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MULTIPLE MIGRATION AND MARRIED WOMEN

MULTIPLE MIGRATION
AND THE
SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF MARRIED WOMEN

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to explore whether and in what ways the frequency of migration may affect the extra-family social participation of married women. Prior sociological analysis has not addressed the issue although demographic data indicate that multiple migration has become a prevalent phenomenon among the population of urban Canada. The thesis focuses upon three aspects of married women's social participation: married women as labor force participants, as members of voluntary organizations and as participants in an informal network of friends, kin and neighbors.

The design of the research is that of a cross-sectional survey of migrants who had recently migrated to the Hamilton-Burlington area of Ontario, Canada. The sample consists of one-hundred-one married women who were interviewed approximately nine to twelve months after their most recent migration.

The analysis indicates that rate of geographic mobility is a factor affecting several aspects of social participation, although for the most part the evidence is not strong. The most common finding is that multiple migration, regardless of the number of multiple moves, has different consequences for social participation than one-time migration.

PREFACE

Dorothy Smith's characterization of women's lives as "episodic" has taken on a particular importance for the author of this study of married migrant women. For while there are various factors in women's lives which lead to this characterization, it is the recurring pattern of geographic relocation which has made manifest this experience of life as a series of episodes, both for the women of this study and for myself as its author. The writing of this preface marks the end of one such episode as well as the beginning of another. Thus, it provides an opportunity for me to thank those persons who have advised and supported me during the time of research and writing.

The research was begun as part of a larger study on the process of migration funded by the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs. I wish to express my appreciation to the principal investigators of that larger study, Dr. Norman Shulman and Dr. Robert Drass, for their advice and support during the initial stages of the present work. Their encouragement made possible the opportunity to explore the topic of multiple migration and the social

participation of married women. I also want to thank the members of the committee who supervised the development and completion of this study. Above all I wish to thank Dr. Frank Jones who generously took on the task of principal supervisor when Dr. Shulman left McMaster. Without his advice and encouragement this project would not have been completed after my own relocation as a wife. Dr. Frank Henry and Dr. Hans Mol also contributed significantly to the work by their careful reading and critique.

Throughout this episode I have been fortunate to have had the help and support of many others, both friends and family. Among women colleagues I wish to specifically mention Ruth Ard, Margaret Denton, Ann Duffy, Wendy Weeks, Peta Sheriff, Marylee Stephenson, Jane Synge, Janet Rogers, Sr. Esther Heffernan and Barb Roe. I also want to acknowledge the great support of my family who at times wondered whether this particular episode would ever end. Above all, I wish to thank my husband, John Kane, for both his domestic and intellectual contributions to the completion of this project and the closing of this episode.

J.D.K.

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I

MARRIED WOMEN IN A HIGHLY MOBILE SOCIETY

A high rate of geographic mobility so characterizes most industrial societies that few people find their lives unaffected by it although it remains, for the most part, a "taken for granted" phenomenon.¹ It has paved the way for social and occupational opportunity even as it has altered the patterns of relationships with family and friends, shifted the focus of occupational loyalties, and changed not only the character of neighborhoods but even the face of cities. Where relative geographic stability once characterized life in both the home and shop, temporariness now conditions the lives of both men and women.

Since this phenomenon is pervasive in most advanced industrial societies, it could well be studied in a variety of national contexts. That such study is appropriate for Canadian society is evidenced by the most recent

¹Japan should be mentioned as an exception among modern industrial societies because of the importance placed upon loyalty or lifetime commitment between employee and company. Certainly there are instances when a company will send an employee to another branch within Japan or overseas, but this is a less common situation than in

census statistics. In 1976 nearly one-half (49%) of the Canadian population (age five years and over) had changed residences during the previous five years (Statistics Canada, 1979:152). Many of these changes, to be sure, simply involved moves to new residences within the same town or city.² Still much of the mobility did involve migration over greater distances. Between 1971 and 1976 approximately 4,604,000 persons (22% of the population) made such longer distance moves within Canada (Statistics Canada, 1979:191). This figure means that while intra-city movers are still a majority of all movers, persons who migrate longer distances, hereafter referred to as internal migrants, constitute a very large proportion (48%) of all persons who move within Canada.³

While these internal migrants typically move within a province, inter-provincial migration is, of course, not uncommon. During this same census interval (1971-1976),

Western modern industrial societies (Vogel, 1963; Dore, 1967).

²Almost one-quarter (23%) of the population moved within the same municipality (Canada Year Book 1978-79, Statistics Canada, 1979:152). In other words, approximately one half of those persons who moved internally in Canada between 1971-1976 were technically "non-migrants" according to census statistics.

³This percentage was calculated from Table 4.65 in the Canada Year Book 1978-79 (Statistics Canada, 1979:191).

approximately 20% of the internal migrants moved between provinces. Ontario, the province in which the migrants in the present study have relocated, had the largest gross population movement -- 460,295 persons moved into or out of Ontario during the 1971-76 period. Although this large gross movement is not highest among the provinces relative to the total population of each province, it well illustrates the fact that such inter-provincial migration is common among the residents of Ontario.⁴

These few statistics clearly indicate that a great deal of internal mobility -- longer distance migration as well as intra-city moves -- characterizes contemporary Canadian society. By themselves, however, the statistics tell us little about the nature of this high mobility. In his essay, "Sociology of Migration in Industrial and Post-Industrial Societies," Anthony Richmond describes recent important changes in the nature of internal migration patterns (Richmond, 1969:238-81). He notes that earlier research examined the phenomenon of rural-to-urban migration because migration in the 19th and early 20th centuries was primarily a process of urbanization. At that time the cities of North America grew rapidly as a result of both

⁴The gross interprovincial movement for Ontario equals approximately 6% of its total 1976 population, whereas the gross movement for British Columbia equals approximately 13% of its 1976 population.

mass immigration and migration from rural areas. Today, however, while such rural to urban migration still occurs, it constitutes only a small segment of the total internal population movement in advanced industrial societies (Kalbach and McVey, 1971:96-98; Stone, 1969:58; Jackson, 1969:245). According to Leroy Stone, "Since the 1950's inter-urban and inter-metropolitan flows have become the most striking features of the geographical mobility scene in Canada" (Stone, 1974:272).

It is further characteristic of present internal migration that a significant number of the migrants have made multiple migrations. Certainly such multiple movers have always been a part of the geographically mobile population, but one-time migration was perceived to be far more typical. With the shift from rural-urban migration, however, it is now the migrant who as an adult has moved more than once who is perceived as more typical (Jackson, 1969:279-81; Pineo, 1977:18-19). And while the shift from rural-urban to inter-urban migration has been well documented, the correlative shift from one-time to multiple migrations has not received much attention. The need for more study of this latter phenomenon has been the major impetus for the present research.

The fact that many persons migrate several or more times as an adult has been seen as functional for society

because it places workers where they are needed (Jackson, 1969:245; Lee, 1975:208). Yet such high mobility is not equally characteristic of all segments of the population. Rather it is functional precisely because it assures that persons who have the more highly technical or specialized skills are located where their particular skills are needed. Thus salaried professionals and executives of large corporations are likely to have the highest migration rates, while clerical, sales personnel and skilled manual workers have moderate rates of migration (Jackson, 1969: 247; Lee, 1975:203-11).

It is further and correctly assumed in discussions of the functional character of such migration that the persons whose occupations entail multiple moves are mostly men. And it is often suggested that this high rate of mobility has positive effects not only for society but for the men themselves (Lee, 1975:208). Thus Richmond underscores the idea of the functionality of migration for society as a whole and the likelihood that migration is beneficial to individuals.

Migration, like other forms of occupational and social mobility has become a functional imperative in advanced industrial societies. It facilitates the allocations of human resources in a way which is not only more productive economically but also enables the individual to optimize his own material and social satisfactions by widening the range of opportunities and choice open to him (Richmond, 1969:245).

While such discussions about high mobility are usually focused on men and their occupations, these men are typically married.⁵ Thus many women, the wives of these men, are likewise experiencing a high rate of geographic mobility. Scholars have occasionally raised a question about the effects of high mobility upon these wives (Lee, 1975:210; Butler et al., 1973:226; Jones, 1973:212), but this question has only been raised and not adequately answered. The present research, then, addresses itself to the lives of these married women migrants in an effort to provide more adequate understanding of the effects of high mobility upon married women.⁶

At a time when many women are choosing not to marry or are choosing to end marriages, a comprehensive study might well include data about single women whose decisions regarding marital status may be affected by mobility. The data for the present research were obtained, however, as part of another study in which the respondents were mainly male "heads of households." Only seventeen of

⁵At present it is the married and not single men and women who are the typical migrants (Kubat and Thornton, 1974:64; George, 1970:175-180).

⁶One feminist perspective, to be sure, might consider this a bogus question. It is the perspective of this researcher, however, that (1) women will continue to marry and that information about the lives of married women is an important aspect of our knowledge about

the respondents (6%) were single women. Thus, while the inclusion of single women would enhance this research, the pool of possible cases from which to select a sample was essentially limited to married women.

What effects will be explored?

The purpose of this research, then, is to explore possible effects of a high rate of migration upon married women. But which effects, or which type of effects should be explored? Migration research has tended to focus upon a number of particular questions or on certain types of effects. Thus Jansen (1970) in his review of internal migration literature has described four common types of migration research, while Stone (1969) has undertaken a similar typologizing task for Canadian literature. Essentially both typologies include three categories of research which describe: (1) differential characteristics of the migrants themselves, (2) direction of migration flows, and (3) motivational factors among migrants. Jansen includes a fourth category in his typology called "Migration and Integration" in which he places studies dealing with migrants' relationships with kin, friends, neighbors and formal organizations.

women generally and that (2) the most significant social changes affecting women will not take place through the separation of men and women.

Of these four categories, the framework of this investigation is most nearly related to research in the fourth category.

In the past, a prevalent focus for such "Migration and Integration" research was the process of assimilation, often conceived as the process of acculturation. This focus was of interest because of the cultural differences between rural migrants and city dwellers. With the shift from rural-urban to the present high level of inter-urban migration, however, assimilation so conceived becomes inapplicable since "migrants" and "non-migrants" share most cultural norms. Thus most present research on internal migration and integration tends to examine either the process of integration (how migrants become an integral part of their new community) or the extent to which migrants participate in the new location. Much of this research has focused on participation with kin or friends (Tilly, 1965; Tilly and Brown, 1967; Litwak, 1960; Choldin, 1973; Butler et al., 1973; Jones, 1973; Shulman, 1976; Young and Willmott, 1957; McAllister et al., 1973). More formal participation has also, of course, been the subject of some of this more recent investigation of internal migration (Zimmer, 1955; Litwak, 1961; Butler, 1973; Long, 1974; Grant and Vanderkamp, 1976; Duncan and Perrucci, 1976; Pineo, 1977).

Consistent with the pattern of such recent research, it is the variable of social participation which will provide the focus for the present study. Although social participation can refer to the participation of married women vis-a-vis other family members, the term as it is used here refers to extra-family participation, either informally with friends and extended kin or formally in employment and voluntary organizations. But while the dependent variable -- social participation -- is similar to that of such prior research, the independent variable differs insofar as most prior research has compared "migrants" to "non-migrants" and the present investigation focuses on the phenomenon of multiple migration. Quite simply, then, the purpose of this research is to explore what effects, if any, multiple migration has upon the social participation of married women.

In an attempt to obtain a broad understanding of the effects of multiple migration, both the informal and formal aspects of social participation will be examined. This wide range of activities to be examined, however, has made it difficult to formulate an overarching proposition to guide the research. Of course, this problem could have been dealt with simply by making ad hoc hypotheses for each type of participation examined. The inadequacy of this procedure, however, necessitated the

formulation of a more general thesis to guide the research despite the difficulty posed by the varied aspects of social participation under consideration.

Theoretical Guidelines

Even though the question of the effects of multiple migration upon social participation has not yet been thoroughly explored, prior literature does provide some direction for the present study. Much of the discussion relevant to the research problem has taken place within a context which has focused upon roles associated with the social position(s) of wife/mother. Such discussion, moreover, generally involves a perspective which presumes, either implicitly or explicitly, the functionality of these roles for the economic sector of society, for the institution of marriage, and for the individual women. The discussions of family roles in the works of Talcott Parsons (1949), Warren Bennis and Philip Slater (1968), William Whyte (1951), and Stella Jones (1973) are fairly representative of this perspective.

The first of these scholars to discuss the phenomenon of high rates of geographic mobility as it relates to the family and women's roles is Talcott Parsons. He argues that the nuclear family, characterized by the complimentary roles of wives and husbands, is functional

for industrial societies which require a high rate of geographic mobility for their workers. Despite the debates concerning the relative isolation of the nuclear family and its strength or weakness in contemporary society, most scholars would agree with Parsons' basic tenets that "the marriage bond is the structural keystone of the kinship system" (Parsons, 1949:252) and that the family now has two very specialized functions which are the early socialization of children and the maintenance of emotional support for adults. The relationship of husband and wife is seen as one which carries much more emotional weight in highly mobile societies than it did in relatively non-mobile societies. One reason for the increased expectations associated with the marriage bond is the often decreased interaction and continuity with other kinship relations resulting from geographic mobility.⁷ In societies where far more economic and residential dependence exists among members of the extended family there would also be an emotional support system which would allow fewer demands on the marriage bond itself. Once this great degree of interdependence breaks down, as it has for most sectors of a highly mobile indus-

⁷This statement is, of course, more appropriate for middle class migrants since many working class migrants are likely to move to areas where extended family members are already living.

trial society, the marriage relationship is characterized by increased emotional demands.

Since the marriage relationship is relatively unsupported except by this emotional attachment, Parsons argues there are certain functional requirements for the maintenance of the solidarity of the relationship. It must be protected from particularly dangerous strains such as competition between spouses. Occupational role segregation serves this function. Even with the increase of married women in the labour force, Parsons does not see a possible upset in this "relative balance" of differentiated occupational roles. In his later writing on the family where he discusses increased labor force participation, he does not suggest that such a phenomenon indicates any significant change in sex roles. He argues, rather, that women who occupy a position in the labor force tend to have a position that has a "prominent expressive component" and consider their position ancillary to their primary position of wife or wife/mother (Parsons and Bales, 1955:13-15). This family structure, then, allows the husband to pursue his occupation accompanied and supported by a few persons who can easily change residence with him. The wife is expected to give up her ancillary positions outside of the family and follow her

husband, for it is she who has specialized in the socio-expressive function for the family. Her specialization of function has a positive effect both because it does not conflict with the husband's occupational requirement to move and because it helps the family members throughout the relocation process.

While the functionality of the migrant wife's performance of roles congruent with her specialization in the socio-emotional function within the family remains to some extent implicit in Parsons' discussion of the family, it has become quite explicit in the work of scholars who are addressing the issue of high mobility. In their book, The Temporary Society, Bennis and Slater suggest that wives/mothers may be the "portable roots" needed by families which experience frequent relocation (1968: 128). They clearly indicate, moreover, that employment for these wives must usually be ancillary (a job rather than a career) to their positions as wife/mother if they are to perform the "portable roots" role (Bennis and Slater, 1968:90-91). While the authors recognize that high rates of mobility do not have entirely positive effects for such women, they do not judge the negative effects to be important enough to call into question the functional nature of the women's role or, more generally, the functional nature of high mobility both for society

and for individuals. Their overall argument is that persons will be able to adjust well to such geographic mobility so long as they can "make a virtue out of contingency" (Bennis and Slater, 1968:75).

Although empirical research which has focused directly upon frequency of moving is, as noted earlier, minimal, two researchers who have independently examined this phenomenon as it relates to married women report research findings which support the idea that married women perceive themselves as performing an important function within highly mobile families (Whyte, 1951; Jones, 1973). At the time when frequent "manpower" transfers were becoming the typical pattern among employees of large corporations, William Whyte reported from interviews he did with wives of such corporate men that these wives generally did not mind moving often. Some wives found that there were problems with children and this aspect of moving caused them great concern. As far as the wives themselves were concerned, however, they appeared to adapt well from one location to the next. Yet Whyte notes that the pattern of the wife's life is entirely disrupted with each move even as the husband maintains a degree of continuity because of his association with the corporation. In order to cope with such transiency the wife sees herself as part of a team and sees her role

on that team as that of "stabilizer." It is her function to be keeper of the retreat. Thus she must take on the tasks of moving and settling the household at each location. The loss of propinquity with friends or relatives, then, is mitigated by her sense of purpose as a member of the nuclear family team.

Another more recent examination of this question was undertaken as a survey by Stella Jones in 1972. She asked 256 wives who had recently moved if they thought "the wife is the key person in establishing the home and making the move successful" (Jones, 1973:212). Over three-fourths of the women (78%) responded affirmatively. Even more important for the present research is the fact that she found this perception among the women to increase with the number of times they had moved. She concludes that these women generally learn the important roles necessary for their family's relocation and they usually make a positive adjustment to the changes brought about by the move.

Thus the work of these scholars who have considered the phenomenon of high mobility as it relates to the lives of married women would result in the proposition that in general a high rate of geographical mobility is functional for these women. These scholars would undoubtedly admit that for some women frequent relocation as a wife may be

dysfunctional in one way or another (perhaps for particular career goals or perhaps for mental health), but such negative effects of high mobility would be considered much less important than the functional aspect of high mobility. The overall emphasis of this literature is clearly that high rates of geographic mobility provide wives with an important role within the marriage/family (whether it be labelled that of "stabilizer" or "portable roots") and that women willingly and satisfactorily adapt to this requirement of advanced industrial society and its consequent set of norms and roles for them.

There are, however, several important considerations which rule out acceptance of this very positive proposition as a thesis which would be adequate by itself for the present research. Specifically there are two problems with the prior literature -- one with a general perspective or assumption, the second concerning methodology -- which point to the need for a more balanced, more comprehensive research proposition.

As regards the first problem, the general perspective employed in much of the scholarship just reviewed involves an often implicit yet fundamental judgment that married women's social participation within the family is of primary importance relative to their extra-family social participation. This judgment, however, is open to

serious question. It can and has been opposed by the alternative judgment that the extra-family social participation of married women must be accorded an importance equal to that of their family roles.⁸ And when the preceding literature is reviewed from this alternative perspective, it appears inadequate as a comprehensive account of the possible effects of high rates of mobility upon the lives of married women.

To put the matter more specifically, it can be argued that the assumption which gives only secondary importance to married women's extra-family social participation results in an over-emphasis upon their family roles and consequently in a positive evaluation of the effects of high mobility for these women. Thus while the work of Parsons and of Bennis and Slater does indeed recognize some negative effects of high mobility for women's extra-family participation, these effects are not considered sufficiently significant to call into question the generally positive relationship which is found between high mobility rate and the social participation of married

⁸This alternative judgment is, of course, fundamental for much feminist thought. It should not, however, be misconstrued to mean that family roles ought to be considered less important than employment or other activities outside the home which are not directly related to care of the family. While such an over-emphasis on non-family roles is characteristic of some of the earlier feminist literature and action, in the present, second

women. Yet these negative effects are not considered sufficiently significant precisely because extra-family participation is assumed to be of less importance than family roles.

Jones, too, would seem to operate within this general perspective and assumption concerning the secondary importance of extra-family participation. That family roles provide the primary focus of her work is, at any rate, clearly indicated by the title of the article in which she reports her research findings -- "Geographic Mobility as Seen by the Wife and Mother" (1973). Still, in Jones' analysis of the research problem there is both the important recognition of the need to examine migration rates (as well as to compare and contrast migrants to non-migrants) and an explicit examination of extra-family participation. Her positive conclusion regarding high mobility, to be sure, is partly a consequence of her findings which suggest that extra-family participation is not adversely affected by frequent relocation. Upon closer scrutiny, however, it becomes clear that these findings are based upon a methodologically inadequate examination of the relationship between mobility rate and extra-family social participation. These methodological inadequacies may perhaps

wave of feminism (1960's and 1970's) a more balanced point of view is more prevalent.

be explained both by the fact that the primary focus of her work is on family roles and by the suspicion that here, too, despite her recognition of the need to examine extra-family participation, the problematic assumption regarding the secondary importance of such participation may be at work.

Mention of the methodological inadequacies of Jones' work brings us to the second problem involved in the general (positive) proposition that a high rate of mobility is functional for married women. For insofar as her work provides the primary empirical base which supports that proposition, the methodological inadequacies of her work point to inadequacies in the general proposition. The inadequacy of her examination appears in the measure of both the independent and dependent variables -- that is, in the measurement of both mobility rate and extra-family social participation. As regards the independent variable, Jones notes that a "'move' was operationalized as a change in residence either intra- or intercity" (Jones, 1973:212). Such an operationalization of "move," however, results in a measure of mobility rate which is conceptually confusing. It is highly probable, for instance, that a woman who has moved three times within one city has a clearly different experience of high mobility than a wife who has moved into

and out of three different cities.

That Jones' findings are rendered dubious by such imprecise measurement is well illustrated by her statement that "the stronger the tendency for the wife to assume full-time employment, the greater are the chances that the family unit has moved often" (Jones, 1973:212). While such a positive correlation between employment status and mobility rate is likely if number of moves refers to all types of moves, it is certainly questionable whether such a correlation would persist were the measurement precise enough to exclude intra-city moves. Moving within a municipality may not require a wife to terminate her full-time pre-move employment. Indeed, her full-time employment is likely to be one reason why the family can or would desire to move -- but only within the same city.⁹ Thus because Jones fails to distinguish carefully between intra- and inter-city moving her finding of a positive correlation between number of moves and full-time employment is of little value.

⁹Larry Long has found, for instance, that employment (either full- or part-time) of wives tends to promote short-distance and only short-distance (or intra-city) moves because of the family desiring and being able to afford better housing (Long, 1974:345). Although Long's work does not exactly parallel Jones' as regards categories used to analyse employment, his findings, nonetheless, point to the inadequacy of her imprecise measurement of mobility rate.

As regards her measurement of the dependent variable, extra-family participation, Jones' methodology is again inadequate. Although the indicants she uses provide a cursory look at the extra-family participation of migrant wives, far more information would be needed before any conclusive statement about the effect of high mobility upon such participation could be made. Thus while Jones reports the tendency of highly mobile wives to be full-time employees, she makes no examination of the extent of employment because she does not include analysis of part-time employment. Nor does she measure other important aspects of employment such as type of employment or earnings.

Of these scholars who have addressed the question at hand, Whyte comes closest to making such an explicit statement regarding the dysfunctional nature of frequent relocation for wives. His judgment that frequent relocation may have important negative effects for married women, even while many appear quite happy with it, is reflected in two different contexts. First, when he is describing the tendency for frequent transfers he suggests that there are . . .

some very real tensions produced. And 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.
(Whyte, 1951:152)

Secondly, even as he perceives most of these women adjusting to and relieving these tensions by taking the role of stabilizer, he considers them to be "resolutely anti-feminist" (Whyte, 1951). Later, in his discussion of the wife's adjustments to the corporation, only one of which, of course, is frequent relocation, he writes that the majority view that a good wife adjusts graciously to the system was "depressingly strong" (Whyte, 1956:258).

As regards the preceding critique of Jones' methodology, while the critique by itself does not point directly to the possibility that frequent relocation may be dysfunctional for married women's extra-family participation, it at least makes impossible the acceptance of Jones' highly positive evaluation of high mobility as an adequate analysis of the effect of such mobility upon married women. Her research findings, in other words, would not seriously call into question an alternative research proposition which postulates some degree of dysfunction. On the contrary, the problems with her research point to the need for an examination which not only focuses directly and more comprehensively upon married women's extra-family social participation, but explicitly allows for the possibility that such mobility may have dysfunctional as well as functional effects.

This present research, then, will be guided by the following assumption which serves to counter-balance overly positive assumptions and conclusions regarding the relationship between mobility rate and the extra-family participation of married women.

While many aspects of extra-family social participation of migrant married women remain unaffected by the rate of geographic mobility, there are, nonetheless, some important aspects of that participation for which high mobility rates may have negative effects.

The task of this research, then, is to examine various aspects of married women's extra-family participation in order to identify whether and how such social participation may be negatively affected by a high rate of geographic mobility. Towards this goal the analysis will focus successively on the three major types of extra-family social participation experienced by married women:

- (1) participation in the labor force (Chapters 3 and 4),
- (2) participation in voluntary organizations (Chapter 5),
- (3) participation with extended kin, friends, and neighbors (Chapters 6 and 7).

Before turning directly to the findings regarding these

types of participation, however, we turn first to a discussion of the methodology employed in the present research.

II

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In 1972, as the population of Canada continued to concentrate in a small number of metropolitan areas (Lithwick, 1970:180), the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs commissioned an extensive study to examine the process of relocation as experienced by persons who moved from points within Canada to the Hamilton-Burlington metropolitan area. This research was initiated and designed by Dr. Norman Shulman and Dr. Robert Drass, two professors of sociology at McMaster University, in an effort to further understand the phenomenon of internal migration. Their monograph, Migrant Relocation Study: An Investigation of Newcomers to the Hamilton-Burlington Area, gives a report on that study.

The present research into the possible effects of frequent relocation on the social participation of married women migrants was initially conceived as one particular aspect of the Migrant Relocation Study (MRS). It employs data from that study as well as

additional data gathered separately for the specific purpose of the present study. Thus discussion of the methodology employed in the present study necessarily involves reference to the research methodology employed in the MRS.

In the first place, there were two major methodological issues involved in the operationalization of fundamental concepts employed in defining the research problem. The first issue, common to all migration study and thus involved in both the MRS and the present study, concerns the definition of a migrant or "How far must one have moved to be a 'migrant'?" (Shulman and Drass, 1975: 10). The second conceptual issue is more specific to the present research because it concerns the criterion or criteria used to determine which of the migrants were more or less mobile. A methodological decision was necessary, in other words, in order to determine how to measure the main independent variable of the present research -- the rate of geographic mobility.

There was, moreover, a third methodological issue of a more practical nature, one involved in both the MRS and the present study. It concerned the way in which the investigators might locate an adequate number of internal migrants to be used as a sampling frame.

In addition to describing the overall designs, samples, and data collection procedures of both the MRS and the present research, this second chapter will discuss the way these three methodological problems were resolved.

Defining the Research Population

One of the initial methodological questions for all migration research is "Who is a migrant?" As noted above, the intent of both the MRS and the present project was to study the effects of internal migration. The first selection criterion for the sampling frame was that only internal migrants, those persons who had moved within Canada, be included in the frame. By definition, then, this criterion would exclude international migrants (immigrants) who moved directly to the Hamilton-Burlington area from another country.

To require that the respondent be an internal rather than an international migrant is to place an "outside" limit on the definition of a migrant. Everyone who relocates within the boundaries of the target area, however, would not be defined as a migrant. Thus an "inside" limit to the definition had to be set in order to answer the question "How far must a person move in order to be considered a migrant?" The MRS researchers decided that an arbitrary radius of 20 miles outside the

target area would be established as the smallest moving distance. There were two reasons for choosing this 20 mile radius. Persons moving within this small radius (1) would be very familiar with the target area and (2) might be very dissimilar in other ways from migrants who had made longer moves (Shulman and Drass, 1975:11).

Furthermore, a person who had previously lived in either Hamilton or Burlington for a fairly long time would be significantly different from migrants who were not familiar with the area. For this reason, any migrants who had lived in the area for more than two months in the preceding 5 years were ineligible for the study. In addition, any persons who did not intend to stay in the area (students at the university or coming for summer jobs and transients) were excluded from the category of migrant for this study. Technically these persons are migrants but their intentions to relocate only temporarily might produce an extremely different relocation process from that of other migrants. Rather than have only a few persons of such a different sort, the MRS researchers excluded such migrants from their sampling frame (Shulman and Drass, 1975:11).

Since the purpose of the MRS study was to study the process of relocation/integration into a new community, it was important to obtain information about the migrant's

experiences as close to the beginning of this process as possible. By collecting information soon after the move and again after a short interval, the MRS researchers would be able to make a comparison of the migrant's experience upon his/her arrival into the community and at a later time. With this purpose in mind, then, the researchers needed to answer another question in their efforts to define the survey population: "How long ago could a person have moved to the target area and still be eligible for the survey?" Given the desire to collect the data soon after the move into the area, it was decided that the interval between the move and the time of data collection should be no longer than eight weeks. It was believed that most of the migrant's experiences directly subsequent to his/her move would still be easily recalled at this time and that the initial steps of integration would be taking place during these first two months. This criterion for the eligibility of respondents for the MRS study meant that the migrants in the survey population would be relatively recent newcomers to the target area.

In summary, then, for a person to be a migrant eligible for the MRS study and, therefore, for this present investigation, s/he had to satisfy the following criteria:

- 1) had moved from within Canada,
- 2) had moved from outside a 20 mile radius of the Hamilton-Burlington area,
- 3) had not lived in the area for more than 2 months in the preceding 5 years,
- 4) had intentions of remaining within the target area,
- 5) had arrived within the preceding 8 weeks.

Overall Research Design

The MRS and present study are similar in that both have survey research designs. Since the purpose of the MRS was to examine a process, the MRS survey is a two-panel design, the first panel (Phase I) occurring quite soon after arrival in the area (within eight weeks) and the second panel occurring approximately six months later (Phase II). The instrument for data collection at each point in time was a face-to-face interview schedule which will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section of this chapter.

Since many migrants move as part of a nuclear family, the investigators decided that in such cases the head of household would be interviewed. Head of household was defined, in this case, as the major wage earner and, in practice, this decision meant that the husband of a

migrant couple was the survey respondent. In some cases (6%), the wife or another adult was interviewed if the head of the household was unavailable for a prolonged period.

The present research was designed in conjunction with the MRS survey of heads of households and therefore it shares many of the methodological decisions made for the MRS, most specifically, decisions regarding the sampling frame and the interview schedule. There are, however, two important differences in the overall research design. First, and most obviously, the majority of the data for the present research were collected in interviews not with the male heads of households, but with their wives. Essentially the design of present research is an interview survey which has as its data base a subsample of the MRS sample of married men with an additional set of interviews with each of their wives.

Secondly, the design of the present study is different from that of the MRS in that it is a cross-sectional survey design rather than a panel study. The sample of migrant wives used as the data base for the present study were interviewed only once, just subsequently to the second panel of the MRS. Although it would have been advantageous to obtain longitudinal data for the wives as well as for the men, such a design would likely have been very costly. The major problem was that there

was no way to guarantee that Phase II of the MRS would include most or all of the same men whose wives would have been interviewed at Phase I. The reason why this guarantee could not be made is that only two-thirds of the original number of MRS respondents were to be re-interviewed and it would have been likely that many of the first phase interviews with the wives would have had no corresponding second interview. Without this second interview, these first interviews would have been of little use. Given cost and time constraints, therefore, a one-time, cross-sectional design was chosen for the present research.

Sampling Frames

As noted above, one of the major similarities between the MRS and the present research is the sampling frame. The methodological task of providing a sampling frame of recent migrants is common to both studies since the sample of the present study is a complete subsample of the families who were included in the MRS sample. Given this common nature of the samples, then, the task of constructing the sampling frame for the MRS will be described in detail.

This task is particularly difficult for a survey of migrants because it is not possible to obtain a sampling

frame which would be known to include all the elements of the survey population. Canada, unlike some nations, such as Switzerland, does not require the legal registration of all persons who move into a community. No comprehensive and systematic records of in-migrants were available, therefore, which could be used as a sampling frame for the survey population of migrants in the Hamilton-Burlington area.

Given this lack of one comprehensive source of potential respondents, the researchers of the MRS obtained the names of recent migrants through the cooperation of a variety of agencies and services which would have early contact with persons who had moved into the area. In order to obtain a sampling frame that would be similar to the survey population to the extent that all major types of migrants would be represented, the researchers attempted to use sources which together would provide names of migrants of all adult age groups and social strata. The two major sources of names were chosen because they would provide large numbers of a wide range of migrants. They were Bell Canada and the Vehicle License Registry of the Ontario Ministry of Transportation. In both of these cases it was reasoned that if any segments of the population were systematically excluded it would probably be single persons and/or those persons in lower socio-economic strata.

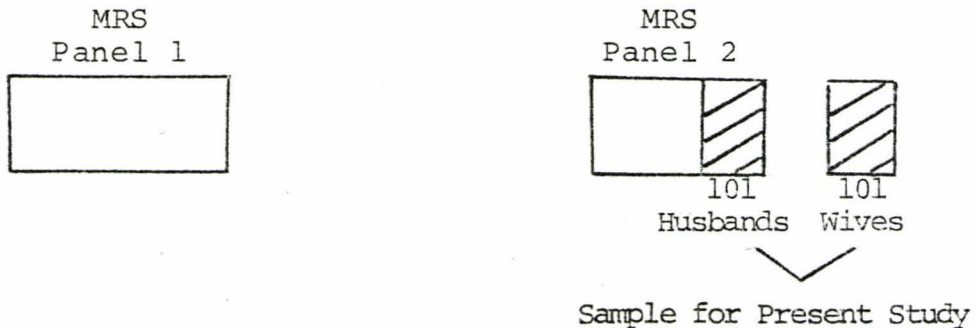
In order to compensate for this potential loss, other names were obtained from sources which would most likely have contact with these types of migrants. Specifically, the sources used were the local welfare department, the YMCA and YWCA and some major employers.

