixty-four respondents (52 percent of those who had not previously lived in Hamilton-Burlington) made visits prior to the move. Most had visited the area only once or twice (34 of the 64 families, of whom 23 visited it only once). Another 15 families (14 percent of the visitor families) had made three to five visits overall*. Seven women had visited between six and eight times, and eight had been in Hamilton-Burlington on ten or more occasions prior

*When only one prior visit was made, it occurred after the decision to relocate. For those who had made two or more prior visits, the number cited is the number made overall, not in the planning stages of the move exclusively.

to moving there. Occasionally these visits occurred long before a move to the area was contemplated, and were for such purposes as attending a wedding, or stopping to explore en route to a more distant location, and so forth.

While the number and occasions of these visits indicate the extent of prior contact with the receiving area, their perceived utility is also important. Nearly three-quarters of the women found the visits helpful in deciding to make the move, or in becoming acquainted with the area.

It made a big difference. When I heard we were moving to Burlington, all I could think of is all of the slums and pollution that you see from the Skyway Bridge. And that's what I thought I was going to move to. So the visit helped give me a more accurate idea of the layout of the city, and I was really excited about the house. (040)

Some respondents made a conscious effort to utilize the visit to acquire information both for themselves and for other family members.

I had made up my mind. I knew when I went back that the children would have...questions I'd have to answer. So, we devoted a lot of time to finding out things the children would want to know. What the school was like, and whether there was a church around they could join the choir of....That was what I did in the three or four days I had here, besides buying the house...We went to the church and met the minister...I could tell the children exactly what we were coming to...this is where the house is, and not far is the school, and there's a shopping centre and a park and there are tennis courts and a swimming pool and so that when they came, it wasn't a question of everything being strange. They had some idea of what the neighbourhood was like. (098)

By thus utilizing the time provided for house-hunting, some respondents were able to acquire information which subsequently eased their individual passage and their family's collective passage through the moving career.

The visit or visits made after the decision to relocate frequently involved a search for accommodation. Occasionally the overwhelming nature of the house-hunting task mitigated against any potential benefit from the visit.

We didn't hit Burlington looking for houses until the Thursday of the week we were here. We'd spent the other days in Mississauga and Oakville....If you've ever had to buy a house, it's terrible....We got to the point where we'd seen almost 100 homes, and we'd say, "What are we looking for? My God, what was wrong with that house?"....You get desperate....It was such a hard week on both of us, traipsing through houses....It's a terrible feeling to know that you have to have something....You are so desperate, so mesmerized, that you don't see anything about the area; it really doesn't help at all. It's all a blur by the time you get back from it. (050)

Time limitations or geographic restrictions imposed by staying in downtown hotels reduced the usefulness of the visit for a few women.

In Jones' (1973) research, respondents who had not made prior visits frequently felt that they could have used more information in the planning stages of the move. In this sample, 17 women (14 percent) had not visited the area prior to their move. Not all, however, perceived such visits as potentially useful. Eight of them felt that it would have been useful, while seven did not.

I'd never been to Ontario in my life. It really concerned me that I'd never seen it. I didn't know what it would be like. I had no idea what I was getting into, and I wondered, "What if I hate the place?" (033)

* * * * *

It would have helped....My husband insisted that I see the place before I moved, but I said, "No, that's okay". But I really didn't realize how small Caledonia was; I really might have chosen Hamilton rather than Caledonia if I had seen it. (119)

A few respondents felt that restricted time or lack of contacts to show them around would detract from the potential utility of such visits.

Jones' research emphasized the importance of friends in the receiving area as potential sources of information. Most respondents (71 percent) had some social contacts in Hamilton-Burlington prior to their move. The importance of these contacts in influencing the respondents' decisions to relocate to the Hamilton-Burlington area has been noted. However, few of these contacts provided specific information during the planning stages of the move. Some sent local newspapers to the migrants before the move, but friends in the receiving area generally provided assistance during the relocation stage, and not the planning stage.

Task Completion

The planning stage of the move is typically characterized by a plethora of tasks related to the move, tasks comprising the disengagement from a life in one community and the establishment of one in another. They may be performed by the wife alone, the husband alone, the spouses together, or by someone outside the conjugal unit. In the analysis of the planning stages of the move, I examine these tasks to ascertain whether specific ones typically fall to the wife. As the wife had a limited role in the initiation and shaping of her career during the decision-making stage of the move, I also examine her role in shaping her passage through this stage. Recalling Jones' finding of the relationship between involvement in the planning stages and subsequent satisfaction with the move, I analyze whether women perceive themselves as involved in the planning stage, and what form this involvement takes. Table 5.2 summarizes the results of this analysis.

There is considerable variability in the wife's involvement in the completion of various tasks. Those related to child care and the

TABLE 5.2

Division of Labour During Planning and Relocation Stages

Category Task	Task Performed by			
	Wife	Husband	Together	Other
	%*	%*	%*	%*
Informing Landlord/ Selling Residence (Applied to 94%)	33.9	28.7	27.8	9.6
Informing Utilities (Applied to 90%)	67.5	23.3	5.8	3.3
Informing School/Day Care (Applied to 49%)	83.3	10.0	1.7	5.0
Notifying Newspapers/ Magazines (Applied to 80%)	77.6	12.2	10.2	-
Notifying Driver's Licence Bureau (Applied to 95%)	19.7	34.2	46.2	-
Informing Family & Friends (Applied to 96%)	63.6	19.5	14.4	2.5
Arranging moving of possessions (Applied to 98%)	21.7	25.8	7.5	45.0
Packing (Applied to 100%)	17.1	1.6	7.3	74.0
Cleaning Previous Residence (Applied to 96%)	72.9	2.5	15.3	9.3
Selecting Home (Applied to 97%)	10.9	17.6	69.7	1.7
Negotiating Purchase/ Signing Lease (Applied to 97%)	8.4	21.0	68.9	1.7
Cleaning new home (Applied to 87%)	63.3	2.8	22.0	11.9
Unpacking (Applied to 100%)	33.6	4.9	41.0	20.5
Registering Children, School/Day Care (Applied to 54%)	68.2	10.6	19.7	1.5

Table 5.2 (cont'd)

Category Task	Task Performed by			
	Wife	Husband	Together	Other
	%*	%*	%*	%*
'Fixing-up'home (Applied to 88%)	12.0	7.4	50.0	30.6
Utilities Connected (Applied to 98%)	43.8	37.2	9.9	9.1
Damage Claims (Movers) (Applied to 45%)	48.5	40.9	4.5	6.1

* These percentages are for those respondents for whom the task was applicable.

cleaning of the previous and current residences typically were completed by women. The structural circumstances of the move influence when and by whom the tasks are completed. In the planning stages, women are often left on their own, and hence complete tasks individually. In the relocation stage of the career, with both spouses together, the same task more frequently is completed by the spouses jointly. The pre-move and post-move tasks associated with children's schooling are specific examples of this. In the planning stage, only 1.7 percent of the couples were jointly involved in informing the school and/or day care of the impending move. But once the move was made, 19.7 percent of the couples were jointly involved in registering the children in the new school. Nevertheless this task was still generally defined as one to be completed by the wife exclusively.

Similarly, the wife left behind in the previous community will arrange for the disconnection of utilities on her own there (67.5 percent), while her husband, already located in the Hamilton-Burlington area, will,

less frequently, arrange for the connection of utilities at that end (37 percent).

Certain tasks are more likely than others to be completed by the wife; some are typically joint activities (selecting residence and negotiating lease or purchase; painting and fixing up); while still others are most likely to be completed by someone else entirely (the engaging of a moving company by the husband's employer or Canada Manpower; the actual packing of household goods by the moving company). The wives' accounts do not identify any specific tasks typically completed by the husband during this or subsequent stages. There were few tasks in which the husband alone was involved during the planning and relocation stages of the moving career. Wives alone were far more likely than husbands alone to be involved in a large number of these 17 tasks.

TABLE 5.3

Task Completion During the Moving Career

Number of Tasks Completed	Wife Alone	Husband Alone	Couple Together	Other
	%	%	%	%
No Tasks	0.8	14.7	7.3	13.8
One Task	3.3	19.5	9.8	24.4
Two Tasks	7.3	19.5	12.2	21.1
Three - Five Tasks	28.5	40.6	45.5	37.4
Six - Nine Tasks	49.5	4.9	22.0	3.3
Ten or More Tasks	10.6	0.8	3.2	-
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 5.3 reveals that women were in fact more involved than anyone else in task completion during the planning and relocation stages. Where women alone performed the task, half completed six to nine of the tasks, and ten percent completed ten tasks or more. Only one respondent completed no tasks alone, but 15 percent of the husbands completed no tasks alone. Husbands alone were only as likely as "others" outside the family to be involved in task completion during this stage of the moving career. Having played more active roles than their wives in the decision-making stages of the career, in initiating and shaping the passage, the husbands had virtually no involvement at all at this stage of the career. During this stage the wife assumes more control over the shape of her passage, even though she played little part in instigating that passage.

This analysis confirms that women have a large and important role to play during the planning and relocation stages of the move. The specific task analysis presented in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 supports the observations in Chapter Four that either individually or in conjunction with her spouse, the wife and mother plays the key role in the move.

The structural circumstances of the move are related to the wife's experience of the planning stage. If the husband moves directly to the new job immediately after the decision-making stage, the division of labour during the planning stage of the move will likely differ from those situations where the spouses remain together up to and during the relocation stage.

In 64 (52 percent) of the moves, the husband proceeded to the new community before his wife and family. A variety of circumstances prompted the early move, which elicited a range of responses from the wives.

My husband was here two months before me. First of all he went to Welland to visit my daughter, and watched the paper and did a lot of phoning, and had interviews for jobs....I had to wait two months until I was 65 to retire and get my benefits. After working 20 years, I wasn't going to quit two months ahead and lose everything, eh? And I wanted to make sure if he liked it here or not, too. (090)

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My husband came here in August when the baby was a month old, and we could not find a place here that was available before October. He was living in the "Y" here, and rather than spending the time alone in our apartment in Toronto, I hiked up to Lindsay to my parents. Rather than coming to Toronto every weekend, my husband came to Lindsay. So we did that for a couple of months. It was just chaotic. (056)

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My husband was here in April. This was the first time we waited until July, because the boys all had things that they wanted to do. But I would prefer to do it the way we've always moved before, which is, towards the end of June. It gives them a chance to know the new kids for a week or so in school, whereas they came here cold and sat the whole summer by themselves. And so I will never do that again, if I can help it. (043)

A further 50 (41 percent) of the respondents remained with their spouses during the planning and relocation stages of the move. Occasionally this arrangement differed from what the family had expected.

We sold our home there quite quickly, much more quickly than we had anticipated. We originally thought my husband would come on ahead alone. We were planning that because (our daughter) was going into Grade 13 and we knew it was very bad to move her. But when the home sold so quickly, we had a lot of deciding and thinking to do, and we all came on together. (068)

A minority of the wives (7 percent) moved to Hamilton-Burlington before their husbands.

The wives responded differently to the particular moving arrangement in which they were involved. Forty (55 percent) of the

women who did not move with their spouse described this stage of the relocation as "difficult". The separation of the spouses during the pre-move stages of the moving career has received little research attention (Pahl and Pahl, 1971). It is most noticeably absent from the research on corporate wives by Seidenberg (1975), the very group for whom separation from the spouse in the planning stage is most common.

The disruptive impact of the period immediately prior to the move was another unexpected finding, and one strongly expressed by the women in this study*. A fifth of the sample (21 percent) found the period before the move to be the most disruptive stage of the moving career. A further 14 percent felt that the period immediately preceding and following the relocation were equally disruptive. In sum, a third of the respondents specifically cited the disruptive nature of the planning stage of the career. Despite this, the planning stage of the move is virtually ignored in most migration research.

Over half the wives responded negatively to separation from their husbands during this stage. They frequently cited such factors as the disruption of routine occasioned by his absence.

Generally with the moves, we're told on the Thursday and my husband reports to the job on the Monday. They give you a week in the new place to find a house, and then you wait until the closing date - apart. That's one of the hard parts of moving, I think, that transition period when you're separated, and flying back and forth, back and forth. (043)

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* I am not here referring to the two week period immediately preceding the move, which was identified by Jones (1973) as being disruptive of routine. I am here referring to a longer period, involving three or more weeks, and indeed months, for some wives.

It's a terrible, chaotic time. It's the worst part of moving for sure. You're just trying to live from weekend to weekend until you can get together and seem normal again. (056)

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I lived in Chatham for a couple of months with the kids so they could finish school, and my husband came home every second weekend. It was hard being with the children, and in a way it might have been easier for me if he hadn't come home. I used to look forward so much to his coming home, and then I just couldn't stand it when he had to go back. And I'd have to leave the house before he left. The first time it happened, I had no idea it was going to happen. All of a sudden, when he started packing up, I left. It was kind of awkward for him, but after that we got used to it, and he didn't even bother to - like he always knew where I went - all of a sudden I wasn't around, and he'd go up, pack his bags, and just leave, and then call a few days later. I just had to leave. I couldn't face not having him around. It was psychological, or something. (008)

The temporary suspension of couple-oriented social activities and patterns of interaction also disrupted the taken-for-granted reality for these wives.

The very hardest part of moving for a woman is being left alone. So often when he gets a new job, they send him off on a training programme for six weeks or two months, or some upper management training programme for four months. With me it happened that I was left alone in Georgia, Kamloops, Chatham, and here again I don't think that men realize what they are doing, or companies realize what they are doing, to ask somebody to stay alone in a city, a woman by herself. It is especially difficult because you are married. You do not have the social contacts, you can't date, what do you do? I was always very lonesome. (088)

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...when he's away like that, and I have been through separations like this before, with all the moves, I would have absolutely no social life at night, and I would store up all the problems and all the emotion until Friday night when he would come home, and then I would be a little withdrawn. And then

Saturday would be a little tense, and Sunday would be back to normal again....I have talked to gals who have been in the same situation. I thought I was alone in this happening, but with other women too, you would have this resentment factor, "Why aren't you here with me all week?" and then by Sunday we'd be getting back to normal again. In all these instances that he goes away and then comes back again, it takes a while to get back into a routine again. Now men don't seem to find it as difficult ...because they're being waited upon in many instances. And they do not have to think about cooking two meals or your privacy being upset, and so they just sort of cruise into it and can't understand why the women get all uptight. All of a sudden you have to have preparation for somebody else. (099)

The wives also cited the burden of carrying responsibility alone as complicating this moving arrangement. Caring for children (and the children's response to separation from their father) and responsibility for specific elements of the move were frequently problematic.

I definitely would have preferred to come together, because my boys have a good relationship with their father, and they really, honestly, and truly missed him....The worst part of the day is having supper with two kids. That has got to be the wildest part of the day. Mind you, my neighbours...were awfully good....It was hard on the boys, only seeing their father on the weekend. And he really took it hard, too. (003)

* * * * *

My husband was here for four months before I got the house in London sold, so I was there all alone. You know, with a four-year-old kid all alone, it really was a hassle. I had to do all the packing, all the real estate stuff, arranging movers. I came over here for three or four days at a time looking at houses and then I'd go back to London and wait for our place to be sold. And we had to have letters authorizing one to sell the house without the other being there. So it was a really big responsibility, because one awful weekend I could not contact Bruce - he was in Ottawa - ...and I had to make up my mind whether to accept an offer on the house. (097)

In other cases, the difficulty involved the emotional and social disengagement from the previous community, a process rendered more

difficult by the absence of the spouse.

Oh, that was a very hard time for me. I would have felt a lot better if he could have been there with me, because it was really a difficult time. Then in a way I guess you call upon strength that you didn't know you had. I really surprised myself.... What made it hardest was that I was the one that ended up having the good-bye parties and the good-bye dinners and this type of thing, because he was already gone. And I mean that was really bad. There was a dinner from work, a dinner from friends, and a house party at my house when there was no furniture...and that was really, really hard, because when you get to the weepies, the first thing you want is to have him there and I didn't have him there. That was really hard, all the good-bye parties and the farewells. (033)

Loneliness was another problem felt by these women. Frequently it was a response to the disruption of routine, the lack of social interaction, and gradual disengagement from the community. A number of women felt that the loneliness experienced during the planning stage equalled if not surpassed the loneliness felt after the move.

I used to find the times on any of my moves very long and this one here I found really long because we were on the island...and stranded for about two weeks with snow last winter....We were trying to sell our house privately too, and with Fred down here, I was scared. I didn't know what to do about the forms that had to be signed and that. But then we gave it to an agent to handle, which was a help. I know it was hard when Fred was down here and I was alone in Belleville. I only had the girls to talk to when they came home from work and schools and other than that the phone never rang. Not that it rings here, but it might, someday. But the people knew we were moving, and still no one ever said, "Gee, Ginny's all alone tonight. I'll go over and sit with her." It was long and hard for three months. And of course, when Fred came home on the weekends, you couldn't expect too much because he was tired from working all week and living in motel rooms. On the weekend you couldn't expect too much to talk about from him because he was more or less beat and had to make the trip back. (092)

This period of separation can be difficult for the husband as well. Several wives cited the loneliness their husbands experienced as they lived in hotel and motel rooms away from their families, or the responsibilities the husbands alone carried for finding a home and coming to terms with their new jobs.

My husband had to come in May, so it was a long disruption until we came the end of August. I couldn't come because I had to stay behind until the house got sold, and it took a long time to sell our house in CalgaryIt was very hard on him living here with his brother and sister-in-law, and he would come home once a month, and he was really getting fed up with this business. This went on for May and June, and finally he came home the beginning of July and said, "You're going to come back with me and house hunt." I didn't want to come back and start looking for a house until that house was sold in Calgary, and I said ...(that)...to him. So we came here to Burlington, and quite late one night the real estate agent called with an offer on the Calgary house, so that was a great huge load off our shoulders, so we could go ahead and really look in earnest...it was really quite a time. (058)

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For me, it wasn't as bad as I thought it would be, because the neighbours were pretty good, but I also had to look after getting the place ready for the movers, and that....But it was very hard on my husband. He leased the townhouse on his own. I think it would have been better if we both could have come, because he was so worried that I wasn't going to like it at all. When I arrived with the children, and we were at the motel, he drove me out and said, "This is where we'll be living", and I kept asking him all about it, and his anxiety over it was really intense. (016)

However, the wives felt generally that this stage is harder for the wife than for her husband. The continuity of the job, the freedom from responsibility for child and home concerns, and the integration into the new community through co-workers and the like facilitated the husband in his passage through this stage in the career.

Not all the wives found separation from their spouses difficult, however. Some could place the separation within the context of taken-for-granted reality. Their husbands frequently travelled in their jobs, or this was but one in a long series of such separations. In this context, the separation was not disruptive, but rather routine and non-problematic.

No, it wasn't difficult, because he was on this accelerated management course...and he had to go to different cities and he was away for about four months. So, that's why it seemed longer that he was away on this move. Actually, he was only here six weeks before us, and I didn't find that difficult because by then I was used to it. (070)

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It wasn't difficult. He had had a travelling job. The big asset of this job was that he wasn't travelling any more, which he was really looking forward to. So I was used to that, and he'd come back to London through the week and on the weekends, so it wasn't a problem. (040)

Here again the importance of the continuity of events and experiences throughout the moving career is apparent. When the periods of separation were normal life events the wives responded as to one more in continuous series of such events. When this was not a typical event, the planning stage was perceived as discontinuous and quite disruptive of 'normal' everyday living.

Summary

The planning stage is an important transitional period, bridging the decision to leave and the relocation itself. Through their involvement in a variety of tasks central to this stage, many wives have some control over how they live while in passage. However, a number of wives do not define these tasks in terms of control: some perform them because

they feel that "no one else will", or define them as basically unimportant ("I do all the mediocre things"). These comments emphasize the variable nature of status passage control as the wife passes through the moving career. Glaser and Strauss note that "Even when not allowing complete choice, agents adjust the degree of choice that pertains to voluntariness or inevitability of the passage in its various dimensions. Depending on the particular passage, the passagee is given freedom regarding matters such as work schedules, leisure activities..." (1971: 105). In this research, the wives had little control over the initiation of the passage, but clearly have some control over the shape of the passage in the planning stage of the career.

I say "some" deliberately. The tasks they control are not highly regarded by many wives. The husband's employer continues to control the passage through the demand that the husband be situated at the new job immediately. It may seem that the employer controls only the husband's passage, and that the couple themselves have control over the rest of the family's passage through the moving career. They can choose to wait until school is out, or summer arrives, before proceeding to the relocation stage. This is only partly true. By controlling the husband's passage and demanding he go on ahead, the employer controls the wife's passage because she is left on her own to carry a variety of additional responsibilities, and is subjected to the premature disruption of her taken-for-granted reality. She also may be subject to the control of external factors, such as the selling of a home, before she can proceed through the career.

During this stage the loss of routine and disruption of 'normalcy' begins. Twenty-six (21 percent) of the women felt that the period

immediately preceding the move itself was the most disruptive period of the moving career. A further 17 (13.8 percent) felt that this period was as disruptive as the period following the move.

There is a period of disruption from when you find out you're moving until you're on the road. Your lives really are disrupted because you have people coming in to view your home. I find that a very hectic period. You can't go out when you want to. You have to keep your house really clean. You have to be on your toes. The first couple of weeks in the new place you're getting things in order, but at least it's more of a constructive thing. Before the move is the worst, and with your husband already gone on to the new job, that's when everything gets left to you. Sometimes you wonder if you can handle it. (012)

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Before the move, with people traipsing through your house with the real estate agent for days on end, it's total disruption, and you're trying to pack and organize for the move. Your home just isn't the same during that time, and you're uncertain that you'll sell it for the price you want, and you're waiting and waiting, so you can just get on with it. (095)

The observations of these women highlight the importance of the pre-relocation stages of the moving career, an importance frequently overlooked by migration researchers. The decision-making stage sets the definition of the move, and initiates the moving career. The planning stage, while essentially one of preparing for subsequent stages and terminating previous passages, becomes a difficult one for many women and, for some, the stage most disruptive of taken-for-granted reality.

CHAPTER SIX

PASSING THROUGH THE MOVING CAREER: RELOCATION AND SETTLING-IN

This chapter continues the analysis of the wife's moving career with an examination of the relocation and settling-in stages. In the relocation stage, I examine such factors as the physical sequencing of the move, the assistance received by migrants, their responses to leaving and arrival, their familiarity with the role of mover, and the disruptive impact of this stage on the family routine. Examination of the settling-in stage addresses the issues of the re-establishment of 'normal' living, and the woman's utilization of her husband, children, neighbours, occupational status and community organizations as resources in shaping her passage through the final stages of the moving career.

The Relocation

This stage involves the actual movement of household possessions and family members to the new area, the leaving of one social world and the arrival in the new and frequently unknown other world. Much of the ground work for this stage is laid down in the planning stage, and many of the tasks previously discussed are relevant for the moving stage. In this analysis I examine the structural elements of the stage, including both financial and physical assistance received, the role of already-established community contacts in facilitating passage through this stage, and the relative benefits of familiarity with the role of mover. Relocation, however, also involves leavetaking. I examine the wife's response to leavetaking as she embarks upon the career of the

'stranger'. The relationship between familiarity with the role of mover and wife's ease of transition from the community member to leave-taker to newcomer role is also explored.

The relocation stage is an expensive, generally disruptive, time consuming and tiring phase of the moving career. Nevertheless, the amount of planning which has preceded it generally smoothens the passage through this stage. Most respondents received some financial assistance with this stage. A quarter of the sample, who moved under the auspices of the Canada Manpower Mobility Programme, were financially assisted by the federal government which assumed the costs of the actual movement of household goods, travel expenses of family, and related costs of job-seeking and house-hunting. A further 55 percent received some or complete financial reimbursement for the cost of the move. Most of the wives expressed satisfaction with the type and extent of assistance provided by employers.

(This company) has got a terrific moving policy, that's one thing it does do. They pay for everything and also they'll put you up in hotels and motels for six to eight weeks if your house isn't ready or if there's a problem. And they also give you a fair bit of time to come down and look for a house, but it's still a rush, and they also give you a guaranteed price on your house. (009)

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They paid for our rent left on our lease and the difference on the new carpet to fit this place. It's a very good company, really. (013)

Other wives mentioned such specific types of assistance as a "relocation allowance" (to cover such expenses as getting draperies shortened or lengthened, or carpet size adjusted, or outstanding lease paid). In addition to giving the financial assistance, some company officials and staff helped to integrate the newcomer family into the

receiving area. In this capacity, they act as what Christiansen-Ruffman describes as "cultural brokers", purposefully helping the newcomer to learn about the local area and to become part of the new community (1976: 117). In this role, company representatives provide essential information which facilitates passage through this stage of the career, and which becomes incorporated into the taken-for-granted reality of the new milieu. Occasionally such assistance is instrumentally oriented, in that it is part of "company tradition", or a prescribed aspect of what the outgoing employee does for the incoming employee.

It's customary when you move that the old inspector has the new inspector over for dinner. It's not necessary, but you do that. (047)

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The company sales representatives helped us a lot, in showing us around and telling us about the place. And the company takes care of us in terms of paying for the move, too. (022)

Other wives emphasized the expressive orientation of this assistance, with specific people in the office being especially helpful and kind.

The company paid for the move. And some people in the office have helped an awful lot, showing Brian around, and introduced us to the church. His boss told us all about the painter and where to go for our drapes, and places to take the kids, places we would never have known about. (004)

A minority of the wives defined the company as being of "no help at all", despite the fact that the company financed the move.

The company doesn't help at all. The wives have to make the friends for the couple, because in his job he has no office friends. All he knows are customers and dealers. (011)

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I know some people who have moved and the company sort of has a buddy system where someone takes charge and shows you around, but not here, ... he's the only

one who really works for the company here, so we're pretty much on our own. (016)

The wives generally expressed a measured gratitude for the company's assistance. Many, however, felt that since the company had initiated the move, providing such assistance was the least they could do. Other wives expressed some concern about loss of control over the passage as a corollary of receiving financial assistance.

....And I think the companies feel that if they're paying a moving company to pack for you and unpack, then what are you complaining about with the moves, you know. You just go. But simply paying for the move doesn't give them the right. (018)

Previous contacts in the receiving area are another potential source of assistance to migrants during the relocation stage. Three-quarters of those who had prior contacts in Hamilton-Burlington found them helpful. Their assistance ranged from providing temporary residence, to assisting with house- and apartment- hunting, to taking newcomers for drives to acquaint them with the area. Besides assistance with the physical move, they also provided continuity for migrants. In many cases they represented a waiting cohort of 'significant others' who provided social and emotional support.

If we hadn't known family here, we would have selected a less remote area. We don't have to rely on new friends. We have our families for contact and companionship. (011)

A quarter of the respondents who had previous contacts did not find them helpful. In most cases these contacts had disappointed the migrant by being unfriendly, uncooperative, or generally unreliable.

They were no help at all. They're people to themselves, and you keep to yourself. I don't even see them. I went to see them when we first came, and with me when you don't feel at home in a place, I don't go back. (077)

For a minority, contacts were not helpful because the migrant did not need any help during this stage. Respondents suggested that since the employer was taking care of most needs, there was no necessity for "bothering" anyone else.

As far as staying some place, the bank foots the bill so we stayed in a hotel, so you don't inconvenience anybody. As far as finding a house, we decided what areas we would look, and when he got here, he got in touch with real estate people to help him. He gave them the price range and the area, and that's all the help we needed. (047)

Although neighbours are another potential source of assistance during the relocation stage, they were not mentioned by the respondents. The meeting of the neighbours appeared to be generally initiated by the respondents themselves, and occurred after the relocation stage. This will be discussed further in the analysis of the settling-in stage.

In Chapter Three I discussed the migrants' familiarity with the role of mover based on their previous experiences with relocation. I suggested that familiarity with the role of mover may facilitate the experience of relocation for the migrant wife. As the moving career is repeated, the wife may become more familiar with the staging, sequencing and temporal progression of that career, and in so doing learn techniques for easing the passage through the stages of the career.

Most wives (57 percent) felt that relocation does become easier with experience. Forty-one percent felt that it does not become any easier, and two percent could not state an opinion.

Respondents who had made only one move were somewhat more likely than experienced movers to report that relocation becomes easier the more often one does it ($Tau B = .11$, $Sign. = .13$). This reflected their expectation that it would, rather than their experience that it had.

There was some association between the perception of moves as easier with experience, and the respondent's liking of the relocation experience (Tau C = .124, Sign. = .08). Those who did not think that moving became easier were slightly more inclined to dislike moving than those who did equate experience and ease of the passage.

The wives attached different meanings to the terms "moving easier". The majority of the women who responded that relocation becomes easier with experience focused upon the physical demands of the relocation process.

