THE IMPACT OF GEOGRAPHIC RELOCATION ON MARRIED, CAREER WOMEN: A STUDY IN SOCIAL EXCHANGE THEORY AND COPING THEORY

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By

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DISSERTATION SIGNATURE APPROVAL PAGE

INSTITUTE FOR CLINICAL SOCIAL WORK

We hereby approve the dissertation

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This study is dedicated to my husband,
James Gordon Emerson,
who has encouraged and supported
me in the completion of this degree
and with whom in our thirty-three years
together, the "rewards" have far outweighed
the "costs".

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During my professional career, I had been seeking a Doctoral program in Clinical Social Work. While living in Denver, I learned about such a program in California - a State to which we were about to move. After arriving in San Francisco and hearing two graduates of the Institute for Clinical Social Work present excellent papers at a State conference, I applied to the Institute. I am grateful that such an educational institution exists.

I would like to thank the chair of my dissertation committee, Dr Rosemary Lukton, who is also the Dean of the Institute, for her professional assistance and her support of my work. I also wish to thank Dr. Elinor Grayer and Dr. Roy Fairchild for serving on the committee and for spending many hours reading my material; Dr. Elizabeth Eisenhuth for serving as my mentor; Dr. Mary Ahern for the excellent colloquia; and Dr. Catherine Cameron who worked with me on the methodology and design of the research.

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Margaret Bonnell Emerson, 1985

ABSTRACT

This exploratory study of a wife's perception of the moving process -- from decision-making to adaptation in a new setting -- centered on social exchange theory and concepts from stress, adaptation, and coping theories. The data collection method included questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The sample was composed of sixteen women who were: In dual-career marriages, childless, of the middle-class, and who had moved over 400 miles to Los Angeles or the San Francisco Bay Area at the instigation of their husbands in the prior eighteen months.

Instruments adapted for this study and based on previous research design measured: The perception of the previous home; alternatives to the move; expectations of the new location; outcomes; distributive justice; and voluntary/ nonvoluntary status. In the interview, respondents rated themselves on a depression/happiness scale. From these results, the women were divided into four groups according to their levels of satisfaction with the move. In addition, two available instruments were used: A Life Events Scale (Paykel, Prusoff, and Uhlenhuth, 1971) and a Ways of Coping Checklist (Folkman and Lazarus, 1983). Data analysis was qualitative.

Assumptions of the investigation were: (1) Contrary to the expectations of social exchange theory, married women will move with their husbands even when the move is not perceived by

them to be to their advantage; (2) a relationship exists between a belief in the Ruth Principle (Old Testament, Ruth 1: 16) and the decision to move; (3) women who move voluntarily have little attachment to their previous homes; and (4) patterns of coping mechanisms used by women before and after the move will differ. Assumptions 1 and 3 were supported. The support for assumption 2 was weak. Assumption 4 was not supported.

Significant differences between the lower level and higher level of satisfaction groups seemed related to: the appraisal processes -- specifically reappraisal; ways of coping; expectations; therapy; multiple moves; the Ruth Principle; and problems after the move in career and marriage.

Recommendations were made for preventive services, pre- and post-move therapy, and future studies.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When he heard about this study, a fellow traveler on the airplane spoke of his sister who moved from a town north of Sacramento to Los Angeles. A severe depression following the move resulted in her being committed to a psychiatric hospital.

The woman in the therapist's office spoke of the rage toward her husband that at times overwhelmed her. She had recently moved from New Hampshire to Los Angeles against her wishes. Her mother, who had made many nonvoluntary moves, had committed suicide. She wondered if she was following in her mother's footsteps.

The woman drove from New York to Omaha with four small children in the car. She spoke later of the madness that was her companion on the trip across the country. It was years before she recovered her sanity after much therapy and many hospitalizations.

For all three of these women a move at the instigation of their husbands was the precipitating factor of journeys into their personal hells. The moves did not cause these severe reactions, but the mental anguish suffered by these women (and, as a result, by their husbands) seemed to be

triggered by geographic relocation. These episodes represent the trauma that thousands of women and men experience every year.

Tamar Heller reported in her literature review on "involuntary moves" that there are 250,000 executive transfers yearly (Heller, 1982, p. 472). Packard (1974) wrote that the typical American moves 14 times in a lifetime (p. 6). According to the latest census figures, between 1975 and 1980, 25.1% of the population of the United States made local moves (within the same county). In addition, 19.5% of the total population moved either out of the county or the state where they had previously lived (Baldridge and Brown, 1983, p. 16). In the United States, between March 1981 and March 1982, approximately 37 million people over the age of one year moved to a new residence (Bureau of Census, p. 1).

With the recognition that in studying migration there are many different groups that could be explored, the chosen focus of this research is women in dual-career marriages who have never had children and who moved at the instigation of their husbands. The reason for the choice of this sample is twofold: First -- there is no study focused on this population in the literature; and second --the problem of geographic relocation and dual-career marriages has intensified in recent years because of the increase in the number of women who are choosing to follow their own career paths.

Those who have researched the subject of women and migration raise questions about the reactions women have to the experience of moving. Why is it that at times a move goes smoothly and at other times it is a severely traumatic experience that can even be a precipitating factor in suicide (Stack, 1980)?

Researchers believe the answer lies in several factors: the personality characteristics of the individual (Wheaton, 1983, p. 210); the move being voluntary or nonvoluntary (Heller; 1982); the loss of social support systems (McCubbin, 1980); the symbolic importance of the previous home to the mover (Fried, 1963); the degree of attachment to the previous home (Shumaker and Stokols, 1982); and/or other stressful events in the life of the individual (Barrett, 1974). Any or all of the above can be factors in the trauma of a move.

This author believes that for clarification of the effect of moving on married, career women, an analysis of the process that takes place in the move is required. The following study explores the decision to move, the experience of the move itself, the new environment, and the attempts to adapt to the move through the use of various coping mechanisms. The questions raised in this study are: Why did the married women in this study decide to move; what was the outcome of the move; and how do the women cope with this change in their lives? The research also reviews ways in which clinicians may help women who face a move or who have

recently moved.

The definition of migration used in this study is from an article by McAllister, Butler, and Kaiser (1973). Migration is "a change of residence from one community to another while remaining within the same national boundaries." This definition is distinct from "short distance change of residence within the same community" or local movement (p. 197).

Rationale for the Study

The purpose of this study is twofold. The first goal, as indicated above, is to explore the impact of geographic relocation on married, career women. The second goal is to demonstrate the usefulness of social exchange theory and Lazarus' cognitive-phenomenological theory of stress and coping in such a study.

Relocation creates gradual, but enduring changes in one's overall life and affects virtually every facet of the individual's life situation (Stokols and Shumaker, 1982, p. 153). Migration proves to be particularily difficult for the wife (Butler, McAllister, Kaiser, 1973, p. 225). On the national level, our economy and job market operate on the premise that women will move when their husbands have the opportunity for occupational advancement -- even if the move means considerable sacrifice for the woman (Berger and Foster, 1977, p. 33). Many marriages operate on this same premise (Brett, 1980, p. 112).

The assumption that a woman will move with her husband

in order to further his career has become increasingly problematic (Gullahorn, 1979, p. 65). Geographic relocation has been a problem for women for years, but is only more recently being recognized as such. There are two reasons for this: (1) The fact that many married women are choosing to pursue careers and (2) the consciousness raising of the women's movement which emphasizes the need for women to achieve their own individuality and to maximize their talents.

The increase in the number of women in professional work has almost doubled in the last ten years. Well over half of the married women in our nation are employed. Fifty-nine percent of the women who have children in the home are in the labor market (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, April, 1983). These figures are increasing yearly. Geographic relocation motivated only by a husband's occupational advancement can be extremely costly professionally and personally to the woman. Such a move can also be costly to the marital couple (Mincer, 1978, p. 766; Fenelon, 1971).

Research Design

This researcher has chosen social exchange theory in addition to stress, adaptation, and coping theories to understand the dynamics and implications of the moving process.

Generally, the social exchange model as conceptualized by Homans (1958, 1961) and Thibaut and Kelley (1959) has been used by researchers to explore dyadic relationships -- in

particular, marital dyads. However, the concepts of social exchange have also been used to explore factors which are internal to the individual (Arnott,1971; Goldstein, 1980).

Social exchange theory is based on the giving of gifts and on the assumption that individuals seek to be rewarded in their social associations. George Homans (1950, 1958, 1961) developed the concept of social exchange theory which integrates economics and behavioral psychology in a theoretical framework to explore interactional processes in groups. Thibaut and Kelley (1959, 1978) applied social exchange theory to dyads and contributed the framework of the comparison level processes to operationalize social exchange theory. Adaptation theory as conceptualized by Heinz Hartmann (1958) and Richard Lazarus' perspective of the transactional process of stress and coping (1961, 1963, 1966, 1974, 1978) also contributed to the theoretical base for this research.

The accidental sample was composed of 16 married, career women who moved over 400 miles from some other community to Los Angeles or the San Francisco Bay Area within the past 18 months. All of the moves were made at the instigation of their husbands. Both voluntary and nonvoluntary movers are included in the sample which afforded the opportunity for some tentative inter-group comparisons. All of the women were either career women or were in an educational program preparing for a career at the time of the move. They were

also in first marriages, childless and from the middle-class (Hollingshead and Redlich, 1958, classifications III and IV).

Women with children were eliminated from the sample because their inclusion in the sample might have obfuscated the findings, since the fact of having children and the ages of the children seem to be an important variable in the adjustment to a new community.

Exchange theory provides an ideal conceptual framework for understanding the dilemma a move poses for a woman. Using instruments designed from exchange theory, the woman's perception of her previous home was determined by measuring the rewards and costs to her of 18 experiential areas that are viewed in the literature as important for satisfaction in a new home. The individual woman decided the salience (value) to her of each area. This same instrument evaluated her expectations and alternatives in the decision-making process; her postdecision expectations of the new home; and her perception of the new home after the move. The word "home" referred to the 18 experiential areas.

Levels of satisfaction of the women in the move were evaluated. In addition to the social exchange instruments, those interviewed were given the Ways of Coping Checklist (Folkman and Lazarus, 1983) and a life events list (Paykel, Prosoff, and Uhlenhuth, 1971). Also, in the interview, the women were asked to rate themselves on a depression/happiness scale from 0-10 for the period after the move.

Other social exchange theory concepts explored: Distributive justice (e g., in this instance, what the woman felt she received in benefits from the move as against what her husband received); voluntary versus nonvoluntary status; and the transformation process of decision-making. These concepts are important factors in both exchange theory and geographic relocation.

Exchange theory is not just conceptually, but is also empirically suited to the problems addressed by this paper. Abstract propositions and concepts are readily translatable into testable hypotheses and variables.

This dissertation has particular value for the clinical social worker. Practical and highly relevant instruments that are also theoretically sound have been constructed and are a contribution to exchange theory and to clinical work. Through the use of social exchange theory and an exploration of coping mechanisms, the resultant findings increase understanding and knowledge of the adjustment process of moving for married, career women.

This study brings greater awareness to factors that need to be explored by clinicians when an individual or a couple in therapy are facing the prospect of a move or have recently come to a new community. Moss (1974) wrote that an intensive interview and observational study is needed of the process by which people handle everyday life stressors and major life crises transitions (p. 334). Exploratory research,

such as this, is necessary to obtain experiences which will be helpful in formulating relevant hypotheses for more definitive investigation (Jahoda, Deutsch, and Cook, 1951, p. 33). By demonstrating the usefulness of social exchange theory and coping theory, it is expected that clinicians will find these concepts helpful in other situations.

Development of Assumptions to be Researched

Because this was an exploratory study, there was no formal testing of hypotheses. Based on the literature review and the researcher's practice as a clinical social worker, a series of assumptions served as the foci for this study. The research was designed to determine tentatively whether these assumptions were valid. As well, the strategy was to discover what hither-to unknown variables may operate in the situation under study. The assumptions made at the outset were:

1) Contrary to the expectations of social exchange theory, it was assumed that married women would move with their husbands even when the move was nonvoluntary and not perceived by them to be to their advantage.
2) It was predicted that a relationship would be found between a belief in the Ruth Principle and the decision to move in spite of the personal loss to the respondent. The Ruth Principle is based on The Book of Ruth, chapter 1, v.16, and relates to the belief that married women should follow their husbands when they want or need to relocate.

For a woman, in the culture of the Old Testament (as in many Eastern cultures of today) being married meant being under the control of the husband and his family. Loyalty to the husband was extended to loyalty to the family. Because of this, it would be expected, as the story is told in The Book of Ruth, that Ruth should stay with her mother-in-law, Naomi, after the death of Ruth's husband. This traditional marriage was called a "levirate" marriage (Baab, 1962, p. 282). Naomi released Ruth from this obligation because she had no sons to impregnate Ruth and, therefore, was unable to fulfill her part of the marital contract. Ruth's loyalty to her husband, and by way of extension to his mother, was such that she chose to stay with her husband's family even though she was given permission to return home.

Another reason the name "The Ruth Principle" is applied in this study is that this passage has been used in Christian marriage ceremonies in this country for years along with admonishing women to "obey" their husbands. However, it must be noted that the women of the sample were unlike Ruth in several ways: Ruth had no job, had children, and was an alien of the country in which she lived.

3) The assumption was made that women who moved voluntarily would demonstrate a low attachment to their previous homes.
4) It was posited that the pattern of coping mechanisms used by the women before and after the move would differ.

Three other assumptions were added which were based on

the review of the literature:

5) That moving causes stress.

6) That stress causes disequilibrium.

7) That coping mechanisms are evoked to deal with the disequilibrium.

These assumptions, if validated, may be tested in larger, random samples in the future as hypotheses. Also, based on the outcome of the research, ideas for future research are proposed.

In this study, the personal pronoun "she" will be used since the study is about women. In some situations "he" would be equally appropriate.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The theoretical implications of the subject of women and geographic relocation will be considered in this chapter. The first section focuses on a review of the literature of women and geographic relocation. The second section includes the specific theoretical contexts of this study: Social exchange theory; stress theory; adaptation theory; coping theory; and homeostasis.

Review of the Literature of Women and Migration

For many years migration has been viewed as a stress-producing life event. The Fifth Annual Conference on Community Mental Health Research in 1963 focused on mobility and mental health (Kantor, 1963). In June 1972, Purdue University jointly sponsored a conference with Allied Van Lines on the subject of "Moving and the Wife". In May 1973, the Journal of Marriage and the Family also focused on moving and the wife. In an editorial, Carlfred Broderick stated that little research had been done in this area. Broderick indicated that he hoped the journal articles would trigger additional studies. Almost a decade later, Daniel Lichter (1981) similarily commented on the dearth of research on women and moving.

Brett (1980) reviewed 20 research studies on the impact of job transfers. Only two of these involved in-depth interviews focusing on women (p. 103). Brett observed that there was little scientific research regarding women and moving. In the place of research there is much in the way of folklore and many generalizations and assumptions (p. 99).

Although little research is addressed specifically to the effect of moving upon married women, many articles and research studies on the general subject of migration refer to the problems of geographic relocation and women. These studies are the basic source of information for this review of the literature.

Butler, McAllister, and Kaiser (1973) found that mobility experiences affect the mental health of females more than males. According to their study, women are far more likely than men to be adversely affected by residential moves and to report symptoms indicative of potential mental disorder (p. 225). It appears that many women may be attached to their neighborhood and community in a way that men are not. The loss of this connection can cause serious problems. The husband has a position waiting for him whereas the wife, in her perception, may have little to which to look forward. Stokols and Shumaker (1982) reviewing recent studies found that wives of relocated employees appeared to be vulnerable to prolonged depression subsequent to moving (p. 151).

In light of these studies, a potential problem is

reflected in the study by Jones (1973) which indicated that the adjustment of the wife and mother to a new home may be central to a good adjustment of the family. Seventy-eight percent of the women in her study believed that the wife is the key person in establishing the home and in making the move a successful one (p. 211). A deduction implied from the review of the literature is that moving is harder on wives; that wives, therefore, become more depressed than their husbands; that wives are central to the adjustment of the family; and, consequently, that the whole family may be negatively affected by the move because of the impact on the wife/mother.

According to Gutman (1963), specific conditions result in women having a difficult time with migration. These difficulties arise with: A downwardly mobile family (also, Kantor, 1969, p. 375); a working class wife; an "emotionally expressive" wife (evidence suggests that such women try to get too close to the neighbors too soon and thus suffer rejection); and a wife who perceives herself to be different from her neighbors and who is unable to find other women of similar tastes and interests (p. 180).

Gutman wrote that the specific problem for working-class wives is that they are apt to have fewer social skills than professional wives. It is hard, therefore, for them to make friends in a new community (p. 173). An additional problem according to a study by Willmuth, Weaver, and Donlan

(1975) is that blue-collar workers do not expect to be transferred and, therefore, there is more trauma connected with a move than for upwardly-mobile executives.

Several other authors reinforced the view that working-class women have a more difficult time moving than those of the middle or upper class (Fried, 1963; Kohn, 1972; Heller, 1983). However, Weissman and Paykel (1972) found moving stressful for all classes of women (p. 25). A comparison between classes in the area of geographic relocation is beyond the parameters of this study. However, this research seeks to determine whether the findings of the trauma connected to a move are applicable to women in the middle class in dual-career marriages.

Grief and Mourning

It has been hypothesized that the choice of whether or not to move is a factor in satisfaction and an important link in the moving process for the individual (Butler, McAllister, and Kaiser, 1973; Fried, 1963; Heller, 1982; Willmuth, Weaver, and Donlan, 1975; Kantor, 1969; Jones, 1973).

Fried (1963) held that enforced relocation has a powerful psychological impact on the family and especially on the wife. He gave the term "a severe grief reaction" to the enforced urban relocation experience of almost half of the women in his study. As late as two years after the move, 26% of the women in Fried's study said that they still felt

sad and depressed. An additional 20% had experienced these feelings for six months to two years after the move (pp 155-171).

In a follow-up study to Fried's work, Parkes (1972) found that the severe grief reactions to the loss of spouse, limb, and home were similar in depth and quality. Parkes connected this intensity of loss to separation anxiety (p. 347). In agreement with this statement, Lukton (1982) wrote that while geographic relocation presents reality problems, it also presents symbolic values representing earlier losses unique to the individual (p. 283).

Marris (1974) wrote that moving causes one to lose the habitual physical setting of one's life. Each person attaches a meaning to the previous home which no one else can really understand. Moving may involve the sacrifice of familiar relationships with neighbors, colleagues, and a community. The need to mourn still exists even if the new home is better than the previous one. Until the grief is resolved, the conflict itself becomes the only meaningful reference for behavior (p. 92). According to Marris, one can readily accommodate to changes as long as these changes can first be assimilated into existing patterns of thought and attachment (p. 103).

It is difficult to predict the length and intensity of the mourning process. Factors that are influential are the individual differences, the nature and timing of the

precipitating loss, the cognitive factors regarding the reality and finality of the loss, the estimate of how costly and effective aggression might be, and the assessment of suitable alternative incentives (Klinger, 1975, p. 14).

Attachment and the Meaning of a Place

Fried (1963) posited that the only way to understand a woman's loss of a home was to appreciate what that home and the environment that she left behind meant to her (p. 153). Evidently he would not agree with Marris (1974) who wrote that only the individual involved can understand that meaning.

According to Searles (1960), a relatedness, a sense of intimate kinship exists between man and the various ingredients of his nonhuman environment (p. 101). He wrote that it is a rare thing to find explicit acknowledgement paid to the significance of the nonhuman environment in man's psychological life (p. 5).

A collection of data establishes a direct link between housing conditions and the inner life, self-esteem, and social functioning of individuals (Lukton, 1979, p. 525). For example, Erikson (1947) wrote of the importance of spatial components on ego identity (p. 373); Fried (1982) wrote that for most people, the residential environment is integral to a person's sense of place in the world: i.e., spatial identity, or place identity (p. 107); and Searles (1960) posited that, as one develops, the environment is experienced as within rather than outside the ego (p. 81).

Bonnes-Dobrowolny and Secchiarole (1983) wrote that the personal meaning attributed to an area may be an indicator of the relationship between person and environment (p. 24). The spatial field is differentially charged with meaning from individual to individual. Spatial orientations become personal styles and are carried as unique personal attributes (Beck, 1970, p. 135).

According to a study by Shumaker and Stokols (1982), the degree of attachment to the current or previous home is a crucial variable in adjustment to a new place. Without attachment, breaking people-place bonds is not necessarily traumatic (p. 2). Dependency on a place may be negatively experienced. The current locale may be better than the previous one, but still undesirable and the individual may have no current viable alternatives. When one separates from places with which one feels a personal or cultural tie, chronic life strains and health problems are likely to occur (Stokols and Shumaker, 1982, p. 157).

Place attachment is defined as "a positive affective bond or association between individuals and their residential environment" (Shumaker and Taylor, 1983, p. 233). The strength of the bond is determined by: The physical and social amenities of the environment; residential choice; local social networks; individual needs and personality style; and the association of the quality of the current place as it compares to past and possible future locations.

A sense of rootedness also relates to the length of stay in a location, the ownership of a home, and the expectation that one will not move (p. 228).

In a study by Shumaker and Stokols (1981) social exchange theory was used in a comparison process to evaluate the current place vis-a-vis previous similar places and the current place vis-a-vis current viable alternative places (pp. 441 ff.). The researchers found that people with low expectations for current residential environment and a good alternative to staying were not dependent or attached to their residences. In contrast, those with high expectations and an unattractive alternative were most attached to their environments and were less apt to move.

In agreement with the importance of attachment to and the "meaning" of the loss of a home, Marris (1974) described geographic relocation in the context of cognitive dissonance theory (p. 6). Briefly, the theory holds that individuals need a consistent system to make sense out of life. From earliest childhood one learns to attach meaning to things and people. Such a system helps one to know how to respond to life experiences and makes life more predictable. Anything that threatens to invalidate conceptual structures of interpretation may be profoundly disruptive and produce fear of psychological disintegration (Festinger, 1957).

Marris wrote that moving or changing a job involves losses for which no substitute structure is immediately

identifiable. He believed that if one could understand a change of home (like bereavement) as a potential disruption of the meaning of life, one might be able to predict who will suffer grief and what might help to retrieve a sense of purpose (p. 44). Reconstruction of meaning can be painful because it begins in such helplessness and uncertainty.

Marc (1977) posited that we have suddenly discovered the symbolic importance of the environment without completely understanding its function (p. 79). In his book entitled The Psychology of the House he related the symbolism of the home to the mother's womb where "we leave the world and listen to our own rhythm" (p. 13). A connection between a person and his house is found in the sacred texts of many traditions in China. The soul's departure at death is translated "breaking the roof" (p. 67).

Craik (1971) wrote of the importance of the symbolic in the assessment of environments (p. 58) and, in an attempt to concretize the meaning of a place, Russell and Pratt (1980) developed a questionnaire to measure the affective quality attributed to environments.

The Natural Environment

Many authors write of the importance of the natural environment to people. Shumaker and Stokols (1982) wrote that being close to nature strongly influences how people feel about their environment in a positive way (p. 8). Searles (1960) wrote that nature, in the majority of persons

strikes the deepest chord. " Contact with nature helps to assuage mans' existential loneliness and gives a sense of stability, continuity, and certainty" (p. 121). Marc (1977) wrote that the psyche is influenced by its natural environment and appears as a product of nature, a subtle form of life (p. 68). Fried (1982) wrote that easy access to nature was the single, strongest predictor of satisfaction with residential environment for those in his study (p. 114).

Relatedness to the environment can result in several fruitful efforts: The assuaging of various painful and anxiety-laden states of feelings; the fostering of self-realization; the deepening of one's feeling of reality; and the fostering of one's appreciation and acceptance of one's fellow-man (Searles, 1960, p. 120). The loss of this relatedness can create considerable pain and grief.

Reasons for Moving

There are many reasons why people decide to move. According to the Annual Housing Survey of the Census Bureau the most commonly stated reasons are job related: Job transfer, taking a new job, or looking for work. These were mentioned by 59% of those who moved across state lines (Long and Hansen, 1980, p. 77). For the majority, the husband was the motivator of the move. The second most common reason was to be nearer to family.

Shumaker and Stokols (1981) indicated shifts in reasons for moving. Currently, individuals are moving to both

upgrade life-styles and find environmentally comfortable areas such as the South and the West. Their research identified the "advantaged" population as on the move. Included in this population are those who work for large corporations and are educated, young, and have high status jobs (p. 8).

Migration is commonly repeated. DaVanzo (1981) wrote that recent migrants often migrate again within a year or two: The consequences of one move become the causes of the next move. According to her findings, people tend to return to the place they left when there is dissatisfaction in the new locale. In this situation they are less inclined to move again, especially if the return move was to the original home of the head of household (p. 55).

Mincer (1978) wrote that the migration of households is motivated by net family gain rather than net personal gain. According to his hypothesis, the net loss of the "tied" (non-voluntary) mover must be smaller than the net gain of the other spouse to result in a net family gain from moving (p. 750). Speare and Kobrin (1982) found that the decision to move was made by averaging the satisfaction of individual household members rather than being based on each family member experiencing personal gain from the move (p. 553).

Neither of these authors refers to exchange theory, but their findings fit the concept of Kelley and Thibaut (1978) called "the transformation process": An evaluation

of what each person wants individually is transformed from the "given " matrix to the "effective" matrix as the combination of desires (p. 16). For example, the "given" matrix would represent the individual thoughts of the husband and the wife regarding a potential move. Although the wife might be quite opposed to the move, the move might still take place when the couple's wishes are combined in the "effective " matrix because of net family gain.

The presence of school-aged children, strong social bonds and two careers in a family inhibit migration (Mincer, 1978, p. 764; Speare and Kobrin, 1982, p. 551).

Process of a Move and Adjustment Problems

Sluzki (1979) wrote of the stages of the migratory process (p. 380). He identified four stages: the preparatory stage which, according to the family life-style, may be an explosive decision or may come after lengthy rumination; the act of migration; the period of apparent calm and overcompensation which lasts about six months; and the period of decompensation or crisis from which people emerge some three years later.