The combined lists of all these sources generated a list of 855 apparent migrants which constituted the sampling frame. A sample of 453 persons was selected from this set of apparent migrants and was initially chosen by random selection. The presence of a large number of ineligible persons in the frame, however, resulted in a sample which was virtually the set of persons in the sampling frame excluding the ineligible.¹ Again, while the sample was not known to be representative of the survey population, it was designed to contain representatives of all the adult age groups and social strata. Census statistics released after the survey indicate that this MRS sample was somewhat similar to the national population of internal migrants, although it contained a greater proportion of university graduates and a smaller proportion of migrants of French origin. These statistics suggest that the typical Canadian migrant is relatively young, well educated, and a member of the dominant ethni-

¹Before any of these persons were included in the sample, they were screened by the interviewer to insure their eligibility according to criteria stated in the previous section.

city. In general, the MRS sample showed similar characteristics (Shulman and Drass, 1975:19; cf. Table 2.1).

The sample for the second MRS panel was randomly selected from this first sample of 453 respondents. The 303 migrants comprising this subsample were interviewed approximately six months after the first panel. Of these 303 respondents, 237 were married males. It is this group of married males which provided the sampling frame for the subsample of married men and their wives used in this present study. The following diagram shows the various interrelated phases of the two studies:



The Sample of Migrant Husbands and Wives

The sample used for the present research was not, however, simply a randomly selected subsample of 100 of these 237 couples. In the first place, any couple whose children were no longer living at home would be excluded from this survey. The rationale behind this decision was that there were only a few such cases and since the experi-

Table 2.1 Demographic Characteristics of the
MRS Sample and 1971 Census Parameters²

(A) Age*	MRS Sample	Migrant Population in Canada (1971 Census)
18-23/20-24	16%	22%
24-33/25-34	46%	40%
34-43/35-44	12%	16%
44+	26%	23%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>
<hr/>		
(B) Education		
Less than Grade 9	5%	25%
Secondary School (some or graduated)	49%	60%
University	<u>46%</u>	<u>15%</u>
	100%	100%
<hr/>		
(C) Ethnicity		
British Origin**	51%	49%
French Origin	7%	28%
Other	<u>42%</u>	<u>23%</u>
	100%	100%

*Census Categories

**Includes British Isles and Canadian

²This table is the table of comparison provided by Dr. Shulman and Dr. Drass. It is presented in Tables III and IV in their monograph (1975: 26-27).

ence of these older women, who no longer had many responsibilities at home, might be quite different from younger women (particularly women with very small children), it was decided that there would not be sufficient data to be useful for analysis. Therefore, in order not to confound other results, the cases of older migrants were judged ineligible for the present study.

Secondly, since the purpose of the research is to explore the possible effects of varying rates of mobility upon social participation, a sample was constructed which would attempt to insure the variability of this independent variable. Although the sample would contain subpopulations disproportionate to the survey population, such a procedure was considered justifiable in order to obtain sufficient numbers of cases for analysis in each subgroup. In this case, a simple random sample would likely have produced too few more highly mobile respondents for adequate analysis since the less mobile respondents were more numerous in the sampling frame. Consequently a decision was made to select cases randomly from the MRS sample of married men who had been interviewed only after they had been stratified into four groups according to number of moves since marriage. The goal of such a sampling procedure was to obtain, through random selection within each stratum, a sample containing about thirty couples from each of the

extreme categories and 20 couples from each of the middle categories. Because of the limited number of migrants in several of these categories it was not possible to obtain this distribution. Rather, from the higher mobile categories as many cases as were eligible and willing to participate in the study were included in the sample. Even by using as many cases as possible in these categories nine more cases had to be added to the category of couples who had moved twice in order to obtain the desired total of approximately 100 cases. The final distribution of cases is presented in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 Distribution of Cases by Number of Moves

Number of times moved as a wife/husband since married	Number of cases
1	28
2	30
3	19
4+	24

N = 101

This sample of migrants, then, may legitimately be used to compare the different subsets of the sample. Although some further inferences can be made pertaining to the migrant population, the sample does not allow the

researcher to make any estimates of population parameters since it is not known to be representative of the proportion of low and highly mobile migrants to be found in the migrant population.

One final problem in the sampling procedure should be noted. Since husbands of the women selected for this study had been interviewed twice previously, five women responded to the request to be interviewed with the statement that the family had participated quite enough already and they were therefore not willing to be interviewed. Several other women thought that their opinions had already been recorded because they had been present at the interview of their husband. These women also refused to be interviewed. Despite these problems many women were not only willing to participate but eager to do so and thus a total of 101 wives were interviewed. The final sample for the present study, then, consists of a set of 202 migrants, 101 husbands and their wives. Because it is the experience of the wives which is the focus of the present analysis, only information regarding wives has been used from the 101 interviews with the husbands.

Table 2.3 provides some general background information for each of the subsamples and shows how the subsamples compare to the sampling frame from which they were selected.

Table 2.3 Demographic Characteristics of the
Sampling Frame and Subsamples

	Sampling Frame (Married males in Phase II of MRS)	Sample of Husbands	Sample of Wives
(A) <u>Age</u>			
18-23	10%	12%	14%
24-33	66%	69%	64%
34-43	14%	14%	14%
44+	9%	5%	8%
	(N=237)	(N=101)	(N=101)
(B) <u>Life Cycle</u>			
Married, No Children	33%	33%	33%
Married, Children at Home	65%	67%	67%
Married, Children Left Home	2%	0%	0%
	(N=237)	(N=101)	(N=101)
(C) <u>Yearly Income</u>			
15,000 and over	17%	23%	0%
10,000-14,999	47%	44%	5%
6,000-9,999	32%	33%	36%
under 6,000	3%	0%	60%
	(N=237)	(N=101)	(N=101)

Measurement of Mobility Rate

The procedure for selecting a sample brings to the fore another of the methodological issues raised at the beginning of this chapter -- the operationalization of the main independent variable, the rate of geographic mobility of married migrants. Because the central research question of this study focuses upon the experience of married women, the concept to be operationalized concerns mobility rate during a woman's marriage.³ For present purposes, then, a move is considered a "move as a wife" either when the move occurs after the woman has been married for some length of time or when the move occurs at the time of her wedding and is necessitated by her new marital status. While the use of a variable which included all moves a woman has ever made, whether before or after marriage, might shed some light on mobility rate in general, it would not be an adequate operationalization of the concept specific to the present research task. It would not, in other words, help us to understand whether mobility rate as a wife has any particular effects upon social participation. Thus, the independent variable measuring mobility rate is operationalized for the present research as the number of times a woman has migrated as a wife.

³In all but one case each of the women had made all prior moves as a wife with her present husband. The

The simple use of a count of the number of actual moves made by these women as wives is not, however, completely adequate as a measure of mobility rate. The extent of a married woman's mobility would also depend upon the length of a marriage and the time interval between moves. A woman, for example, who has moved only twice during twenty years of married life would be significantly less mobile than one who has moved twice during five years of married life. Unfortunately, because the need for such information was not foreseen, the questionnaire obtained no precise data regarding the year of marriage which could be used to calculate the intervals between moves. The problem presented by the lack of such data has not finally been resolved to the satisfaction of the author although it has been given considerable attention.⁴ The age of the respondent and the presence of pre-school children are used throughout the analysis as one way to help control for some variation due to length of marriage.

exceptional case is a woman who had also moved with a husband from whom she was divorced at the time of the interview.

⁴At one point a ratio was calculated in which number of moves was divided by the estimated years of marriage. For those women for whom there was no indication of age at marriage or year of marriage, the national average age at marriage for Canadian women (23 years) was used in the calculation. Initial runs in which this ratio was used provided findings similar to the simple measure of number of moves since marriage and thus, the simple measure was selected over the ratio measure.

Data Collection

Given the amount and character of the data to be collected, particularly the data about the friends and relatives of the respondents, an interview with the migrant was deemed the most appropriate and profitable method of obtaining the necessary information. A structured interview schedule was compiled as the instrument for data collection. These interviews took place in the homes of the respondents and varied in length from approximately one to two hours.

Since the investigators wanted to be able to make comparisons between the women and men migrants, the interview schedules for the MRS and the present study were as similar as possible. Most of the interview items were close-ended questions although the interviewers were encouraged to probe for detailed information to answers of such questions as "How satisfied are you with your job?" The two interview schedules in which the data were collected for the present study are included in the appendices.⁵

All of the interviews of the MRS survey were done by a team of trained women interviewers, contracted from the Survey Research Center of the Faculty of Medicine,

⁵The interview schedule for the wife is included as Appendix A and the MRS Phase II interview schedule is included as Appendix B.

McMaster University. The data for the wives were collected by the researcher and one other woman interviewer. Both of these interviewers pre-tested the wives' questionnaire. Since the majority of items on the questionnaire were items from the original survey and for the sake of comparison could not be changed, eight pre-tests were considered adequate to evaluate the few additional items.

As mentioned above, there was a slight problem resulting from the fact that the husbands had already been interviewed twice by the time the women were asked to be interviewed. Specifically, a few women were not willing to participate in another interview which they knew would be lengthy. For the most part, however, the women were somewhat eager to tell of their own experiences and quite frequently a respondent remarked that she was not happy that the prior two interviews had focused upon her husband. Both interviewers were very well received into the homes of the migrants with the result that this phase of data collection of the present study was made both comfortable and very enjoyable for the interviews.

After the questionnaires were completed the schedules were checked for errors and omissions. In about one-fourth of the cases a tape recorder was used during the interview. The tape was then used to insure that all data recorded in the schedule were correct and as compre-

hensive as possible. The final step in preparing the data for analysis was the process of transferring the data into machine-readable form on cards and magnetic tape and the cleaning of the data to correct any coding and keypunching errors. At this point, then, analysis of the data could begin and the subsequent research findings are presented in the following chapters.

III

MARRIED MIGRANT WOMEN'S LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION: AN OVERVIEW

In Canada, as in other industrial societies, labor force participation is an increasingly prevalent type of social participation for married women. One indication of this phenomenon has been the overall increase in the last twenty-five years of the proportion of women in Canada who are employed or who are looking for employment. By 1971 this figure was 40% compared to 24% in 1951 (Gunderson, 1976: 97).

Although young women who are frequently not married continue to have a higher employment rate than older women, the overall increase in women's labor force participation is due in large measure to the increasing participation of older, and therefore often married women.¹ In 1951, for instance, only 11% of married women were employed while approximately one-third of all Canadian married women

¹The participation rates of the different age groups in 1961 and 1971 are the following: for those between 20 and 25 years of age, 49% in 1961 compared with 63% in 1971; for those 25 thru 34 years of age, 25% as compared with 45%; for those 35 thru 64 years of age, 20% as compared with 42% (Gunderson, 1976: 97).

living with husbands were employed in 1971 (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1978: 152).²

Yet while labor force participation for married women has become quite common, it remains the most problematic of the three types of social participation to be analyzed in the present study -- problematic with regard to both present cultural norms and social structural strains. During this same post-World War II period, moreover, when such labor force participation was rising, a high rate of geographic mobility also became a prevalent phenomenon (cf. Chapter I). It is, then, the fact of this significant increase in married women's labor force participation concomitant with higher rates of mobility and the still problematic nature of such extra-family participation which has provided the impetus for beginning the data analysis with an examination of the migrants' participation as paid workers.

In this first chapter of analysis we will examine whether or not these migrant women are participating in the labor force, whether participation is on a full-time or part-time basis, and to what extent non-participation is

²The 1951 figure includes married women who are separated which is not the case for the 1971 statistic. In Ontario, 15% of married women were employed in 1951. At the time of this survey (1974) this proportion had increased to 42%.

a matter of unemployment. In the next chapter we will turn our attention to particular aspects of their participation, namely length of unemployment after relocation, occupational prestige, earnings, and job satisfaction.

Employment Status and Mobility Rate: An Hypothesis

The aim of this first part of the analysis, then, is to examine whether (and how) differing rates of geographic mobility are related to the overall employment status of married women. We begin by identifying an hypothesis to guide this section of the research.

It can be and has been argued that the earlier one-time, rural-urban migration pattern had the effect of increasing women's labor force participation.³ Yet it is quite obviously inappropriate to simply extrapolate this positive relationship to the current, more prevalent pattern of inter-city and multiple migration. On the contrary, there are some indications both theoretical

³Thus Ostry (1966: 15) argued that differences in the character of rural and urban places resulted in a higher proportion of urban women being employed. Urban areas, in other words, provided a greater availability of employment opportunity, attitudes more favorable to women's employment, and more household conveniences, all factors which encouraged employment. In rural areas, however, more conservative attitudes towards gender roles and higher birth rates discouraged the employment of women. Thus the rural-urban migration which led to an increasing proportion of the population living in cities has been acknowledged as a stimulus to the increase in the labor force participation of women.

and empirical that this more recently prevalent migration pattern would not have such a positive effect but might even discourage married women's labor force participation.

Thus, to elaborate from Chapter I, it would follow from Parsons' structural-functional theory of the family in industrial societies that high mobility is likely to be an inhibiting factor to married women's employment because it functions to maintain gender role segregation (with reference to the occupational system) in the family. Parsons clearly notes the imperative of geographic mobility within the occupational system in industrial societies and goes on to describe the effect of this imperative upon family structure:

The mobility of the occupational system also requires a great deal of shifting in place of residence. Since it is the individual, as such, who is in demand for new jobs in such a way as to necessitate his changing his residence, it is essential that his family be able to change with him, and this would not be possible if it were not an isolated conjugal family which was not bound to a particular residential location by occupational, property, or status interests of other members. (Parsons, 1949: 263)

Parsons argues, in other words, that the nucleated family is the most functional family structure for an occupational system that requires geographic mobility because it allows the occupationally competing family member (usually the husband) to pursue his occupation in successive locations

accompanied by only a few immediate family members.⁴ He then argues further that a clear segregation of roles is a major mechanism whereby the nucleated family is maintained.⁵ As regards the occupational system, however, such gender role segregation means that the wives specialize in the occupation of housewife, with primary responsibility for the domestic sphere, while husbands are primarily responsible for providing economic security and social status via their extra-family, labor force participation.⁶

Thus, by arguing (1) that the nucleated family is functional for the mobility of the occupational system, and (2) that gender role segregation is functional for the

⁴Occupational role segregation is already implied here because the typical wife is not perceived as having strong enough occupational interests in one location to inhibit migration.

⁵Role segregation is essential for maintenance of the marriage relationship which is the keystone of the nucleated family structure. For this relationship is largely, and thus fragilely supported by the emotional attachment of the partners. Without role segregation, Parsons argues, spouses would be less protected from the stresses of competition; their relationship would be much more vulnerable to conflict and disruption. (Cf., Parsons, 1949: 264)

⁶Of course many women who accept such role segregation will nonetheless be employed. Their employment, however, will be perceived both by themselves and their husbands as ancillary to their major occupational role as homemaker -- or at least, in cases where the wife is not seen primarily as homemaker, as clearly secondary in importance to the husband's employment.

nucleated family, Parsons provides a clear theoretical statement about the indirect, yet negative effect of recent geographic mobility upon married women's labor force participation. In terms of the theoretical framework provided by Parsons, then, the type of geographic mobility which has characterized recent (post-World War II) migration patterns would not encourage extensive labor force participation by married women migrants. The specific phenomenon of high mobility, moreover, would only seem to heighten the dynamics in Parsons' framework (i.e., nuclearization and gender role segregation) which discourage such labor-force participation. Within this framework, then, high mobility is likely to be an inhibiting factor to married women's employment.⁷

As regards empirical indications that recent migration patterns might discourage married women's labor force

⁷As an illustration of the way in which high mobility may so inhibit employment (even for women who desire employment), it should be noted that there may well be women for whom the pattern of frequent migration with relatively short periods of residence in any one location has meant limited occupational training and advancement. As a result such women would not be able to make use of opportunities in a new location. By way of contrast, women who have moved only once as a wife may have had a relatively long period of employment experience in one location which could be very helpful in finding employment after relocation. The experience of moving frequently, then, may more directly and significantly inhibit labor force participation than any one particular move.

participation, there are no recent studies (other than the work by Stella Jones which was criticized in Chapter I) which explicitly examine the effect of mobility rate upon the extent of married women's participation in the labor force. Findings from two recent studies, however, suggest that migration may not be favorable to a wife's continued participation in the labor force. Duncan and Perrucci, for example, found this to be the case among a sample of 714 young, white, college-educated wives. Their conclusion is based on the finding that the percentage of women who were employed in 1968 and did not make an interstate move between 1964 and 1968 (88%) was significantly greater than the percentage of employed women who did make such a move (75%) (Duncan and Perrucci, 1976: 260). In addition, Long, as already noted in Chapter I, used 1965 and 1970 U.S. Census data to demonstrate that long distance moving is especially likely to lower labor force participation rates for women and thus may interfere with women's achievement of occupational goals (Long, 1974: 347). Although neither study provides any analysis of these findings, Long does suggest that it is perhaps the relatively involuntary character of migration for married women (in contrast to married men's migration in response to economic advantage) which somewhat affects the extent and character of employment for these women.

In both of these studies, however, "migration" (indeed somewhat long-distance migration) is the independent variable while it is, of course, "migration rate" which is of interest in the present investigation. Thus while it is certainly possible that one-time migration could have the negative effect indicated in these studies, it is also possible that one-time migration may have a relatively benign effect upon the extent of employment and that the more significantly negative effect results from the pattern of multiple migration which remains hidden in research which fails to consider mobility rate. In order to explore this possibility and thereby examine the relationship between mobility rate and the extent of married women's labor force participation, a test of the following hypothesis will be the focus of the remaining sections of this chapter:

Hypothesis #1: If mobility rate influences the extent of labor force participation on the part of married women, this effect will be negative.

Three separate analyses will be made in the effort to test this hypothesis. The extent of labor force participation will be measured first by the overall participation rate subsequent to the most recent move and then by examination of the proportion of this participation which is either full-time or part-time employment.

A third analysis is included which examines the women's understanding of their non-employment -- whether those women who are not employed perceive themselves as full-time "homemakers" or as unemployed labor force participants.

1) Overall Participation Rate

At the time of the second interview, which took place approximately seven months after their arrival into the Hamilton-Burlington area, each of the married men in the Migrant Relocation Study was asked if his spouse was presently employed. Ninety-three of these 237 men (39%) responded affirmatively. For the present purposes, the question is whether these ninety-three wives are found in proportionately equal numbers among the lesser and more mobile couples or whether the participation rate varies with mobility rate. Initial analysis of the husband's responses indicates that, indeed, there is a negative association between employment status and mobility rate (Table 3.1). While the variation in the percentage of employed women between the least mobile (55%) and the most mobile (24%) is impressive, it is important to note that the major difference appears to be between one-time and multiple movers, regardless of the number of additional moves.⁸ Frequency of moving, then, may be a factor related to the labor force participation rate of married women. And while women who are extremely mobile (4 or more moves) may have the lowest participation

⁸A measure of association between labor force participation rate and mobility rate so dichotomized shows a substantial degree of association ($\gamma = -.54, p < .001$).

Table 3.1 Employment Status of Married Women
Within Each Migrant Group

	Number of Moves Since Marriage			
	1	2	3	4 or more
Percent Employed After Relocation	55%	30%	30%	24%
Gamma = -.41 ($p < .001$) ⁹	(N=96)	(N=60)	(N=37)	(N=46)

⁹Tests of significance are used in this research as a means of testing against the null hypothesis for this particular sample rather than as a way of estimating population parameters. While the sample is not known to be representative of all internal migrants because of the problem of the sampling frame, it might be assumed that the sample reflects a population of English-speaking, middle-income, married couples in Ontario.

rates, other women who have experienced multiple moves, although not a such a high rate, also show significantly less participation than one-time movers.

This strong, zero-order association, however, needs to be examined more closely, for it is very likely confounded by the presence of other factors which are generally recognized as determinants of the participation of married women in the labor force (Gunderson, 1976: 99-102; Finegan, 1975: 29-33), or by other factors related to geographic mobility.

Multiple regression analysis is used to test for the possible simultaneous effects of other factors. While the dependent variable in the analysis is not measured on an interval or ratio scale, the dichotomous nature of the dependent variable, presently employed/not presently employed, allows it to be used in regression analysis as a special case.¹⁰ Employment status is coded so that "presently employed" is assigned "1" and "not presently

¹⁰ While there are some some statistical problems associated with the use of a dichotomous variable in regression analysis, it is a procedure which is fairly common in sociological research (Land, 1969:33; Waite, 1976:68; Goldberger, 1964: 248-55). With the use of dichotomous dependent variables, log linear and discriminant analyses are more recent alternative types of statistical analyses which are perhaps more appropriate than regression analysis. In the present analysis, discriminant analysis was also employed with a result very similar to that of the regression analysis.

Regression analysis also assumes linearity of the relationships being examined. While non-linear relationships are certainly possible, this assumption is made throughout the analysis as a way to begin to explore the relationship between mobility rate and social participation measures. Such a strategy is again quite common for sociological problems and especially for exploratory studies (Blalock, 1960: 312).

employed" is assigned "0." To test for the possibly confounding effects of other variables, the following independent variables are entered into the equation:¹¹

- (1) numbers of moves since marriage, coded "one-time" (0) and "multiple" moves (1);
- (2) highest level of formal education which has been completed by the wife;
- (3) present yearly income of husband;
- (4) the presence of pre-school children, coded "no pre-school children" and "one or more pre-school children";
- (5) type of move, coded "non-residential" for those women who have most recently moved primarily for reasons other than to acquire improved housing and "residential" for those

¹¹ Two other variables which can be considered as possibly confounding this initial relationship are the level of formal education of the wife's father and her father's occupation. Neither of these background variables are available for analysis in the MRS survey, however, since the focus of the MRS was "the head of the household" which, in practice, meant the husband or single men and women. These two variables are available for the sub-sample of women and have been included into a regression equation in order to determine if indeed they are important to our understanding of the relationship of mobility rate and employment status. In fact the results of this analysis using the sub-sample do not indicate that their omission in the regression equation using the MRS sample causes an error in understanding the relationship between mobility rate and employment status.

women for whom this move was primarily to obtain more adequate housing (most typically a move from an apartment in the city of Toronto to a single-family home in the city of Burlington);

(6) age of wife; and

(7) length of residence in the community from which the women most recently migrated.

The results of this analysis, presented in Table 3.2, indicate that when the confounding effects of the other variables are controlled, mobility rate continues to have a negative effect upon the likelihood of married women's labor force participation. As might be expected, of course, the presence of pre-school children in the home is a greater negative influence than the experience of multiple moves, while the level of formal education has a counter-balancing positive effect upon employment status.

While the regression analysis is sufficient to establish that the experience of making multiple moves as a wife has a negative effect upon the employment status of married women, a cross-tabulation in which life cycle and educational level are controlled is also useful for further clarification of this relationship. Specifically, it makes possible a direct examination of the

Table 3.2 Multiple Regression Coefficients for
Analysis of the Present Employment
Status of the Migrants

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t-Value/Level of Significance
One-time vs. Multiple Migration*	-.20	-.20	2.98 (p<.005)
Education of Wife	.03	.16	2.65 (p<.005)
Income of Husband	.00	-.05	.78 (NS)
No Pre-school Children vs. Pre-school Children *	-.28	-.29	4.60 (p<.001)
Non-residential vs. Residential Move *	.05	.04	.72 (NS)
Age of Wife	.00	-.03	.52 (NS)
Length of Residence in Prior Community	.00	.05	.82 (NS)
Constant	.43	.05	2.07 (p<.025)

$R^2 = .21$

(N=228)

*For these dummy variables the first category is coded 0 and the second category is coded 1.

percentage of employed women in each of the two mobile categories (Table 3.3). As would be expected from the results of the regression analysis, those women who have no pre-school children are more likely to be employed than those women who have such small children. Still, in each of the control groups the percentage employed among multiple movers is less than that among the one-time movers.

In addition to the obvious direct effects of life-cycle stage, educational level and mobility rate, one can observe interaction in the table. For instance, level of education appears to be more influential upon the employment status of one-time movers who have pre-school children than upon those one-time movers who have no pre-schoolers. One must note, however, the very small number of cases of the more highly educated mothers of young children who have moved once (N=5). Among the multiple movers, the effect of educational level appears more equally great in each life cycle stage.

By way of conclusion, then, it can be stated that these findings regarding the overall employment participation rate provide initial evidence for the validity of the hypothesis in that multiple migration, in contrast to one-time migration, has a negative effect upon the employment participation rate of married women. Certainly being the mother of one or more pre-school children is a greater

hindrance to employment than mobility rate, but this factor does not entirely explain why the proportion of multiple movers who are employed is significantly less than that of single movers. Again it must be noted that the sample is primarily middle-income and English-speaking. These results, then, are likely to be peculiar to women who may not have as great an economic need to be employed as a sample which would include a greater proportion of lower-income couples.

While a woman who has made two moves as a wife is likely not to be a person whom we would intuitively consider "highly" mobile, it nevertheless, seems to be the case that this amount of mobility has a consequence which is more similar to what we would intuitively consider "highly" mobile than to those women who have only

Table 3.3 Percentage of Employed Women, Controlling
for Life Cycle Stage and Highest Level
of Formal Education

Life Cycle Stage and Level of Education	One-Time Movers	Multiple Movers
<u>Pre-school Children</u>		
High-school graduate or less	25% (32)	16% (50)
Some post-secondary education	40% (5)	30% (23)
<u>No Pre-school Children</u>		
High-school graduate or less	73% (33)	30% (37)
Some post-secondary education	68% (22)	48% (23)
Zero-order gamma = .49		(N = 225) ¹²
Second-order partial gamma = .50		

¹²Information regarding the educational level of some of the wives is missing. Consequently the N of this cross tabulation is slightly smaller than that of the initial zero-order analysis.

moved once as a wife. Consistent with this finding is an additional finding regarding a change from employed status prior to the most recent move to non-employed status after relocation. Twenty-seven percent of the twice movers were employed during the six months prior to their most recent move and were no longer employed at the time of the interview, while only 12% of the other multiple movers experienced this type of change in employment status at the time of relocation. In our examination of the possible effect of mobility rate upon employment status, then, it appears that moving twice may be a typical threshold point for many married women and moves subsequent to this second move are less consequential to their employment status.¹³

Because this difference between single and multiple movers constitutes the major finding of this first section of analysis regarding participation in the labor force, the following sections will continue to explore the effect of mobility rate using this dichotomy.

2) Full-Time or Part-Time Employment?

Up to this point, employment participation has been

¹³ One problem with Long's analysis (cf. p. 52 above) is that by using census data he is unable to directly associate changes in employment status with migration. All that is certain is that both a move and a change in employment status took place within a five year period.

measured only in its most general sense, as participation or no participation. If all the employed women in this study were employed on a full-time basis, there would be little need, of course, for any additional analysis which includes a measure of the extent of labor force participation. The employed women in the study, however, are similar to the general population of employed women in that the extent of their labor force participation varies greatly. This point is demonstrated by the fact that it is mainly women who make up the part-time (less than thirty hours a week) work force in Canada. In 1974, when these interviews were made, 68.4% of the part-time work force were women (Statistics Canada, 1975). Unlike men, moreover, women's part-time labor force participation is not limited to the years of early adulthood, but is continuous throughout their lives particularly because of the congruity of combining part-time employment with family responsibilities (Weeks, 1977: 89; Darling, 1975:70). It is not surprising, then, that 24% of the employed women in the MRS study were employed on a part-time basis at the time of the interview. The following analysis is made, thus, in order to explore whether mobility rate is in any way related to the extent of employment among these migrant women.

Although social theory and prior research do not directly address this question regarding the relationship between mobility rate and the full-time or part-time extent of labor force participation, a relationship is implicit in Parson's theory. In terms of this theory, while it is functional for only one member of the family unit to be fully competitive in the occupational system, it would still be quite functional to have other family members, particularly the wife, employed to an extent that is less than fully competitive. To be employed on a part-time basis, furthermore, is not to be employed as a fully competitive participant. For while there are various types of work which can be part-time, most of the part-time opportunity is in the low-skill, low-paying sector of the labor market (Weeks, 1977: 258; Darling, 1976: 70). In one sense, then, part-time workers are not fully competitive because they occupy positions which are often expendable and have little opportunity for promotion. Secondly, part-time workers are not fully competitive because the dominant cultural conception of such employees is that they are peripheral, only temporarily attached to the labor force, useful in order to meet fluctuating demands and cheap to employ (Weeks, 1977: 257). Certainly this description of part-time employment is incompatible

with the idea that the employment of a part-time employee is "fully competitive."

Given this social conception of part-time employment, it would not be at all dysfunctional for geographically mobile wives to be employed on a part-time basis. Moreover, it appears that such limited employment would be quite compatible with the functional requisite that only one spouse be fully competitive in the labor force. Because of this compatibility it makes sense to suggest that the women in our sample who have experienced multiple moves as wives are more likely to be employed on a part-time basis than those for whom this most recent move is their first as a wife. And indeed our analysis does indicate that multiple movers are more likely to be part-time employees than are one-time movers (Table 3.4). Thirty-eight percent of the multiple movers who are employed are employed on a part-time basis compared with only 13% of the one-time movers.

Again, of course, there is a good possibility that this relationship may be confounded by other factors, in particular by the variable of life cycle stage. As noted previously, women are likely to choose part-time employment because it is congruent with family responsibilities. It is likely, then, that the presence of pre-school children is again an important determinant of the

Table 3.4 Full and Part-time Labor Force Participation among One-time and Multiple Movers

Full-time or Part-time Employee	One-time Movers	Multiple Movers
Full-time Employee	87%	62%
Part-time Employee	13%	38%
Gamma = .60 (p < .01)	(N=53)	(N=40)

extent of these women's employment. Indeed, the results of multiple regression analysis confirm the importance of life cycle stage in determining whether a woman is employed on a part-time or full-time basis (Table 3.5). This analysis also confirms, however, that mobility rate continues to be related to extent of employment even when these others possibly confounding factors are controlled.

This analysis of the extent of employment, then, provides us with an additional understanding of the relationship between mobility rate and the participation of married women in the labor force. Not only does the experience of multiple migration appear to negatively affect whether or not married women are employed, but it also negatively affects the likelihood of full-time employment.

Of course, one response to these findings might be that we could not have realistically expected otherwise because of the probable prior acceptance (either explicit or tacit) of the segregation of roles by the multiply mobile husbands and wives. It is likely, in other words, that a normative system of family role segregation would be a factor which is prior to and a condition for both multiple migration and less employment participation. Most certainly the acceptance of such norms is likely to be antecedent to the relationship between mobility rate and

Table 3.5 Multiple Regression Analysis for Extent of
Employment (Full or Part-time Employment)

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	T value/level of significance
Mobility Rate (one-time and multiple movers)*	-.1879	-.22	-2.02 (p<.05)
Education of wife	.0033	.02	.18 NS
Income of Husband	.0000	-.11	-1.05 NS
Age of Wife	.0003	.01	.05 NS
Pre-school Children or No Pre-school Children*	-.2596	-.28	-2.75 (p<.01)
Residential or Non-residential Move*	.1072	.13	1.23 NS
Length of Residence in Prior Community	-.0038	-.13	-1.28 NS
Constant	.89		2.92 (p<.01)

$$R^2 = .19$$

(N= 93)

*For these dummy variables the first category is coded 0 and the second category is coded 1.

labor force participation. This likelihood, however, does not necessarily trivialize the finding of this relationship which makes very explicit the generally positive relationship between mobility rate and the performance of segregated family roles regarding "breadwinning" and "homemaking" by husbands and wives, particularly in light of Stella Jones' statement to the contrary. Nevertheless, in this regard, it is helpful to examine the extent to which non-employment is indeed primarily the performance of a role congruent with the norm of extreme role segregation and to what extent non-employment is unemployment. Therefore, before we turn to analysis of the specific characteristics of the employment of these migrant women, we will turn our attention in a final section of this chapter to those women who were not presently employed after their move to Hamilton or Burlington.

3) Homemaking or Unemployment

The preceding findings from the MRS survey have indicated that multiple movers are less likely to participate in the labor force than wives who have moved only once. What is not known from that survey (in which husbands were interviewed) is whether this lower participation rate for multiple movers results from their desire to be full-time homemakers or whether for some of

these women their present homemaker status is in one way or another a "forced choice." Their present homemaker status would be a forced choice, for instance, if a woman has not found suitable employment or has not been able to arrange suitable child care. Prior analysis by Beth Niemi regarding female employment has indeed indicated that one-time migration is a factor which increases the unemployment rate of women.¹⁴ At issue in this analysis, of course, is whether or not mobility rate is a factor related to unemployment.

The possibility must, of course, be recognized that if a woman's husband has a larger income after successive relocations, she may have less economic need to be employed than her less mobile counterpart. Similarly if children are present in the home, multiply mobile women may perceive a greater family need not to be employed than their (younger) less mobile counterparts who are not as likely to have child care responsibilities. In other words, the more highly mobile wives are quite likely to have lower labor force participation rates because, at least at this point in their lives, they do not desire to be employed.