They do. You find you know what people to call and what things to get done first, in terms of telephone and hydro. This time I found it only took a day and a half to get settled, and there was only my husband and my sister to do everything. (039)

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Yes, moving definitely becomes easier. You learn through experience. Okay, moving day is a big confusing day, anyway, so if you can just learn to get a couple of rooms organized. Don't worry that things aren't unpacked. Don't try and do everything at once. That's the biggest part of it. That, and what's worth keeping and what's worth paying to have moved. You don't collect a lot of garbage. (091)

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Moving becomes easier, because you learn how to make your "home" quickly. I think it's a knack. When we moved in the army, it was like an unspoken law. The first thing we did was make the beds. My mother always insisted upon it, beds first and then the cooking utensils. As long as you could eat and sleep, the rest could be done at any time. You get into a routine. You learn that priorities of unpacking - what to leave until last and what to unpack. That really helps a lot when you're moving. (098)

The wives who did not feel that relocation becomes easier with experience addressed a broader range of concerns than the physical requirements of the moves. These women focused on the tedious repetitive-

ness of the physical move, but also decried the emotional uprooting which becomes no easier despite its recurrence.

Oh, not at all! Each move has made me more angry, and more resentful and more bitter. All the good jobs* I've had to give up, all the packing and unpacking, the endless decorating, always making new friends, never having old reliable friends - it definitely gets harder. (099)

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No, harder. I guess that maybe...I'm getting older. I think I'm starting to want to seek roots and therefore it's getting harder on me. And it was just getting harder because I was holding good jobs* and you get discouraged to think "Okay, because of my husband, I'm leaving a job that I really enjoy, and I'm going to look for one for \$130 a week!" That's hard. And I guess you always tended to feel that...you did it for your husband because if he's happy in his work, then you should be happy, too. And then that started to wear a bit too; the novelty of that was going. "Okay, I'm doing this for him, but what is happening to me?" I guess because you become...a little more selfish along the way. And now my children are going to be the primary concern, and I want roots for them. (063)

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That's a hard question to answer because the second move was much harder than the first. What way do you mean that, harder? Emotionally? Physically, yes, it's a lot easier because you've had the experience and you know what to expect and what you have to go through. But emotionally it doesn't become easier. The second move emotionally was much, much more difficult for us. The first move was a really happy occasion. You're getting the experience of the two moves here, aren't you? And the one's the complete opposite to the other. It's very contradictory, isn't it? (058)

In examining the socially disruptive correlates of relocation, I cited Tiger's suggestion that some families may respond to repeated

* In spite of the fact that a number of the wives related the difficulty of recurring relocation to their occupational careers, there was no relationship between the perception of moves as easier or not, and the occupational status of the wife (Tau C = .03, Sign. = .34).

relocation by "detaching" themselves, by not allowing themselves to build social and emotional attachments which will only have to be severed ultimately. This is one of a number of potential responses to frequent relocation, but it was only rarely mentioned by the respondents. Although they were quite mobile, although they spoke of the pain of pulling up roots, the need to establish those roots in each new community appeared to prevail. Only a few of the wives echoed the sentiment of this respondent:

NO!! I wouldn't say so. Everytime you move, you have to find a new doctor, a new dentist, and you have to get to know your street and your new neighbours. You get to the point where you feel "Why bother?" In this case, if it wasn't for (our son), playing with the children and I get to know their parents, other than that, I wouldn't know anyone. You just can't face making the effort anymore. Emotionally, you're tired.
(047)

In spite of recurring uprootedness, the need to establish a new social world within each new geographical world, to develop new significant others, was evident among these women. This establishment and development appeared, however, to become no easier with familiarity with the role of mover*.

A minority of the respondents who did not feel that the moves become easier, nevertheless spoke of the impact of the first move.

The first move is hard. After that, I don't know if it's easier, but maybe it's all equal after that. It could get harder later when the kids are older, but right now it doesn't really matter. But the first one did matter. (070)

* In the next section of this chapter, I examine how familiarity with the role of mover does relate to the initiation of neighbourhood contacts during the settling-in stage.

The observations of these women parallel those of the women who questioned the investment in soon-to-be-forgotten social and emotional relationships. The similarity lies in the recognition that after the first move, subsequent relationships are more fleeting, and therefore their disruption "doesn't matter" as much as being uprooted from primary socialization and childhood contacts. Nevertheless, this was a minority sentiment, not at all as prevalent as the observations of Tiger (1974) and Packard (1972) suggest.

Although the majority of the respondents felt that moving becomes easier with experience, those who expressed this position referred almost exclusively to the physical demands of relocation. They cited their facility with such structural components of relocation as knowing whom to contact for services, and how to organize moving day, and the unpacking in particular. All of these elements constitute requirements of the relocation stage of the moving career. On the other hand, familiarity with the role of mover did not facilitate emotional, social or psychological response to relocation. Even women who purportedly could "pack up a house within two days" reflected that relocation frequently becomes more rather than less difficult over time. For many respondents, issues not only of a recurring sense of rootlessness but also of age and family life cycle stage are relevant to this assessment of increased difficulty. These variables are analyzed further in the next chapter.

While the physical disruption of the move is generally resolved during the moving stage of the career, the emotional and social disruption are frequently not addressed and resolved until the settling-in stage. Familiarity with the role of mover thus frequently facilitates

the ease of the passage through the relocation stage of the moving career, but not through the subsequent settling-in stage. This finding corroborates Christiansen-Ruffman's assertion that

...although the newcomers overwhelmingly said that their previous moves were helpful and...although there were indications that previous moves helped individual newcomers, in the aggregate moving experience seems to have been helpful only during... the moving-in stage....(T)here was no support for the hypothesis that the greater the number of previous moves, the more successful the newcomer career (1976: 243).

This discussion of increasing ease with the physical demands of the move and increasing discomfort* with the social and emotional demands of the move essentially involves a recognition that relocation is a leavetaking. As such, it has been compared to such life events as getting fired, experiencing retirement, bereavement, divorce, and the empty nest** (Feinberg et al., 1978). To understand the wife's response to the relocation stage of the moving career, we must consider her response to that event which separates the planning from the relocation stage: the leaving of the previous community. The wife's response to this leavetaking will be related to her response to the relocation stage, and warrants examination here.

In describing their feelings at the time of leaving the previous community and embarking upon the actual relocation, half of the respondents stated that they were "eager" (50 percent), a quarter (26

* Or, at best, lack of increasing facility with emotional and social demands.

** These other leavetakings are frequently associated with relocation as well. If temporally occurring too closely, or if one is undertaken before response to the other is resolved, a turmoil of identity and social isolation may result. For an example of the problems associated with relocation following widowhood, see Caine, 1974.

percent) had "mixed" feelings, and the remainder (23.6 percent) felt "reluctant" to leave. The wives cited a variety of reasons for feeling eager to leave, ranging from escape from family pressures, to dislike of previous community, to the acceptance of relocation as a way of life.

I was perhaps a rare breed in that I was quite prepared to leave, happy to leave, but I think I've always had myself geared that way. When we went out there, it was to be a five year move, and now it was seven years, and I was ready to leave. (059)

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Any move, I'm ready to go. My bags are always packed. I thrive on it in terms of new experiences and just something new. (039)

While these respondents indicated that their eagerness toward the move reflected their attitude toward moving generally, this was not typically true of those who were pleased to leave their previous community. The fact that this move represented a return migration for just over a third (36 percent) of the respondents is relevant here*. The prospect of moving back to a familiar area evidently coloured the responses of some wives to the leavetaking.

In terms of this move, I was thrilled, but in terms of the move out west, I was taken kicking and screaming to Edmonton almost literally....I was determined that I didn't want to meet anybody when I went there. I felt, if you're going to be up-rooted, why get close to people? Oh, I went through a lot of trauma. And the kids too. Coming back here was coming home. (009)

For other women, eagerness to leave the previous community related to the absence of any ties to bind them to that location. This recalls the preceding discussion of maintaining detachment as a

* This includes the five percent of the wives who were born in Hamilton-Burlington, and the four percent who were born within a 35 mile radius of Hamilton.

response to recurring mobility. While there was no indication that these wives had consciously avoided making emotional commitments, the fact remained that they had not done so. This appeared to ease their passage through the transitional stage of leavetaking.

Eager, not because I hated it there, what I should say is that the first move is the hardest. After that, I don't think you care. Like for us, it'll always be a good move, a better move. As far as the city itself, I could have stayed there, or I could have left. There was no reason to stay, there was just no reason to stay. There was just acquaintances. There's no real friends or anything, so it doesn't make any difference. (070)

Those respondents who expressed mixed feelings about the leavetaking felt so for a number of reasons. These included factors relating to family, like or dislike of the previous community and response to relocation as a recurring event.

My feelings were very mixed, in that my family is in southern Ontario, so it was good for me in that I was coming closer to my family...but I had very good friends up there. The north is a wonderful place. And I felt very close to my friends for the first time....In Kenora I could say there were about ten girls that I could really count on and enjoy. So, that made it harder to leave. (063)

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I was happy, and yet I wasn't ecstatic. I had mixed feelings. I thought it was nice to come back to family. Mind you, sometimes when you've been away for quite some time, and then you've got to get involved again, you don't realize how much freedom you had when you were away, and a lot of the times your time gets demanded a lot more than it normally would have....I was aware of this, and felt mixed about it. (043)

Coming closer to family through relocation can trigger mixed feelings but in other cases leaving family behind contributed to the ambivalence the women experienced.

I was sort of excited on the one hand to get away..., but when it came to the crunch, I really wish I hadn't. I'd never say to Bob "I really don't want to go", because I think I married for better or worse, and so maybe it's worse for six months and then the better later. And yet...I went off to Burlington to try to make a success of it. But really when I sat down and thought about it, the only people I was really going to miss were my parents, and I'm married to Bob. And yet it was such a hard time... (050)

A balancing of push and pull factors characterizes many relocation experiences. When the factors pushing a family from one community were strong, but the actual relocation also presented problems, mixed feelings were often engendered.

I had mixed feelings, really. We were very glad to leave Quebec, to be perfectly honest about that... but it was a big thing for my husband to take on in his fifties. I mean financially. The moving didn't worry us at all. We're...from army families, both of us...and we're used to sort of packing all our goods and chattels and taking off. But it was just the finance that worried us because we just didn't know if we were going to make it, or not. (098)

For some wives, dislike of the previous community was strong, but the prospect of yet another relocation mediated the desire for a move.

We were tired of moving. We moved in May, in August, and we turned around again and moved in December, so it was becoming a drag but we wanted to leave London. We had to, for my husband to get work. (091)

In a few cases, the wife's mixed reactions to the move were a combination of her own willingness to move and reluctance on the part of her children.

Those respondents who felt reluctant to leave were more likely to be first time movers, or those relocating after an extended residence (ten or more years) in the previous community. For these respondents the leavetaking was clearly a difficult uprooting, frequently involving an emotional wrenching which the term "reluctant" does not adequately capture.

I felt reluctant. Toronto is my home, and we were involved there, and at the time I thought it was going to be very difficult not only leaving the job, but leaving the city. I'd made a lot of friends. Forty-five miles does not sound like a long distance to go, but it's just a world away. (056)

* * * * *

Leaving all your relatives and everything behind, this was a big move. And my husband kept saying, "Now you know what it's going to be like. You should read that book Future Shock, you know". And I'd say, "I can do it. I'm not worried about it." It was sort of exciting, and then after I'd done it, I thought, "Oh my God, what have I done?" I'd have to say I was reluctant to leave Richmond, but then I said I'd do it. You know how you say you'll do it, and then I thought, "Gee, I wish I hadn't." (053)

* * * * *

(Our daughter) and I were very upset, very upset. About two weeks before we found out we were moving, we had our whole house redone with vinyl siding. We had no idea of moving....I knew he was going to get that job, I just knew it! But of course, I was hoping he wouldn't. But I knew how much he wanted it. This all happened on our holidays,...when Kate and I came with him to Toronto for the interview, and that really put a damper on the holidays. When my husband walked in the room and said he got the job, I locked myself in the bathroom and cried my heart out. Kate was very upset. I loved Haliburton, I just loved it....Many times I think my husband considered not taking the job because of how Kate and I felt. (031)

In some cases the wife and mother was quite reluctant to move because it meant the disruption of her nuclear and extended family. The relationship between family life cycle stage and the wife and mother's response to moving is analyzed in Chapter Seven. Other respondents who were reluctant to move did not feel as strong a sentiment as they had with their first relocation.

The first move was really hard - exciting, but wrenching. With this move, I was upset, because we'd been there for two and a half years, and I'd just started to make friends. But I wasn't as upset as with the first move. (016)

The responses to leavetaking reveal a variety of definitions of the situation of the move. Family ties, acceptance of mobility as a way of life, family life cycle stage and attachment to the previous community emerged as factors important to migrant wives in their responses to leavetaking. In a number of cases - particularly with respect to return migration - the attitude toward the move to Hamilton-Burlington influenced the response to leavetaking as well. The orientation toward the receiving area is thus pertinent to the analysis of responses during the relocation stage. In spite of a range of responses to leavetaking, most respondents (76 percent) wanted to move to Hamilton-Burlington specifically. This is further confirmation of how migrants separate the decision to leave and the decision of where to go.

While the same factors which influenced response to leavetaking entered into the evaluation of the desirability of the receiving area, other considerations were also important. Occupational opportunities for women were of specific concern for some.

I had talked to a few people out west who knew people who had lived in this area and who said it was a lovely area. I was definitely very gung-ho simply because this was an area that professionally offered me a lot more opportunities, and where my bilingualism would be useful in a lot of other areas. (060)

Other women cited such factors as a negative impression of the landscape of the area, or simply lack of information about the area, as influencing their negative orientation toward the place.

I anticipated that these pre-move orientations, such as feelings about leaving and whether the wife wanted to move to Hamilton-Burlington specifically, would contribute to the wife's definition of the moving situation and thereby relate to her response to the move. This was.

confirmed. Table 6.1 summarizes these findings.

TABLE 6.1
The Relationship between
Feelings about Leavetaking and Current Happiness

Feelings about Leavetaking	Current Happiness							
	Not Happy		Mixed Feelings		Happy		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Reluctant	10	52.6	14	50.0	5	6.6	29	23.6
Mixed Feelings	5	26.3	8	28.6	19	25.0	32	26.0
Eager	4	21.1	6	21.4	52	68.4	62	50.4
TOTAL	19	100.0	28	100.0	76	100.0	123	100.0

Tau B = .475, Sign. = .00

The respondents' feelings about leaving the previous community are significantly related to their current happiness with the move. Table 6.2 illustrates the relationship between the initial desire to come to Hamilton-Burlington and current happiness with the move.

There was evidently a strong relationship between whether the respondents wanted to come to Hamilton-Burlington specifically and whether they were subsequently happy with the move. Nearly three-quarters of those who did want Hamilton-Burlington were happy, contrasted with just over a quarter of those who had not wanted to move there specifically.

In the discussion of the planning stage of the move I noted that approximately a third of the respondents defined this stage as disruptive of normal living, and nearly a quarter described it as the most disruptive stage of the moving career. As might be expected, an even larger proportion of the wives viewed the period immediately following

TABLE 6.2

The Relationship between the Desire to
Move to Hamilton-Burlington, and Current Happiness

Feelings about Moving to Area	Current Happiness							
	Not Happy		Mixed Feelings		Happy		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Did not want to come	10	52.6	11	39.3	8	10.5	29	23.6
Wanted to come	9	47.4	17	60.7	68	89.5	94	76.4
TOTAL	19	100.0	28	100.0	76	100.0	123	100.0

Tau C = .341, Sign. = .00

the relocation as very disruptive (43 percent). Thirty-six (29 percent) of them cited this period as the most disruptive time for them. Issues related to "getting the house settled", missing family and friends, not knowing anyone or where to go for services, contributed to the perception of disruption during this time.

One respondent suggested that the role of the van lines agent influences whether the relocation is more disruptive before or after the actual move. As the majority of respondents relocated with the assistance of a van line, this observation is relevant here.

There is disruption after the move. Actually, when the mover is doing the moving, you're only disrupted a short time. They came in one day and packed everything that I didn't need and left everything that I did need until the morning of the move. They do it all at the last minute where if you're doing it yourself, you're packing for weeks in advance. And it takes a long time to get ready for a move. So when you're doing the move yourself, most of the disruption is before you go. But when the movers are doing it, it's more disruptive after you get to the new place, I find.
(096)

While there is some evidence supporting the armchair observation of this respondent, the data provide some contrary evidence as well. Among migrant families, those who have been transferred within a corporation or chartered bank are very high users of the services of professional movers. In the sample, many of the women having benefit of professional movers - which one might expect to ease the passage through the relocation stage - were women whose husbands were transferred ahead of their families, and who subsequently found the planning stage to be highly disruptive of normal family life. In these cases the correlation suggested by the respondent cited above does not hold.

This research assumes that relocation disrupts the taken-for-granted reality and routine of the person experiencing it. In this study, however, 44 women (35.8 percent of the sample) did not define relocation as disruptive of normal everyday living. A variety of factors were associated with this position. Some women emphasized the role of return migration in promoting continuity. Others found the current move not disruptive only in comparison with earlier, more disruptive moves.

I had no job to quit this time and my husband transferred back to an office he'd worked in before, so there were no heart-wrenching good-byes, so there was not so much of a disruption. (013)

In the review of the literature, I noted research findings that relocation may be physically, socially and/or psychologically disruptive. In this study the wives' responses varied, depending on which of these meanings they associated with the term 'disruption'. Women who did not find the move disruptive stressed the immediacy with which the physical environment of the home was re-established after the move. They clearly defined disruption in physical terms.

Once we got in the house and found a place to eat a place to sleep, everything was normal....The bed linens and the kitchen utensils are the last thing to go on and the first thing off the truck. So right away beds are made and the kettle is out. Once you can eat and sleep, then there is no disruption. (098)

Women who perceived the move as disruptive either before or during the relocation stage generally discussed issues of social or psychological disruption. This distinction between the physical and social elements of relocation recalls the earlier discussion of familiarity with the role of mover as facilitating the physical move, but not the socio-emotional response to the move. Relocation is both a physical and a social career. Familiarity with the role of mover facilitates the physical career and likely lessens its disruptive impact. Most women, however, find the move socially disruptive, and life becomes gradually "routine" as they pass through the settling-in stage of the moving career.

Settling-In

The stage of settling-in represents the termination of the moving career. Individuals may progress to stages involving feeling comfortable and feeling-accepted, which may take years after embarking upon the moving career or which may, in fact, never happen at all (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1976). Settling-in commences once the physical concerns of moving household goods and possessions have been dealt with, and the migrant begins initial tentative explorations in the new social world*. Passage through this stage terminates with the feeling of

* For some people, the feeling of "being settled" is achieved almost immediately, and in these cases the relocation and settling-in stages coincide.

"being settled", whatever the migrant conceives that to be. As the migrant wife progresses through this stage of the moving career, a number of factors are associated with the achieving of a sense of being settled. Her own response to the relocation stage of the career, the perceived helpfulness of her spouse, and how her children respond to the move are all related to her response. Similarly, factors related to the continuity or discontinuity of her life, such as changes in occupational status, extended family contacts, and organizational affiliations are relevant to her experience of this stage.

Glaser and Strauss emphasize that temporality is an important property of status passages, and of concern to the person undergoing the passage. We have seen that there is variation among migrants in the temporal progression of their passage through the moving career. Migrants plan their relocation for varying lengths of time; families relocate together at the same time, or one family member proceeds to the new location first, leaving the rest of the family behind for varying lengths of time. Similarly, migrants pass through the settling-in stage within a variety of time spans. Earlier we discussed the migration literature's treatment of the concept of feeling settled, and the apparent consensus that six months is the time it takes to feel settled in the receiving area. The variety of temporal progressions involved in becoming settled relate to the variety of meanings which migrants attach to the feeling of being "settled-in".

There was extensive variability among the respondents concerning the length of time they perceived as necessary for feeling "settled-in". A third felt settled immediately upon arrival in Hamilton-Burlington. For the other migrants, this process ranged from one month (15.6 percent),

two-three months (16 percent), four to six months (seven percent), seven months to a year (eight percent), or more than a year (18 percent). Those who felt settled immediately defined feeling "settled-in" in structural or physical terms, such as having the house in order, or having pictures on the walls.

I was really all settled in about two days after the move. I have it down to an absolute art of moving. We had people come to help the night we moved in, and the only thing left to do was hang two curtain rods. Everything else was done. No one could believe it.... It's just that I've moved so many times now and I know exactly how to organize it all so that I'll have everything in the right spot. (097)

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When we move in, we have moving day and the day after to start to feel settled. Usually it's a day and a half. When that picture is hung on the wall, that's it, it's home again. (091)

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It takes a week. It has to be that soon. You just resign yourself to the fact. I try to get my house in order as quickly as possible because we're there so short a duration that it has to be our home from the moment we get in here. I very seldom look back and think, "I remember this house" or "I remember that kitchen". I don't compare. You learn that along the way. It makes it easier to settle if you don't compare. And getting your pictures on the walls is one of the most important things to me. That's really the thing that signifies the end. That's what makes us feel at home. (063)

A smaller proportion of those respondents who settled in immediately defined it in social psychological terms, as a feeling of liking and being comfortable with where you happen to be.

I liked it and felt settled here from the day I moved in. I really liked this house. This was the first place that I've had where I could say that I would like to stay for some time, or that I really don't want to move....I'll look back and remember this house. It's a nice place to live and I settled in right away.

That's important to feeling settled, yes, liking where you are and the area that you're in. (052)

Respondents who characterized feeling settled in social-psychological terms, however, generally described the achieving of this state as a more lengthy process. The achieving of this feeling frequently involved considerable effort on the wives' part. They had to force themselves not to dwell on the past, and to make contacts in the new community.

It takes about three months to settle, that's all, if you're going to settle at all....You can't live in the past, and I think myself that you have to make the effort and say, "Well, this is it. I'm here, and I've got to make the best of it." You've just got to cut from the past....Everytime you move, you've got to make a go of it....You just get used to the surroundings and get going....If you have that attitude that "Other people are doing it and are happy here. I can do it, too", it's half the battle won. (098)

* * * * *

After six months, you pretty much adjust to it. That's what I said to my son. Here he was coming home from school crying, a big boy like that, crying. So I said, "Let's try it for six months and if after six months you don't fit in, I'll take you back to the school there and you can live with my sister". But now he doesn't want to go back, so you feel much better after six months. The first months, it's an adjustment and you have to push yourself. You can't let go. You've got to help yourself because you can't depend on everybody. It's yourself that you have to help. (054)

Whether defined in structural or social-psychological terms, familiarity with the role of mover is not associated with increased ease or brevity of the settling-in process. Indeed, a number of respondents who felt that this stage of their status passage took "over a year" specifically referred to their familiarity with this passage.

It takes a long time. We are here nearly a year, and we still have things to do - pictures on the wall, and that sort of thing. It used to annoy me when we moved, as soon as we got in the house my husband

would want to get the living room straightened out and the pictures on the wall the first night we were in. "You never know...who might drop in." But now he couldn't care less. It's hard for me to answer, because it's not often we're in one home that long! Although it is amazing once you get in it and get your belongings around you, how quickly it begins to feel like home...and settling in is easier during the school year when the children can make friends easier. (072)

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The earlier moves we made, it seemed to take a shorter time to settle in. The last few moves seem to have taken longer. Maybe I'm getting older and it seems just to take longer. But now, I'd say a year or two. (008)

Other life-cycle or situational factors were associated with the achievement of a feeling of being settled. For some respondents, the presence of a child hastened completion of this stage of the passage. "With the child, you pretty well have to get into a routine. I think it's important to get settled fairly soon" (039). For others, a change in circumstance, as in occupational status, contributed to a sense of restlessness and not being settled. Here again the importance of continuity in the life of the migrant is apparent.

The concept of being settled-in is evidently a complex one, involving both structural and social-psychological components, as well as familiarity with the role of mover, and continuity of life circumstances. It is also highly variable, having diverse meanings and involving different time intervals in its achievement. I now examine the wife's individual and collective passage through this stage.

Shaping the Passage: Response to Leavetaking

Rather than conceptualizing the wife's passage through the moving career solely in terms of the outcome of that passage, I have

conceptualized it as one where, following the completion of each stage of the passage, the wife's response to that stage is an important component of her passage through subsequent stages. Hence, in this discussion of the settling-in stage, it is imperative to understand the wife's attitude toward the move itself, particularly her leavetaking of the previous community. At the time of the interview, 27 (22 percent) of the respondents regretted leaving their previous community. These women generally did not feel settled, and felt that it takes a long time to settle and put down roots. Many of those who had regrets missed friends and family contacts. Such feelings hindered the achievement of a sense of settling in to the new community.

To be perfectly honest, if I had my way, I'd move back to North Bay tomorrow. Yes, but for selfish reasons: I miss my family, I miss my friends, and with my husband working in Toronto, we have friends who live 60 to 70 miles away. And so you don't have that closeness of friendships that we had before. (050)

The majority of the respondents who did not regret the move cited a number of factors comparing current circumstances with those in the previous community.

I have seen my husband very unhappy in his work, extremely unhappy, and if there is something that is going to make him happy, I would go anywhere. Because I've seen what it's done to him when he's miserable, and no job is worth it, no community is worth it, either....I've come to learn to be reasonably adaptable, anyway, but it takes time. (056)

A few women spoke of the pitfalls of making comparisons. For them, once the relocation stage of the moving career is passed and the settling-in stage embarked upon, comparisons are futile and likely to lead to disappointment.

No, not really. It's so easy to look back and say, "Well, if I were there I could be doing this and this", when in reality, I might be as unemployed as I am now. (102)

In the analysis of the relocation stage, the significant relationship between pre-move attitudes (feelings on leaving the previous community) and current satisfaction was noted. Pre-move attitudes were also significantly related to post-move attitudes (Tau C = .355, Sign. = .00). Only five percent of those who were eager to move now regretted it, in comparison with 38 percent of those who had mixed feelings and 41 percent of those who were initially reluctant to move.

I don't regret it at all. I hadn't planned to. I know different people have asked us how we felt about selling our home and moving to an apartment, and we feel that... you make up your mind that you're going to like where you're going to, whether it's an apartment, or out of the city in which you live, or whatever. And there's no turning back. You just burn your bridges, really. (055)

Despite this relationship between pre- and post- move attitudes, a large number of women did change their minds. While 50 percent of the respondents were reluctant or ambivalent about leaving their previous community, less than a quarter of the women regretted the move once they were in or had completed passage through the settling-in stage. A shift in attitude and orientation toward the new community occurs with passage through the relocation and settling-in stages.

Shaping the Passage: The Role of Family, Neighbours, and Jobs

The experiences of the wife and mother in relocation occur within a system of interaction with other family members. In the decision-making stage of the move, the wife's desire to move, vis-a-vis that of her husband, was relevant to her eventual happiness. In the planning stage of the move, the husband's absence from the home influenced the

shape of the wife's passage through this stage of the career. In the relocation stage, the tasks and responsibilities varied extensively for husbands and wives. In the settling-in stage as well, the wife's passage within the context of her marital relationship is an important aspect of the stage.

In Chapter Four, I noted that most wives feel that relocation is more difficult for the wife than it is for the husband. One factor distinguishing their experiences was the broad range of responsibilities which fall to the wife during the move. Many of these responsibilities must be carried out during the settling-in stage. While the tasks associated with the planning stage are completed in a familiar environment, the tasks of the settling-in stage are not. This complicates the completion of these responsibilities, especially at a time when both spouses may lack the active support of extended family and friendship networks. I was thus concerned with whether the wives perceived their husbands as any more or less helpful during this stage than they were prior to the commencement of the moving career.

The majority of husbands were no more helpful in the period following the relocation stage than they had been prior to the move. In those cases where they were more helpful, the husbands were slightly more likely to increase their assistance in tasks related to child care than in housework-related tasks. While a quarter of the husbands were perceived as more helpful with these latter tasks, a third of the husbands with children at home were perceived as more helpful with child care. However, husbands who are more helpful with child care are likely to also help more with household tasks. Table 6.3 illustrates this finding.

TABLE 6.3

Husband's Assistance After the Move

Category	Husband's Help With Housework				Husband's Help With Childcare			
	More Helpful		Same		Less Helpful		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
More Helpful	14	66.7	6	28.6	1	4.8	21	23.3
Same	14	22.6	45	72.6	3	4.8	62	68.9
Less Helpful	1	14.3	2	28.6	4	57.1	7	7.8
TOTAL	29	100.0	53	100.0	8	100.0	90*	100.0

*The total is less than 123 because 29 of the respondents had no children living at home and four of the respondents had only one child who had been born after the move, thus making comparisons with the past meaningless for our purposes.