Once the move is made, major problems focus on the needs of belonging, friendship, contact with others, and a sense of security, order, and protection (Golub, 1977). Establishing new relationships is a crucial factor for integration in a new community. Voluntary organizations seem to be a good way to meet and make friends. It has been

said that in the suburbs, it is necessary to be involved in such organizations for social integration (Gutman, 1963, p. 176). Otherwise, primary group membership is hard to achieve.

Weiss (1969) wrote that for women, even if their marital relationships are good, the need for friends may not be satisfied. The sense of social isolation after a move is not infrequently similar in intensity, although of a shorter duration, to that following the dissolution of a marriage (p. 37).

As indicated by Sluski (1979) part of the process of a move is a period of "decompensation". A husband's impatience with his wife's depression increases the problem for her considerably (Weiss, 1969; Imundo, 1974). The husband is inclined to plunge himself into his new job. The wife is left to organize the house, find a new life, and get the children situated into their schools, all with little help. The husband may be working 55-60 hours a week while his wife is left feeling lonely and isolated.

Glueck (1974) indicated that many husbands reported their wives were "only moderately upset by the changes" encountered in a move. However in talking to the wives, Glueck found them rarely as positive in their views regarding the move as their husbands believed them to be (p. 69). By way of contrast, Imundo (1974) reported that at least two-thirds of the executives he surveyed experienced family problems as a result of moving (p. 910).

Moving and Marital Problems

Marital problems are often an issue in moving. In his study of migration, Mincer (1978) concluded that migration may lead to family dissolution. He studied census reports, national longitudinal samples, and Coleman-Rossi samples of microdata for the years 1966-1971. He reported that more than twice as many marriages ended in divorce in the 12-month period bracketing a geographic relocation than was true for those in the control group who did not move (p. 766).

An earlier study by Fenelon (1971) of divorce rates and comparable migration statistics of states found a "reasonably high correlation" (.723) between divorce and the inter- and intramigration rates of states. He suggested that, because migration relaxes norms, there were comparatively lower social costs attached to divorce in states having high migration rates as compared to states that had a comparatively stable population (p. 321).

A study was conducted in Canada by Makabe (1980) using a similar research design. He studied divorce and migration rates in the ten Canadian provinces. He found that lower social costs attached to divorce in mobile communities was a factor in higher divorce rates. He also offered evidence supporting his hypothesis that divorce rates are higher in areas where there are more economic opportunities for women than in other areas (p. 171).

Geographic relocation may be a precipitating factor in

divorce, pushing a shaky marriage over the edge. However, to view geographic relocation as the only variable in a broken marriage would be inaccurate. There is also the possibility of many other factors such as: The stress of other events; women gaining more alternatives; relaxed norms in our country; couples moving in the hope of rescuing a problematic marital relationship (which was reported by one woman in this study); and multiple moves being potentially indicative of a marginally functional husband. Nevertheless, marital problems often surface at the time of geographic relocation. Seven of the 16 women of the sample of this research experienced disintegration of the marriage after the move.

The Two-Career Family

There have been many changes in family systems in the last decade. In only 10% of the families of the United States is the male the sole breadwinner and the female the homemaker who cares for the children. There is a large percentage of single parents, two-worker/one-career families, and dual-career families (Knicely, 1982, p. 121). According to the March 1983 census, out of a total of 49,908,000 married couples, in 23,696,000 cases both the husband and the wife were in the labor market. In 15,981,000 situations only the husband was working. In 2,192,000 situations only the wife was working. The rest of the couples were either unemployed or retired. Evidently, in approximately 30% of the situations, the husband was the only wage-earner. These

figures do not indicate, however, in how many situations there were children being cared for at home (Bureau of Census, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, p. 388).

The distinction between the two-worker/one-career family and the two-career family is that in the former both partners work, but they concentrate on the development of one partner's career. In the latter, both follow their own careers and each partner also actively supports the spouse's career development (Gilmore and Fannin, 1982, p. 36).

The special stress of the dual-career family is indicated by Tuthill (1980) when she writes that two-thirds of the top female earners have been married and half of them have been divorced. As one women said in a statement that closely relates to social exchange theory, "Having a job you like gives you a different view of marriage. It gives you an alternative. The prospect of divorce is not so severe." (p. 76).

Parker, Peltier, and Wolleat (1981) wrote that high achieving individuals need reliable, narcissistic, self-esteem enhancing gratification. Basically, dual-careers allow little time for such individual attention and problem-solving around issues such as mobility take much time in a tight schedule (p. 15).

Mincer (1978) indicated that couples are more apt to be tied to their current location when they are both employed than when only one is employed. In geographic mobility,

since the move is most often instigated by the man because of his employment, the man's earnings usually increase, but the woman's earnings suffer. Therefore, when a wife has a strong job attachment (i.e. full-time work with high earning power), a move is less likely to occur (p. 758). In addition, women are becoming more influential in family decision-making in recent years. Mincer also stated that migration is the most important factor -- next to child-rearing -- in influencing the woman's advancement in her career (p. 771).

Weissman and Paykel (1972) wrote that because of geographic migration women often hold multiple jobs beneath their training. The wives feel helpless and discouraged about their own chances of doing gratifying work in their field (p. 28). With this fact in mind, many women make occupational choices with the idea of finding a career that would be reasonably easy to transfer from one part of the country to another -- for example, teaching and nursing. Today, however, teaching is not an easy profession in which to relocate (Knicely, 1982, p. 121) According to one respondent in the present study, neither is nursing.

In a study of women's careers in academe, Marwell, Rosenfeld, and Spilerman (1979) wrote that statistics are readily available which demonstrate that women fare less well in the academic world than men. From the review of the research literature, they concluded that the causes are

twofold. These factors are that women are discriminated against in the academic world and that married women are less mobile because of their husbands' jobs. Since most women tend to marry men of higher (or at least not lower) status than their own, many women's careers in the academic field have suffered because of following their professional husbands. Forty-nine percent of the women interviewed in a study of PhDs and EdDs viewed their spouses' jobs as major deterrents to considering positions in other geographic areas (p. 1226); only 4% of the men in this same study shared this view.

Residential patterns from the 1969 Carnegie Commission's Survey of College and University Faculty were studied by these authors. The study showed that married women are not as free as men to accept positions in smaller communities because of the dual-career problem and, therefore, were considerably less mobile.

Many wives are insisting on making good use of their training and are less willing to follow their husbands. This has exacerbated the problems in two-career marriages (Gullahorn, 1979; Marwell, et al., 1979; Imundo, 1974, p. 912). Certainly if the women of the future are not going to move with their husbands, there will need to be some radical shifts in cultural norms and norms are not easily changed.

Corporations and Geographic Relocation

Imundo (1974) criticized corporations for not taking

seriously enough the negative impact moving has on women (p. 914). Although moving is an expectation for achieving a higher level of employment, little is done to smooth the way for the family. Cox (1983) wrote, "Those who put their career before anything else are the ones most likely to climb the corporate ladder quickly. Make no mistake about it" (p. 25).

In spite of this, Merrill Lynch relocation management indicated that one-third to one-half of the employees who are asked to move are now objecting (Maynard and Zawacki, 1979, p. 469). Employees are focusing more on a "quality of life" ethic than "getting to the top". Corporations need to realize that an employee can still be hardworking and loyal even if he/she turns down a job change (Gilmore and Fannin, 1982, p. 39).

It would be interesting to see a similar study five years from now (or ten years from the time of the Maynard and Zawacki study was completed). The trend may be reversing again since many upwardly mobile professionals seem to be focusing on "getting ahead" often to the detriment of their marriages.

The Employee Relocation Council of Washington, D. C. studies relocation trends for its 1,000 corporate members. This council indicated that few companies provide aid for relocating the wife. In the companies that do offer help, the kinds of help vary from (1) finding a job in the same

company, (2) circulating the wife's resume in a new area, (3) joining regional consortiums that establish job banks listing available positions in a new area, (4) paying spouse's job-hunting expenses, and (5) hiring an outside consultant to work with the spouse (Delatiner, 1984, p. 75).

A few programs have been started to help married women in geographic relocation. Delantiner (1984) wrote about a Spouse Relocation Assistance Program which was started by an outplacement consulting firm under the management of a psychologist.

Two psychologists from Silver Hill, a psychiatric facility in Connecticut, found in a number of cases that their patients' illnesses -- especially alchoholism and clinical depressions -- were aggravated by the stress of a move. These psychologists formed a consulting organization and began giving seminars for the employees of corporations at strategic times in the moving process (Haight, 1983, p. 24). Self-help groups for women who have recently moved are being organized in Westchester County (Kaplan and Glenn, 1978) and workshops are being conducted by the State in Providence, Rhode Island for those who have recently moved (Morschauser and Chescheir, 1982).

In recent years, some corporations are increasing their use of relocation services to facilitate moves. Costs for transferring employees have almost tripled. Unless the corporation is very large, it is less expensive to hire

outside services than to form their own (Magnus and Dodd, 1981, p. 538). However, relatively little attention is paid to human problems -- even by the relocation services (Haight, 1983, p.21).

Moving and the Military

A literature review of geographic relocation would not be complete without a discussion of the impact of moving in the military. The military is a mobile way of life. Army tours, for example, rarely exceed three to four years (Finlayson, 1976, p. 19; Stoddard, 1978, p. 161). The military life requires "instant involvement in a community, seemingly without geographic boundaries, which is intended to replace the grass roots of a home-town and to offer security and stability for parents and children" (Finlayson, 1976, p. 19). In addition, close ties with the extended family are seldom possible and life is continually changing.

Perhaps one of the major problems of the military spouse is that of alienation because of mobility (McKain, 1976). As in the corporate world, the military man retains basic job continuity in a move, but there is no such path for the military wife. In fact, several comparisons may be made between the corporate wife and the military wife. Rienerth (1978) wrote that he believed the military wife could be substituted for the corporate wife in Seidenberg's book Corporate Wives -- Corporate Casualties. Some similarities were the two-person single career system, absence

of extended kin, and dependency on neighbors (p. 172).

Until World War II, there seemed to be little official concern for army wives. The view was that the wife should never complain when she had to move and most articles were on etiquette in the military. An example was a book written by Nancy Shea called The Army Wife (1941). Shea wrote "It usually takes a few hours, sometimes a few days to adjust oneself to orders that involve a change of station, but adjust you must" (p, 209). (Underlining author's.) That was all she had to say about the emotional reaction to a move. Even today, guide books that are written to aid the military wife and help her adapt to the prescribed role indicate that to deviate from that role is seen as a personal weakness in the character of the wife rather than recognizing a possibly outmoded structure (Stoddard, 1978, p. 162).

According to McKain's research (1976) the variables in an adverse reaction to a move were: The definition of the situation of mobility -- whether it was viewed as an opportunity or a threatening experience; identification with the community; the family living situation; and the attitude toward the community (p. 70). McKain found that the personality attributes of the wife were very important. If she felt alienated and socially isolated, she probably felt that way before the move. Such women were not apt to turn to community resources for help because of feeling a lack of identity with the army. The present study did not

directly examine the importance of the wife's personality in the problem of geographic relocation and more research is needed in this important area.

In the 1960s there was growing awareness that employment and continuing education might be acceptable for the spouses of military personnel, but mainly on the chance that the wife might be widowed. In research conducted by Finlayson (1976. pp. 40 ff.) it was found that the wives of army officers were well educated. Over 80% had some education beyond high school and approximately 40% had their B.As. Most of those employed were in the fields of teaching, nursing, and clerical work. Those who had definite educational goals encountered many problems because of frequent moves. There were difficulties in completing requirements, transferring credits, financing education, and finding suitable schools.

There are also multiple problems when a military wife is seeking employment. Both the job applicant and the employer know she will not be in the area permanently. Moreover, she may be in an area where there is no available employment. In addition, the commanding officer's wishes must be taken into consideration. If one manages to start a career, because of mobility there is a loss of benefits, difficulty in continuity of the career, lack of uniformity in state licensing and certification, and discrimination by potential employers because of the transience of the employee.

Many highly educated women are unable to find work in their fields.

Several articles noted the fact that military wives were having an influence on military policy and could no longer be ignored (Stanton, 1976, p. 137; Lund, 1978, p. 38). The attitude of the wife was a major factor in the husband's decision to leave the military or to re-enlist. One of the dissatisfactions cited by the wives was the frequency of moves (71.8 %). Another was family separations (76.7 %) which occur at the time of a move.

The New York Times Magazine reported on the outcome of the entrance to the United States Military Academy at West Point of 119 women in 1976. Five years after graduation, these women are having to make career choices about remaining in or leaving the military. One of the major factors influencing their choice to leave is the conflict between the military and the family -- specifically in the area of mobility (Fein, 1985). One lieutenant said that she did not want her children to grow up with the same sense of rootlessness which she felt as a child in a military family.

The quality of services available to the spouses of military personnel in the process of relocation varies a great deal since the programs on the bases are not uniform (Marsh, 1978, p. 94). Marsh added that the military requires the families to move, but does not subsidize the move so the family is forced into a financial crisis and

become indebted. The military also fails to provide advance information, and does not always provide housing (p. 108). Problems around moving were the major reason for establishing the Army Community Service and the Air Force Family Service Programs.

A relatively new (1981) magazine called Military Family is published bimonthly. It appears that the military is taking seriously the problems of the family. This magazine has articles on military life concerning domestic violence, child abuse, alcoholism, finances, spouse employment, and relocation. A recent article mentioned a Family Support Center at Travis Air Force Base in California which is giving "smooth move" seminars to help families in the process of moving and to reduce the stress and uncertainty of a move (Military Family,3(2), 1983, p. 1). This magazine also gives the names of many books and workshops that can help those in the military with their family problems.

There are some similarities and differences between some of the women of this sample and the military wife. The similarities are that: The husband must move for his advancement; the wife is expected to follow her husband; there is often no choice regarding location; loyalty to the corporation or the military on the part of the wife is an expectation; the extended family is often not available; because of the increase of women's influence, in recent years women's feelings about moving in both the corporate

and military worlds are having to be taken into account; relocation for the wife in terms of her career is difficult; and after the move there is often a financial loss for the family because of the expense of the move and the wife's unemployment.

One of the major differences between the military wife and the dual-career wife is that the military wife moves into a setting that is, to some extent, familiar. The shopping is at the PX, everyone else on the compound is in a similar situation, and sometimes the wife renews former acquaintances who were met at other posts. Also, the rules of behavior and expectations seldom change from one post to another. The sense of the familiar is not as prevalent in the corporate world or when husbands simply choose to move.

In this study, the researcher wanted to interview two or three army wives who would be appropriate to this sample. In spite of the fact that the commandant of the Presidio in San Francisco was very much interested in the study and assigned his adjutant to find such women, there was not one woman who fit the sample. Evidently there were no childless, dual-career army couples at the Presidio in San Francisco.

Dissertation Studies of Women and Geographic Mobility

Between 1970 and 1980, only two dissertations were completed on this subject. Since 1980, eight Doctoral dissertations have been written in the area of women and geographic mobility. Evidently, this is a subject that is

increasing in interest.

The only dissertation that bears similarity to this dissertation is the research by Puskar (1981) of the University of Pittsburgh. Puskar focused on a heterogeneous group of women with a wide educational and age span. Her study included the wives' perceptions of their childrens' and husbands' reactions to the move, a life events questionnaire and a qualitative analysis. She did not use social exchange theory or coping theory.

Puskar found that the women were equally divided in regard to a sense of satisfaction and dissatisfaction with their new homes. She also discovered that women who had a number of other stressful events at the time of the move had a less favorable reaction to the move than those who reported few or no other stressful life events.

In the literature search, no dissertations, books, or articles were found which operationalized social exchange theory regarding women and geographic mobility, or which presented instruments using social exchange theory designed for the purpose of evaluating the impact of geographic relocation. Neither were there any materials discussing coping mechanisms using the population selected for this study. The use of exchange theory, coping theory, and the sample of married, career women are contributions of this research.

Theoretical Context of this Study

Social exchange theory, which is a systematic theory of social behavior, is a major focus of this study. The instruments from the questionnaire are designed from social exchange research.

Another important focus of this research was the ways in which women cope with the problems emanating from their moves. "Coping" was operationalized through the Ways of Coping Checklist (Folkman and Lazarus, 1983) which was given to the women as part of the questionnaire.

Stress and adaptation are antecedents of coping and, therefore, are a necessary background for the literature survey. According to Richard Lazarus, the person's appraisal of the precipitating event (which in this situation is geographic relocation) determines the level of psychological stress. Adaptation is the attempt at adjustment to the stressful event. The function of coping is to mobilize problem-solving efforts through coping strategies in order to respond to the stressful event and to restore a homeostatic balance.

Social exchange theory, adaptation, and Lazarus' cognitive-phenomenological theory have a common ground in Lewin's field theory -- the person and environment in interaction with one another.

The following section of this chapter reviews social

exchange, stress, adaptation, and coping theories. Social exchange theory and coping theory were the major theories used in the analysis of the data from the questionnaires and interviews.

Social Exchange Theory

Exchange is a pattern found in the relationships between nations and between individuals. It refers to the transaction of labor, resources, products and services and is basic to all social interactions in all societies (Codere, 1968, p. 239).

Social exchange includes all striving for rewarding social experiences. The concept of gift giving as a form of social exchange goes back to primitive societies and is still prevalent today. Marcal Mauss, a French sociologist who wrote The Gift in 1925, is cited by Codere (1968, p. 239) and Homans (1958, p. 598) as the first theorist to investigate the socioeconomic nature of gift giving and therefore, social exchange theory.

Social exchange theory emerged in the last 25 years as a major theoretical framework by which to explain social interactional processes in dyadic and small group relationships (McDonald, 1981, p. 825). Social interaction, as an exchange process, follows logically from the assumption that individuals seek to get (and even maximize) rewards in their social associations. One expects to receive benefit in a relationship and is expected to reciprocate (Blau, 1968, p. 453).

Before social exchange was established as a major theory, Selye (1956) wrote that working for any kind of a reward in a relationship seems rather unworthy of becoming the ultimate aim of our existence and, indeed, is unsuitable for that role. However, he said that although it is true that most people would not like to admit it, they do what they do in order to make other people grateful.

Homans (1958) is generally viewed as developing the first systematic theory of exchange that focused on social behavior (specifically groups). However, Ekeh (1974) wrote that Sir James Frazier who first published material relevant to social exchange in the 1920's and Levi-Strauss whose work began developing in the 1940's were the first persons to conceptualize social exchange and were not given credit by Homans (p. 195).

Homans defined social behavior as "an exchange of activity, tangible or intangible, and more or less rewarding or costly, between at least two persons" (p. 13). Homans (1958) wrote that considering social behavior as an exchange may clarify the relations among four bodies of theory: Behavioral psychology, economics, propositions about the structure of small groups, and propositions about the dynamics of influence (p. 597).

Distributive Justice

Homans (1958) also included a theory of distributive justice (called CLdj in this dissertation) with his profit theory.

He credited Aristotle with the original idea of distributive justice. Homans wrote that notions of justice are a strong influence on behavior. Persons who are very giving to others try to get a lot from them in return and persons who get much from others are under pressure to give much back. According to distributive justice, the rewards of each person should be proportional to her costs. In satisfying relationships, the balance between giving and receiving usually equalizes (p. 606).

Homans defined distributive justice as follows:

> A man in an exchange relationship with another will expect the rewards of each man be proportional to his costs -- the greater the rewards, the greater the costs -- and that the net rewards or profits of each man be proportional to his investment -- the greater the investments, the greater the profits. (1961, p. 75)

Homans added that the individual who is generally treated unfairly will feel resentful. If he expects to receive more than he gets, he may respond in an aggressive way. This aggressiveness can be somewhat rewarding because of the release of anger, but it also carries costs (1974, p. 241).

Thibaut and Kelley and Social Exchange Theory

Thibaut and Kelley (1959) developed social exchange theory as it applies to dyads and credited both Lewin and Homans for the foundation of their work.

In their first book, The Social Psychology of Groups (1959), Thibaut and Kelley elaborated on Homans' ideas and distinguished between the rewards received and the costs incurred. Rewards facilitate interaction: They are the

pleasure, satisfaction, and gratification that a person enjoys in a relationship. Costs inhibit interaction: They are unpleasantness, dissatisfaction, and penalties. In outcomes (a concept parallel to Homans' Profit = Rewards - Costs) costs and rewards can be treated separately or combined in a single "scale of goodness." In this scale, states of high rewards and low cost are given "high-scale values" and states of low reward and high costs are given "low-scale values." Outcomes measure the level of satisfaction. "Correspondent outcomes" are those where a pair or couple share a common fate -- what is good or bad for the one is good or bad for the other (p. 12).

Comparison Levels and Outcome.

Thibaut and Kelley referred to the need for a standard or criterion of the acceptability of an outcome (1959, p. 21). The Comparison Level processes were formulated for this purpose.

The Comparison Level (CL) is a standard by which a person weighs how satisfying a relationship is in terms of the rewards/costs to herself. The location of CL on a person's scale of outcomes is the neutral point on a scale of satisfaction/dissatisfaction. CL is subjectively determined and influenced by all previous direct experiences of outcomes. CL is the point at which the mood changes from positive to negative and where the individual's orientation changes from toward the relationship to away from it (p. 81).

The Comparison Level is subject to situation-to-situation

variants. Those who have had a satisfying relationship may be less satisfied with the level of a present relationship than someone who has only known mediocrity (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959, p. 82). A high level of expectation can be caused by idealization. For example, a widow or widower who has an idealized image of her or his first marriage may have a very high comparison level.

The Comparison Level of Alternatives (CLalt) determines how dependent an individual is on a relationship. It is the lowest level of outcomes one will accept in light of available alternative opportunities. An outcome dropping below CLalt may result in the member leaving the relationship. The height of the CLalt depends on the reward-minus-cost position experienced or believed to exist in the most satisfactory of other available relationships.

All outcomes that determine the location of the Comparison Level of Alternatives are weighed by the value (salience) to the individual. The more independent (and able to carry self-producing rewards) the individual is, the higher the CLalt and the more power the person has in an exchange.

These authors described the concepts of Comparison Level (CL), Comparison Level of Alternatives (CLalt), and Outcome (O) in formulas. For example, the formula CL> O > CLalt indicates a non-voluntary relationship. The outcome is lower than the expectations of the relationship. The CLalt is also lower so that the individual has no better

alternative to the relationship and is, therefore, dependent upon it.

The formula CLalt> CL> 0 or CL > CLalt > 0 indicates a relationship which an individual would be inclined to leave since the alternative is higher than the outcomes.

In the formula CLalt> 0> CL, a satisfactory relationship is indicated. The person has alternatives, but the outcome is higher than the Comparison Level so that the individual will not want to leave the relationship.

To summarize, social exchange theory holds that a person enters a relationship with the expectation that the personal profit in the relationship will exceed the personal loss. As long as this expectation is achieved (the Outcomes are higher than the Comparison Level) and the alternatives do not offer more profit, the person will voluntarily stay in the relationship. Since one's goal is to maximize one's profit, dissatisfaction is created when the Outcomes are below the Comparison Level and the Comparison Level of Alternatives.

In their second book, Interpersonal Relations: A Theory of Interdependence (1978), Kelley and Thibaut developed their ideas further and conceptualized them in complex mathematical equations. These authors also focused on the importance of subjective (rather than objective) anticipations of possible interactions and outcomes (p. 13). They are in accord with the theorists of stress and coping who

emphasize the importance of cognitive appraisal.

The Transformation Process of Decision-Making.

Kelley and Thibaut developed a formulation of the decision-making process for dyads (1978, p. 16 ff.). Figure 1 describes this concept.

The first Matrix (I) represents the starting point for each person. Process a is the process whereby each person independently evaluates her own wishes apart from her partner. This evaluation is contained within the "given" matrix (Matrix II). The independent evaluation takes into account all personal factors (needs, skills, etc.). These exclude any factors which pertain to the relationship itself.

Process b is the process in which reformulation takes place. The effective matrix (Matrix III) is formed out of the set of processes brought about from the patterns of the given matrices. The wishes of both individuals are combined and a decision is made which results in a behavior.

Process b involves the process of transformation when either the choices must be redefined or the evaluative criteria shift. The pattern changes from one of conflict between the two persons to one of common interest and agreement. Ideally, the transformed matrix (Matrix III) yields high outcomes to both persons. Transformation tendencies, in the process of transformation from Matrix II to Matrix III, are represented as social or personal values. These values may acquire a life of their own.