¹⁴In Niemi's analysis, mobile men as well as mobile women had higher unemployment rates than non-mobile men and women. She found the difference between non-mobile and mobile women, however, to be three times greater than the difference between non-mobile and mobile men (Niemi, 1975: 76).

In order to obtain a better understanding of the finding that multiple movers have less labor force participation than single movers, we turn then to the responses of the women themselves. The sixty-two wives in the subsample who were not employed at the time of the interview were asked, "Would you like to find a job in this area?"¹⁵ Approximately one-fourth of these women (16) reported that they would have liked to have been employed at the time of the interview. Among these women who are not employed, then, there are some who would be defined as unemployed in that they would have preferred employment to their present occupational status.¹⁶ The data also indicate, although the finding is not statistically significant, that a greater proportion of the not-employed multiple movers (29% compared to only 17% of the not-employed one-time movers) reported that they were essentially unemployed (Table 3.6).

¹⁵ The response categories allowed the women to answer: 1) yes, as soon as possible; 2) yes, but later; 3) no. For the present analysis those who responded 2) or 3) were coded as present homemakers.

¹⁶ This category is, of course, not the same as that used for most labor statistics where "unemployed" means that the person has actually made a recent attempt to find employment.

Table 3.6 Proportions of Not-Employed Women Who Are Either Full-time Homemakers or Unemployed Labor Force Participants

	One-time Movers	Multiple Movers
Homemakers	83%	71%
Unemployed	17%	29%
<hr/>		
Gamma = -.35 (NS)	(N=12)	(N=48)

Among the twelve women who have moved only once and were not employed, only two were unemployed. One of these had been employed in London, Ontario, as "communication clerk" in a hospital for four months prior to her move to Hamilton. Approximately five months after her move she took a position with the provincial government where she worked from mid-October to the end of March. She quit this position because she did not want a job that was totally clerical. Her employment in London had been one in which she could "meet the public" and she was presently looking for a somewhat similar position. The other unemployed one-time mover indicated that while she would like to have part-time employment, she was concerned about child care. She stated that she would look for employment if she had relatives with whom she could leave

her children. In both of these cases, then, there seems to be little question about the ability to obtain a position in the labor force. Rather, both women appear to desire quite particular situations which are not presently available to them.

Among the multiple movers there were, of course, women with this similar concern to find the best situation possible. Yet there were also those who appeared to be much less selective. Several women, for instance, listed more than one type of employment which they had considered. Another stated only that she would like "factory work," a designation which does not seem indicative of a very specific job search.

Unfortunately, however, because of the very small number of cases involved here, it is not possible to make the type of comparisons between one time and multiple movers which would be needed to determine just how multiple migration might be influential or whether, and how, other factors such as prior employment and educational level may be important.¹⁷ Thus, this analysis of women

¹⁷ It is nonetheless interesting to note that five of these fourteen multiple movers had been employed during the six months prior to their most recent move. Thus at least some of these women had had very recent employment experience. On the average, too, these same women had only completed grade twelve and the fact that most had not been trained for highly skilled employment may have contributed to their higher unemployment rate. As regards

who are not employed tells us only that in this sample the unemployment rate is larger for multiple movers than for one-time movers. Still, this finding makes quite clear the point that these not-employed multiple movers are not a homogeneous group whose one occupational aspiration is to be full-time homemakers. Even if most of these women would probably consider their anticipated employment to be ancillary to their roles within the family, the fact that 29% of the multiple movers are quite consciously dissatisfied with their present lack of labor force participation provides at least one indication that multiple migration may not optimize the material and social satisfaction of married women. Clearly more extensive study is needed to demonstrate what can here be only a suggestion congruent with the general exploratory assumption regarding possible dysfunctions of a high rate of geographic mobility for married women.

Conclusion

Do these findings, then, support the hypothesis that "if mobility rate influences the extent of labor

both employment experience and formal education, however, the extent to which these variables are associated with mobility rate would have to be explored if the suggested difference in unemployment rate of one-time and multiple movers is to be more fully understood.

force participation on the part of married women, this effect will be negative"? There seems to be little doubt that there is a negative association when mobility rate is operationalized dichotomously as one-time and multiple migration. Among the married women in this investigation, multiple movers were found to have a lower rate of labor force participation, were more likely to be employed on a part-time basis, and had a slightly higher unemployment rate than one-time movers. Not surprisingly the presence of young children was found to be a more important factor inhibiting employment than mobility rate, but mobility rate continues to influence both the likelihood of employment and of part-time employment once the life cycle variable is controlled.

Finally, it should be noted that this conclusion does not contradict the view that the persistence of occupational gender roles also, and even more directly, inhibits labor force participation. Rather this analysis of the relationship between mobility rate and labor force participation underscores the idea that the demographic phenomenon of multiple migration appears to reinforce the normative phenomenon of gender role segregation at a time when other factors and forces are at work to weaken it.

IV

THREE ASPECTS OF LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AMONG MIGRANT WOMEN

The analysis up to this point has focused on the question of whether and to what extent the migrant women are employed. For those women who are employed, however, there is a further question that must be asked concerning the effects of mobility rate upon their employment. How, in other words, has mobility rate affected specific aspects of employment experiences? While the number of employed migrant women is small (MRS N = 93; Subsample N = 39), analysis of the labor force experiences of these women may provide findings useful for our exploratory task. A second set of hypotheses, then, will be used to examine three particular aspects of employment: (1) length of unemployment since relocation (i.e., time lapsed between relocation and new employment), (2) present occupational attainment (measured by occupational prestige scores and present income) and (3) present employment satisfaction.

1) Length of Unemployment

It has already been noted (in Chapter II) that 39% of the MRS sample and 38% of the subsample were

employed approximately 9-12 months after relocation. That fact alone, however, gives little indication of how long it takes migrant women to become employed after relocation. Both the MRS and the study of wives were designed to provide information about any lapse in time between the move and the beginning of new employment.

Certainly for some of the women in this study there was no time lapse since they remained in the same place of employment both before and after relocation. Almost all of these women had moved simply in order to obtain better housing. Even among those who moved for reasons other than to obtain more adequate housing there were some women who did not change jobs because the move was not of sufficient distance. One woman, for instance, moved from Oakville to Burlington in order to be closer to her husband's job and did not change employment. Another woman moved from Caledonia to Hamilton in order to be closer to the employment of both her and her husband.

The set of migrants of interest here, then, are those non-residential movers (i.e., those who moved for reasons other than better housing) whose employment at the time of the interview was different from their employment held just prior to relocation. Fifty women of the MRS sample were migrants of this type.

In Phase II of the Migrant Relocation Study, the husbands were asked how long their wives had been employed at their present place of employment. While this question does not precisely measure the length of time between their move and the beginning of new employment, it is a measure which can provide some indication of the length of unemployment since the respondents relocated at approximately the same time. The maximum amount of time for which these women could have been employed is approximately 36 weeks. Indeed, on the average (mean) the women had been employed for about one-half of this period or about four and one-half months. Of interest here, of course, is the question of whether rate of mobility is in any way related to the length of time taken to obtain employment. Do the more highly mobile women, for instance, have a significantly greater lapse of time between moving and new employment or do they perhaps become employed more quickly than their less mobile counterparts?

In order to explore the relationship between mobility rate and length of unemployment, the following hypothesis consistent with the research assumption will be tested:

Hypothesis #2: More highly mobile women who have new employment positions will have been employed for a shorter period of time since their move than less mobile women.

Analysis of the mean length of employment for each mobile group indicates that on the average there is essentially no difference in the length of employment for one-time and multiple movers. One-time movers (N=24) have been employed for approximately nineteen weeks which is hardly longer than the mean of seventeen weeks for multiple movers (N=26).

While there is little difference in the mean lengths of employment for the two mobile groups, it is interesting to compare their distributions (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Proportion of Labor Force Participants
Employed Subsequent to Relocation

Period after Relocation	% of Labor Force Participants	
	One-time Movers	Multiple Movers
First 3 months	33%	19%
4 thru 9 months	66%	81%
G = .35 (NS)	N=24	N=26

Having found only this suggestion of association, we turn from this analysis of when the employment was begun to the analysis of the nature of the migrants' employment participation. This analysis composes the final two sections of Chapter IV, first as an examination of occupational

attainment and secondly as examination of employment satisfaction.

2) Occupational Attainment

This examination of the occupational attainment of the migrants is essentially an analysis of two objective measures of the qualitative aspect of their present employment experience.¹ These two measures are occupational prestige scores and current income and will be analysed separately.

Implicit in Parsons' theory is the assumption that the fully competitive member of a migrant family would relocate to improve his employment situation. Certainly "improvement" could be made in any of several ways. A change from unemployed or student status, a higher occupational rank, and increased earnings are all types of improvements commonly mentioned by men. Of the 424 heads of households interviewed in Phase I of the MRS study, 195 or 49% reported that their employment was in one way or another improved as a result of the most recent move. Forty-six or approximately one-fourth (24%) of these respondents specifically mentioned an increase of income.

¹"Occupational" attainment refers, of course, to a woman's occupation in the paid labor force and not as a homemaker.

Since the married woman's employment is often considered by both herself and her husband as ancillary to her positions within the family, it is probable that the husband can ask her to move without any expectations that her employment situation will also be improved. Furthermore, if she does not occupy a fully competitive position, it is unlikely that she would request a move that would have as its purpose the improvement of her employment position. It has even been suggested that women who suspect they will be moving as wives choose occupations which are traditionally female "dead-end" occupations because they are easily transferable. As Larry Long writes,

It might even be argued that the husband's migration influences not only the career development of the wife, but also the initial choice of career. Such occupations as elementary school teaching, nursing, and secretarial work are traditional occupations of women. They are also fairly readily transferred from one area to another and can be practiced in almost any part of the country. (Long, 1974: 348)

A married woman who experiences migration, particularly successive migration, is likely, then, to "take her chances" and although she may hope to find employment which is in one way or another better than her job prior to relocation, her realistic aspiration

may, in fact, simply be to "find a job" or a job comparable to her prior employment.

Prior research in both Canada and the United States support this suggestion. Using U.S. data collected in 1957 and 1960, Lowell Galloway (1969: 108-9) reported finding that among men interregional migration was in general positively related to high earnings. His findings for women, however, contrasted sharply with those of the men. Among women who were employed in a different industry in 1960 compared to 1957, Galloway found no difference between the earnings of migrants and non-migrants. Furthermore, his data indicated that among women who were employed in the same type of industry at both points in time, mobile women received only 83% of the earnings of the non-mobile women. He concludes, therefore, that not only is there no positive relationship between migration and earnings for females, but it is often likely that migration has a negative effect upon women's earnings.

Approximately ten years later Canadian researchers Grant and Vanderkamp (1976) found that interprovincial migration had a similar impact upon the earnings of male and female migrants. Among migrant men aged 25 to 54 and likely married, the average income of white-collar employees increased from \$5659 in 1969 to \$6079 in 1970. Among both white and blue-collar married women migrants, however, the actual income decreased from 1969 to 1970. White-collar women migrants, for instance, earned approximately 69% of the income they received in 1969 while blue-collar employees earned approximately 78% of their prior income. The authors suggest that this decrease in post-migration average income may be due to the fact that their husbands have a post-migration income increase and thus many of the wives are not employed directly after relocation. To further demonstrate the effect of migration upon the incomes of these women, it should be noted that there was a slight increase in the average income for 1970 over 1969 among the female, married, white-collar employees who did not move (Grant and Vanderkamp, 1976: 63-64).

While these previous studies provide some evidence that geographic mobility, regardless of the rate of mobility, has a differential impact upon the occupational attainment of men and women, one most recent study documents the differential effect of the frequency of reloca-

tion.² Pineo (1978: 20-21) found that among a large sample (N = 8637) of native-born Canadian men (25 years of age or older) each additional move had a positive effect upon the level of occupational attainment, measured according to Blighen occupational prestige scores. His findings for the women (N = 5196), however, show no such pattern. According to Pineo's research, then, the effect of mobility rate, after controlling for social background, education, and size of community at age 16, is random (1978: 29).

It must be noted that in the Pineo study there is no distinction between married and non-married women. While unfortunately the present research cannot make this important comparison, it is still our task to explore these attainment indicants of income and occupational prestige scores among one of these two groups of migrants, that is, married women. Given the prior research findings, the following null hypothesis proposes the most likely outcome of such an examination.

²In Grant and Vanderkamp's (1976: 67-68) analysis of the effect of multiple migration upon individual income, they conclude that multiple movers are less likely to increase income than one-time movers. Their analysis of multiple migration, however, does not differentiate between men's and women's income. Frequency of migration, moreover, was measured only during one short five-year period (1966 to 1970) and this "may represent a different phenomenon than multiple moves through a whole work career" (Pineo, 1978: 21).

Hypothesis #3: Occupational attainment of married women, measured as occupational prestige scores and labor force earnings, is unrelated to mobility rate.

We will analyse the occupational attainment of these migrant women, then, first by an examination of occupational attainment scores and secondly by an examination of their present earnings.

The first indicant, occupational prestige scores, is the same measure referred to above in the discussion of Pineo's research.³ Each employed wife was assigned an occupational score according to Bernard Blisshen's occupational prestige scale and the mean scores were then calculated for one, two or three (or more) moves (Table 4.2). While there is some variation in the mean scores, this variation is not statistically significant.⁴ There appears, then, to be the same random

³For a detailed description of the measure the reader is referred to "Construction of and Use of an Occupational Class Scale," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 24(1958). The scores used in this analysis are based upon pre-1971 Census categories rather than 1971 Census categories because revised Blisshen scores were not yet available at the time of the data collection.

⁴The F-ratio = 0.81, resulting from an analysis of variance, is far from significant. A $r=.07$ suggests a weak relationship, at best, between geographical mobility and occupational attainment. A difference between η^2 and $r^2=0.192$ suggests only a slight departure from linearity.

effect in this sample of married women that Pineo found among his sample which included both single and married women.

Table 4.2 Mean Occupational Prestige Scores
Among Migrant Groups

Number of Moves	Mean Scores
1	49.2 (N=58)
2	52.2 (N=20)
3	47.9 (N=12)
4 or more	46.0 (N=13)
Grand mean =	49.3 (N=103) ⁵

The second indicant of occupational attainment, present labor force earnings, will be analysed, however, before the null hypothesis is accepted. Specifically, it might be argued that while frequency of migration may not be directly related to type of occupation, their occupational attainment might be affected in a way which is hidden by such occupational prestige classification. In other words, within any one classification there is a range of possible ranks and earnings. While in the present study there are no data regarding the rank of persons within a

⁵Includes women who had become employed between the time of Phase II of the MRS study and the interview of

particular employment institution, there is some limited information regarding their monthly earnings. These data were collected for the thirty-eight women who earned an income as labor force participants.

Indeed, there was an indication in the previously discussed literature that migration may be detrimental to the income of married women. It was suggested that such a negative effect could be the result of less participation on the part of the migrant women. An additional explanation might be that migrants experience a loss of seniority within a particular occupation. Again, the purpose of the present research is to explore whether mobility rate, in contrast to migration/no migration, has such an effect upon the earnings of married women.

On the average, the thirty-eight employed women reported earnings of approximately \$442 per month at the time of the interview. An initial zero-order correlation and breakdown of these earnings with number of moves (Table 4.3) suggests that as mobility rate increases, monthly income of married women decreases.

the wife subsample.

⁶One woman worked part-time as a cook in her husband's fish and chips store for no salary.

Table 4.3 Mean Monthly Earnings for All Employed Migrants

Number of Moves	Monthly Earnings
1	\$492 (N=13)
2	\$469 (N=16)
3 or more	\$321 (N=9)
Grand Mean =	\$442 (N=38)
F-ratio = 1.7 (NS)	
r = -.30 (p<.06)	

To what extent, if any, this decrease is actually due to mobility rate is examined in the following regression analysis (Table 4.4). The six additional independent variables which have been included in the analysis are: educational attainment of the respondent, occupational prestige score, father's educational attainment, whether or not the respondent has pre-school children, whether the employment is full or part-time and whether or not the respondent was employed in her most recent prior place of residence. It becomes very clear that it is the extent of employment (whether full or part-time) which is the major determinant of this negative association between mobility rate and earnings. The part-time employees earn approximately \$334 less than the full-time employees ($t=5.27, p<.001$).

Table 4.4 Multiple Regression Analysis of the Monthly Earnings
of Married Women Migrants⁷

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t Value/Level of Significance
Number of Moves	-17.15	-.05	.48 (NS)
Educational Attainment of Respondent	19.18	.20	1.49 (NS)
Occupational Prestige Score	.06	.30	2.01 (NS)
Educational Attainment of Father	-20.60	-.29	2.04 (p<.05)
No Pre-school Children/ Preschool Children *	-57.80	-.10	.83 (NS)
Full-time/Part-time Employment *	-334.37	-.66	5.27 (p<.001)
No Prior Employment/ Prior Employment *	-3.34	-.01	.05 (NS)
Constant	623.50		
$R^2 = .72$ (N=34)			

⁷Alternative regression equations were analysed which excluded the variables of occupational prestige and full or part-time employment. When these variables are excluded simultaneously, the monthly earnings for the multiple movers is approximately \$70.00 less than the one-time movers. This difference in earnings, however, is not statistically significant and is largely explained by the extent to which the women are employed (since multiple movers are more likely to be employed on a part-time basis).

*For these dummy variables, the first category is coded 0 and the second category is coded 1.

The change in earnings due to mobility rate (-\$17), although negative, is minimal and is likely to have occurred by chance ($t=.48$, NS). To the extent, of course, that mobility rate influences a woman's propensity to be employed on a full or part-time basis, there is an indirect relationship here between mobility rate and earnings. It is quite evident, however, that there is no systematic direct effect of mobility rate upon the monthly earnings of migrant women.

In summary, then, analysis of both of these indicators of occupational attainment, occupational prestige scores and monthly earnings, does not allow for the rejection of the null hypothesis (#3) that mobility rate is not directly related to the occupational attainment of married women. Again, as in Chapter III, this discussion would be quite incomplete if it did not include some analysis of the women's perceptions of their labor force participation. We turn, then, to the final section of this chapter which examines the migrants' reports of their present employment.

3) Job Satisfaction

The final aspect of employment to be examined is the extent to which these migrants report satisfaction with their present employment. While prior literature does not provide any specific guidelines for this analysis of these subjective data, it would be consistent with the

findings regarding the objective data and useful for our exploratory task to again propose the null hypothesis. We will examine the data, then, to determine if there is any association between mobility rate and job satisfaction.

Hypothesis # 4: Among married women migrants there is no association between mobility rate and job satisfaction.

Two items in the interview schedule have been used to measure job satisfaction. The first item asked the direct question "How satisfied are you with your job?" The second item queried the respondent somewhat less directly by asking "Would you like a different job?" The responses to both of these items are examined below in the hope that together they might provide adequate information regarding the dependent variable -- job satisfaction.

There are, of course, difficulties with such items as measures of job satisfaction. With such general questions the researcher does not know what the question means to a particular respondent. As an attempt to lessen this difficulty, the respondents were asked to explain in what way(s) they were satisfied or dissatisfied and to explain why they would like another job. These additional data are somewhat helpful toward interpreting the responses for the two items.

There is also the problem of a certain naivete in

expecting frank and simple answers to job satisfaction questions in a society where one's work is so important a part of one's self concept that to demean one's employment is to question one's very competence as a person (Blauner, 1960:355). This problem may not be quite as true for married women, however, as it is for "heads of households".

The measure of the first, more direct item is a 5 point scale which ranges from very satisfied (5) to very dissatisfied (1) (neutral = category 3). On the average, the migrants report that they are satisfied (the grand mean = 3.7). Although the findings regarding mobility rate are not statistically significant, the mean job satisfaction scores for each mobile category are interesting (Table 4.5). Specifically, the most highly mobile women report less satisfaction with their present employment than the two less mobile categories. This difference, however, is

Table 4.5 Satisfaction Scores for Present
Employment

Number of Moves	Mean Score
1	3.8 (N = 13)
2	3.9 (N = 16)
3	3.1 (N = 10)
<hr/>	
Grand Mean =	3.7 (N = 39)
F-ratio = 1.14 (NS)	

small and is likely to have occurred by chance.

Responses to the second item, "Would you like to find a different job?" were coded as: (1) yes, (2) no, and (3) don't know. Thirty-seven of the women answered the question either negatively or affirmatively and two women were uncertain. Thus among the women who provided a definite response, just about one-half of the migrants reported that they would like a different job (49%). Thus, while the migrants report that they are generally satisfied, a good proportion of them are not so satisfied that they wouldn't prefer a different employment position. If the different mobile groups are compared, however, there appears to be no linear relationship between mobility rate and this indicant of job satisfaction (Table 4.6). Both the one-time migration group and the most mobile group have

Table 4.6 The Desire for Different Employment

Number of Moves	Proportion of Each Mobile Group Who Would Like Different Jobs	
1	54%	(N = 13)
2	33%	(N = 15)
3 or more	67%	(N = 9)
Grand Mean Gamma = -.09	49%	(N = 37)

a majority of women reporting that they would like a different job, while only one-third of the women who have moved twice indicate job dissatisfaction in this way.

The high proportion of responses indicating dissatisfaction among the most mobile women (67%) is congruent with the previous indicator since the mobile group which reported the least satisfaction with their employment was the most mobile. Unfortunately the number of such highly mobile employed women is small (N = 9). Thus even though the most mobile group indicates the least job satisfaction, these findings are likely to have occurred by chance. The high proportion of women desiring a different job among the one-time movers (54%), however, is not congruent with the first indicant of job satisfaction. For while the most mobile category of women reported satisfaction scores closer to "neutral" (3.1), this least mobile

category of women had a mean score closer to "satisfied" (3.8).

A brief look at some of the reasons given by these women to explain their desire for a different job may shed further light on these findings. If we look first at the most mobile category (three or more moves), we find that five of the nine women report that they would like a different type of work. Their dissatisfaction, in other words, is not dissatisfaction with just one or another aspect of their employment, but more generally with the employment position as a whole. Several examples of this general dissatisfaction are the following. Mrs. H. had looked for a secretarial position for ten months before she finally accepted a sales position at a local department store. She had worked as a clerk-secretary for three months just before her husband was transferred, but this experience was not enough to help her obtain the same type of job in Burlington. Mrs. W. was cleaning newly built townhouses at the time of the interview. She had worked in a factory near Orangeville prior to her move and had looked for some type of factory work with a commensurate income near Burlington. Like Mrs. H. she looked for some months (from August until January) before she took the cleaning job for which she is paid slightly more than the factory work available to her near her new home. A final example

is Mrs. Mac who moved to Burlington with a teaching certificate she had obtained while living in British Columbia. The Province of Ontario would not honor this certificate and thus she was working as a teacher's aid, a position which she reported was not as challenging as a teaching position, did not allow her much responsibility, and paid her poorly.

A look at the job dissatisfaction of the one-time movers suggests that a smaller proportion are so generally dissatisfied. Only 3 of the thirteen one-time movers report that they do not like the type of work they had at the time of the interview. Indeed, the incongruity between the high satisfaction score and the large proportion of these women who report they would like a different job may be explained by the fact that several of the women were still working at the jobs they had had prior to their move to Burlington. They had continued to work in Toronto because they generally liked their employment there. They had, however, become very unhappy about the need to commute to these jobs. Thus while they reported that they were satisfied with their jobs, they nonetheless wanted to find different employment nearer to their homes.

From these findings regarding job satisfaction, then, it cannot be concluded that mobility rate is either negatively or positively associated with job satisfaction.

In other words, the null hypothesis (#4) cannot be rejected. The number of cases, of course, is very small and a larger sample which includes more women who have moved at least three times as a wife would be useful to follow up the suggestion given in these findings that the most mobile women are less satisfied with their employment after relocation than the less mobile women.

Conclusion

In summary, it must be concluded that the findings regarding all three aspects of employment -- length of unemployment, occupational attainment and job satisfaction -- provide no substantial evidence for association with mobility rate. There is, however, the suggestion that any association that might be supported with additional research would likely be negative. Additional analysis using a larger sample of married women would, of course, be needed for further exploration of this suggestion since the present findings are inconclusive primarily because of the small number of cases available for the present research.

Indeed were a larger survey undertaken, it should also include women who have not recently moved. In this way, the variable migration/no migration could also be examined to determine what, if any, of these possible

negative effects are due to migration as such, regardless of its frequency.

Inclusion of non-migrants in a larger survey would also provide the possibility of analysing this issue of high mobility from another, perhaps more positive angle. It would allow examination of the extent to which decisions not to make a non-residential move are being made and whether the wife's employment is a factor in that decision. Such an additional focus would be congruent with recent analysis of increasing attachment to the labor force on the part of married women.

The growing preferences of women for careers may begin to affect a family's location as well as its division of time. With a more permanent attachment to the labor force, the woman's job will have to be considered when decisions on family location are made. Whereas the family's geographical mobility has in the past been associated with job changes of the male household head, the pattern will need to be modified to take account of two market careers. Both families and firms will need to reevaluate the extent to which families are able to relocate in the course of the parents' worklives. (Kreps and Leaper, 1976:78)

Further research, in other words, could be important as a way of examining not merely how married women adjust or do not adjust to the labor force participation of their husbands, but how the norms and values of occupational institutions and their male participants might possibly

be altered by the increased labor force participation of married women.

MIGRANT PARTICIPATION IN VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

While both increasing labour force participation by women and a more feminist perspective on the part of many social scientists have provided the impetus for much needed research on the lives of women as employed persons, an attempt to understand the possible effects of frequent migration certainly would be less than adequate if other, more "traditional" spheres of middle class women's social participation were ignored in this analysis. Certainly among many married women, particularly middle class women, participation in voluntary organizations is often an important and time-consuming type of social participation. And while such participation may have great import for homemakers, it is, of course, not necessarily limited to them. Thus we now turn our attention from formal participation within the labor force to formal participation of a voluntary nature.

As we shall see, results of this discussion will point to the need to examine more informal types of social participation. Thus the present chapter serves as a link or bridge between the more extensive preceding focus on formal labor force participation and the sub-

sequent focus upon informal social participation.

As in the analysis of participation in the labor force, analysis of activity in voluntary organizations also has two aspects: (1) the possible effects of mobility rate upon the amount of participation and (2) the possible effects upon the type of participation. Once again, moreover, these particular questions have not been previously examined. The purpose of this section of the thesis, then, is to explore whether there is indeed a relationship between mobility rate and participation and, if so, what is the nature of that relationship.

1) Extent of Participation in Voluntary Associations

In the first place, as regards the amount or quantity of the migrant women's participation, what relationship might be hypothesized? On the one hand, it seems possible to deduce a negative relationship from some previous migration research which has found that men and women have less participation in voluntary organizations than they had prior to a move and less participation than a sample of non-migrants (Butler et. al., 1973; Zimmer, 1955). It might be argued, then, that the amount of participation continues to decrease as the migrant experiences successive relocations. On the other hand, however, two other sets of information

suggest an hypothesis which states the opposite relationship -- if mobility rate has any effect upon voluntary organizational participation, it would be to increase such participation.

Eugene Litwak's research on the function of voluntary organizations gives a first suggestion of such a positive relationship. He surveyed white married women who had moved into a new house or apartment within three years of the date of the study (1952) and concluded that voluntary organizations were used by these women to integrate themselves into the local neighborhood. Specifically he found that the women who were "moderately settled" reported more participation than either the most recent migrants who had no relatives in town or those "most settled" residents in the community.¹ From these findings he concludes that migrants use such organizations to make friends and that once some friendships are made participation in voluntary organizations decreases.

While Litwak's research does not consider the number of moves made by these women, it might be argued that women who have experienced successive relocations

¹"Moderately settled" migrants consisted of two groups: (1) persons who had relatives in town, but who had resided nine months or less in the neighborhood and (2) persons who had no relatives nearby, but had lived there more than nine months.

would recognize this function of voluntary organizations and act accordingly. Rather than shying away from participation, in other words, highly mobile women may increase the amount of their participation for the explicit purpose of finding persons who might become their friends. Certainly less mobile women are also likely to recognize the benefits of such memberships for forming friendships, but it remains possible that such participation might increase for women who have had more than one experience with relocation as a wife and who may actively seek ways to minimize the disruption of primary ties.

A second, although indirect, suggestion that increased mobility may have the effect of increasing voluntary organizational participation is apparent from the prior findings of the present research. If the more highly mobile women are less likely to participate in the labor force as full-time employees, they might have more time to devote to volunteer activities or perceive a greater need on their part for such extra-home activities than their less mobile counterparts.

Prior research on one-time migration, then, contains suggestions of both positive and negative relationships between mobility rate and amount of participation. Yet the weight of the prior research makes it seem more reasonable to hypothesize the positive relationship, above

all this is because Litwak provides a theoretical framework which may explain such a relationship. The following analysis, then, attempts to test the hypothesis that:

(Hypothesis #5) Higher rates of geographic mobility will tend to increase the participation of married women in voluntary organizations.

Before a discussion of the findings, however, it is important to note how the concept of amount of participation is operationalized here. While much of the information is the result of individual probes made by the interviewer, the basic question which each woman had to address was "Have you joined any clubs, organizations or associations since you have come to Hamilton (Burlington)?" (Appendix A, p. 218). Subsequent to an initial positive response the interviewer probed for specific types of memberships and for frequency of attendance by the respondent. Any organization to which a woman belonged, but in which she reported she "never" participated, was counted as if she had not reported membership in it. Also, while union membership, courses at local educational institutions and some activities with small children were initially recorded, these data were not included in the following analysis.² Given these considerations, the amount of

²There were only four women who belonged to a union and in all four cases membership was nominal.

participation was then measured by summing the number of organizational memberships reported by the respondent.

When participation is operationalized in this manner, slightly over one-half (52%) reported that they belong to at least one club or organization and of those women who reported participation, the mean number of such memberships is 1.6. Participation in voluntary organizations, then, is not uncommon among these women. Once again, however, the pertinent question for present purposes is whether such participation is more likely to be reported by the more highly mobile women or whether all the migrant women, regardless of mobility rate, have a similar amount of participation?

Initial analysis suggests the affirmative answer: that more highly mobile women are more likely to report greater participation in voluntary organizations than less mobile women (Table 5.1). The women who have moved once, for instance, are much less likely to have joined an organization than women who have made multiple moves. Sixty-four percent of these least mobile women compared to only 43% of the twice movers and 41% of the most mobile women have no formal voluntary activity. Also, the more highly mobile women are more likely to report membership in two or more organizations. Again, the difference between one-time and multiple movers seems to be greater

Table 5.1 Crosstabulation of Mobility Rate and
Amount of Participation in Voluntary
Organizations

Number of Memberships	Number of Moves		
	One	Two	Three or More
None	64%	43%	41%
One	13%	27%	19%
Two or more	18%	30%	39%
Gamma = .27 (NS)	N=28	N=30	N=43

than differences between the most highly mobile category and the other movers, and, therefore, we will again analyze the effect of mobility rate by operationalizing the variable dichotomously -- as the measure of either one or more moves since marriage.

This positive correlation, of course, does not indicate whether the greater amount of participation is the result of a higher rate of mobility or whether it occurs because of other factors. Prior research which has specifically examined the voluntary association membership of married women concludes that such participation is more prevalent among women who have a relatively high socioeconomic status and whose children are at least school-age (Gold, 1971). While the sample in this study consists mainly of middle-class migrants, there is some variation in the education and occupation among the women's fathers. These variables, therefore, will be included in this analysis. The more highly mobile women, moreover, will typically be older than the less mobile women and, thus, it is quite possible that the higher participation rate is due to a life cycle variable. Age and presence/no presence of pre-school children are, therefore, included as controls for life cycle. Other possible confounding variables are educational attainment, employment status and type of move.

We will first examine the extent of participation in formal voluntary organizations as simply "no participation/participation." Secondly, we will ask whether a higher rate of mobility encourages more extensive participation (participation in two or more organizations).

When all of the variables discussed above are included in a regression equation in which the dependent variable is participation/no participation, the situation of having experienced multiple moves as a wife has no effect upon a woman's participation in voluntary organizations (Table 5.2). Her social class, as indicated by her husband's income and occupation, and the type of move she has recently made are more likely to affect this formal participation. Even these effects, however, are not statistically significant in this small sample.

Nevertheless, a closer look at the suggestion in this analysis that a residential mover is less likely to report present membership than a woman who has moved for reasons other than housing is useful. A cross-tabulation which controls for type of move demonstrates descriptively this confounding effect (Table 5.3).³

It can be seen, then, that while there is a fairly

³The conditional gamma for the non-residential group is .52, while the conditional gamma for the residential group is only .09.

Table 5.2 Regression Coefficients for Participation
in Voluntary Associations

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t-value/level of significance
One-time/Multiple movers*	-.02	-.01	(NS)
Non-residential/ Residential movers*	-.22	-.21	(NS)
Age	.00	.02	(NS)
Father's Occupation	-.03	-.14	(NS)
Father's Education	.00	-.02	(NS)
Education of Respondent	-.01	-.05	(NS)
No Pre-school Children/ Pre-school Children*	.01	.08	(NS)
Employed/Not Employed*	-.09	-.09	(NS)
Occupational Prestige of Husband	.00	.15	(NS)
Husband's Income	.00	.21	(NS)
Husband's Educational Level	.00	-.05	(NS)
Constant	.75		
R ² = .14 (N=76)			

*For each of these dummy variables the first category is coded 0 and the second category is coded 1.