Tau B = .421, Sign. = .00

This increased assistance was frequently related to the husband's awareness of the difficulties of passage through this stage. Increased assistance with household tasks was related to acknowledgement of the difficulty of passage for the wife.

For some reason he seems to be more aware now of the problems of a mother at home. I used to bitch a lot about his not helping around the house. Now I complain very little and he helps much more. I think he feels guilty that he doesn't have the time with us. He's pretty good through the week, though. He'll do dishes while I bathe the children, and vice versa. (034)

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My friend in Montreal asked me a personal question. She said, "Is your husband the same man to you? Is he changed?" I said, "He's better." No kidding, because now he knows that I don't have my family and I'm very close to my family, and he pays a little more attention to me, and he'll help me in the house. (054)

Increased assistance with child care, however, often was the husband's response to difficulties of passage for the child, rather than for the wife. The fact that the husband is at home more now than his previous occupation permitted frequently influenced this increase as well.

He is home more than he used to be; and then she's been really very unhappy about the move so he makes sure to give her more attention and make her see this as home.
(097)

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As I say, he does travel less, and we both were aware of the problems and adjustments the move posed for them, so I think he has made an extra effort in their direction. (068)

A number of women suggested that increased attentiveness to children was merely part of a general pattern of greater awareness of each other when families move.

Oh, he is more helpful and attentive both to the kids and to me. You have to look out for each other a little more...because for us and for the kids there's not always somebody else there. You don't have somebody to talk to, friendship-wise, and neither do the kids. So you all try harder for each other. I think that way, moving is not too bad an idea for a marriage, and for a family.
(07)

While a quarter to a third of husbands became more helpful to their wives and children during the settling-in stage, approximately eight percent were perceived as less helpful than before. In most cases, this behavioural change was related to the wife's departure from the paid labour force, ("We have an understanding. When I'm at home, it's my responsibility to do the housework. When I'm working, we split the housework". 091) In a few cases, the husband's job now required him to travel away from home more often, and thus he was perceived as less helpful.

The Role of Children

Another variable related to the wife and mother's experience of the settling-in stage of the moving career is her child or children's response to this status passage. In Chapter Two, I cited research evidence that a mother's attitudes toward relocation can affect the adjustment of her children. There is also evidence that adolescent children are more likely to cause adjustment problems for their parents than are younger children. For purposes of this research, the problems which the children had in responding to the move were of interest only to the extent that they had an impact upon the mother. This is the focus of the ensuing analysis.

Of those respondents with pre-school age or older children living at home*, 46 (54 percent) stated that their children experienced no difficulties.

The children adjusted incredibly well. I didn't. I was very depressed for three months, but they adjusted very well. Of course, I'm a firm believer in getting kids involved. I think that if they just sit around they're going to end up in all sorts of trouble. (My son) is one of those kind of kids...and he has to be kept quite busy. So...we got him involved in hockey... and figure skating...and arts and crafts. So we've been pretty busy with the children. (033)

* * * * *

She had apprehensions about moving, sure. But we went out of our way to include her in a lot of the decision-making, to make her feel very much a part of the move with us, to give her a choice in it, like in deciding things we should give away...and we always talked. I'd

* This analysis excludes not only those respondents without children living at home, but also those seven respondents whose children were too young to be aware of any changes associated with the move. These children were all less than one year of age.

get her to communicate to me how she was feeling about the move, and she was worried about leaving her friends. Well, I straightened that out by telling her that she would see them again on visits, and by talking about new friends here, and she had many apprehensions about school, but no problems when we actually arrived. (034)

Some women felt that the mother's attitude toward the move is quite infectious, and this made a difference to how their own children responded during the settling-in stage.

They've been amazingly adaptable, that way. I think that really depends an awful lot on the mother. If I'm going to complain and carry on, so are they. Of course, my husband is the type too of giving no sympathy whatever. You know, "This is how it's going to be." In the face of all these moves, the children have been amazingly good. (072)

Despite the fact that their children's passage through the stages of the moving career was accomplished with relative ease, many women felt that moving could become problematic as their children grew older. There was also concern about the long-term effects on children of a highly mobile lifestyle.

Children you can move, and it doesn't bother them, until they start high school. You start shifting around (then), and it's hard. I know from personal experience, because everyone by then has their own little group and it's very hard to penetrate them. Hopefully we'll be settled down by the time (our son) reaches that age. Eventually we will find a place and live there for a while. (091)

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As it happens, they haven't had any problems. I do think that ultimately they'll turn out differently than if they had lived all their lives in the same place. Because they will always have to be changing friends and things and that's really hard on kids. So I really think that they're the ones who are going to either suffer or have it better by it. (070)

The remaining 40 (46 percent) of the mothers reported that one or more of their children had some difficulty associated with the relocation. While children over age 12 were more likely than younger children to have difficulty in responding to the move*, younger children encountered problems as well.

She had problems adjusting, for a while when we first moved here. She wouldn't go to sleep....I'd put her in her bed and she'd just lay there and scream, and I found a real adjustment in her. Maybe it was just the different bedroom, I don't know what it was....For a good two months she screamed until I lay down with her on the bed until she calmed down. I don't know if it was the change of the move or what. (069) - Child age 2.

* * * * *

She only has one little girl in the neighbourhood to play with, and she's really quite unhappy. Quite often she will say, "Let's go back to the other place." And ...because we go back to London for visits frequently, ...a couple of times she's wandered away from our friend's house which is at the other end of the subdivision, and we've found her standing by our old house, which is very upsetting. She really misses it. We just kept thinking that once we moved, she'd forget it, but she hasn't at all. (097) - Child age 4½.

* * * * *

It's strictly to do with education, the complete lack of uniformity in the educational system in Canada. This is our major problem right now...and I know we're not going to be here for that long, and it's bothering me now because our son is in high school and whatever province we go to from here now, it's going to create a problem for him one way or another. And so many in our company are here in Burlington, and they've got kids in university out west, or down east. And leaving your kids across the country, that's what bothers me. (043) - Child age 15.

* Some children in this age group object so strenuously to the prospect of a move that they decide not to accompany their parents in the move, or they return to the sending area after a short time in Hamilton-Burlington. The impact of these responses on the mother is examined in the analysis of the effect of family life cycle stage in Chapter Seven.

Throughout these interviews, one factor was repeatedly mentioned as complicating the relocation experience of teenage children in particular: the variability of the Canadian educational system. Families making inter-provincial moves encountered variations in curriculum and the requirements for matriculation (ranging from Grade 11 to Grade 13). Even families moving within a province found variations in schools with or without semester systems, or which were open-concept versus closed-concept. Such variations were of considerable concern to parents, not only as potentially thwarting their child's academic performance, but also for their potential influence on the adolescent's desire to make the move.

Once the kids are older, they don't accept the moves as easily. They get involved in so many things, and to give it all up to come to nothing....(Our son) was out in the cold again. I find they get a little stand off-ish after a while, and don't let themselves get too close to anybody, after....He's unhappy enough that we're going to let him go back for two weeks, and hopefully he'll learn that you can't go back. This is the thing. (043)

The problems which children encountered, whatever their age, and whatever the source of the difficulty, influenced the shape of the mother's passage through this stage. Seventy-three percent of the women whose child or children experienced difficulty stated that they were "bothered" by their child's problems.

I was a bit depressed about my son. Not depressed, but sad. Not depressed, because when you have a good husband, it helps. I had a man beside me. It's your children and when you see them unhappy, it makes you sad. (054)

* * * * *

It really started to get to me, because she was so whiney, and I was having to pay so much attention to her. It was such a hassle. "Oh, God, there's Cathy whining again!" And you couldn't get out in

the winter, she was acting up so. (021)

Other women were disturbed but felt the necessity to hold in check their empathy with the child's situation, lest the problem become exacerbated.

Many of the women who were not perturbed by their child's response felt that the child would "grow out of it in time" and therefore it was not of great concern.

It doesn't bother me, really, because I know she'll get over it. It's just a matter of time. Like with (our son) crying at the first move, well, now he's learned to accept it better, and in time (our daughter) will, too. (022)

Of those respondents whose children had problems adjusting to the move, nearly half had not resolved them at the time of the interview. The issue of the child's adjustment was still of concern to many mothers as they themselves progressed through the settling-in stage. While problems with children are relevant to the mother's passage through this stage, they are not generally related to her satisfaction with the move. The children's problems with the move, and the lack of resolution of these problems were not in themselves associated with the mother's satisfaction. However, the mother's attitude toward these problems is an important intervening variable here. The relationship between this variable and current satisfaction is illustrated in Table 6.4.

The child's problems per se are evidently not related to the mother's satisfaction with the move. Those mothers who were unperturbed and felt that the child would eventually overcome the problem were generally happy with the move. However, women bothered by the child's problems were much less likely to be happy with the move overall.

Husbands and children may be resources assisting passage through this stage, but also may represent responsibilities which impede passage. They are not, however, the only family resources potentially avail-

able to the wife at this stage of the moving career. In this study the importance of family contacts beyond the nuclear family is also evident.

TABLE 6.4

The Relationship between Child's Problems and Mother's
Happiness with the Move

Bothered by Child's Problems	Current Satisfaction							
	Not Happy		Mixed Feelings		Happy		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
No	-	-	1	12.5	10	38.5	11	27.5
Yes	6	100.0	7	87.5	16	61.5	29	72.5
TOTAL	6	100.0	8	100.0	26	100.0	40*	100.0

*The 29 women who had no children at home, the seven women whose only child was an infant, and the 47 women whose children had no problems adjusting to the move comprise the 83 missing cases here.

Tau C = .331, Sign. = .02.

The Role of the Modified Extended Family

In making the decision to move, in defining their expectations of their relocation, in assessing their satisfaction with the move, women continually refer to their ties to other branches of their family. This supports the research of Sussman (1959), Litwak (1960) and others that modern families operate within a modified-extended family system wherein they maintain autonomy but exchange goods and services. Ties to the larger family network are important for many migrants who may otherwise have little continuity in their cohort of significant others.

In this analysis contact with the modified extended family is

measured as contact with the family of orientation*. Although relocation was generally job-related, it also brought half the respondents (53 percent) closer to their parents, and took 40 percent further away from their parents than they had previously been. Similarly, 50 percent moved closer to the spouse's parents and 40 percent moved further away.

The respondents were equally divided on the importance of proximity to family, with 49.6 percent stating that it was important to them to live near their parents. There was a slight relationship (Tau C = .159, Sign. = .04) between moving closer to parents and the importance of living near them. While only half the respondents felt it important to live near parents, their parents were indeed viable members of their social networks. Over half the women had contact with their parents at least once a week, and a quarter had contact with them every two weeks. Litwak's assertion that "extended family relations can be maintained over great geographical distances because modern advances in communication techniques have minimized the socially disruptive effects of geographic distance"(1960: 386) is supported by the data. Over half the migrant wives maintain contact with their parents primarily by telephone, while a quarter write letters and the remainder live close enough for personal visits.

Many respondents stated that such contacts often made them "feel better", and helped them to overcome difficult transitions in the move.

I write my parents once a week, and our telephone bill averages \$80 a month. I phoned my mother and some other relatives on impulse the other night. That's a bill I'm going to feel sorry about, but I got it out of my system. I was really feeling low, and I

*For most respondents this contact was their parent or parents. In less than five percent of the cases, where both parents were deceased, the contact was a sibling.

just didn't care about the cost. I phoned them one after the other. Then I thought, "Oh my God, what have I done?" But I really enjoyed it. (053)

* * * * *

For the last month, I've phoned them every week. That's an unusual circumstance, because we usually phone once a month. But this move's been hard, and talking to my parents keeps me sane. (042)

For many respondents the modified extended family, while not geographically close, is a viable resource on which they draw as they progress through the settling-in stage.

The Role of Distant Friends

Just as distant family contacts may be a resource during this stage, distant friends are also relied upon. However, their role in providing continuity for and assistance to the wife in the settling-in stage is much less important than that of family. Although 92 percent of the respondents maintained contact with friends from previous communities of residence, this contact was far less frequent than with parents. Less than a third had contact at least every two weeks. Nearly 40 percent maintained contact once a month, and a quarter communicated with distant friends every two to three months.

Contact with friends was restricted primarily to letters, in contrast to the frequency of telephone calls to parents. Very few women maintained contact with long-time friends. For most, contact was limited to friends in the previous community, or to women whose husbands worked for the same employer.

I do keep in touch with corporate people, because I know I'll be seeing them again. The ones we particularly like, we'll write to. But we make so many acquaintances, and we do miss them the first little while, but they're never true blue friends for life. We never get that close to them. (043)

Distant friends were infrequently mentioned as resources to the wife during this stage, although a few women clearly found them beneficial.

My girlfriends in Vancouver got together on my birthday. It was 7:00 a.m. there, so they got together for breakfast and gave me a surprise call. I thought that was great. (051)

Many migrant wives thus achieve a balance in their relationships with distant and former friends. Maintaining some contact promotes the feeling of continuity, and the feeling that someone knows and cares about them. However, such contact is not as frequent nor as personal as with parents. The maintenance of such "weak ties" (Granovetter, 1973) provides the wife with a resource when she wants it, but also enables her to make new friends in the new environment.

The Role of Neighbours

The role of the neighbour in the new social world cannot be minimized. Neighbours are among the very first contacts that women have in the new environment, and may be expected to play a role in the settling-in process. Among these women, 95 percent had met at least one neighbour by the time of the interview. A majority of them also stated that they felt comfortable with the people in the neighbourhood generally. However, nearly a quarter (22 percent) of the respondents felt like an "outsider" in their neighbourhood.

The most frequently cited reason for feeling like an outsider was age differentiation. The majority of respondents who felt like outsiders were either younger or older than the typical resident of that neighbourhood or apartment building.

Here the neighbours are older. This subdivision must have been built about nine years ago, so all the families are older....I think the age factor of the people you're living with influences how much you see

them....I...feel not so much in common. They're really nice, but there's a difference. They're not people you could go out and have a barbecue with. (070)

* * * * *

Most of the couples who are buying in here are younger people, not as old as we are. The only way I got to talk to the girl next door was because my little grandson was out there, running on her back lawn. That's how you meet your neighbours. (096)

* * * * *

We are a lot younger than them. You get the impression that they're holding their breath to see how destructive the little monsters are, and they're waiting for that, to make contact. (042)

These data are enlightening for they suggest the pervasiveness of age-grading throughout the society and the general lack of inter-generational contact outside the environment of the extended family. Older wives occasionally referred with surprise and gratitude to how pleasant younger neighbours had been "to people our age". As the observations above indicate, a lack of ease characterizes contact outside the age cohort. Similarity of age is of some import to migrants in their selection of a neighbourhood and in their assessment of comfort with the neighbourhood.

However, meeting at least one neighbour and having a sense of affinity with the neighbourhood do not in themselves indicate the role of the neighbour in facilitating passage through this stage. When asked to whom they could go for assistance if they had a problem or needed a helping hand, just under a quarter (22.8 percent) specified someone they had met since the move, and that someone was invariably a new neighbour*.

* The other potential sources of assistance were a person known before the move (51 percent), no one at all (3 percent), or the respondent's husband only (22.8 percent).

Beyond feeling that they could rely on a neighbour for help, the respondents were asked if there was anyone in the Hamilton-Burlington area whom they thought of as a confidante, to whom they could tell their troubles and joys. While just over half (55 percent) stated that there was such a person, only rarely was this a neighbour. For the majority of these respondents, this person was someone they had known prior to the move. In the few cases where the confidante was met after the move, this person was generally a neighbour or a business contact.

I would say it's taken me a good ten months to make any friends, or to make any real contact other than, "Hi! How are you? Good-bye." But now one neighbour and I have become close,...a nice closeness, not a dependency on each other. (033)

* * * * *

The woman who sold us the house. We bought this house from them, and they just moved around the block. She's home all day, and she calls a lot because she knows I don't know that many people and she comes over a lot. I would feel I could confide in her. (069)

The sizeable proportion of the respondents (45 percent) without such contacts offered a variety of explanations for this lack. Some women stated that they rarely got that close to people ("There are very few people in my lifetime that I could ever say that about" 034) or that things were too uncertain to allow that ("The way the world is now, you keep your problem to yourself" 117).

For other women, the only people they know well in the new environment are their husband's work associates, and there are definite constraints on that as a friendship.

To confide in, a real close friend, there's no one. Because the girl I could confide certain things in, her husband works for the same company, and there's a lot of things I couldn't confide in her, so I'd say no, definitely no. (063)

While a majority of the respondents become acquainted with their neighbours during the settling-in stages of the move, very few of these neighbours become friends and confidantes. As such, they cannot be regarded as resources available to the wife in her passage through this stage of the moving career.

The very fact that nearly all the respondents were acquainted with at least one neighbour attests less to the friendliness of the neighbourhoods which the respondents entered, than to the effort which the respondents themselves made during the settling-in stage. Although just over half (51 percent) felt that it was the responsibility of the neighbours to initiate introductions in the new community*, they observed that the migrant families typically initiated this contact**. In a number of cases, this observation was couched in terms of the previous experience of the migrants.

If I go to my old customs in Norway, they would come to me, but they don't and I know that, so here I go to them. In Vancouver we went doorbell ringing, but here we just waited until we saw our neighbours outside. But the first of January we invited the whole neighbourhood in for a party, and people loved it. (032)

* * * * *

Originally I had thought it was up to them,...but I think a lot of people are afraid to come...They

*Twenty-two (18 percent) of the respondents felt that this responsibility lay with the newcomer, while thirty-eight (31 percent) felt that it was jointly the responsibility of the migrant and people in the neighbourhood.

**The fact that only half the respondents (55.3 percent) found making friends an easy task underscores the conscious effort which they made in attempting to establish such contacts in the new community.

feel they should go over and say hello to the new neighbours, but they never do, you know, like the way to hell is paved with good intentions. But I think I'm going to have to. If I'm going to meet anyone, I'm going to have to go out.... (050)

In an interesting reversal of neighbour - newcomer roles, a number of the respondents noted that while the neighbours had not initiated contact with them, they had initiated contact with a family who had moved into the neighbourhood after the respondent.

I think it's up to the neighbours, really I do. But I'm not outgoing, I'm a more shy type of personality, and I'm not the type to go knocking on a stranger's door. But I did go over next door after they moved in, because I felt it was up to me and I introduced myself to her, and just told her if there was anything she needed, or if she'd like to come over.... (058)

* * * * *

I think it's up to the neighbours....We've had a couple move in next door, so after they'd been here for a while, I said to my husband, "...this is a very friendly neighbourhood. Everybody says how friendly everyone is, but they're not going to meet anyone for months!" So, I baked bread one day and took over a loaf. And she was really amazed, because no one ever did that before. And I was asking her the other day if she knew anyone else and she didn't....They do say "Hello", but as for coming and ringing your doorbell..., they're not like that at all. (072)

* * * * *

I saw a lady moving in, and so, I just baked a cake that day, and said to her, "Welcome to the building, because no one else will. Whenever you feel like it, come down for a cup of tea or whatever." I figure I don't want her to get the same treatment that I did because when you don't know anybody... (075)

In taking the initiative and introducing themselves to their neighbours, the migrant wives were taking an active role in the shaping of their passage through this stage. In also adopting the neighbour

role and introducing themselves to more recent newcomers, the motivation appeared to be the shaping of the other's passage, rather than their own. Inherent in the latter was the feeling that they were doing what they felt was a responsibility, what they wished their neighbours had done for them as new arrivals.

Other respondents, concerned that being friendly would result in "people coming in any hour of the day or night" held back until they could better judge the neighbours from afar, before initiating contact.

We have already observed how, during this stage of the move, children help shape their mother's passage to the extent that their responses to their own passage elicit specific responses in her. Children further contribute to the shaping of the mother's passage in initiating neighbourhood contacts for her. The magnitude of this role is apparent in the finding that 65 percent of the respondents with children at home had met a neighbour or someone in the community through a child's contacts at school or play. In sum, 93 percent generally ascribed to the view that "having children helps you meet people in a community"*. The respondents generally felt that, in the words of one, "people make an effort to say 'hello' because they have met your children" (072). Not only in terms of neighbourhood contacts, but through their memberships in sports or cultural activities, children serve to integrate their parents into the larger community.

A final way in which the presence of children in the family contributes to the shaping of the woman's passage through this stage of the moving career involves the mother's requirement of a babysitter.

*This factor has specific relevance to the career passage of people in different stages of the family life cycle, and will be considered further in Chapter Seven.

Those respondents with children at home used a variety of resources in contacting babysitting services, ranging from a neighbour, friend, or work associate (40 percent), placing an advertisement (6.5 percent), asking a relative (14 percent), or contacting an agency (one percent)*.

Because they did not know anyone in the community, a number of women became assertive and some even developed uncharacteristic - for them - means of initiating contact with potential babysitters.

...I was on the bus one day and two teenage girls got off after me, so I turned around and asked them, "Do either of you babysit?" and I've never done that before. When you live in an area where there's always family or someone you know who has a sitter...But with moving, you learn to get very brazen. (016)

* * * * *

I made up an ad and put it on each of the eight floors of the apartment building and got a babysitter that way. (075)

The Role of Occupational Status

Another factor related to the wife and mother's passage through the settling-in stage of the moving career is her occupational status. I have already considered the role of change in occupational status as it related to the woman's experience of the moving career. I found less differentiation between the relocation experiences of women working outside the home and women working at home than expected. Continuity of occupational experience rather than the occupational status itself is more important in facilitating passage through the moving career.

The question was posed as to whether the respondents perceive relocation as different for women of varied occupational statuses. While

** Other respondents with children living at home had older children do the babysitting (13 percent), or else all their children were of an age where they did not require a babysitter (25 percent).

the scope of the question was not restricted to the settling-in stage specifically, the women's comments tended to focus on passage through this stage.

The majority (60 percent) of the respondents felt that the experience of the moving career was generally more difficult for women who worked at home. The most prominent factor contributing to the difficulties of moving for these women were feelings of social isolation and dependency on the spouse.

It's easier for women who are working. Right away they have someone to relate to....A person who's coming to a job is coming to a group of adults to talk to, and to get to know. You don't have that isolated feeling. You do get to meet people, so your days are full, even if you're lonesome at night. (024)

* * * * *

If you work outside the home, then you have some sort of affiliation with people. This is what I miss because I don't know anyone on the streetBut if you work, you have sort of a comaderie with the people you work with. (050)

* * * * *

It's easier if you work outside the home... because you make contact with people. Like if you're at home, I could sit here for days and the phone would not ring, and very seldom does anyone come to the door. You don't really get to know anybody, and if you're outside the home at least you've got that contact all day with other people. On the moves where I haven't worked, I found myself becoming very dependent on my husband and that bothered me....It got to the point where he was my sole source of entertainment, my sole source of adult conversation. (091)

Fewer women felt that the most difficult passage through the moving career is not for women who are exclusively homemakers, nor for women who are employed outside the home, but rather for women who

change their occupational status to homemaker.

Having been outside, and then being forced to stay in, that made it much worse. For sure, having a job for me would have made the move easier. But what I had was a feeling of being really stagnant, not having a reason to get up in the morning. There was no drive behind it, and it took a while to get used to that, and then you're afraid to get used to it at the same time. You start thinking, "Oh, this isn't so bad", and then you realize, "My God, has it come to this? - where you're content to sit inside for no reason?"...For a short while I got a job as a tour guide...so I got to meet people my own age...and it gave me something to do, and that was a help, feeling that today I've got a tour, or I met two people from the Hamilton area, and I'm not relying on old ties, which really can be a crutch at times. (102)

However, the presence of children in the home and the availability of employment frequently qualified responses. Women felt that while employment outside the home would facilitate their own passage through the settling-in stage of the moving career, it would hinder the passage of their children.

I've done both. I've moved and not worked, and I've moved and worked....When I didn't work, I stayed to myself a lot more....Working outside does a lot for your confidence. You're meeting people right off the bat...so it's definitely a plus if you're working and plan to continue working as soon as you move. But then it has its drawbacks if you have kids, because I think it's important for you to take the time to get the kids involved. I think I first laid the groundwork for the kids. I'm really glad I didn't just jump right into a job immediately....I think it would be very traumatic for the children to arrive in a new place and have both parents at work before they have a chance... (033)

Among the minority (31 percent) of the respondents who felt that the settling-in stage is more difficult for women working outside the home, these two factors - the presence of children and the availability of employment - were again important variables.

A job would make it harder, because of the children. They wouldn't have me to come to so much. It would be harder for them. For me, a job would make it not so lonely and boring; for my family, it's better if I not have a job. It would only make their lives more difficult. (119)

Not only problems of finding employment, but also the disadvantages of a job record reflecting a high rate of mobility made relocation more difficult for the employed woman.

For people who are moving, it would be better if you were staying home really, because to keep changing jobs is not too good for your job record, and it's not good as far as any type of advancement. Most of the banker's wives I have to admit, work in a bank, which is logical, but I'm not going to do that, so it makes it hard for me. (057)

Several women felt that the combination of both homemaker and employee roles makes passage through the settling-in stage most difficult, particularly if these are combined with the role of mother.

She'd have double problems - she'd have the house and the children to organize and contend with as well as getting another job. Whether it's harder depends on why she's working. If she's working because she can't stand being in the house, no; but if she's working because it's a necessary thing, then I think it probably would be worse, especially if she has children because they have a lot of - just being lonely, and you've got to spend a lot of time with them, and then again, it's the age of your children, too. (009)

A minority of the respondents (nine percent) felt that the experience of relocation is essentially the same for women regardless of their occupational status. They contended that the advantages and disadvantages of working at home would be balanced by the relative merits of working outside the home. The observations of this respondent are typical.

If I had spent the winter not working, I probably wouldn't have made the contacts that I have made and wouldn't be as knowledgeable about the city. But then, when you're working, there's absolutely no real time to settle in, everything is in such a rush. If you're at home, you have

lots of time to get everything in working order. In a sense, then, I guess it balances ultimately, with advantages for each. (052)

In sum, the majority of the respondents perceive employment outside the home as potentially facilitating passage through this stage of the moving career. In addition, many women perceived relocation as more difficult for women of an occupational status different from their own. Nearly 80 percent of the employed women felt that the experience of moving would be more difficult for women working at home; half of the women at home felt this way. Similarly, over a third of women who were exclusively homemakers felt that relocation would be more difficult for women employed outside the home; only 18 percent of the employed women reiterated this view. Table 6.5 illustrates this point.

TABLE 6.5

The Relationship between Perception
of Difficulty of Relocation and Occupational Status

Perception of Difficulty	Current Occupational Status					
	Working at Home		Working Out- side Home		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Moving Harder for Women at Home	42	50.6	31	79.5	73	59.8
Same for Both	10	12.0	1	2.6	11	9.0
Moving Harder for Women Working Out- side Home	31	37.3	7	17.0	38	31.1
TOTAL	83	100.0	39	100.0	122*	100.0

*The total here is 122 because one respondent who was working at home was unable to answer the question.

Tau C = .240, Sign. = .002

The migrants generally regard the experience of relocation as more difficult for women working at home. This difficulty is most acutely felt during the settling-in stage. Many respondents regard jobs outside the home as resources in easing the passage through this stage. The question of the availability of these jobs as resources thus becomes relevant to this discussion.

This question was put to the 39 respondents who were employed either full-time or part-time outside the home. Of these women 15 (38.5 percent) had no problem acquiring their jobs. Many of these women were employed part-time and had "portable" credentials, such as nursing or teaching certificates.

A further ten (25 percent) of the employed women were transferred in their positions. They were frequently able to take a leave of absence from their jobs in order to "get settled" before resuming employment. This enabled them to avoid the conflicting demands of home and office during the settling-in stage. For these women, passage through the moving career was either completed or well in hand before they resumed the employee role. The circumstances of the occupational transfers were quite variable for these women. For some a requested transfer was an assumed characteristic of their employment; for others, the availability of a transfer was quite unexpected.

I've been with the company for seven years, and no matter where I move, I get a transfer without losing my seniority...which is fantastic with him in the services and moving around so often. The _____ company is very good for that. And they even let you have a leave of absence so you can get settled. You have two to three months* to go back with the company on a transfer, which is good. (035)

* * * * *

My job here is really a fluke, because when I told the people at _____ in London about my move to Burlington, I thought I would have to leave the company, and try to find something else here....But they gave me a ninety* day leave of absence so I could get settled, and they checked to see if the Hamilton office could transfer me in, and it just happened that a job came up at that time. So it turned into a transfer here for me, and... really worked out well. (040)

The remaining 13 (a third of the employed) respondents** experienced difficulty in acquiring employment. For many, their histories of frequent relocation mitigated against their finding "satisfactory" employment. Passage through one career - namely the moving career - was inconsistent with passage through another - the occupational career***.