The Transformation Process of Decision-Making:
(Kelley and Thibaut, 1978, p. 16)

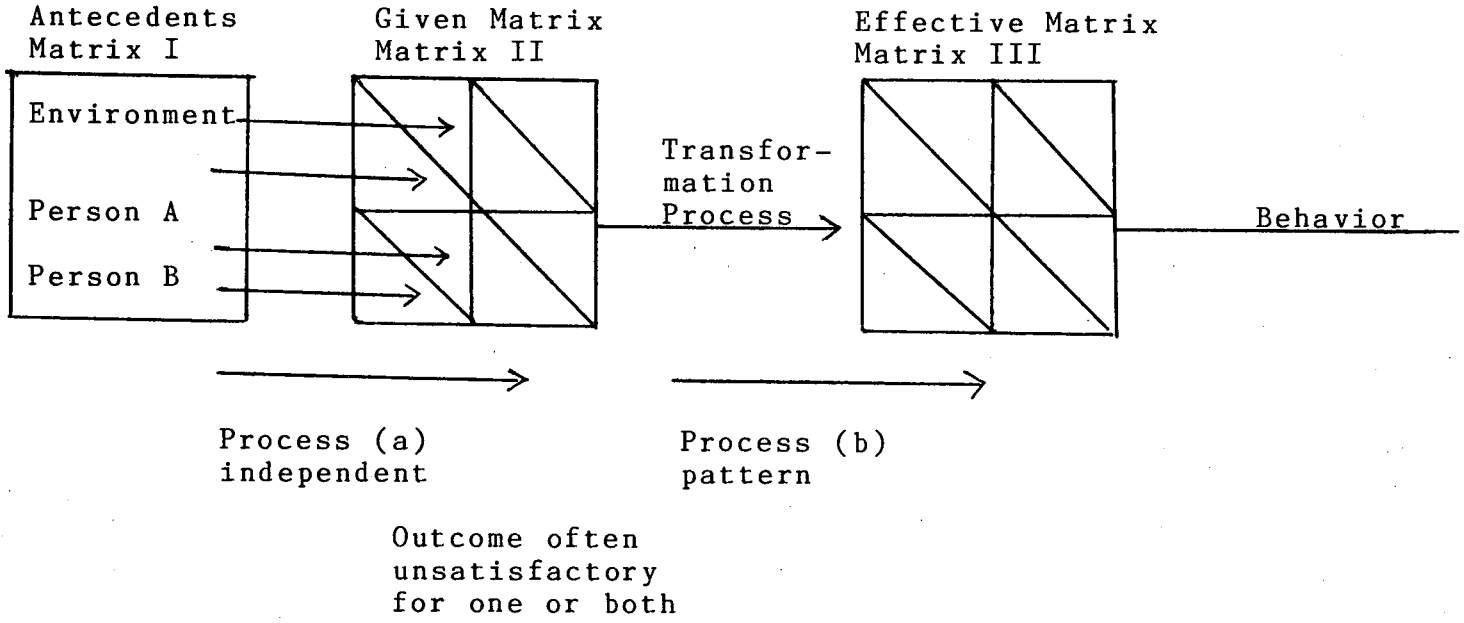


Figure 1

In the example of moving, a need on the part of the traditional wife to obey the Biblical quotation from the Old Testament: "Whither thou goest I will go; where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God" (The Book of Ruth, chapter 1, verse 16) may be such a strong value, that the value must be served. In this study, this value is identified as the Ruth Principle (see Introduction p. 9).

Kelley and Thibaut (1978) wrote that a strong value may become the only one operative for the individual and a decision may be based on the need to live out that value. This results in "untransformed outcomes" which can have an ultimate impact on the relationship of a couple because of unresolved resentment. According to Kelley and Thibaut, these outcomes cannot be disregarded.

> This is not to deny that a well-socialized, morally mature person can set aside his own outcomes and act according to purely moral and social considerations with great consistency over long periods of time. However, we find it difficult not to believe that at some level he keeps an account of the consequences of such action for his own personal welfare. (p. 23)

The result of untransformed outcomes could be depression, outright anger, passive-aggressive behavior, psychological breakdown, and/or a decision to leave the marriage.

Power and Social Exchange Theory.

Power is also an important factor in exchange theory. Although exchange may be an exchange of friendship, it can also be a means of establishing superiority (Blau, 1968,

p. 455). In both jointly-authored books, Thibaut and Kelley explored two kinds of power. First, there is Fate control (FC) -- the control one has over another regardless of what the other does. For example, one person's dependence provides the basis for the other's power. Mutual Fate Control is identified as MFC. Second, there is Behavioral Control (BC). If by varying his or her behavior, A can make B want to change his or her behavior, then A has Behavior Control over B. Mutual Behavior Control is identified as MBC.

In evaluating the outcome of any decision one would need to consider not only Fate Control and Behavior Control, but, also, Reflexive Control (RC) or one's direct control over one's own outcomes.

Exchange implies giving up something in exchange for something else. Therefore, exchange is necessary if there is to be mutual satisfaction (Kelley and Thibaut, 1978, p. 63). Otherwise one person has to ride over his Reflexive Control if the relationship is going to continue.

Literature Review

Homans' theory was viewed by Buckley (1967) as a return to social psychological basics and a rebuilding from the ground up of a balanced and dynamic conception of complex social organization. He wrote that Homans combined elementary economics and behavioral psychology (p. 105).

Many of Homan's concepts were based on Lewin's theories. For example, Lewin (1948) wrote at length on

marriage as a group situation. He described four causes for tension in marriage which fit well with exchange theory. These are: (a) The degree to which the needs of the person are being satisfied; (b) the amount of freedom to be oneself within the relationship; (c) the degree to which one has an awareness of alternatives to remaining in the relationship -- there is less tension when one can leave a situation ; and (d) the level of disagreement over or contradiction between goals (p. 89).

Blau (1971) wrote extensively on the subject of distributive justice. He pointed out that not all existing practices reflect justice. Some practices are unjust by prevailing moral standards and the fact that they are expected to continue to exist does not make them just (p. 58). When there is a violation of a fair return, anger and social disapproval may be the result. A sufficiently powerful person may ignore the disapproval. For others, internalized moral standards can make the person feel guilty for being unfair. For example, a husband may feel guilty for requiring several moves or even a single move if he gets an adverse reaction from his reluctant family.

Relationships that are unbalanced with regard to "justice" are referred to by McDonald (1981, p. 831) and Edwards (1969, p. 519) as "asymmetrical" relationships. They are often developed initially because of differential norms for sex role expectations. "Unjust" exchanges may not even be

experienced as such when they fit the norm. Edwards noted that there is seldom a perfect fit between behavior and norms (p. 551).

Alexander and Simpson (1971) wrote that people often endure deprivation voluntarily in order to realize expectations of a balance which are not necessarily forthcoming (p. 79). The cost of leaving a relationship may depress the CLalt. Disapproval of kinfolk, friends, church, wider society, and feelings of guilt about broken relationships can make it hard to leave (Kelley and Thibaut, 1978, p. 9).

Ideally, each partner's behavior in marriage contributes to the other's rewards without a high increase in one's own losses. However, circumstances may require a person to remain in a relationship she regards as unsatisfactory. This would be identified as a "nonvoluntary relationship" by Thibaut and Kelley (1959, p. 186). According to these authors the foundation of this relationship would be dependence rather than attraction. Levinger (1976) called this an "empty shell" marriage (p. 25).

In agreement, Blau (1971) wrote that people's needs and the conditions of their existence may force them to enter into relationships of which they highly disapprove and in which they accept unfair advantage for themselves because of a lack of better alternatives (p. 63). Since the best action is only definable in terms of its outcome, situations will arise in which no action seems likely to ensure a

future that satisfies the essential purposes of the individual (Marris, 1974, p. 124).

According to Jessie Bernard (1971), because women are untrained for independence and are "processed for wifehood and motherhood", they cannot see viable alternatives and will often stay in unhappy relationships. Only when an attractive alternative becomes obvious do many women find that they want more (p. 157).

Goldstein (1979) indicated that his study revealed that women see themselves as having fewer alternatives than do men (p. 52) -- especially when the women are young. As they get older their priorities shift from a "materialistic" to a "humanistic" definition of alternatives and they are more inclined to leave the traditionally confining roles of marriage (p. 75). Social change and dual-career marriages may invalidate this research as time goes on since many young women are developing their own careers and, thus, are free to choose to leave a relationship that is experienced as uncomfortable.

The literature search revealed several studies that related concepts from social exchange to the marital dyad. Rapoport and Rapoport (1975) discussed the concept of "equity" in relationships (the fair allocation of both opportunity and constraints) as against equality; Azrin, Naster, and Jones (1973), Gottman (1976), and Osmond (1978) researched reciprocity counseling with couples (a view grounded in the

concept of distributive justice); Edwards (1969) wrote of the distribution of power in family relationships and social exchange; McDonald (1981) explored structural exchange and marital interaction; Strayhorn (1978) demonstrated the use of a cognitive restructuring strategy with couples which he based on social exchange theory; Goldstein (1979) focused on social exchange theory and marital stability; and Christiano (1981) used exchange theory to access couple control and satisfaction in marriage.

Arnott and Bengtson (1970) and Arnott (1972) wrote articles relating social exchange theory to married women and role choices. In these studies, exchange theory was used intrapersonally rather than interpersonally. Arnott used an interview schedule with faculty wives from Claremont University, California, which operationalized exchange theory concepts of CL (called CLexp in her study), CLalt, and CLdj. She also rated the salience factor in her questionnaire. The basic purpose of this study was to demonstrate the operationalization of social exchange theory and women's role choices. The hypothesis was advanced that when role choice is voluntary, married women choose roles which maximize their profit.

According to Edwards and Saunders (1981), Thibaut and Kelley (1959) and Arnott (1972) are the only authors to have operationalized exchange theory in empirical research (p. 386). Arnott's design is adapted for use in this study.

Another study which relates to this research is the one by Stokols and Shumaker (1981) who used social exchange theory in research to explore person-place bonds (see p. 18 of this study). The specific contribution of this study is the exploration of the process of geographic relocation from a social exchange theory perspective and the design of instruments that can be useful in future research and for clinicians.

Recapitulation of Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory emerged in the last twenty years as a major theoretical framework by which to explain social interactional processes in dyadic and small group relationships. Social exchange theory was developed by George Homans and was based on the concept of gift giving. Social interaction as an exchange process followed from the assumption that individuals seek to get rewards in their social associations. Homans also elaborated on the concept of distributive justice which involves the expectations of proportional rewards to cost so that net rewards are proportional to the investment. In satisfying relationships, the balance between giving and receiving usually equalizes.

Thibaut and Kelley applied social exchange theory to dyads and developed the Comparison Level processes as an element of the reward/cost concept of Homans.

In this study, the concepts of exchange theory are applied to person-place bonds in the study of women and

geographic relocation. CLalt is the best alternative when the husband indicates that he wants to move; CL is the expectation of the new location; O is the outcome of the new home; and distributive justice is the woman's evaluation of the balance of personal rewards and costs for her and her husband in the move.

Stress

Definition

Richard Lazarus and Susan Folkman (1984) define psychological stress as "a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding his or her resources and endangering his or her well-being" (p. 19). Stress involves a transaction in which resources must be mobilized.

The concept of stress, according to Lazarus (1966) came into vogue in the United States during and following World War II. Mental health workers were concerned with the failure of adaptation in military settings (p. 11). Grinker and Spiegel (1945) wrote a book entitled Men Under Stress which established the use of the term "stress" (p. 11).

Literature Review of Stress

Stress is a universal phenomenon which results in intense and upsetting experience and appears to be of a tremendous influence in behavior. The level of stress is of the utmost importance in the effectiveness of adaptation (Lazarus, 1966, p. 2).

Kinds of Stress.

According to Wheaton (1983), there are two kinds of stress: Chronic stress which is caused by a lack of fit between a given level of environmental demand that persists through time and the typical response capacity of the individual; and acute stress which is the stress of "life-changing events" (p. 209). The focus of this study is on acute stress as precipitated by the stressful event of moving.

Chronic Stress

Chronic stress concerns the "goodness of fit" between the characteristics of the person and the properties of his objective and subjective environment. "Lack of fit" decreases performance and satisfaction, and creates stress in the system (Pervin, 1968, p. 56). "Best-fit" results in high performance satisfaction and little stress in the system. The person-environment arena presents varying degrees of satisfying and nonsatisfying exchanges between the individual and her social condition (Lane, 1984, p. 270).

Acute Stress

Acute stress is caused by the stress of life-changing events. Holmes and Rahe (1967) were among the first to identify particular life stress events and demonstrated a high positive correlation between incidences of physical illness and the occurrence of specific life events. However, their rating system has come under considerable criticism because it was formulated by asking people, "How would you react and

how much distress would you feel if you ....." [were in a particular situation]? There can be a measurable difference between how one thinks one would feel about a stressful event and how one actually feels at the time it takes place (Barrett, 1979,p. 107).

Lazarus and Launier (1978) were critical of Holmes and Rahe for focusing totally on external provokers of the stress reaction and ignoring the contribution of the person as if she were a "passive victim" (p. 293). Another criticism has been that it is almost impossible to rate stressful events since the meaning of a particular event is totally different from one person to another. However, in defense of the Holmes and Rahe rating system, Uhlenhuth (1979) pointed out that Holmes and Rahe were the first researchers to make clear the concept of stress in everyday life (p. 55).

One factor emphasized by several authors is the importance of a series of stressful events in instigating depression. Paykel's work (1979) discovered that 65.4% of the depressed persons studied experienced at least one event prior to the onset of the depression in the life event category "interpersonal disruption: Uncontrollable events" (p. 83). Overall there were about three times as many life events in the six months before the onset of depression as there were for the control group. Barrett's study (1979) also indicated a tendency for life events to precede depression at greater than control rates (p. 91).

In the studies of suicide attempts, again, there was a peak in the number of life events that were perceived as threatening in the month before the suicide attempt. Events that had threatening implications included "undesirable events", those rated as stressful, and those outside the respondents' controls (Paykel, Prusoff and Myers, 1976, p. 327).

In a study in New Haven of the degree of psychological impairment of individuals and the occurrence and patterning of life events, investigators found a significant correlation between the number of recent stressful life events reported and the degree of impairment. Nearly half of the "severely impaired" had experienced three or more recent undesirable life events (Myers, Lindenthal, Pepper, 1971, p. 149).

Dohrenwend (1979) indicated that a combination of ordinary stressful life events can induce an approximation of psychological conditions involved in extreme situations. He found that separations are particularily traumatic (p. 175). Barrett (1979, p. 91) reached the same conclusion.

Cataloguing Stressful Life Events.

Many attempts have been made at cataloguing stressful life events. Paykel, Prusoff, and Uhlenhuth (1971) compiled the list used in this study. As recommended by the authors, each woman was asked to indicate the life events she experienced in the year before the move and up to the time of the interview.

Zubin (1979) wrote that there are several criteria to distinguish between life events that generate crises and those that do not: Life events that produce losses (exits) or gains; life events that are undesirable; life events that are novel; life events that are unexpected and are unanticipated; life events that are uncontrollable; and life events that require a considerable adjustment of the daily routine are all apt to trigger crises (p. 284). Several of these factors are part of geographic relocation. Paykel focused his divisions on entrances and exits and Dohrenwend added desirable and undesirable events (Hurst, 1979, p. 24).

Hurst was critical of clustering life events in these ways. He suggested that by doing so, one is interpreting the meaning of the event to the individual and classifying the events into common meanings which detracts from the meaning to the individual. With Fried and others, Hurst regarded as of primary importance the understanding of the meaning to the individual of the stressful event. Hurst wrote that life events should be clustered according to contexts such as marital, family, work, financial, relocation, etc. (p. 25).

Social Network and Appraisal of an Event.

The social network of the individual and the appraisal of the particular life event to the individual are two factors that are repeated by many authors as significantly important for the creation or alleviation of stress.

The Social Network

Eighty-six percent of the events on the Holmes and Rahe scale involve a reduction in the social interconnections of the individual. The social network serves an important function as an agent for absorbing or failing to absorb the impact of immediate life event stressors (Jenkins, 1979, p. 267). According to Zubin (1979), the impact of life events can be explained on the basis of the injury to the social network (p. 284).

Many authors also emphasized the importance of the social network for different reasons. Hamburg and Adams (1967) wrote that group membership is crucial in that it gives a firm sense of belonging to what one considers to be a highly valued group (p.279). Mechanic (1974) referred to the necessity of the presence or absence of a social support system for pooling resources and information and developing reciprocal help-giving relationships (p. 33).

Cobb wrote of the tremendous importance of social support systems (McCubbin, 1980). He indicated that the importance lies in three areas: As an emotional support system which leads the person to believe that she is cared for and loved; as esteem support which leads the individual to believe that she is esteemed and valued; and as a network support which leads to a sense of community involving mutual obligations and understanding (p. 861).

The absence of a social support system can cause many

problems. Lazarus (1961) wrote that one of the most stressful experiences is major social change that uproots people and requires severe dislocation in social relationships (p. 30). Keefe (1984) wrote that the absence of social support is in itself a stressful event (p. 265). According to Lindemann (1965), the sudden cessation of social interaction is often cited among alleged psychogenic factors in psychosomatic disorders (p. 7). Dohrenwend (1979) wrote that events which disrupt social supports can produce psychopathology in previouly normal persons. The examples he gave were of moving to a new community or changing jobs (p. 175).

The Cognitive-Phenomenological Theory of Psychological Stress

Lazarus and his colleagues developed the cognitive-phenomenological analysis of stress. Lazarus and Launier (1978) wrote that there must be a multifactorial and interactional view of determinants of human action and reaction (p. 287 ff.). Their theoretical framework is transactional. According to Lazarus and Launier, the one-way, cause-and-effect model between environment and person is an inadequate description of what takes place. The person is often an active agent in the person-environment transaction.

Lazarus and Launier called the cognitive process of appraisal one of the two factors that are linchpins of their theoretical formulation (p. 301). The other "linchpin" is

coping. Appraisal and coping continually influence each other throughout the encounter of the individual and the stressful situation and are in a dynamic relationship (Folkman and Lazarus, 1980, p. 223).

"Appraisal" is the cognitive process through which an event is evaluated. The set of judgments about the significance of the flow of events for the person's well-being are continually changing. The evaluation takes place in three areas: What is at stake (primary appraisal); what coping resources and options are available (secondary appraisal); and how one perceives the situation at a later point in time (reappraisal). The appraisal processes are partly a function of the situation as well as of the belief systems, cognitive styles, and other personal dispositions that have developed over a lifetime (Lazarus, 1966, p. 25 ff.).

Primary appraisal concerns the judgment that some situational outcome will be either harmful, beneficial, or irrelevant. Lazarus and Launier (1978) described three key stress-relevant relationships which are involved when one perceives a situation as "harmful". Those relationships are harm-loss which describe damage which has already occurred; threat which involves harm-loss that has not happened, but is anticipated; and challenge which is viewed as an opportunity to overcome hardship and to grow (p. 288).

Some persons seem characterized by a style of thinking

that disposes to challenge rather than threat. These people put "a good face on things" and use "the power of positive thinking" (Lazarus and Launier, 1978, p. 304). A person carries around stable tendencies (beliefs about vulnerabilities or about the outside world, commitments, or long-term stable values and goals, and coping styles) and is led to appraise certain events in the same or similar ways from one time to the next (p. 292).

According to Lazarus (1966) the concept of threat is the key intervening variable in psychological stress (p. 30). He contended that the event itself is not nearly as important as the appraisal of the event. Part of this conclusion is based on the research by Speisman, Lazarus, Mordkoff, and Davidson (1964) in which the research revealed the crucial nature of an individual's cognitive appraisal of threat through the use of a potentially stress-producing movie (p. 367).

In 1974 Lazarus, Averill, and Opton wrote:

> An individual with the conviction that the setting is hostile or dangerous and who feels generally inadequate, is far more likely to feel threatened and react with anxiety than one who has high confidence in the available resources for mastery, or who believes the environment is usually benign or nurturant (p. 295).

Secondary appraisal is the cognitive activity related to coping and refers to the perception of the range of coping alternatives through which harm can be mastered or beneficial results achieved.

> Factors contributing to secondary appraisal include the degree of threat, viability of alternative coping actions, the location of the agent of harm, situational constraints, motive strengths and patterns, ego resources, and coping dispositions. Although there is some overlap, essentially different kinds of information are involved in each [primary and secondary appraisal]. (Lazarus, 1966, p. 160).

Secondary appraisal, based on the above factors, determines the form of coping process or coping strategy adopted by the individual attempting to master the danger.

Reappraisal is the cognitive mechanism that is in flux as the result of new input (Lazarus and Launier, 1978, p. 308). Responses to changing from internal to external conditions arrive from new clues, reflection about original evidence, or feedback from the effect of the individual's own reactions.

Many other authors are in agreement with Lazarus et al regarding the importance of appraisal in the severity of the stressor event. Brett (1980) wrote that a model of stress that applies to job transfer consists of three parameters that run in cycles: A cognitive appraisal that an event will disrupt routines; an evaluation of the likelihood that those routines can be re-established (hope); and a behavioral response. The cycle begins again with reappraisal (p. 102).

Hamburg and Adams (1967) wrote that the impact and experience of stress rests on the personal meaning and appraisal of the individual (p. 277). Paykel (1979) indicated that different types of events differ in their propensity to produce illness based on one's perception

of that event (p. 74). McCubbin, et al (1980) added that if an individual understands the meaning of the stressful situation, it becomes less unacceptable and less irrational (p. 865).

Recapitulation of Stress Theory

Psychological stress is defined as a particular relationship between the person and the environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or exceeding the adaptive resources of the individual and endangering her well-being. There are two kinds of stress: Chronic stress which concerns "goodness of fit" between the person and the environment; and acute stress which comes from the stress of life-changing events.

Two major factors which impact on an individual's stress level are discussed. One is the social network which serves as an agent to absorb or fail to absorb the impact of immediate life events. The second is a person's perception of the particular life event creating the crisis. Lazarus' cognitive-phenomenological theory of psychological stress was reviewed.

Adaptation

Definition

Heinz Hartmann developed the concept of adaptation which he defined as "adjustment to reality" (Hartmann, 1958, foreword). Hartmann's concept of reality was predicated on the presence of an "average expectable environment" in which

the mother and her needs reciprocate the infant's needs. Adaptation takes place naturally in the process of growth and is not necessarily the result of conflict (p. 32). In this study, adaptation is needed to deal with the stress level caused by the crisis event of moving.

The Process of Adaptation

Hartmann wrote that the state of adaptiveness (fitting together) exists before the process of adaptation begins. The organism "fits" into the environment and there is a reciprocal relationship between these two (Upham, 1973, p. 26).

Adaptation depends upon the individual's primary equipment and maturation. The organism can act upon itself intrasystemically adapting to the environment it helped to create (autoplastic) and on its environment intersystemically adapting the environment to human functioning (alloplastic). Adaptation is not passive submission, but it actively attempts to change aspects of the environment, even including efforts to alter the goals of society itself (Hartmann, 1958, p. 32).

According to Hartmann the functions of the ego, which coordinate instinctual drives and objects, mobilize to help in the process of adaptation. The ego functions guarantee coordination with external reality. A specific failure of adaptation corresponds to the disturbance of the ego functions. Some of the ego functions exist in the undifferentiated matrix in a conflict-free ego sphere and others originate as a consequence of intrapsychic

conflict (Hartmann, Kris, and Lowenstein, 1946, p. 19).

Hartmann (1958) wrote that psychoanalysis encounters the issue of adaptation in three forms: (1) As a problem of its psychology; (2) as a therapeutic aim; and (3) as an educational consideration. Hartmann identified ego-development as psychic structuring. Stability follows structuralization (adaptive coping mechanisms) and pathology is the result of the failure of structuralization (maladaptive coping mechanisms) (p. 3).

Hartmann's theoretical base emerged from psychoanalytic structural theory and ego-psychology. Structural theory was developed by Freud and is the grounding of ego-psychology. Although the major changes in the personality take place in the early years, ego psychological theory accounts for the structuralization of the personality from the time of birth through the adult years.

Rapaport (1959) divided psychoanalytic ego-psychological theory into four phases (p. 6). Since early in his work Freud conceptualized the beginning of an ego-psychological theory, three of these phases were focused in Freud's work.

The fourth phase of psychoanalytic ego-psychological theory building, according to Rapaport, began with Heinz Hartmann's presentation in 1937 of a series of lectures on ego-psychology and adaptation to the Vienna Psychoanalytic Society. These were not published in English until 1958. Hartmann expanded psychoanalysis from a psychology of conflict

to include normal developmental psychology.

Other Theoreticians

Many other theoreticians since Hartmann have elaborated upon the theory of adaptation. Some of the early work combining stress and adaptation theories was done by Selye (1956). His major focus was on the impact of stress on the biological system. He worked in the laboratory setting and described the "pattern of stress reaction" which was explained as "the highly specific mosaic of changes in the adrenals, thymus, and gastrointestinal tract" (p. 56). He wrote little about psychological stress.

Selye wrote that a stage of adaptation or resistance follows upon continued exposure to any noxious agent capable of eliciting alarm reaction. This stage is called "adaptive" because it stimulates defense helping the acquisition and maintenance of a stage of inurement (p. 32). Selye conceptualized this process as the general adaptive syndrome.

Selye believed that the antecedent stressor and the conditioning or mediating factors caused stress. His formulation was stress ⟶ adaptive syndrome ⟶ adaptive and maladaptive responses. The maladaptive responses were what he called "the diseases of adaptation" (p. 127). Selye developed a concept of adaptation energy, i.e., the existence of hidden reserves of adaptability. In rest, said Selye, more adaptation energy can be made available. Only when all adaptability is used up will irreversible general

exhaustion and death follow (p. 65).

White (1974) wrote that mastery, coping, and the defenses are "strategies of adaptation" and that all behavior can be considered an attempt at adaptation. "Adaptation is the 'mother hen' under which the other three words accept their restricted meaning" (p.47). Adaptation is something done by living systems in interaction with their environment (p.52).

In agreement, Lazarus and Launier (1978) wrote that adaptation as a perspective for studying human life (especially the specific theoretical research arenas of stress and coping) requires a relational view of the person and the environment (p. 320).

Klerman (1979) viewed clinical depressions as maladaptive outcomes of partially successful efforts at adaptation (p. 155). The ego constantly attempts to balance intrasystemic and intersystemic tensions. He also wrote that anatomical structures, behavior traits, or emotions are adaptive if they promote the survival of the species. Therefore, the modern concept of adaptation is derived from Darwin's theory of evolution. (p. 152).

Mechanic (1974) wrote that sucessful adaptation has at least three components at the individual level. These are: (1) A person must have the capacity and skills to deal with social and environmental demands to which he is exposed - a coping capacity; (2) he must be motivated to meet the demands that become evident in the environment; and (3) he

must have the capacity to maintain a state of psychological equlibrium so that he can direct his energies and skills to meeting external in contrast to internal needs (p. 33). Since large changes produce additional stress, successful adaptation also requires changes in attitudes and perspectives that are sufficiently subtle so that the person hardly recognizes the changes himself (p. 40).

Coping Theory and Coping Strategies

In the next section of this chapter, coping theory, coping strategies, and homeostasis are discussed.