Table 5.3 Crosstabulation of Membership in Voluntary Associations, Controlling for Type of Move

Membership in Association	Number and Types of Moves			
	Non-residential		Residential	
	One-time Movers	Multiple Movers	One-time Movers	Multiple Movers
None	60%	32%	69%	65%
One or More	40%	68%	31%	35%
Partial Gamma=.42	(N=15)	(N=50)	(N=13)	(N=23)

large difference between the mobility groups among the non-residential movers, the extent of participation varies only slightly for the mobility groups among the residential movers. Specifically, among the non-residential movers the proportions of women who report participation in a voluntary association are 68% for multiple movers and only 40% for one-time movers. Among the residential movers, on the other hand, the difference is very small. Thirty-five percent of the multiple movers and 31% of the one-time movers report membership.

This finding, then, aids in the clarification of the initial very modest association ($\Gamma = .27$) between mobility rate and participation in voluntary associations in that it specifies under what condition mobility rate might have some consequence.⁴ Such a finding, too, is quite consistent with the theoretical assumption of this analysis. Those women who have moved for the purpose of obtaining more adequate housing are likely, for the most part, to perceive the move as less disruptive of their relations with kin and friends than non-residential movers and may, indeed, be continuing employment they had prior to the move. Such movers, therefore, would not be as likely to perceive the need for participation in voluntary organizations as a way

⁴Specification is used here in the sense used by Herbert Hyman in his discussion of the elaboration process (Hyman, 1955).

of becoming integrated into their community. Local integration, in other words, may be a more urgent objective of the women who have moved primarily because of their husband's employment in this area.

While there is among these non-residential movers an even greater tendency to join an organization if the women have made more than one move as a wife, it cannot be argued from this finding that multiple migration appears to encourage a decision to become active in one or more voluntary activities. In this analysis, social class is likely confounded with mobility rate. Additional research which includes a larger sample of non-residential movers would be useful to confirm that mobility rate is of no consequence in this regard.

In addition to examining if mobility rate affects whether or not a migrant women participates in voluntary organizations, a further examination of the extent of such participation has been made which analyzes the number of memberships of each of the fifty-two respondents who reported belonging to at least one organization. The number of memberships varied from one to five, with a mean number of 2.0. Regression analysis using the same independent variables as in the prior analysis results in the following coefficients (Table 5.4).

In this analysis it is quite evident that mobility

Table 5.4 Regression Coefficients for Number of Memberships
in Voluntary Associations

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t-value/level of significance
One-time/Multiple Movers*	.05	.02	(NS)
Non-residential/ Residential movers*	-.37	-.15	(NS)
Age	.03	.21	(NS)
Father's Occupation	-.02	-.03	(NS)
Father's Education	.01	.03	(NS)
Education of Respondent	.01	.01	(NS)
No Pre-school Children/ Pre-school Children*	.25	.12	(NS)
Occupational Prestige of Husband	.00	-.15	(NS)
Husband's Income	.00	.34	t= 2.20 (p<.03)
Husband's Educational Level	.16	.45	t= 2.34 (p<.03)
Employed/Not Employed	.36	.17	(NS)
Constant	-.14		
R ² = .47 (N=40)			

*For each of these dummy variables the first category is coded 0 and the second category is coded 1.

rate has no effect upon the number of organizations these women have joined. As noted in the literature, a woman's socio-economic status, as indicated by her husband's income and educational level, and possibly her age are the variables of import here. Type of move and life-cycle stage are also possibly influential, but additional analysis is necessary to confirm such relationships. In this research, the important finding is that mobility rate is inconsequential regarding the number of organizations reported by participating women.

From these two analyses of the amount of participation in voluntary organizations, then, it must be concluded that mobility rate does not affect whether or not migrant women join such organizations relatively soon after relocation, nor is it an important factor in determining how many organizations they join. The operationalization of the amount of participation as the report of membership(s) by the respondent, however, significantly limits the present attempt to understand the relationship between the extent of participation and mobility rate. Further understanding would certainly be aided by analysis of data about particular tasks or leadership roles performed by the participants and about the amount of time spend on activities related to each membership. The data collected for this purpose in this research,

however, is not sufficient for such analysis.⁵

This analysis into the effect of frequent relocation upon the amount of participation is, of course, only one half of the story since we as yet have no indication of the type of organizations that these women are likely to join. Furthermore, analysis of the kinds of associational memberships held by these migrants should provide some additional information useful for our attempt to explain the positive relationship between mobility rate and voluntary organizational participation.

2) Types of Voluntary Memberships among Migrants

Most certainly all organizations have some sociability function and almost any voluntary organization can perform an integrative function for recent migrants by providing a network of new acquaintances and friends. On the other hand, such organizations do differ regarding the extent to which sociability is an explicit function. Given the theoretical assumption that highly mobile women

⁵Information regarding both frequency of attendance and whether or not the respondent presently held an office in the organization was collected (cf. Appendix A, p. 218). In neither case, however, was the information adequate for analysis. Specifically, the responses to the question regarding frequency of attendance were too imprecise and the number of office holders was too few to provide variation between mobile groups.

are using voluntary organizations for the explicit purpose of integration, the types of associations to which they belong will be analysed with this characteristic in mind.

Five types of organizations, characterized by their primary goals, are examined in this analysis. These categories include (1) service, (2) religious, (3) hobby, (4) recreational and (5) social. While some organizations mentioned by the respondents do not fit neatly into only one category, an attempt was made to place the organization into the category which best characterized its goals. All organizations were placed into only one category for the purpose of this analysis. Those organizations which are most commonly considered to be associations in which the participants perform "volunteer" work for a specific group or community are categorized as service organizations. Religious organizations are any activities which have a formal religious association, such as participation in a church choir.

The last three categories are less distinct from each other because all three involve organizations in which a person often enjoys a great amount of fellowship with others who share some common interest. Nevertheless, in this research the types are distinguished to provide as precise an understanding of the character of participation as possible. A hobby organization is any regular group

actively designed to promote particular leisure interests other than sports activities, which constitute a separate fourth category of recreational associations. Book discussion groups and gourmet cooking clubs are examples of the hobby-type organization. Regular, formally-organized sports activities such as golfing in a woman's league or hiking with a local group of hiking enthusiasts would be examples of participation in the recreational activities category. The fifth and final category is labelled "social organizations" and includes activities that have as their primary goal that of "getting together for the sake of getting together." Some activities of the Newcomers Club are of this type, while another example would be a group of neighbors who meet regularly to play cards.⁶

The question which follows from the first section of the analysis, then, is whether the somewhat greater participation on the part of multiple movers (Table 5.1) is similarly evident across all types of organizations or whether this difference in participation is concentrated in particular types of organizations. If there is some validity to Litwak's thesis regarding the integrative function of membership, the positive association between mobility rate and parti-

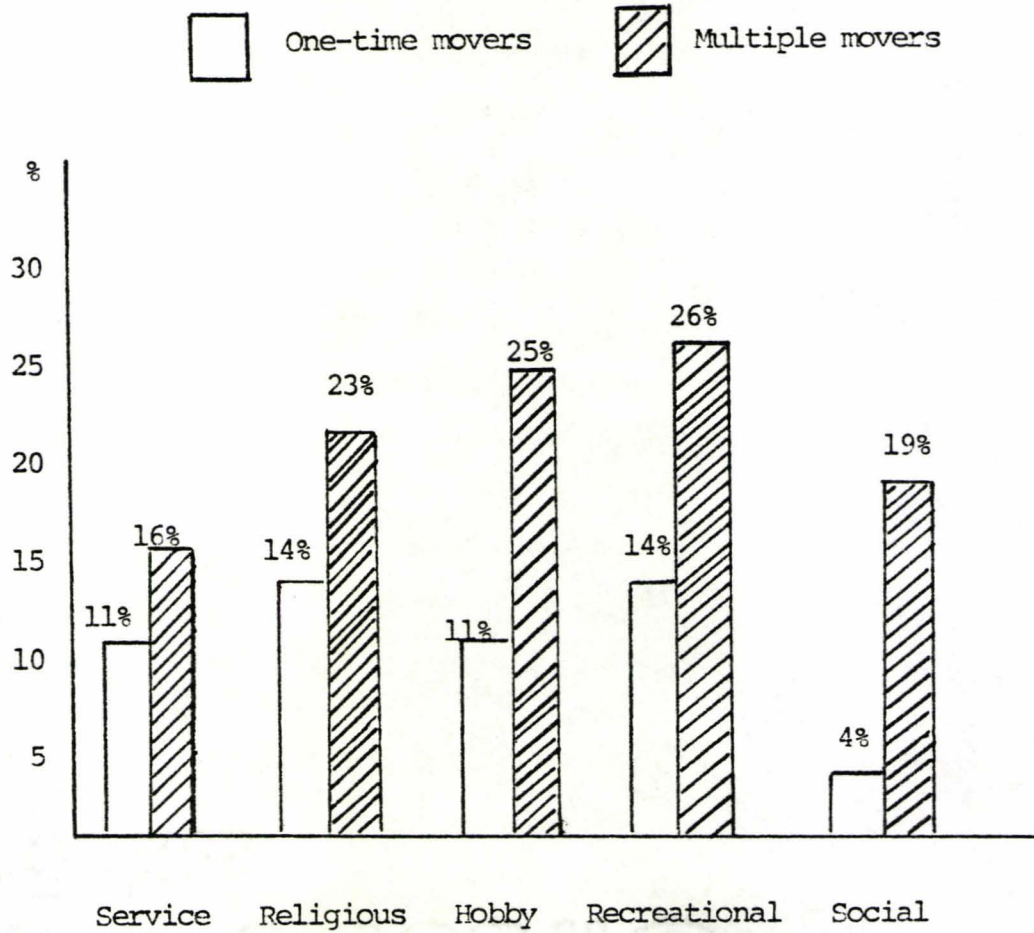
⁶Regarding this latter example, the woman who reported this activity characterized it as mainly a chance to get together to talk rather than any avid interest in card games.

pation is perhaps due to the recognition of this function on the part of those women who have experienced more than one move as a wife. The greater participation among the multiple movers, then, is not likely to be just a random increase across all organizational categories. Rather the nature of this participation might best be analyzed in terms of the following hypothesis:

(Hypothesis #6) If there are differences between one-time and multiply mobile migrants, the multiple movers would be more likely to join organizations which have as a manifest goal congenial social contact among the members.

To examine this hypothesis, the proportion of each mobile category that belongs to each of the five types of organizations was calculated. When the differences are compared across all types of organizations, it can be seen that the greatest differences are to be found in hobby, recreational, and social organizations -- the three types of organizations which most directly involve sociability functions (Figure 5.1). The differences between one-time and multiple movers in these three types of organizations are 14%, 12%, and 15% respectively. Service and religious organizations show less differences between one-time and multiple movers with a 5% difference for service and a 9% difference for religious organizations.

Figure 5.1 Proportion of One-time and Multiple Movers Belonging to Each Type of Organization



Statistical analysis indicates, however, that only one of these differences between one-time and multiple movers is statistically significant and this is the difference occurring in social organizations. A t-test used to compare the means of the two mobile groups results in a t value of 2.69 ($p < .008$). Organizations of this type, as stated earlier, are formed and maintained for the explicit purpose of fellowship or companionship, and, thus, this finding provides some evidence for the validity of the hypothesis (#6).

This evidence for the hypothesis, furthermore, aids in our understanding of the initial finding regarding greater participation among multiple movers. Specifically, this greater participation appears to be, at least in part, a purposeful means, used by women who have experienced prior relocation as a wife, to meet with others in their new community.

Because of its very specific purpose as a "social" organization for recent migrants, the Newcomers Association is particularly salient to this discussion. Is the suggested propensity among more highly mobile women for joining voluntary organizations reflected among those women in the sample who choose to belong to this organization whose most manifest function is integration? Tentatively, yes. Six of the migrants in this sample had joined a Newcomers

Club and five of these six migrants were multiple movers. While the number of cases for such specific analysis is too small for statistical analysis, it is nevertheless congruent with the other findings that the mean number of moves for the Newcomers is larger (3.8) than the mean for those who do not report belonging to this organization (2.6). In other words, although this finding about the Newcomers does not provide sufficient evidence that this type of organizational activity is more likely to be found among the more highly mobile migrants, it certainly provides a further suggestion that the use of such explicitly integrating mechanisms may be prevalent among women who have experienced more than one migration as a wife.

To conclude, then, these findings suggest that married women's participation in voluntary associations is not affected by their rate of geographic mobility. Although among these middle-income migrants multiple movers show slightly higher rates of participation, this difference is not due to mobility rate, but rather to the fact that the income and occupational prestige of the husbands of multiple movers is likely higher than that of one-time movers. Furthermore, while multiple movers report greater participation in each type of association, they seem to be only significantly different than one-time movers in their likelihood to join associations which have explicitly "social" purposes.

These two sets of findings provide some support, nevertheless, for Litwak's integration hypothesis, regardless of the frequency of migration. Both the extent of participation and the type of organizations joined by these migrants suggest that married women who are experiencing migration may be joining the voluntary associations as a specific means for acquiring friends and thereby becoming quickly integrated into the new community.

Of course women may learn from the relocation experience that they need to make explicit efforts to establish new ties as it was not uncommon for women in this study to make the unsolicited comment that they, as newcomers, had to "take the initiative" in establishing friendships. If a woman realizes this need for initiative during her first move as a wife, she might "be the wiser" after successive moves and take steps (such as joining voluntary organizations) soon after a move in order to provide a set of acquaintances with whom to become friendly. Thus, while married women are being asked to adapt to successive relocations, these findings suggest that they are not doing so passively. Rather, many women may make use of organization memberships as a mechanism to minimize that aspect of migration which is no doubt of concern to all migrants (and has certainly been the subject of much migra-

tion research) -- the disruption (to a greater or lesser extent) of informal social participation with friends, neighbors and kin. It is to this informal participation that the present analysis now turns.

VI

GEOGRAPHIC MOBILITY AND INFORMAL SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Unlike the two preceding analyses of social participation, this third and final analysis focuses upon that aspect of social participation which involves all married women -- the establishment and maintenance of a set of relationships with kin, friends, and neighbors. To place this analysis at the end of this investigation is not to suggest that it is less important than participation in formal organizations. On the contrary, it is precisely the information about migrants' participation in the labor force and in voluntary associations which allows us now to gain a more comprehensive and accurate understanding of this most common and yet very important aspect of the lives of women.

As noted in Chapter I, much recent literature has been critical of earlier views which emphasized the negative influence of migration upon the quantity and quality of social relationships. This criticism has essentially made two points. Firstly it has demonstrated that relationships with kin and friends can and do persist despite

spatial separation (Litwak, 1960; Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Sussman, 1959; Wellman, 1973). Secondly it has provided evidence of the availability of pre-existing social ties in the migrant's new community (Choldin, 1973; Macdonald and Macdonald, 1963; Shannon and Shannon, 1968; Tilly and Brown, 1967). Such pre-existing ties mitigate the disruption of informal participation since a migrant has one or more immediate social relationships upon his or her arrival and these social ties are soon likely to lead to other acquaintances.

Since the present investigation attempts to look at the specific effects of multiple migration, the question arises as to whether there are the same or similar factors which mitigate the effects of successive migrations upon informal social participation. Much of the prior investigation of informal social participation, in other words, has compared "migrants" to "non-migrants." Once again, however, the question at hand in the present research is whether there are any significant variations in the informal social participation among migrants who have differing rates of geographic mobility. And if there are such variations, to what extent, if any, are they due to the frequency of migration?

Review of Prior Literature

Unfortunately prior research findings and discussion regarding informal social participation and migration do not present an unambiguous picture for framing an hypothesis in answer to these questions. On the contrary, prior literature suggests both that higher rates of mobility would not be significantly disruptive to interpersonal relationships and that higher rates may, indeed, have adverse effects upon this aspect of social participation.

Specifically, there are three discussions of this topic which essentially make the point that multiple migration is not detrimental to social relationships, those by Philip Slater (1968), J. Landis and Louis Stoetzer (1966), and Stella Jones (1973). In his analysis of contemporary Western society, Slater has argued that a particular secondary effect of life in a highly mobile society is the development of compensatory mechanisms related to the difficulties inherent in the continual process of geographic separation from friends and relatives. One such mechanism is a greatly accelerated facility for making acquaintances which he characterizes as "an informality, an easy friendliness, a capacity for ready, if superficial ties" (Slater, 1968: 79).

Landis and Stoetzer report findings from a study undertaken in the 1960's which basically support Slater's analysis. They refer specifically to the mostly highly mobile sample of middle-class migrants:

. . . it appears that these families work to establish primary relationships outside the family in the new community. The mobile middle class family, having gone through the moving process frequently before, evidently develops certain skills in human relationships that the more stable non-mobile family has not needed to develop. (Landis and Stoetzer, 1966: 52)

While Landis and Stoetzer do not report the sex of their respondents, Stella Jones corroborates such findings for a sample of migrant women. She reports no decrease either in the number of relationships or in the intensity of such relationships with increasing mobility. "There is no significant relationship," she writes, "between the total number of times moved and agreement with the statement that the respondent is 'unable to develop intimate friendships'" (Jones, 1973: 213). Furthermore Jones notes that these women are quite conscious of the process suggested by Slater. They clearly expressed an awareness that "they have grown in their skills to meet people and form friendships."

There are, then, quite specific suggestions for the view that disruption of social ties is not a problem

associated with high rates of mobility. Yet further examination of the literature containing these suggestions, as well as reference to other migration research, makes it clear that this view alone cannot provide adequate direction for the present research. In the first place, both the remarks of Slater and Jones need qualification. Indeed Slater himself mentions that while relationships may be easily substituted there may be a superficial quality about such ties. Moreover while Jones provides some empirical evidence for her remarks, they are apparently based upon the women's responses to only one question -- were they able to develop intimate friendships in their new community? While their responses indicate a perception about themselves which may be valid, additional data which examines specific relationships and particular aspects of those relationships would be necessary before one could clearly assert that informal participation is not disrupted by multiple migrations.

Secondly, other researchers have indicated either directly or indirectly that multiple migration may indeed have some detrimental effects upon informal relationships. Thus, while Edgar Butler and his associates conclude from their research on "migrants" versus "stayers" that informal ties are not ruptured by residential mobility, they nevertheless add that "disruption of formal and informal

relationships may be intensified by frequent moving" (Butler, et al., 1973: 226). This suggestion comes, in part, from their findings that the mental health of the women in this sample appeared to be more adversely affected by moving than that of the men. This fact leads them to conclude that "the continued level of social interaction by residentially mobile females does not overcome all of the disruptive aspects of moving."¹

The key issue here may be the difficulty of measuring the quality of relationships. When informal social participation is measured primarily in quantitative terms, research may demonstrate no disruptive effects. Yet the statements by Butler and his associates would seem to reflect, at least implicitly, a relationship between the quality of social ties and mental health. Their work, then, may point to one or more disruptive effects which do not become apparent until the quality of relationships is in some way measured.

Related to this point about the quality of relationships is a second research finding from the same data presented by McAllister, Butler and Kaiser. The researchers conclude that geographic mobility has the effect of increasing the neighborhood ties of women while decreasing

¹Dr. Butler's indicant for this finding is the self-report of symptoms of mental disorders.

interaction among friends (McAllister, et al., 1973:202). And it is possible that this phenomenon is exacerbated among more highly mobile women. Thus while the number of persons may not be affected by frequency of moving, the types of relationships may be influenced by mobility rate.

What precisely such a change in the type of relationships might mean for a migrant would, of course, have to be further determined. Given some of the recent findings regarding the specialization of social ties (Litwak and Szelenyi, 1969; Adams, 1967; Shulman, 1976), it cannot simply be assumed that the substitution of one type of tie for another results in the same type or quality of informal social participation. This may be the case but it would have to be demonstrated. Shulman reports, for instance, that ties with neighbors are often simply relations of convenience "used for short-term and immediate needs . . . and they tend to be perceived as the least close category of intimates" (1976: 156). It is possible, therefore, that a substantial change in social ties which would involve the recruitment primarily of neighbors might significantly and negatively alter a woman's informal social participation. In other words, such a new set of social ties might be, to return to Slater's suggestion, quite superficial.

Thus, because of such seeming ambiguities (or complexities) in the relationship between high rates of geographical mobility and informal social participation, the present research is not easily guided by either the null or the alternative hypothesis. Rather, we will proceed in a most exploratory manner in an effort to sort out precisely if, and in which ways, higher rates of mobility may be related to informal participation. Useful for this task is a particular analytical framework commonly referred to as social network analysis. What follows, then, prior to the findings, is a brief discussion of this framework.

The Social Network

Network analysis is an analytical tool which has been used in recent research as a means for precise and accurate examination of the social relations of individuals living in urban settings (Bott, 1957; Shulman, 1976; Wellman, 1973). It is argued that while many individuals do not interact within a group of other actors, they nonetheless find themselves located within a personal network of kin, friends, colleagues, and neighbors, some of whom have personal relationships among each other.

One of the first scholars to discuss and use the

concept of "personal network" is anthropologist J. Clyde Mitchell. He defines such a social network as,

a specific set of linkages among a defined set of persons, with the additional property that the characteristics of these linkages as a whole may be used to interpret the social behavior of the persons involved. (Mitchell, 1969: 2)

Inherent in this definition of network is the idea that an actor's network consists of both persons whom the actor knows directly and others with whom he or she has only indirect contact, whether through friends, kin or other direct acquaintances.

In the present study, however, the data available were not sufficient for analysis of the migrants' networks in the full sense of that term. Data were available only regarding those persons known directly by the respondent, thus only for her or his network in a narrower or "first-order" sense. Still, the framework provided by the concept of social network is useful for analysis of the migrants' informal social participation and the results of such analysis constitute a first step towards a full study of their social networks.

Informal social participation is, of course, multi-dimensional and thus distinct aspects of the social network have been delineated to reflect this fact. In the

first place, then, it is possible to examine the structure of an individual's social network, that is, the size (range) and density of the set of linkages. The variable "size" is self-explanatory, referring to the number of persons included as members of the network (Mitchell, 1969: 19). "Density" refers to the extent to which the network ties know each other (Mitchell, 1969: 18). A network of high density, therefore, is one in which a great proportion of persons are acquainted with each other. Low density refers to a set of persons who are for the most part not linked to each other, but are a set of disparate individuals with whom one individual interacts.

Secondly, it is possible to examine the nature of the individual ties within a network in order to describe their quality. Both network composition -- whether friends, neighbors, or kin, male or female -- and the intensity of the relationships are analyzed in this research in order to describe the quality (or content) of ties within a migrant's network.

Network Size

As with the preceding analysis of formal voluntary participation, the most obvious place to begin this analysis of informal participation is to measure it in terms of quantity. We start, then, with an examination of the

size of the network of friends, kin, and neighbors with whom the respondent had a relationship at the time of the interview.

Clearly the people who live in the same community as the women in the study constitute a major segment of their social network. Yet as noted earlier migrants often maintain close ties with people from whom they are spatially separated. Thus an examination of informal social participation will mean an analysis of the migrant's entire network which includes persons living outside the Hamilton-Burlington area as well as local ties. It would, moreover, be possible to analyze this entire network as one unit. Yet since segments of the network are geographically peculiar, the analysis is most understandable when it is divided into three such segments -- those living locally, those still living in the community from which the women recently migrated, and those living in communities other than these two (past and present) locations. For purposes of identification these three segments will hereafter be designated "local," "prior," and "elsewhere."

We turn first, then, to that segment which most commonly comes to mind when we consider someone's informal network -- the local network of friends, kin, and neighbors. Are there any significant differences in the overall size of the local network established by recent migrants

approximately nine to twelve months after relocation.²
And, if there are differences, are they related to the number of times moved?

In the present research, local network size is operationalized as the number of persons named in response to an interview question which asked the respondent to list the "first names" of all persons "known" in the Hamilton-Burlington area.³ Practicality necessitated that the maximum number of persons named be twenty. While a few respondents (N=5) provided twenty names, the mean network size was 9.2 persons.

Analysis of the reported size of the local network shows no systematic relationship between number of moves and number of persons comprising a migrant's network. What variation there is between mobile groups as indicated by the mean number of persons reported by each group appears to have no pattern (Table 6.1). The women have established networks in their communities which range unsystematically

²Another term which has been used to refer to the number of persons in direct contact is "range." Yet since "range" has also been used to refer to the number of persons when combined with social heterogeneity, the term size is preferred for this analysis.

³In most cases only the Christian name and the initial of the surname were written on the interview schedule.

from a low of 7.2 persons for women who have moved three times to 10.2 persons for other mobile categories.⁴

Table 6.1 Size of Local Network by Frequency of Migration

Number of Moves	Mean Number of Persons	
	Total Sample	Non-Residential Sample
1	8.9	9.2
2	10.2	11.0
3	7.2	6.9
4 or more	10.2	10.5
	$\bar{x} = 9.2$ (N=101)	$\bar{x} = 9.7$ (N=66)

While women who have moved for reasons other than housing on the average report slightly more persons with whom they are acquainted than the total sample, the networks of this subsample also do not appear to be affected systematically by the frequency of migration. No doubt the non-residential movers indicate a slightly higher network size because they are less able to return for frequent

⁴Even if the factors of age, number of children and employment status are controlled, number of moves continues to be inconsequential to the number of persons reported in the local network. The unstandardized regression coefficient for such analysis is a very small .02 (NS).

visits to persons who live in their former communities.⁵

This finding indicates, then, that frequency of moving is not influential in determining the size of a married woman's local network. It appears that these recent migrants have made a fair number of friends and acquaintances in their new community regardless of the number of moves they had made as a wife. Certainly a higher frequency of migration is not detrimental to the quantity of local ties nor do the highly mobile women have significantly more local relationships than the less mobile women.

Yet, while mobility rate appears to have little effect upon the size of the local network segment, this is not the case for that segment of the network which consists of persons still living in the place from which the women have recently moved. The size of this prior network segment (those with whom the women still "keep in touch") will be used, then, to provide additional information regarding the possible effects of mobility rate upon informal social participation.

The data for this prior segment of the network were collected in a manner similar to that for the local

⁵Most of the residential sample in this study consists of women who simply moved from Toronto to Burlington and thus can retain contacts within their former community more easily than women who moved longer distances.

segment and are the combined responses to two separate interview questions:

- (1) Do you still keep in touch with relatives in (PREVIOUS COMMUNITY) ? (IF YES) Who?
- (2) Excluding relatives, do you keep in touch with people with whom you were friendly in (PREVIOUS COMMUNITY) ? (IF YES) Who?

As one might suspect, the average size of the network in the prior community is smaller than the new local network. For the total sample the average reported size is 6.4 persons, while for those who moved nonresidentially the mean (6.1) is slightly lower. In general, however, the migrants report "keeping in touch" with friends and relatives they left almost one year prior to the interview. Yet, the pertinent question for this research once again concerns the extent to which such informal participation is to be found among the different mobile groups.

A breakdown by mobility group of the mean number of persons reported initially suggests that there is some statistically significant variance between the groups (Table 6.2). Furthermore, a close examination of these differences between means indicates that the important difference is again between one-time and multiple movers. The mean number of persons for one-time movers is almost ten persons (9.8), while multiple movers report, on the

average, only about half as many persons with whom they keep in contact (5.1).⁶

Table 6.2 The Size of the Prior Network by Number of Moves

Number of Moves	Mean Number of Persons in Network
1	9.8 (N=28)
2	5.6 (N=30)
3	4.5 (N=19)
4 or more	5.0 (N=24)

(F-ratio = 9.33, $p < .001$) (N=101)

Once more, of course, confounding factors may explain some of this variance in the size of the prior network. Age, education and the stage in the life cycle are background variables that are likely to be related to the process of making and retaining relationships. The length of time a respondent resided in the previous community is also likely to be a determinant of the extent of the prior network. In fact, when these variables are

⁶A t-Test of statistical significance results in $t=5.24$ ($p < .001$).

included in the regression equation, it becomes evident that length of residence is clearly the most influential factor of these possibly confounding variables systematically affecting prior network size (Table 6.3). To some extent, then, the initial negative relationship between one-time/multiple moves and size of prior network is confounded by the fact the one-time movers are likely to have lived for a longer time in the community just prior to their move to Hamilton or Burlington.

Yet this analysis also indicates that rate of mobility, coded as one-time/multiple moves, still remains consequential to the number of persons in the prior community with whom a person will continue a relationship. The standardized regression coefficient is $-.27$ ($t=2.46$; $p<.02$) which means that the change in network size due to multiple migration as a wife is almost as negatively influential as length of residence in the last community is positively influential ($Beta=.28$) upon the retention of such prior social ties. In other words, while it is correct to conclude from this finding that the longer a migrant has lived in the community from which she migrated, the more relationships will be continued after migration, the factor of mobility rate significantly complicates this simple understanding. The persistence of this negative effect of mobility rate can be seen most descriptively in

Table 6.3 Multiple Regression Analysis of the Size of the
Prior Network

Independent Variables in Equation	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficient	t Value/Level of Significance
Age	- .04	-.08	.84 (NS)
One-time/ Multiple Moves *	-2.78	-.27	2.46 (p<.02)
Length of Residence	.18	.28	2.53 (p<.02)
Educational Attainment	.17	.08	.92 (NS)
No Pre-School Children/ Pre-School Children*	-1.27	-.14	1.56 (NS)
Residential/ Non-Residential Move*	- .30	-.13	.34 (NS)
Constant	.11		

$R^2 = .29$

(N=101)

*For these dummy variables, the first category is coded 0 and the second category is coded 1.

a crosstabulation when length of former residence is controlled (Table 6.4). Within each category of length of residence, multiple movers report fewer social ties in their prior community than one-time movers.⁷

One explanation for this negative effect of mobility rate is that a woman who has recently moved for the first time as a wife is likely to be leaving close kin and friends made prior to marriage. If there is some truth to the finding of previous research that the friends of married women are often recruited by husbands (Babchuck, 1965), it may be that these friends and kin of the one-time movers are perceived by the women as "closer" relationships than those people in the prior network of the multiple movers. If this is the case, the one-time movers would be more likely to maintain such ties after their relocation than multiple movers. In other words, the prior network of the one-time movers may be qualitatively different from the prior network of the women who have recently left places to which they had moved as wives. It may often be the case, then, that the persons in the prior network of the multiple movers will not have been known for as long as the prior network of one-time movers, but also it may be that these persons are not, in one way or

⁷It should be noted, of course, that among these differences, only the difference for those who have lived six or more years in their prior place of residence is statistically significant as indicated by the t -values.

Table 6.4 Size of Prior Networks for One-time and Multiple Movers, Controlling for Length of Residence in Prior Community

Length of Residence	Mean Number of Persons Reported	
	<u>One-Time Movers</u>	<u>Multiple Movers</u>
Two years or less	7.0 (7)	4.9 (49)*
Three through five years	6.7 (7)	5.7 (13)**
Six years or more	11.6 (16)	5.4 (9)***

* $t = 1.18$ ($p < .24$)
 ** $t = .72$ ($p < .48$)
 *** $t = 3.84$ ($p < .001$)

another, as important to the migrants as those persons still living in the community from which they first migrated as a wife.

As a conclusion to this analysis on the size of the prior network, it can be stated that mobility rate, when measured as number of moves since marriage, does affect the number of persons with whom a woman maintains relationships. Specifically, women who have relocated more than once as a wife are less likely than one-time movers to retain friendships or kin relations in the community from which they have most recently moved. In addition, length of residence in the prior community is found to be an important determinant of size of prior network and reflects the inadequacy of measuring mobility rate merely in terms of number of moves. This latter finding, however, is quite congruent with the previous finding and, therefore, with the task of understanding the effect of frequent migration. The mobility experience of a woman who moves twice in four years, for example, is evidently quite different from the experience of a woman who moves only twice in twelve years. The consequences of a frequency of moving are, in other words, dependent upon the length of marriage insofar as the length of the interval at each place of residence is a key aspect of the migration experience. These data suggest, then, that it

is the total migration pattern (in a temporal rather than spatial sense) rather than simply the number of moves which has an influence upon social participation. The number of moves, when combined with the length of marriage, form a pattern of long or short-interval residences -- of more or less "frequent" (in the temporal sense) migration. In this way, it is both the number of moves and the length of residence which together affect the size of the prior network.⁸ Together the two variables indicate that frequent migration has a negative effect upon prior network ties. For the notion of "frequent" migration, as it is intuitively understood, implies not only a number of moves, but a mobility experience in which the intervals between moves is relatively short. The shorter the interval, the less likely the relationships made in the prior community will persist after migration. Thus, more highly mobile women (who have moved often and with short intervals between moves) will tend to maintain fewer social ties from their most recent prior community than less mobile women.