Moving around like this, you never get a job worthwhile. People look at my record, such a short time in each place, and they say, "I don't want you." (047)

* * * * *

Fortunately, my job is a secretary, so I was lucky. I was in the best field there was because it was always easy to get work. My credibility - as far as staying

* While this research has indicated the great variability of the duration of the settling-in stage, the comments of these women suggest that among employers there is an expectation that this process will be completed within three months.

** The one remaining respondent was self-employed as a professional figure skater and thus was involved in different occupational circumstances from the other respondents.

*** The issue of competition between multiple status passages is discussed further in Chapter Seven with reference to passage through the family life cycle.

with the job - deteriorated after a few years, but I was still able to get good jobs....But the problem with moving was that I always lost money. I left Sarnia which is a very high paying city, and...came to Hamilton which didn't pay as high....I kind of always just caught up to my previous wage, or just surpassed it, when we moved again....This was a problem because if you made a certain amount of money previously, employers will say, "Well, she doesn't want to work for us" or "If she does, she's going to constantly be looking for something better". If I took a job to meet people and work, they didn't believe that I wanted to stay, because I had good senior jobs prior to that. So that was a big hassle in looking for work. I was really always put through the mill. (063)

Other respondents, either currently unemployed or temporarily withdrawn from the paid labour force, made unsolicited observations about the difficulties which their husband's migratory careers created for their own occupational careers.

I didn't want to misrepresent myself to future employers by saying I'd stay for two years and then they'd train me and I'd be off in a year or six months. I never knew when a move would come. Right now, I'm involved with the business of having children, but I know someday soon I'm going to have to confront the job problem again. (039)

* * * * *

I was working all of four weeks in Chatham and then I had to quit because he got transferred....All these transfers for him have been frustrating. I haven't been able to finish my degree, and I want to finish it, but I can't and it's just driving me crazy. And ...I was really looking forward to getting that job in Chatham. I had just finished exams at university, and I got this job, and everything was going great, and then I found out that he was transferred again and off we go! (057)

A majority of migrant wives feel that involvement in the paid labour force facilitates passage through the settling-in stage of the moving career. The research of Christiansen-Ruffman corroborates the perceptions of these women. She found that

newcomers who did not work or otherwise have the benefits of locally based contacts, information, norms and meaning often experienced moments of panic during the settling-in stage (1976: 143).

Employment outside the home can help to reduce the feelings of isolation and loneliness associated with such feelings of panic. This resource is not, however, easily available to all migrant wives who seek it.

The Role of Voluntary Associations

Membership in voluntary organizations is another resource available to the wife as she progresses through the settling-in stage of the moving career. At the time of the interviews, only a third of the respondents were involved either in voluntary organizations, or in regular social activities such as recreational activities, extension or general interest courses. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents who had been thus involved in the previous community were not socially participating in the community life of Hamilton-Burlington.

Most of those without affiliations or social involvement wanted them, but such factors as moving in the winter, difficulty in finding a babysitter, or lack of information about what was available prevented their participation. Many respondents, interviewed during the spring and summer months, intended to take up such activities in the autumn.

The organizational affiliations of these women varied extensively, from Newcomer's Club to bridge leagues, church organizations, sororities, fitness clubs, and the like. The Newcomer's Club was especially active in Burlington, and a few respondents had made many friends through this organization. Many women participated in such activities not only to meet people but also to get out of the house.

There was no relationship ($\tau B = .108$, $\text{Sign.} = .11$) between social involvement in the previous community and in Hamilton-Burlington.

While many women who had previously been involved planned eventually to be, others stated that circumstances in the previous community had been exceptional.

The reason I joined these clubs in Fergus is that ...as a credit manager's wife I was expected to participate....So I did. It's not that I entirely dislike it, I'm just not a 'club' person. And I don't have to do that here, because David's down in the city, and I'm more removed from that here. I prefer it that way. (041)

Approximately a third of the wives repeatedly use voluntary associations and other activities as resources during the settling-in stage.

In every place I've lived, I've always taken courses. I have now taken 27 general interest courses, everything from flower arranging to scuba diving, French tailoring, and yoga. With all this moving around, this was the only outlet I had. (099)

Voluntary organizations and community activities were not frequently utilized resources during the settling-in stage, nor was such participation related to the wife's satisfaction with the move. Newcomers require time to learn about available activities in a new community. Such affiliations and social participation may be more characteristic of less recent migrants than those studied here.

Summary

This chapter has considered the migrant wife's passage through the relocation stage of the move, and her passage through what many of them considered the most difficult stage, the settling-in. These two stages differed in that the relocation stage involved a generally fixed sequence and was of limited temporal duration. Passage through the settling-in stage was of highly variable duration. The very definition of what constituted completion of this stage differed among the respondents.

In both stages there were potential resources available to assist the passage, but with the exception of previous contacts in the relocation stage and the children in the settling-in stage, these potential resources did not play a major role in shaping the passage.

A strong relationship existed between prior attitudes toward the move and the wife's response during the settling-in stage. Women who were reluctant to leave the previous community were more likely than eager movers to regret the move and to be unhappy with their current circumstances. Over a quarter of the respondents, however, did become more positive toward the new community with the settling-in stage.

Both these stages were generally disruptive of the lives of the respondents. While the physical disruption of moving was restricted to the relocation stage, the social and emotional disruption lasted well into the settling-in stage. In some cases this disruption took several years to resolve.

CHAPTER SEVEN

MULTIPLE STATUS PASSAGES: INDIVIDUAL AND FAMILY LIFE CYCLE STAGE AND RELOCATION

Throughout this analysis of the wife's passage through the moving career, I have assumed that the passage takes place within the context of multiple status passages. At the same time that they are movers, women leave and enter the paid labour force, change jobs, become mothers, give birth to another child, suffer bereavement, launch children from the home, and so forth. As Glaser and Strauss observe, "Multiplicity of passages... may help to ease the passagee's life, providing that at least one passage supports...the other. Multiplicity inevitably sets the problems of priority" (1971: 142).

In this chapter I explore the relationship between different status passages. Preceding chapters considered the relationship between the shape of the passage through the occupational career and through the moving career. This chapter examines the linkages between experience of the moving career and passage along what Glaser and Strauss call "the universal escalator on which everyone rides: the life cycle" (1971: 171).

The sample of migrant wives included women from a variety of life cycle stages. Some were recently married, others married without children, with school-age children, with children living away from home, grandmothers, and women with middle-aged or aged parents. The majority of the respondents had children living at home. Slightly less than a quarter (23.6 percent) were currently comprised of husband and wife only. However, only 17 (13.8 percent) of the families had no children at all, and two of these

were expecting their first child. Altogether, three-quarters (76.3 percent) of the sample had children living at home, and 23 (17.8 percent) had more than two children living at home.

This chapter examines the relationship between the age of the migrant wife and her experience of relocation. This analysis suggests that the moving career is frequently problematic for women in the age cohorts 35-44 and over 55. Among both age groups, the variable of family life cycle stage is salient to the wife's moving experience. Lansing and Kish suggest that family life cycle stage is in fact a better reflection of an individual's social role, and that it "should be adopted more widely as an independent variable to be used in place of or parallel to age" (1957: 518). The variable of family life stage and the variable of age are examined in this chapter.

Age: The Differentiation of Experience

The experience of relocation differed in a variety of ways for women in different age cohorts, and age-related differences were found to characterize the situation of relocation itself. Age-related differences among the sample became first apparent in the actual reason for the move. For the total sample, factors associated with the husband's employment (company transfer, new job, and resolution of unemployment) characterized over 90 percent of the moves. Other factors (family reasons, considerations of health, and retirement) occasioned only nine percent of the moves. When different age cohorts were examined, however, the reasons for the move varied considerably. Among the 40-54 age group, company transfers alone accounted for nearly two-thirds of the moves. This type of move was, however, quite uncommon among the 55 and over age group, where it accounted for only 18 percent of the moves. More typical here was the

pattern of the husband changing jobs late in his career, and the family making a move as a consequence. Job mobility among this age cohort was frequently prompted by high unemployment in the previous community, or dissatisfaction with the situation of employment there (such as the introduction of French as the working language of the business, and so forth). Occasionally the move was prompted by a lack of employment suitable to a person of advancing age.

My husband was out of work for a year....He's only 54 but at his age, it's hard to get a job in the north. It's all manual labour. It's hard, working in the mines and places like that. So, he was able to get a more suitable job here. (090)

Relocation for reasons not related to employment accounted for nearly half the moves of the 55 years and older age group. In this respect they differed from the rest of the sample. Less than 15 percent of any other age group moved for reasons not related to employment.

We wanted to come here for years, but because of Tim's age, we never thought we'd get a job here. Even until the last minute, he couldn't make up his mind. But when he landed in the hospital here, and he was so sick he was hoping to die he said. He thought this was the end of it. Well then I said, "No way. We're going to stay down here", and then my son found the apartment here for us. We would have decided eventually, I think, maybe in a year or two, but Timmy's being sick decided it. (014)

* * * * *

This is where we both always planned to come back to and now we're here, and back close to our families, which we're both happy about. (023)

Different levels of choice in the move are associated with different reasons for moving. In this research, I was interested to know the extent to which having some control over one's status passage - choice in the move - differentiates the relocation experiences of married women.

In the overall sample, 33 women (26.8 percent) felt that they had had no choice as to whether to relocate or not. In Chapter Five, I discussed the relationship of this finding to the reason for the move. Women whose husbands were transferred in their jobs accounted for 85 percent of those who felt that they had no choice in the move (Tau C = .423, Sign. = .00). Women in middle age were very much involved in this type of move, and this is reflected in their feelings of choice. In comparison with the overall sample, a third of this group felt that they had no choice in the move (Tau C = .155, Sign. = .04). This contrasts with the women aged 55 and over, all of whom felt that they had a choice in the relocation. Even women who moved under circumstances of duress, such as the serious illness of a spouse, or after the lengthy unemployment of a spouse, felt that they had a choice in the relocation, whereas younger wives frequently felt that to refuse a transfer was to jeopardize a husband's career and a family's economic future. It appears that, with increasing age, the reasons which prompt the relocation of the family change from being occupationally-oriented to being more personally-oriented. With this switch, women become increasingly involved in the actual decision of whether or not to move, thereby gaining some control over the passage.

The situation of the relocation and the definition of the move thus vary with the age of the migrant wife. Geographic mobility becomes increasingly unpalatable to women in middle age and later maturity. This sentiment is generally expressed not in terms of the most recent move particularly, but with the moving career in general. Table 7.1 summarizes these findings.

TABLE 7.1

The Relationship between
Age and Enjoyment of Relocation Experiences

Like Experience of Moving	Age of Migrant Wife						Total %
	15-24 Years %	25-29 Years %	30-34 Years %	35-44 Years %	45-54 Years %	55+ Years %	
No	55.0	35.5	50.0	73.3	55.6	72.7	55.3
Yes	45.0	64.5	50.0	26.7	44.4	27.3	44.7
TOTAL %	16.3	25.2	24.4	17.9	7.3	8.9	100.0
TOTAL N	20	31	30	22	9	11	123

Tau C = .137, Sign. = .06

The observations of the migrant wives themselves suggest that even women who had previously enjoyed relocation, frequently cease to do so as they get older. For the middle-aged wife, this disaffection for relocation is frequently associated with the adjustment problems of older children, and will be considered later in this chapter. For older wives, family life cycle concerns are less prominent. The concern at this stage is with stability and security. For both age groups, however, there is an increasing awareness of the age-appropriateness of relocation.

Well, I don't want to move anymore. I haven't minded it, moving is quite an experience. It's not just the move, it's the getting things from one place to another, which may not always fit in....I think the moves were fun, but at this stage of life, it's not what we want anymore. (059)

* * * * *

When you're younger, I think it's great, but I think, as you get older, you don't want to move. I want that sense of security when you're older. When you're younger, it's great to move around

the country, and see things, but...I don't care for moving now like I did when I was younger.
(074)

There was some association between the age of the migrant wife and her relative satisfaction with the move. Middle-aged and older women were comparatively less happy in Hamilton-Burlington than women in the sample as a whole. While 28 percent of all respondents were less happy than previously, 40 percent of those 35-44 and 46 percent of those aged 55 and over were less happy (Tau C = .127, Sign. = .06). Several factors emerged as distinguishing the relocation experiences of these women from the remainder of the sample. The departure of children from the home occurred for some of the middle-aged women, and is examined later in this chapter. These women also more frequently expressed financial concerns and felt the lack of sources of integration into the new community.

We loved Vancouver but we thought it was just so far from the children, and when you're retired, you've got to think about expenses to fly back and forth and so on...We were concerned about what we'd get for the house, to realize our investment... wondering what the real estate people could value it for...We would have like to have bought in Toronto, but prices there were so high, we couldn't do it. We would have liked to be nearer the children there. (038)

For a few older migrants, restrained economic circumstances played a role in the actual decision to relocate.

We had a three year lease, and at the end of it they wanted an increase of nearly \$100 - instead of making it eight percent, they were making it over 24 percent - and for people at our stage of life that is just out of the question...the moving from the apartment made us think of where we wanted to be in the long run. We were fortunate to find this apartment here, so nice and close to everything, and our children are here...I know different people have asked us how we felt about selling our home and moving to an apartment and my husband and I just say that if you make up your mind

you're going to move to an apartment, you make up your mind that you're going to like it. (055)

This change in type of dwelling unit frequently complicated the adjustment of older migrants. At the same time it provided needed financial resources.

If we hadn't had our own home to sell, we wouldn't have been able to move, because how would we have lived, you know? Just because we sold our house and can live off our money from that, Tim is only allowed the minimum Canada Pension, while others get the supplementary too. You can't live on that. It's not fair. Having our house sold is the only way we can afford to live now. (014)

The second factor complicating the older migrant's passage through the moving career is the lack of sources of integration into the new community. As the migrants themselves point out, the main mechanisms for integration for migrants generally are the occupation and children. Neither of these resources is available to the older migrant.

I would say that for the young people, meeting new people and making contacts would be easy, but as you grow older, it's a little more difficult, because you don't make friends as easily, and you don't have a job to help you meet people. Having the job is a tremendous integrator into the community. (017)

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You find when you have children, it's a little easier to get to know people. Now, at this stage of our life, we've been very busy since we've been here, with my mother in a nursing home to visit....I don't think we will make friends as quickly as other moves. And of course, when my husband was in business, you'd quickly get into business associates, whereas now we have no contact with people. (038)

* * * * *

Unless you have children, you don't really have contact with your neighbours here. Like I had the two grandchildren here for one weekend, and they were only here for an hour or two when they

were out in the street playing. So this way, young parents make contacts. But, if you hadn't children, I think I could live here a year at least and not get that friendly with anybody. (071)

Among migrants from all age groups, there was a general perception that relocation is more difficult for the wife than it is for the husband. The most frequently expressed explanation for these different experiences was the husband's occupation. His job was a means of integration for him into the community, providing him with a ready-made peer group, and 'getting him out of the house'. If indeed, as most wives indicate, the husband's occupation is the main factor distinguishing the moves of husbands and wives, then the termination of that occupation (as in retirement) might be expected to render the experiences of relocation more similar for spouses. This increasing similarity of relocation experiences upon retirement is in fact supported by the observations of the older migrants themselves.

The move was the same for us both. In previous moves, I've pretty much had to take care of it, because he was working. But this time with him retired, it's pretty much the same for us. (038)

* * * * *

It's the same - at our age. Men usually move on account of business, and they make friends with their business acquaintances much easier than women. Women have to go out and either get to know their neighbours, or get to know someone else. I think it's a little harder on a woman to move than it is for a man, when they're young, I'm talking about. When they're older, it's just as hard for the man as it is for the woman, because he has no connections, either. (055)

Thus limited financial resources and lack of sources of integration*

* As 66.7 percent of the migrants 55 years of age and over were moving to Hamilton-Burlington for the first time, the need for such integration is apparent.

into the new community differentiated the relocation experiences of older women in this study. Such factors may also affect the moving career of younger, poor, childless women, but among this sample they were specifically addressed by the older women exclusively.

Family Life Cycle: The Roles of Children and Parents

In the vast body of literature on the subject of geographical mobility, there is frequent mention of the effect of children on the adjustment of their parents. Some of this material was cited in earlier chapters. Nowhere, however, is the relationship between relocation and such transitional stages in the family life cycle as the arrival, and departure from the home, of children considered. In this research, these events were significantly related to passage through the moving career.

The Role of Children

Thirteen women (10.6 percent of the sample) had experienced child-birth concurrent with their passage through the moving career. Five of the women had given birth to a child in the period from six weeks to five months preceding the move; six had a child two to six months following the move; and in two cases the relocation stage and the birth of the first child coincided. For seven of the women (5.7 percent of the sample), the birth was that of their first child.

In their discussion of the priorities of multiple status passages, Glaser and Strauss note that individuals may be involved in mutually competing rather than supporting passages (1971: 143-144). Among this sample of migrants, for example, the husband's passage through the moving career was generally supportive of his passage through the occupational career; for many of the wives, however, the moving career and the occupational career were competing passages. Women who experienced child-

birth and relocation concurrently considered these two passages to be competitive.

Adding to the complexity of these passages, all but two of these thirteen women had changed their occupational status from full-time working outside the home in the previous community to full-time at home presently. The other two women were employed on a part-time basis.

Particularly in those cases where these two events (or three events, when one considers loss of the work role) coincided, there was extensive disruption in the lives of these respondents. As one woman who "had the baby on the Sunday, and my husband left on the Monday for the new job", stated:

When you have a new baby, stop working, and move all at the same time, your whole world is turned upside down. You practically go into physical shock for about six months. I think you could handle it if you had compassionate friends, but when you're surrounded by strangers and a husband who's trying to make it in a new job, where do you turn? I mean, where do you go? (060)

Another respondent whose husband was transferred two weeks prior to the birth of their first child, adds:

With your first baby, or with any baby, you prepare everything...ahead of time...and then all of a sudden, you don't have a home, and you don't have any place for your furniture to go, and you're waiting for your husband to call and say "I've got a house!" Meanwhile, the thing you're most concerned about is what's going on with your child and your body...and then you come to a home where everything is just thrown in by the movers, and your primary concern is feeding and changing your child, and you've got a house to arrange. (063)

Even those respondents for whom the moving and childbirth careers did not coincide, but followed within several months of each other, found that the changes associated with the transition to new motherhood

complicated the moving career. As one woman who delivered her first child two months after the move, stated:

I think really my resentment for Burlington is because my life has changed so drastically, because I worked up until the day before we moved....But it was such a drastic change! Maybe if I had stopped working and had the baby in Hull, and then we moved, or had time to work here, and then quit. But as it was, everything came at once....What with working before, and now I have (the baby), everything changed drastically. (050)

Another respondent who had her first child five months after the move echoes this point of view.

Having the baby, and not working, so much has changed. It wasn't like I went from one lifestyle to the same lifestyle. Everything else changed so much at the same time. It's hard to...separate all those changes from the moving. (056)

For some women, particularly those who already had children, the arrival of a new baby in the moving period was not itself problematic, but did emphasize some of the more negative aspects of passage through the moving career.

It's hard being in a new place and not knowing anybody, especially when you have a big occasion, ...but especially if you have a baby. I had this little fellow, and just when you really need a family, and miss your relations and your friends, there was no one to come see this poor baby. I found this really hard, poor little guy....And when we had him christened, there was nobody to invite. For the others, we had all had a little party afterwards, and this time there was nothing. And you keep trying to be very blasé about it. 'Oh, that's fine, we'll wait 'til Christmas for everyone to see him'. And yet all the time you had a sense of lack, a feeling that something was missing. (002)

The comments of these women emphasize the problems in identity and routine maintenance which occur when two or more competitive careers

coincide. While the actual passage was more difficult for many of these women, the multiplicity of careers was not related to the overall response to the move. Women who had recently delivered a child and left the paid labour force as well were as likely as the respondents in general to say they were happy with the overall relocation.

The relationship between the relocation and the departure of children from the home is more complex. For ten (eight percent) of the respondents, passage through the moving career initiated passage through the launching stage of the family life cycle. Among relocating families, this launching stage assumes an atypical character*. Instead of children departing and leaving behind an 'empty nest' (Lowenthal and Chiriboga, 1972; Spence and Lonner, 1971), migrant families commonly experience the rather different situation of the parents' departure, leaving the child behind. Such an event occurred for seven (5.6 percent) of the respondents, all of whom were between 35 and 50 years of age.

It was very hard for me to leave because...we were leaving two boys behind. It was probably the saddest day of my life, I'm telling you, when we left there. I don't like being away from the boys and yet I know that they've got to grow up and leave home eventually, but it just seemed like we were forcing the issue.... Here, we're just so far away....So that part is really hard, not being able to get together once in a while. (058)

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I don't regret leaving or miss the place. I just regret that my daughter is back there....

* While passage through the moving career typically played no role in initiating passage through the motherhood career, one respondent did observe that she and her spouse would not likely have had their child when they did had it not been for the prospect of relocating back to Hamilton and family.

My daughter staying back there is the only thing that still bothers me....There were one or two days when I felt really down, but leaving my daughter, that did it. (037)

* * * * *

My daughter stayed behind in Vancouver, and that's difficult you know. I think that's the hardest part of the move, when it splits the family. (064)

* * * * *

I had mixed emotions about the thing....I have a daughter in Winnipeg. Unfortunately I left a daughter there, and I find that very hard. (001)

A number of women in this age group spoke of their fears that the move might lead to the 'break up' of the family unit. Fears of an undesired passage in these cases shaped the passage through the moving career.

My daughter was very unhappy and I was unhappy and we were tense about it....I was aware of people who've left children behind in a city, and I was just happy that it didn't happen, but I knew the possibility was there. So I had an uneasy feeling those first few months....I'm so grateful it worked out because it just as easily could not have. Now the worst is over....For a while she wanted to go back, and my really greatest concern was that she was old enough to go back if she wanted to...and there would be nothing we could do....One of the reasons that we decided to move was that really we felt that we'd like (the children) out of there. So if she had gone back, it would have been a defeat. (061)

Occasionally, the mother attempted to gain some control over the child's passage, and thereby influencing the shape of her own passage, by convincing the child to stay.

Our oldest girl came in September to look it over here, and I think if she hadn't a steady boyfriend she would have come with us. But I can see how Calgary is home to her. And this was something I had feared. I kept hoping that they would move us back before. If (our son) had gone to university out there, then I thought we'd lose (him). And so we had already brainwashed him in the direction of university out here. (059)

In three other cases, the child accompanied parents in the move, but shortly afterward abandoned the passage and returned to the previous community. This structuring of the departure proved equally, if not more, distressing to these women than leaving a child behind in the previous community.

All the children moved down here with us, but the eldest has since gone back to work in B.C. but not in the same part we lived in....In one sense, having the children stay behind when you move is probably easier than you staying put and them going off, because at least you know they're in a familiar environment. We're wondering about our son now. In a sense I wouldn't have worried so much if they'd stayed in Vancouver than his going to some place strange. He's been away since last August and all of us predicted he wouldn't last more than six weeks. (072)

* * * * *

I'm not happy. I want to go home. I'm thinking now not in terms of where house and furniture are, but in terms of family. We had a very close family and when you come from a close family, it's hardOne of our sons has gone back. He's only 17. He came with us and went to school here and went out of his way to meet people...but he missed his roots, you see....I knew he was going to go back. He kept talking about it and talking about it. And I thought, "I don't want him to run away".... In a way, it made it harder for me. (053)

Among this age cohort of migrant wives, in only one case was the departure of a child from home mentioned without reference to associated dissatisfaction with the move. This finding is all the more striking when one considers the lack of analysis within the migration literature of this 'side-effect' of relocation upon the lives of middle-aged migrants. Clearly, migration researchers cannot continue to debate whether relocation is 'more' or 'less' easy with increasing age, without taking into consideration the important influence of relocation in initiating the 'launching' stage of the family life cycle. Central to this issue is

my finding that not only did many mothers view the move as instrumental in the disruption of their families, but also many commented that the move 'forced' or contributed to a 'premature' disruption.

The Role of Parents

Middle-aged adults are frequently involved in the support systems of both younger and older generations simultaneously. This is equally true of relocated middle-aged adults. In some cases, being able to provide support to one generation of the family assuaged feelings of unhappiness about the departure of the other.

Even with my daughter left behind, I'm happier here, because I was concerned that my parents were so far away, and now I know that if there's an emergency I can be down in a short time. And I feel that my three brothers have had to take the brunt of the responsibility of any of the family crises, because I was too far away. (059)

For those migrant wives in the age categories 55 and over, proximity to adult children and aged parents was of as much concern as it was for the middle-aged migrants. Rather than the relocation involving a separation from family members, at this stage of the life cycle it was more likely to result in closer contact with and proximity to adult children.

I'm close to my son, and we won't have too many years left to go, because I'll be 65 next month and my husband will be 70 next year. So, we're happy to be around him. (014)

* * * * *

We began to think that if we moved anywhere other than here, we wouldn't know a soul, not one person to talk to. And all the calls to the children would still be long distance...and we always call the children on Sunday. And that makes a difference. And the grandchildren are tiny and it's nice to see them when they're small, because when they get started in school, they have their own interests, and it makes quite a difference. Oh, yes, being near our children and grandchildren, that's very important at our age. (055)

For several of the migrant families in this age group, the move meant not only proximity to adult children but to aged parents as well.

Coming back to this area brought us closer to the children and also closer to my mother. At this stage, she needs me more than the children do. She's in her 90's now, and not well, and as long as she is alive, we'll continue to visit her on Sundays. (023)

There were also, however, migrant families in later maturity for whom the move represented separation from family contacts. While this did not appear to have as negative an impact on these women as it did on their middle-aged counterparts, a few wives felt strongly about it.

We could stay or go. We were reluctant to leave; we loved the city. It was hard when we left. We left two married daughters and two lovely grandchildren. It cost me a few tears. I was very happy in Prince George. I'm happy here, but if I could choose, I would go to the children in Prince George....I still think of that as home because we have the children there. (032)

* * * * *

...my mother is 81 and she is by herself. We miss her and she misses us, which is the big thing and that's what made it harder going further away. (037)

* * * * *

I felt like I was neglecting my children, because I've been with them all their lives, even though they're married now. But they're all well married and have nice homes and families and there's nothing I can do for them except my company and they can come and visit me....I'm retired, so why not be where I can go and see things and not be so far from everything. (090)

Summary

This chapter has considered the ways in which passage through the different stages of the individual and family life cycle relates to the wife and mother's experiences of relocation. With increasing age, the

reasons prompting the move shift from being occupationally-oriented to personally-oriented. With this shift, the wife has more choice in the decision of whether and where to relocate, and her husband's moving career comes to more closely parallel her own. At the same time, the limited financial resources available to her and the lack of occupation and children as integrators into the community complicate her passage.

Two stages in the family life cycle involve status passages which compete with the moving career. Relocation is quite disruptive of the parenting stage, frequently leaving women without a supportive network of significant others as they redefine their identities and routines as mothers. It also often precipitates the "launching" stage of the family life cycle, causing much anguish for women who feel this event comes either too soon or is "forced" upon the family. In sum, nearly a quarter of the women in this study were at stages in the family life cycle where passage competed with the moving career.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A MOVING EXPERIENCE: RELOCATION AND IDENTITY CHANGE

This chapter examines the wife's response to her passage through the moving career. It explores change in her identity, her feelings of relative happiness, loneliness, depression, and isolation, and her satisfaction with the move specifically. Her expectations of the move, the extent to which these expectations are realized, and their relationship to her satisfaction with the move are also explored.

Expectations at Different Stages of the Move

Many researchers have emphasized the importance of the discrepancy between the expectations and reality of the move. Jones (1976: 158) suggests that the greater the gap between expectations and reality, when reality is less desirable than anticipated, the less positive will be the level of adjustment following relocation. This study also found that the realization of expected improvements is related to satisfaction with the move.

Women have different expectations at different stages of the move. Being relatively experienced in the role of mover, they have expectations of how the relocation stage will proceed. I examine their ability to predict the transition through this stage, and the emergence of unexpected factors in the move.

For nearly half the respondents, the relocation stage was different from their expectations. Sixty-one (49.6 percent) found this stage more difficult than they had expected. For many, the purchasing of a home

was both more time-consuming and tension-ridden than expected. A few were unfamiliar with the procedures of professional movers, and this complicated their move. Being away from their spouses during this stage, and feelings of responsibility for the success of this stage, exacerbated the situation.