Definition

Lazarus, Averill, and Opton (1974) defined coping as the problem-solving efforts made by an individual when the demands faced are highly relative to welfare (that is, a situation of considerable jeopardy or promise) and when these demands tax adaptive resources (p. 250). These authors saw four advantages to this definition: (1) It emphasized the importance of the emotional context in coping; (2) it allowed inclusion of both the negative and positive components of stress; (3) it recognized the connection between problem-solving and coping; and (4) it emphasized adaptive tasks when the adaptive outcome is uncertain. This definition recognizes potential limits to an individual's adaptive skills.

Murphy (1974) wrote that coping came to include all those efforts to deal with environmental pressures that

could not be handled by reflexes or organized skills after Hartmann published Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation (p. 69).

Literature Review of Coping

Coping Theories.

This section includes two theories related to coping: The theory of the cognitive processes and the theory of ego functions particularily as they relate to the defensive processes.

Lazarus' Theory of Cognitive Appraisal

Lazarus and his colleagues viewed appraisal as the single most important factor in the analysis of stress and the coping process. Their focus was on the transactional process that occurs at the time of stress rather than causal determinants. (See pp. 61-65 of this study.)

Appraisal is the process by which the potential outcome of a situation and the coping efforts adopted by the person to deal with it are judged and evaluated. Appraisal and coping are the two points that mediate between person and environment.

Rational and irrational (and adaptive and maladaptive) coping efforts are made in response to primary appraisal, secondary appraisal, and reappraisal. Primary appraisal is the process through which an event is evaluated with respect to what is at stake. Secondary appraisal is the cognitive activity related to coping which evaluates the coping resources.

In addition, secondary appraisal determines the form of coping process or coping strategy adopted by the individual attempting to master the danger perceived in primary appraisal (p. 308). Cognitive and behavioral efforts are made in order to master, tolerate, or reduce external and internal demands and conflict. Reappraisal is the reevaluation of the situation because of new information.

Theory of Coping and the Ego Functions

Ego functions are regarded as having an important impact on coping capacities and mechanisms. Heinz Hartmann (1958) wrote of the functions of the ego which are mobilized to help in the process of adaptation. The ego functions maintain a balance between demands of inner need and outer reality (p. 58). Menninger (1954) viewed functions of the ego as homeostatic effectors (p. 420).

The Defensive Function of the Ego

A major function with regard to coping mechanisms is the defensive function of the ego. This function describes a habitual, unconscious, and sometimes pathological mental process that is employed to resolve conflict between instinctual needs, internalized prohibitions, and external reality (Vaillant, 1971, p. 107).

Freud recognized most of the defense mechanisms that are written of today and identified what he viewed as their most important properties: (1) Defenses were a major means of managing instinct and affect; (2) defenses were

unconscious; (3) defenses were discrete from one another; (4) defenses were dynamic and reversible; (5) defenses could be adaptive as well as pathological (Vaillant, 1977, p. 77).

Anna Freud (1937) postulated 15 defenses: Denial, distortion, projection, denial through fantasy, introjection, turning against the self, intellectualization, undoing, isolation, repression, displacement, reaction-formation, reversal, altruism, and sublimation.

In a much-quoted longitudinal study by Vaillant (1971), five other defenses were added: Delusional projection, acting out, humor, suppression, and anticipation. He changed Anna Freud's denial through fantasy to schizoid fantasy, introjection to hypochondriasis, reversal to dissociation, and turning against the self to passive-aggressive behavior (p. 111).

Vaillant (1977) developed a theoretical hierarchy of adaptive ego mechanisms in which he grouped the ego defense mechanisms on four levels: Level I - Psychotic; Level II- Immature; Level III - Neurotic; and Level IV - Mature. He wrote that mature choices of ego mechanisms appeared clinically correlated with the more sucessful life adjustment (p. 383 ff.). "Mature" defenses were altruism, humor, suppression, anticipation, and sublimation.

Haan (1963) distinguished between coping mechanisms and defenses. In this monograph she listed the ego

mechanisms of defense and followed them by a sub-division which indicated the coping counterpart (pp. 1-24). In a later article, Haan added a third sub-division (a description of the failure of each ego mechanism) to form a "tripartite model of ego functioning" (1969, p. 15).

There are different opinions with regard to the health or pathology of the use of defenses. Haan (1963) viewed coping mechanisms as healthy or adequate forms of ego functioning while defenses were seen by her as inadequate or pathological ways of dealing with threat (p. 2). Being "well-defended" in her view is a second-best method of handling stress.

In contrast to Haan, Vaillant (1977) wrote that defenses are healthy more often than pathological and the ego mechanisms of defense imply a dynamic, restorative process. According to Vaillant defenses by no means connote the abnormal (p. 9). Lazarus (1966) wrote that defenses are adaptive only when they allow the individual to be more comfortable and not to be seriously disrupted in other ongoing activities (p. 289).

Mastery-Competence Function of the Ego

Mastery-Competence (how well a person actually masters and affects the environment) is another ego-function important to the coping process. The subjective feeling of actively mastering and affecting the environment is important for a sense of self-control and lessening of anxiety (Bickman, 1982, p. 153). Disturbances in this function are evident when an individual does almost nothing to alter, affect, or

interact with the environment taking a passive rather than active stance.

Averill (1973) identified three types of mastery. These were behavioral (direct action on the environment), cognitive (interpretation of the events), and decisional (having a choice among alternatives). According to him, at times control can be a helpful coping mechanism, at times it has no influence at all (p. 286). Whether the control response is helpful or not depends upon the meaning of the response and the context in which it is embedded.

The Synthetic-Integrative Function of the Ego

The synthetic-integrative function of the ego indicates evidence of the sucessful use of adaptation and coping strategies. This function is described as the reconciliation or integration of discrepant or potentially contradictory attitudes, values, affects, behavior, and self-representation. This function also includes the active integration of both intrapsychic and behavioral events (Bellak, Hurvich, and Gediman, 1973, p. 80 ff.).

The Coping Process.

The coping process is defined as what a person actually thinks and does in a particular encounter. These efforts change as the encounter unfolds (Folkman and Lazarus, 1980, p. 224).

Coping involves sequences (or stages) and patternings of many acts and thoughts over time and across a wide range

of adaptive contexts (Lazarus and Launier, 1978, p. 309). Coping efforts can be directed toward the environment or toward the self. The ways in which people cope with stress are even more important to overall morale, social functioning, and health/illness than the frequency and the severity of the episodes of stress themselves (p. 308). Environmental change may promote increased health and maturity or may eventuate in a reduced capacity to deal effectively with life problems (Caplan, 1964, p. 36).

Lazarus and Launier (1978) wrote that efforts to regulate emotions are an extremely important aspect of the coping processes in order to deal with these problems. There are three reasons why such regulation is important: (1) The need to control the sometimes incapacitating pain of anxiety, fear, guilt, anger, depression, and envy; (2) the fact that strong emotions often interfere with adaptive functioning; and (3) the problem of somatic illness when the internal milieu is disturbed (p. 315).

Holahan and Speerley (1980) made four assumptions about the coping process: (1) The coping process involves simultaneous influence across multiple levels of environment; (2) the coping process includes a cognitive component reflecting the individual's perceptions, evaluations, and inferences about the environment; (3) the coping process is the product of an interactional relationship between characteristics of the individual and of the environmental situation; and (4) the

coping process is characterized by reciprocal influences between its environmental, cognitive, and behavioral components (p. 676).

Wheaton (1983) believed that there were several personality factors that would influence the capacity of the individual to cope with life situations. He identified the following as indicative of low personal resources for coping and, therefore, a potentially limited range of available behaviors: Authoritarianism /conservatism, personal rigidity, mistrust, a high belief in external conformity, and fatalism. These factors together are interpreted as the "orientation system" of the individual. Combined with genetic vulnerability, the orientation system has an important impact on stress and the coping process (p. 210).

Wheaton's research focused on the characteristics of fatalism and inflexibility. When an individual is fatalistic it makes him doubt the point of using coping behaviors at all (this is the opposite of hope). Therefore, inflexibility narrows the choice of strategies available to a person.

Choice of Coping Strategies.

Little is known about the individual's reasons for choosing a particular coping strategy. Lazarus (1961) wrote that he perceived three classes of factors in making such a choice. The first is the degree of perceived threat. The greater the threat, the more extreme the efforts will be in striving for a solution, and the greater the cost a person

will tolerate in the adjustment to the threat. The second factor is the stimulus factor. Finally, there are personality factors which he viewed as very important. Here Lazarus included the ego functions and the coping dispositions as seen in traits or the way in which one customarily deals with stress stimuli (p. 237 ff.).

In a later article, Lazarus and Launier (1978) added that the degree of uncertainty or ambiguity, the presence of conflict which would make a nondamaging solution impossible, and the degree of helplessness were important factors in the choice of coping mechanisms (p. 319). They wrote that the fit between appraisal and reality is fairly close for most persons.

Menninger (1954) wrote, "Minor stresses are usually handled by relatively minor 'normal' or 'healthy' devices". He believed that greater stress excites the ego to increasingly energetic and expensive activity in the interests of homeostatic maintainance (p. 412). The same coping strategies may be used as the stress level gets high, but the strategies become qualitatively different in intensity.

Lazarus (1961) questioned whether science will ever be able to develop a method for predicting what coping strategies will be selected by a particular person (p. 253). To be able to predict would indicate that there was absolute stability in the individual. Such stability is not possible

or even desirable for several reasons: One must be prepared for change if adaptation is to be effective; variability in the coping response makes growth possible whereas stability implies inflexibility; there is the possibility of using other coping mechanisms; and stability is not really as fixed as it appears except in pathology (Lazarus and Launier, 1978, p. 309).

Categorizing Coping Strategies.

It is difficult to categorize coping strategies. Some authors, including Lazarus, have said that it is impossible because one would have to include every possible coping mechanism. However, Lazarus later joined forces with Folkman (1980) in developing a Ways of Coping Checklist (revised in 1983). In the Ways of Coping Checklist, 66 coping mechanisms were divided into eight categories: Problem focused, wishful thinking, detachment, seeking social support, focusing on the positive, self-blame, tension-reduction, and keeping to oneself. It was this Ways of Coping Checklist that was used in the present study of women and geographic relocation.

Ilfeld (1980) wrote about three patterns which emerged from his study of the coping styles of Chicago adults (p. 1239). These styles of coping were: Taking direct action against the perceived stressor, rationalizing or avoiding the stressor, or accepting the stressor without trying to change it.

In a retrospective study of life events and depression,

Parker and Brown (1982) found that six structural dimensions emerged in their non-clinical group. In order to test and categorize coping strategies, Parker and Brown used two life events in their study which were, in these authors' perception, among the most stressful. These were (1) the breakup of an important relationship and (2) someone important to the subject becoming increasingly critical. The six categories of coping behaviors which were developed from this research were recklessness, socialization, distraction, problem-solving, self-consolation, and passivity (p. 1388). According to the study: Women were more self-consoling and apt to seek help than men; young subjects and higher social classes were inclined to use reckless coping mechanisms; and older subjects used passive coping styles.

Coping Effectiveness.

What are the criteria of coping effectiveness? Visotsky et al (1961) indicated six criteria. These are: Keeping distress within manageable limits, generating encouragement and hope, maintaining and/or restoring relations with significant other people, enhancing prospects for physical recovery, and enhancing prospects for favorable situations -- interpersonal, social, and economic (p. 424). The important factor according to White (1974) in helping to improve a client's coping strategies is to look at what people do. In this way, one can see the potential for action (p. 66).

Caplan (1974) wrote that effective coping was evidenced

by: Facing the crisis task and exploring the crisis situation in an active way in order to understand and master the situation; freely expressing negative feelings; obtaining help from others (relatives, friends, professional care-givers) in handling the feelings and dealing with the crisis task; seeing what is happening in a reality-based frame of reference so that one can regain hope in influencing the outcome by one's efforts; active mastery of feelings when possible and acceptance of inevitablility when mastery is not possible; flexibility and the capacity for change; basic trust in oneself and others; and basic optimism about the outcome (p. 83).

The Importance of Hope in Effective Coping

Many authors besides Visotsky and Caplan emphasized the importance of hope with regard to coping. Marris (1974) wrote that in real loss, victims realize that unless they learn to understand the situation and cope with it, they will be helpless to secure a tolerable future. Lack of hope makes any serious loss seem irredeemable and there is the pervasive sense that no substitute for the lost object is possible (p. 149). Lazarus and Launier (1978) wrote that when helplessness escalates to hopelessness, we approach a condition of total immobilization of action and attendant depression (p. 320). Lewin (1948) wrote that "hope is the belief that sometime in the future the real situation will be changed so that it will equal my wishes" (p. 103). When

one stops hoping, one even stops wishing for a better future.

Fairchild (1980) wrote that loss or change is a powerful trigger for depression. Being severed from family support and comfort can severely disrupt a life (p. 20). Loss can be a loss of hope. Fairchild defines hope as "the sense of possibility...the sense of a way out, and a destiny that goes somewhere, even if not to the specific place one had in mind" (p. 51).

Breznitz, an Israeli expert on stress, has concluded that how well a person has learned to hope in the midst of a stressful situation can have a powerful influence on the ultimate outcome of the situation (Turkington, 1984, p. 18). He viewed hope as a process rather than an end in itself and indicated that hope which produces change can help people to adjust and cope effectively. Hope is hard, active work and the one coping mode which is open to even helpless people.

Preferred Mechanisms and The Ways of Coping Checklist.

There is agreement among several authors with respect to what constitutes coping effectiveness. The three major indicators are listed followed by the Folkman and Lazarus Checklist coping mechanisms that would be consistent with the indicators as described by the authors listed below.

The indicators are: Maintaining relations with significant others -- seeking social support (Caplan, 1974, p. 83; Vistoksky, et al., 1961, p. 242; Ilfeld, 1980; Hamburg and Adams, 1967, p. 279; and Mechanic, 1974, p. 33);

dealing with the crisis situation actively through controlling emotions and behaviors and/or through controlling the environmental condition -- problem-focused skills (Caplan, 1974, p. 83; Vistoksky, et al., 1961, p. 424; Ilfeld, 1980; Sinetar, 1984; Bickman, 1982, p. 424; Hamburg and Adams, 1967, p. 278; Mechanic, 1974, p. 33; Lazarus and Launier, 1978, p. 315); and generating hope -- focusing on the positive (Caplan, 1974, p. 83; Vistoksky, et al., p. 424; Lewin, 1948, p. 103; Fairchild, 1980; Turkington, 1984, p. 18).

As discussed in Chapter IV in the findings of the study, these mechanisms were used both before and after the move by the majority of the women whose level of satisfaction was highest after the move. Less desirable coping mechanisms are self-blame and wishful thinking according to Brett (1980, p. 101), Vaillant (1971, p. 168), Menninger (1954, p. 149), and Rapoport (1965, p. 28).

Homeostasis and Equlibrium

Homeostasis and equilibrium are a part of exchange, adaptation, and coping theories.

In the second half of the 19th Century, Claude Bernard taught that one of the most characteristic features of all living beings is their ability to maintain the constancy of their internal milieu despite changes in the surroundings. Walter Cannon called this power to maintain constancy "homeostasis" - meaning, roughly translated, staying power (Selye, 1956, p. 11).

Klerman (1979) considered homeostasis to be a parallel concept to adaptation (p. 155) and Menninger (1954) wrote that the function of the ego can be viewed as a homeostatic effort. "The constructive and destructive drives of the organism must be so directed and modified as to permit the maintenance of a level of tension which is both tolerable and conducive to safe, productive, and satisfying living and continued growth" (p. 420).

According to Caplan (1964) the individual is embedded in a system of equilibrium maintained by homeostatic reequilibrium mechanisms so that temporary deviations from the pattern call into operation opposing forces which automatically bring the pattern back to its previous state. This process takes place in both psychological and physiological realms (p. 38). The problem at a time of crisis is that the stimulus is larger and the reequilibrating forces are unsuccessful within the usual time range. When equilibrium is achieved, the new pattern may differ significantly from the previous one (p. 39).

Adaptation was an important part of Hartmann's (1958) concept of equilibrium. He wrote that it is the task of "man to adapt to man" and he observed that each organism has a mechanism for maintaining or reestablishing equilibrium (p. 38). The relationship of the individual to his environment is disrupted from moment to moment and must again and again be returned to an equilibrium -- thus the use of coping mechanisms. The preservation of the internal environment

is essential to bodily health. A person stabilizes behavior, at least in the short run, at the point where one is doing the best possible under the circumstances, even though the best may not be a "rational" best (Homans, 1958, p. 601).

Equilibrium is not necessarily normal, but may be pathological. The new equilibrium may be better or worse than in the past and the new coping patterns become part of the new equilibrium.

Recapitulation of Coping Theory

In this section coping theory, coping strategies, and homeostasis are discussed with a focus on Lazarus' theory of cognitive appraisal and coping and the ego functions (particularily the defensive function of the ego). The coping process, choices of coping strategies, categorizing of coping mechanisms, coping effectiveness, and the concepts of homeostasis and equlibrium are also explored.

In this study, the coping mechanisms which the subjects used before geographic relocation are viewed as attempts to come to terms with the projected move. The coping mechanisms used after they moved are an attempt to deal with the disequilibrium created by the process of the move.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Theoretical Statement

Both literature review and theories regarding geographic relocation suggest that a woman's perceptions and attitudes are crucial to her adjustment at the time of a move. Therefore, how women perceive the moving process from decision-making to adaptation to a new setting is explored in this subjective, retrospective study.

The research was based on social exchange theory and supplemented by concepts from stress, adaptation, and coping theories. A series of assumptions were formulated for exploration. The sample consisted of married women in childless, dual-career marriages who had moved over 400 miles to (and within) California in the last 18 months. The data-collection method was survey research, using questionnaires and semi-structured interviews.

Instruments specifically adapted for this study and based on the design of previous research by Arnott (1972), were used to measure: The perception of the previous home; alternatives; expectations; outcomes; distributive justice; voluntary and nonvoluntary status; and the level of satisfaction of the move.

The patterns of coping before and after the move were

the independent variables operationalized through the Ways of Coping Checklist (Folkman and Lazarus, 1983). The level of satisfaction achieved after the move was the dependent variable operationalized through the exchange theory instruments. In the interview the respondents were asked to measure their happiness or depression on a scale from 0-10 with 0 being a clinical depression. This answer is also factored into the level of satisfaction. (See Linear Analysis of Antecedent/Consequent Variables -- Figure 2). A Life Events Scale (Paykel, Prusoff, and Uhlenhuth 1971) was used to determine other life events. Data analysis was qualitative, rather than statistical. There was a pilot study.

General Application of the Theory

Social Exchange Theory.

By way of review, social exchange theory was developed by George Homans and was based on the concept of gift giving.

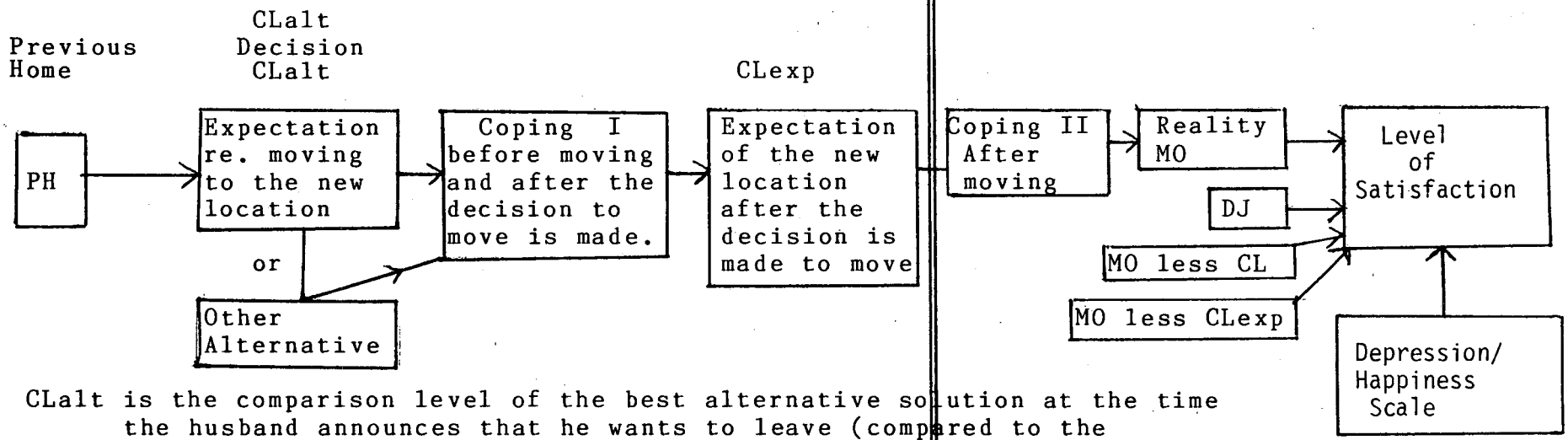
Thibaut and Kelley applied social exchange theory to dyads. They developed the Comparison Level processes as an element of the reward/cost concept of Homans.

In this study, the concept of person-person bonds as elucidated by Thibaut and Kelley is applied both to person-person bonds (in the decision-making process for the couple) and person-place bonds. As indicated by Shumaker and Taylor (1983) there are several similarities between person-person and person-place bonds: Both yield rewards and costs, both

Linear Analysis of Antecedent/Consequent Variables

A Graphic Depiction of the Relationship of the Variables

Before the Move | After the Move



CLalt is the comparison level of the best alternative solution at the time the husband announces that he wants to leave (compared to the expectations and outcome).

CLexp is the comparison level of the expectations of the new location (compared to the alternative and outcome).

DJ is distributive justice or the balance between personal loss or gain as compared to one's partner.

Figure 2:

may be malfunctional, in both the costs of disruption may be high, and both may endure over time and serve as a context within which certain behaviors are acted out and can be evaluated (p. 236). Also, as Bowlby (1969) observed, attachment behavior may be directed toward inanimate objects as well as toward humans (p. 309). Therefore, it is theoretically reasonable to apply social exchange theory to person-place concepts in addition to person-person concepts.

Social exchange theory provides several concepts relevant to womens' experiences at the time of a move. This theory is used to conceptualize and operationalize the level of satisfaction (net rewards vs. costs) of the move.

Previous Home (PH)

The woman's perception of the outcome or rewards and costs of her previous home were measured in 18 experiential areas indicated as important in the literature and confirmed by the women in the pilot study. The measurement was a reward/cost scale of +3 to -3. In this study, the word "home" refers to a compilation of these 18 areas.

The 18 significant areas were: Friendships, relationship with husband, relationship with family, relationship with neighbors, respondent's residence, neighborhood atmosphere, respondent's career, economic standard of living, social activities, church or synagogue, weather/geography of the area, cultural opportunities, recreational opportunities, personal growth opportunities, the respondent's self-image

as a wife, respondent's self-image as a career woman, respondent's overall self-image, and the respondent's perception of how she is viewed by others. The instrument also provided an unstructured section so that women could supplement the data with material that had not been previously considered by researchers.

Each item was weighed by its subjective importance or salience to the women. The word "salience" is used as defined by Stokols (1973) -- "motivational salience or the association with psychologically important personal needs and goals" (p. 39). The weighing of the 18 areas was on a 0-10 scale with 4-10 on the scale saved for top priority items (Appendix p. 192). This same instrument was used to evaluate alternatives, expectations, and outcomes.

Comparison Level of Alternatives (CLalt)

The woman's alternatives once her husband indicated that he wanted to move were explored next. The Comparison Level of Alternatives conceptualized the wife's perceived quality of the best alternative situation in response to her husband's desire to move. Her alternative of moving versus her best other alternative were operationalized by using the same instrument mentioned under "previous home". The weight of the values listed on the "previous home" page was multiplied by the reward/cost scale of the alternatives. Whichever alternative scored higher was the Comparison Level of Alternatives since CLalt is the best of the individual's

available alternatives in the face of being required to make a decision (Appendix pp. 193 and 194).

A wife can be expected to move if no alternative to moving has, in her perception, a better outcome. She would move happily if moving as the alternative is also rated higher than her previous home.

Comparison Level of Expectation (CLexp)

In this dissertation, what the author is calling CLexp is analogous to CL in exchange theory. CLexp is the neutral point on the scale of satisfaction/dissatisfaction and was the standard (based on previous experience) by which a wife evaluated the expected level of net outcome of the move (reward vs. cost) after the decision to move was made. CLexp was operationalized in this study by the same scale of 18 items as PH and CLalt (Appendix p. 195).

Move Outcome (MO)

The Move Outcome is the net outcome of balancing costs and rewards. It was one of the four measures of the Level of Satisfaction of the wife when she was established in her new home. Move Outcome is compared to PH and CLexp. Move Outcome was operationalized by the same scale and the same measurement of values as was used with PH, CLalt, and CLexp (Appendix p. 196).

Comparison Level of Distributive Justice (CLdj)

The Comparison Level of Distributive Justice is analogous to "Distributive Justice" in exchange theory. It evaluates

the balance between giving and receiving in a relationship and weighs the net rewards or profits in relation to the investment. In this study, it measured the outcome of the move that the wife perceived for herself compared to that which she perceived for her husband. It was one of the four measures of the Level of Satisfaction and was operationalized as an index (positive or negative outcome: +10 to -10) (Appendix p. 197).

Level of Satisfaction

The Level of Satisfaction was measured in four ways: (1) The distributive justice rating, (2) the move outcome rating less the rating of the previous home, (3) the move outcome rating less the rating of the expectations of the move, and (4) the level of depression which is evaluated by the woman in the interview on a 0-10 scale with "0" being described as a clinical depression.

Voluntary Versus Nonvoluntary Status

The comparison levels contributed to, but were separate from, the wife's feelings that the move was nonvoluntary on her part. The reasons that such a woman agrees to move were explored in the interview.

Stress, Adaptation, and Coping Theories.

Stress involves a transaction in which resources must be mobilized. Stress is associated with moving, disequilibrium is associated with stress, and coping mechanisms are evoked to deal with the disequilibrium in an

attempt at adaptation.