Yet while such highly mobile women may not maintain as many relationships with persons from their most recent prior community, it is still probable that their total

⁸Twenty-six percent of the variance in prior network size is explained by these combined variables. If a regression equation is constructed in which these two variables are the only independent variables, $R^2 = .26$.

network will include many contacts outside of the Hamilton-Burlington area. They may, for instance, maintain some friends from each of the several communities in which they have lived. Precisely because of geographic mobility, in other words, the informal participation of most migrants is not limited merely to ties in the present and most recent places of residence. One-time movers, of course, are likely to have some friends and relatives who have moved away from their former place of residence as well as some friends from other communities where they had lived prior to marriage. More highly mobile women, on the other hand, are likely to have these same types of contacts as well as friends from former communities where they had lived previously as a wife. All of these other persons form a residual category of network ties, referred to here as the "elsewhere" segment -- those persons presently living neither in their prior community nor in the Hamilton-Burlington area. Thus, to complete this analysis, a brief look will be made at the third and final segment of the social network with the ad hoc hypothesis in mind that in this regard it is the multiple rather than the one-time movers who will report the greater number of persons.

In the interview, once the respondent had discussed both present and immediate past networks, she was asked

about other possible relationships.⁹ Again, practicality necessitated setting a limit to the number of persons who could be mentioned in response. Thus, the range of possible sizes is zero to ten persons and the mean number of persons listed is 7.4.

Although a breakdown of the size of the elsewhere network by number of moves indicates that the higher mobile categories have slightly larger "elsewhere" segments than the least mobile category, the differences are not large enough to be statistically significant (Table 6.5). The mean number of persons reported by all multiple movers is 7.6 persons which, while larger than the mean of 6.7 persons for the one-time movers, is still likely to have occurred by chance ($t = -1.36, p < .18$).

Furthermore, regression analysis confirms that number of moves (coded one-time/multiple) does not significantly influence the number of people included in such an "elsewhere" network (Table 6.6).

It is of interest, however, that length of residence in prior community affects the greatest change in the size of this segment of the network. Specifically,

⁹The actual question was worded as follows: "You have told me about friends and relatives in your prior community and also about the people you know in the Hamilton-Burlington area. Do you have other friends or close relatives living anywhere else with whom you keep in touch?"

Table 6.5 Size of Elsewhere Network by Mobility
Rate

Number of Moves	Mean Number of Persons
1	6.7 (N = 28)
2	7.8 (N = 30)
3	7.1 (N = 19)
4 or more	7.8 (N = 24)
<hr/>	
F-ratio = .86 (NS)	(N = 101)

the shorter the length of time in the last community, the greater the number of people reported as "elsewhere" contacts (Beta = $-.42$, $T = 3.60$, $p < .001$). Such a finding makes common sense, of course, because those women who had relatively short tenures will not have had the time needed to cultivate friends they might perceive as long-lasting and thus they will be more likely than those of longer tenure to include in their network persons who live somewhere other than this last place of residence.

Of course, many of these women have had short tenure in their last place of residence precisely because they had migrated to that last place of residence as a wife. This fact is statistically indicated by the high zero-order Pearson correlation between length of prior residence and number of moves ($r = -.54$, $p < .001$). Thus the confounding nature of these two variables makes it inappropriate to conclude unequivocally that mobility rate is unrelated to this "elsewhere" segment of the network. Yet neither is there direct support for the ad hoc hypothesis that multiple migration increases this long-distance aspect of informal social participation. While this "elsewhere" network of the most mobile groups is larger than the others, it is only minimally larger. Still, this finding would not support those who would argue that frequent moving severs such locally unavailable

Table 6.6 Size of Elsewhere Network

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t-Values/Level of Significance
Length of Residence in Prior Community	-.18	-.42	3.60 (p<.001)
One-time/Multiple Moves*	-.71	-.11	.90 (NS)
Educational Attainment	.25	.19	1.97 (p<.01)
No Pre-school/Pre-school Children*	.45	.07	.80 (NS)
Residential/Non-residential Move*	.23	.04	.37 (NS)
Age	.02	.07	.70 (NS)
Constant	5.96		

$R^2 = .20$

(N= 101)

*For these dummy variables, the first category is coded 0 and the second category is coded 1.

ties. Rather the large size of this segment of the network for all mobile groups is perhaps due to the fact that the elsewhere network consists both of friends and relatives who have also moved away from the women in our sample and of persons who have been "stayers" in prior communities. Less and more mobile women, alike, seem to keep contact with some of these persons.

By way of conclusion to this analysis of the extent of informal social participation, then, we can state that the influence of mobility rate upon the size of the social network appears to be limited to only one segment of the network -- to persons living in the place from which the women have most recently migrated. In this case, again, it has been learned that the major difference is between women who have moved as a wife only once and multiple movers.

Thus in strictly quantitative terms these findings support the contention presented earlier that frequent moving would not be detrimental to establishing primary ties in the new community. The analysis further suggests that while the more highly mobile women do establish local segments of their networks as large as those established by less mobile women, they are less likely to maintain relationships with persons in their

most recent prior community. They may indeed, as Slater suggested, be substituting many new local ties for some of those persons most recently left behind -- a phenomenon apparently not so prevalent among women who have moved only once as a wife. These multiply mobile women, however, maintain as many other long-distance relationships as the one-time movers and thus, their informal participation is not to be characterized as simply more local than that of their less mobile counterparts.

At this point, however, it is important to reiterate that the size of the network is only one very limited measurement of informal participation and that measures regarding the quality of such contacts are necessary if we are to more fully understand the effects of mobility rate. The analysis which addresses the dimension of quality of participation will be presented in the next and final chapter of research findings.

VII

MOBILITY RATE AND THE COMPOSITION OF SOCIAL NETWORKS

While analysis of the size of the social network provides a general picture of the extent of the migrants' informal participation, further examination of this aspect of social participation -- specifically, an examination of the composition of these networks -- is both possible and necessary. It is the purpose of this chapter, then, to analyze the types of relationships and the quality of the social ties which constitute the social networks of the migrant women in order to determine whether mobility rate has an effect upon informal social participation. Although there are other ways in which the components of a network might be conceptualized and analyzed, in the present analysis the data are organized in terms of the institutions from which the relationships have been recruited -- specifically as kin, neighbors, co-workers, and friends.¹

Each person named as someone with whom the migrant

¹Such a typology is fairly standard (Shulman, 1976; Chrisman, 1970). It is, moreover, particularly appropriate in a study of migration since some of the network is newly recruited and the typology is helpful for an understanding of how new segments of the network are established.

has a present relationship (either in the Hamilton-Burlington area or elsewhere) is, then, classified according to the institutional framework from which he/she is presently recruited. Kin relations and co-workers are, of course, the easiest types of relationships to classify since these persons are clearly members of a particular institution. The two other categories, neighbors and friends, are more ambiguous. "Neighbors" in this study refers to persons who presently live in the "neighborhood" as it is perceived by the respondents. A "friend" is defined in this research as a person who is not a relative and who is also neither a neighbor nor a co-worker. Thus persons who perhaps originally were recruited out of a pool of neighbors in prior communities are categorized as "friends" living elsewhere because they are no longer neighbors. Indeed, by such a definition friendship is a residual category among the component social relationships and is characterized by neither particular interest groups from which the person is recruited nor by certain characteristics of quality or social function.² Analysis of the

²Such a definition, of course, does not account for the fact that people who live near one another or are employed at the same location often consider themselves to be friends. Thus, the categories of the typology may not be considered to be mutually exclusive. Certainly many "friends" are recruited from the neighbor and co-worker frameworks as well as from interest groups such as voluntary and religious organizations. "Friends" in this more

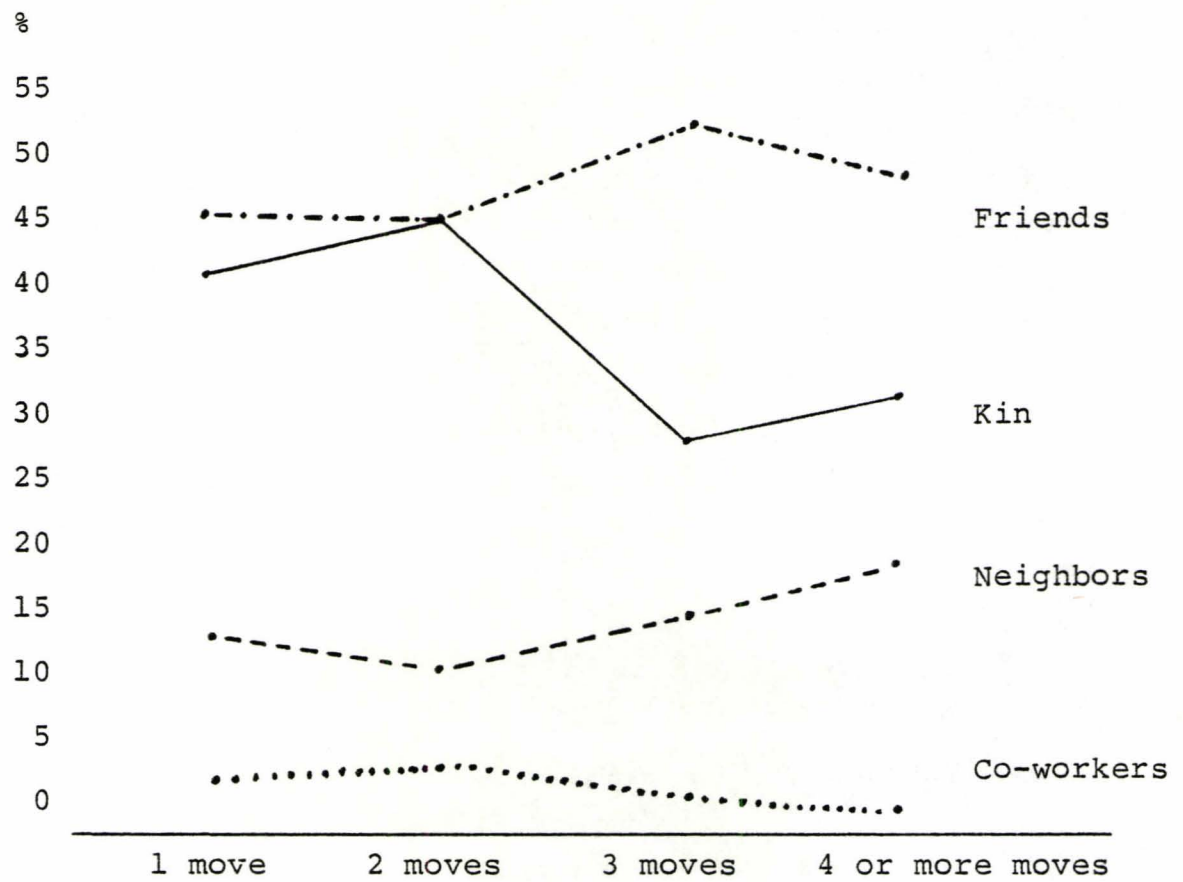
quality of these friendship ties, however, will nonetheless provide some indication of the nature of this set of ties for this group of migrants.

With this typology of components for the social network, then, we move to the question of whether the network composition itself or the quality of the ties within each of these components is affected by the frequency of migration. Before examining each component part separately, it will be helpful to look briefly at the component sizes relative to one another. To this end, the proportion of the total network comprised by kin, friends, neighbors and co-workers has been calculated and presented graphically (Figure 7.1).

Friends and kin are the largest segments for all mobile groups, although the percentage of kin declines significantly for the two more mobile groups. While the proportion of friends appears to increase slightly for the same two mobile groups, the overall increase is not statistically significant. The proportion of neighbors, on the other hand, does show a positive linear increase as

common sense of the term refers to all persons with whom one has a particular type of relationship -- a "special" person or, in Adams' terminology (1967), one with whom we have a very high degree of consensus as the basis of the relationship. This common understanding of "friends," however, gives no indication of the institutional framework out of which the person was recruited.

Figure 7.1 Total Network Composition for Each
Mobile Group



mobility rate increases ($r=.27$, $p<.004$). Co-workers were reported so infrequently that they make up a very small proportion of the network for all the women regardless of the number of moves. Thus neighbors and, to a lesser extent, friends appear to be substituted for the decrease of kin among the more highly mobile women.

Given this first overall picture of the network composition for the different mobile groups, we turn to the more detailed analysis of the size of each of these components and the nature of the ties. We will first examine the two components which are part of both the local and non-local segments of the network and are thus the largest components of the network -- kin and friends. Subsequently neighbors, the category which comprises most of the remaining ties constituting the local network, will be analyzed. While the component of co-workers has also been included in the general picture of the network composition, the number of such ties is too few to permit significant detailed analysis.

1) Kinship Ties

The topic of continued interaction with kin has been a major theme for scholarship on migration. Typically, as with other pertinent topics, such scholarship has concentrated on the examination of "migrants" versus "non-migrants" with no consideration given to rate of

mobility. As noted previously, this earlier research has documented the fact that important contact is maintained among family members who are spatially separated, especially between young adults and parents (Sussman, 1953, 1965).

One reason for the retention of such ties is the availability of technology which provides the possibility of frequent communication by phone and visits. And since this technology is available to all migrants, regardless of the number of times they have moved, it might be assumed that there would be no significant difference between the lesser and more mobile groups with regard to their interaction with kin. Once again, however, this assumption has not been tested empirically. Thus it is the purpose of this section of the analysis to examine this assumption, at least to the extent made possible by the data. To this end, the number of current kinship ties is measured. Subsequently the intensity of these ties is given a cursory examination where the data are available.

If all possible kinship relations, in-laws as well as the woman's own family, are included in the analysis, it is found that kinship ties compose a fairly large portion of the social networks of these women. On the average these migrant women report that they are in touch with approximately eight relatives. Thus their kin constitute

about 35% of their total network. Initial analysis of this total set of kin, moreover, indicates significant differences between mobile groups (Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Breakdown of Number and Proportion of Kinship Ties By Number of Moves

No. of Moves	Mean Number of Kin*	Mean Proportion of Kin**
1	10.2	41%
2	9.7	44%
3	5.6	28%
4 or more	6.9	31%

* F-ratio= 6.8 (p <.0003)

** F-ratio= 5.6 (p <.002)

(N= 101)

A comparison of the means for each mobile group suggests a negative linear relationship such that the more highly mobile women report fewer kin relations than the less mobile women. This finding is corroborated by the zero-order regression coefficient ($b = -1.14$, $t = 3.15$, $p < .01$) which indicates that with each higher category (1 through 4 moves) the women are likely to have approximately one less relative with whom they have regular contact. Furthermore this decrease in the number of kinship ties means that relatives become a significantly

smaller proportion of the total network.³ Again the zero-order regression coefficient provides an initial indication of the amount of decrease with each higher category. The proportion of kin decreases by approximately 4% ($b = -.04$, $t = 3.41$, $p < .01$).

The age of these women, however, may be a variable which confounds the initial relationship insofar as the higher mobile women are likely to be older. What appears to be the effect of mobility rate is perhaps due to the fact that older migrants are less likely to have grandparents and, to some extent, even parents who are living and who would be included in their networks. Multiple regression analysis does, indeed, indicate that age is related to both the number and proportion of kin ties. In both equations, age produces a statistically significant ($p < .05$) change in the amount of kin reported. Nevertheless, the effect of the number of moves persists even when age is controlled as evidenced by the unstandardized regression coefficients for this variable ($b = -1.1$ for the number of ties and $b = -.03$ for proportion of total network). The number of moves, then, appears to have a negative effect upon both the amount of kinship ties and the proportion of kin in the network.

³This would not necessarily be the case, of course, if the total size of the network also decreased with each move.

The question remains, of course, which relatives are less likely to be included in the networks of the more highly mobile women? Are these women less likely to maintain contact with their own kin or are they, perhaps, less likely to include their husband's relatives within their present network? Or, alternatively, is there perhaps no systematic character to this decrease? To answer this question, the kin ties have been placed into one of the following four categories:

- a) own kin living in the Hamilton-Burlington area
- b) husband's kin living in the Hamilton-Burlington area
- c) own kin living elsewhere
- d) husband's kin living elsewhere.

Each category, then, has been examined in terms of mobility rate (Table 7.2).

By means of such examination it becomes clear that the number of local kin included in the network (whether the migrant's own or her husband's kin) does not vary systematically with the rate of mobility. This no doubt reflects the circumstance that a husband or wife has occasionally returned to the Hamilton-Burlington area after five or more years of absence. It also becomes clear that the great majority of kin relations are not local ties. On the average these women report not quite

Table 7.2 Mean Number of Own Kin and In-Laws

Number of Moves	Own Kin		In-Laws	
	Local	Non-Local*	Local	Non-Local
1	.63	6.1	.63	2.8
2	1.59	3.9	.97	3.2
3	.22	3.5	.06	1.8
4 or more	.88	3.3	.75	2.0
Grand Mean:	.89	4.3	.65	2.6

*Negative linear relationship ($p < .0005$) (N= 101)

one person who is their own relative and who lives locally while they report keeping contact with over four such kin who live outside the Hamilton-Burlington area. They also report few in-laws living in the area compared to the number of in-laws living non-locally with whom they retain relationships. While it might be interesting to examine the quality of the local kin ties in more detail, the limited number of these ties makes such analysis impractical in the present research.⁴ Therefore the re-

⁴One explanation for this small number of local kin ties is provided by the findings of prior research which

mainder of this section of analysis will examine only the nature of the predominant type of kin ties, those kin who are not living in the Hamilton-Burlington area.

Among kin with whom the women maintain long-distance relationships there are differences between the lower and more highly mobile migrants, although the negative linear relationship is statistically significant only among the women's own relatives. The most significant decrease in the number of their own kin, moreover, is evident between single and multiple movers. Single movers report that they have contact with an average of 6.1 of their own relatives while multiple movers report from a high of 3.9 to a low of 3.3 kin relationships outside of their present community.

Turning to an examination of the nature of this decrease in non-local own-kin ties, we note that there is likely to be some decrease in this category because of the death of parents and grandparents. Yet since age does not explain the initial negative relationship between

has examined the auspices of migration. Specifically, migrants with lower socio-economic status are more likely than migrants with higher socio-economic status to migrate under the auspices of kinship ties (Tilly and Brown, 1967). Since, as noted in Chapter II, this sample is probably skewed to over-represent the middle-class migrants, most of these migrants have not moved to the Hamilton-Burlington area because they already have relatives living here. For the most part, it is merely coincidental that a cousin or a sister lives in the Hamilton-Burlington area. For several of these couples, moreover, the most recent move has

mobility rate and amount of kin, we must also ask which other ties to the migrants' own kin might be less likely maintained by the multiple movers. When the total of the own-kin ties is broken down into separate categories,⁵ it becomes clear that multiple movers report fewer instances of each type of own-kin tie (Table 7.3).

Table 7.3 Number of Each Type of Own Kin Relationships for One-Time and Multiple Movers

	Sisters*	Brothers**	Parents***	Extended Kin****
One-time Movers	1.33	1.40	1.76	1.63
Multiple Movers	.80	.56	1.18	.93

*Difference between means statistically significant (p<.006)

**Difference between means statistically significant (p<.0004)

***Difference between means statistically significant (p<.001)

****Difference not statistically significant (N=101)

meant a return to this area which they had left a number of years previously.

⁵"Sisters" includes women married to brothers; "brothers" includes men married to sisters; "extended" refers to aunts, uncles, cousins, and grandparents.

While the differences between one-time and multiple movers are found among each type of relative, these data indicate that the greatest difference is that brothers are less likely to be included in the network of multiple movers.

In summary, then, these findings regarding the amount of kinship ties composing the migrant's network suggest that multiple relocation does have the effect of reducing the kinship network, particularly among the women's own set of relatives. The fact that the decrease is among the women's own kin and not those of her husband is intriguing. Yet, as seen in Table 7.2, twice as many own-kin were included by one-time movers. Women who have just recently moved from the place in which they lived as a single person and in which they probably have had extensive interaction with their own families are likely to maintain these contacts. Additional years away from one's family may, of course, also have the effect of decreasing some family ties and those who have moved two or three times as a wife are likely to have these additional years away from home. Nevertheless, these findings might caution us not to over-emphasize the continuance of kinship ties in a highly mobile society. Some reduction in kinship participation, particularly with brothers and sisters, appears likely as the result of multiple migration.

Such a finding, of course, says nothing about the quality or intensity of those ties which do persist despite multiple migrations. It may be that only those ties which are initially strong persist over several migrations and thus the overall quality of the kinship ties does not decrease with the decrease in size. Although the data from this research cannot adequately measure the quality of these migrants' relationships with kin, one measure was taken as a general indicator of the intensity of such ties.⁶ The migrants were asked "how close" they felt to each relative. This measure was only taken for a maximum of the first seven kinship ties with whom the migrant reported contact, and only for non-local ties. Still it is here analyzed as tentative indication of the nature of these kinship relations.

The concept of closeness was not defined by the interviewer. Thus the results of this measure are based upon the respondents' perceptions of "close." For each of the first seven relatives living elsewhere the women reported whether they felt (1) very close, (2) close, or (3) not close. On a scale of 1-3, in which "very close" is coded as 1, the mean "closeness" score for

⁶While frequency of contact would be a very useful indicator of the intensity of these non-local kin ties, this information was asked only for the first two kin listed in the prior community (Appendix A, p 222). Consequently, for most of the ties reported, there are no

these kin, as one might expect, is 1.3. In other words, these women generally report feeling very close to the families from whom they have migrated. A breakdown of these scores by mobility group, moreover, indicates that this measure of the intensity of such ties does not increase or decrease significantly with the mobility rate.⁷ Thus while these findings do suggest some differences in the size of the kinship component of the total network, there is no indication that the quality of these ties decreases in intensity.

2) Friends

While there has been much recent emphasis on the study of kinship ties among migrants, it is nevertheless still the case that among migrants who live in a highly mobile society non-kin compose a greater proportion of the personal networks than kin. In this sample for instance, non-kin make up approximately 63% of the total personal network of the women. And the largest group among the non-kin in the networks (47% of the total network) is the category "friends" to which we now turn

data available regarding frequency of contact.

⁷These means vary only from 1.35 to 1.25 among the groups.

attention. The size of the friends group is so large in part because, as with the kinship component, friends too are likely to be included in both the local and non-local segments of the network.

Virtually all of these women (99%) report that they maintain contact with persons living outside of the Hamilton-Burlington area who are not relatives. Such non-kin ties are here classified as friends. Although these persons may have originally been recruited as neighbors or co-workers, other factors such as affection or "perceived likeness" (Adams, 1967) now account for the present long-distance interaction. On the average, these "elsewhere" friends compose approximately 30% of the migrant's social network.

Local friends make up another 17% of the total network. The women in this sample of migrants had lived in the Hamilton-Burlington area for approximately one year at the time of the interview and therefore had lived long enough in this new location to begin to recruit persons into their networks whom they had not met as either neighbors or co-workers. Usually these are persons with whom they became acquainted through participation in voluntary organizations, through their spouse or through other friends or relatives. Certainly not all of these local friends are persons with whom the woman

shares the type of intimate relationship which might be the case with friends living elsewhere, but many are considered "well known" and function as important social ties. Others, of course, are only acquaintances who have been designated "not well-known" and who are either too newly recruited to yet be considered well-known friends or are persons with whom the migrant desires only a superficial relationship.

In this section, then, we will examine these local as well as distant friends to determine what effect, if any, mobility rate has upon this segment of the social network. We look first at the size of the total friendship component for the different mobile groups. Subsequently we analyze the nature of the local friendship ties only since sufficient data are not available for the distant friends.

In the first place, then, while analysis of the kin component did reveal significant variation according to mobility rate, there is no difference in either the number or proportion of friends who compose the networks of the separate mobile groups (Table 7.4). Each mobile category has a mean of approximately eleven friends living in the Hamilton-Burlington area or elsewhere. In addition, the proportion of the network constituted by these friends does not vary significantly by mobile

Table 7.4 The Size of the Friend Component of the Total Network for Each Mobile Category

Number of Moves	Mean Number of Friends	% of Total Network	% Who are Non-Local	% Who are Local
1	11.5	45%	29%	15%
2	10.6	44%	26%	18%
3	10.3	52%	35%	17%
4 or more	11.3	49%	33%	16%
Grand Mean: (N= 101)	10.9	47%	30%	17%

category. Nor does separate analysis of the local and non-local segments of the network uncover any major hidden differences between mobile groups (Table 7.4). The mean proportions of local and non-local friends vary only slightly from the overall means.

What slight increase there is in the overall proportion of friends in the higher two mobile categories is entirely accounted for by the increase in non-local friendship ties (Table 7.4).⁸ This increase, moreover, may simply be a function of age. These higher mobile women tend to be older and are therefore likely to have established more friendships in their prior communities with whom they would want to retain contact.

At the very least, then, we can draw two conclusions regarding the size of the friend component of the network. Firstly, in contrast to the kin component, the friends made in prior communities are maintained to the same extent by the less and more highly mobile women. Secondly, all these women, regardless of the number of moves they have made, maintain a similar proportion of local friends in their networks.

⁸It is worth noting at this point that this finding clarifies somewhat an earlier finding regarding the increase of participation in voluntary organizations by more highly mobile migrants. The increase in such organizational participation does not result in any increase in the proportion of local friends, even though it may well

At this point, however, it remains a question whether the local friendship ties of the women are similar in nature as well as similar in size. To answer this question we turn to the second part of this examination of the friends component of the migrants' networks, analysis of the nature of the local friendship ties. Two specific aspects of these ties are measurable from the data and provide some evidence regarding possible variation in the nature of the friendship ties for the different mobile groups. They are the sex composition of the group of local friends and the strength (or intensity) of the ties.

Sex composition is the more easily measured factor and, as one would suspect, women in general constitute a large proportion (62%) of these local friends. While this proportion is slightly higher for the two more highly mobile groups, the increase is not statistically significant ($F\text{-ratio} = 2.5, p < .12$) (Table 7.5).

It cannot be concluded, in other words, that the sex composition of the local group of friends changes significantly by mobility rate. On the contrary, this finding provides some evidence that these women continue to recruit a significant majority of women friends

provide a larger pool of persons from which local friendship ties might be recruited.

Table 7.5 Sex Composition of the Friend Component
of the Local Network

Number of Moves	% of friends who are women
1	59%
2	58%
3	71%
4 or more	66%
Grand Mean = (N= 80)	62%

into their local networks regardless of the number of times they have moved as a wife.

It is worth noting, moreover, that even for the more highly mobile women these women friends are not primarily the wives of their husbands' friends. Certainly such middle class migrant women can be expected to include some women in their networks to whom they were introduced by or through their husbands. But the number of such contacts as a proportion of the local friendship group is small and does not increase significantly as the women move more frequently. Among all these women, the more highly mobile and the less mobile, only about 30% of their women friends were introduced to them by their spouse.

In general, then, regardless of the number of times they have moved these migrant women appear to seek out women in their new community with whom they may have similar interests and with whom they may thus establish ties of friendship. Such women friends are the larger part of their local group of friends.

As regards the strength (or intensity) of the migrants' local friendship ties, there are four indicants which have been analyzed in this research and all four point to the fact that the quality of the ties does not vary by mobility rate. The first of these indicants is the classification of the friends as either "well-known" or "not well-known."⁹ Overall the women report that approximately 49% of their friends are well-known. There is little indication from an examination of the means of the mobile groups, however, that the proportion increases or decreases systematically with mobility rate (Table 7.6). Furthermore, the Pearson correlation coefficient is negligible ($r = .02$).

A second indicant of the intensity of these ties is measured by the extent to which the migrants would confide in these friends. Specifically, for each friend

⁹Once again the respondents made their own determination of "well known-ness" according to what each migrant perceived a well-known friend to be.

Table 7.6 Proportion of Friends in the Local Network Who are "Well-Known"

Number of Moves	% Well-known Friends
1	51%
2	57%
3	41%
4 or more	44%
Grand Mean =	49% (N= 80)
F-ratio = .76 (NS)	

the women were asked "Is he/she someone you would confide in?" The response categories allowed for three options: (3) yes, definitely; (2) yes, on some matters; and (1) no. A score of willingness to confide was calculated by averaging the responses and these scores then ranged from a low of 1.0 to 3.0. The overall mean score for these migrants is 1.6 and the means for each mobile group vary only minimally from this grand mean. (Table 7.7). These women, then, regardless of the number of times they have moved as a wife, report a fairly low level of willingness to confide in their friends.

Table 7.7 Willingness to Confide in Friends

Number of Moves	Mean Scores
1	1.5 (N=23)
2	1.7 (N=24)
3	1.5 (N=14)
4	1.8 (N=18)
Grand Mean =	1.6 (N=76)

The third and fourth indicants are an attempt to obtain more objective data regarding the nature of these local friendship ties. As distinct from how the women "felt" about the ties, they were asked two specific questions about their relationships: "How often have you seen this person in the last month?"¹⁰ and "Do you help each other in any way?" Responses to both questions corroborate the previous, more subjective indications that there are no significant variations by mobility rate (Table 7.8).

¹⁰Frequency of phone conversations in addition to number of visits might have been a better indicant of the amount of interaction since it is arguable that much important communication between women occurs on the phone. The original interview schedule, however, was prepared for a mainly male sample of respondents.

Table 7.8 Behavioral Indicators of Network Quality

Number of Moves	Helpfulness ¹¹ Score	% of Friends seen once a week or more
1 (N=23)	.63	27%
2 (N=24)	.63	35%
3 (N=14)	.46	40%
4 or more (N=15)	.56	19%
Grand Mean =	.58	30%

It seems clear, then, that the strength (or intensity) of the local friendship ties, as measured by these four indicators, is not changed by increasing mobility. And more generally, it is clear that the nature of these local friendship ties does not vary with the rate of mobility.

Regardless of mobility rate, then, the friendship component of the network appears similar, as regards both

¹¹For each person in the local network the women reported whether or not they helped that person or were helped by the person. If the respondent indicated that "helping" was part of the relationship, one or two types of help were listed. On the basis of these responses, a "Helpfulness Score" was calculated in the following fashion: a score of 0 was assigned when no helping was indicated, a score 1 when only one type of helping was described, and 2 when two or more types of helping were

its size and its nature, for all migrants. It must therefore be concluded from these data that mobility rate is not a factor affecting friendship ties.

3) Neighbors

The component of the migrants' networks constituted by neighbors at first appears to be a small part of these womens' informal participation since such ties compose only 14% of the total network. Yet this relatively small size is due to the fact that the category is limited to persons living in the Hamilton-Burlington area. Within the local segment of their network neighbors comprise a fairly large part (approximately 36%). On the average, a migrant has included about three neighbors in her list of locally known persons. The number varies greatly, however, since twenty-four women report no neighbor contact and over half of the women (56%) report they have contact with more than three neighbors.

The size of this neighbor component, moreover, varies directly with mobility rate, as indicated by the zero-order regression analysis of the proportion of the total network constituted by neighbors ($b=.02$, $t=2.7$,

described. An overall mean score for each segment of the network (kin, friends, neighbors) was then determined by summing the individual scores and dividing the total by the number of persons in the segment.

p .01). It is possible, of course, that such variation is due to the earlier finding that the more mobile women are less likely to be employed or to a factor such as life cycle stage. When other factors are controlled (Table 7.9), it can be seen that number of moves is not a statistically significant determinant of the proportion of neighbors.

Table 7.9 Regression Coefficients for Proportion of Neighbors in the Migrant's Network

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Coefficients	Standardized Coefficients	t-value/level of significance
Number of Moves	.02	.11	(NS)
Husband's Education	.01	.07	(NS)
No Pre-school Children/ Pre-school Children	.11	.17	(NS)
Non-residential/ Residential Movers	.18	.27	t=2.68 (p<.01)
Age	.00	.04	(NS)
Husband's Income	.00	.04	(NS)
Not employed/Employed	-.08	-.12	(NS)
Education of Respondent	-.02	-.17	(NS)
Occupation of Husband	.00	-.14	(NS)
Constant R ² = .19 (N=98)	-.04		

A more precise picture which describes this relationship between the size of this component and mobility rate (1 through 4 or more) is suggested by a breakdown of the mean size

each mobile category (Table 7.10). Rather than a strictly linear relationship or a major difference between one-time and multiple movers, it can be observed here that the difference is between the less mobile women (one or two moves) and the more mobile women (three or more moves).¹² Regarding the overall network composition among the more highly mobile women, then, the proportional decrease in the kin and, to some extent, the co-worker components (Figure 7.1) is countered by this increase in the proportion of neighbors. These more highly mobile women are likely substituting neighbors into their networks rather than either maintaining as great a proportion of non-local kin ties as the less mobile women maintain or being satisfied with smaller social networks.

Table 7.10 Proportion of Total and Local Networks
Constituted by Neighbors

No. of Moves	% of local network	% of total network
1	36%	13%
2	28%	10%
3	45%	15%
4 or more	47%	19%
Grand mean =	36%	14% (N= 101)

¹²The difference in means between the less and more

In order to determine the nature of this neighbor component, and to see if it changes with increased mobility, we will once again look at the sex composition of the component and then at the quality of the neighbor ties. Overall the sex composition is about evenly divided -- 52% of the neighbors are women. Yet the actual number of women neighbors increases with mobility rate ($r = .23$, $p < .01$) so that when the proportion of women neighbors for the two lesser and the two higher mobile categories are compared, we find that women constitute a significantly higher percentage of the neighbors for the higher mobile groups -- 62% of the neighbors for the more highly mobile women and only 47% for the lesser mobile women (F -ratio = 4.89, $p < .03$). Thus not only is there a change in the size of the neighbor component for these two higher mobile groups, but the composition also changes to include a greater percentage of women.