I didn't think it was going to be as bad as it was. I thought they came in and they packed...but there were six men and they were all running around....I couldn't be in all the same rooms at the same time. They were running in and out with the cartons and stamping this and that. I didn't know what to do.... I would have left and gone shopping or something, but my husband's last instructions before he left were, "Now you make sure everything goes okay", because we'd never done this before...so I felt very responsible. But there wasn't anything I could do anyway. (053)

Approximately half the respondents found the move easier than expected. While there is some relationship between such a definition of the move and the total number of relocations made by a respondent, the relationship is in an opposite direction to that anticipated. Those who had made fewer moves were somewhat more likely to find the move easier than expected than were the women who had made more moves ($\tau C = .220$, $\text{Sign.} = .01$). Those unfamiliar with the role of mover are likely to overestimate the problems of the relocation stage, and subsequently define this stage as easier than expected. This is consistent with the earlier finding that those who have made fewer moves more frequently believe that moving becomes easier with experience.

Many experienced movers felt that, based on past experience, their expectations of the move had been realistic. A minority of the respondents stated that, either because they had never before moved, or because they had never before moved with a professional mover, "I really didn't expect anything."

Expectations of improvements and of disadvantages involved specific issues: concerns about family, about the marital relationship, friends, and finances. In all, 100 respondents (81 percent of the sample) expected some improvements to occur as a result of the move; in actual fact, improvements occurred for 89 (72 percent of the respondents). There was a strong significant relationship between the expectation of improvements and their occurrence*. No improvements occurred for those who had not expected them. Virtually all of those who expected improvements realized them (Tau B = .776, Sign. = .00). Only nine percent of all the respondents experienced a discrepancy between their expectations and experiences of improvement.

There was also a strong relationship between expectations that the move would bring disadvantages, and the actual occurrence of those disadvantages. Eight-five percent of women who expected disadvantages in fact experienced them (Tau B = .635, Sign. = .00).

I was worried about my daughter making the change at this particular time in high school.

It's turned out to be very bad for her, because they were on the semester system in Calgary and they aren't here. (058)

Eighteen percent of the total sample experienced a discrepancy between their expectations and the occurrence of disadvantages. Twenty-one percent of respondents who had not expected disadvantages experienced them, while 16 percent of those who had expected disadvantages did not

* Because the wives made retrospective assessments of their expectations, it is possible that some redefined their original expectations in the light of the reality of the situation. Women who experienced advantages or disadvantages may have rationalized that they had expected them all along. There is also the possibility of a self-fulfilling prophecy wherein women experienced advantages and disadvantages because they had expected them.

experience them.

I was worried that my sister and my son would have problems getting jobs, but they both got good placements right away. (098)

* * * * *

There's such an excitement to moving that leaving people behind you don't even think about until you've gone and moved and suddenly you miss them. The excitement and the rush of moving overshadows that feeling, until you're there and settled and the excitement's gone and then all of a sudden you really miss them...We had very good friends back there who were closer than we ever realized. (097)

Several people who experienced unexpected disadvantages were return movers to the Hamilton-Burlington area. Some held definite expectations that things would be the same as they had previously been. This proved not to be the case.

You move back and expect that things to on as before, which of course it can't be, because other people take up their own lives. I found to a degree that even though we'd kept in touch with people, it definitely isn't the same; it's nice but not the same. (009)

Nearly half the respondents expected both improvements and disadvantages to accrue from the move. For example, some expected that their marital relationship would improve by being away from the pressures of family; at the same time, they expected a financial disadvantage in having to pay more for housing in the Hamilton-Burlington area. While 12 percent experienced neither, 15 percent found only disadvantages, 31 percent only improvements, and 42 percent both advantages and disadvantages.

The only thing I could think of is that it's going to be good for him. It betters him in the bank. This is his first managerial position and it's giving him pride, I think. And what's good for him, well, I guess it's good for me.

The disadvantages are the adjustment for me,
and being further from family. (027)

The discrepancy between expectations and reality was directly related to the respondent's satisfaction with the move. Two-thirds of those for whom expected improvements did not occur, were dissatisfied (Tau C = .281, Sign. = .002). The issue was not so much whether improvements occurred, as whether expectations of improvement were met. A similar relationship obtained between expectations and experience of disadvantages, and satisfaction. Ninety-one percent of those who expected disadvantages which did not occur were happy with the move (Tau C = .274, Sign. = .00). By contrast, only 45 percent of those experiencing unexpected disadvantages were satisfied (Tau C = .209, Sign. = .05).

Response to the Move: Happiness and Perception of Personal Benefit

The majority of the respondents (62 percent) were satisfied with the move. Although job-related factors precipitated these moves, issues relating to family were important in the assessment of satisfaction. By far the issue of greatest concern was being closer to family.

I'm happier here...because I was concerned that my mother was so far away. And now I know if there's an emergency I can be down in a short time. (059)

* * * * *

This is where we both always planned to come back to, and now we're here, and back close to our families which we're both happy about. (023)

A smaller number were pleased to be farther away from their families.

I'm more happy. I wasn't relaxed at home. Dad's an alcoholic and Mom drinks a lot, and they would phone me in the middle of the night and bother us. It's quieter here. (077)

Over a third of the respondents, however, were either unhappy with the move, or had mixed feelings about it. The 19 (15 percent) respondents who felt unhappy with the move included many who had recently undergone a change in family life cycle stage, either through the departure of a child from the home, or through the birth of a first child.

I'm not happy. I want to go home. I'm thinking now not in terms of where house and furniture are, but in terms of family. We had a very close family, and when you come from a close family, it's very hard.... They say it takes two years. This is what the fellas at work were telling my husband, and they'd heard it from their wives. I think my husband is happier with the move than I am. (053)

Other women who were unhappy expressed the hope that things would be better in time. Some were unhappy not with any specific aspect of the move, but spoke of the relationship between dissatisfaction and orientation toward the move.

A lot of it with this move has been psychological, because I didn't want to come here in the first place....You get to know people and you wonder why you're leaving. You never feel settled anywhere....I've learned the lesson this time, too, that to keep an open mind is a must in moving.... If you go in with the idea that you're not going to like a place, you're not. You've got that psychological barrier up there....Because if you keep saying you don't like it here, you get depressed and you get your family depressed, and there's nothing much they can do about it. So you've got to...learn to pull yourself out of it for everybody's sake, hey? And try and get a more positive attitude....You can't just think about yourself. You've got to think about the rest of your family as well. Your attitude as you come to a place is really important that way. (027)

Similarly, those 28 respondents (23 percent of the sample) who reported mixed feelings about the move cited a variety of explanations. A longing for friends, concern over an unhappy spouse or child, feelings of being housebound and not knowing anyone all contributed to their ambivalence.

It certainly doesn't make me happy to see my husband and my daughter unhappy. As far as I'm concerned I'm perfectly happy here. Oh yes, I'm happy here. But my husband really wants to move and if he finds the right job, I'll go. (058)

* * * * *

I'm content. I'm not ravingly happy, I still get the pangs every now and then, wishing that I could ...visit friends. (056)

* * * * *

I say I'm happy we made the move and yet I'd move back to Ottawa tomorrow. On a day-to-day basis, I'm happy. I have bad days and I have good days. Right now, generally, I'm not really happy, though. But I think once the summer comes I'll be a lot happier because I'll have a garden and I'll be able to get out...I'll get happier, I know I will, and I have to keep telling myself that, because I can't just sit around. (050)

The majority (57 percent) of the respondents reported that they felt the same as their husbands about the move. However, 18 percent said they were more happy than their spouses, and a quarter of the sample said they were less happy than their husbands*. Those who were happier cited the husband's occupation as of concern to him, or his longing for specific characteristics of the last place of residence.

He's still nowhere in his profession, so I think he's not as happy as me. He's happy with his family, but not for his profession. (081)

* * * * *

I'm happy here, and perhaps a little more so than Pat still. I think he still longs for the lifestyle he had in Alberta. Although he seems to find his work gratifying enough, in terms of his leisure time, he misses the accessibility that Lethbridge afforded. (009)

* This question was not applicable to the one respondent whose husband had died since the move.

Several factors were strongly associated with the wife's general satisfaction with the move*. These included the wife's perception of the move as of personal benefit, her relative level of satisfaction in the previous community, and her relative feelings of loneliness and isolation. Post-relocation depression also has an important relationship to satisfaction with the move. I now examine each of these factors.

The respondents were asked whether and in what ways the move had been of personal benefit to them. The perception of personal benefit accruing from the move was significantly related to the wife's satisfaction with the move (Tau C = .444, Sign. = .00). Just over a third of the respondents (35 percent) felt that the move was not of benefit to them personally. Most of these women were either unhappy with or had mixed feelings about the move. Some assessed the extent of their personal benefit relative to the benefit derived by the husband.

The move was not of benefit for me at all, but it has been for him, and I resent this. He's travelled in the job, and he's gotten to see his family, and it's been good for him. I have my resentment toward him and the things that he can do. He says to me to get out and do something. (031)

The move was not beneficial to some women because it had made no difference in their personal lives. A smaller number defined the

* Earlier chapters have identified some of these factors as feelings on leaving the previous community, whether the respondent now regrets leaving, the wife's role in the decision to leave the previous community, and her role in deciding to come to the present one. The desire to come to Hamilton-Burlington initially, and whether she was bothered about her children's adjustment problems were also associated with current happiness.

lack of personal benefit in terms of the move's interference with their occupational careers.

The majority (64.8 percent) of the respondents found the move personally beneficial. Most of these women also felt happy with the move. Indeed, 82 percent of the women who were happy with the move described it as personally beneficial to them. Some were relieved to be free from undesirable circumstances in the previous community. Factors related to being closer to, or away from, family were also important.

When the move came, all I could think of was that we'd be getting away from his mother....I was so happy to get away from her....We're different people here than we were there, without her dragging us down....When this move came, I would have gone anywhere, just to get away.
(022)

* * * * *

The last move taught me all the things I didn't want to be, and with this move, I got away from all that. It was so stultifying there! But the move here! You would know how beneficial it has been to me here if you had seen me last fall. I've lost ten pounds, and I'm raring to go again. The house is relatively clean, the baking's done, the kids are happy, because I'm happy. (024)

* * * * *

I felt a lot more secure coming back here. I think I put on a lot of self-deception being very strong and very secure when we left here. Being back here, and having family here has made the difference. I really felt I had someone to confide in. It's a little more objective. You don't have to lean on your husband every time, and I personally feel that's for the better. (042)

A smaller number found the move beneficial because of associated improvements in their occupational careers.

I now have a job I enjoy. I enjoy where I live. I enjoy Paul's colleagues, and our neighbours. I'm really quite happy with the situation. In Edmonton I didn't like my job, and when you spend 90% of your time with something you don't like, you've got a lot of your lifestyle that's a problem. Because we moved, because I found another job and because we found a place that we liked, that's made a positive difference to my whole outlook. (052)

A minority (10 percent) of the women found the move to be of personal benefit, but also had mixed feelings about it. These women did not find the move as personally beneficial as did the happy women. The move was financially of benefit to them, but in no other way.

It's a benefit to me in terms of more money. I'm a worrier about food and money. I would see Don and the kids fed before me. Now I don't have to restrict myself to \$35 a week for groceries. I can go to \$50. (075)

Even fewer women (four percent of the sample) described the move as personally beneficial but nevertheless felt unhappy. Most attributed the benefit to the "educational" or "broadening" character of the move. For these women the move generally was a painfully educational experience. Because moves are socially accepted in society, some women evidently felt the need to say something positive about their own experience.

Educationally I've gained, and that's about it
I know what people mean more when they talk
 about life out east. My husband keeps saying
 it's a broadening experience. It's different. (053)

The respondents clearly derived degrees of personal benefit from the move. For some, it was undoubtedly of benefit in removing them from difficult circumstances. For others, the benefit involved greater emotional or occupational security. For yet others, the "personal" benefit was less evident, although there was the benefit of more money, a nicer home, and a "broadening" of experience.

Response to the Move: Relative Happiness, Loneliness, Isolation and Depression

In addition to assessing whether the move was of personal benefit, the wives were asked about their emotional responses to it. This required them to assess whether they were more, less, or as happy, lonely, isolated and depressed as they had been in the previous community. Table 8.1 portrays the substantial changes in feelings which occurred with the move. The magnitude of the change in women's feelings on each of these dimensions, and their strong relationship to satisfaction with the move, warrants their individual analysis.

Relative Happiness

In the comparison between past and current general happiness, factors related to family were again important. Many women were happier because of an improvement in some tangible feature of their environment, such as being closer to family. For others, the move forced an assessment of life goals and thereby improved general happiness.

I'm happier because there's a lot of self-examination going on. What it did was take me out of the familiar and the comfortable and get me to the point where I really had to sit down and think what do I want out of life, what is important, and to share that with

TABLE 8.1

Wives' Assessments of Changes in Feelings
With the Move

Feeling	Assessment of Relative Change		
	More	Same	Less
	%	%	%
Happiness*	48.8	22.8	27.6
Loneliness*	38.2	32.5	28.5
Isolation	32.5	32.5	35.0
Depression	22.8	47.2	30.1

* One respondent could not assess change in feelings on this dimension.

Peter and to find out the same things from him.
So in that way we've grown quite a lot, both as
individuals and as a couple. (056)

Many women who were relatively less happy had undergone a change
in family life cycle or occupational status with the move.

It's different. The situations were too different.
We're much happier here in terms of the physical
aspects of the city. We have more friends here....
But in terms of my job and my own personal
satisfaction, even with the baby, I would say I'm
slightly less happy. (099)

* * * * *

How do you measure happiness? I don't like being
away from the boys, and yet I know they've got to
grow up and leave home eventually, but it just
seemed like we were forcing the issue....That part
is really hard. Maybe I'm less happy, if you
consider that. (058)

A few women, while happy with the advancement of their husband's
careers, were personally less happy than previously. Some spoke of the
difficulties of comparing relative levels of happiness in relocation.

I'm happier because it's an advancement for Bruce and being an employee of the bank, you know you're going to move, so you can't say, "Oh, I don't want to move" because you've known for years that you're going to move, so why grumble? And every time you move it's an advancement for Bruce, and that's the name of the game....I think when you move like we do, maybe, you make do with what you've got and you don't say 'happier' or 'less happy'....You don't compare. You're less happy about some things and happier about others. So maybe it balances in the end, because you meet new people, and you don't grow stale in one house. Mind you, the routine of moving in itself becomes stale after a while. In Sturgeon Falls, I had some of the happiest years of my life, and that hasn't been true here. (047)

These elements of the wives' responses - relative happiness, loneliness, isolation and depression - were not only strongly related to current happiness, but were interrelated as well. The assessment of relative happiness was associated with relative loneliness (Tau B = .366, Sign. = .00), with relative isolation (Tau B = .414, Sign. = .00) and with relative depression (Tau B = .516, Sign. = .00). I now discuss the interrelationships between these different responses.

Relative Loneliness

Women who felt more lonely generally missed specific people in the previous community, and did not know anyone in the new one.

I feel lonely here a lot. It gets to the point where a couple of times I've felt like crying. And after you move, you feel really depressed for a while, because you don't know what to do. He's started a new job, and he's going through a rough time, so you can't ask him to help you. (075)

A minority were more lonely because this was one more in a long series of moves. The response of loneliness was not so much a particular as a cumulative response.

I'm very lonely. I deeply miss the friends that I left and the involvement I had in the community. This move and the one before that have been the hardest, and this one has been by far the greatest hardship, and I don't know if I could do it again,

because I almost had a nervous breakdown over it....
 So much moving just took its toll....I went back to
 work, because...if I can't make myself less lonely,
 then at least I'm pre-occupied with something else,
 and I'll have something else to think about....Going
 back to work sort of snapped me out of that depression.
 (008)

The less lonely respondents included many who had made a return
 move to Hamilton-Burlington and who already had a contact in the area.
 Only 21 percent of those who were more lonely had lived in Hamilton-
 Burlington before; half of those who were less lonely were return movers
 to the area (Tau C = .248, Sign. = .004).

In her analysis of the stages of the newcomer career, Christiansen-
 Ruffman observed that in the initial post-move stages "...so much attention
 is demanded by practical matters that many newcomers reported being too
 busy to spend long periods of time grieving about leaving their former
 home....They were so busy and so tired from the tasks of moving that they
 did not feel acutely homesick and lonely during this relatively short
 period of moving-in" (1976: 126). Although I found no statistical
 relationship between feelings of loneliness and length of time since the
 move, many who felt no more or less lonely had been in Hamilton-Burlington
 only a short time. They were, at this stage, too busy or preoccupied to
 feel lonely.

I haven't stopped long enough for me to miss anybody.
 I'm not a bit lonely. That may change later on. (090)

Others who felt as lonely as in the previous community had moved frequently
 and had spent short periods of time in each community. They had had
 little opportunity to develop the type of contacts of which they might
 feel deprived in the new community.

The experience of relative loneliness was related to the wife's
 satisfaction with the move. Over 88 percent of the women who were less

lonely than previously were satisfied with the move, compared with 40 percent of the more lonely women who were also satisfied (Tau B = .377, Sign. = .00).

Relative Isolation

The respondents were equally divided on whether they felt more, less or as isolated as previously. Feelings of isolation were closely associated with feelings of loneliness among these women. Seventy percent of those who felt more isolated also felt more lonely (Tau B = .556, Sign. = .00). While feelings of loneliness involved not knowing anyone, feelings of isolation involved the lack of access to people, even strangers. The husband's shift work or irregular working hours, lack of access to an automobile or bus routes, and the presence of very small children frequently exacerbated feelings of isolation.

The relationship between feelings of isolation and satisfaction with the move was particularly strong. Eighty-four percent of dissatisfied wives and 43 percent of those with mixed feelings felt more isolated, in comparison with 16 percent of those satisfied with the move (Tau B = .502, Sign. = .00). Over half the women who were happy with the move felt less isolated than they had previously been. Many of the more isolated wives expressed profound unhappiness with the move, and several wept as they discussed their feelings.

In Winnipeg, with just having the one baby, I could pick him up and still go a lot. Here, with two, I'm more tied down. My husband works at night, and I don't know anybody. I feel so cut off. I can't count the times I saw a playpen in a townhouse window and wanted to go and knock on a door. Moving in the winter, not knowing anyone, you feel so isolated. (016)

These findings corroborate Christiansen-Ruffman's observation that "most cases of extreme panic...seemed to be related to isolation and 'days of

speaking to no one'" (1976: 144)*.

A few women indicated that although they still felt isolated, the intensity of their feelings had dissipated as they made contacts in the new community.

At one point I was so desperate I would have been friends with Dracula's daughter if she had spoken to me, just to have some company. It was insecurity or a lack of something. I was desperate. Now I'm at the point where I'm not so desperate any more, and now I've started to meet nice people. (033)

Even women who belonged to voluntary organizations or who held some form of group membership suffered from feelings of isolation. Such activities often occurred only weekly or bi-weekly, leaving long intervals with no one to talk to. There was also no relationship between feelings of relative isolation and women's occupational status. Some women who were employed outside the home felt isolated because their occupations failed to provide the sociability they sought and required.

It hasn't helped me meet new friends. All it does is occupy my time. In that way it's good, but it hasn't given me the people contact that I need. (008)

Feelings of relative isolation were also related to feelings of depression. Eighty-two percent of the more depressed also felt more isolated (Tau B = .529, Sign. = .00).

Relative Depression

While feelings of happiness, loneliness, or isolation may or may

*Christiansen-Ruffman also noted that, "several times during the interview sessions when interruptions occurred, the women...became flushed and excited at their neighbour's or acquaintance's knock on the door, or telephone call" (1976: 145). I observed a similar phenomenon among these migrants when a telephone call came from distant relatives or people in the previous community. Their relative isolation was also evident in the enthusiasm with which some women responded to the interview and sought to prolong the visit, saying how very much they had looked forward to it.

not accompany relocation, feelings of depression "usually" occur. Many women spoke of a period of depression as a 'stage' in the moving career, through which one progresses within a varying period of time after the move.

I think with every move you have that blue period when you sit down and you look out and think, "What am I doing here?" You talk to yourself and say, "I know this is stupid" and you get over it. This time I haven't had a real bad depression....It's worst when you're sitting there with boxes all over the place, and you think, "Oh here we go again!" But it doesn't last, not with me. Of course, I get very mad at myself whenever I suspect I'm feeling sorry for myself. (022)

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You have to have a 'lull' before you start to feel settled. You'll have a lull probably when you first get moved in, or after you've got the major job of moving over, when you can sit down for the first time, you sit down and you think. From then on you feel down and - in this place it was six weeks, in another place it might be two weeks - and then you start to enjoy yourself again. You start to take time out to talk to somebody. (047)

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There's always a let-down feeling after you move. Sometimes it only lasts hours, and then you're out of it, and then...back into it again. Other times you're down maybe a week or so. The things that have gotten me out of it were getting a job, or meeting a new friend. (063)

As these examples indicate, depression usually occurs after relocation; for some women, however, it occurs before the move.

I felt down for a while before I moved. When he phones and says, "We're moving", from that point on I feel really depressed and then we go out and start looking for a house and getting into the move itself, then I don't feel as depressed. Before the move, you think ahead to what's it going to be like. And you have to leave all your friends there. I was really depressed for a while. (069)

The respondents' assessments of relative depression thus varied, depending upon whether they were in or out of the 'down period' associated with the move. Some stated that they now were not depressed, but that they had felt acutely so earlier in the move, particularly during the winter months.

Right now I'm in an 'up' period, but a month ago I was in a 'down' period. There was rush, rush, to get ready for Christmas, and then I went down when the Christmas decorations came down. I finally had to pick up some projects and really concentrate and do some definite thinking about getting out of the doldrums. (039)

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This past winter,...I was feeling depressed because I wanted to go back to work very badly, and meet somebody, anybody....I was so depressed, I couldn't even be bothered reading books. I seemed to be so removed from it. January was just horrible for me. I remember laying on this love seat and being so depressed because I couldn't get out, because I had no one to talk to. I sat around in this limbo, not being able to do anything. My lethargy had reached that point. By March I was starting to come out of it. At least I could take the baby outside and meet new people. (099)

A variety of factors initiated feelings of depression among these women. They included the lack of contacts, and the return to a 'mundane' routine after the 'excitement' of the move.

I really did look forward to this move, owning our own house, and everything that was going to come of it. Then you get here, and it's back to the old routine and you're a little disappointed, or something. (070)

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I went through a bad depression when I was first here. I don't know how to explain it, but you're away from everything familiar. There's no Welcome Wagon or New-comer's Club here, which would help us to meet new people here. The depressed feeling lasted a few months, and I think it was just time that helped me get over it. (056)

These feelings of greater unhappiness, loneliness, isolation and depression combined in some women to produce a profound response to the relocation.

I have been through many traumatic things, but nothing has almost sent me over the brink like this did....I was a widow at 23, with a child, and still that wasn't as bad as this last move. You can understand what it means for me to say that. Being widowed for some reason never brought me so close to the brink. It's been quite an ordeal. (008)

Nine percent of the respondents experienced negative change on each of these four dimensions; a further nine percent felt the same as previously on one dimension, but relatively worse off on the other three. When these two groups are combined, it is apparent that a fifth of the wives experienced a significant negative response to passage through the moving career.

These data portray the wife's expectations of the move, the subsequent reality which she encountered, and their relationship to her happiness with the move. They also indicate her response to the move in terms of her relative loneliness, isolation, and depression. Beyond these affective responses, however, women experience other personal changes in conjunction with relocation. Changes in their personal lives and in identity also occur.

Response to the Move: Changes in Personal Life and Identity

Two-thirds of the respondents experienced changes in their personal lives in association with the move, most notably in occupational status and family life cycle stage. These changes also involved being closer to family or in a more compatible cultural environment.

A minority of the respondents who experienced no such change spoke of the familiarity of household possessions and family as perpetuating

the sense of continuity and lack of change with each move.

It doesn't matter where you move to, everything stays the same, because you've got your furniture and your family there. Everything stays the same within the home environment, but your friends and that all change. (091)

A related but larger issue, and one of import for symbolic interactionists, is how relocation changes the individual herself. The majority of these women (85 percent) agreed that the experience of relocation does change people*. They felt that people who relocate are generally different from people who do not. Unlike migration researchers who argue whether moving has beneficial or negative consequences for people, these migrants, by a two-to-one margin, felt that moving has generally beneficial consequences for people.

People who move have initiative, they know they're on their own....Whereas people who always live in the same place...are so closed. They've gotten so used to knowing everything, they don't realize there are people who could do with a helping hand. By moving, you become more aware. It is definitely, definitely a broadening experience, because every move involves facing a different experience. You've got to learn that there are different sorts of people and you become able to communicate with them on their level. (098)

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I think about the kids I was in high school with who stay in one place. They have a very narrow scope... they're just negative on where they're never been. Obviously, they're not as interesting and haven't experienced as much. I'm not saying that if you move a lot that you're automatically a fascinating person, just that you're exposed to a lot more, that you're a lot more objective about things. (102)

A minority of respondents felt differently, however.

* Fifteen (12 percent) felt that movers are no different from people who live all their lives in one place. Four respondents could not make an assessment.

People who live all their lives in one community, which is my family at home and most of my relatives, have a sense of territoriality. They have their spot. I never have that sense, and I have to have it. I need that, I really do, and I'm not getting it. I just get to know people and I just get to feel at home, and like I belong, and zap! it's all gone. And you can't make any friends that way...any lasting friends, anyway....I think it has a negative effect, and I see it in a lot of people with the bank who move a lot. (057)

The positive consequences of relocation were greater awareness of others, receptivity to change, independence, openness, friendliness, a broader world view, and 'being more interesting' to talk to. The negative consequences involved the lack of, or superficiality of, friendship relations, and a sense of rootlessness.

People who move around a lot meet a lot of friends, but do they have any real old friends? You move a lot and change a lot and change your furniture and all that, but what have you got - nothing permanent, or lasting, or worthwhile in the long run. (090)

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People who move around a lot tend to be more superficialI mean that, you make friends easily, but I...wonder now if I can make friends who'll stay friends forever. Because you're always faced with "Well, I'm going to leave" so you don't allow yourself to become...attached. There's always that bit of reserve. Or you associate with people who maybe you wouldn't select as a good long-time friend, but because you need companionship, you socialize with them. We'll only be here a little while, so we'll put up with the aspect of them that we don't like, and we won't search out new people. It's so superficial. (063)

Some respondents noted both beneficial and negative consequences of relocation for people.

I think people who move a lot are searching for something,...to recapture what they had as children. We're doing that, looking for what we think are the good, old, secure, fun, root, gut-feeling days. We haven't found it yet and I don't know if we ever will. I think people like us who move a lot are goers, very curious, and

inquisitive in a lot of things....We have a few friends who've never moved, and we do, quite frankly, admire them. I don't think they've grown in their minds like we have, but that's not to say that they're not better off for it. (026)

In general, moving significantly alters one's identity. This was recognized by respondents, both as a general phenomenon and in application to themselves. As Table 8.2 illustrates, 85 percent of those who felt movers were different from non-movers perceived themselves as changed.

TABLE 8.2

The Relationship between Perception of Change
in Others and Perception of Change in Self

Perception of Change in Others	Personally Changed by Relation		
	Not Changed	Personally Changed	Total
	%	%	%
Movers Not Different	66.7	33.3	12.6
Movers Different	14.4	85.6	87.4
TOTAL %	100.0	100.0	100.0
TOTAL N	25	94	119*

* Three respondents who personally felt changed by the experience of relocation did not know whether movers were generally different from non-movers. One respondent was not able to answer either question.

Tau B = .426, Sign. = .00

The perception of movers as generally different from non-movers and the perception of self-change with relocation were not related to the number of moves which the respondent had made. Nor were they related to the distance of the move. They were only slightly related to whether the respondent's life had also changed (Tau B = .175, Sign. = .02).

Fully 79 percent of the respondents felt personally changed by the experience of relocation. Most (88.5 percent) felt that relocation had brought positive personal changes, and only a few (11.5 percent) described the changes as negative*. The most consistent type of positive change described by the respondents involved becoming more independent and self-sufficient.

I'm more outgoing, more self-sufficient with each move. With my husband away from us when he starts each new job, I have to be independent....Most things that have to be done, I know I can do them myself. That's a big thing for me. (034)

* * * * *

It's changed me totally....I don't feel as dependent on people as I used to, because I don't have anybody really to depend on, and I feel that's been a step. I didn't realize how dependent I was until I moved away, until I had the dependency knocked away from me. (033)

Other respondents achieved a feeling of confidence and the ability to initiate activities. For some, their very participation in the research was evidence of personal change.