In this research, the various coping strategies were explored through the use of the Folkman and Lazarus Ways of Coping Checklist. The authors identified this instrument as a measure of the actual process of coping -- not an instrument to measure coping styles or traits. This fact made the instrument particularily appropriate for this study since the research explored the mechanisms used for both before and after the move. In addition, in the interview, the women were asked questions about primary appraisal (Did you perceive the move as irrelevant, benign-positive, or potentially harmful?); secondary appraisal (Did you believe you would make a good adjustment? How do you view you overall ability to cope? What is the process you go through when needing to choose coping mechanisms?); and reappraisal (What was your appraisal of the move shortly before you left and after you arrived in your new location? What was the experience of the move for you?) These questions merely provided an approach for a broader exploration of the appraisal process.

Anticipation of Findings

The assumptions underlying this study emerged from the literature review and from clinical experience. These assumptions served as the foci in the investigation. They were:

1) Contrary to the expectations of Exchange Theory, it was

anticipated that married women would move with their husbands even when the move is nonvoluntary and not perceived by them to be to their advantage.

2) It was posited that a relationship would be found between a belief in the Ruth Principle (see explanation p. 9 of this study) and the decision to move in spite of the personal "cost" (in the terminology of exchange theory) to the respondent.

3) It was predicted that women who moved voluntarily would demonstrate a low attachment to their previous homes.

4) It was anticipated that the pattern of coping mechanisms used by women before and after the move would differ. This assumption emerged from both the literature review and the pilot study.

There are three additional assumptions from literature:

5) Moving causes stress.

6) Stress causes disequilibrium.

7) Coping mechanisms are evoked to deal with the disequilibrium.

Possibilities for future research evolved from the data.

Generalizations cannot be made from this study; the sample was nonrandom and was too small to be representative. The goal was to explore the topic in order to achieve a deeper understanding of the total migration process for married, career women and to develop ideas for future research and empirical testing. One major impetus for the

study was to offer suggestions for therapists who are helping women adapt to geographic relocation.

Concepts and Their Operationalization as Variables

Antecedent Variables.

The antecedent variables are the anticipation of the move and the actual move.

Dependent Variable.

The dependent variable is the Level of satisfaction of each woman after the move.

Independent Variables.

Coping Mechanisms

The Ways of Coping Checklist (Folkman and Lazarus, 1983) was used to measure the coping mechanisms and combination of mechanisms used by the women both before the move (retrospectively) and after the move (in the present). (Appendix pp. 198-205)

Intervening Variables.

Additional Stress

The Life Events Scale (Paykel, 1971) was used to measure stress beyond the move that had been experienced by the women from a year prior to the move to the present.

Voluntary/Nonvoluntary Move

In the questionnaire the women were asked, "If you had no one except yourself to consider, would you have made this move?"

Reason for Untransformed Outcome

When a woman moved contrary to her own perceived profit in the situation (i.e., she was in a nonvoluntary status), the relationship between the behavior and the "value" as explicated in the work of Kelley and Thibaut was explored in the interview.

The purpose of collecting data on these intervening variables was to enhance understanding of the respondent's experience of moving.

Controlled Variables.
(determined from the questionnaire)

Middle Class. The Hollingshead and Redlich (1958) rating scale was used to determine class. They used three scales: Residential, occupational, and educational. According to their rating scale, the families of the sample fit within the Hollingshead and Redlich classes III and IV.

Dual-Career Marriage. Both husband and wife were pursuing careers and yet seeking to maintain family life (Bebbington, 1973, p. 530).

Childlessness. The women have had no children. Therefore, no child was involved in the move.

Distance of the Move (at least 400 miles), time since the move (within 18 months), nonvoluntary status, and location of the new home (Los Angeles or the San Francisco Bay Areas) were determined from answers to the questionnaire.

These controlled variables provided homogeneity in the sample which allowed the researcher the opportunity to examine in

depth the migratory process for a homogeneous group of women who appeared to have moved voluntarily and yet who experienced various levels of stress.

Sample

In this study 23 women were interviewed of whom 16 fit the requirements of the sample. These were women from the middle-class in dual-career marriages who moved over 400 miles to or within California in the last 18 months. None of these women had children, they were all in first marriages, and all moved at the instigation of their husbands. The reasons for the husbands wanting to move were varied. Only four were in corporate positions and were transferred. Of those four, one had asked to be transferred. The other twelve men chose to move for different reasons: Two were seeking advanced degrees; one wanted to be near his family; and the other nine had job opportunities. The mean age of the women was 29.7 years and their mean educational level was 5.4 years or one and one-half years of graduate school. Eleven of the women described themselves as Protestant, two were Roman Catholic, one was Jewish, and two had no religious affiliation. Before moving, six of the women had careers in business and ten were in the professions. The mean time since moving was eight months.

In addition to the 16 women in the sample: Two women were interviewed who moved over 18 months ago; one was interviewed who had found a shared job with her husband so

the move was mutually instigated; one woman was interviewed who had taken her best other alternative which was a commuter marriage; and three were interviewed who had themselves instigated the move.

To find the sample, corporations and churches were contacted and requests for volunteers for the study were made through their intraorganizational publications. Newspaper advertisements were used and contacts were made with a network of business women.

The rationale for controlled variables follows. In the middle class there is more potential for voluntary moves than in the lower class (Willmuth, Weaver, and Donlan, 1975). The distance of the move must be sufficient to make difficult the continuation of social systems because their loss creates stress (Weiss, 1969). The purpose of timing interviews within eighteen months of the move was to minimize problems of retrospective memory (Cannell and Kahn, 1968; Jenkins, Hunt, Rose, 1979; Simon, 1962, p. 102; Clayton and Darvish, 1974, p. 133), although it is acknowledged that this element operated to some degree in the interviews. Women in dual-career marriages were selected because the focus of the study was on career-oriented, married, educated women. Since the presence of children influences integration into a new neighborhood (McAllister, Butler, and Kaiser, 1973), limiting the research to those who were childless eliminated an extraneous variable.

Data Collection Method

Before beginning the questionnaire and interview, a brief explanation of the research was given to the women to be interviewed and the process to be followed was explained. Included were issues regarding confidentiality, right of refusal, and the researcher's readiness to respond to any concerns or questions. Each woman signed an informed consent form (Appendix p. 236). This process is recommended by Bunin, Einztg, Judd, and Staver (1983, pp. 24 ff.).

Each woman first completed a demographic questionnaire (Appendix pp. 189-191). Next, the group of questions relating exchange theory to the process of moving measured the woman's perception of her previous home (PH); the best alternative for her when her husband raised the possibility of moving and a decision had to be made (CLalt); The expectations of the new place once the decision to move had been made (CLexp); and the perception of the reality of the new home or move outcome (MO) (Appendix pp. 192-197). Each woman established the value to her on a scale from 0-10 of the 18 experiential areas mentioned previously. A score was reached for each area by multiplying the value of the area times the woman's perceived reward or cost (+3 to -3) of the particular unit. These individual scores were balanced to find the scores of the previous home, the comparison level of alternative, the comparison level, and the move outcome. Distributive justice (the level of satisfaction of the move

that the wife perceived for herself compared to that which she saw for her husband) and voluntary/nonvoluntary status with regard to the move were also determined through the questionnaire.

In addition, each woman took the Ways of Coping Checklist (Folkman and Lazarus, 1983) and indicated the coping mechanisms used before and after the move (Appendix pp. 198-205). Folkman and Lazarus constructed eight scales: Problem-focused, wishful thinking, seeking social support, tension reduction, self-blame, keeping to the self, focusing on the positive, and detachment. The coping mechanisms were scored by summing the ratings under the individual scales as recommended by Folkman and Lazarus. The total score for the individual scale was divided by the number of questions in that scale to establish a mean and thereby to give the scales equal weight. Each woman also took the Paykel Life Events List which asked which life events were experienced from one year before the move to the present. These events were scored by using the same scoring suggested in the Holmes and Rahe checklist (1967). Events that were different from the Holmes and Rahe checklist were scored on a rationally created scale as suggested by the authors of the scale (Paykel, Klerman, and Prusoff, 1970, pp. 11 ff.).

In case there were points needing clarification, the questionnaire was read by the researcher and a semi-structured, depth interview was tape-recorded (Appendix p. 206). The

interviewer explored the process of the move including: The decision-making process, the meaning of the previous home, the Ruth Principle, the appraisal of the move, the most difficult and the most positive factors of the move, the level of depression, previous moving experiences, other comparable experiences, the preferred coping mechanisms, and the experience of the questionnaire and interview. The interview took approximately one hour.

All of the women who were interviewed were cooperative and responsive. The interview provided the opportunity to ask in-depth questions and to explore issues that arose for the researcher in reviewing the questionnaire. Miller (1970) wrote that the information secured in an interview is likely to be more correct than that secured by other techniques since the interviewer can clear up seemingly inaccurate answers by explaining the questions to the informant (p. 86).

Madge (1965) wrote that the interview and its half-brother, the questionnaire are popularily regarded as the method par excellence of social science (p. 162). The combination of these two were used in this research.

Data Analysis

A master chart was made with the following headings: Demographics, exchange theory, ways of coping, cognitive appraisal, previous moves, and the meaning of the previous place. There was a qualitative rather than quantitative

analysis of the data. The results from the instruments were tabulated for each woman and recorded on a separate sheet (Appendix p. 207). The 16 women from the sample were divided into four groups. The groups were formed according to the levels of satisfaction which were compiled by measuring move outcome, distributive justice, the level of depression/happiness described by the women, the reality of the move less the expectation, and the reality of the move less the perception of the previous home. Group 1 was made up of four women with low levels of satisfaction; Group 2 consisted of two women with low-middle levels of satisfaction; Group 3 was composed of a group of six women with high-middle levels of satisfaction; and Group 4 had four women in it with high levels of satisfaction. Graphs reflecting the different groups were prepared. A description of the individual groups may be found on pp. 208-235 in the Appendix.

The researcher listened to the tape recordings of the interviews for main themes and coded the information into predetermined categories that were prepared at the completion of the pilot study.

Pilot Study

The complete questionnaire, instruments, and depth interview were pretested on three women who fulfilled sample qualifications.

In the process of the pilot study, five experiential

areas were added to the original 13, the format of the questionnaire was changed for clarification purposes, the order of the questionnaire was shifted, and categories were established for the purpose of coding the interview material. The categories were divided into the following areas: The decision-making process; the meaning of the previous home; The Ruth Principle; the appraisal and reappraisal of the move; the experience of the move; the most positive and most difficult factors in the move; the level of depression; previous moving experiences; appraisal of coping mechanisms; comparable situations to this move; and the experience of the questionnaire and the interview for the respondent.

Through the pilot study it was determined that the theoretical concepts were relevant to the topic of the migration of women and there were no problems with empirical procedure.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Findings with Respect to the Assumptions

In this section, each research assumption will be stated followed by a discussion of the findings as they relate to that assumption.

As indicated in the previous chapter, the sixteen women from the sample were divided into four groups according to their levels of satisfaction. These levels of satisfaction were measured by rating the move outcome less the previous home, the move outcome less the expectations of the new home, the distributive justice rating, and the level of depression which was evaluated by the women on a 0-10 scale in the interview. There were four women in the low level of satisfaction group (Group 1); two women in the low-middle level of satisfaction group (Group 2); six women in the high-middle level of satisfaction group (Group 3); and four women in the high level of satisfaction group (Group 4).

Assumption Number I:

Contrary to the expectations of social exchange theory, married women will move with their husbands even when the move is nonvoluntary and not perceived by them to be to their advantage.

In this study, there were two separate instruments to evaluate the women's reactions to the prospect of the move. One instrument explored voluntary/nonvoluntary motivation to move by asking the question, "If you had no one but yourself to consider, would you have moved?" (Appendix p. 197). This question was asked of the respondents to evaluate their feelings about the move without regard to their relationships with their husbands (the "given" matrix or Matrix II). For the diagram regarding the transformation process, see p. 47 of this study.

The other instrument was the exchange theory instrument by which the women evaluated their reactions to the move in the decision-making process (Appendix p. 194). This instrument took into consideration their relationships with their husbands (the "effective " matrix or Matrix III).

In this study of 16 women, 13 women answered the question, "If you had no one but yourself to consider would you have moved?" with a "No." Therefore, according to the criteria for this study, they were nonvoluntary movers. The other three women indicated that they would have wanted to move regardless of their husbands' desires.

When using the second instrument which took into account their relationships with their husbands, 5 of the 13 "nonvoluntary" women shifted to viewing geographic relocation preferrable to remaining in the previous home. However, all 16 women moved.

Why did the 13 women who were originally "nonvoluntary" agree to move? To summarize: Two women moved to avoid the continuation of a commuter marriage; two women moved because their husbands had previously moved for them and they perceived decisions around moving as equitable; five women saw the move as being potentially to their advantage even though they were not moving voluntarily; and four women moved for no other reason (according to the questionnaire and interview) than the fact that their husbands wanted them to move (see figure 3 on the following page).

For some of these women the choice was of "the lesser of two evils." Lazarus and Launier (1978) referred to this as the problem when the presence of conflict makes a nondamaging solution impossible (p. 319).

According to the questionnaire regarding voluntary/ nonvoluntary moving, in contrast to the expectations of social exchange theory, 13 women moved with their husbands even though the move was perceived by them as nonvoluntary (Matrix II). Five of the 13 women shifted to feeling that moving was preferrable to remaining in the previous home at the point of the decision-making process when they took their relationships with their husbands into consideration (Matrix III). Therefore, 8 out of the 13 women moved although they were in a nonvoluntary status at the end of the decision-making process.

The data derived from these women are supportive of

Table on voluntary/nonvoluntary Movers:

N = 16 women.

Response to question, "If you had no one but yourself to consider, would you have moved?"

<table>
<tr><td>Voluntary Movers answered question "yes." Total N - 3</td><td colspan="2">All felt unattached to previous residence N - 3</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Nonvoluntary Movers answered question "No." Total N - 13</td><td>Moved to end commuter marriage N - 2</td><td>Moved because husbands had moved for them N - 2</td></tr>
<tr><td>Moved because they saw advantages to moving in spite of being nonvoluntary N - 5</td><td>Moved based on the Ruth Principle N - 4</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 3:

Assumption Number I.

Assumption Number II will explore further the reasons behind these moves.

Assumption Number II:

A relationship will be found between a belief in the Ruth Principle and the decision to move in spite of the personal loss to the respondent

In the transformation process of decision-making, a particular value can be so strong that it is impossible for the individual to do other than live out that value. For many women, one of these values is the Ruth Principle. This value is named for the quotation from the Old Testament (The Book of Ruth, Chapter 1, verse 16) "Whither thou goest I will go; where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people and thy God my God." (See Introduction, p. 9)

Of the 13 women who moved when doing so was viewed as nonvoluntary and a potential personal loss, four moved primarily because of a belief in the Ruth Principle. Two other women had made other moves based on the Ruth Principle, but did not consider this move in that context because they saw advantages in coming to California. Three of the six women who had moved either this time or previously because of the Ruth Principle were in Group 1 (the low level of satisfaction group); two women were in Group 2 (the low-middle level of satisfaction group); and one woman was in Group 3 (the high-middle level of satisfaction group).

In this sample, the support for the respondents' belief in the Ruth Principle was weak. In her study Brett (1980) indicated that from her research completed in 1978, 78% of the women interviewed in one study and 80% in another survey believed that women should follow their husbands when the husband has an opportunity for job advancement. Such an attitude was not indicated in this study.

Brett's study was completed in 1978 -- seven years ago. Because of the increase in careers for women and social change (such as the women's movement and the struggle for equal rights) one might expect the percentages to be different now. In addition, the focus of this research was on women who were in careers or in an educational program preparing for a career. These women may have a more independent attitude than do homemakers who were included in the Brett study.

According to Guillet (1980), contemporary men are acknowledging their wives' feelings about being uprooted which lessens the expectations of the husband with regard to the wife being expected to move (p. 43). The husbands of career women are less apt to agree to a corporate move and seem to believe that moves should be decided mutually rather than unilaterally.

In the perception of several women, their mothers were a strong influence (either negatively or positively) on their attitude toward the Ruth Principle . With the number

of wives who are now employed and the fact that men seem to be taking their wives' concerns regarding moves more seriously (as are corporations and the military), it is possible that in time and in the context of modern marriages and new role-modeling, the Ruth Principle may become obsolete. A new study in this area similar to the one done by Brett would be most enlightening in the late 1980s or early 1990s.

Perception of the Impact of the Move on the Marital Relationship

In this study, the women who chose "remaining in their previous home" as their best alternative, demonstrated that the scoring of this alternative was lower than the original rating on the previous home (Appendix pp. 192 and 194). Two factors depressed the score for "staying." One was the belief that not to move would impact in a negative way on their relationships with their husbands. Another was a potentially negative impact on their self-image as wives. This concern was true for 9 of the 16 women across all four groups. Therefore, one reason for moving was to avoid injury to the relationship. In this context, the "reward" could be the personal reward of living up to the value of supporting one's husband and preserving a marriage. Or, as one woman said, "My reward is that I don't have to think badly of myself for holding my husband back."

Because of the belief that there would be a negative effect on the marital relationship if they did not move, for

these nine women, presumably, conflict would have been created by a decision to remain in the previous home. The present place of residence, as desirable as it might have been, would lose appeal. The "impact" might not be their husbands' anger, but the possibility of other alternatives to moving such as commuter marriages. Two women in the sample gave up commuter marriages in favor of moving.

Two other women felt that the move would impact in a negative way on their relationships with their husbands (one was in Group 1 -- the low level of satisfaction group; the other was in Group 3 -- the high-middle level of satisfaction group). One woman said that she feared that if she moved she would experience a loss of self-esteem for moving since the move held a very high personal cost for her which would generate resentment toward her husband (Group 1). This woman had made several moves for her husband's career. The second woman felt that the move might hurt her relationship with her husband because of the living situation that she anticipated in the new location (Group 3). The predictions for both of these women were accurate.

Five women felt that the move would not affect their marital relationships. Among these five respondents, in one situation the marital relationship improved, in two it remained the same, and two women suffered a loss in their relationships with their husbands.

Several women expressed the hope that their husbands

would move for them if they had career opportunities, but questioned whether this would happen. One woman said that she believed the marital relationship was more important to women than it was to men and, therefore, women make more sacrifices than do men.

That the marital relationship is important to the women of this study appears to have been validated by the responses to the questionnaire. Fifteen out of the 16 women accorded their relationships with their husbands the highest value. Several women viewed other experiential areas of equal importance (for example, career and self-worth), but for some respondents the marital relationship was the only highest value item. There seemed to be no significant differences between the groups in this respect. The one respondent who did not put her husband first said that she was so emotionally battered by the experience of the move that she needed to focus on herself to regain her perspective.

The relative importance of the marital relationship for the women as compared to the men could not be assessed since men are not included in this sample and the issue of husbands' attitudes toward marriage is beyond the scope of the present study.

Some wives feel that the benefits received from the husband's upward mobility on the job is fair compensation for the difficulties inherent in a move. In addition, at times, a move is necessitated by limited job possibilities.

Problems arise, in the context of the Ruth Principle, when resentment because of relocation, is built up. This may result in what Kelley and Thibaut (1978) called "untransformed outcomes" -- decisions that ultimately result in resentment (p. 23). One woman in the pilot study left her first marriage after three moves in four years. The third move was the precipitating factor of the break-up of the marriage. This respondent felt that the relationship with her second husband was much better than the relationship with her first husband. She did not expect the present move to adversely affect her marriage.

In the experience of this researcher, women who say an absolute "no" to a move do so because the marital relationship is sufficiently problematic that they do not want to move to a new location when it is possible that the marriage may not last. This does not necessarily include joint decisions for a commuter marriage.

Most of the women in this study believed that they should not <u>have</u> to move with their husbands if the move is not to their advantage. However, as one woman expressed it, "My confidence lags behind my principle." Another said, "One would have to be very sure of a relationship to say 'no' to a move."

Other Reasons for Moving

Data analysis found that there were reasons for moving or remaining which the women in this sample found more

compelling that the Ruth Principle. These include economic factors and a commitment to equity in the relationship.

Economic Factors

As noted on page 112 of this study, an important factor for some women in deciding to move is the opportunity to upgrade their life-styles. In most of the situations in this sample, the husbands were making more money than the wives (in some cases far more money) and it seemed realistic for them to pursue their careers. This was expressed as something of a bind because the financial gap left these women feeling that they had little leverage. After the move, the loss of the wife's income and self-image and her difficulty in finding a good position created far more problems than had been anticipated.

Equity

In this sample, presumably all of the subjects' husbands saw the move as being to their advantage since they were the instigators of the moves. This remains an unknown variable as the research instrument did not explore with the husbands whether they made the move voluntarily or whether they were left with no other option in the workplace.

Mincer (1978, p. 750) and Speare and Kobrin (1982, p. 553) wrote that most decisions to move are made on the basis of "net" gains. In their conceptualization, both members of the couple do not necessarily experience personal gain. This factor was measured in the distributive justice

instrument.

It is difficult to evaluate the equality of gain/loss even with using an instrument. One might think that there was an equaling of the gain/loss since the husband wanted to move for the sake of the position (or some other reason) and, in most situations, the wife decided to move for the sake of the relationship which was very important to her. However, even after taking into consideration the relationship with the husband (Matrix III), 8 out of the 13 women still did not want to move and perceived the move as a personal loss. Three of these women were in Group 1; four were in Group 3; and one was in Group 4. Therefore, it seems that for at least eight respondents, the decision was based on net gain.

Of the other five "nonvoluntary" women, one was in Group 1; two were in Group 3; and two were in Group 4. The remaining woman in Group 1 and one of the remaining women in Group 3 wanted to end commuter marriages. The remaining two women in Group 4 indicated that their husbands had previously moved for them so they felt that reciprocity was appropriate. The effect for Group 4 was that, after Matrix III in the transformation process, three out of the four women were prepared to move. The one who indicated that she wanted to stay did so by a very narrow margin. Therefore, as a group, the women in Group 4 had a more positive appraisal of the move than any other group. These women in Group 4 believed

that equity would be the pattern for their marriages. One woman said she believed that, as in the past, the financial, spiritual, and self-worth picture would be explored for each of them and a mutually satisfying solution reached.

According to Rapoport and Rapoport (1975), equity is an important concept in marital relations (p. 421). Equity means a fair allocation of both opportunity and constraints (rewards and costs in social exchange terms). According to these authors, equity in family settings (i.e., for each person to feel they have the opportunity to be "in charge" in certain areas and at certain times), facilitates self-realization and life satisfaction for each family member.

However, it seems that for most couples equity is more of an attitude than a behavioral reality. Women seem to feel totally responsible for the majority of the domestic activities, even when carrying a full-time job. Also, some women express gratitude that their husbands "allow" them to pursue dual-role activities which would put the husband in in control of even the wife (Hopkins and White, 1978, p. 254).

If a couple wishes to be egalitarian, the job market and the societal attitude often work against them. The husband is, generally, more apt to be offered a job; he is more likely to hold a higher paid position; and the cultural standard says that the man's job is more important than the woman's (Berger and Foster, 1977, p. 33). All these factors

serve to make a really equitable decision regarding geographic relocation difficult.

In three situations which were not part of the sample where the women were the instigators of moves, two of the women expressed real concern for their husband's happiness. They wrestled with guilt over the husband moving for them. "If he isn't happy, I couldn't handle it. It would do me in." In the sample, three women indicated that they would have an impossible time asking their husbands to move for them. "It just doesn't feel right. 'Good' wives follow their husbands." Another woman said, "My family would be horrified if I asserted myself in that way!" As indicated by Homans (1950), norms (in this situation women and equal rights regarding the choice of moving) tend to change more slowly than actual social behavior (p. 401).

Many women in the sample predicted that as women focus increasingly on their careers the problem of moving will become more acute. Said one woman, "It is difficult for everybody. All the rules have been changed and are still being determined." Three women said that they deliberately chose their particular professions to facilitate a solution to this problem. Commuter marriages were not viewed by any of the women of the sample as a positive long-term option.

Assumption Number Three:

Women who move voluntarily will demonstrate a low attachment to their previous homes.

Any one of this group of 16 women was free to choose not to move. None of the women were removed forcibly from their homes. In the sample of 16 women, 3 women moved "voluntarily" -- which means, in this research, that the respondents replied to the question, "If you had no one except yourself to consider would you have made this move?" with a "yes." All three voluntary movers indicated minimal attachment to their previous homes. Two of these women were in Group 2 and one was in Group 4.

This finding appears to offer confirmation of the study in social exchange theory by Stokols and Shumaker (1981) that (as might be expected) persons with a low attachment to the current residential environment and an attractive alternative were not dependent upon or attached to their current residences. For all three women, the alternative of leaving was far more attractive than that of staying. Their scores on the instrument for the previous home (PH) were considerably lower than the scores for the other women in the study. As one woman who disliked her previous home put it, "There was no alternative to leaving!" She was in Group 2. She had extraordinarily high expectations with respect to the new home and it was posited that one of the reasons that she fell into a lower-satisfaction group was

because her expectations had been unrealistic.

In summary, the data derived from the three women appear to be supportive of assumption Number III. From this small sample it could be speculated that women who are voluntary movers when their husbands have an opportunity for a new position, do not have a high attachment to their previous home.

Assumption Number Four:

The pattern of coping mechanisms used by the women before and after the move will differ.

At the outset of the present study, it was posited that there might be a difference in the coping mechanisms used by the women before and after the move. This supposition was based on the research by Folkman and Lazarus (1980) which indicated that when one feels that control of a situation is not possible, the forms of coping tend to be varied (p. 232). In addition, the pilot study suggested that there might be evidence for such a finding.

Folkman and Lazarus (1983) wrote that the Ways of Coping Checklist shows a pattern of coping with regard to a particular event. The "event" in this study was geographic relocation. In contrast to the above assumption, almost all of the respondents used the same coping mechanisms both before and after the move. The order of use shifted slightly so that, for example, problem-focused skills used before the move as the primary coping skills might be used

as secondary coping skills after the move, but, basically, the mechanisms remained the same and there seemed to be little or no significance to the shift. Therefore, because there was not a major shift in the pattern of coping skills used before and after the move the assumption of changing coping mechanisms is not supported by the data.