There are, moreover, three aspects of the quality of these neighbor ties covered by this research which could provide evidence of other changes in the nature of these ties. They are (1) the frequency with which the neighbors see one another, (2) the extent to which they

mobile women for the local network is statistically significant at .03 ($F = 4.6$). For the total network the difference is statistically significant at .01 ($F = 6.3$).

are willing to confide in one another, and (3) the extent to which they help one another. Upon examination, however, none of these measures actually indicates any systematic changes in the quality of the neighbor ties which can be correlated with the number of times the women have moved as wives (Table 7.11).

Table 7.11 Indicators of the Quality of Neighbor Ties

Number of moves	% of neighbors seen at least once a week	Willingness to confide (\bar{x} score)	Helpfulness (\bar{x} score)
1 (N=23)	69%	1.5	1.2
2 (N=19)	74%	1.4	.8
3 (N=14)	58%	1.6	1.0
4 or more (N=21)	70%	1.6	1.1
Grand mean = (N=77)	69%	1.5	1.0

The women do report that they see a large proportion of their neighbors at least once a week. Among all the migrants the mean proportion of neighbors seen this frequently is 69%. As noted, however, there is no systematic increase or decrease related to mobility rate. Overall, moreover, these migrants do not report much willingness to confide in neighbors ($\bar{x} = 1.5$ on the scale

of 1 to 3) and while the two higher mobile groups have slightly higher mean scores, the difference is statistically insignificant. Finally, while these migrants and their neighbors appear to perform the expected "helping" behaviors associated with being a neighbor, this admittedly somewhat crude measure does not vary directly or indirectly with mobility rate.

In summary, then, the size of the neighbor segment of the network increases, especially for women who have moved three or more times, and the proportion of women in this segment also increases directly with mobility rate. The quality of these neighbor ties, on the other hand, appears to be no different for the less and more mobile women.

In conclusion, the detailed examination of the composition of the social networks confirms the differences between the less and more mobile groups which were indicated in the initial broad overview (Figure 7.1). Specifically, the relative size of the kin component is smaller for the higher mobile women and the relative size of the neighbor component increases for these same women. The size of the friend and co-worker components, on the other hand, do not vary significantly by mobility rate. Nor are there clear indica-

tions of changes in the quality of ties within each of these components that are related to mobility rate.

The three particular systematic effects which have been indicated by the analysis of informal participation are,

- (1) that multiple movers maintain fewer ties than one time movers in the community in which they lived immediately prior to their most recent move,
- (2) that multiple movers maintain fewer non-local own-kin ties than one-time movers,
- (3) that the more highly mobile women (3 or more moves) include a greater percentage of neighbors, and particularly women neighbors, in their local networks than the less mobile women.

These findings, then, can be interpreted to support Slater's suggestion that persons experiencing frequent migration can learn to "plug in and out" of relationships. The more highly mobile women in this sample have established as many ties in their new location as the less mobile women. And the more highly mobile women are not as likely to maintain some of their ties from previous communities (particularly those of the last place of residence and those with some of their own kin). On one level such effects are not negative or disruptive because the highly mobile women report keeping in contact with friends made elsewhere and they are able to establish new ties with friends and neighbors.

It is also clear, however, that the multiple movers experience a narrowing of ties with their own kin and while an increase in neighbor ties provides some substitute for this loss, the substitution involves a definite qualitative change in their informal participation.

Whether or not one considers this qualitative change to be a negative or disruptive effect depends in large measure upon one's value judgments regarding the significance of the family.

VIII

CONCLUSION

In order to explore possible effects of frequent relocation upon married women's social participation, this research has examined three aspects of such social participation: 1) employment, 2) membership in voluntary organizations, and 3) relationships with relatives, friends, and neighbors. As indicated in Chapter I, the general assumption guiding this research suggested that while mobility rate may be unrelated to much of married women's extra-family social participation, there may nevertheless be one or more important ways in which it has negative effects upon such participation. By way of over-all conclusion, then, we can state that this study does indeed provide some evidence to support this idea.

Somewhat surprisingly, however, the evidence in support of the research assumption indicates that the most significant distinction for understanding possible effects of mobility rate is the distinction between one-time and multiple movers. Women who had moved twice as wives, in other words, were usually similar to those three (or more)

time movers who would more typically be classified as "highly mobile." This fact in itself may be one of the more interesting findings of the present research. For the mean length of residence in the place prior to the most recent move for these two-time movers is much more similar to that of the more highly mobile group than to one-time movers (one move = 14 yrs.; two = 2.5 yrs.; three = 2.8 yrs.). In addition there may well be a real qualitative difference between the first move as a wife and all subsequent moves since a woman is more likely at the time of the first move to be moving away from family and old friends. Thus, it is primarily women who have moved at least twice as wives who have begun to experience that pattern of inter-urban multiple migration which is characteristic of industrial societies and which is here referred to as "high mobility."

As regards the specific effects of mobility rate upon the social participation of such multiple movers, the evidence indicates that the dysfunctional nature of multiple migration is more apparent for the migrants' formal social participation (employment and voluntary organizations) than for their informal participation. The following summary and interpretation of the findings will elaborate and clarify this more specific conclusion.

Formal Participation

The findings regarding married women's formal social participation can be summarized as follows:

- A) Regarding the extent of labor force participation, married women who have made multiple moves are 1) less likely to be employed, and 2) more likely to be employed part-time rather than full-time. The presence of small children is, of course, the more important reason for these differences in present employment status between one-time and multiple movers, but the higher rate of mobility also contributes to this difference. Again the sample bias must be noted in regards to this finding. While there were also too few cases to provide adequate analysis regarding women's perceptions of themselves as home-makers or unemployed persons, there is at least the indication in these findings that multiple movers are more likely to consider themselves "unemployed" than one-time movers. As regards some particular aspects of employment status -- length of time between the move and subsequent employment, occupational attainment and job satisfaction -- there are no statistically significant differences between one-time and multiple movers.
- B) Regarding participation in voluntary organizations, the multiple movers in this sample report slightly more participation than one-time movers. This difference, however, could have appeared by chance. Further analysis suggests that what differences there are may perhaps be due to social class. Although the size of the sample also makes it difficult to draw anything but a very tentative conclusion about the types of organizations the migrants join, the data do suggest that multiple movers are more likely to join organizations explicitly designed to facilitate meeting other persons in their new community. Although all types of organizations showed some increased membership among multiple movers, the largest differences were found to be in the hobby, recreational, and social organizations. The only statistically significant difference between one-time and multiple movers, however, was found for social organizations.

How, then, are these findings to be interpreted? Are they supportive of the proposition that higher rates of geographic mobility may have important effects for married women? Once again, as with the interpretation of prior sociological facts in Chapter I, we take a step beyond what may be known "scientifically" to a particular interpretation of what is empirically known or indicated -- to an interpretation, in other words, which derives from a certain perspective regarding the roles of married women in industrial societies.

Of course, if the findings are not viewed from a critical perspective in which the social participation of both men and women would ideally take place in both domestic and public spheres, they may not provide any evidence that multiple relocation as a wife has important negative effects for these women.¹ When viewed from this critical perspective,

¹Those who take a different perspective might focus on two particular findings as a basis for rejecting the dysfunctional interpretation. They might first stress that among multiple movers a majority (71%) of the women who were not employed wanted to be housewives. This finding, they would argue, far from indicating anything dysfunctional, makes explicit the congruence between the normative system of family roles and the negative effect of multiple migration upon married women's labor force participation. They would then note the second finding which suggests that women who have moved more than once appear to minimize disruption by joining organizations, particularly ones in which they can make new friends and perhaps pursue some leisure interest. Thus when viewed from a perspective which accepts the limitation of married women's productive social participation to

however, the findings do provide a definite indication that multiple relocation has an important negative effect upon the formal participation of married women. Specifically it is negative for married women because it has the effect of limiting their productive activity to the domestic or private sphere of social life by discouraging labor force participation and, perhaps, by encouraging membership primarily in voluntary organizations of a social rather than of a service orientation.²

In the first place, then, labor force participation is discouraged by multiple migration. Of course a normative system regarding the roles of married men and women is also influential in discouraging the labor force participation of married women, probably even more influential than their migration experience. Still, the finding of a negative relationship between multiple migration and the extent of labor force participation does indicate the additional negative effect of moving frequently, or at least makes very explicit the congruency between a normative system

the domestic sphere, these findings would provide little indication of particular dysfunctions for married women.

²Again, while multiple movers reported slightly more participation in service organizations, this increase, unlike that for social organizations, is statistically insignificant.

which expects occupational role segregation of husbands and wives and the demographic phenomenon of multiple migration.³

As already noted, this congruency could be interpreted positively so long as one remains uncritical of such norms. But if one believes that the financially supportive function is to be shared equally by wives and husbands, then the effect of multiple migration would be negative precisely because it is congruent with and thus reinforces a normative system which needs to be changed. Indeed, the present finding provides some empirical support for M. Patricia Marchak's contention that the present pattern of migration and an altered normative system would be incompatible. She writes: "If both sexes were expected to hold responsible jobs while rearing families, mobility would not be the prerogative of men, or would be reduced altogether" (Marchak, 1977:154).

Of course the fact that the labor force participation of multiple movers is discouraged does not by itself

³In this research we did not ask the women about moves which they had considered but had not made, nor about the expectations they had regarding a division of labor within the family. Thus it is not possible to sort out to what extent both multiple migration and less labor force participation may be the result of adherence to social norms.

provide adequate support for the interpretation that multiple relocation has the effect of limiting married women's productive social participation to the domestic or private sphere. For often it is women who are not employed who make important contributions to the public sphere on a voluntary basis. The findings of this research regarding participation in voluntary organizations, however, do not suggest that activities which have as their goal some common or public good are in fact encouraged by multiple migration. While a slightly larger proportion of multiple movers belong to service organizations than one-time movers, the difference is quite small (5%) in comparison to the difference between one-time and multiple movers as regards other types of participation oriented explicitly towards personal pleasure and/or leisure. Hobby, recreational and social organizations increased by 14%, 12% and 15% respectively.

As already noted, because of the number of cases involved, this finding is admittedly far from definitive. Still, this finding regarding the types of organizations joined by multiple movers at least points in a direction which is supportive of the interpretation that multiple migration does not encourage married women to lead lives in which they may experience the challenges, risks, and

joys of occupying positions in the public sphere.

This interpretation clearly should not be taken to mean that women's (or men's) participation in the private sphere is not important to the welfare of society. Certainly production and reproduction within the home are necessary and very important functions for the good of society as a whole. What is negative for the more highly mobile married woman is the fact that this sphere is likely to be the limit of her productive social participation. And this limitation may, moreover, be not only negative for married women themselves, but dysfunctional for the common good since society is deprived of a possible contribution to the public sphere from the additional talents and efforts of such women.

Informal Participation

The findings regarding informal social participation can be summarized as follows:

- A) Mobility rate is found to be unrelated to the size of the migrants' local social network and the size of the network of persons living in all places except the last place prior to their most recent move. There is some evidence to suggest that multiple movers maintain fewer contacts in the community in which they had lived immediately prior to their most recent move than one-time movers.

- B) The composition of the social networks of these migrants does not vary significantly as a result of mobility rate. It was found that multiple movers maintain fewer non-local own-kin ties than one-time movers and that the most mobile women (3 or more moves) include a greater proportion of neighbors, particularly women neighbors, in their local networks than less mobile women.

Overall, then, a higher rate of mobility does not appear to have a negative effect upon married women's informal social participation. The only negative finding concerns the fact that multiple movers maintain fewer ties with their own kin who live elsewhere than one-time movers. One-time movers, in contrast, were more likely than multiple movers (29% compared with only 12%) to report that they thought a disadvantage to the most recent move would be leaving family and they, in fact, maintain more ties in their most recent prior community (which for them typically involves family) than multiple movers. Thus from a perspective which places a high value upon the significance of kin as a dimension of informal participation, the loss of some kin ties experienced by multiple movers is an important negative result of multiple migration. Yet since most of the differences between one-time and multiple movers in this study are slight -- since, in other words, neither the size nor the composition of social networks can be said to vary significantly with mobility rate --

it cannot be said, at least on the basis of these data, that a high rate of mobility has a negative effect upon married women's informal social participation.

There is, however, one further observation which should be made regarding this analysis of informal social participation. The conclusion that a high rate of mobility does not have significant negative effects is based upon the women's reports concerning the size and composition of their social networks -- specifically upon their reports that they continue to keep contact with persons living in other communities as well as with persons in the Hamilton-Burlington area. Their reports, however, do not include adequate data about the frequency and intensity of such contacts. It is at least conceivable, then, that more exact data concerning the nature of these contacts might reveal differences between the social networks of the one-time and multiple movers -- differences which, in the absence of such data, are not apparent.

Future Research

Because of the tentative nature of many of these findings, additional research would be useful to confirm the present indication that a pattern of multiple migration has negative effects for married women. Such research would improve upon the present study if:

- 1) more precise information would be gathered about the women's past experiences in formal organizations;
- 2) a larger, more representative sample would be used so that women of lower socio-economic status would be included;
- 3) non-movers would be included in the sample and information gathered about the extent to which these couples have considered moving from their present location and why they did not make moves they had considered.
- 4) more specific information would be included about the women's relationships with persons living elsewhere.

In addition, it is certainly possible that a high rate of geographic mobility may also have negative consequences for married men despite the widely held view that men optimize their own material and social satisfaction through migration. An examination of the effects of mobility rate upon men's social participation, then, would also be useful for enhancing our understanding of the relationship between this demographic phenomenon and social life.

The more general task of research into the effect of high rates of geographic mobility is, then, only partially completed by the present research -- both because additional research is needed regarding the effect of high mobility upon married women and because a parallel empirical investigation of the relationship between mobility rate

and social participation has yet to be undertaken for married men. The purpose of such future migration research, moreover, should not, at least in the judgment of this writer, be designed simply to determine whether married men and women "adjust" to the phenomenon of high mobility. It should, rather, be designed to provide findings which might be useful in ascertaining the extent to which men and women should adjust to an occupational system which requires such a high degree of mobility and the extent to which, conversely, men and women should require the occupational system to adjust to their human needs and values.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR
MARRIED WOMEN

Name of Respondent: _____ Card No. _____
 Address: _____ Case No. _____
 Interview Name _____ Interview No. _____

0	1
---	---

1 2

--	--	--

3 4 5 *

--	--

6 7

Interview Began: CIRCLE AM OR PM
 _____ A.M.
 _____ P.M.

--	--	--	--

8 9 10 11 *

Interview Ended:
 _____ A.M.
 _____ P.M.

--	--	--	--

12 13 14 15 *

Date _____
 Day Month Year

--	--

16 17 *

<u>CALLS</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>
COMPLETED	1	1	1	1
APPOINTMENT	2	2	2	2
NOT HOME	3	3	3	3
REFUSED AT DOOR	4	4	4	4
REFUSED BY RESPONDENT	5	5	5	5
MOVED	6	6	6	6
NOT RELOCATED	7	7	7	7
OTHER (SPECIFY) _____	8	8	8	8

--	--	--	--

18 19 20 21

CODE FOR Q. 1 - Code in months.

CODES FOR Q. 2.

- 01. transferred
- 02. husband had job here
- 03. better job prospects for husband
- 04. did not like previous location
- 05. presence of family
- 06. marriage or lack of marriage
- 07. poor job potential for husband in previous location
- 08. climate
- 10. desired better housing
- 11. health
- 12. educational facilities
- 13. other
- 14. don't know
- 00. no response

CODES FOR Q. 3.

- 01. very eager, negative about previous place, positive about new place
- 02. somewhat eager, negative response about previous place, nothing positive about this area
- 03. ambivalent, positive about both places
- 04. somewhat hesitant, positive about previous place, but not negative about new place
- 05. very hesitant, very positive about previous place, negative about new place

CODES FOR Q. 4.

- | | |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 01. nothing, no | 09. other |
| 02. better housing | 10. more income |
| 03. better job for husband | 11. job advancement for husband |
| 04. meet new people | 12. facilities closer by |
| 05. better schools | 13. better facilities |
| 06. presence of family | 14. own own house |
| 07. presence of friends | 00. no response |
| 08. better medical care | |

I know from your husband's interview that you came to Hamilton (Burlington) from _____. First I'd like to ask you some questions about the decision to move and about the move itself.

1. How long now have you lived in Hamilton (Burlington)? _____

□
25

2. What (concern or situation) initiated your decision to move from _____? IF TRANSFERRED PROBE INTO SITUATION BY ASKING, Was this transfer requested by your husband? IF YES, PROBE WHETHER THE TRANSFER WAS REQUESTED BECAUSE HUSBAND WANTED A PARTICULAR TYPE OF JOB OR BECAUSE HE WANTED TO LIVE IN THIS AREA.

□ □
26 27

3. How eager were you to leave _____? RECORD VERBATIM, THEN CODE CORRESPONDING CATEGORY.

□
28

4. Did you think there would be improvements in your life as a result of the move?

- 1. yes
- 2. no
- 0. no response

□
29

IF YES, PROBE FOR TYPE OF IMPROVEMENT(S) AND CODE

a. _____

b. _____

□ □
30 31

□ □
32 33

CODES FOR Q. 5.

- 01. nothing
- 02. higher cost of housing
- 03. no job for husband
- 04. must make new friends
- 05. worse schools
- 06. absence of friends
- 07. absence of family
- 08. doctor, dentist
- 09. other
- 10. less income for husband
- 11. no job for respondent
- 12. worse facilities (shopping, recreational)
- 13. less satisfactory job for respondent
- 14. less income for respondent
- 00. no response

CODES FOR Q. 7.

- 01. Within 1st week after husband's arrival
- 02. " 2nd week after husband's arrival
- 03. " 3rd week " " "
- 04. " 4th week " " "
- 05. " 5th week " " "
- 06. " 6th week " " "
- 07. " 7th week " " "
- 08. " 8th week " " "
- 09. 9 weeks or more after husband's arrival
- 10. Within 1st week before husband's arrival
- 11. " 2nd week before husband's arrival
- 12. " 3rd week " " "
- 13. " 4th week " " "
- 14. " 5th week " " "
- 15. " 6th week " " "
- 16. " 7th week " " "
- 17. " 8th week " " "
- 18. 9 weeks or more before husband's arrival
- 19. not applicable

5. Did you think there would be any particular disadvantages resulting from the move?

- 1. yes
- 2. no
- 0. no response

34

35 36

37 38

6. Did you and your husband arrive here at the same time?

- 1. yes SKIP TO Q. 10.
- 2. no

39

7. How long before or after your husband's arrival did you move here?

40 41

8. Why did you come at this time rather than with your husband?

RECORD VERBATIM AND THEN CODE

42

- 1. housing at prior place of residence
- 2. housing in Hamilton (Burl)
- 3. children's schooling
- 4. job of respondent
- 5. other
- 9. not applicable

9. Did anyone come with you?

- 1. yes
- 2. no
- 9. not applicable

43

IF YES, Who? CODE RELATIONSHIP

	44	45
	46	47
	48	49
	50	51

10. Now I'd like to ask you whether yourself alone, your husband alone or both of you together, undertook the following tasks involved in the process of moving.

CODE FOR EACH ITEM: 1. wife
 2. husband
 3. both w. and h.
 4. moving company
 5. employer
 6. not applicable
 7. can't remember
 8. other
 0. no response

SELLING HOUSE/INFORMING LANDLORD OF MOVE	<input type="checkbox"/>	5 2
NOTIFICATION OF MOVE TO TELEPHONE CO.	<input type="checkbox"/>	5 3
NOTIFICATION OF MOVE TO OTHER UTILITIES (e.g., GAS, HYDRO)	<input type="checkbox"/>	5 4
NOTIFICATION OF MOVE TO SCHOOL OFFICIALS	<input type="checkbox"/>	5 5
ARRANGEMENTS FOR MOVING FURNITURE	<input type="checkbox"/>	5 6
NOTIFICATION OF ADDRESS CHANGE FOR MAGAZINES, OHIP, ETC.	<input type="checkbox"/>	5 7
NOTIFICATION OF ADDRESS CHANGE TO FRIENDS	<input type="checkbox"/>	5 8
PACKING OF THE HOUSEHOLD GOODS	<input type="checkbox"/>	5 9
CLEANING OF PAST RESIDENCE	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 0
LOOKING FOR HOUSING	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 1
NEGOTIATE BUYING HOUSE WITH REAL ESTATE AGENT	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 2
RENT APT. OR SIGN LEASE	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 3
REQUEST A TELEPHONE	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 4
REQUEST OTHER UTILITIES	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 5
MAKE REPAIRS ON HOUSE OR APT. (e.g., PAINTING)	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 6
UNPACK HOUSEHOLD GOODS	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 7
CLEAN HOUSE OR APT.	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 8
REGISTER CHILDREN IN SCHOOL	<input type="checkbox"/>	6 9

CODES FOR Q. 11.

01. nothing
02. arranging accommodation
03. arranging schools
04. meeting people
05. contacting family
06. contacting friends
07. arranging transportation
08. arranging for doctor, dentist, other medical
09. other (specify) _____
00. no response
10. locating facilities
11. maintenance and repair
12. arranging utilities
13. arranging job
14. leaving friends
15. leaving relatives
16. leaving respondent's job
17. moving the furniture

CODES FOR Q. 12.

01. arranging accommodation
02. arranging schools
03. meeting people
04. contacting family
05. contacting friends
06. arranging transportation
07. arranging for doctors, dentists, other medical
08. other
09. locating facilities
00. no response
11. arranging utilities
12. arranging husband's job
13. moving itself
14. nothing
15. arranging respondent's job

11. What things turned out to be the most difficult parts of relocating?

PROBE FOR WHY SOMETHING WAS DIFFICULT IF NOT EVIDENT.

a. _____

70	71

b. _____

72	73

12. Were there things that turned out easier than you expected in moving?

PROBE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS POSITIVELY.

a. _____

74	75

b. _____

76	77

IF THE MOVE WAS BECAUSE OF THE HUSBAND'S JOB:

13. Has your husband's employer attempted in any way to aid your settlement?

- 1. yes
- 2. no
- 0. no response

78

IF YES, How?

79

- CODES:
- 1. financially
 - 2. socially
 - 3. other
 - 9. not applicable

CODES FOR Q. 14B. (TIME)

- . Record last two digits of year arriving and year leaving
- 99. not applicable

CODES FOR Q. 14C. (MARITAL STATUS)

- 1. single
- 2. married - no children
- 3. married - child or children
- 4. married - all children left household
- 5. divorced, separated
- 6. widowed
- 7. living together, common law
- 9. not applicable
- 0. no response

CODES FOR Q. 14D. (SIZE OF PLACE)

- 1. rural farm
- 2. rural nonfarm
- 3. village
- 4. small town
- 5. small city (up to 250,00)
- 6. large city
- 7. don't know
- 8. not applicable
- 0. no response

CODES FOR Q. 14E. (EMPLOYMENT)

- 1. employed
- 2. not employed
- 0. no response

14. In order to get a better idea of your background I'd like to make a list of the towns in which you have lived. I'll ask you what years you lived in each place, what your family status was (were you single, married without children, married with children, etc.) and whether or not you were ever employed at each place of residence.

I'll start with your last place of residence in _____.
 What years did you live there? CODE LAST TWO DIGITS OF YEAR.
 Were you married to Mr. _____ at that time?
 Were you employed in _____ place of residence?

Where did you live before that? CODE BIRTHPLACE IN CELL 7.

0	2			
1	2	3	4	5

A. Place	B. Time		C. Marital History		D. Size of Place	E. Emp.				
NAME OF TOWN	YEAR OF ARR.	YEAR OF DEP.	MOST RECENT STATUS	ORIG. STATUS IF DIFF.	POP. EST.					
	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35
	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45
	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55
	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65
	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75

CODE: TOTAL NUMBER OF MOVES
 NUMBER OF MOVES SINCE MARRIAGE

CODES FOR Q. 15

- a. USE OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION MANUAL
- b. USE OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION MANUAL
- c.
 - 1. no
 - 2. yes
 - 9. not applicable
- d.
 - 1. full time
 - 2. part time
 - 9. not applicable
- e. CODE IN MONTHS
- f.
 - 1. salaried
 - 2. hourly paid
 - 3. piece rate
 - 4. self-employed
 - 9. not applicable
- g. RECORD RAW DATA

0	3
1	2

3	4	5

IF RESPONDENT HAS NO EMPLOYMENT HISTORY, SKIP TO Q. 16.

15. I'm interested in the type of job(s) you had previous to your move. You said that you were employed in (most recent place of residence in which employment reported.) What type of work were you doing there?

IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT SHE IS PRESENTLY WORKING AT THE SAME JOB SHE HAD BEFORE THE MOVE, DO NOT ASK THE FOLLOWING SET OF QUESTIONS FOR THIS JOB. WRITE "SAME AS PRESENT JOB" AND ASK:

Did you have a job previous to this job in ____?

- a. What was your job title?
- b. What kind of business, industry or service was it in?
- c. Did you have any problems getting this job? PROBE FOR PROBLEM
- d. Was it a full or part time job?
- e. How long did you have this job?
- f. Were you salaried? (or hourly paid or on commission)
- g. What was your monthly income from this job?

NEXT TO PREVIOUS JOB

PREVIOUS JOB

	NEXT TO PREVIOUS JOB	PREVIOUS JOB						
a.	6 7 8 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>				9 10 11 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			
b.	12 13 14 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>				15 16 17 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			
c.	18 <table border="1"><tr><td></td></tr></table>		19 <table border="1"><tr><td></td></tr></table>					
d.	20 <table border="1"><tr><td></td></tr></table>		21 <table border="1"><tr><td></td></tr></table>					
e.	22 23 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			24 25 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>				
f.	26 <table border="1"><tr><td></td></tr></table>		27 <table border="1"><tr><td></td></tr></table>					
g.	28 29 30 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>				31 32 33 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			

16. Are you employed now aside from looking after the home?

1. yes - SKIP TO Q. 19.
2. no



34

17. Would you like to find a job in this area:

1. yes, as soon as possible
2. yes, but later
3. no
9. not applicable



35

18. Have you taken any steps to find a job in this area?

1. yes
2. no - SKIP TO Q. 25.
9. not applicable



36

IF UNEMPLOYED PRESENTLY AND RESPONDENT HAS NOT MADE ANY ATTEMPT TO BECOME EMPLOYED, SKIP TO Q. 25.

CODES FOR Q. 19A and E.
(ACTION AND CONTACT)

01. manpower
02. newspaper
03. friend
04. relative
05. trade journals
06. employment agency
07. hearsay
08. previous employer
09. contacted potential employer directly
10. other
11. read bulletin board notices
12. not applicable
13. no prior knowledge of job possibility
00. no response

CODES FOR Q. 19B.
(WHEN STEP TAKEN)

01. prior to move
02. during first month after arrival
03. during second month
04. during third month
05. during 4th month
06. during 5th month
07. during 6th month
08. during 7th month
09. during 8th month
10. during 9th month
11. not applicable

IF RESPONDENT IS PRESENTLY EMPLOYED, BUT EMPLOYMENT IS SAME JOB AS PREVIOUS TO MOVE, SKIP TO Q. 21.

IF EMPLOYED PRESENTLY OR IF UNEMPLOYED BUT HAS SOUGHT EMPLOYMENT ASK:

19. What steps did you take (have you taken) to find a job?

PROBE FOR THE FOLLOWING DATA FOR EACH AND RECORD IN CHART

- a. CODE FOR TYPE OF STEP
- b. When did you take this step?
- c. What type of job were you seeking?
- d. IF EMPLOYMENT AGENCY, MANPOWER OR INFORMAL CONTACT REPORTED, ASK, What employment possibilities did this agency (person) suggest?
- e. IF POTENTIAL EMPLOYER IS TYPE OF STEP ASK, Did you know of a job opening when you contacted the employer? IF YES, How had you become aware of the job possibility?
- f. Did you take any other steps to find a job? IF YES, REPEAT PROBES.

	a. ACTION	b. WHEN	c. TYPE OF JOB	d. EMP. POSSIBILITY	e. CONTACT	REL.
1	37 38 39 40		41 42 43		44 45 46 4	
2	48 49 50 51		52 53 54		55 56 57 5	
3	59 60 61 62		63 64 65		66 67 68 6	
4	70 71 72 73		74 75 76		77 78 79 8	

CODES FOR Q. 20

- a. USE OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION MANUAL
- b. USE OCCUPATIONAL CLASSIFICATION MANUAL
- c. CODE NUMBER OF WEEKS AFTER ARRIVAL
- d.
 - 1. full time
 - 2. part time
 - 9. not applicable
- e.
 - 1. salaried
 - 2. hourly paid
 - 3. piece rate
 - 4. self-employed
 - 9. not applicable
- f. RECORD RAW DATA

20. RECORD ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT PRESENT JOB IN CHART BELOW. IF RESPONDENT HAS HAD MORE THAN ONE JOB SINCE MOVING, RECORD INFORMATION ABOUT THE PRESENT JOB AND ABOUT THE FIRST JOB IN THIS AREA.

- a. What is your present job title?
- b. What kind of business, industry or service is it in?
- c. When did you begin this job?
- d. Is the job full or part time?
- e. Are you salaried? (or hourly paid or on commission?)
- f. What is your monthly income from this job?

0	4
1	2

3	4	5

FIRST JOB IF DIFFERENT THAN PRESENT JOB

PRESENT JOB

a.								
	6	7	8		9	10	11	
b.								
	12	13	14		15	16	17	
c.								
		18	19		20	21		
d.								
			22				23	
e.								
			24				25	
f.								
	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33

INTERVIEWER CODE FOR:

NO. OF JOBS SINCE MOVING

Salary comparison: Last and present job

- 1. increase
- 2. same
- 3. decrease

Salary comparison: first job and present job

- 1. increase
- 2. same
- 3. decrease

--

--

--

IF RESPONDENT IS NOT PRESENTLY EMPLOYED, SKIP TO Q. 25.
 IF RESPONDENT IS PRESENTLY EMPLOYED ASK THE FOLLOWING
 QUESTIONS:

21. How satisfied are you with your job?

1. very satisfied
2. satisfied
3. neutral
4. dissatisfied
5. very dissatisfied
9. not applicable

Why do you feel this way? _____

22. Would you like to find a different job?

1. yes
2. no
3. don't know
9. not applicable

IF YES, ASK, Why? _____

23. Are the people you work with the kind of people you like
 being with?

1. yes
2. somewhat
3. neutral
4. not much
5. not at all
6. don't know
9. not applicable

IF EMPLOYED NOW AND HAD A DIFFERENT JOB IN A PREVIOUS
 LOCATION, ASK:

24. What has been the best job you have had?

1. present job
2. next to last job in Hamilton area
3. last job before moving (but not present
 job)
4. next to last job before moving
5. job not previously mentioned

IF JOB NOT PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED, RECORD TYPE OF JOB

37

38 39

40

41 42

4

[

45 46 1

CODES FOR Q. 25A. (TYPE OF ASSOCIATION)

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 01. political | 08. business/professional |
| 02. service | 09. hobby or craft |
| 03. mutual benefit | 10. other |
| 04. religious | 11. recreational |
| 05. union | 12. educational |
| 06. veterans | 13. not applicable |
| 07. social | 14. no response |

CODES FOR Q. 25B. (POSITION IN ORGANIZATION)

1. President/Chairman
2. V.P./Sec./Treasurer
3. Other office
4. not an officer
5. not applicable

CODES FOR Q. 25C. (FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE)

1. every meeting
2. often
3. sometimes
4. never
5. not applicable
0. no response

0	5
---	---

1 2

--	--	--

3 4 5

25. Did you belong to any clubs, organizations or associations in _____?

- 1. yes
- 2. no
- 0. no response

--

6

IF YES, PROBE FOR TYPE OF ORGANIZATION, POSITION IN ASSOCIATION, AND FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE

A. TYPE OF ASSOC. B. POSITION IN ORG. C. FREQ. OF ATTEN.

7 8	9	10
11 12	13	14
15 16	17	18

IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT MENTION THE FOLLOWING, ASK AND RECORD ABOVE:

Did you participate in any social gatherings or recreational activities which were not really "clubs," but which met somewhat regularly?

Did you belong to a church or synagogue in _____?

Total Number

CODES FOR Q. 26B. (FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE)

1. every meeting
2. often
3. sometimes
4. never
9. not applicable
0. no response

CODES FOR Q. 26C. (ETHNICITY)

1. no
2. French
3. German
4. Italian
5. Jewish
6. Netherlands
7. British
8. other
9. not applicable
0. no response

CODES FOR Q. 26D. (POSITION IN ORGANIZATION)

1. President/Chairman
2. V.P./Sec./Treasurer
3. Other office
4. not an officer
5. not applicable

26. Have you joined any clubs, organizations, or associations since you have come to Hamilton (Burl)? For example, have you joined any _____ (types) _____? IF YES, ASK A, B, C, AND D.