I'm learning to be more of an initiator....Before I moved, I would no more think of going out and initiating a friendship! Once I got over this great depressing mood, you suddenly come to the conclusion that nothing's there, nothing's going to be there for you or for anybody else, unless you do something. (056)

* * * * *

I'm not as shy as I used to be. I've had to force myself out of it. I have more confidence in myself. A few years ago I would have said, "A Ph.D. student to interview me? Oh, I can't do it! Can't talk to her!"...At one time the thought of having a bank

* One respondent could not say whether relocation had changed her at all, and hence could not evaluate the type of personal change which had taken place. Another respondent could not categorize the change which she experienced as either positive or negative.

manager's wife over for dinner was enough to send me into shock. Then I realized that they're in the same position. I've learned with moving and with meeting different people in the moves that you have to talk with someone as a person. Moving helps give you confidence. (047)

Schutz's analysis of the role of the stranger emphasizes how mobility throws into question previously taken-for-granted reality. For some migrant wives, part of the growth experience of moving was directly related to a re-assessment of some taken-for-granted reality.

Moving has changed my attitudes a lot....I realized how much you assume when you are born in a place and live there most of your life. Having been away, gone back, and now leaving it again, has matured me. All the things of the past I always assumed would still be there - the friendships, the old feeling - weren't. I've had to learn to grow and to live with that realization, to accept the present and where I am now for what they are, and to like myself more. When you move and leave friends, you spend more time alone in the new place, and you have to learn to like yourself, to like being alone with yourself, or you can go nuts. I learned that from the very beginning. (022)

Other respondents who had, in the past, made international moves, spoke of the cumulative effect of the relocation experience and how it changed taken-for-granted reality and worldview.

I think I'm more tolerant. Being black, I used to worry about how people react to me. I used to be very nervous about that. And I was less tolerant of white people. You meet so many different people when you move, it makes you more relaxed with people. Also when you move, you learn to leave your culture behind. And that affects you, too. (089)

* * * * *

I've changed my attitude toward people. I'm not as naive as I used to be. I'm tougher and not as vulnerable to things. In China, we were taught to be humble. Humility is the virtue above all others. But humility will get you nowhere in this country. If you are humble and meek, people assume you don't know anything. Moving has taught me to be assertive. I think this is positive.

You always learn things from experience, and I've learned this from moving. (119)

The few respondents who experienced negative personal change were generally unhappy with the move. These respondents typically felt that they had become loners, more withdrawn, and generally less happy than before moving. For some, the move decreased rather than augmented feelings of personal independence.

I know now that I never want to move again. It's made me more unhappy than I've ever been. I'm unsettled still, and I'm unhappy with things in general, and I was always very happy. I'm always longing for something, it seems now, and I know it's back there. (053)

* * * * *

I'm just getting this terrible attitude. I feel like I'm just passing through. I just keep thinking, "I don't want to get involved because as soon as I get involved, I'm going to have to leave", and that's a terrible, terrible attitude...and I've just got to kick myself to get rid of it. It's definitely changed me. I used to have a lot of friends and...I have to be a loner now, which is difficult for me...Instead of making you more independent, it makes you more dependent. I feel really dependent on my husband, which I don't like to feel. This particular move has brought that change. (057)

Other women observed both negative and positive personal changes, but generally characterized the change as positive overall. Only one respondent could not describe the changes as being generally either positive or negative.

It's made me more of a loner, and that bothers me, but it's also made me more independent and on my own. (027)

* * * * *

Moving has given me a tremendous insight into how other people live....And I have enjoyed that. I wouldn't have changed the experience of moving and knowing a lot of different places. It's really broadened me. Particularly in those early moves, a

lot of things were a real eye-opener....But moving, and being alone after he goes ahead, has made me very introspective. I've found out how desperately lonely people can be...and that they don't like to talk about loneliness. I've learned a lot, and I honestly don't know if it's been for better or worse.
(099)

These data indicate that passage through the moving career involves not merely the experiencing of different peoples and places, but "may be viewed as...(a process of)...becoming transformed" (Strauss, 1959: 92). Strauss states that in coming to terms with different adult life experiences, "a person becomes something other than he once was" (1959: 92). This is true of the migrant wife. In coming to terms with the disruptions of relocation, with the loneliness and necessity of initiating new relationships, of taking leave of those on whom she is emotionally dependent, the migrant wife becomes something other than she once was: more self-sufficient, confident, self-motivated, and independent, or more lonely, dependent and withdrawn.

Response to the Moving Career as a Career: An Overview

Previous sections have examined the wife's response to the moving career involved in the relocation to Hamilton-Burlington. Many of these women were quite familiar with the role of mover, and many anticipated relocating again in the near and distant future. The larger issue of how they respond to the moving career in general is thus relevant here.

Most women (55 percent of the sample) generally did not like moving. Their concerns address issues of the 'break-up' of the family, the feeling of rootlessness, and the tedium of packing and unpacking. Some of the wives not only now, but have always, disliked moving, and feel strongly about it for a variety of reasons.

My husband knows how I feel about moving, and he just humours me. He tries to put up with me because I just rant and rave at him when a move comes. With this last move, I'd only just arrived in Chatham with him - four weeks there - and when he told me we were moving again, I just hit the ceiling. I just try to take it with a grain of salt, because I know it's inevitable. I'll probably get started in something here and I know it'll happen again, so I'll just have to go quietly. (057)

* * * * *

Oh, my God, no. Maybe the next time it wouldn't be so traumatic, but my experience to date has been wrenching, really, really painful. I'm already at the point where I couldn't imagine leaving here. Moving is painful, let's face it. (033)

* * * * *

One thing that disturbs and bothers me about moving is the break-up of the family....This moving frequently contributes to it. I feel bad that my children will never know their grandparents like I knew mine....I have very strong feelings about family, and to me to move often, to never have roots, for your children never to know a place as home, for people to sign up to move so often, is a tragedy. (016)

For nearly half the respondents who dislike moving, however, the feeling has emerged over a number of moves. In some cases, it is a cumulative dislike; in others, it specifically relates to the presence of children in the family.

I used to think it would be really exciting to move a lot, and maybe with this company my husband would have international moves,...but now after two moves, the thought of moving just doesn't appeal to me too much. (040)

* * * * *

At first I didn't mind moving, but now I do....Moving means nothing but work. You finish one thing, and you can't even sit down and say, "Gee, that looks nice", because you have to go on to the next thing. And we're still not done with fixing things here, and already we're thinking we'll be moving again soon. It's such a big hassle! Before the hassle would last a week, but everytime we move now, it seems to last longer. (047)

* * * * *

I would be very careful now, with having a child. My husband and I both feel that for our son to be based in a neighbourhood is important. My husband moved so much as a child that it affected his whole life. He's so shy and withdrawn, and he doesn't want that for Donny. Because of that, I don't like the idea of moving any more. (099)

A minority of the respondents, however, genuinely liked the experience of moving. Many equated relocation with adventure and the absence of relocation with stagnation.

I like the adventure of it. We have a saying in China. "The frog who sits at the bottom of the well sees only a little bit of sky at the top...But if he moves to the top...then he sees the entire sky himself." It's broadening and educational. I wouldn't want to always move constantly, but I do enjoy the challenge of each new place. (119)

* * * * *

We like moving. When you stay in a place, it gets dull and drab. When you move, you meet new people, and get involved in new things, and it adds that much more to your life. I feel sorry for people who are stuck in one spot, and never get anywhere else, and that's where they stay. For me, moving's fine, as long as the company pays for it all and transfers us, I don't mind at all. (022)

For some respondents, relocation has become so enjoyable and accepted a way of life that the prospect of it eventually ending becomes a concern.

I'm awfully good at it. I can pack up a four-bedroom house in two weeks, no problem. A long-distance move is relatively fun. It's not the move, it's the adjustment that's the problem, but I've never let a move get me uptight. I start to wonder what I'm going to do with myself when the moving days are over. (042)

For a small group of wives, the enjoyment of relocation as a way of life was apparently a sentiment borne of necessity.

Some people think it's tough to have to move, and I always get very sentimental about leaving a place, but I think it's an experience that really is good for people....With this corporation, you may as well think that you'll like moving, because you'll do a lot of it, and you'll find it easier. I approach it as an enjoyable experience. The first year is always the hardest, and it takes a while to adjust, and the second year you start thinking of moving again. (059)

Just as some women who dislike moving previously enjoyed it, several women who currently like moving cited the presence of children as potentially changing their attitudes.

Up to and including this last move, I have very much enjoyed moving. Always have. I've looked on it as a big adventure and always as a positive experience. But my mind is in a state of change at the moment. Children have made a big change in my feelings. With one child, and another to come, I'm unsure how I'll feel about it. I'm starting to feel now that I want to have roots. (063)

The data indicated no relationship between the wife's general attitude toward the moving career, and her familiarity with that career. They also clearly indicate little empirical support for William H. Whyte's portrayal of women as generally "revelling" in relocation, or Dienstag's portrayal of women as generally "psychologically wiped out" or "utterly diminished" by moving. The majority of these women clearly did not like relocation. Nevertheless, many were able to turn a potentially unpleasant experience into an opportunity for growth and personal development.

CHAPTER NINE
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The wife's experience of relocation has a relatively scheduled character, with a regularized sequence of stages or transitional statuses. I have examined her role in and her experience of each individual stage as well as the 'vertical linkages' which unite the stages of the moving career to the social world of the previous and current communities.

In the course of the analysis several important features of the wife's passage through the moving career became apparent. These were implicit in the analysis of the stages of the move, but are more explicitly examined here in terms of the "properties" of the wife's passage. While some of these properties have been identified by Glaser and Strauss as typical of status passages, others emerged as important to the wife's experience of the moving career. These include the continuity of the passage and its transitional stages, and the "domains" of the passage.

While this chapter provides a discrete analysis of each of these properties, in reality each is "cross cut" (Glaser and Strauss, 1971) by other properties. For example, in the wife and mother's experience of relocation, children may be considered simply as other members of the collective passage (they alter the mother's passage merely by being there), or as resources contributing to the mother's achievement of status passage control. In this case, the properties of circumstantiality (whether the passage is collective or solo) and of control, "cross cut"

one another.

Despite this cross-cutting, Glaser and Strauss observe that

The more explicitly in focus such properties are kept during the analysis of status passage, the more systematic will be the analysis; further, the more systematic, the better an analyst can account for the behaviours of, and consequences for, the persons involved in any given status passage (Glaser and Strauss, 1971: 10).

In this chapter I also examine the implications of this research.

Its focus on the moving career as perceived and experienced by women distinguishes it from many sociological studies in which women are the 'objects' rather than the 'subjects' of the analysis (Martin Matthews, 1977a, 1977b).

Properties of the Wife's Passage through the Moving Career

Reversibility

Glaser and Strauss observe that "because a status passage is constantly in motion, a major concern for the passagee...is whether the passage is either reversible or nonreversible (1971: 14). The issue of reversibility per se was not especially relevant to these respondents. While some may have subsequently reversed their passage and returned to their previous community, the likelihood of this was not apparent during the interviews. Respondents were indirectly touched by the reversible nature of status passages in several ways, however. Some experienced the reversible passage of a child who decided to return to the previous community after the move. There were also cases of arrested passage where the child made a decision not to accompany the parents in the move. The reversible property of status passages was thus important to wives' experiences of relocation.

In the study, over a third of the respondents were returning to

the Hamilton-Burlington area, and in this sense the move represented a reversal of the previous status passage taking them away from the area. I assume, however, that status passages are truly reversible only if the conditions obtaining after the reversal are the same as before. This was apparently not true of passage through the moving career. While a few respondents spoke of the feeling of returning home, and finding everything comfortable and familiar, most respondents undergoing a return move, or those who had made such moves in the past, asserted that "you can't go back."* Migrants found that people change and circumstances change, and that the taken-for-granted reality of life in a place is circumstantial and often cannot be recaptured.

In Glaser and Strauss's typology, repeatability of passages is another feature of reversibility. This was an important feature of the moving careers of these women. Many had repeated the career several times. However, almost half the women did not commence this passage until after marriage. These women were not highly mobile in and of themselves; the repeatability of their status passage related to their roles as wives of mobile men.

Future repeatability of the status passage was also a concern to these women. A third of the respondents knew that they would, or expected that they would, move out of the Hamilton-Burlington area. Most had considered the likelihood of future moves, even to the point of contemplating where the next move might lead.

* In his analysis of the "homecomer", Schutz maintains that even if one does 'go back', "the home to which he returns is by no means the home he left or the home which he recalled and longed for during his absence. And...the homecomer is not the same man who left...neither...for himself nor for those who await his return" (1964: 115-116).

I examined the proposition that, as the moving career is repeated, the wife may become more familiar with the staging, sequencing, and temporal progression of that career, and in so doing learn techniques for easing the passage. There was evidence that the wives could generalize the passage so that the physical aspects of the move became easier. The socio-emotional aspects of the passage, however, could not be generalized and became no easier in spite of the repeatability of the passage. Indeed, the more frequently the passage was repeated, the more difficult the experience became. Some women related their feelings of loneliness and isolation to the cumulative effect of several repeated passages. Tiger (1974) has suggested that with the repetition of such careers, people detach themselves from their environments and simply do not let themselves become involved with others. While a minority of the wives expressed this view, most felt the need to become "embedded" in the new social environment, to have contacts and confidants, to feel "at home", whatever the potential duration of the move.

Temporality

Another property of status passages is their temporality. This encompasses such concerns as the schedule, regularity, prescribed steps, speed and pace of the passage. This particular dimension was highly variable among this sample of women, particularly in the planning and settling-in stages. Some women planned their moves for several years, while for others it was a matter of days. Some women similarly felt 'settled-in' almost immediately upon arrival in the new community, while others found that the attainment of this feeling took far longer.

The sequencing of the status passage is another aspect of its temporality, and one particularly germane to wives' experiences of

relocation. More than half the women in this study were separated from their spouse, their most significant other, during the move. Many described this separation as "difficult" for them, isolating them from couple-companionate friendship networks and augmenting the discontinuity of the moving career. This staggered sequencing, and its implications for both wives' and husband's experiences of relocation, is little recognized by migration researchers and family sociologists. Sussman and Cogswell berate Parsons and Bales (1955) for failing to recognize that "families do not always move as a unit"; they cite the many instances in which "the husband may precede his family to the new location by three to six months"; and then add, "This is the pattern...among lower class workers and in particular among minority groups" (Sussman and Cogswell, 1971: 479). This research emphasizes that it is also a common pattern among middle-class families being transferred and families relocating because of unemployment. It is far more typical than Sussman and Cogswell suggest, and an integral aspect of the wife's passage through the moving career.

Desirability

The wives' long-range expectations are central to the assessment of the desirability of the move. Although moves were typically job-related, the women's expectations involved concerns about the marital relationship, the family, friends and finances. As indicators of the definition of the move, these expectations suggest that most wives had an open mind about the relocation. Half of them expected both advantages and disadvantages to accrue from it. The relationship between these expectations and their actual occurrence was, however, crucial to the assessment of satisfaction with the move.

The passage through this particular moving career was apparently desirable for many women, in that half were eager to leave the previous community, and three-quarters wanted to move to Hamilton-Burlington specifically. This desirability of the passage was a significant factor in the wives' experience of relocation. Those who initially desired the move were most likely to express subsequent satisfaction with it.

However, these women distinguished between the desirability of this particular passage and the desirability of the moving career in general. While many defined this particular move as desirable, most found the moving career in general to be undesirable. For some, this was a cumulative response to a large number of moves; for others, desirability of the moving career in general was related to the presence of and ages of children in the home. Feelings of rootlessness and of being tired of the tedium of packing contributed to the general definition of undesirability.

The voluntariness and degree of choice in the passage are also related to its desirability. In this respect the passage was clearly not desirable for some of these women. The wives of men who had been transferred in their jobs frequently felt that they had no choice in the move, and for some, the move was involuntary. All the women who felt that they had no choice and who were dissatisfied with the move were the wives of transferred men.

Shaping

The shape of the passage encompasses the important issue of control, which varies considerably with each stage of the moving career. Women have little control over the initiating of the passage, despite their involvement in the decision-making stage. They do, however, have

considerable control over what many of them consider to be the "unimportant" tasks in the planning stage. In the relocation stage, the sequence is quite prescribed, and for most women, control over the passage is assumed by professional moving companies. In the settling-in stage, the control over the shape of the career appears to vary for women of different occupational statuses. Women employed outside the home have more resources available to them in integrating into the new community and were perceived as having an easier passage through this stage. Women attempted to gain some control over their passage in this stage through their contacts with neighbours and community groups, but these were not available to all.

Marshall (1979: 355-356) has argued that the greater the perceived inevitability of a career, the more the passagee will seek to control it. In this study, the women most likely to perceive the career as inevitable* (those who moved because of the husband's job transfer) had very little control over the timing or sequencing of their careers. Attempts to alter the timing of the husband's departure for the new community, or to delay the move for family reasons, were met with resistance from employers.

Circumstantiality and Resources

The circumstantiality of the moving career considers whether it is an aggregate, collective, or solo passage, and the types of resources available to women as they make their passage.

The issue of collective and individual passages was addressed

*The issue of the inevitability of the moving career is addressed later in this chapter.

with respect to the wife's key role in the move. Although the husband and wife were theoretically involved in the same collective passage, their individual passages not only differed but sometimes ran 'counter' to one another. For example, when the husband's passage involved his immediate move to the new job, the wife often found the planning stage more disruptive.

The examination of the wife's key role in the move indicated that playing the key role means either shaping the family's response to the passage, or performing specific tasks which facilitate or expedite the passage. In neither case does playing the key role involve having control over the overall shape of the passage. Glaser and Strauss distinguish between controlling shape and controlling how to live while in passage, which is what most women do.

A related issue is how women perceive their passage relative to that of other members of the collective passage, most particularly their husbands. Most women feel that moving is more difficult for the wife than for her husband. Variables such as the husband's occupation and his previous experiences of relocation were perceived as facilitators of his passage while the responsibilities which befall the wife were hindrances to her passage.

Glaser and Strauss indicate that the conflict of personal versus group interest is endemic to collective status passages. This was apparent for these women and their spouses. In some cases, spouse's passages were not only different but competing. While some women were pleased about the positive changes which the move had brought in their husband's careers, they frequently felt disadvantaged in terms of their own occupational careers or their desires for permanence.

Children too played a role in the mother's experience of the collective passage. Mothers bothered by a child's problems were very likely to be unhappy with the move. In addition, the fear that the child would abort the passage and remain behind in the previous community, or return there eventually, influenced the passage for some women.

The resources available throughout the passage varied not only among the wives but also in different stages in the moving career. During the decision-making stage, prior contacts in the community played a role in half of the respondent's decisions to relocate. During the relocation stage, many families received assistance from these contacts, as well as financial support from the husband's employer and the help of moving companies. During the planning and settling-in stages, however, the women had fewer resources available to them. Indeed, the planning stage was frequently the one during which the women had the fewest resources. With their husbands already relocated, respondents were often disappointed by the lack of help from neighbours and friends. At the very time that they needed the support of these people, they were in the process of leavetaking and had to disengage from them.

During the settling-in stage, available resources varied extensively for these women. Neighbours and voluntary organizations were not viable resources for many respondents, and employment outside the home was a resource for very few. For most women, ties to the extended family were important sources of continuity and support. Children also were important resources in the integration of the mother into the new community.

Multiplicity

The relationship between passage through the moving career, the motherhood career, and the occupational career is an important feature of wives' experiences of relocation. Women who became mothers or whose children left the nuclear family around the time of the move found themselves in competing rather than supportive passages. For women who became mothers, the relocation was a competing passage which complicated the motherhood career. For those who launched children from the home, however, the moving career both initiated and complicated passage through this stage of the family life cycle. The career of the migrant wife also interfered with the pursuit of occupational careers for these women. Sporadic work histories and differential wage rates between cities combined to mitigate against the successful pursuit of an occupational career outside the home.

Just as women go through more than one status passage at a time, so too may they experience the same status passage on different levels or "domains". This particular characteristic of status passages was not considered by Glaser and Strauss, but emerged in this analysis of wives' experiences of moving. I found that the meaning of the moving career varied according to whether women defined it as primarily a physical or a social career. Throughout the data analysis, the wives' responses were categorized as focusing on either physical and structural dimensions of the passage or social and affective dimensions. Occasionally the responses addressed both dimensions.

Thus the key role may be defined in structural terms (the completion of specific tasks) or in affective terms (responsibility for the response of the family to the move). Familiarity with the role of

mover may facilitate the physical domain of the moving career, but not the social response to it. The moving career may be defined as physically disruptive, socially disruptive, or both. The concept of feeling "settled" may be defined in structural or physical terms ("having the house in order") or in socio-emotional terms (feeling comfortable or at home). The physical settling-in may be achieved immediately, but the social settling-in may take far longer.

The moving career evidently involves two simultaneous passages, occurring in different domains. Relocation as a status passage is both a physical career and a social career. Women's experiences of relocation will vary according to which of these domains they emphasize as most relevant to their particular situation.

Continuity

Although not identified by Glaser and Strauss, continuity emerged as an important characteristic in the moving career. For most women, there was little continuity as they progressed through each transitional status. The move was typically associated with disruption of on-going routine and taken-for-granted reality, with change in the migrant's personal life and in her identity. Many women also experienced a discontinuity in their occupational status, and this feature distinguished the relocation experiences of husbands and wives. Husbands who were transferred benefitted from job continuity which facilitated their passage and provided them with ready-made peer groups.

Inevitability

Status passages may also be inevitable or preventable. Several women acknowledged that this issue arose when they married their spouse. Although at that time they accepted the inevitability of the moves, they

were unprepared for the rate or the consequences of repeated relocation.

When I got married, I knew we'd move, but I didn't expect to move as much or as fast as we have. The amount they move us is just incredible. (057)

* * * * *

When you marry someone in the bank, you do prepare yourself for moving, but the moves do get harder. (027)

While the inevitability of the passage varies individually for these women, a related issue is the inevitability of the moving career for wives in general. The consequences of the moving career are not of general concern when their problematic nature is perceived as a personal trouble or a private matter. Women have traditionally viewed their responses to relocation in this way. In the Introduction I cited Weissman and Paykel's (1972) finding that women blame themselves rather than relocation itself for their adjustment problems. In the present study, several wives had a similar feeling.

I don't think it's the fault of the move, it's me personally I have to blame....This is a great place to be....Oh, maybe it was because of the move, but really it was the way I reacted to it....I was unable to cope with it. I have no one else to blame. I have to blame myself. (008)

However, in recent years these "personal troubles" of migrant wives have become generalized into "public issues" (Mills, 1959: 8) of concern to society as a whole. This has occurred partly as a consequence of the feminist movement, which sensitized women to the implications of their role in society and to the social causes of personal unhappiness. It legitimated the expression of women's "personal troubles". It also occurred because of the accumulating evidence of the problems of mobile lifestyles, not just for women, but for husbands and children as well.

Several years ago Christiansen-Ruffman made the important point

about migration that "perhaps we should pause for a moment and question whether it might be a problem that no problem is perceived" (1976: 475). There is increasing evidence that recurring mobility is now being perceived as more problematic. Many husbands and wives together are re-assessing their priorities*. Comments and articles in the popular media and business magazines (Thompson, 1978; Press, 1974) suggest that wives in particular are less amenable to repeated relocation than they once were. Respondents in this study generally concurred that the temper of the times** has indeed changed, and that many women "are not putting up with this indiscriminate moving any longer" (099).

However, the inevitability of the status passage, of the "whither-thou-goest" lifestyle is very much debated by migrant wives. Over a third of the women in this study agreed with the principle that the husband's job and associated mobility are paramount in the wife's life.

...women have to make sacrifices in terms of moving. If my husband got a transfer and promotion that was good for him, I would move even if I didn't want to. You have to go along with him. If he's going to be working all his life, then why should he spend it doing what he doesn't want to do? I don't think you have the right to say, "I don't want you to do that." You've got to give him a little bit of area to move in. I think if the woman's not working, she has to be able to do that. If she's got to move to another city and

*A corporate executive was recently quoted as saying: "'IMB used to stand for I've Been Moved, but we wanted to set down roots and raise a family in one area. I've been accommodated, but I may have limited my career a bit.'" (Mayer and Ruby, 1977: 84).

** Sussman and Cogswell suggest that there are reasons, other than family or societal disapproval, for the reported decrease in job transfers in recent years. They note that "the traditional principle of corporate mobility of pulling up and out of the particular location upon receiving a job promotion is increasingly falling into disuse because of...functional changes in transportation of industry and changes in corporate imagery" (1971: 485).

start a job, well, she's got a few problems. That would be a lot harder. But if all she has to do is keep her family happy, I think it's up to her to be happy. I think a lot of people don't realize that being happy is a job. (097)

The majority of women, however, questioned the inevitability of the moving career. Their concern about wives' experiences of relocation as a public rather than private issue is likely to increase as women increase their participation in the paid labour force and realize the legitimacy of their career goals and aspirations. Accordingly, adjustments will have to be made within the family as to

what best meets the needs of family members....(T)he man in the traditional role of head of the household will have to build new sets of reciprocities in which he considers the claims, common needs and aspirations of other family members, especially the spouse, in relation to decisions regarding work movement (Sussman and Cogswell, 1971: 482).

Implications of the Research

This research began as an attempt to answer Dorothy Smith's query as to how sociology might look if it focused on the point of view of women's experiences and perceptions (Smith, 1974: 7). This represents a major change of focus from most migration research in which, as Lofland says of urban research, women are merely "there". She is referring to the phenomenon

where...despite, or perhaps in part because of, their omnipresence, women remain by and large merely part of the scene. They are continually perceived, but rarely perceivers. They are part of the furniture of the setting through which the plot moves. Essential to the set but largely irrelevant to the action. They are simply, there (Lofland, 1975: 145).

When women are considered in migration research, they are normally perceived rather than perceivers, objects rather than subjects; the

analysis is on women in migration, rather than how women "see" and "experience" migration. From this perspective, data on "sex differentials" abounds in migration research. There is evidence that women dominate among short journey migrants (Lee, 1969: 283); that they generally migrate at an earlier age than do males (Sorokin and Zimmerman, 1929: 540); that migrant women experience "mental illness" much more often than do migrant men (Malzberg and Lee, 1956). Christiansen-Ruffman observes that "concepts such as age and sex...simply characterize the individual but ignore the social meaning given to those characteristics in a particular setting" (1976: 457). In this research these concepts were used, not to characterize migrants, but to define the social setting in which their experience of relocation occurred.

Several assumptions common in migration research perpetuate the woman-as-"there" and woman-as-object approach of previous studies. One such assumption is that the unit of analysis in research on unmarried persons is the individual, while for married women it is the family. As Millman and Kanter note, this leads to a conception of a "single society" with respect to men and women, and generalizations are made about all participants regardless of their sex. However, men and women often inhabit different social worlds which should be taken into account (Millman and Kanter, 1975: xii). There is evidence that the same marriage may constitute different realities for each spouse (Bernard, 1972). In our society women play unique roles in managing "the real world of cleaning up and caring for others, and of mediating the environment for men" (Daniels, 1975: 346).

Most migration researchers have failed to consider that "men and women see the world and the organization of problems within it, very

differently" (Daniels, 1975: 346). This research has demonstrated the unique role of women when families move. As Pahl and Pahl suggest, "a move may emphasize the differences between the worlds of husband and wife" (1971: 55). The women in this study were acutely aware of how their husband's lives and experiences of relocation differed from their own. Occasionally this differentiation was a source of conflict. Frequently it emphasized the different spheres of relevance for husbands and wives, leaving the migrant wife both isolated from the world around her and from the world of her husband's primary identification.

As Schwarzweller and associates observe, "how one conceptualizes the phenomenon of migration has much to do with the conclusions reached about the nature of migration" (1971: 117). The inherent assumption underlying this research was not that relocation is inherently good or inherently bad for women but that, "geographic mobility has positive and negative corollaries depending on what meaning the mover ascribes to the relocation"(Sorokin, 1959: 522-523). The meaning of relocation for women, as they perceive and experience it, was the central thrust of this analysis. A major factor determining the meaning of relocation for the respondents was its meaning for them as women. A majority of women who experience relocation, particularly those involved in frequent relocation, experience it as wives.

The experience of relocation for wives varied in its long and short-term consequences. In the short run, the move involved substantial change in the assessment of affective states of happiness, loneliness, depression and isolation. The long-term consequences were defined more positively, however. Experience of moving was associated with increased attentiveness to children and to each spouse. Women also defined the

move as contributing to greater awareness of others, receptivity to change, independence, openness, and friendliness. Four in every five women felt personally changed by the experience of moving; just over ten percent of the respondents described this change as negative*.