Assumptions Numbers V, VI, and VII:
Moving causes stress; stress causes disequilibrium; coping mechanisms are evoked to deal with disequilibrium.

As is indicated from the review of the literature and the theoretical material, there is much support for these assumptions from previous research. These assumptions were also supported by the experiences of the women in this study. As discussed later in this chapter (pp. 121 ff.), the level of stress and disequilibrium depends upon many variables in the individual situations.

Other Results of the Questionnaire

Expectations

In addition to the findings regarding expectations in the discussion of the four groups later in this chapter, there was another factor that emerged from this study.

In the postdecision evaluation, very different expectations were placed upon the new location from those originally anticipated in the predecision stage. Out of the sample of 16 women, in 12 of the situations the evaluation of the new place before the decision to move had

been made was closer to the reality of the new place (sometimes to a considerable degree) than was the expectation after the decision was made (see Appendix p. 235 chart #5).

Apparently, the women were more realistic about the outcome when evaluating whether or not to move than they were once the decision to move was made. After the decision was made, the expectations seemed to be either higher or lower than the original appraisal of the outcome. Sometimes these expectations were unrealistically high. As one woman put it, "You might as well put a good face on things!" This fact is important when evaluating the potential impact of a move. Many people increase their expectations after a decision to move has been made and, therefore, experience disappointment. Very low expectations seemed to reflect depression about moving.

Findings with Respect to the Four Groups of Respondents

In the following section there will be a discussion of the differences between the four groups. The most significant variables that distinguished the higher level of satisfaction groups from the lower level of satisfaction groups in the order of importance as they emerged from the study appeared to be: The cognitive process of appraisal; expectations; the coping mechanisms used; other life events; therapy; multiple moves; and the Ruth Principle.

The variables that seemed less significant as they

emerged from the study were: The meaning of the previous home; the decision-making process; the distance of the move; and moves as a child.

Appraisal

The cognitive process of appraisal (the individual's perception of the event) is an important variable distinguishing between the upper and lower level of satisfaction groups. How one appraises a situation impacts on the level of stress. The more threatening an event is perceived to be, the greater the amount of stress is felt, and the lower the level of satisfaction. The individual evaluates the significance of the event both to her well-being and to the strength of her available coping resources or options (Lazarus and Launier, 1978, p. 302). According to Lazarus, Averill, and Opton (1974), the three aspects of appraisal are primary appraisal (the original appraisal of the event), secondary appraisal (the appraisal of one's coping mechanisms), and reappraisal (the appraisal after some time has elapsed or, perhaps, after the event has taken place).

Although many of the women in this study perceived the move as potentially threatening in primary appraisal (particularily with regard to their careers), in the reappraisal process all of the women in Groups 3 and 4 perceived the move as a "challenge" and were able to hold on to that sense of challenge. This was not true of the

women in the lower level groups. Also, all of the women in Groups 3 and 4 perceived the "reward" from the move as personal and/or marital growth which was different from the lower-level of satisfaction groups.

Lazarus and Launier (1978) wrote that some persons seem to be characterized by a style of thinking that disposes to challenge rather than threat. "The implicit assumption here is that challenge is a better state of mind than threat and a more effective way to live and function and, possibly, a way to achieve better somatic health" (p. 304). They referred to "putting a good face on things" and "the power of positive thinking" as indicative of challenge.

Eight out of the ten women in Groups 3 and 4 used focusing on the positive coping skills both before and after the move as one of their preferred coping mechanisms. One woman who did not do so was in Group 4 and had recently faced parental illness and a friend's death. The other woman was in Group 3 and moved suddenly with no opportunity to integrate the move in advance. Still, both of these women referred to the move as a challenge and an opportunity for growth.

There is a difference between positive appraisal and denial. In Group 1, one woman who had an extremely positive view of the move in advance (primary appraisal), became very depressed after the move (reappraisal). This was also true of a woman not in the sample who had moved 20 months before the interview. These women, by taking an

optimistic, positive view of the move covered their fears and anxieties so thoroughly that their primary appraisals could, perhaps, be more accurately described as denial. They seemed to be adapting to the move, but were really resigning themselves to moving by the use of denial and, eventually, had to deal with that fact. As one woman said, "I think I just erased all the fears somehow."

Perhaps these women felt that they had no viable alternatives. One women said that without some denial she wondered if any woman would take the risk of a move -- unless they really wanted to go. Marris (1974) wrote that since the best action is only definable in terms of its outcome, situations will arise in which no action seems likely to ensure a future that satisfies the essential purposes of the individual (p. 124). At such a time, denial can be useful (Ilfeld, 1980, p. 1243).

Hamburg and Adams (1967) indicated that efforts to minimize the impact of an event by denying the seriousness and consequences can keep one from being overwhelmed and may permit a gradual transition (p. 275). However, denial may lead to severe depression at the time of reappraisal.

Another factor, referred to on p. 115 of this chapter, that was a distinguishing variable between Groups 3 and 4, was that in Matrix III (after considering their husbands' wishes to move) all of the women in Group 4 shifted to the perception that moving was preferable to staying in the

previous location or, as with one woman, to a very narrow margin between leaving and staying. In Group 3 after considering the wishes of their husbands, four women still did not want to move. Being prepared to leave indicated a more positive reappraisal and thrust toward moving for the women in Group 4 than was true for the women in the other groups.

In addition, the women in Group 4 had the highest level of satisfaction in spite of the fact that they had a higher mean "life events score" (218) than the women in Groups 2 (210) or 3 (179). Three out of the four women in Group 4 had deaths occur of family members or close friends within the last year. Their level of satisfaction implies that these women had an over all ability to appraise difficult life events as challenges rather than as threats.

All of the respondents had expected to cope well with the move (secondary appraisal). The women in Groups 1 and 2 felt that they had coped with similar situations far better in the past and all of them were disappointed with themselves. Three women in Group 3 were also unhappy with their responses to the move. The four women of Group 4 and three others in Group 3 were satisfied with their reactions to the moves.

This exploratory study suggests that the cognitive process of appraisal may be a critical factor in determining the level of satisfaction attained by the women who move to

a new location. The process of reappraisal (rather than primary and secondary appraisal) was the major distinguishing factor between the lower and higher level groups. In their reappraisal, the women in Groups 3 and 4 viewed the move as a challenge and as an opportunity for growth. Since there were similarities among many of the women in all of the groups in primary and secondary appraisal, the importance of reappraisal as it emerges as a factor from this study is significant.

The personalities of the respondents were not evaluated in this study. The prestress personality is acknowledged to be influential to the extent that a person who is faced with a hazardous, stress-producing situation, may view such a situation as either a threat, loss, or challenge depending upon her personality structure. "Personality" is viewed as an important variable in the literature (McKain, 1976, p. 70; Lazarus, 1961, p. 237; Wheaton, 1983, p. 210; Rapoport, 1967, p. 37). An underlying question is whether the emotions are a cause or effect of the cognitive processes (Lukton, 1974, p. 388). It must be acknowledged that the personalities of these women could have been an important factor in their appraisal processes.

The women in the lower two groups were considerably more depressed than the women in the higher satisfaction groups. How much of this was a pre-event predisposition to depression and how much was brought on by the circumstances

is beyond the scope of this research. However, clinicians need to be aware of the possibility of a predisposition to depression when dealing with a client's reaction to a life event.

Expectations

Another important factor in the differences between the groups appeared to be the expectation of the outcome of the move. Expectations are related to appraisal and, also, to the symbolic meaning that the individual projects onto the new home. For example, if the move is to mean a new start in a marriage or a wonderful new career (one woman in the pilot study described the move as the "opportunity to find my station in life") and these goals are not achieved or even partially realized, depression, disappointment, and a difficult adjustment will result.

Whether one is a voluntary mover or not, it would appear that postdecision expectations seriously affect the outcome of the move. In the five situations where the expectations were sixty-five points or higher than what the reality turned out to be, the women reported a depression level of 3 to 5 on the depression/happiness scale of 0 - 10 (0 being a clinical depression). These women were all in Groups 1 and 2. (The two women in Group 2 were voluntary movers.) This group of five women included two women who had previously been at a 1 to 2 level of depression. By way of contrast, except for a third voluntary mover, all of the

women in the higher level of satisfaction groups kept their expectations considerably lower and their outcomes were close to their expectations. One woman, who seemed representative of Groups 3 and 4 indicated that she purposely kept her expectations low because she liked her previous home so much.

In addition, two out of the three women who were instigators of the moves and were not part of the sample were also depressed because of unrealized expectations. One had placed high expectations on an improvement in the relationship with her husband which did not change for the better. The other respondent had career expectations that were not attained.

Since a major variable between the high and low level of satisfaction groups was the difference in expectations, this study suggests a close correlation between unrealistic expectations and a low level of satisfaction. At least in this exploratory study, in contrast to findings reported in the literature, voluntary movers did not necessarily achieve a high level of satisfaction from moves. Expectations appeared to be an even more important variable.

Coping mechanisms

The coping mechanisms used by the respondents appeared to be another critical determinant of the level of satisfaction attained by the respondents in their moves.

Eight out of the ten women in Groups 3 and 4 used

three specific coping mechanisms both before and after the move. These preferred mechanisms were: Seeking social support, problem-focused skills, and focusing on the positive. These are the coping skills considered by many authors as most effective in alleviating stress (p. 82 of this study). Only one of the women in the lower level of satisfaction groups used all three of these mechanisms.

Of the two women in the higher level groups who did not use these preferred mechanisms, one respondent in Group 3 substituted wishful thinking for focusing on the positive. The other woman in Group 4 used seeking social support, wishful thinking, keeping to the self, and self-blame. In spite of this she managed to keep a positive, optimistic attitude. This finding is of particular interest since this respondent had a high life event score with the death of a friend and the illness of her father. As indicated on p. 122 ff., the appraisal of a situation is an important variable in the ability to cope. Considering the external events, this seemed to be an important factor for this woman.

The two women who were the most depressed of all of the women in the sample used an assortment of six different coping mechanisms in their three main choices. In the perception of these women these were not their usual coping styles. Both of them felt that they had coped much better in the past with equally difficult situations. Because of their marital relationships (which were strained) and their

loss of friends, neither felt that they could make use of their usual ways of coping which they described as ventilation or "talking things through." One woman said, "I'm trying a little bit of everything to cope." This statement was validated by her coping checklist.

The fact that the majority of the women in the higher level groups used only three mechanisms and the most depressed women used an assortment of six different coping mechanisms, seems to contradict the literature which indicates that flexibility in coping mechanisms and a wide variety of coping strategies is important for the process of adaptation. Lazarus and Launier (1978) wrote that being able to predict the coping strategies of an individual would be suggestive of rigidity and pathology (p. 309). Rapoport (1970) indicated that the availability of a resilient repertoire of coping mechanisms is a sign of an individual's integrative capacity (306). However, these particular mechanisms were working for the women in the higher level groups so there was no need to change them.

Most of the women appeared to have had a relatively clear view of what they used as coping mechanisms and their perceptions were also validated by the tests. One woman said that talking to friends crystallized problems for her. If not given the alternative of talking she "distracted" herself. Two of her major coping mechanisms were seeking social support and wishful thinking. One of the major problems for her in

the move was that in the loss of friends she also lost one of her major coping mechanisms. She said that because of this need she was afraid of leaning on her husband too much. Several other women voiced this same concern.

Women who said they organized themselves and set goals when feeling badly had strong problem-focused skills. Another woman who talked about crying and withdrawing when upset, scored high in keeping to the self. Women who viewed themselves as optimistic used focusing on the positive as a major coping mechanism. These correlations were seen as supporting the reliability of the instrument.

Transitions that were viewed by the women as being comparable to the move were: Ending a relationship, the adjustment of marriage, leaving home for college, graduating from college, death of parents, and other moves. All of these experiences are related to separation issues confirming the review of the literature (Parkes, 1972; Lukton, 1982).

According to the findings of this exploratory study there seemed to be a relationship between using the three "preferred" skills both before and after the move and a high level of satisfaction.

Other life events

David Kaplan (1962) wrote that aversive life events can cause an acute situational disorder -- human problems percipitating from specific upsetting events beyond the individual's control and which do not stem from existing

psychopathology of the individual involved (p. 17).

It seems in this study that other life events had an impact on the adjustment to a move. The "mean" score of life events for the women in Group 1 was 332 -- over 100 points higher than for any other group. In addition, the two women who were the most depressed in the whole study who were in Group 1, scored the highest of all of the women in the study in the life events score.

In the situation with these two women, their relationships with their husbands which had been at a relatively low level of satisfaction before the move, became worse after the move. A loss in the relationship was also true for another woman in Group 1 and a serious loss for one of the two women in Group 2. Therefore, because of the high value the women placed on their relationships with their husbands, if the life events include serious marital problems, this particular event, according to this study, extracts a high toll.

The woman's perception of her career is another strong factor in the level of satisfaction from a move. Five out of six women in Groups 1 and 2 perceived a decline in their careers. None of the women in Group 4 perceived a decline in their careers.

In addition, there seemed to be a relationship between the impairment of the marital relationship and a decline in the career in the move. Out of the seven situations of the

study where the marital relationship suffered in the move, the career also declined in five cases. Three of these respondents were in Group 1, one was in Group 2, and one was in Group 3 (the commuter marriage). Of the two women where there was not the relationship between the marital and career deterioration, one woman was in Group 3 (the woman living with her family) and the other was in Group 4 (the woman whose father had a serious illness and whose friend died).

The question might be asked, "Did the marital problem cause the career problem or vice-versa?" The cause and effect, if there is one, would be difficult to determine. According to the literature, married, career women almost always suffer a decline in their careers after a move (Mincer, 1978; Weissman and Payel, 1972; Marwell, Rosenfeld, and Spilerman, 1979). It is possible that the marital relationship may have been impaired as a consequence of the stressful life situations in which these women found themselves.

Another life event on the Paykel Life Events List is "new person in household." The two women of the sample who lived with the husband's or the wife's family after the move both experienced a decline of two points in their relationships with their husbands. On a scale of +3 to -3, one relationship went from +1 to -1 (Group 1); the other went from +3 to +1 (Group 3). The loss of privacy and the

feeling of the need to be accountable to the host family created considerable stress on the marital relationship. The possibility of living with the family appears to be something to be carefully considered when making a move because of the possible impact on the marital relationship. In one situation, the couple was living with the woman's in-laws; in the other, with her family.

"Reunion after separation, not because of an arguement" is another item on the life events list. The two women who were ending commuter marriages both experienced a decline in their marital relationships. This would be an interesting topic to pursue in research. Some questions to be explored could be: Were they commuter marriages because the couple had an emotional need to maintain distance; were expectations too high (this was true for one woman in this study, but not the other); is a loss in the relationship to be expected when couples reunite after a commuter marriage because of the separation? Since the number of commuter marriages has increased, such a study could be valuable for couples contemplating such a change.

It appears that, as anticipated by the literature review, other life events had an impact on the level of satisfaction of the women. If those life events include problems in the marriage and the career (which seem to have a high correlation), the stress level will be higher and the level of satisfaction lower. This combination (of difficulty in both marriage and

career) was not true for any of the women in Group 4 and was true of only one woman in Group 3 (the commuter marriage). Both career and marital satisfaction declined for four out of the six women in the lower satisfaction groups.

As noted above, in addition to the life events, the personality of the women and their ability to handle the stress of life events must also be considered since some of the women in Group 4 were dealing with events that were as traumatic as those in Group 1. (This seems to be in contradiction with the findings of Puskar (1981) which indicated that those with a high life events score had an unfavorable reaction to the move.) All of the women in Group 4 appraised the move as a challenge and an opportunity for growth. Also, none of the women in Group 4 suffered from the combination of a loss in both career and marital relationships as did most of the women in Groups 1 and 2. These were both "high value" areas for all of the women in the sample. As indicated in the literature (see pp. 60-61 and pp. 128 ff. of this study) the social network is extremely important in the lessening of stress. To have marriage, career, and friendships adversely affected by the move would remove an important potential coping mechanism and would be a significant loss in enabling one to withstand a stressful situation.

Psychotherapy

A major differential among the groups was the fact that

all four women in Group 1 sought therapy after the move. Two other women also entered therapy. One was in Group 3 (the commuter marriage) and the other was in Group 4 (the woman whose father was ill). Four of these six women had been in therapy before the move took place.

With the exception of one respondent in Group 1, in every situation, in the perception of the women there had been a decline in the relationships with their husbands. The woman in Group 1 had serious "other life events" with her mother's death, an unexpected move across the country, and her own illness. It seems that all of the women in therapy had serious "other life events" besides the move which reinforces the importance of other life events with regard to the levels of satisfaction after a move.

Therapy as an issue that differentiated the groups became apparent in the data analysis. One cannot know the extent to which being in therapy exacerbated the depression because of uncovering unconscious material or because autonomy was not fostered by the type of therapy. Nor did the data reveal the underlying differences between those who were in therapy both before and after the move and those who entered therapy only after moving.

This information with regard to the therapeutic issue opens up limitless possibilities and questions: Were the women who had previously been in therapy depressed before the move; considering the importance of the therapeutic

relationship, was part of their depression having to leave a therapist? For all of the women who were in therapy: Were their prestress personalities such that a depression would naturally follow a move or was the depression caused by the move and, therefore, they sought therapy; was the use of therapy an attempt at problem-solving since friendships were not immediately available or were they feeling unable to function without therapy; were these the kinds of women who, when depressed, were more open to the idea of therapy than some of the other women in the study who, perhaps, could have benefited from therapy; what kinds of therapy were they receiving (crisis intervention, brief therapy, psychoanalytically-oriented therapy) and what differences would that have made in their responses; considering the number of women who viewed their marital relationships as having suffered from the move (7 women out of the 16 respondents) would marriage counseling have been a treatment of choice instead of individual therapy?

All of these are questions which would be possibilities for future research with a focus on women, geographic relocation, and the effectiveness of various therapeutic interventions. More will be written on therapeutic interventions in the concluding chapter pp. 155 ff.

Multiple moves

The importance of multiple moves should not be minimized. To consistently appraise a situation as a

challenge (which is, according to this study important in attaining a high level of satisfaction) requires an investment of energy, hope, and enthusiasm (Rapoport, 1967, p. 37). In this study, there were five women who had moved three or more times since they were married. Both of the women in Group 2, even though they were voluntary movers, were tired of moving and indicated, as did other multiple movers, that every move became more difficult. It seems significant that, apart from a woman in Group 4 whose husband moved once for her, all of the women who had made multiple moves were in Groups 1 and 2.

The Ruth Principle

A belief in the Ruth Principle is a variable which differentiated the four groups and may be closely tied to multiple moves. In this study, six women moved either this time or in the past based on the Ruth Principle. Three of these women had made multiple moves. Five of the six women were in Groups 1 and 2. The sixth was a woman in Group 3 who made an unexpected move and was moving for the first time.

Brett (1982) writes of the "learned helplessness model" as being an important link in depression and job transfer. According to Brett, the woman has the feeling that if she does nothing about the transfer (or move) it is bound to happen and there is nothing she can do to keep it from happening (p. 452). For women who make moves based on the feeling that they should move, the learned helplessness

model is applicable. The more times women make such moves, the more helpless and depressed they are apt to feel.

The Ruth Principle seemed to be an important variable in the level of satisfaction of the women. To combine the Ruth Principle and multiple moves (which happened in three situations) could be devastatingly depressing for the woman since both multiple moves and the Ruth Principle have the potential to reinforce the feeling of helplessness.

Four variables which, in this study, had less significance than the previous seven are the following:

Meaning of the previous home

It is not possible to understand the symbolic meaning underlying a previous home or environment in a one-hour interview. However, except for the three women who wanted to move, the previous home had a special meaning for all of the women.

Many women mentioned their physical and natural environments as being important to them. In addition, the close community of friendships held much meaning. The loss of those relationships reportedly created considerable pain for many women since all of the women (except the three voluntary movers) experienced friendships as a loss in the move. Several women said that they had taken "extraordinary relationships" for granted and had expected to make new friends quickly. Evidently, it was taking the women from all of the groups time to rebuild meaningful

relationships.

In contrast to the literature, the meaning of the home was not a major variable distinguishing the groups except with regard to two women who connected their previous jobs and their relationships with colleagues to their feelings of self-worth (Group 1). These respondents were depressed by the move and felt that they had lost vital parts of themselves in the process. (This was also true of a woman who moved 20 months before the interview.) Therefore, a difference between the high- and low-satisfaction groups was that those women who relied on their previous positions to give them a sense of identity and worth suffered greatly from the move and were in Group 1.

Those women who spoke of their previous home as a "cocoon" or "womb" and saw the move as an opportunity for growth were (with one exception) in Groups 3 and 4. This fact again reinforces the importance of the reappraisal process. If considerably more time had been spent with the women it is possible that differences between the groups with regard to the symbolic meaning of the previous home would have become evident.

The Decision-making process

Another possible variable in the level of satisfaction with regard to geographic relocation is the way in which decisions about moving are made. In most situations, the decision-making process was a carefully thought-out procedure.

The possibility of a move was discussed as much as a year in advance. The average warning time for the actual move was two months.

In only two instances was there a decision to move which was made suddenly with little prior discussion. Sluski (1979) describes such decisions as "explosive decisions" -- decisions made quickly with little or no opportunity for integration. One woman was in Group 3 and the other was in Group 1. The major difference between the two women was that the woman in Group 1 had several extremely stressful "other events." The woman in Group 3 had not expected to move and found the adjustment difficult.

To underline the importance of advance warning for good adjustment, two women in the higher-satisfaction groups who, as with the women mentioned above, were leaving families and felt strong bonds with their previous homes, spoke of how important the opportunity for anticipatory grieving had been to them. Kaplan (1962) wrote that disorder can result from an individual attempting to cope with a threatening psychological event for which he has not been prepared at the outset (p. 21). It seems that a precipitous move can make a difference in the level of satisfaction. This is particularily true when it is combined with other factors. No definitive statement, however, can be made about this variable given that the findings were derived from a small accidental sample. Moreover, since only two

women had moved without advanced preparation, this study did not yield results which were useful for making comparisons even of an exploratory nature. Nevertheless, the findings are suggestive of the need for advanced preparation and anticipatory guidance.

Distance of the move

There were no within-State moves in the lower level groups. One might deduce from this that within-State moves might be easier. The pain of leaving friends and family far away caused sadness for many of the women. It is this researcher's conjecture that other variables may have been operating since of the ten women in the higher level groups only four women made within-State moves and one of those women (in Group 3) had a difficult adjustment. If people have the money, telephones and airplanes can help to shorten distances considerably. In reality, few people have the resources to allow for those alternatives.

Moves as a child

Ten of the 16 women made only local moves as children. One woman in Group 1 who made difficult moves as a child, viewed moving as a negative experience. Another woman who did not move until she was 14 years old and found the moves disruptive at that time, did not seem to be affected by the experience in the present. She was in Group 3.

In Groups 3 and 4, two women viewed moving very positively because of having good experiences with moving as

children. Perhaps moves in early rather than late childhood have more of an effect on one as an adult. However, there is not sufficient information to draw such a conclusion from this study.

Outcomes

Brett (1982) identifies well-being as a subjective attribute of human experience that derives from people's perceptions of the domains of their contemporary situations (p. 451). As is indicated on the antecedent/consequent variables chart (p. 88 of this study), the level of satisfaction is measured by the reality of the new home, distributive justice, move outcome less expectation, move outcome less previous home, and the depression/happiness scale.

The depression/happiness scale ranged from mean scores of a low of 4 in Group 1 to a high of 8.5 in Group 4 on a scale of 0-10. The distributive justice score ranged from mean scores of a low in Group 1 of minus 12.25 to a high in Group 4 of minus .5 on a scale of 0 to + or - 20. Homans (1958) wrote that in satisfactory relationships the balance between giving and receiving usually equalizes (p. 606). A mean of minus .5 indicates an almost perfect balance. Minus 12.25 indicates a perception on the part of the wives that their husbands gained far more from the move than they gained.

All of these measures for the levels of satisfaction were strictly subjective and reflected the women's perceptions of the impact of geographic relocation on their

lives. The levels of stress and disequilibrium were determined by the variables which distinguished the four groups from each other.

Reactions to the Interview Process

The women were asked one final question at the end of the interview and questionnaire. What was the experience of this questionnaire and interview for you?

Many of the women indicated that the exploration of the process of the move and of their feelings had been helpful. It crystallized for them feelings that were just below the surface and gave them an opportunity to focus on and to verbalize their struggles. However, as one woman said of the interview process, "It has not been a walk in the park!"

They appreciated being made more aware of the difficulty of "letting go" of the previous home and the normality of their feelings. They felt the whole experience of the move would make them better able to face potential problems around moving in the future. One woman indicated that since the move she had become much more sensitive to what others endure in a move.

Many women said that the move had precipitated far more depression than they had expected. Nine women reported that they had not handled the move as well as they thought they would. The worst part was that they had not anticipated such a reaction so it came as a total surprise. Appreciation

was expressed for the awareness that others have had similar experiences. "It's nice to know I'm not crazy!"

One woman mentioned that it was hard "numbering feelings." She indicated that "everything feels important." Others found the questionnaire easy to complete, straightforward, and clear. It is acknowledged that the nature of the instrument may have influenced the findings to some unknown degree.

In summary, the women expressed gratitude for being able to discuss the whole process and experience of their moving to a new location. The women viewed the time we spent as a positive, albeit somewhat painful, experience. There was some concern expressed by the repondents about the retrospective nature of the research and it is acknowledged that this represents a limitation of this study.

The responses to the research were basically positive. One woman indicated that she felt it was a "good kind of research because it allows the participant to get something out of it, too."

Chapter V

IMPLICATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

The data analysis of this study suggests that both social exchange and coping theory are helpful in evaluating the impact on married women of geographic relocation.

Critique

Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory provides an intriguing framework to evaluate social interactions. It combines behavioral psychology and economics and incorporates concepts of power, exchanges of activities, and costs in relationship to personal loses and rewards.