1. yes
2. no
0. no response

NAME	Frequency of Attendance	Ethnicity	Position in Organization
Political Clubs	2 1	2 2	2 3
Service	2 4	2 5	2 6
Mutual Benefit	2 7	2 8	2 9
Church/Religious	3 0	3 1	3 2
Union	3 3	3 4	3 5
Veteran	3 6	3 7	3 8
Social	3 9	4 0	4 1
Business/Prof.	4 2	4 3	4 4
Hobby/Craft	4 5	4 6	4 7
Neighbourhood	4 8	4 9	5 0
Recreational	5 1	5 2	5 3
Other	5 4	5 5	5 6

Total number joined _____

CODES FOR Q. 27 -- WHY?HAPPY

- 01. presence of friends
- 02. presence of relatives
- 03. happy with job
- 04. good housing
- 05. good neighborhood
- 06. education
- 07. social activities
- 08. health
- 09. environment
- 00. no response

NOT HAPPY

- 10. absence of friends
- 11. absence of family
- 12. unhappy with job or no job
- 13. poor housing
- 14. poor housing
- 15. education
- 16. social activities
- 17. health
- 18. environment
- 19. other
- oo. no response

27. So far are you happy that you made the move?

1. very happy
2. rather happy
3. neutral
4. not very happy
5. very unhappy
6. don't know
7. no response

Why do you feel this way?

28. We are interested to know if transportation is a problem for you:

a) Have you found transportation to be a problem?

1. yes - PROBE FOR WHY IT IS A PROBLEM
2. no
9. not applicable

b) Do you drive a car?

1. yes -
2. no - SKIP TO Q. 29.
9. not applicable

c) Do you have access to a car at most times?

1. yes
2. no
9. not applicable

58

59 60

6

6

6

0	6			
1	2	3	4	5

29. Do you still keep in touch with relatives in _____ (previous community)? RECORD TOTAL NUMBER IN BOX.

no=00
NA=99

IF YES, ASK: Who? RECORD NAMES ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

6	7

30. Not including relatives, do you keep in touch with people whom you were friendly with in _____ (previous community)? RECORD TOTAL NUMBER IN BOX.

no=00
NA=99

IF YES, ASK: Who? RECORD NAMES ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

8	9

IF NONE FOR Q. 29 and Q. 30, GO TO Q. 31.
ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS FOR THE FIRST TWO RELATIVES AND THE FIRST TWO FRIENDS LISTED ON THE INFORMATION CHART AND RECORD THE RESPONSES ON THE CHART.

ALSO RECORD THE NAMES OF THE FIRST TWO RELATIVES ON CARD B, SECTION 1 - 1,2 AND THE NAMES OF THE FIRST TWO FRIENDS ON CARD B, SECTION 1 - 3,4.

- a. How do you keep in touch with _____?
b. How often do you keep in touch with _____?

CODES FOR Q. 29 and Q. 30 (FIRST TWO NAMES IN EACH, CHART ON PAGE 27.)

SEX

KEEP IN TOUCH

1. male
2. female
9. not applicable

1. no
2. yes - visits
3. yes - phone
4. yes - letter
5. yes - visit & phone
6. yes - visit, phone & letter
7. yes - visit & letter
8. yes - phone & letter
9. not applicable
0. no response

FREQUENCY OF CONTACT

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. once a week or more | 6. less than once a year |
| 2. once every 2 or 3 weeks | 7. can't tell yet |
| 3. once a month | 8. other (specify) _____ |
| 4. 3 or 4 times a year | 9. not applicable |
| 5. 1 or 2 times a year | |

	ID#	NAME	REL	SEX	A	B
1.	10 1112 1314 15		16 17	18	19	20
2.	21 2223 2425 26		27 28	29	30	31
3.	32 3334 3536 37		38 39	40		
4.	41 4243 4445 46		47 48	49		
5.	50 5152 5354 55		56 57	58		
6.	59 6061 6263 64		65 66	67		
7.	6 7 8 9 10 11		12 13	14		
8.	15 16 17 18 19 20		21 22	23		
9.	24 25 26 27 28 29		30 31	32		
10.	33 34 35 36 37 38		39 40	41		

0	7		
1	2	3	4

1.	42 43 4445 4647		48 49	50	51	52
2.	53 54 5556 5758		59 60	61	62	63
3.	64 65 6667 6869		70 71	72		
4.	6 7 8 9 10 11		12 13	14		
5.	15 16 17 18 19 20		21 22	23		
6.	24 25 26 27 28 29		30 31	32		
7.	33 34 35 36 37 38		39 40	41		
8.	42 43 44 45 46 47		48 49	50		
9.	51 52 53 54 55 56		57 58	59		
10.	60 61 62 63 64 65		66 67	68		

0	8		
1	2	3	4

31. Now I'd like to ask you about people you know in the Hamilton (Burlington) area. Would you tell me the names of these people?

RECORD NAMES ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

RECORD TOTAL NUMBER IN BOX.

--	--

69 70

- a. When did you first meet _____?
- b. Where did you first meet _____?
- c. Were you introduced to _____ by someone else or did you introduce yourselves? IF INTRODUCED, PROBE FOR RELATIONSHIP OF PERSON WHO INTRODUCED THEM.
- d. How long has _____ lived in Hamilton (Burl.)?

RECORD NAMES 1-10 ON CARD B.

CODES FOR Q. 31 (CHART ON PAGE 29.)

A. WHEN DID YOU FIRST MEET

1. within first day or two of move
2. within 2 days to 1 week of move
3. within 1 week to 2 weeks of move
4. over 2 weeks to 1 month of move
5. over 1 month to 2 months of move
6. knew before move to Hamilton
7. within 3-4th months of moving
8. within 5-6th months of moving
9. within 7-8th months of moving
10. within 9-10th months of moving
11. not applicable

B. WHERE MET

1. in own home
2. in friend's home
3. in neighbour's home
4. at a meeting of a club, association, or church
5. at a party or social event
6. in halls or on streets, outside home
7. at school
8. at work
9. other (specify) _____
10. not applicable
11. at third person's home

C. INTRODUCTION

1. by a friend
2. by a relative
3. through spouse
4. by acquaintance of spouse
5. introduced selves
6. not applicable (for relatives)

D. HOW LONG LIVED HERE

1. longer than me
2. same as me

ID#	NAME	REL	SEX	A	B	C	D
6 7 8 9 10 11		1 2 1 3	1 4	1 5 1 6	1 7 1 8	1 9	2 0
2 1	2 6	2 7 2 8	2 9	3 0 3 1	3 2 3 3	3 4	3 5
3 6	4 1	4 2 4 3	4 4	4 5 4 6	4 7 4 8	4 9	5 0
5 1	5 6	5 7 5 8	5 9	6 0 6 1	6 2 6 3	6 4	6 5
6 6	7 1	7 2 7 3	7 4	7 5 7 6	7 7 7 8	7 9	8 0
6	1 1	1 2 1 3	1 4	1 5 1 6	1 7 1 8	1 9	2 0
2 1	2 6	2 7 2 8	2 9	3 0 3 1	3 2 3 3	3 4	3 5
3 6	4 1	4 2 4 3	4 4	4 5 4 6	4 7 4 8	4 9	5 0
5 1	5 6	5 7 5 8	5 9	6 0 6 1	6 2 6 3	6 4	6 5
6 6	7 1	7 2 7 3	7 4	7 5 7 6	7 7 7 8	7 9	8 0
6	1 1	1 2 1 3	1 4	1 5 1 6	1 7 1 8	1 9	2 0
2 1	2 8	2 7 2 8	2 9	3 0 3 1	3 2 3 3	3 4	3 5
3 6	4 1	4 2 4 3	4 4	4 5 4 6	4 7 4 8	4 9	5 0
5 1	5 6	5 7 5 8	5 9	6 0 6 1	6 2 6 3	6 4	6 5
6 6	7 1	7 2 7 3	7 4	7 5 7 6	7 7 7 8	7 9	8 0
6	1 1	1 2 1 3	1 4	1 5 1 6	1 7 1 8	1 9	2 0
2 1	2 6	2 7 2 8	2 9	3 0 3 1	3 2 3 3	3 4	3 5
3 6	4 1	4 2 4 3	4 4	4 5 4 6	4 7 4 8	4 9	5 0
5 1	5 6	5 7 5 8	5 9	6 0 6 1	6 2 6 3	6 4	6 5
6 6	7 1	7 2 7 3	7 4	7 5 7 6	7 7 7 8	7 9	8 0

0	9
1	2

3	4	5

1	0
1	2

3	4	5

1	1
1	2

3	4	5

1	1
1	2

3	4	5

ASK QUESTIONS 32 THROUGH 38 FOR THOSE PEOPLE WHO ARE LISTED ON CARD B, SECTION 2. TAKE THE PEOPLE IN THE ORDER PRESENTED ON CARD B. TAKE ONE PERSON AT A TIME AND GO THROUGH ALL OF THE QUESTIONS. THEN, REPEAT THE WHOLE SEQUENCE OF QUESTIONS FOR THE NEXT PERSON, UNTIL ALL OF THE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED.

1	3			
1	2	3	4	5

Next I'd like to ask you a few questions about some of the people we have been talking about. (CARD B, SECT. 2.)

32. How close does he/she live to your place?

	Person													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
in same building, or next floor or across the hall	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	P.1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	6
across the street	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	P.2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	7
on the same block	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	P.3	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	8
on the next block	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	P.4	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	9
in this neighbourhood	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	P.5	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	10
in adjacent neighbourhood	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	P.6	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	11
in metropolitan Hamilton	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	P.7	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	12
just outside Hamilton	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	P.8	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	13
other (specify) _____	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	P.9	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	14
no response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P.10	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	15
don't know	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10		<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	16

33. How often have you seen this person in the past month?

	Person													
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
every day	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	P.1	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	26
every weekend	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	P.2	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	27
every week day	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	P.3	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	28
2 or 3 times a week	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	P.4	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	29
once a week	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	P.5	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	30
2 or 3 times a month	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	P.6	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	31
once a month	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	P.7	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	32
less than once a month	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	P.8	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	33
not at all	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	P.9	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	34
no response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P.10	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	35

34. Where do you most usually see each other?

	Person									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
in my home	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
in her/his home	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
in both our homes	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
at work	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
at club or organization	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
at an entertainment spot	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
other (specify) _____	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
outside house/apt.	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8
in a 3rd party's home	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9
no response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
don't see each other	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10	10

P1
4 6 4 7

P2
4 8 4 9

P3
5 0 5 1

P4
5 2 5 3

P5
5 4 5 5

P6
5 6 5 7

P7
5 8 5 9

P8
6 0 6 1

P9
6 2 6 3

P10
6 4 6 5

35. Do you help each other in any way? For example, do you babysit, or drive each other anywhere?

	Person									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
babysit	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
share driving	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
lend her/him things	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
borrow things	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
other	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
not applicable	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
no	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
no response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

1 2 3 4

P1
6 7

P2
8 9

P3
1 0 1 1

P4
1 2 1 3

P5
1 4 1 5

P6
1 6 1 7

P7
1 8 1 9

P8
2 0 2 1

P9
2 2 2 3

P10
2 4 2

36. Has he/she given you any information about things in the city?

IF NECESSARY PROBE WITH SPECIFIC EXAMPLES; CIRCLE THE FIRST TWO ITEMS OF INFORMATION GIVEN BY THE RESPONDENT:

	Person														
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
no	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	P1 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>26</td><td>27</td></tr></table>			26	27
26	27														
shopping facilities	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	P2 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>28</td><td>29</td></tr></table>			28	29
28	29														
medical, dental, legal facilities	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	P3 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>30</td><td>31</td></tr></table>			30	31
30	31														
housing	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	P4 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>32</td><td>33</td></tr></table>			32	33
32	33														
recreation	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	P5 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>34</td><td>35</td></tr></table>			34	35
34	35														
jobs	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	P6 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>36</td><td>37</td></tr></table>			36	37
36	37														
public agencies and services	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	P7 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>38</td><td>39</td></tr></table>			38	39
38	39														
automobile purchasing or repair	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	P8 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>40</td><td>41</td></tr></table>			40	41
40	41														
other (specify) _____	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	P9 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>42</td><td>43</td></tr></table>			42	43
42	43														
no response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P10 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr><tr><td>44</td><td>45</td></tr></table>			44	45
44	45														

Gilbert

37. Is he/she someone you confide in?

- 1. yes, definitely
- 2. yes, on some matters
- 3. no
- 9. not applicable

P1

P2

P3

P4

P5

P6

P7

P8

P9

P10

38. Is he/she employed: IF NO, CODE: 09. Housewife
 10. Other (student, retired)

IF YES, ASK: What is his/her job?

	Job Title	Employer
Person 1	_____	_____
Person 2	_____	_____
Person 3	_____	_____
Person 4	_____	_____
Person 5	_____	_____
Person 6	_____	_____
Person 7	_____	_____
Person 8	_____	_____
Person 9	_____	_____
Person 10	_____	_____

P1 56 57

P2 58 59

P3 60 61

P4 62 63

P5 64 65

P6 66 67

P7 68 69

P8 70 71

P9 72 73

P10 74 75

1	5
---	---

--	--	--

1 2

3 4 5

39. You have told me about friends and relatives back in your prior community, and also about the people you know in Hamilton. Do you have other friends or close relatives living anywhere else with whom you keep in touch?

- 1. yes
 - 2. no
 - 0. no response
- GO TO Q. 40

--

6

IF YES: Who are they?

RECORD ALL OF THE NAMES THE RESPONDENT GIVES ON THE FOLLOWING CHART.

ID #	NAME	REL SEX	RESIDENCE
7 12		1 3 1 4 1 5	1 6 1 7
1 8 2 3		2 4 2 5 2 6	2 7 2 8
2 9 3 4		3 5 3 6 3 7	3 8 3 9
4 0 4 5		4 6 4 7 4 8	4 9 5 0
5 1 5 6		5 7 5 8 5 9	6 0 6 1
6 2 6 7		6 8 6 9 7 0	7 1 7 2
6 1 1		1 2 1 3 1 4	1 5 1 6
1 7 2 2		2 3 2 4 2 5	2 6 2 7
2 8 3 3		3 4 3 5 3 6	3 7 3 8
3 9 4 4		4 5 4 6 4 7	4 8 4 9
5 0 5 6		5 7 5 8 5 9	6 0 6 1

1	6
---	---

1 2 3

Total No. of Names Recorded in Q. 39.

--	--

6 2 6 3

Total No. of Names on all charts.

--	--

6 4 6 5

40. You've mentioned several people whom you know both in Hamilton and elsewhere - old friends, relatives and people you've met recently.

I have a list of some of the people you know, both here and elsewhere, and I will read their names. I would like you to tell me if you consider each person to be very close, close or not so close.

INTERVIEWER READ NAMES OFF CARD B AND CODE BESIDE EACH NAME IN (BOX X)

1. very close
2. close
3. not so close

THEN INTERVIEWER ASK, AND RECORD ON CARD B, IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX (Y):

41. a. Of all these people who is the closest to you?
- b. Who would you consider the next closest?
- c. Who would you consider next to that?

42. I would like to know which of the people on this card (card B) know each other.

CIRCLE NUMBER(S) CORRESPONDING TO THE NAMES OF PEOPLE THIS PERSON KNOWS.

Let's start with your husband.

Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
2			3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
3				4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
4					5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
5						6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
6							7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
7								8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
8									9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
9										10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
10											11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
11												12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
12													13	14	15	16	17	18	19
13														14	15	16	17	18	19
14															15	16	17	18	19
15																16	17	18	19
16																	17	18	19
17																		18	19
18																			19

omit 19

DENSITY SCORE FOR TOTAL NETWORK

DENSITY SCORE FOR LOCAL NETWORK

6	6

6	6

CODES FOR Q. 43a.

1. enough space
2. good location
3. like type of accommodation
4. cost
5. privacy
6. good condition
7. other (specify) _____
0. no response

CODES FOR Q. 43b.

1. not enough space
2. poor location
3. don't like accommodation
4. cost (rent/price)
5. no privacy
6. poor condition
7. other (specify) _____
0. no response

CODES FOR Q. 44b.

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 01. more convenient location | 08. less convenient lo- |
| 02. more space | cation |
| 03. better schools | 09. less space |
| 04. better condition | 10. worse condition |
| 05. better cost | 11. higher cost |
| 06. closer to job | 12. further from job |
| 07. better neighbourhood | 13. poorer schools |
| | 00. no response |

1	7
1	2

3	4	5

43. Do you like this apt./house that you are living in now?

- 1. yes
- 2. somewhat
- 3. no
- 4. don't know
- 0. no response

6

a. IF YES OR SOMEWHAT:
 Why? (RECORD VERBATIM AND THEN CODE CATEGORIES FROM PAGE 38.)

_____ First reason

_____ Second reason

7	8

9	10

b. IF NO:
 Why? (RECORD VERBATIM AND THEN CODE CATEGORIES FROM PAGE 38.)

_____ First reason

_____ Second reason

11	12

13	14

44. How does it compare with the place you had in _____?

- 1. better
- 2. same
- 3. worse
- 4. other (specify) _____
- 5. don't know
- 0. no response

15

b. Why? (RECORD VERBATIM AND THEN CHECK OFF THE TWO MOST APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES BELOW IF APPLICABLE.)

_____ First reason

_____ Second reason

16	17

18	19

CODES FOR Q. 45a and 45b.

1. very much so
2. somewhat
3. neutral
4. not so much
5. not at all
6. don't know
7. not applicable
0. no response

CODES FOR Q. 48.

01. professional, semi-professional, technical
02. managers, proprietors, large and small officials
03. clerical and sales
04. farm owners
05. foremen
06. skilled workers, craftsmen
07. semi-skilled workers
08. unskilled workers
10. other
00. no response
11. not applicable

45. a. IF RESPONDENT MENTIONED NEIGHBORS IN HER LIST OF PEOPLE KNOWN IN HAMILTON (BURLINGTON), ASK:

Are the people around here the kind of people you enjoy being with?

2 0

- b. IF RESPONDENT DID NOT MENTION ANY NEIGHBORS, ASK:

Have you become acquainted with any of your neighbors?

1. yes
2. no
3. not applicable

2 1

IF YES, ASK: Are the people around here the kind of people you enjoy being with?
(CODES ON PAGE 40 .)

2 2

46. IF RESPONDENT HAS A CHILD OR CHILDREN, ASK:

Has your child (Have your children) had any problems adjusting to this new situation?
PROBE FOR TYPE OF ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS.

1. yes
2. no
3. not applicable

2 3

47. IF RESPONDENT IS EMPLOYED AND HAS PRE-SCHOOL AGE CHILD, ASK:

What arrangements have you made for child care while you are at work? PROBE FOR HOW ARRANGEMENTS WERE MADE.

2 4

48. What is your father's occupation?

2 5 2

CODES FOR Q. 49.

01. none
02. pre-school
03. some grade school
04. finished grade school
05. some secondary school
06. grade 10 graduate
07. trade or business school
08. grade 12 graduate
09. grade 13 graduate
10. secondary, trade or business school
11. some college or university
12. college or university graduate (B.A. or honours B.A.)
13. some graduate or professional school
14. professional degree
15. other
00. no response
16. don't know

49. What is the highest level of education your father completed? (CODE FROM PAGE 42.)

--	--

27 28

50. a. Has the move to Hamilton (Burl.) been a benefit to you?

1. yes, very much so
2. yes
3. neutral
4. no, not very much
5. not at all
6. don't know
0. no response

--	--

29

b. IF NO, ASK: Why hasn't the move benefitted you?

--	--

30 31

c. IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED POSITIVELY, ASK: How has the move benefitted you?

--	--

32 33

CODES FOR Q. 50b and 50c.

1. life condition change
2. better job for husband
3. better social life
4. better housing
5. more opportunities
6. better job for respondent
7. worse job for respondent
8. absence of friends
9. absence of family
10. higher cost of living
11. other
00. no response

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR
MIGRATION RELOCATION STUDY

Name of Respondent: _____ Card No. 0 1
1 2

Address: _____ Case No. 3 4 5 *

Interview Name _____ Interview No. 6 7

Interview Began: CIRCLE AM OR PM
 _____ A.M.
 _____ P.M.

8 9 10 11

Interview Ended:
 _____ A.M.
 _____ P.M.

12 13 14 15

Date _____
 Day Month Year

16 17 *

<u>CALLS</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>	<u>IV</u>
COMPLETED	1	1	1	1
APPOINTMENT	2	2	2	2
NOT HOME	3	3	3	3
REFUSED AT DOOR	4	4	4	4
REFUSED BY RESPONDENT	5	5	5	5
MOVED	6	6	6	6
NOT RELOCATED	7	7	7	7
OTHER (SPECIFY) _____	8	8	8	8

18 19 20 21

B
SEX

1. Male
2. Female

C
RELATIONSHIP TO
HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

01. Husband or Wife
02. Father
03. Mother
04. Son
05. Daughter
06. Brother
07. Sister
08. Other relative
09. Unrelated boarder
10. Unrelated servant
11. Other unrelated
12. Head of household
00. No response

D
MARITAL STATUS

1. Single
2. Married - no children (yet)
3. Married - child or children
4. Married - all children left household
5. Divorced or separated
6. Widowed or widower
7. Common law, living together
0. No response

E
YEAR OF BIRTH

Record last
2 digits
e.g. 1941=41

F
CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS

1. Employed
2. Unemployed
3. Student
4. Housewife
5. Part-time
6. Student, part-time employment
7. Retired
8. Disabled
9. Other (Specify) _____
0. No response

G
HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION

01. None
02. Pre-school
03. Some grade school
04. Finished grade school
05. Some secondary school
06. Grade 10 graduate
07. Trade or business school
08. Grade 12 graduate
09. Grade 13 graduate
10. Secondary & trade or business school
11. Some college or university
12. College or university graduate (includes B.A. and Honours B.A.)
13. Some trade or professional school
14. Professional degree
15. Other
00. No response

H
TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD

01. Complete nuclear family
02. Incomplete nuclear family
03. Single person
04. Single person (separated, divorced, widow)
05. Married couple, no children
06. Extended family, wife's parent
07. Extended family, husband's parent
08. Extended family, wife's other relation
09. Extended family, husband's other relation
10. Couple, living together
11. Nuclear family plus unrelated people
12. Extended family plus unrelated people
13. Other (specify) _____
00. No response

I

1. in household before
2. new to household
3. left household
0. no response

Hello, Mr(s) _____. My name is _____. I'm from the McMaster Relocation Study. You probably remember we interviewed you last summer. We would like to take a few minutes now to ask you about some important matters.

1. First of all, would you tell me who lives here? RECORD NAMES.
 Were any of these people not living here at the time of the last interview?
 Is there anyone who was living here at the time of the last interview but who is not living here now? RECORD IN "I".
 (INTERVIEWER: COLLECT A,B,C,D,I FOR EVERYONE, E,F,G, ONLY FOR THOSE WHO DID NOT LIVE HERE BEFORE. START WITH RESPONDENT.

Record Link I.D. No.	A Name of Household Member Surname, Christian Name	B Sex	C Rel. to H.H.	D Mar. Status	E Yr. of Brth	F Crt. Empl. Sts.	G Highest Lvl. of Eductn.	I Statu in HH.
1	2 3 2 3 2 4 2 5 2 6 2 7	2 8	2 9 3 0	3 1	3 2 3 3	3 4	3 5 3 6	<input type="radio"/>
2	3 7 3 8 3 9 4 0 4 1 4 2	4 3	4 4 4 5	4 6	4 7 4 8	4 9	5 0 5 1	<input type="radio"/>
3	5 2 5 3 5 4 5 5 5 6 5 7	5 8	5 9 6 0	6 1	6 2 6 3	6 4	6 5 6 6	<input type="radio"/>

Respondent #

SKIP	2	*			
67-75	76	77	78	79	80

0	2			
1	2	3	4	5

4	6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 1 3 1 4	1 5	1 6 1 7	1 8	1 9	2 0	<input type="radio"/>
5	2 1 2 2 2 3 2 4 2 5 2 6	2 7 2 8 2 9	3 0	3 1 3 2	3 3	3 4	3 5	<input type="radio"/>
6	3 6 3 7 3 8 3 9 4 0 4 1	4 2 4 3 4 4	4 5	4 6 4 7	4 8	4 9	5 0	<input type="radio"/>
7	5 1 5 2 5 3 5 4 5 5 5 6	5 7 5 8 5 9	6 0	6 1 6 2	6 3	6 4	6 5	<input type="radio"/>

0	3			
1	2	3	4	5

8	6 7 8 9 10 11	1 2 1 3 1 4	1 5	1 6 1 7	1 8	1 9	2 0	<input type="radio"/>
9	2 1 2 2 2 3 2 4 2 5 2 6	2 7 2 8 2 9	3 0	3 1 3 2	3 3	3 4	3 5	<input type="radio"/>
10	3 6 3 7 3 8 3 9 4 0 4 1	4 2 4 3 4 4	4 5	4 6 4 7	4 8	4 9	5 0	<input type="radio"/>
11	5 1 5 2 5 3 5 4 5 5 5 6	5 7 5 8 5 9	6 0	6 1 6 2	6 3	6 4	6 5	<input type="radio"/>

66	67

H. INTERVIEWER: CODE FOR TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD

2 - IMPROVEMENTS

01. nothing
02. housing
03. job
04. meeting new people
05. schools
06. presence of family
07. presence of friends
08. doctor, dentist
09. other (specify) _____
10. income
11. job advancement
12. facilities - social, recreational, shopping, etc.
00. no response

3 - REGRETS

01. no
02. housing
03. job
04. meeting people
05. schools
06. leaving family
07. leaving friends
08. leaving old house
09. doctors, dentists
10. children's adjustment
11. other (specify) _____
00. no response

4 - THINGS DIFFICULT

01. nothing
02. arranging accommodation
03. " schools
04. meeting people
05. contacting family
06. contacting friends
07. arranging transportation
08. arranging for doctor, dentist,
other medical
09. other (specify) _____
10. locating facilities - church
11. maintenance repair
12. arranging utilities or services
13. job
00. no response

WHY

01. money
02. time
03. non-familiarity (accommodation, transportation, medical)
04. distance
05. faulty performance
06. other (specify)

2. Have there been improvements in your life since you first moved to Hamilton?
(RECORD VERBATIM AND THEN CHECK OFF APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES BELOW.)

_____.

_____.

_____.

0	5
1	2

3	4	5

SKIP

6-32

First Response

33	34

Second Response

35	36

3. A. Do you have any regrets about moving to Hamilton? What?
(RECORD VERBATIM AND CODE)

IF MARRIED ASK:

B. Does your wife/husband have any regrets about moving to Hamilton? What?
(RECORD VERBATIM AND CODE)

	RESPONDENT	SPOUSE				
Regret 1	37 38 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			39 40 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
Regret 2	41 42 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			43 44 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		

45 - 63

SKIP

4. A. What things have turned out to be the most difficult parts of relocating?
PROBE FOR RESPONSES AND RECORD THE FIRST 2 ON THE CHART BELOW.
B. Why?

	THING	WHY				
1.	64 65 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			66 67 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		
2.	72 73 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>			74 75 <table border="1"><tr><td></td><td></td></tr></table>		

68-71

SKIP

5 - THINGS

01. arranging accommodation
02. arranging schools
03. meeting people
04. contacting family
05. contacting friends
06. arranging transportation
07. arranging for doctors, dentists,
other medical
08. other (specify) _____
09. locating facilities
10. maintenance repair
11. arranging utilities, services
12. job
13. moving itself
14. nothing
00. no response

WHY

01. formal contact
02. informal contact
03. money
04. time
05. familiarity, accommodation,
transportation, medical
06. distance
07. good performance
08. other
09. facilities are good
(shops, buses, etc.)
00. no response

6b. WHY HAPPY OR UNHAPPYHAPPY

01. presence of friends
02. presence of relatives
03. happy with job
04. good housing
05. good neighbourhood
06. education
07. social activities
08. health
09. environment
00. no response

NOT HAPPY

10. absence of friends
11. absence of relatives
12. unhappy with job or no job
13. poor housing
14. poor neighbourhood
15. education
16. social activities
17. health
18. environment
19. other
00. no response

0	6			
1	2	3	4	5

5. Were there things that turned out to be easier than you expected in moving?

- 1. - Yes
- 2. - No
- 0. - No response

6

IF YES

What?	Why?

1. What

7	8

Why

9	10

2. What

11	12

Why

13	14

6. So far are you happy that you made the move?

- 1 - Very happy
- 2 - Rather happy
- 3 - Neutral
- 4 - Not very happy
- 5 - Very unhappy
- 6 - Don't know
- 0 - No response

15

IF HAPPY OR UNHAPPY ASK:

6b. Why do you feel this way? (RECORD VERBATIM AND THEN CHECK THE 2 MOST APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES BELOW IF APPLICABLE.)

First reason

16	17

Second reason

18	19

SKIP
20-57

WHY HAPPY OR UNHAPPYHAPPY

01. presence of friends
02. presence of relatives
03. happy with job
04. good housing
05. good neighbourhood
06. education
07. social activities
08. health
09. environment
00. no response

UNHAPPY

10. absence of friends
11. absence of relatives
12. unhappy with job
13. poor housing
14. poor neighbourhood
15. education
16. social activities
17. health
18. environment
19. other
00. no response

IF MARRIED ASK:

6c. So far is your spouse happy that you made the move?

58

- 1. very happy
- 2. rather happy
- 3. neutral
- 4. not very happy
- 5. very unhappy
- 6. don't know
- 0. no response

IF HAPPY OR UNHAPPY ASK:

6d. Why does she/he feel this way?
(RECORD VERBATIM AND THEN CHECK THE 2 MOST APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES BELOW, IF APPLICABLE.)

_____ First Reason

--	--

59 60

_____ Second Reason

--	--

61 62

7a. Do you find that people are more friendly or less friendly here than in _____?
(previous community)

- 1. much more friendly
- 2. more friendly
- 3. same
- 4. less friendly
- 5. much less friendly
- 0. no response

7b. I would like to ask you how the following things in Hamilton compare to what was available back in _____?
previous community

- i) Medical care
- ii) Job opportunities
- iii) Transportation
- iv) Housing
- v) Recreational facilities
- vi) Opportunities for meeting people

- i)
- ii)
- iii)
- iv)
- v)
- vi)

CODES FOR 7B

- 1. much better
- 2. better
- 3. same
- 4. worse
- 5. much worse
- 6. don't know
- 0. no response

B
AREA (SEE MAP OF HAMILTON)

C
ACCOMODATION

01. hotel or motel
02. YM/YWCA
03. room
04. apt. or flat
05. hostel
06. rented house (by respondent)
07. bought house (by respondent)
08. town house
09. condominium
10. other (specify) _____
11. house (someone else)
00. no response

E
DURATION

1. one night
2. 2 - 6 nights
3. 1 - 2 weeks
4. over 2 weeks - 1 month
5. over 1 month
6. still there
0. no response

D
ARRANGED BY

1. self
2. relative
3. friend
4. through job
5. through agency (specify) _____
6. other (specify) _____
0. no response

A
WHY MOVE

01. transferred
02. had job here
03. better job prospects here
04. did not like previous location
05. family
06. marriage or lack of marriage
07. love of adventure
08. poor job potential there
09. climate
10. housing
11. health
12. education
13. other (specify) _____
14. don't know
15. found more suitable accommodation
16. financial reasons
17. did not like neighbours
18. poor facilities or lack of facilities
19. closer to job
00. no response

8. Have you moved since we talked to you last summer?

- 1. yes
- 2. no - GO TO QUESTION 9



63

IF YES ASK: (RECORD IN CHART)

- A. Why did you move?
- B. Where did you move to?
Where in the city is that?
- C. What type of accommodation is it?
- D. How did you arrange for that place?
- E. How long did you stay there?

IF NOT 'STILL THERE', ASK: Where did you move then?
AND REPEAT SEQUENCE AS NEEDED

	FIRST PLACE MOVED TO		SECOND PLACE MOVED TO		THIRD PLACE MOVED TO		FOURTH PLACE MOVED TO	
A. Why Move	Reason 1 64 65	Reason 2 66 67	Reason 1 68 69	Reason 2 70 71	Reason 1 72 73	Reason 2 74 75	Reason 1 76 77	Reason 2 78 79
B. Area of Hamilton		6 7		8 9		10 11		12 13
C. Type of Accommodation		46 47		48 49		50 51		52 53
D. Arr. by		54		55		56		57
E. Duration		6-37 38		39		40		41

0	7		
---	---	--	--

1 2 3 4

SKIP
14-45

0	8		
---	---	--	--

1 2 3 4

9. Do you like this place that you are living in now?

- 1. yes
- 2. somewhat
- 3. no
- 4. don't know
- 0. no response

42

9.a) IF YES OR SOMEWHAT:

Why? (RECORD VERBATIM AND THEN CHECK OFF THE APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES BELOW.)