There was little evidence of the overwhelmingly disruptive consequences of moving described by Seidenberg and Packard or of the totally non-problematic adjustment described by Whyte. As Pahl and Pahl found among the wives of mobile managers, response to relocation ranged from "deeply antagonistic,...through the acquiescent...to the enthusiastic" (1971: 54). Women in this study clearly did not like moving, but many were able to turn this potentially unpleasant experience into a positive one.

In describing the long-term beneficial consequences of moving, however, one must recognize that this sample of migrant wives was very young and anticipated many more years of moving. Christiansen-Ruffman succinctly describes the essence of life for many of these women in her observation that "they are en route and oriented to where they have been and where they will be. Usually before one newcomer career has been completed, another has started for them" (1976: 476). If these migrant women are en route, a relevant question becomes en route to where? Many women had clearly grappled with this issue. It was particularly evident in their assessment of where "home" is for them. For nearly half the

* Just because the long-term consequences of an experience are beneficial, the experience itself is not necessarily pleasant. In research on women who had been widowed, Lopata found that five years after the bereavement, over half the wives stated that they had become more independent and free since their widowhood. One in three described this time as the easiest time of their lives. In its short-term consequences, however, widowhood is an extremely traumatic event for most women (Lopata, 1973: 88).

respondents, their current residence was home, and for another quarter, home was their place of birth. Although many felt comfortable with the concept that "home is where you are", some were concerned about the long-term implications of this perspective.

I don't know where I'd go if something happened to my husband. I really don't know where home is, and that scares me. If something happened to my husband, I wouldn't stay here. (031)

* * * * *

I still say Montreal is home because my mother is still there. But if anything ever happened to my husband, I don't know where I'd go. I couldn't go back to Kingston, and I couldn't stay here. (037)

Some of the older respondents had already come to terms with the long-term implications of their mobile lifestyles.

We made so many moves, we really don't have any roots, which made it hard to decide where to settle when we retired. (038)

These observations suggest that the beneficial consequences which the wives attributed to their experiences of moving may in fact be more intermediate than long-term. The lack of a feeling of roots and of an enduring sense of home clearly troubled many migrants. One long range consequence of continual mobility for these women is the lack of what Berger and associates term an underlying concept of a "life plan".

If...the life plan is vague, there is likely to be anxiety: ...the individual dimly knows that he ought to have some sort of plan, and he is made anxious and frustrated by the fact that he cannot really articulate what it is (Berger, Berger and Kellner, 1973: 73).

In lacking a life plan, many migrant wives lack a sense of where they are going, of who they will be. Hence they wonder what they will do "if something happens to my husband", or "when all the moves are over".

This lack of a life plan is directly related to Spence and Lonner's observation that "A crucial aspect of women's long range expectation is that they most often are not based on expectations of themselves but of others" (1978: 56).

Without life plans of their own, migrant wives seek continuity and direction in the one factor constant through all their different environments and social worlds: their family. In the long term this makes them very vulnerable and explains the particular anguish which many of these women felt when the family itself became dispersed through relocation.

APPENDIX A



McMASTER UNIVERSITY

Department of Sociology

1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4M4

Telephone: 525-9140 Ext. 4481

Dear Madam:

I am a graduate student in Sociology, and am currently beginning research for my Ph.D. thesis, which is a study of change and adjustment among migrant married women. The research involves interviews with married women who have moved to Hamilton within the past year, and who were married at the time of the move. These interviews will be about 1-1½ hours in length, and deal with the wife's role in the decision to move, in the moving itself, and in the subsequent adjustment to the move. I am interested in how this process of moving results in changes in women's lives - in their routines, contacts with friends and family, etc. - and how they adjust to these changes. All the materials gathered in the interviews are completely confidential, and will be available to no one but this researcher.

In the next few months I will be interviewing people in Hamilton, through the co-operation of various agencies (van lines, real estate, etc.) who provide these names. At this stage, however, I want to do a pre-test of the interview schedule, and in this respect I need your assistance. If you yourself are a married woman who has come to Hamilton within the last year, or if you know of some such person (wife, aunt, neighbour or friend) who might like to talk to me, please give me a call at any time: AT HOME: 388-4658, AT MCMASTER: 525-9140, Extension 4481.

I cannot stress how much I would appreciate your co-operation and how important it is to me in the completion of my research.

Yours truly,

Anne Martin Matthews



Dear Sir/Madam:

I am a Ph.D. student in Sociology at McMaster University, and I am writing to request your assistance in the completion of my doctoral study. This research is funded by a Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation Doctoral Fellowship in Urban and Regional Affairs, and is supervised by Dr. V.W. Marshall, Associate Professor of Sociology at McMaster. This research involves interviews with married women who have moved to Hamilton within the past eight months. I plan to talk with them for approximately ninety minutes, to discuss their reasons for moving to this area, and the specific changes in their lives resulting from moving and adjusting to a new community. All the information gathered in the interviews will be completely confidential, and records of individual interviews will be available only to this researcher.

My particular interest in writing to your company is that I am aware that a number of van lines sponsored a "Symposium on Moving and the Wife" at Chicago in March, 1972. They have also in the past sponsored other such research in the United States. In addition, during the past few weeks I have had the co-operation of several local van lines agents in gaining access to their files of their bills of lading for 1976 and 1977. I am therefore especially hopeful of your help.

The biggest difficulty in this type of research is in locating the recent arrivals, and it is in this regard that you can assist me. I am particularly interested in contacting families that move to Hamilton from a distance of more than 35 miles away, and from within Canada. I will be calling you in a few days to arrange an appointment to discuss the possibility of gaining access to your address records of people whom you have helped move to Hamilton and Burlington.

I must stress how much I would appreciate your co-operation, and how important it is to me in the completion of my research. Thank you for your attention.

Yours truly,

(Mrs.) Anne Martin Matthews, M.A.



Your file *voire reference*

Our file *Notre reference*

21 June 1977

Dear

This letter is to introduce Mrs. Anne Matthews, a Ph.D. student in the Department of Sociology at McMaster University. She is currently working on a project involving interviews with married women who have moved with their families to the Hamilton-Burlington area since July 1976. This interview lasts about ninety minutes and involves questions about reasons for moving to this area, women's roles in the process of moving, and the changes of women's lives as a result of relocating and adjusting to a new community.

All the information gathered in the interviews is completely confidential and the records of individual interviews will be seen only by her.

Canada Manpower is assisting Mrs. Matthews in this research by helping her contact people like yourself who have moved to this area through the Canada Manpower Mobility Programme. Some time during this week or next, staff from this office will be contacting you to find out if you will help Mrs. Mathews with her research. While she does have the co-operation of this office in contacting you, she has no official contacts with Canada Manpower, nor any responsibilities to us.

We hope you will do whatever you can to assist Mrs. Mathews in her research.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Sincerely,

Robert A. Watson
Operations Officer
Hamilton District Office
Department of Manpower and Immigration
135 James Street South
Suite 525
HAMILTON, Ontario
L8P 2Z8



McMASTER UNIVERSITY

277

Department of Sociology

1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4M4
Telephone: 525-9140 Ext. 4481

Dear Madam:

I am a Ph.D. student in Sociology at McMaster University, and I am writing to request your help in the completion of my doctoral study. My research is a study of adjustment to geographical mobility among married women, focusing on their reasons for moving, and the ways in which their lives may or may not have changed as a result of moving to a new community.

In order to complete this study, I plan to talk with married women, from different age groups and walks of life, who have moved to the Hamilton-Burlington area since January, 1976. Since the main difficulty in this type of study is finding newcomers to this area, I have gained the co-operation of several national and local van lines that have contact with people who move. In this manner I learned of your move to the Hamilton-Burlington area.

I am writing this letter to let you know that, during the next few weeks, I will be contacting you to arrange a time for an interview, to ask you a few questions and listen to your ideas. I hope that when I contact you, you will be able to give me the approximately ninety minutes that this conversation will take.

All the information gathered in the interview will be completely confidential, and no one but myself will ever see the record of my conversation with you. The study will be a general report on the information provided by all the women as a whole. Throughout the research, I will be supervised by Dr. V.W. Marshall, Associate Professor of Sociology at McMaster University.

I must stress how very much I would appreciate your co-operation, and how important it is to me in the completion of my research. I am looking forward to visiting you and talking with you. If you have any questions, you can contact me or Dr. Marshall at the address given above, or by phoning me at 388-4658.

Yours truly,

Anne Martin Matthews



McMASTER UNIVERSITY

278

Department of Sociology

1280 Main Street West, Hamilton, Ontario, L8S 4M4

Telephone: 525-9140 Ext. 4481

Dear Madam:

This letter is to introduce Mrs. Anne Martin Matthews, a doctoral student in the Department of Sociology at McMaster University. Her research is being conducted under the auspices of this department, supervised by myself and other faculty members.

We hope that her findings concerning the changes in women's lives resulting from moving to a new community will be of considerable value in adding to our knowledge of an experience which is faced by many people in Canada these days.

May I emphasize that Mrs. Matthews' research is being conducted through this department in pursuit of her Ph.D. degree. While she has the co-operation of a number of van lines and other agencies in the community, she has no official connection with these organizations, nor any responsibilities to them.

I hope you will do whatever you can to assist Mrs. Matthews in her research. Thank you for your co-operation.

Yours truly,

Victor W. Marshall, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Chairman, Graduate
Committee

APPENDIX B

PH.D. DISSERTATION
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE
GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY AND THE
MARRIED WOMAN

Date: _____

Move: _____

Location: _____

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Number _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

SPOUSE'S NAME _____

Interviewed migrant wife:

1. () Alone
2. () With spouse only present
3. () With pre-school children only present
4. () With school-age children present
5. () With spouse and children present
6. () Other (SPECIFY)

Interview began: _____ a.m.
p.m.Interview ended: _____ a.m.
p.m.

I understand that you moved to Hamilton a while ago, and I would like to first ask you several questions about that move.

1. How long have you lived in Hamilton?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. () Less than a month | 5. () Seven - nine months |
| 2. () One - three months | 6. () Nine months - one year |
| 3. () Four - five months | 7. () More than a year |
| 4. () Six months | |

2. Since you moved to Hamilton, have you always lived at the same address, or have you moved within the city?

1. () No, always lived at the same address in Hamilton.
2. () Yes, have moved within the city.

Address	Date: From-To	Why Moved
---------	---------------	-----------

1. _____

2. _____

3. What is your present occupation? (PROBE FOR COMPLETE JOB TITLE, e.g., INVOICE CLERK, not CLERK).

4. What is your husband's present occupation? (PROBE FOR COMPLETE JOB TITLE, e.g., MEDICAL X-RAY TECHNICIAN, not TECHNICIAN).
-

5. Where were you born? What was its population?

1. () Outside Canada _____.
2. () Canada, Outside Ontario _____.
3. () Within Ontario _____.

6. Where was your husband born? What was its population?

1. () Outside Canada _____.
2. () Canada, Outside Canada _____.
3. () Within Ontario _____.

7. How long did you live in your place of birth?
-

8. How long did your husband live in his place of birth?
-

9. Have you lived in any other places besides your place of birth, and here in Hamilton?

1. () No. Skip to question 11.
2. () Yes.

10. In this question I want to ask you a few questions about these other communities you've lived in. Beginning with the last place you lived in, I'll ask you when you lived there, if you were married at the time, whether you were employed there, and why you left.

	Place	Dates: From-To	Marital Status
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____

Occupation	Reason for Leaving
1. _____	_____
2. _____	_____
3. _____	_____
4. _____	_____
5. _____	_____

Now I'd like to talk about the reasons why you moved from your last community of residence.

11. Why did you move from _____ (last community)?

1. () Transferred in own or spouse's job.

2. () Other _____

(Skip to question 14)

12. Did you or your husband request this transfer?

1. () No. Skip to question 13.

2. () Yes. Why? _____

13. Has your/your husband's employer helped you at all in moving here and getting to know the city?

1. () No.

2. () Yes. In what ways, specifically? _____

14. How did you feel about leaving (last community)? (PROBE FOR WHETHER RESPONDENT WAS EAGER OR RELUCTANT TO MOVE, AND WHY SHE FELT THIS WAY).

15. Do you now regret moving away from (last community)?

1. () No.

2. () Yes. Why? _____

16. Did one of you (you or your husband) want to leave (last community) more than the other?

- 1. () No. Proceed to question 17.
- 2. () Husband wanted to leave more than wife.
- 3. () Wife wanted to leave more than husband. Why?

17. In terms of your move from (last community), how long had you been thinking about the move before you actually left?

- 1. () Less than a month
- 2. () One - three months
- 3. () Six - nine months
- 4. () Nine months - one year
- 5. () More than a year

18. Was there a final event that made up your mind to move?

- 1. () No.
- 2. () Yes. What was it? _____

Now I'd like to talk about the reasons why you came to Hamilton.

19. Did you want to come to Hamilton?

- 1. () No.
- 2. () Yes.

Why? _____

20. Did one of you (you or your husband) want to come to Hamilton more than the other?

- 1. () No. Proceed to question 21.
- 2. () Husband wanted to come more than wife.
- 3. () Wife wanted to come more than husband.
- 4. () Other _____ (SPECIFY)

Why? _____

21. Did both you and your husband move to Hamilton at the same time or did you move separately?

1. () Husband arrived alone first.
2. () Wife arrived alone first.
3. () Couple came together. Skip to question 24.
4. () Other _____ (SPECIFY)

Why did you move in this manner? _____

22. When did the rest of the family join you or your husband? (PROBE FOR THE CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE REMAINDER OF THE FAMILY MOVED; HAD THE SPOUSE ALREADY IN HAMILTON ARRANGED A JOB, A PLACE TO LIVE, SCHOOLS FOR THE CHILDREN, ETC.).

23. Did you prefer this arrangement, or would you have preferred that the whole family move together?

1. () Preferred this arrangement.
2. () Would have preferred that whole family move together.

Why? (PROBE ESPECIALLY FOR WHETHER RESPONDENT'S PREFERENCE DIFFERS FROM THE ACTUAL STRATEGY OF THE MOVE) _____

24. Did you visit Hamilton before you moved here?

1. () No. Skip to question 27.
2. () Yes.

25. How often did you visit the city before your move? (PROBE FOR DURATION OF THESE VISITS)

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. () Once | 5. () Five times |
| 2. () Twice | 6. () Six - eight times |
| 3. () Three times | 7. () Nine - ten times |
| 4. () Four times | 8. () Ten or more times |

26. How did you find these visits (helpful or not) in terms of either deciding to move here or in getting to know the city?

- 1. () Not helpful.
- 2. () Helpful.
- 3. () Other _____

In what ways? _____

Proceed to question 28.

27. Do you think that such visits would have been helpful to you in your move?

- 1. () No.
- 2. () Yes. Why? _____

28. As you have gotten to know this city, have you been pleased or disappointed with it?

- 1. () Pleased.
- 2. () Disappointed. Why? _____

When a family moves, there are many things which have to be done and a number of people must be notified. The following questions deal with this part of moving.

29. Who performed each of the following tasks related to the move?

- 1. Informing landlord of move/selling residence
- 2. Informing utilities (hydro, gas, telephone)
- 3. Informing school or day care centre
- 4. Notifying newspapers and magazines
- 5. Notifying license bureau of change of address
- 6. Informing friends and family
- 7. Making arrangements for moving household goods
- 8. Packing of household goods
- 9. Cleaning of past residence
- 10. Selecting new house, apartment, etc.
- 11. Negotiating purchase/signing lease
- 12. Cleaning new residence
- 13. Unpacking and arranging household goods
- 14. Registering children in school/day care
- 15. Painting/"fixing up" new residence
- 16. Arranging for connection of utilities
- 17. Correspondence for repair claim (mover)

	W	H	O

W=Wife
H=Husband
O=Other

30. Can you think of any other tasks which you specifically had to do in terms of the move?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. What were they? _____
-

31. Can you think of any other tasks which your husband had to do in terms of the move?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. What were they? _____
-

32. Were there things, related to the move, that turned out to be more difficult than you had expected?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. What were these things and in what ways were they difficult?
-
-
-

33. Were there things that turned out to be easier than you had expected?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. What were these things and in what ways were they easy? _____
-
-

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your feelings about moving to Hamilton.

34. Did you expect (before you moved) that there would be any improvements in your life as a result of this move?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. In what ways? _____
-

35. Have improvements in fact taken place as a result of the move?
1. () No.
 2. () Yes. In what ways? _____
- _____
36. Did you expect (before you moved) that there would be any particular disadvantages resulting from this move?
1. () No.
 2. () Yes. In what ways? _____
- _____
37. Have there actually been any disadvantages resulting from the move?
1. () No.
 2. () Yes. In what ways? _____
- _____
38. Do you think that moving is the same for husbands and wives? (i.e., IN THE THINGS YOU HAVE TO DO, YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES, THE EXTENT TO WHICH YOUR LIFE IS CHANGED).
1. () No.
 2. () Yes.
- Why? _____
- _____
39. Would you say that this is true in your particular case?
1. () No. Why not?
 2. () Yes. In what ways?
- _____
- _____
40. Do you think that people who move fairly often are different from people who never move or move very little? (PROBE FOR WHETHER RESPONDENT DEFINES HERSELF AS SOMEONE WHO MOVES OFTEN OR LITTLE).
1. () No.
 2. () Yes. In what ways? _____

41. Do you think that moving becomes easier the more often you do it?

1. () No. Why not?
 2. () Yes. In what ways?

42. When you move, is there a disruption of what we call "normal" everyday living, or do things go on pretty much as before? (PROBE FOR WHETHER THIS IS THE SAME FOR BOTH HUSBAND AND WIFE).

43. Do you think that in a family anyone in particular is the key person in establishing the home and making the move successful?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. Who? _____

Now I would like to ask you a few questions about your satisfaction with the move to Hamilton-Burlington.

44. Are you happy that you made the move to Hamilton-Burlington?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes.

Why do you feel this way? _____

45. Would you say that the move to Hamilton has been of benefit to you personally?

1. () No.
2. () Yes.

Why and in what ways? _____

46. Of all the places where you have lived, which did you like the most, and why?

1. () Place of birth
2. () Last community lived in
3. () Hamilton-Burlington
4. () Other
-
-
-

47. Which did you like the least, and why?

1. () Place of birth
2. () Last community lived in
3. () Hamilton-Burlington
4. () Other
-
-
-

48. Of the places where you have lived, which place do you think of as home? Why do you feel this way?

1. () Place of birth
2. () Last community lived in

3. () Hamilton-Burlington
 4. () Other

In the next few questions, I want to ask you to compare living in Hamilton-Burlington with (past community) in a number of ways.

49. In this question, I will ask 20 short questions and suggest possible answers, and ask you to tell me which one applies to you.

1. Do you have () more friends () fewer friends () about the same number?
2. Does your husband have () more friends () fewer friends () about the same number?
3. Do you see your friends () more often () less often () about the same as before?
4. Do you see your neighbours () more often () less often () as often as before?
5. Do you like your neighbours () better () less () about the same amount?
6. Do you see your relatives (especially parents) () more () less () about the same amount?
7. Do you see your husband's relatives (especially parents) () more () less () about the same amount?
8. Do you go "out" in the evenings () more often () less often () as often as before?
9. Do you watch television () more often () less often () as often as before?
10. Do you attend church () more often () less often () as often as before?
11. Are people here generally () more friendly () less friendly () as friendly as before?
12. Do you like where you live () more () less () about the same amount?
13. In the evenings are there () more () less () about the same number of things to do?
14. On the weekends are there () more () fewer () about the same number of things to do?
15. Are you generally () happier () less happy () about the same as before?
16. Do you feel lonely () more often () less often () as often as before?
17. Do you feel () more isolated () less isolated () about the same as before?
18. Do you feel depressed () more often () less often () as often as before?

19. Do you enjoy your work () more () less () about the same amount?

ASK QUESTION 20 ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS EMPLOYED FOR WAGES OUTSIDE THE HOME:

20. Do you know your co-workers () better () less () about the same amount?

21. Are there any other differences between your life in Hamilton-Burlington and your life in (past community) that you can think of?

50. Would you say that your life has changed since you moved to this area?

1. () No.

2. () Yes. How much, and in what ways? _____

51. Do you personally feel at all "changed" by the experience of moving here?

1. () No.

2. () Yes. In what ways? (PROBE FOR WHETHER THIS IS A POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE CHANGE) _____

52. If you could have the last year over again, would you do anything differently?

1. () No.

2. () Yes. What and why? _____

Now I want to ask you several questions about the things you do everyday, the things that make up your "routine".

53. Does moving upset your daily routine very much? (PROBE FOR HOW LONG BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER THE MOVE THAT ROUTINE IS DISTURBED).

1. () No.

2. () Yes. In what ways, specifically? _____

54. How do you feel when your routine is disturbed, by moving or other events?

55. Is your routine here in any way different from what it used to be in (past community)?

1. () No.

2. () Yes. In what ways, and why? _____

56. How long does it take to feel settled in a new place, and why does it take this length of time? (PROBE FOR WHAT MAKES THE PERSON FEEL SETTLED).

1. () Life becomes "routine" right away

2. () One month

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 3. () Two - Three months | 6. () Seven - Nine Months |
| 4. () Four - Five months | 7. () Ten - Twelve Months |
| 5. () Six Months | 8. () More than a year |

Now I'd like to ask you a few more questions about your home life.

57. When and where were you married to your present husband?

58. Does anyone besides you and your husband live in this residence?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes.

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Relation</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____

59. Do you have any children (besides those listed above in question 58)?

1. () No. Skip to question 61 or 67 where applicable.
 2. () Yes.

60. Where do these children (who don't live in this residence) live?

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Address</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____

IF RESPONDENT HAS CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME, ASK QUESTIONS 61-66;
 OTHERWISE, PROCEED TO QUESTION 67.

61. Does your husband help rarely, occasionally, frequently, or never with the children?

1. () No, never helps. Proceed to question 62.
2. () Yes, occasionally.
3. () Yes, frequently.

62. How helpful is your husband compared to before the move?

1. () The same as before. Proceed to question 64.
2. () More helpful.
3. () Less helpful.

63. Why do you think your husband is more/less helpful with the children?

64. Have your children had any problems adjusting to the move to Hamilton?

1. () No. Proceed to question 67.
2. () Yes. What were they? _____

65. Have these problems been resolved?

1. () No.
2. () Yes. How? _____

66. How do you feel about these problems? (PROBE FOR WHETHER RESPONDENT IS BOTHERED OR UPSET BY HER CHILD'S PROBLEMS).

67. Does your husband help rarely, occasionally, frequently or never with the housework?

1. () No, never. Proceed to question 68.
 2. () Yes, occasionally.
 3. () Yes, frequently.
-
-
-

68. Would you say that your husband is more, less, or as helpful around the house as he was before the move?

1. () The same as before. Proceed to question 70.
2. () More helpful.
3. () Less helpful.

69. Why do you think your husband is more/less helpful around the house?

70. Compared to before the move to Hamilton, how much time do you spend with your husband?

1. () Spend same amount of time together.
 2. () Spend less time together. Why?
 3. () Spend more time together.
-
-

71. Do you share more things (hobbies, leisure time) now than before the move?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. Why, and in what ways? _____
-
-

ASK QUESTIONS 72-76 ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS EMPLOYED FOR WAGES OUTSIDE THE HOME; OTHERWISE PROCEED TO QUESTION 77.

72. Now I would like to ask some questions about the job you presently hold. (a) Who is your employer? (b) Is your job full-time or part-time? (c) How long have you had this job? (d) Did you have any problems getting this job?

<u>Employer</u>	<u>Full-time Part-time</u>	<u>Dates: To-From</u>	<u>Problems Getting Job</u>
1. _____	_____	_____	_____

73. SHOW RESPONDENT INCOME CARD: In which of these categories does your annual income fall?

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. () Less than \$2500 | 6. () \$15,000 - \$20,000 |
| 2. () \$2500 - \$5000 | 7. () \$20,000 - \$25,000 |
| 3. () \$5000 - \$8000 | 8. () \$25,000 - \$30,000 |
| 4. () \$8000 - \$10,000 | 9. () Over \$30,000 |
| 5. () \$10,000 - \$15,000 | 10. () No income from occupation |

74. Are you happy with your present job?

1. () No. Why not?
2. () Yes. Why?

ASK QUESTIONS 75-76 ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME; OTHERWISE PROCEED TO QUESTION 77.

75. When you and your husband are at work, who looks after the children?

76. How were you able to arrange this? (PROBE FOR HOW RESPONDENT FOUND OUT ABOUT THIS PARTICULAR SERVICE, WHO TOLD HER ABOUT IT, ETC.).

77. SHOW RESPONDENT INCOME CARD: In which of these categories does your husband's annual income fall?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. () Less than \$2500 | 4. () \$8000 - \$10,000 |
| 2. () \$2500 - \$5000 | 5. () \$10,000 - \$15,000 |
| 3. () \$5000 - \$8000 | 6. () \$15,000 - \$20,000 |

7. () \$20,000 - \$25,000 9. () Over \$30,000
 8. () \$25,000 - \$30,000 10. () No income from occupation

78. Where is your husband employed? _____

79. Do you think that moving is different for women working at home than for women working for wages outside the home? (PROBE WHETHER RESPONDENT'S ANSWER IS TRUE FOR HER OWN CASE: AND WHETHER SHE THINKS MOVING IS EASIER OR HARDER BECAUSE OF IT).

Now I'd like to ask some questions about your contacts with relatives and friends both in Hamilton and elsewhere.

80. Living in Hamilton, are you closer to or farther away from your parents than you were in (previous community)? From your husband's parents?

	<u>Own Parents</u>	<u>Husband's Parents</u>
1. Farther away from	()	()
2. Closer to	()	()
3. About the same distance as before	()	()

81. Is it important for you to live near relatives? (PROBE FOR HOW RESPONDENT FEELS ABOUT LIVING FARTHER FROM/NEARER TO PARENTS, AND HOW THIS RELATES TO HER SATISFACTION WITH THE MOVE).

82. How often do you have contact with your relatives?

83. How do you mainly keep in touch with them?

1. () Visits
 2. () Telephone
 3. () Exchange of letters
 4. () Other _____ (Specify)

84. Do you keep in touch with any friends outside of Hamilton?

1. () No. Skip to question 88.
 2. () Yes.

Where do these friends live? _____

85. How often do you have contact with these friends?

86. Is this more, less, or as often as you did in _____ (previous community)?

1. () More often
2. () Less often
3. () As often as before.

87. How do you keep in touch with these friends?

1. () Visits
2. () Telephone
3. () Exchange of letters
4. () Other _____ (Specify)

88. Would you say that you feel more comfortable with people you know here in Hamilton, with people you knew in your previous community, or with people from some other place?

1. () With people here in Hamilton.
2. () With people from previous community.
3. () With people from some other place I have lived.
4. () With people from somewhere else entirely.
5. () Makes no difference where people are from.

89. How do you find going into a new group of people and getting to know them, easy or difficult?

1. () Easy
2. () Difficult
3. () It depends on the group.

90. Do you think of yourself as someone who makes friends easily?

1. () No.
2. () Yes.

Why? _____

91. When you arrive in a new neighbourhood, do you think it is up to you to make yourself known to people who live nearby, or is it the responsibility of the neighbours to introduce themselves to you?

1. () Responsibility to make self known.
2. () Responsibility of neighbours to make selves known.
3. () Both.

Why? _____

92. Did you know anyone in Hamilton before you came here? (PROBE FOR WHETHER THESE CONTACTS WERE FRIENDS/RELATIVES OF SPOUSE).

1. () No. Skip to question 96.
2. () Yes.

93. Who were these people and how did you know them?
- _____
- _____

94. Did their being in Hamilton at all influence your decision to move here?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. In what way? _____
- _____

95. Has their being here been of any help to you since you came?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. In what way? _____
- _____
- _____
- _____

96. The next few questions concern the people you know in the Hamilton area. What are the names of these people? (GIVEN NAME AND INITIAL WILL SUFFICE).

1. How did you first meet this person?
2. Where did you first meet this person?
3. When did you first meet this person?

ASK THESE QUESTIONS FOR EACH OF THE PEOPLE MENTIONED.

	<u>Name</u>	<u>How Met</u>	<u>Where Met</u>	<u>When Met</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6.	_____	_____	_____	_____
7.	_____	_____	_____	_____

97. Do you feel that you can confide in any of these people?

- 1. () No.
- 2. () Yes.

98. Who would you say is your closest friend in Hamilton? _____

99. If you have any problems now, such as needing a helping hand, or family troubles, to whom would you go for help?

Why this person?

ASK QUESTIONS 100-101 ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE CHILDREN LIVING AT HOME. OTHERWISE PROCEED TO QUESTION 102.