There has been criticism of social exchange theory as conceptualized by Homans and Thibaut and Kelley. For example, Peter Ekeh (1974) took great exception with Homans for combining economic motives and psychological needs (p. 198). Ekeh believed that these two concepts were totally incompatible. Also, Parsons (1971, p. 33) and Blau (1971, p. 59) criticized Homans for viewing reward and distributive justice in a subjective way. They felt that Homans should have broadened this concept to include society as a whole as standards or patterns of evaluation for the collective.

On the other hand, Buckley (1967), regarded Homans'

contribution as "perhaps the most significant general theoretical reorientation of sociology in recent decades" (p. 105). Alexander and Simpson (1971) wrote that Homans combined a scientist's understanding of human relations and a description of subjective feelings so that one can have an awareness of what goes on when men interact (p. 69). They believed that Homans' concepts fit better in the psychological rather than the sociological field.

Perceiving of relationships as profit/loss has been criticized for being rather simplistic. Interactions are more complex that they appear on the surface and a relationship that seems to be based on a profit/loss status has far deeper meanings. For example, someone in a masochistic relationship may be "rewarded" through playing a martyr role.

One woman in Group 2 of this study described herself in this way. She said that she could not tolerate the idea of her husband sacrificing for her. Sometimes martyrdom is a way of being in control of a relationship and having others as debtors. In his book, The Gift, Marcel Mauss (1925) wrote that a hierarchy is established in gift giving. To give and refuse to receive is to show one's superiority (p. 72). Social exchange theory does not allow for such complex interactions of personalities and unconscious motivations.

Thibaut and Kelley have been criticized for neglecting to give instructions on how to quantify and measure CL and

CLalt (Goldstein, 1979, p. 24). However, several authors (Stokols, Arnott, Goldstein, Christiano) have validated ways of measuring the comparison levels in their research. Other researchers are replicating their designs and a body of literature is building which provides methods for operationalizing exchange theory.

One of the women who was interviewed pinpointed a problem with using the particular social exchange instruments for this study. As mentioned previously, this respondent found it "hard to put numbers to feelings." This may well be a legitimate criticism. How does one evaluate the experiential areas? Can one measure the importance of a relationship with a husband against self-image? Can one measure the rewards/costs of friends, family? This is a problem shared by much psychological testing and is acknowledged as a limitation of the present study.

Many sciences (anthropology, psychology, sociology, cultural studies, family therapy, etc.) have used social exchange theory extensively in research and the references to this theory are numerous for it gives one a potential entry into problems in many areas such as decision-making, geographic relocation, role choices, and marital relationships.

Coping Theory

The stress and coping theory that is the focus of this study is Richard Lazarus' cognititive-phenomenological analysis of stress. Lazarus states that cognitive appraisal

is crucial to the level of stress experienced by an individual. Coping efforts are made in response to the individual's appraisal of the event. Lazarus and Launier (1978) identified theirs as a "transactional perspective" which is purely descriptive of the process of stress and coping and does not speak to causal determinants (p. 288).

For this study, the Ways of Coping Checklist was well suited. The women focused on the period before and after the move and answered the checklist questions. Upon scoring, the responses indicated the coping mechanisms used in the process of the move. A valid criticism that could be made of the use of the checklist in this study is that "before the move" was done retrospectively. This is acknowledged as a limitation of this study.

Retrospective Studies

Retrospective studies have weaknesses even though they are a legitimate methodological approach. The type of research in this study could profitably be done in the process of the move rather than retrospectively.

A major problem with retrospective studies is the absence of controls. There is the danger that each investigator will promote her favorite set of concepts (Mechanic, 1974, p. 39; Jenkins, 1979, p. 265). The absence of controls is a criticism that can be made of the present study.

In addition, three women indicated that they found it difficult to sort out the before and after dynamics of the

move with regard to coping mechanisms and expectations. In order to alleviate some of the problem of retrospective research, in this particular study, an 18-month-after-the-move time limit was set. Actually, only two women moved over 13 months before being given the questionnaire.

Cannell and Kahn (1968) wrote that forgotten material can often be recalled with sufficient effort if the respondent is stimulated to devote energy to the task of recollection (p. 543). According to these authors, the willingness to report seems to be the most important issue in the accuracy of interview data. In this study with the questionnaire and the follow-up interview, the women were interested and involved in the exploration of their experiences regarding the moving process. The interview was particularily useful in eliciting the respondents' energy in recollection.

Clayton and Darvish (1979) addressed the issue of reliability of data gathered retrospectively. The findings from prospective and retrospective studies were found to be similar. Their conclusion was that the symptoms that occur around a significant life event may be vividly remembered and reportable years later (p. 133).

According to Kerlinger (1964) despite its weaknesses, much research in the fields of psychology, sociology, and education is done retrospectively (or ex post facto) since most important research projects in these fields do not lend

themselves to experimentation (p. 372).

Subjective Studies

Some authors are critical of self-reporting or subjective studies and view objectivity as more valuable than subjectivity. In coping theory, exchange theory, and in the experience of geographic relocation (as indicated earlier in this study) the perception of the event by the woman is a crucial factor in understanding her reaction to a particular event. Therefore, subjective studies are of critical importance in obtaining this information.

An individual's perception and appraisal of a situation is also a crucial element in social exchange and coping theories. According to Folkman and Lazarus (1980), the assessment of coping will always have to face the issue of self-report versus observational and inferential techniques (p. 236).

Chau (1974) wrote that subjective meaning can be accessible to the observer (or researcher) without one needing to "move into the actor's mind." Objectivity and subjectivity are not mutually exclusive polarities (p. 71). In agreement with Chau, Kornfein (1982) wrote that valid information can be derived from feelings, sentiment, and intuitive knowledge (p. 4).

Although this study cannot resolve the theoretical differences around this issue, it does represent an effort to explore the degree to which subjective meaning may be adduced.

Life Events List

Paykel, Prusoff, and Uhlenhuth (1971) made several changes in the Life Events List from the well-known Holmes and Rahe Life Events List (1967). They removed items which might reflect psychiatric symptoms, added some events, and made significant changes in the content of some and minor changes in the wording of others (Paykel, et al., 1971, p. 343). The recommended method for scoring the checklist was to combine the scoring scale of Holmes and Rahe with a rationally-created scale for those items not included in the Holmes and Rahe study (Paykel, Klerman, and Prusoff, 1970, p. 11 ff.).

Several women in this study indicated that it was difficult to sort out how much of their depression had to do with the move and how much had to do with the other life events which were unrelated to having moved -- e.g., a death in the family. An attempt was made to delineate these issues in the interviews.

Although the scores for the women are comparable because the same scale was used for all the subjects, the method of scoring does not appear to be as reliable as the one used by Holmes and Rahe. This results from the fact that many items had to be scored on rationally-constructed instead of empirically-constructed scales. Therefore, the use of the Paykel Life Events List is a limitation of this particular study.

Future Studies

Research is needed in several areas related to the study. Among possible studies are the following:

1) A study would be useful that correlates personality variables with attitudes to and outcome of a move.
2) From the data, information emerged which indicated that the women in Group 1 were all in therapy after the move. Two other women (one in Group 3 and one in Group 4) were also in therapy. In addition, four of the six women who sought therapy after the move had previously been in therapy. A study focusing on women, geographic relocation, and therapy could be very interesting. Such a study could explore, among other factors: The results of therapy; the kinds of therapy; the personality factors involved in the search for therapy after a move; the variables involved in the decision to enter therapy at the time of a move; and the differences between those who had therapy before a move and then continued with therapy with someone else in contrast to those who entered therapy after a move.
3) Untransformed outcomes that cause resentment and have an impact on future relationships could be the focus of another study.
4) As indicated in the previous chapter, a study on commuter marriages and the effect on a couple reuniting after a commuter marriage would be helpful at

this time when there is an increase in commuter marriages.

5) A study using the same instruments to test women who chose not to move when their husbands have the opportunity for a career change would be of interest. The impact on the marriage two or three years after the fact would be particularily enlightening. (In a commuter situation which was not included in this sample, the respondent scored 312 points in favor of staying where she was rather than moving. She decided to stay.)

6) A study would be useful which compares a husband's and wife's perception of a particular move and the congruence or lack thereof of with marital and move satisfaction.

7) In the process of this study, the researcher became aware of the fact that in 12 out of 16 situations in evaluating the outcome of a move, the women's expectations of the new home before the decision to move was made were more accurate when compared to the outcome than the expectations after the decision to move was made. There are interesting implications in this finding with regard to many life decisions, possible preventive work, and research opportunities.

All of these possibilities for research emerged from the data. Glaser and Strauss (1967) in their book, The Discovery of Grounded Theory, discussed ways of allowing substantive theory to emerge from the data and expand into formal theory. The design of this study which

was built around social exchange theory and Lazarus' cognitive-phenomenological theory of stress, did not permit the evolution of theory from the data in the way that is suggested by Glasser and Strauss. However, these suggestions for research are options for others to pursue.

In addition, there are several possible studies which did not emerge from the data:

1) A longitudinal study using the same instruments and semi-structured interview to gather data from a broad sample to test the assumptions of this study in empirical research.
2) A study using the same instruments to test men who have moved at the instigation of their wives.
3) A study using the same instruments to test couples in the process of moving and to compare the differences between husbands and wives in their perceptions of the move.
4) A study using these same instruments with a broad group of individuals to explore enforced relocation because of urban renewal and other external events. Such a study would be of particular interest to the field of social work and could be helpful in working with people in situations of urban renewal. Current changes in the rural economy afford similar potential.

Implications for Practice

Since the majority of the readers of this dissertation are assumed to be clinicians, the following section explores

the delivery of services and possible treatment modalities for women who are moving.

Moving, in and of itself does not necessarily have to be traumatic. As indicated in this study, several women in Groups 3 and 4 seem to have made the move with a minimum amount of personal disruption. Some stress is caused just by the process of uprooting and establishing oneself elsewhere, but the level of stress can be comparatively low.

According to Lewin (1948, foreword), the important factor regarding the level of tension caused by an external event is the mutual interaction of the situation (in this case, the move) and the organism or the "power field" (which in this case includes the wife and the husband). Lewin's field theory is integrated into social exchange theory, the process of adaptation, and Lazarus' theory of stress and coping. Field theory postulates problems as problems in living and not as personality disturbances.

In an integration of social exchange, stress, adaptation, coping, and crisis theories, Figure 4 on the following page illustrates several of the variables that are operant in a move resulting either in a crisis or in resolution. A profile of a woman from the low-level of satisfaction group (Group 1) and of a woman in the high-level of satisfaction group (Group 4) are illustrated. The design of the diagram is adapted from Aguilera and Messick (1974, pp. 66 ff.). These authors refer to "balancing factors that can effect a

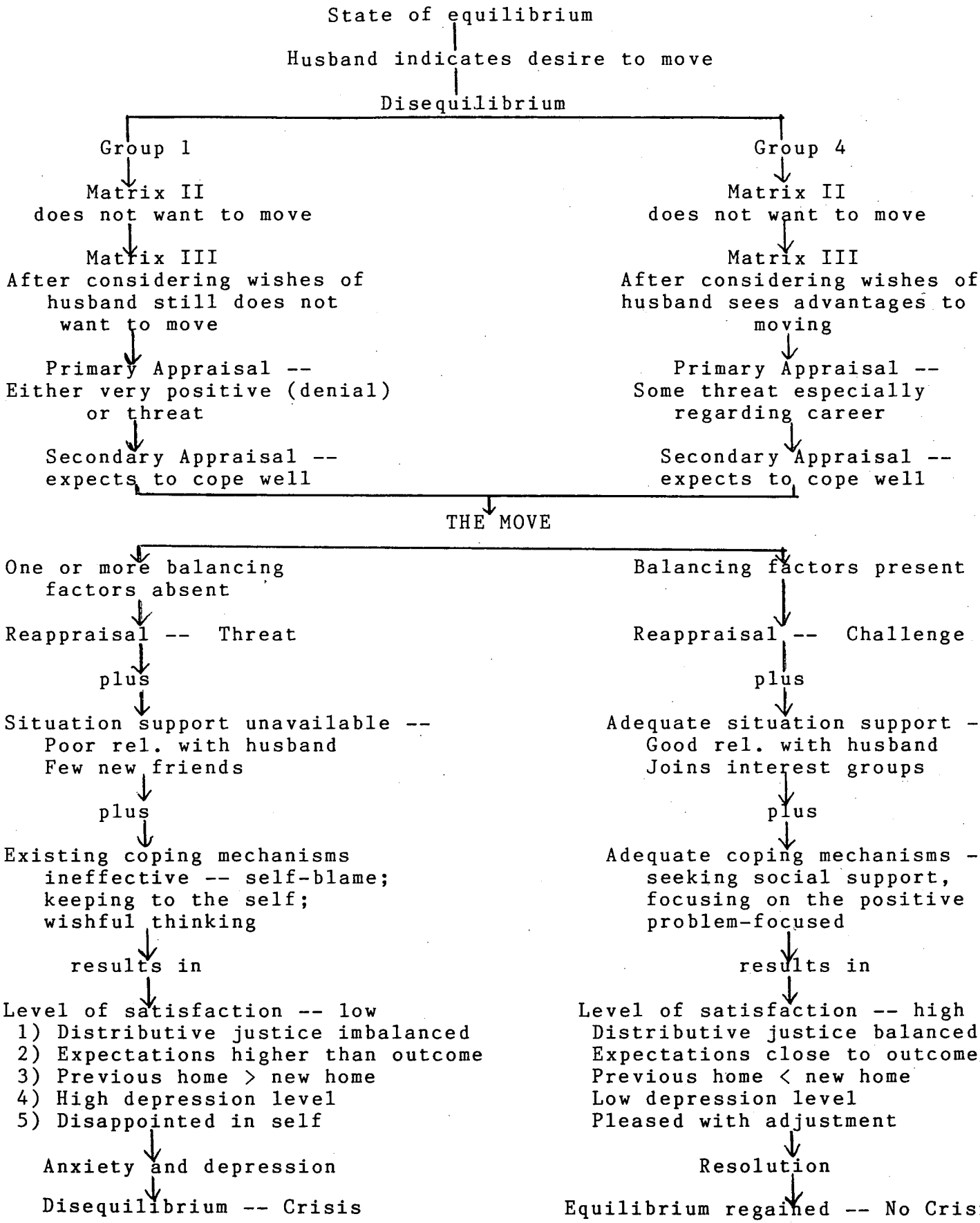

State of equilibrium
Husband indicates desire to move
Disequilibrium
Group 1
Matrix II
does not want to move
Matrix III
After considering wishes of husband still does not want to move
Primary Appraisal --
Either very positive (denial) or threat
Secondary Appraisal --
expects to cope well
Group 4
Matrix II
does not want to move
Matrix III
After considering wishes of husband sees advantages to moving
Primary Appraisal --
Some threat especially regarding career
Secondary Appraisal --
expects to cope well
THE MOVE
One or more balancing factors absent
Reappraisal -- Threat
plus
Situation support unavailable --
Poor rel. with husband
Few new friends
plus
Existing coping mechanisms
ineffective -- self-blame;
keeping to the self;
wishful thinking
results in
Level of satisfaction -- low
1) Distributive justice imbalanced
2) Expectations higher than outcome
3) Previous home > new home
4) High depression level
5) Disappointed in self
Anxiety and depression
Disequilibrium -- Crisis
Balancing factors present
Reappraisal -- Challenge
plus
Adequate situation support -
Good rel. with husband
Joins interest groups
plus
Adequate coping mechanisms -
seeking social support,
focusing on the positive
problem-focused
results in
Level of satisfaction -- high
Distributive justice balanced
Expectations close to outcome
Previous home < new home
Low depression level
Pleased with adjustment
Resolution
Equilibrium regained -- No Cris

Figure 4:

return to equilibrium." These factors are: The perception of the event; available situational supports; and coping mechanisms (p. 60). These three factors are congruent with the outcome of this research.

Disequilibrium is inserted below "the husband indicates his desire to move" because as soon as the wife knows that her husband wants to move the situation in which she is existing shifts in either a negative or a positive way (depending upon her reaction) which disturbs the homeostatic balance. As illustrated in this diagram, the outcome of a move may be continued disequilibrium resulting in a crisis or there may be resolution with no crisis. As indicated by Aguilera and Messick, this diagram can illustrate other life events and the factors that influence the outcome of those events.

Preventive intervention can lessen the possiblity of a move becoming a crisis event. Social work has been defined as centering on the management of cases with the objective of alleviating a crisis in the life of an individual, family, or group (Parad, 1965, p.10).

A significant contribution of social work can be the availability of transitional groups for those in the process of geographic relocation (or other transitions) who are feeling anxious about a situation which creates some anxiety for anyone. Individuals may be helped to cope with the new situation quickly and autonomously. Rapoport (1965) wrote

that there is a need to develop programs and skills that are geared to making help rapidly available at times and places where a state of crisis may develop (p. 30).

Sharing groups have been established by mental health centers, clinicians, private organizations and agencies, the military, and state governments. One group discussed in the literature met for six weeks in two-hour sessions. The meeting was established through the local library and explored self-destructive behavior and constructive coping mechanisms (Kaplan and Glenn, 1978, p. 434). With a goal-oriented focus, there is similarity to the approach used in generic crisis intervention (Aguilera and Messick, 1974, p. 17).

In his article on natural support systems, Baker (1977) quotes Riessman as saying that one of the most effective mechanisms in treatment is the use of people in trouble to help others who are in trouble. Some of those who come to such groups may not be "in trouble", but the information and support may still be useful.

The importance of the "help system", which is identified by Erickson (1975) as the set of kinship or friendship links that exist between an individual and others in the environment (p. 488), was indicated by the use that the women in this study made of the "seeking social support" coping mechanism. The loss of these links in a move can be one of the most traumatic results of geographic relocation. Such a loss

reinforces the need for such groups as are mentioned above.

Considering the potential impact of geographic relocation, professionals have the opportunity and perhaps even the responsibility to organize "help systems" through corporations, churches, and state and city programs to support families adapting to a move. The social work profession may not have been sufficiently active in advocating for potentially vulnerable client groups and in planning for delivery of clinical and support services for relocated persons.

There are important implications for the social work field in the formation of such groups. For example, in central urban areas little thought is given to the impact on families of enforced relocation. Blocks are torn up and office buildings replace homes leaving individuals and families with a sense of rootlessness. The familiar neighborhood is gone. Even though the families may be relocated in freshly-painted high-rise apartments, there is no feeling of attachment. The new buildings are sometimes vandalized in an angry reaction to the impersonality of the new location.

The economically deprived (who usually make up the population disturbed by urban renewal) are frequently left to their own devices to resolve their pain. The condition of life experienced by economically deprived people impairs their ability and their internal resources are limited

because of external pressures (Kohn, 1972, p. 295 ff.). Therefore, the formation of groups for this population is just as important and perhaps even more important, than groups for the middle and upper classes. Brown, Burditt, and Liddell (1965) recommended a planned social casework process in order to prevent a crisis at the time of relocation (p. 250 ff.).

The formation of couple groups would also be appropriate. Husbands and wives need to be made aware of the potential impact of the move not only on themselves, but also on their children. In this exploratory study, seven women experienced a decline in their relationships with their husbands after the move. This would suggest the importance of husbands and wives working together. Dual-career families have special pressures, not the least of which is geographic relocation.

A model for dual-career couples was described by Proshaska and Proshaska (1982). These authors emphasized the concept of "equity" and taught this concept to their groups. Making "equity", as described on pp. 114-117 of this study, a working part of a marital relationship can help to alleviate the potentially destructive resentment, depression, and helplessness that may be part of the Ruth Principle, for example.

Preventive Psychotherapy

Preventive services are included in the discussion in

the above section. In addition, if a woman or couple in therapy have a move in their future, the therapist and the clients have an excellent opportunity for preventive work. Couples should be encouraged to resolve marital and dual-career issues before a move takes place rather than postponing these issues with the hope that a move can offer a new beginning and that problems will somehow disappear or at least change for the better. Therapists can also get caught in this fantasy. People take their problems with them and the stress of moving only exacerbates old problems and creates additional ones (Weissman and Paykel, 1977, p. 26).

In the decision-making process, it is important to measure realistically the potential personal loss from economic, social, and psychological perspectives (Imundo, 1974, p. 911). Parkes (1971) refers to the "assumptive world" which contains the model of the world as it is and as it might be (p. 104). Without a realistic appraisal of the situation, overly high expectations are apt to be the result.

The woman's (or couple's) appraisal of the event is another important factor. Questions that might be explored in intervention are: Does the woman see the impending move as harmful or as a challenge (primary appraisal)? If she feels threatened, what generates that feeling? What are the issues that need to be resolved? How does she view her ability to cope with the situation (secondary appraisal)?

What similar situations has she experienced and how has she sucessfully handled them in the past? Such exploration gives the opportunity for anticipatory guidance and rehersal for future reality. In this process one can learn new social and interpersonal skills and enlarge the capacity for anticipatory thinking and prediction (Rapoport, 1967, p. 40).

Sluzki (1979) wrote of several preventive measures that are useful at the time of a move. These are methods familiar to clinicians under the rubric of anticipatory guidance: Foreseeing and anticipating periods of loneliness and rootlessness; ensuring maintainance of contact with people from the former home; acquiring prior information about the new location as well as some understanding of the social mores; and carrying with one some meaningful objects that will give a sense of continuity with the past and familiarity in the present (p. 387). Such an approach is also advocated by Aguilera and Messick (1974) and is called "anticipatory intervention" (p. 67).

Implications for Therapy after the Move

Women rarely come to therapy identifying problems around a particular transition such as moving. Rather, they are apt to express concern with regard to previous problems that have become worse. These problems would most likely be handled under other circumstances, but in this situation, they become turning points that bring about disequilibrium because of the transitional experience (Golan, 1980, p. 263).

In a study at Yale University, it was discovered that in a group of depressed women who had recently moved, not one woman thought that her feelings were connected with the move (Haight, 1983, p. 25). In the diagnostic evaluation, the transitional experience should not be minimized.

If treatment is necessary, a question arises as to the most appropriate treatment modality at the time of a move. The first task is to make a careful assessment of the presenting problem and to evaluate the level of anxiety and depression at which the individual is functioning and the capacity of their coping mechanisms to handle the affect being experienced. Understanding the biological, psychological, and social functioning of the individual is preliminary to any clinical social work intervention.

Empathic understanding, in addition to an accurate diagnosis, provides the emotional glue that bonds the client and worker and supports the client through the problem-solving process (Lemon, 1983, p. 412). As with all good therapy, one needs to treat each client individually and, at the same time, focus on the significant aspects of the situation that caused the crisis (Lukton, 1982, p. 276).

As indicated under "Future Studies" (p. 153), women, geographic relocation, and the most appropriate therapeutic approach would be an interesting focus for research. In spite of growing clinical literature, empirical evidence of treatment outcomes and methods that are maximally effective,

efficient, and humane are scarce (Strupp, Sandell, Waterhouse, O'Malley, and Anderson, 1982,p. 215). In the absence of such a study, it seems to this researcher that, for most situations, either crisis intervention or brief psychotherapy would be the treatment of choice at the time of a move (rather than psychoanalytic psychotherapy). Both of these therapies have as their focus the return to or maintainance of the individual's ability to function adequately in a relatively short time.

Unfortunately, in the past, all methods of treatment that are not the "pure gold of analysis" have been depreciated (Malan, 1976, p. 4). To endorse the use of brief therapy is not to minimize the importance of psychoanalysis and psychoanalytic psychotherapy. These therapies provide the knowledge base of brief therapy; are necessary for a solid foundation of theory; and are important in depth treatment aimed at changes in personality stucture rather than the amelioration of symptoms (Strupp, et al., 1982, p. 219).

The focus of psychoanalytic treatment is the genetic past and the freeing of the unconscious. The intervention of the therapist is usually exploratory, as a passive observer, and non-directive. The treatment length is indefinite and the transference phenomenon is viewed as a valuable therapeutic tool (Aguilera and Messick, 1974, p. 21).

Planned brief therapy is not a substitute for long-term work. Neither is brief therapy a short version of long-term treatment. Rapoport (1970) wrote that crisis intervention and brief therapy must have a conscious orientation and requisite techniques with distinct methodologies of their own (p. 294).

There seems to be some overlap and confusion between crisis intervention and short-term treatment (Mann, 1973, p. 14; Parad, 1977, p. 229; Lemon, 1983, p. 405). Perlman (1970) said that brief therapy is "close on the heels of crisis intervention" (p. 174).

Concepts and references to brief therapy have been in the literature for decades. As early as 1932, Bertha Reynolds published an article on "short psychotherapy contact interviewing." This was followed by the "functional school" in the 1930's founded by the School of Social Work at the University of Pennsylvania. This school explored and developed the use of fees and the time dimension in casework services. Helen Perlman later developed her concept of "focus" in problem-solving which is an integral part of brief therapy (Rapoport, 1970, p. 17 and 269).

The pioneers of crisis-intervention theory are Lindemann (whose prototypical research of the Cocoanut Grove fire is often cited) and Caplan. Lindemann's theoretical frame of reference led to the development of crisis intervention techniques and in 1946 he and Caplan

established a community-wide program of mental health called the Wellesley Project near Harvard University (Aguilera and Messick, 1974, p. 16). Rapoport is also considered to be a pioneer in crisis intervention (Ewing, 1978, p. 6).

Theoretically, crisis intervention is of a briefer duration than brief therapy generally schedueling four-to-six interviews instead of twelve-to-twenty interviews. In a survey which he conducted, Parad (1977) discovered that 80-90 % of those who used "crisis intervention" held as many as 12 interviews with the modal number being 6 (p. 232). The theory of short-term therapy implies a concept of an inborn will to individuation and autonomy. The person acts purposefully in dealing with inner and outer forces and the time frame becomes a strategy for mobilizing the will (Lemon, 1983, p. 402).