- 01 - enough space
- 02 - good location
- 03 - like type of accommodation
- 04 - cost
- 05 - privacy
- 06 - good condition
- 07 - other (specify) _____
- 00 - No response

First reason

--	--

43 44

Second reason

--	--

45 46

IF NO OR SOMEWHAT:

Why? (RECORD VERBATIM AND THEN CHECK OFF THE APPROPRIATE CATEGORIES BELOW.)

- 01 - not enough space
- 02 - poor location
- 03 - don't like accommodation
- 04 - cost (rent/price)
- 05 - no privacy
- 06 - poor condition
- 07 - other (specify) _____
- 00 - No response

First reason

--	--

47 48

Second reason

--	--

49 50

10C. WHERE

- 1 - 11 SEE AREA MAP IN INSTRUCTION BOOK.
12. Within a 100 miles radius of downtown Hamilton
13. Outside a 100 miles radius of downtown Hamilton
14. Nova Scotia
15. Newfoundland
16. Prince Edward Island
17. New Brunswick
18. Quebec
19. Alberta
20. Manitoba
21. Saskatchewan
22. British Columbia
23. North West Territories
24. Yukon
25. U.S.
26. U.K.
27. Mediterranean Europe (Spain, Italy)
28. Asia
29. Africa
30. South America
31. Other (specify) _____
32. Northern Europe (Scandinavia, Holland, Belgium)
33. Central Europe (Austria, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Switzerland, Poland)

SKIP

51-55

10. Do you think you'll stay here or find another place in the next few months?

- 1 - stay GO TO 11
- 2 - move
- 3 - don't know
- 4 - other (specify) _____
- 0 - No response

--

56

10.b) IF MOVE, OR DON'T KNOW, ASK:

Why?

- 01 - want bigger place
- 02 - want to buy house
- 03 - move in with others
- 04 - move out on own
- 05 - want place in better condition
- 06 - want less expensive place
- 07 - want to live in better location
- 08 - being transferred
- 09 - other (specify) _____
- 00 - No response

--	--

57 58

10.c) Where would you like to live?

--	--

59 60

A

EMPLOYMENT P. P.

01. professional, semi-professional, technical
02. managers, proprietors, large & small officials
03. clerical & sales
04. farm owners
05. foremen
06. skilled workers, craftsmen
07. semi-skilled workers
08. unskilled workers
09. housewife
10. other
00. No response

B

FULL OR PART TIME

1. full time
2. part time
0. No response

C

LENGTH OF EMPLOYMENT

CODE IN WEEKS

1	0				*
1	2	3	4	5	

IF MARRIED OR LIVING TOGETHER COMMONLAW ASK:

11. Does your spouse (or partner) have a job now?

- 1 - Yes
- 2 - No - GO TO Q13
- 0 - No Response

SKIP

6-13

--

14

IF YES, ASK AND RECORD.

A. Type of Employment	B. Full or Part Time	C. Length of Employment

A	15			16
B			17	
			SKIP	18

IF SPOUSE OR PARTNER HAS JOB, ASK

12. Is this the only job your spouse (or partner) has had since her arrival in Hamilton?

- 1 - Yes
- 2 - No - has had 2 jobs
- 3 - No - has had 3 jobs
- 4 - No - has had 4 jobs or more
- 0 - No response

C		
---	--	--

--

13. Would you describe your first full time job after completing your education?
RECORD IN CHART.
- What kind of work were you doing?
 - What is your employment status?
 - What were your most important activities or duties?
 - What was your job title?
 - In what kind of business, industry or service was this job?
 - How long did you have this job?

14. Would you describe your job just previous to coming to Hamilton?
IF THIS JOB IS THE EXACT SAME JOB AS IN Q13, INTERVIEWER WRITE SAME AS 13, THEN GO TO Q15. (CODER, CODE AS IN Q13.)

ASK a. TO f. AS IN Q13.

15. IF PRESENTLY UNEMPLOYED GO TO Q20 ii).

Would you describe your present job?
IF THIS JOB IS THE EXACT SAME JOB AS IN Q13 OR Q14 OR BOTH, INTERVIEWER WRITE SAME AS Q___, THEN GO TO Q16.
(CODER, CODE AS IN Q13 OR Q14.)

ASK a. to f. AS IN Q13.

--	--

19 20

EMPLOYMENT STATUS

1. salaried
2. hourly paid
3. piece rate
4. self-employed

HOW LONG?

RECORD IN MONTHS

EMPLOYMENT P.P. - COL. 19, 20

01. professional, semi-professional, technical
02. managers, proprietors, large & small officials
03. clerical & sales
04. farm owners
05. foremen
06. skilled workers, craftsmen
07. semi-skilled workers
08. unskilled workers
09. housewife
10. other
00. no response

Q13
FIRST
FULL TIME
JOB

Q14
PREVIOUS
JOB

Q15
PRESENT
JOB

A. KIND OF WORK

B. EMPLOYMENT
STATUS

C. IMPORTANT
ACTIVITIES

D. JOB
TITLE

E. BUSINESS
OR
INDUSTRY

F. HOW
LONG

	○	○
*	*	*
*	*	*

INTERVIEWER CODE FOR

1. all 3 jobs the same
2. jobs in Q13 & Q14 same
3. jobs in Q14 & Q15 same
4. jobs in Q13 & Q15 same
5. all jobs different



16. If you stayed working in this same place, would it be possible to get a better job?

1. yes
2. no
3. don't know
0. no response

17. If you quit your job, could you get the same kind of job in another place?

1. yes
2. no
3. don't know
0. no response

18. Is your job the type in which you might get laid off?

1. yes
2. no
3. don't know
0. no response

19. Are the people you work with the kind of people you like being with?

1. yes
2. somewhat
3. neutral
4. not much
5. not at all
6. don't know
0. no response

A. JOB POSSIBILITY

1. industry
2. Manpower
3. social service agency
4. store
5. other (specify)
6. not applicable (transferred) - GO TO Q21.
7. office
0. no response

B. ACTION

01. manpower
02. paper
03. friend
04. relative
05. trade journal
06. employment agency
07. hearsay
08. previous or present employer
09. Yellow pages
10. other (specify)
00. no response

20. Have you changed jobs since we talked to you last?

- 1. yes
- 2. no - GO TO 21
- 0. no response

- i) IF YES: What steps did you take to find your job?
- ii) IF UNEMPLOYED NOW: What steps are you taking to find a job?

START WITH FIRST ATTEMPT TO GET A JOB, THEN GO ON TO SECOND ATTEMPT (IF APPROPRIATE).

- a) What was the job (or prospective job)?
- b) What did you do to get (or attempt to get) this job?
HERE LIST CONTACT WITH AGENCIES, NEWSPAPER ADS, ETC.
- c) PERSONAL CONTACTS AND RELATIONSHIPS.
HERE RECORD NAME & RELATIONSHIP OF ANY PERSON WHO WAS INVOLVED.
eg. Uncle Bill sent me to Stelco

Att-empt	A Job Possibility	B Action (Agencies)	C Personal Contacts *	Relation- ships
1.	21	22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29		30 31
2.	32	33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40		41 42
3.	43	44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51		52 53
4.	54	55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62		63 64
5.	65	66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73		74 75

22. WHY FIND A DIFFERENT JOB?

- 01. satisfied
- 02. dissatisfied
- 03. money
- 04. location
- 05. other (specify)
- 00. no response

24.

INCOME

- 01. a Under \$1,500
- 02. b 1,500 - 1,999
- 03. c 2,000 - 2,999
- 04. d 3,000 - 3,999
- 05. e 4,000 - 5,999
- 06. f 6,000 - 7,999
- 07. g 8,000 - 9,999
- 08. h 10,000 - 12,999
- 09. i 13,000 - 14,999
- 10. j 15,000 - 19,999
- 11. k 20,000 - 24,999
- 12. l \$25,000 or over
- 13. no income
- 14. don't know
- 15. not applicable
- 00. no response

IF UNEMPLOYED SKIP TO Q24

21. How satisfied are you with your job?

76

- 1. very satisfied
- 2. satisfied
- 3. neutral
- 4. dissatisfied
- 5. very dissatisfied
- 0. no response

1	1
---	---

1 2

			*
--	--	--	---

3 4 5

22. Would you like to find a different job?

- 1. yes
- 2. no
- 3. don't know
- 0. no response

6

WHY? _____

Why

--	--

7 8

23. How does this job compare with the one you had in your previous community?

- 1. better
- 2. same
- 3. worse
- 4. not applicable (had exact same job)
- 0. no response

9

PRESENT INCOME CARD TO RESPONDENT

24. a) Please indicate the letter which corresponds to your present income. _____

INCOME

--	--

10 11

b) Please indicate the letter which corresponds to the total family income.

FAMILY INCOME

--	--

12 13

c) Please indicate the letter that corresponds to the salary of your job prior to moving to Hamilton. _____

PRIOR JOB

--	--

14 15

IF NO INCOME FIGURE GIVEN ASK:

25. How do you support yourself?

- 1. public assistance
- 2. allowance
- 3. savings
- 4. other (specify) _____
- 0. no response

16

26. Do you still keep in touch with relatives in _____
(previous community)? RECORD TOTAL NUMBER IN BOX.

RECORD NO.

--	--

no=00
NA=99

17 18

IF YES ASK: WHO? RECORD NAMES ON
OPPOSITE PAGE.

27. Not including relatives, do you keep in
touch with people who you were friendly
with in _____ (previous community)?

RECORD TOTAL NUMBER IN BOX.

IF YES ASK: WHO? RECORD NAMES ON
OPPOSITE PAGE.

RECORD NO.

--	--

no=00
NA=99

19 20

IF NONE, FOR Q26 and Q27, GO TO 28.

ASK THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS FOR THE FIRST TWO RELATIVES
AND THE FIRST TWO FRIENDS LISTED ON THE INFORMATION
CHART AND RECORD THE RESPONSES ON THE CHART TOO.

ALSO RECORD THE NAMES OF THE FIRST TWO RELATIVES ON CARD B,
SECTION 1 - 1,2 AND THE NAMES OF THE 1ST TWO FRIENDS ON
CARD B, SECTION 1 - 3,4.

- 27a. How do you keep in touch with _____?
27b. How often do you keep in touch with _____?

SKIP

21

SEX

- 1 - male
2 - female

KEEP IN TOUCH

1. no
2. yes - visits
3. yes - phone
4. yes - letter
5. yes - visit & phone
6. yes - visit, phone & letter
7. yes - visit & letter
8. yes - phone & letter
9. other (specify)
0. no response

FREQUENCY KEEP IN TOUCH

1. once a week or more
2. once every 2 or 3 weeks
3. once a month
4. 3 or 4 times a year
5. 1 or 2 times a year
6. less than once a year
7. can't tell yet
8. other (specify) _____
0. no response

INFORMATION CHART

Relatives	Name	Rel.	Sex	I. D. No.	*	Keep Touch	How Oftn		
1.		22 23	24	25 26 27 28 29 30	31 32 33	0		34 35	0 9
2.		36 37	38	39 40 41 42 43 44	45 46 47	0		48 49	0 9
3.		50 51	52	53 54 55 56 57 58					
4.		59 60	61	62 63 64 65 66 67					
5.		68 69	70	71 72 73 74 75 76					
6.		77 78	79	80 81 82 83 84 85					
7.		86 87	88	89 90 91 92 93 94					
8.		95 96	97	98 99 00 01 02 03					
9.		04 05	06	07 08 09 10 11 12					
10.		13 14	15	16 17 18 19 20 21					

1	2	3	4
---	---	---	---

1	3	3	4
---	---	---	---

Friends

1.		6 7	8	9 10 11 12 13 14	15 16 17	0		18 19	0 0
2.		20 21	22	23 24 25 26 27 28	29 30 31	0		32 33	0 0
3.		34 35	36	37 38 39 40 41 42					
4.		43 44	45	46 47 48 49 50 51					
5.		52 53	54	55 56 57 58 59 60					
6.		61 62	63	64 65 66 67 68 69					
7.		70 71	72	73 74 75 76 77 78					
8.		79 80	81	82 83 84 85 86 87					
9.		88 89	90	91 92 93 94 95 96					
10.		97 98	99	00 01 02 03 04 05					

1	2	3	4
1	4		

1	8
---	---

				*
--	--	--	--	---

28. Now I'd like to ask you about people that you know in the Hamilton area?

1 2 3 4 5

Would you tell me the names of these people?

RECORD NAMES ON OPPOSITE PAGE.

RECORD TOTAL NUMBER IN BOX.

IF NONE, ASK Q29, THEN SKIP TO Q40.

SKIP

6-24

RECORD NO
NONE=00



COMPARE NAMES ON OLD CARD A WITH THOSE ON CHART SOME OF THE NAMES WILL BE FOUND IN SECTIONS 2 & 3 OF CARD A.

DO NOT ASK Q28A - 28E FOR THESE PEOPLE AS WE HAVE THIS INFORMATION ALREADY.

ASK Q28A-E FOR THOSE NOT PREVIOUSLY LISTED ON CARD A, SECTIONS 2 & 3.

A. When did you first meet _____?

B. How did you first meet _____?

IF INTRODUCED BY SOMEONE ASK:

C. Who _____?

D. Where were you introduced _____?

E. How long has _____ lived in Hamilton?

IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS 10 NAMES OR LESS, PUT THESE 10 NAMES ON CARD B, SECTION 2.

IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS MORE THAN 10 NAMES, SELECT 10 NAMES, TRY TO INCLUDE APPROXIMATELY 50% OF THOSE NOT ON CARD A. PUT THESE 10 NAMES ON CARD B, SECTION 2.

29. Are you looking forward to making more friends?

1. yes
2. no
3. don't know GO TO Q30
0. no response

--	--

How long do you think this will take?

RECORD TIME IN WEEKS

98= not too long

99= don't know

25 26

A. WHEN DID YOU FIRST MEET

1. within first day or two of moving
2. within 2 days to 1 week of moving
3. within 1 week to 2 weeks of moving
4. over 2 weeks to 1 month of moving
5. over 1 month to 2 months of moving
6. knew before moving to Hamilton
7. within 2-4 months of moving
8. within 5-6 months of moving
9. over 6 months of moving

D. WHERE INTRODUCED

1. met in own home
2. met in friend's home
3. met in neighbour's home
4. met at a meeting of a club, association or church
5. met at a party or social event
6. met in halls or on the streets, outside home
7. met at school
8. met at work
9. other (specify) _____
0. No response

B. HOW DID YOU FIRST MEET

1. introduced by a friend
2. introduced by a relative
3. introduced through spouse
4. at a meeting of a club, association or church
5. met at a party or social event
6. met in the halls or on the street, outside home
7. met at school
8. met at work
9. other (specify) _____
0. No response

C - Name

E. HOW LONG LIVED HERE

1. longer than me
2. same as me
3. less than me

I.D. *	NAME	1. NEW REL		SEX	A	B	C		D	E
		2. OLD		1. M	WHEN	HOW	IF	INTRO	WHE	LONG
				2. F	MET		BY	WHOM	RE	IN HAM
6 - 11	1.	12	13 14	15	16	17	18 -	23	24	25
26 - 31	2.	32	33 34	35	36	37	38 -	43	44	45
46 - 51	3.	52	53 54	55	56	57	58 -	63	64	65
6 - 11	4.	12	13 14	15	16	17	18 -	23	24	25
26 - 31	5.	32	33 34	35	36	37	38 -	43	44	45
46 - 51	6.	52	53 54	55	56	57	58 -	63	64	65
6 - 11	7.	12	13 14	15	16	17	18 -	23	24	25
26 - 31	8.	32	33 34	35	36	37	38 -	43	44	45
46 - 51	9.	52	53 54	55	56	57	58 -	63	64	65
6 - 11	10.	12	13 14	15	16	17	18 -	23	24	25
26 - 31	11.	32	33 34	35	36	37	38 -	43	44	45
46 - 51	12.	52	53 54	55	56	57	58 -	63	64	65
6 - 11	13.	12	13 14	15	16	17	18 -	23	24	25
26 - 31	14.	32	33 34	35	36	37	38 -	43	44	45
46 - 51	15.	52	53 54	55	56	57	58 -	63	64	65
6 - 11	16.	12	13 14	15	16	17	18 -	23	24	25
26 - 31	17.	32	33 34	35	36	37	38 -	43	44	45
46 - 51	18.	52	53 54	55	56	57	58 -	63	64	65
6 - 11	19.	12	13 14	15	16	17	18 -	23	24	25
26 - 31	20.	32	33 34	35	36	37	38 -	43	44	45

*

3	3			
1	2	3	4	5

*

3	4			
1	2	3	4	5

*

3	5			
1	2	3	4	5

*

3	6			
1	2	3	4	5

*

3	7			
1	2	3	4	5

*

3	8			
1	2	3	4	5

*

3	9			
1	2	3	4	5

DO QUESTIONS 30 THROUGH 39 FOR THOSE PEOPLE WHO ARE LISTED ON CARD B, SECTION 2. TAKE THE PEOPLE IN THE ORDER PRESENTED ON CARD B. TAKE ONE PERSON AT A TIME AND GO THROUGH ALL OF THE QUESTIONS. THEN, REPEAT THE WHOLE SEQUENCE OF QUESTIONS FOR THE NEXT PERSON UNTIL ALL OF THE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED.

30. Next I'd like to ask you a few questions about some of the people we have been talking about.

REFER TO CARD B, SECTION 2.

How close does he/she live to your place?

4	0			
1	2	3	4	5

	Person										P.1		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
in same building, or next door or across the hall	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	P.1	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
across the street	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	P.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
on the same block	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	P.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
on the next block	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	P.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	9
in this neighbourhood	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	P.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	10
in adjacent neighbourhood	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	P.6	<input type="checkbox"/>	11
in Metropolitan Hamilton	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	P.7	<input type="checkbox"/>	12
just outside Hamilton	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	P.8	<input type="checkbox"/>	13
other (specify) _____	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	P.9	<input type="checkbox"/>	14
no response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P.10	<input type="checkbox"/>	15

31. How often have you seen this person in the past month?

	Person										P.1		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
every day	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	P.2	<input type="checkbox"/>	16
every weekend	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	P.3	<input type="checkbox"/>	17
every week day	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	P.4	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
2 or 3 times a week	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	P.5	<input type="checkbox"/>	19
once a week	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	P.6	<input type="checkbox"/>	20
2 or 3 times a month	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	P.7	<input type="checkbox"/>	21
once a month	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	P.8	<input type="checkbox"/>	22
less than once a month	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	P.9	<input type="checkbox"/>	23
not at all	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	P.9	<input type="checkbox"/>	24
no response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P.10	<input type="checkbox"/>	25

IF SEEN MORE THAN ONCE ASK:

32. What did you do the last time you met?

	Person										P1	1st	2nd	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		Thing	Thing	
Visit and talk	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	P1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	26-
Go out to film, night club etc.	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	P2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	28-
Sports	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	P3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	30-
Other recreation, hobby (cards)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	P4	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	32-
Meetings of club, asscns.	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	P5	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	34-
Church or religious affiliated organizations	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	P6	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	36-
Shopping	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	P7	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	38-
Other(specify) _____	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	P8	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	40-
Don't do anything	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	P9	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	42
No response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P10	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	44

33. Where do you most usually see each other?

	Person										P1		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
											P1	<input type="checkbox"/>	46
in my home	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	P2	<input type="checkbox"/>	47
in her/his home	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	P3	<input type="checkbox"/>	48
in both our homes	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	P4	<input type="checkbox"/>	49
at work	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	P5	<input type="checkbox"/>	50
at club or organization	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	P6	<input type="checkbox"/>	51
at an entertainment spot	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	P7	<input type="checkbox"/>	52
other (specify) _____	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	P8	<input type="checkbox"/>	53
no response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P9	<input type="checkbox"/>	54
											P10	<input type="checkbox"/>	55

34. Has he/she given you any information about things in the city?

IF NECESSARY PROBE WITH SPECIFIC EXAMPLES: CIRCLE THE FIRST TWO ITEMS OF INFORMATION GIVEN BY THE RESPONDENT:

	Person										p1	<input type="checkbox"/>	56
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
No	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	p2	<input type="checkbox"/>	57
Shopping facilities	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	p3	<input type="checkbox"/>	58
medical, dental, legal facilities	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	p4	<input type="checkbox"/>	59
housing	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	p5	<input type="checkbox"/>	60
recreation	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	p6	<input type="checkbox"/>	61
jobs	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	p7	<input type="checkbox"/>	62
public agencies & services	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	p8	<input type="checkbox"/>	63
automobile purchasing or repair	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	p9	<input type="checkbox"/>	64
other (specify)	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	p10	<input type="checkbox"/>	65
No response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0			

4	1			*
1	2	3	4	5

35. Has she/he borrowed anything from you?

	Person												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
No	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	p1	<input type="checkbox"/>	6
Books	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	p2	<input type="checkbox"/>	7
Money	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	p3	<input type="checkbox"/>	8
Clothes	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	p4	<input type="checkbox"/>	9
Food	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	p5	<input type="checkbox"/>	10
Household goods (appliances)	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	p6	<input type="checkbox"/>	11
Tools & equipment	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	p7	<input type="checkbox"/>	12
Car	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	p8	<input type="checkbox"/>	13
Other(specify)	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	p9	<input type="checkbox"/>	14
No response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	p10	<input type="checkbox"/>	15

36. Have you ever borrowed from him/her?

	Person										First Thing :		Second		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10					
No	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	P1	<input type="checkbox"/>	16	<input type="checkbox"/>	17
Books	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	P2	<input type="checkbox"/>	18	<input type="checkbox"/>	19
Money	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	P3	<input type="checkbox"/>	20	<input type="checkbox"/>	21
Clothes	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	P4	<input type="checkbox"/>	22	<input type="checkbox"/>	23
Food	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	P5	<input type="checkbox"/>	24	<input type="checkbox"/>	25
Household goods (appliances)	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	P6	<input type="checkbox"/>	26	<input type="checkbox"/>	27
Tools & Equipment	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	P7	<input type="checkbox"/>	28	<input type="checkbox"/>	29
Car	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	P8	<input type="checkbox"/>	30	<input type="checkbox"/>	31
Other(specify)	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	9	P9	<input type="checkbox"/>	32	<input type="checkbox"/>	33
No response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P10	<input type="checkbox"/>	34	<input type="checkbox"/>	35

37. What is his/her job? (job description and employer)
 WRITE IN COMPLETE JOB DESCRIPTION AND EMPLOYER.
 CODE IF POSSIBLE

	Job Title	Employer	
Person 1	_____	_____	P1 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 36 37
Person 2	_____	_____	P2 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 38 39
Person 3	_____	_____	P3 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 40 41
Person 4	_____	_____	P4 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 42 43
Person 5	_____	_____	P5 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 44 45
Person 6	_____	_____	P6 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 46 47
Person 7	_____	_____	P7 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 48 49
Person 8	_____	_____	P8 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 50 51
Person 9	_____	_____	P9 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 52 53
Person 10	_____	_____	P10 <input type="text"/> <input type="text"/> 54 55

CODE USING PINEO PORTER SCALE

EMPLOYMENT P.P.

01. professional semi-professional, technical
02. managers, proprietors, large & small officials
03. clerical & sales
04. farm owners
05. foremen
06. skilled workers, craftsmen
07. semi-skilled workers
08. unskilled workers
09. housewife
10. other
00. No response

38. Is he/she someone you confide in?

- 1 - yes
- 2 - no
- 0 - no response

P1	<input type="checkbox"/>	56
P2	<input type="checkbox"/>	57
P3	<input type="checkbox"/>	58
P4	<input type="checkbox"/>	59
P5	<input type="checkbox"/>	60
P6	<input type="checkbox"/>	61
P7	<input type="checkbox"/>	62
P8	<input type="checkbox"/>	63
P9	<input type="checkbox"/>	64
P10	<input type="checkbox"/>	65

39. Do you think you will see more or less of him/her in the future?

	Person												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	P1	<input type="checkbox"/>	66
more	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	P2	<input type="checkbox"/>	67
less	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	P3	<input type="checkbox"/>	68
same	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	P4	<input type="checkbox"/>	69
don't know	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	P5	<input type="checkbox"/>	70
no response	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	P6	<input type="checkbox"/>	71
											P7	<input type="checkbox"/>	72
											P8	<input type="checkbox"/>	73
											P9	<input type="checkbox"/>	74
											P10	<input type="checkbox"/>	75

THIS ENDS THE SEQUENCE OF QUESTIONS. RETURN TO QUESTION 30 AND REPEAT CYCLE FOR THE NEXT PERSON ON CARD B - IN SECTION 2. IF YOU HAVE FINISHED THE CYCLE FOR THE LAST PERSON CONTINUE ON TO QUESTION 40.

40. You have told us about friends and relatives back in your prior community, and also about the people you know in Hamilton. Do you have other friends or close relatives living anywhere else with whom you keep in touch?

- 1. Yes
 - 2. No
 - 0. No response
- GO TO Q41

6

IF YES: Who are they?

RECORD ALL OF THE NAMES THE RESPONDENT GIVES YOU ON THE FOLLOWING CHART.

RECORD THE FIRST FIVE NAMES ON CARD B, SECTION 3.

	Name	Relation	Sex	I. D. *
1		7 8		9 10 11 12 13 14 15
2		16 17		18 19 20 21 22 23 24
3		25 26		27 28 29 30 31 32 33
4		34 35		36 37 38 39 40 41 42
5		43 44		45 46 47 48 49 50 51
6		52 53		54 55 56 57 58 59 60
7		61 62		63 64 65 66 67 68 69
8		6 7		8 9 10 11 12 13 14
9		15 16		17 18 19 20 21 22 23
10		24 25		26 27 28 29 30 31 32

2 4 1 2 3 4 5 *

Sex 1- male
2- female

KEYPUNCHER
SKIP TO PG. 41

IF MORE, RECORD TOTAL NUMBER _____



41. You've mentioned several people whom you know both in Hamilton and elsewhere - old friends, relatives and people you've met recently.

I have a list of some of the people you know, both here and elsewhere, and I will read their names. I would like you to tell me if you consider each person to be very close, close or not so close.

INTERVIEWER READ NAMES OFF CARD B AND PUT BESIDE EACH NAME IN BOX X EITHER .

- 1 - very close
- 2 - close
- 3 - not so close

- 42 . THEN INTERVIEWER ASK:
RECORD ON CARD B, IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX (Y)
A. Of all these people who is the closest to you?
B. Who would you consider the next closest?
C. Who would you consider next to that?

43. On this card (REFER TO CARD B), I have written the names of some of the people we have been talking about. We are interested in knowing which category each of these people fall in. (GIVE RESPONDENT COLOURED PAGE AND CARD B).

Would you please write the name of each person on Card B under the heading you think it belongs in on the coloured page.

44 . I would like to know which of the people on Card B know each other.

(CIRCLE NUMBER(S) CORRESPONDING TO THE NAMES OF PEOPLE THIS PERSON KNOWS, SEE INSTRUCTION MANUAL)

Let's start with your wife/husband.

Which
people
does

know

Spouse	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
2			3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
3				4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
4					5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
5						6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
6							7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
7								8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
8									9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
9										10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
10											11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
11												12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
12													13	14	15	16	17	18	19
13														14	15	16	17	18	19
14															15	16	17	18	19
15																16	17	18	19
16																	17	18	19
17																		18	19
18																			19

it 19

45. If you needed help with some problem, who would you turn to?

RECORD NAME OF PERSON

Name

Card 24 Con't *

--	--	--	--	--	--

 33 34 35 36 37 38

IF THIS PERSON'S NAME HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY WRITTEN ON CARD B, RECORD THE NUMBER ASSOCIATED WITH IT. OTHERWISE, RECORD RELATIONSHIP TO RESPONDENT.

 Card B Number OR Relationship _____

Card A #

--	--

39 40

Relationship

--	--

41 42

46. If for some reason, two or three people needed some sort of help - let's say, to borrow some money - and you could only manage to help one of them, which would it be? IF NOBODY RECORD .9 IN COL. 43 OTHERWISE:

Nobody

--

43

ASK
 Name _____
 Relationship _____

--	--	--	--	--	--

 *
 44 45 46 47 48 49

47. May I ask why you would make this choice?

1. parent
2. other relative
3. obligation
4. need
5. closest friend
6. known longest
7. other
0. No response

--	--

50 51

--

52

B
FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE

- 1 - every meeting
- 2 - often
- 3 - sometimes
- 4 - never
- 9 - not applicable
- 0 - No response

C

- 1 - no
- 2 - French
- 3 - German
- 4 - Italian
- 5 - Jewish
- 6 - Netherlands
- 7 - Scandinavia
- 8 - British
- 9 - other (specify)
- 0 - no response

Gilbert & Sullivan

48. Have you joined any clubs, organizations or associations, since you have come to Hamilton. For example, have you joined any _____.

types

INTERVIEWER CODE FOR

- 1. yes
- 2. no
- 0. no response

53

SKIP

54-59

A	B	C
NAME	Frequency of Attendance	Associated with any Ethnic or Cultural Group
Political Clubs	60	61
Service	62	63
Mutual Benefit	64	65
Church or Religious	66	67
Union	68	69
Veteran	70	71
Social	72	73
Business/Professional	74	75
Hobby or Craft	76	77
Neighbourhood Groups	78	79
Other		

Total number joined _____

80

WHAT

1. 1 = land lords
2 = rent
3 = either
2. 1 = doctors
2 = dentist
3 = either
3. PURCHASE 1 = furniture
2 = housing
3 = appliances
4 = car
5 = other (specify) _____
0 = no response
4. PRESSING PROBLEMS 1 = job
2 = money
3 = family matters
4 = housing
5 = social contacts
6 = adjusting to the city
7 = other (specify) _____
8 = no response

WHAT DID

- 1 = contact or referral through agency (eg. real estate) (hospital)
2 = contact or referral through friend
3 = contact or referral through relative
4 = contact or referral through neighbour
5 = contact or referral through co-worker
6 = advertisement (yellow pages)
7 = other forms of collecting information (self)
8 = other (specify)
0 = no response

50D.

- 1= local
- 2= national
- 3= worldwide
- 4= no
- 0= no response

50E

- 1. Hamilton
- 2. Burlington
- 3. Ancaster
- 4. Dundas
- 5. Metropolitan Hamilton area
- 6. Toronto area
- 7. The Region (Southern Ontario)
- 8. specific neighbourhood
- 9. other

50.

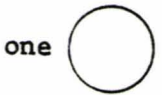
a) Are the people who live around here the kind of people you enjoy being with?



- 1. very much so
- 2. somewhat
- 3. neutral
- 4. not so much
- 5. no
- 6. don't know
- 0. no response

b) Have you subscribed to or read frequently any newspaper(s)?
IF YES, ASK: Which ones?

- 1= no
- 2= Spectator
- 3= Toronto Paper
- 4= newspaper from previous community
- 5= other
- 0= no response

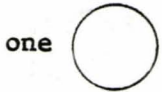


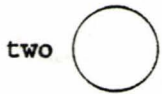
c) Did you vote in the last civic elections?
IF NO ASK: Were you eligible to vote?

- 1= yes
- 2= no
- 3= no, not eligible
- 0= no response



d) Do you contribute to any charities?





e) Where do you consider home to be?
PROBE FOR NAME OF CITY, OR TOWN, REGION.

- 1. CITY PROVINCE COUNTRY
- _____
- 2. _____
- _____



f) Would you like to see more transit facilities between the Hamilton, Burlington area and Toronto?

1. yes
2. no
0. no response

g) Do you believe that the Hamilton-Burlington area and the Toronto area should be more closely associated - e.g. regional government?

1. yes
2. no
0. no response

51. Has the move to Hamilton (Burlington) been of benefit to you? How?

1. very much so
2. yes
3. neutral
4. no
5. not at all
6. don't know
0. no response

How? _____

1. life condition change
2. job change
3. social life
4. housing
5. more opportunities
0. other (specify)

52. Where do you think you will be living six (6) months from now?

CODES FOR WHETHER IN HAMILTON

- 1 - yes
- 2 - no
- 3 - don't know
- 0 - no response

TRANSFER REQUIRED INFORMATION
FROM CARD B TO THIS SHEET
(THIS CAN BE DONE AFTER THE
INTERVIEW IS TERMINATED)

SECTION	I. D. NUMBER *	CLOSE CODE	CLOSEST CODE
1.	6 7 8 9 10 11	12	13
	14 15 16 17 18 19	20	21
	22 23 24 25 26 27	28	29
	30 31 32 33 34 35	36	37
2.	38 39 40 41 42 43	44	45
	46 47 48 49 50 51	52	53
	54 55 56 57 58 59	60	61
	62 63 64 65 66 67	68	69
	70 71 72 73 74 75	76	77
	6 7 8 9 10 11	12	13
	14 15 16 17 18 19	20	21
	22 23 24 25 26 27	28	29
	30 31 32 33 34 35	36	37
	38 39 40 41 42 43	44	45
3.	46 47 48 49 50 51	52	53
	54 55 56 57 58 59	60	61
	62 63 64 65 66 67	68	69
	70 71 72 73 74 75	76	77
	6 7 8 9 10 11	12	13

4	5			
1	2	3	4	5

4	6			
1	2	3	4	5

4	7			
1	2	3	4	5

SUBJECTIVE RELATIONSHIP

Person	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32

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