100. Have you met any people here because of your children's contacts at school or play?

- 1. () No.
- 2. () Yes. How did you meet them? _____

101. Do you think that having children helps you to meet new people in a community?

- 1. () No.
- 2. () Yes. How, specifically? _____

102. Have you met any of the neighbours here?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. How did you meet them? _____
-

103. Do you feel like an "outsider" in this neighbourhood?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. Why? _____
-

There are only a few remaining questions now.

104. Do you own your own house in Hamilton?

1. () No, renting house/apartment.
 2. () No, living with relatives.
 3. () No, living with friends.
 4. () Yes.
 5. () Other.

105. Who decided to live here (to rent or buy this particular residence)?

1. () Couple did together.
 2. () Wife only.
 3. () Husband only.

106. Do you like moving?

1. () No. Why not?
 2. () Yes. Why?
-
-
-

107. Do you or your husband own any property outside of Hamilton?

1. () No. Skip to question 109.
 2. () Yes.

Where? _____

108. Why are you still holding on to this property?

109. Did you belong to any clubs, associations or organizations in _____ (previous community)?

1. () No. Skip to question 112.
2. () Yes.

110. I'd like to ask you a few questions about these organizations.

1. What type of organizations were they?
2. Did you hold office in any of them?
3. Did you attend occasionally, frequently, or regularly?

	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Office Held</u>	<u>Attendance</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____

111. Did you participate in any other activities outside the home, such as regular social gatherings, recreational activities, or school/college extension and general interest courses?

1. () No.
2. () Yes. _____ (Specify)

112. Have you joined any clubs, associations, or organizations since you came to Hamilton?

1. () No. Skip to question 115.
2. () Yes.

113. I want now to ask you some questions about these organizations.

1. What types of organizations are they?
2. Do you hold office in any of them?
3. Do you attend occasionally, frequently, or regularly?

	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Office Held</u>	<u>Attendance</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____

114. Since moving to Hamilton, have you participated in any other activities outside the home, such as social gatherings, recreational activities, or school/college extension and general interest courses?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. _____ (Specify)

SKIP TO QUESTION 117.

115. Would you be interested in joining any clubs, associations, or organizations in Hamilton if you had the opportunity?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. What kinds? _____

116. Why haven't you joined any already?

117. Do you have any idea if and when you'll be moving again?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. When and where? _____

118. Would you ever want to move back to one of the places you've already lived in?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. Which one, and why? _____

119. If you had to move again, do you have any preference for where it would be?

1. () No.
 2. () Yes. Where, and why? _____

 In closing I just want to ask you several factual questions. I assure you that the responses to these questions will be completely confidential, and I am asking them here only so that I will have an overall general description of the people I interview.

120. SHOW RESPONDENT AGE CARD: In which of these categories does your age fall?

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. () 15-19 years | 7. () 45-49 years |
| 2. () 20-24 years | 8. () 50-54 years |
| 3. () 25-29 years | 9. () 55-59 years |
| 4. () 30-34 years | 10. () 60-64 years |
| 5. () 35-39 years | 11. () 65-69 years |
| 6. () 40-44 years | 12. () 70+ years |

121. SHOW RESPONDENT EDUCATION CARD: In which of these categories does your level of formal schooling fall?

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. () Grade 6 or less | 6. () Community college
graduation _____ |
| 2. () Grades 6-9 | 7. () Undergraduate
degree _____ |
| 3. () Grades 9-11 or 12 | 8. () Graduate
degree _____ |
| 4. () High school graduation | 9. () Other _____ |
| 5. () Some university/community
college work | |

122. SHOW RESPONDENT EDUCATION CARD: In which of these categories does your husband's level of formal schooling fall?

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. () Grade 6 or less | 6. () Community college
graduation _____ |
| 2. () Grades 6-9 | 7. () Undergraduate
degree _____ |
| 3. () Grades 9-11 or 12 | 8. () Graduate
degree _____ |
| 4. () High school graduation | 9. () Other _____ |
| 5. () Some university/community
college work | |

APPENDIX C

THE SAMPLE: LOCATING THE RELOCATED

In order to gather a random representative sample, the entire population under investigation must be identifiable. This requires some form of 'concrete' representation, such as a list of names and addresses. Since Canada does not maintain systematic records of the movements of its population, the location and identification of internal migrants is extremely problematic. Some researchers of migration have been able to elicit random samples from within cities or within local neighbourhoods, by sampling across all households and then determining migration status. The utility of such a procedure is largely dependent upon the purpose of the research. Investigators wishing to compare mover and non-mover populations would find this method most effective (McAllister, Butler and Kaiser, 1973; Windham, 1966, Beers and Heflin, 1944). This process is facilitated by the deliberate selection of centres characterized by a high degree of mobility (eg., Berardo's 1966 study of an aerospace community), or of newly populated neighbourhoods (eg., Leslie and Richardson's 1961 study of a six-year-old urban subdivision).

Most researchers, however, attempt to define a sample mobile population without resorting to such expensive and time-consuming surveys which may well identify more non-movers than movers. Reasoning that new arrivals would contact some public or private agency shortly upon arrival in the destination area, researchers have utilized the cooperation of these agencies in their sample-gathering. The records of families moved by national van lines provided a basis for the research by Jones (1973)

and by Barrett and Noble (1973). The records of services provided by the public utilities (hydro and electrical) facilitated Tallman (1969) in his study of suburban housewives, and Christiansen-Ruffman (1976) in her study of newcomers to the Halifax-Dartmouth area. Bell Canada screened all new applicants for telephone connections during a six-week period, thus providing Shulman and Drass (1975) with part of their Hamilton survey sample. Like several other investigators, Shulman and Drass used a combination of sample sources. They enlisted the cooperation of several government agencies having contact with the new migrant. These included a municipal department of social services, which was able to identify new applicants for welfare assistance who moved from outside the target area, and the provincial transport ministry, who provided information on change of address notices sent in by holders of drivers' licenses.

Other researchers have found municipal school boards to be of assistance (Demmler-Kane, forthcoming) and Tallman (1969). Pahl and Pahl in their 1971 study of managers and their wives in Britain gathered a sample of businessmen enrolled in university courses. Because so many migration studies deal with issues related to physical environment, housing authorities are another source of a migrant sample. The Canadian research by Michelson, Belgue and Stewart (1973) was assisted by Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. Litwak's well-known research on extended family cohesion employed several sampling procedures based on neighbourhood and housing design (1960).

Since most migrations are "work-motivated", the cooperation of employers in local industry and business is another useful source, and was utilized by Shulman and Drass (1975). Research on moves within the corporate "family" of IBM is also well known (Mayer and Ruby, 1977). Christiansen-Ruffman (1976) and McKain (1973) drew samples of military

movers, an easily identifiable migrant population.

Another little-utilized source was tapped by Tallman (1969) who drew on a local agency publication which provided a monthly list of all new residents in the area. Welcome Wagon and Newcomer Club lists are other potential sample sources which fall in this category. Another sample source generally restricted to the research on migration and mental health is to gain access to migrants in a therapeutic setting. This was done by Weissman and Paykel (1972), in investigating mobility and depression among married women, and by Seidenberg (1975) who wrote about case histories of migrant women whom he contacted in his psychiatric practice.

One common characteristic of these disparate sampling procedures is that they attempt to identify the migrant population in terms of the area to which they relocated. Much less common in migration research is the approach employed by Philblad and Gregory (1957) where they drew their sample of mobile high school graduates from communities selected to be representative of rural social areas. Data on out-migration, current residence and occupation of the sample was then gained from parents, relatives, friends, and former teachers of the subjects. Hendrix (1975) used a similar approach in his study of the role of kinship in the dispersion of migrants out of a given area.

As this synopsis of the methodological procedures utilized by other migration researchers demonstrates, a range of potential sampling procedures and sources are available. In this research, I attempted to utilize as many different sample sources as possible in order to achieve a heterogeneous sample of migrant wives. The approach was to use a number of 'general' sources (such as the telephone company) which should yield a

fairly heterogeneous sample of movers, as well as other sources which would identify more 'specific' populations: i.e., the school board would identify only movers with school-age children; national van lines would perhaps over-represent long-distance and company-transfer moves; social service agencies would identify the severely disadvantaged mover; local industry would provide access to the working-class mover, and so on. While I anticipated that this wide a range of sources might result in an extensive duplication of names of migrant families, this was seen as easily detectable, and not enough of a disadvantage to outweigh my concern with getting as representative a sample as possible.

Bell Canada

Although other researchers in the Hamilton area (Shulman and Drass, 1975) had had the cooperation of the regional Bell Canada office in the gathering of their sample, a change in company policy now prohibits the disclosure of the names and addresses of any local subscribers. While the Bell Canada public office manager was personally quite sympathetic to my request and suggested other possible sample sources, he met with other management officials who determined they could not contravene company policy and release staff to take the time to screen new subscribers according to my eligibility criteria.

National Van Lines

Seven local agents of national van lines were contacted for support in the gathering of a sample. Five of these companies were eventually utilized. One company, although an agent of a national mover, reported that it handled exclusively local moves, and therefore could not render assistance to me. Another moved for furniture companies only, and

was not utilized in this study.

Two of the companies provided me with office space, and direct access to files of bills of lading. Using the recommendations of the moving companies, I automatically eliminated any moves involving loads of less than 2,000 pounds. The van lines agents confirmed that moves of that small an amount would be those of single individuals and not couples or families. This was important to know, because the majority of moves are listed only in the husband's name, and weight of the goods moved was a key variable in helping to distinguish married and unmarried male movers. In many cases, the wife was present on the day of the packing and removal of household effects from the sending area; thus the signature of a female name on the bills of lading was a further indicator of marital status. In addition, many bills of lading included inventory lists, itemizing all goods moved. Where such items as sewing machines, baby cribs, children's bicycles, and similar possessions were listed, this was taken as further criteria for distinguishing between married and unmarried male movers. In case of doubt, the name was recorded, and eligibility determined by letter and telephone contact.

Not all the van lines agents were quite so generous with space and access to company files. One company, while reluctant to provide access to bills of lading, did provide the dispatcher's records of all moves, and this proved quite helpful, particularly as it fortunately listed married couples as distinct from single male and female movers. A fourth company was also unwilling to provide access to bills of lading because, as they stated, some families relocate for personal reasons and often do not wish to publicize their new address. For that reason the company manager personally screened the bills of lading and provided me

with the required information only on those moves which he could confirm as transfers within companies. Consequently, the list of names provided by this particular company did not represent a complete list of all apparently eligible movers, as did the lists from the first three companies. A fifth van lines agent arranged for a secretary to do the sample selection for me, again for reasons of confidentiality of files. However, she selected all eligible movers and not just company transfers. Thus, the cooperation of the national van lines provided me with information on all families fitting my eligibility criteria who moved with four companies, and a sample of transfer moves with a fifth company.

Local Employers

A third sample source that I approached was local industry in Hamilton. As the Steel Company of Canada is the largest employer in the area, I felt that this would be a likely source of names of recent movers into the area. However, in response to my request for assistance, Stelco replied that "Due to limited hiring in 1976, we have no wives that fall into the category described in your letter." Further attempts to gain the cooperation of other area employers were not pursued because, in the interim, I was able to gain the cooperation of the regional office of Canada Manpower. They permitted me access to families who had relocated to Hamilton and Burlington under the auspices of the Canada Manpower Mobility Programme. The Canada Manpower staff made initial contact with potential respondents by mail and through telephone calls. I was, however, provided with a list of all potential respondents who had relocated through the regional office, and thus if Canada Manpower could not contact them by telephone, I was able to do so personally. Thus again I had been

able to identify the total population of those who relocated with the assistance of Canada Manpower, not just a sample thereof.

Social Service Agencies

Another group of migrants was contacted through the assistant of the Hamilton-Wentworth Department of Social Services. While initially enthusiastic in agreeing to assist in the gathering of a sample for the research, this particular contact proved the most unsatisfactory in terms of yielding an adequate sample.

Initially I was told that preliminary analysis showed 16 families who conformed to my eligibility criteria. Later I was informed that the computer had identified 35 families altogether, and that letters were being sent to these families. To ensure that no one's name was released without their prior consent, caseworkers would check with each potential respondent during her monthly visit and ask each whether she wished to be interviewed. This process became extremely time-consuming. Although the original list of potential respondents was supposedly sent an explanatory letter in late April, 1977, I had received no further information from the Department of Social Services by early July. Numerous enquiries brought assurances of another computer run to identify a sample, and that more letters would be sent out. Eventually I was provided with a list of seven names, all of whom were subsequently interviewed, with the promise of more to come. By the end of August, I was told that by now well over a hundred families fit my eligibility criteria (I can only assume that many of these families relocated into the Hamilton area after July 1, 1977 and were not in fact eligible for inclusion in my study). Despite the large numbers of potential respondents which Social Service personnel

finally cited, as far as I could determine, only seven of the original letters sent were followed up by the caseworkers and the families asked to cooperate in the study. When after six months of contact with the Department of Social Services only seven families had been identified, it was decided to abandon this sample source. The seven respondents already interviewed were included in the sample because while they are not large enough a group to be representative of married women who have relocated and received social assistance, they are still women who have experienced relocation with their families.

Other Sample Sources

Efforts to gain the cooperation of the Hamilton-Wentworth Board of Education also proved fruitless, as did my contact with yet another agency in contact with newcomers, Welcome Wagon. In the Hamilton area, I was informed that this community service organization has declined to the point that now only two representatives service the entire city. The hostesses thus currently visit only those newcomers who contact Welcome Wagon and identify themselves. As a self-selection process is evident here, this potential sample source was not used. While the Welcome Wagon in Burlington is quite an active organization, they were not utilized because my sample distribution was already skewed in its representation of movers to Burlington rather than Hamilton, and this would only exaggerate this over-representation.

At this point, the sampling procedures were terminated. The sample sources had identified close to two hundred potential respondents who appeared to fit the eligibility criteria.

TABLE C.1

Sample Sources For Relocation Study

Category	Van Lines		Manpower		Welfare		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Names Gathered	130	100.0	50	100.0	7	100.0	187	100.0
Withdrawals*:								
(a) Ineligible	20	15.4	7	14.0	-	-	27	14.5
(b) Moved; not know	7	5.4	14	28.0	-	-	21	11.2
(c) Could not contact	7	4.6	-	-	-	-	6	3.2
Survey Population	97	74.6	29	58.0	7	100.0	133	71.2
Completed	89	91.8	27	93.1	7	100.0	123	92.5
Refusals	8	8.2	2	6.8	-	-	10	7.5

* Of the 20 people who were ineligible in the van lines sample, eight were male bachelors; two were women widowed before the move; two were widowers whose wives had died before the move; and four had only been outside the Hamilton-Burlington area for 1-3 years. Two other women had moved within the 35-mile radius of Hamilton but showed up on a bill of lading as though they had moved from further afield. One respondent described the situation: "I've lived in Hamilton for ages. I just changed neighbourhoods. I got married recently and they moved my husband's things from Toronto, but mine were here all along." In another two cases, I belatedly learned that an apparently qualified family had not moved at all, but had received a shipment (in both cases it was a deceased mother's belongings), for which there was a bill of lading. One of these women observed, "However, I wish I had moved later so I could talk to you, because this was an issue very close to my heart at the time of our own move here six years ago."

In the case of the 7 Canada Manpower movers who were deemed ineligible, four lived in areas outside the target area, one was an unmarried male, and two others had lived away from Hamilton only one year. "Coming back here was like coming home for us."

After sending a letter of introduction to each individual respondent, eligibility was established either by telephone or through a personal visit. This contact generally confirmed the eligibility of the respondent, but on some occasions it indicated that the names gathered from the van lines were single people, people widowed prior to the move, or people who had lived within the target area within the preceding four years. Some persons named on bills of lading or by Canada Manpower could not be traced, and therefore were lost to the study.

The sample sources differed somewhat in the extent to which I was able to contact the potential respondents they identified. A much higher proportion of the Canada Manpower sample (28 percent) had relocated again after the move to Hamilton-Burlington than had the van lines sample (5 percent). In most cases letters were returned or subsequent visits to the address indicated that the person had moved elsewhere. Occasionally, respondents who had moved within the city, and received my letter forwarded from their former address, telephoned me to notify me of the change and then a meeting was arranged. In all, 18 families (14.6 percent) of the sample had changed dwellings since relocating into the target area less than a year before.

While the Canada Manpower sample was more mobile, those who were contacted were somewhat more likely to agree to an interview than were the van lines sample. The regional director of Canada Manpower sent each of them a letter explaining and endorsing the research endeavour. One might also expect feelings of reciprocity toward the agency that had relocated them. Given these factors the response rate for the two samples is actually closer than anticipated. Indeed, more of the people contacted through Canada Manpower were genuinely suspicious of the nature

of the research, and wondered whether the information on them would be reported back to the government. Several indicated they wanted the tape turned off when they discussed unemployment insurance, Manpower officials, and the like.

These were rare occurrences, however. There was a high response rate of 92.5 for those actually contacted and eligible to participate in the study. Many of the respondents appeared motivated to participate because of the study's university affiliation ("When I got your letter, first I was astounded that McMaster University would want me, with a Grade 10 education, for anything!"), and by their desire to help a student ("I don't mind helping you out with your work, because I had a student nurse help me out when I had my baby"; "My daughter's in first year university now, and I would like to think that people would help her out if she made a similar request"; "My husband said, 'Give her an interview. Take pity on a poor Ph.D. student'"). Most common, however, was the desire to share their experience:

I think this is really great. You probably get a lot of information talking to people. I can't really talk to anybody about how I feel, because I can't let my parents know, they'd only worry about me. I can talk to my husband to a certain extent, but then he gets feeling guilty about it, and starts telling me that it will get better. And you can't tell your neighbours that you wish you were somewhere else, because they live here. So, you're kind of stuck. You just say these things to yourself so often, so it's nice to be able to say to someone how you really feel. (016)

* * *

I can see you'd have a high response rate because for so many women, no one is interested in hearing it. No one around here gives a care for how traumatic it was when we moved, because hardly anyone moves, and it's not of any paramount interest to anyone, and I think that would make a person respond. Well, I responded simply because I think

it's important working towards a person's Ph.D. to get all the response they can, in that area. I just found it interesting that anyone would find that interesting, because you really don't have anyone to talk to about it. I mean, the woman across the way is from Belfast, Ireland, and she's so homesick, she's dying, absolutely dying, but it doesn't do me any good to start crying...because she starts crying to me before I start crying to her. It's the blind leading the blind. (033)

Some respondents volunteered the names of other newcomers (although these were not utilized), and many asked to be informed of the results.

I really want to know if I'm normal. Sometimes I think I shouldn't feel so bad about the moving. Maybe you can let me know if other women feel this way...if I thought there were other women out there like me... (010)

Others felt that the results should be made more widely available.

If companies could only realize what these transfers do to families....If your research was available to them like that, maybe they would know. (095)

* * *

I have talked to people in Personnel at the bank about this, and I don't think they realize just what a total inconvenience these moves are to women. I'm fairly outspoken, but most wives don't say anything at all. Maybe the banks would like to receive a copy of a report like yours, just to see what this moving for the sake of moving does to families, to women. No, realistically, they probably honestly wouldn't like to hear it! (057)

* * *

It would be interesting to see this when you get it all finished. I thought it was a terrific idea after I thought about it. I thought, the government gives all these LIP grants, ...and maybe you could get some support for your research, to make it available. With society being this transient right now, it would do a lot of good...and you can sell your information to the corporations after, and maybe they'd smarten up and change some things. Actually, you've got a good start on it there. I'd look into it. Even a book, you know, it doesn't

have to be a big one, but something for people on what they can expect when they move, or something like this. Oh, there's 101 things you could do with it. (043)

APPENDIX D

A PROFILE OF THE MIGRANT WIVES

Marital Status

While the criteria of eligibility for the study required that all respondents be married at the time of the relocation to Hamilton, the assessment of marital status was occasionally a difficult one to make. In at least two (1.5 percent) of the cases under study, respondents reported that they were not legally married to their spouse, but that they had remained together for several years, and through a number of relocations. Since the letter of introduction to the study had specified "wives", these women had, in agreeing to participate in the research, defined themselves as wives, and were therefore eligible for inclusion in the research. In these cases, as in the case of two women who withdrew themselves from participation because they were not married, the women's definitions of themselves defined eligibility according to marital status.

Not included in the data analysis were two interviews completed with women whose spouses had died prior to the relocation. Although these women still thought of themselves as wives, their life circumstances clearly rendered them ineligible for inclusion in the study.*

*The ineligibility of these respondents did not become apparent until the actual interview. While other widowed women had stated their ineligibility at the time of my telephone call, these two women clearly did not see research on wives as excluding them. In both instances, the widows had prepared home-baked goods, and made tea in anticipation of the interview, and I felt it inappropriate to leave once their marital status was known. As many widows experience a feeling of status loss upon the death of their husband (Lopata, 1973: 90), I did not wish to

Furthermore, while all respondents considered themselves married at the time of their relocation to Hamilton-Burlington, three respondents (2.4 percent) had changed their marital status by the time of the interview. Two of these women, contacted through the Department of Social Services, were separated from the spouses with whom they had relocated. Another woman had been widowed since the relocation. Her husband's final illness was related to the decision to relocate closer to family and medical facilities.

TABLE D.1

Years of Marriage of Sample

Category Years Married*	Absolute Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Less than 5 years	33	26.8	26.8
5-10 years	36	29.3	56.1
11-20 years	29	23.6	79.7
21-50 years	25	20.3	100.0
TOTAL	123	100.0	

contribute to this feeling by rejecting their offer of assistance in the research. These cases were not, however, included in the data analysis.

*The current marriage was a second marriage for nine of the wives (7 percent of the sample). Of these, six had been divorced; three had been widowed, one at age 23. However, I do not have consistent information for the sample generally, but only for those respondents who volunteered this information. For a number of respondents, this issue was quite a sensitive one. As one respondent replied to the apparently straightforward question of years of present marriage, "Actually, I've only been married 14 years. This is my second marriage. This is very

Age

Table D.2 illustrates the age distribution of the sample population, while Table D.3 demonstrates the similarity in the age profile of the sample and the female migrant population in general.

TABLE D.2
Age Distribution of Sample

Category	Absolute Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Frequency
15-24 years	20	16.3	16.3
25-29 years	31	25.2	41.5
30-34 years	30	24.4	65.9
35-44 years	22	17.9	83.7
45-54 years	9	7.3	91.1
55 years and over	11	8.9	100.0
TOTAL	123	100.0	

Education

Tables D.4 and D.5 indicate the level of education of the respondents and their spouses. While the respondents were better educated than most female migrants, they were decidedly less well educated than their spouses.

confidential, and nobody knows that. Actually, I have to think, really, because I lie a lot, because it's nobody's business, really. And then my husband has a hard time remembering the dates too, now. And our kids' names are all changed because they were just babies. But I thought I might as well be honest with you."

TABLE D.3

Comparison of Sample's Age Distribution
with General Female Migrant Population*

Category	CANADA		ONTARIO		HAMILTON		SAMPLE	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Age 15-19	187,985	12.3	61,070	11.8	2,080	10.3	1	0.8
Age 20-34	773,045	50.6	259,320	50.0	10,655	52.6	80	65.1
Age 35+	566,460	37.1	198,260	38.2	7,520	37.1	42	34.1
TOTAL	1,527,495	100.0	518,655	100.0	20,245	100.0	123	100.0

* Compiled from the 1971 Census of Canada, Catalogue 92-745, Tables 13 and 19.

TABLE D.4

Level of Education of Sample

Category	Absolute Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Incomplete school	42	34.1	34.1
High school graduation	24	19.5	53.7
Some college/ trades	24	19.5	73.2
Trades graduation	17	13.8	87.0
Undergraduate degree	14	11.4	98.4
Graduate degree	2	1.6	100.0
TOTAL	123	100.0	

TABLE D.5

Level of Education of Spouses

Category	Absolute Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Incomplete school	32	26.0	26.0
High school graduation	18	14.6	40.7
Some college/trades	31	25.2	65.9
Trades graduation	12	9.8	75.6
Undergraduate degree	15	12.2	87.8
Graduate degree	15	12.2	100.0
TOTAL	123	100.0	

Occupational Status

As Table D.6 illustrates, the majority of respondents in this study were working exclusively in the home. Of those working outside the home, slightly more than half were employed full-time.

TABLE D.6

Occupational Status of the Sample

Category	Frequency	Percent
Working at home	84	68.3
Working outside home	39	31.7
TOTAL	123	100.0

Of those working at home, 79 (64 percent of the total sample) described themselves as homemakers or housewives, while four (3 percent) stated that they were unemployed, and one respondent had, with the move, retired after 40 years of employment. However, only one of the unemployed women was actually receiving Unemployment Insurance Benefits, but two of the other three women did consider themselves as "looking for work".

The fourth respondent who defined herself as currently unemployed had already acquired a teaching position, but as that did not commence until the new school year (six months after the interview), she described herself as unemployed, and was considered so for purposes of this research.

A much larger proportion of the respondents' spouses were employed in the paid labour force than were the respondents themselves. Fully 88.6 percent of the respondents' husbands worked outside the home with one of these being a full-time student and one being employed only on a part-time basis. Of the remaining group who were not employed, six (4.9 percent) were retired from the work force, and seven were unemployed. As stated previously, the husband of one of the respondents had died subsequent to the move.

Table D.7 not only indicates the occupational classifications of respondents and their spouses, but also ranks them according to the .Pineo-Porter index of occupational prestige in Canada (Pineo and Porter,

TABLE D.7

Occupational Categories of Female Movers and Their Spouses

Occupational Category	Wives		Husbands	
	N	%	N	%
Self-employed Prof.	-	-	1	0.8
Employed Prof.	5	4.1	26	21.1
High-level Management	-	-	8	6.5
Semi-professional	4	3.3	-	-
Technician	1	0.8	1	0.8
Middle Management	1	0.8	25	20.3
Supervisors	4	3.3	8	6.5
Foreman	-	-	3	2.4
Skilled Clerical-Sales-Service	11	8.9	15	12.2
Skilled Crafts	-	-	11	8.9
Housewife	79	64.2	-	-
Semi-skilled C-S-S	13	10.6	5	4.1
Semi-skilled Manual	-	-	8	6.5
Unskilled C-S-S	1	0.8	2	1.6
Unskilled Manual	1	0.8	9	7.3
Not Applicable (students)	3	2.4	1	0.8
TOTAL	123	100.0	123*	100.0

* Even though the husband of one of the respondents had died, his occupational classification was included here.

1967). The placement of the occupation housewife** reflects Eichler's

** Eichler notes that social scientists as rule do not treat housewifery as an occupation, because of the lack of minimum pay for the work, and because its prestige is perceived as congruent with the occupational prestige of the husband. However, less than two percent of Eichler's respondents refused to rank the occupational title housewife, suggesting that people are generally "willing to consider housewife as a 'legitimate' occupation" (1977:159).

finding that its prestige (with husband's occupation unspecified*) ranks slightly below that of female secretaries and stenographers, in the skilled clerical-sales-service category (1977:156).

The Table also reflects Eichler's finding that "the majority of women who choose a paid occupation over being a housewife cannot expect an increase in their occupational prestige and may...experience a loss in prestige when they enter the labour market after having been a housewife" (1977:158). Nearly half the employed women in this sample were in occupations ranked lower in status than housewife.

Income

An analysis of the individual income distributions of the respondents also helps to contribute to a profile of them as a group.

While the respondents themselves were not high wage earners, they were married to men who were very much so. The majority of families in the sample earned well in excess of the average family income for the Hamilton-Burlington area.

In Chapter Three, the "typical" female migrant in Canada was described as young, fairly well educated, and working within the home. This is an apt description of the migrant wives in this sample as well. They are also in families which are financially better off than most Canadians, and which are of relatively high socio-economic status.

* Eichler's findings suggest that the occupational prestige of many wives in this study - the wives of men in professional and managerial occupations - is in fact higher than indicated in Table D.7. Similarly, the occupational prestige of wives of semi-skilled clerical and manual workers will be lower than presented in the Table.

TABLE D.8

Income Distributions of Respondents and Their Spouses

Income Category	Wives		Husbands	
	N	%	N	%
No Income	82	66.7	-	-
Under \$5,000	15	12.2	4	3.3
\$5,000-\$10,000	17	13.8	15	12.2
\$10,000-\$15,000	5	4.1	22	17.9
\$15,000-\$20,000	4	3.3	33	26.8
\$20,000-\$25,000	-	-	20	16.3
\$25,000-\$30,000	-	-	17	13.8
\$30,000 and over	-	-	10	8.1
Don't Know*	-	-	1	0.8
TOTAL	123	100.0	122**	100.0

* In this one case, the wife did not know her retired husband's income, and, although he was elsewhere in the house at the time of the interview, she stated that she was afraid to ask him.

** The total here is 122 because one husband was deceased.

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