Some proponents of brief psychotherapy offer the option for the individual to involve herself in a longer form of therapy (Aguilers and Messick, 1974, p. 14). Such an option, however, would alter the impact of a time-limited structure. For example, Mann (1973) focused on the recurring life crisis of separation-individuation as the substantive base on which treatment rests. His treatment approach offered 12 hours of direct treatment with termination being a cricial focal point. He did not compromise the time limit by suggestions about further treatment (p. 31).

Rapoport (1970) indicated that in agencies where there are no administratively set cut-off points, crisis intervention might include more interviews. However, in that case it would be desirable to renegotiate the contract, spelling out the next series of goals and, again, setting a limit for furthur work (p. 294).

In crisis intervention and brief therapy an optimistic attitude on the part of the therapist is necessary both to indicate her ability to be of help in such a short period of time and to show confidence that the client can profit from the treatment (Mann, 1973, p. 51).

Brief therapy is concerned with the relief of symptoms and with preventing the development of deeper neurotic or psychotic symptoms after catastrophies or emergencies in life situations. The focus of the treatment is repression of the unconscious and the restraining of drives. Present central issues are related to significant past sources (Aguilera and Messick, 1974, p. 14).

Crisis intervention concentrates sharply on the immediate situation with emotional and environmental first-aid and strengthens the person in her coping integrative struggles through on-the-spot therapeutic clarification and guidance during the crisis (Parad, 1977, p. 236). The focus of treatment is the genetic present and the restoration to the level of functioning prior to the crisis (Aguilera and Messick, 1974, p. 21).

Rapoport (1970) wrote that one of the major differences between brief therapy and crisis intervention is in the diagnostic process. Although both have their roots in psychoanalytic psychotherapy, crisis-oriented brief treatment does not lend itself to a systematic inventory of a chronological scanning of developmental, emotional, and social functioning, manifestations of psychopathology, and considerations of both genetic and dynamic factors. The therapist must quickly develop some working hypotheses about the nature of the crisis, the relevant precipitating stress or stresses, the general adaptive capacity of the individual, the reasons for the present impairment or inability to cope, and the extent and degree of dysfunction. The next step is to appraise the client's potential for adaptive response and the availability of internal, intrafamilial, and community resources that can be mobilized quickly in order to restore some sense of equilibrium (p. 280). For these reasons, Rapoport emphasized the importance of an experienced and skilled clinician who can generate and test hypotheses quickly on the basis of clinical experience and knowledge.

Those who use a brief therapy framework, are not under as much pressure for instant diagnosis and the diagnostic process takes place before the decision is made to engage in brief therapy. At that point, the limited number of sessions and the contract are decided upon.

Both brief therapy and crisis intervention explore the

roles and responsibilities of the therapist and the client and the objectives and the limits of treatment are discussed.

Two major techniques used by both crisis intervention and brief therapy are: Helping the client achieve a higher level of coping; and teaching cognitive skills.

It is important for clinicians to be aware of the coping mechanisms which the client is using. Hamburg and Adams (1967) gave four criteria by which to evaluate coping effectiveness: (1) How well is personal stress managed? (2) How well is a sense of personal worth maintained? (3) Does the coping strategy allow for rewarding continuity of interpersonal relations? and (4) How well does the individual work out personally valued and socially acceptable solutions? (p. 283).

As indicated in the review of the literature, it is believed that there are certain preferred coping strategies for adaptation -- i.e., seeking social support, problem-focused, and focusing on the positive (see p. 82 of this study). A client who uses less constructive coping mechanisms (such as wishful thinking, keeping to the self and self-blame) can, with the help of therapy, develop constructive ways of dealing with problems. Coping mechanisms can be learned and adaptation made more effective (Lazarus and Launier, 1978, p. 309).

For example, Parad (1965) wrote of the importance of social resources as a critical part of crisis intervention

(p. 292). In addition, seeking social support was one of the "preferred" mechanisms of this study. Through the use of groups, social networks can be built and clients can be encouraged to form their own groups.

Problem-focused skills can be taught through setting and achieving short-term goals which may be expanded to long-term future plans. Clinicians with an awareness of vocational guidance centers and employment opportunities can guide clients in the direction of renewing career goals. This, again, would be encouraging problem-focusing skills.

The cognitive approach is often effective in short-term treatment. Beck, Rush, Shaw, and Emery (1979), Burns (1980), and others operate from the premise that negative and illogical ways of thinking create moods which trigger depression and anxiety and trap the individual in a vicious circle. Conscious effort and specific learning techniques to eliminate cognitive distortions can change negative thought patterns. In this process, one can think of oneself in a more realistic and compassionate manner. Therefore, one feels better and is more productive through alleviating the cognitive distortions.

Interventions.

Brief psychotherapy uses interventions to help strengthen the ego of the client through increasing self-esteem, encouraging the use of higher-level defenses, and working toward effective coping mechanisms. The therapist

takes a more active role than in traditional psychoanalysis. According to Aguilera and Messick (1974) other basic procedures of brief therapy include: Catharsis; interpretation; drive repression and restraint; reality testing; reassurance and support; intellectualization; use of positive transference; and guidance to move the patient along the line of behavioral and conjoint counseling (p. 15).

"Crisis" refers to the state of the reacting individual for whom anxiety has risen to a peak (Rapoport, 1967, p. 35). The situational precipitant may be accidental or developmental. Whether the precipitant is viewed as a crisis is largely a function of how it is perceived by the individual (Ewing, 1978, p. 13). Parkes (1971) referred to "psycho-social transitions" as possible crisis precipitants and included migration in his list of transitions (p. 101). The crisis period constitutes a transitional period which represents both the danger of increased psychological vulnerability and an opportunity for personality growth.

Crisis intervention means entering the life situation of an individual, family, or group to alleviate the impact of a crisis-inducing stress by mobilizing the resources of those directly affected, as well as those who are in the "significant social orbit" (Parad, 1965, p. 2).

Aguilera and Messick (1974) referred to two approaches in crisis intervention (p. 17-19). The first is a generic approach which focuses on the characteristic course of a

particular kind of crisis.

In this generic approach the treatment plan is directed toward an adaptive resolution of the crisis with specific intervention measures designed to be effective for all members of a given group. Some groups formed to deal with problems with regard to moving focus on coping mechanisms and constructive problem-solving methods in the crisis intervention mode as described on p. 159 of this study.

The second approach is designed for the individual in crisis. The plan is to meet the unique needs of the individual and to reach a solution to the particular situation and circumstances that precipitated the crisis. If the state of disequilibrium is immediate and urgent as compared to a more or less chronic state of disequilibrium, crisis intervention would be most appropriate (Parad, 1965, p. 289).

There are several techniques of crisis intervention listed by different authors. Crisis intervention is: Present and reality oriented; strongly educative which includes anticipatory guidance, advice giving, and rehearsal for future reality; active; outreaching; directive; and aimed at the goal of autonomous functioning of the client in as short a time as possible. The worker may offer herself actively as a model for identification and may encourage the rehersal of behavior and attitudes in regard to new roles. Behavioral tasks may be assigned. Lukton (1974) added that regressive transference reactions are discouraged and

(as with brief therapy) one communicates confidence and hope that the client can handle the problem (p. 396).

Aguilera and Messick (1974, p. 20) wrote of the importance of reopening the social world. A crisis is seldom experienced in a social vacuum. Often one or more of the reference groups are involved and may be important for the treatment process (Ewing, 1978, p. 15). Parad (1977) wrote that a minimum of therapeutic intervention during the brief crisis period can often produce a maximum therapeutic effort through the use of supportive social resources and through focused treatment techniques (p. 229).

After reviewing several empirical studies on the effectiveness of different technical approaches to therapy, Strupp, et al. (1982) wrote that although empirical evidence indicates that brief therapy is effective in treatment outcome and is not second-rate or inferior to long-term psychoanalysis, there are no rigorous comparative studies in which one technical approach has been pitted against others. Much is dependent upon the patient, the therapist, and the interactional variable (p. 245). More specifically, there are no studies of the best approach in dealing with the problem of women and geographic relocation. Therefore, a definitive statement cannot be made as to which therapeutic modality is "the right one" to use in therapy with women who have recently moved.

Assuming the diagnostic interview indicates such a

treatment approach is appropriate, this researcher (and clinician) favors brief therapy. Many of the reasons for preferring brief therapy are also applicable to crisis intervention (Malan, 1976, p. 30). However, brief therapy has its own unique approach.

The reasons for the preference for brief therapy are as follows:

(1) Despite certain quanitative differences between brief therapy and psychoanalysis, the underlying assumptions are basically identical. Brief therapy is firmly grounded in psychoanalytic psychotherapy and ego-psychology (Strupp, et al., 1982, p. 222; Rapoport, 1970, p. 278).

(2) Brief therapy has as its focus the return to or maintainance of the individual's ability to function in a relatively short period of time -- generally within 20 appointments (Aguilera and Messick, 1974, p. 14).

(3) Brief therapy uses many of the crisis intervention approaches, but adds some additional techniques such as an active use of the transference and a deeper exploration of the past as it relates to the present. This allows for insight or the "tying together" to help the client see things in the perspective of their personal meaning which works toward the achievement of a new adaptive balance (Kalis, Harris, Prestwood, and Freeman, 1961, p. 226).

(4) Unless one is a purist (as with Mann, 1973), if indicated brief therapy can be extended to longer-term

therapy. Kalis, et al., (1961) wrote that a short-term goal might be the crystallization of motivation for additional treatment (p. 221) and Malan (1976) wrote that he believed the absolute approach of Mann was not necessary (p. 41). The purpose of the extention of treatment would be to consolidate gains or to work on less pressing and more longstanding issues (Lemon, 1983, p. 405).

(5) Brief therapy encourages mastery and autonomy through the use of active, supportive interventions such as cognitive therapy (which has been effectively used by this researcher to lessen the level of a client's depression and anxiety) and the building of higher levels of coping mechanisms -- such as those that are explicated in this research. In this way, brief therapy is preventive in teaching processes for the relief of symptoms and in working toward the prevention of deeper neurotic or psychotic symptoms (Aguilera and Messick, 1974, p. 14).

(6) Brief therapy allows for a less rapid diagnostic process than crisis intervention does. After the diagnosis, a treatment plan is formulated and a contract decided upon.

The above are the benefits seen by this researcher in the treatment modality of planned brief therapy.

If therapy is indicated, marriage counseling should be considered as the treatment of choice over individual therapy. The results of this study showed a high correlation between career and marital problems at the time

of geographic relocation. The marital relationship is, obviously, an important part of the support system. The husband needs to understand the sense of loss for the wife that is inherent in a move. As indicated in the review of the literature, husbands are apt to get impatient with their wives' depression which exacerbates the problem considerably. Several women in this study said this was as a problem to them in the move.

Which ever treatment modality is used, an important issue is reflected in the statement of Klinger (1975) that depression is a normal part of disengagement (p.1). Grief work must be accomplished in order to deal with any significant loss. As indicated in the literature review, Parkes (1972) found that the severe grief reactions to the loss of spouse, limb, and home were similar in depth and quality. Therefore, unless there is no attachment to the previous home, some grief work would be a part of geographic relocation. Swallowing of grief will seem superficially less disruptive but will, in the end, be more disruptive than acknowledging the sadness (Marris, 1974, p. 103).

Lindemann (1965, pp. 17 ff.) described a crisis intervention format to deal with grief in the case of the loss of a significant person. Some of what he says is applicable to person-place bonds. In the context of geographic relocation, the required steps for a woman making a move would be to: Start to emancipate herself from the

attachment to the previous home; make readjustments to the new environment; and form new relationships and patterns of interaction that bring rewards and satisfactions.

Klinger (1975) wrote that when losses occur it is desirable to educate people concerning the course, inevitability and naturalness of depressed reactions thereby alleviating some of the secondary consequences of depression such as anxiety and self-doubts aroused by the fact of not managing the situation as well as one might have hoped (p. 19). By way of example, the women in the sample of this research received great comfort from knowing that other women went through similar reactions.

In Jones' (1973) study of geographic relocation and in this study, several factors were mentioned by the women as positive outcomes of moving. In addition to personal and/or marital growth, the women spoke of broadening their horizons, learning about different parts of the country, improving communications skills because of having to become familiar with people in a new community, understanding other people who have gone through similar situations, and increasing their own flexibility and adaptability.

It is hoped that in the process of helping women and families adapt to the disequilibrium caused by geographic relocation that some of these positive factors may emerge.

Conclusions

In this study this researcher has used social exchange theory and coping theory to explore the process of moving from decision-making to adaptation to a new setting.

In the Western culture of dual-career marriages and a desire for personal fulfillment on the part of women, the issue of moving at the instigation of the husband is a genuine dilemma. "It is", as one woman said, "much like being between a rock and a hard place when you want your husband to have the opportunity to pursue his career and yet, at the same time are aware of facing a potentially painful experience. Marriage is a special event. If it makes sense, you go!"

Many persons other than married women face the prospect of nonvoluntary moves. Such moves are prevalent in socioeconomic groups where the landlord or the city through urban renewal may force the move. In addition, altered farm support policies combined with economic change have eventuated in dramatic relocation of farm families. What is learned in this study can be applied to classes and groups other than married, career women.

For some women geographic relocation is an enjoyable, exciting experience. For others, the moves are accompanied by terrifying nightmares, tremendous sadness, and anger toward one's partner. This polorization of experiences has been reflected in this study. In the interviews several women

indicated that the move had been basically positive. On the other hand, when asked in the interview what was positive about the move one woman said, "Amazing! I'd never thought about that."

The following are the factors that seemed to be important in the adjustment to a move and showed significant differences among the four groups (particularily between the lower and higher level groups). Generally problems that surface with regard to an event are part of a cluster of problems. There is no single factor that can be pointed to as the cause for a low or high level of satisfaction at the time of a move, but there are clusters of factors that can be viewed as having an impact on the adjustment for a married, career woman at the time of geographic relocation. (Also, see pp. 121-144 of this study.) It is acknowledged that because a small accidental sample was used, all findings are suggestive rather than conclusive.

1) The process of appraisal is a very important factor in the level of satisfaction achieved by the women. Primary and secondary appraisal were similar for many of the women across the four groups. Reappraisal was the distinguishing factor between the groups. In the reappraisal process, the higher level groups perceived the move as a challenge and as an opportunity for growth. In connection with appraisal, one may conjecture that the personality of the individual affects her ability to perceive a potentially traumatic

event as a challenge rather than a threat. Personality characteristics were not measured in the present study.

2) Expectations may seriously affect the level of satisfaction for the woman. This fact is not sufficiently appreciated in the literature. In the present study, even women who were voluntary movers and had little attachment to their previous homes became depressed after the move when their expectations were not realized (Group 2). Three women in Group 1 (the low level of satisfaction group) also had higher expectations than the outcome. In the higher level groups the expectations were close to the outcome.

3) There is a relationship between certain coping mechanisms and levels of satisfaction (i.e., focusing on the positive, problem-focused, and seeking social support coping skills were the coping mechanisms used both before and after the move by eight out of ten respondents in the high level of satisfaction groups; self-blame, keeping to the self, and wishful thinking were major mechanisms for the women in the low level of satisfaction groups).

Ilfeld (1980) indicated that groups of people use particular coping mechanisms around specific events (p. 1240). It is interesting that the majority of women in this study used the coping mechanisms of seeking social support, problem-focusing, and focusing on the positive.

Based on this sample one might speculate that these particular skills may be used by the majority of women who

deal with the process of moving. This possibility would need to be explored in future research.

4) Other life events, especially marital and career problems, seemed to affect the outcome of the move in a negative way. For example, all of the women in Groups 1 and 2 experienced a loss in their careers. All of the women in Group 4 experienced an improvement in their careers. In addition, there seemed to be a strong relationship between career satisfaction and marital satisfaction.

Again, the personality of the individual must be acknowledged as a variable in the ability to handle stressful life events. The women in the highest level of satisfaction group, had a higher mean "life events score" than the women in Groups 2 and 3.

5) A difference between the groups was the fact that all of the women in Group 1 were in therapy. Only two other women had entered therapy since moving. Since this was not a focus of this study, there is potential here for future research.

6) The level of satisfaction decreases when there have been multiple moves and none of them have been at the instigation of the wife.

7) For the women in this study there seemed to be a positive relationship between a belief in the Ruth Principle and a lower level of satisfaction after the move.

8) One's perception that the new location was better

than the previous location is associated with a high level of satisfaction. For all of the women in Group 4, the new home scored higher than the previous home. This was also true for Group 2 (the low-middle level of satisfaction group), but for these women the new homes did not nearly live up to their expectations.

In this exploratory study, four assumptions were tested.

1) Contrary to the expectations of exchange theory, it was assumed that married women would move with their husbands even when the move was nonvoluntary and percieved by them not to be to their advantage. This assumption was supported by the findings. (See pp. 105-108).

2) A relationship would be found between a belief in the Ruth Principle and the decision to move in spite of the personal loss to the respondent. The support for this assumption was weak. In only four situations in this study did women move because of the Ruth Principle. Two other women indicated that they had made previous moves based on the Ruth Principle (See pp. 108-117).

3) Women who moved voluntarily would demonstrate a low attachment to their previous homes. There were only three respondents in this sample who were "voluntary movers." This assumption was supported by the data from these three women (See pp. 118-119).

4) The pattern of coping mechanisms used by the women

before and after the move would differ. This assumption was not supported. The coping mechanisms were markedly similar for the time before and after the move for the individual women and for the women as a group. (See pp. 119-120).

Possibilities of other future studies are suggested on pp. 153-155 of this chapter. Also, instruments have been developed from this research for the use of clincians in addition to suggestions for service delivery and therapeutic intervention.

This researcher used a nonrandom sample and it cannot be assumed to be representative (Kerlinger, p. 53). However, the study is relevant to empathic and helping behavior. One can generalize from the study to understanding other individuals in similar crises (Moss, 1974, p. 334).

A major commonality between geographic relocation and many other potentially traumatic events relates to loss and separation. The importance of mourning in response to losses is an element in many life events. The search for meaning, expectations, and an understanding of coping mechanisms is relevant in many situations.

The foregoing summary does not sufficiently reflect the depth of feeling and emotion expressed by the subjects in the interviews. No data analysis can adequately convey the quality of feeling communicated as the women talked about unrealized expectations of improved relationships with husbands, crumbled career dreams, and the deeply felt loss

of friends. Several women had relocated because they thought the move would provide a better future. For some of these women the hopes were, at the time of the research interview, unrealized.

Strong emotions are often aroused by a move and those emotions can endure for months. Tears may arise when one is reminded of the loss of a previous home even years after the move. Further, one may make many moves with few problems and then find a particular move tremendously traumatic. Unless one has gone through such an experience, there may be a tendency to minimize the potential trauma of geographic relocation missing the depth of the struggle for friends, family, and clients.

There was also a sense of pleasure on the part of the women for whom the move had proven to be positive. For these women, careers had improved with the move, they expressed excitement in coming to a new location, and they had a feeling of unity with their husbands in the adventure of the move.

There are no easy answers to the problems of women and geographic relocation. Certainly, concepts of "equity" in marital relationships need to be seriously considered for the sake of the individuals in the partnership and for the relationship itself. To have the opportunity for open and honest communication and to "brain-storm" and look at all the possibilities and options is crucial. Sometimes a

nonvoluntary move is necessary, but even then the wife's needs can be taken into consideration and a joint effort made for things to "happen" for her. If she agrees to move, it is very important that the wife takes responsibility for making that decision and does not blame her husband if things do not go well.

Marcel Mauss (1925) wrote that the mere pursuit of individual ends is harmful to the peace of the whole, to the rhythm of its work and pleasure, and, in the end, to the individual (p. 75). A relationship with a genuine concern for mutual goals and concern for each other's needs and welfare fits the description of "mature love" (Kelley, et al.,1983, p. 285) or "relinquishment" (Lewin, 1948, p. 101). In such mutually sharing relationships, the concepts of social exchange theory are irrelevant.

Perhaps one of the most important contributions of this study is to heighten awareness with regard to the problems generated by geographic relocation for married, career women and their families. Also, as indicated earlier, for other client populations as well. This study provides information, understanding, and practical instruments for professionals to use for evaluation and intervention in private practice, community work, and social policy planning.

APPENDIX

Table of Contents of Appendix

Demographic Information

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____

Telephone Number: _____

Birthdate: _____

Religious Preference: _____

Do you go to church or synagogue: _____

If so, how often: _____

Level of Education beyond high school: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Degree(s) and/or certificates: _____

_____

Status of Employment: Now Employed? Yes No

Where employed: _____

_____

Description of Position: _____

_____

_____

Looking for Employment? _____

Previous Positions: _____

_____

_____

Are you in an Educational Program? _____

_____

Husband: Where employed: _____

_____

Description of Position: _____

_____

Level of Education beyond high school: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Degree(s) and/or Certificates: _____

_____

Husband's birthdate: _____

Wedding Date: _____

Have you been married before?_____

Dates: _____

Questions about the Move

This time, where did you move from: _____

Date of Move: _____

Did your husband precede you? _____

By How much? _____

Who closed up the house? _____

Who chose the new residence? _____

Who unpacked and organized the new home? _____

Did you visit the area to which you were moving ahead of the move? _____

_____

How long was the time between the decision to move and the actual move? _____

Vocationally, is this a lateral move for your husband? _____

Upward move for your husband? _____

Downward move for your husband? _____

Vocationally, is this a lateral move for you? _____

Upward move for you? _____

Downward move for you? _____

What kind of community did you leave? Urban
Rural
Suburban
Other _____

Renting?_____ Own home?_____

How long had you lived in that community? _____

Had you expected to be moving? _____

_____

_____

What kind of community do you now live in? Urban
Rural
Suburban
Other_____

Renting?_____ Own home?_____

Have you re-visited the place you lived previously?_____

_____

Do you keep in touch with those from your previous home by telephone and/or letter?_____

_____

What was the reason for the move? _____

_____

_____

How many other moves have you made since being married?_____

From where and to where and how long did you live in each place?

_____

_____

_____

I. Perception of previous living situation:

Please rate your perception of your previous living situation in column I [rewarding or costly: +3,+2,+1,0,-1,-2,-3] :

	I	II
Friendships	_____	_____
Relationship with husband	_____	_____
Relationship with family	_____	_____
Relationship with neighbors	_____	_____
Your residence	_____	_____
Neighborhood atmosphere	_____	_____
Your career	_____	_____
Economic standard of living	_____	_____
Social activities	_____	_____
Church or Synagogue	_____	_____
Weather/Geography of area	_____	_____
Cultural opportunities	_____	_____
Recreational opportunities	_____	_____
Personal growth opportunities	_____	_____
Your self image as a wife	_____	_____
Your self image as a career woman	_____	_____
Your overall self image	_____	_____
How you feel people in general viewed you	_____	_____
Other?_____	_____	_____

Things shift in importance as we go through life.
Right now, how important are these items to you (column II)
Extremely important : 4 - 10 * (see note)
Very important - 3
Moderately important- 2
Slightly important- 1
Of no importance- 0
*Values above 4 should be used only with items of top priority

II.

Alternatives:

Assuming your husband wanted to make the move, did you think of other alternatives to moving before the move?

1)_____ _____

2)_____ _____

3) Encouraging or presssuring your husband to turn down the job because of your feelings _____

4) Staying behind (Commuter Marriage) _____

5) Staying behind (Divorce) _____

6) Staying behind (until the other place looked better to you for whatever reason _____

Among these, what did you see as your best alternative to moving?_____ _____

_____

What kept you from choosing that alternative?

_____

_____

Did you think of other alternatives to staying in the new community after you moved?

_____ _____

_____ _____

What kept you from choosing that alternative?_____

_____

_____

How seriously were alternatives considered? (mark in right column)
0= Not at all considered
1= barely considered
2= moderately considered
3= seriously considered

Specify your best other alternative to moving _____

_____

_____

In column I and II, how rewarding or costly [+3,+2,+1,0,-1,-2,-3] would that alternative have been compared to moving:

	I. Alternative	II. Moving
Friendships	_____	_____
Relationship with husband	_____	_____
Relationship with family	_____	_____
Relationship with neighbors	_____	_____
Your residence	_____	_____
Neighborhood atmosphere	_____	_____
Your career	_____	_____
Economic standard of living	_____	_____
Social activities	_____	_____
Church or Synagogue	_____	_____
Weather/Geography of area	_____	_____
Cultural opportunities	_____	_____
Recreational opportunities	_____	_____
Personal growth opportunities	_____	_____
Your self image as a wife	_____	_____
Your self image as a career woman	_____	_____
Your overall self image	_____	_____
How you felt others would view you	_____	_____
Other?_____	_____	_____

III.
Expectations:

Thinking back to once the decision was made to move, explore your expectations before you moved of your new location: column I [rewarding or costly: +3,+2,+1,0,-1,-2,-3] : This time omit column II.

	I	II
Friendships	_____	_____
Relationship with husband	_____	_____
Relationship with family	_____	_____
Relationship with neighbors	_____	_____
Your residence	_____	_____
Neighborhood atmosphere	_____	_____
Your career	_____	_____
Economic standard of living	_____	_____
Social activities	_____	_____
Church or Synagogue	_____	_____
Weather/Geography of area	_____	_____
Cultural opportunities	_____	_____
Recreational opportunities	_____	_____
Personal growth opportunities	_____	_____
Your self image as a wife	_____	_____
Your self image as a career woman	_____	_____
Your overall self image	_____	_____
How you felt people in general would view you	_____	_____
Other?_____	_____	_____

IV.

Reality of the Move

Now you will explore your perception of your new location in column I [rewarding or costly: +3,+2,+1,0,-1,-2,-3] : This time omit column II.

	I	II
Friendships	_____	_____
Relationship with husband	_____	_____
Relationship with family	_____	_____
Relationship with neighbors	_____	_____
Your residence	_____	_____
Neighborhood atmosphere	_____	_____
Your career	_____	_____
Economic standard of living	_____	_____
Social activities	_____	_____
Church or Synagogue	_____	_____
Weather/Geography of area	_____	_____
Cultural opportunities	_____	_____
Recreational opportunities	_____	_____
Personal growth opportunities	_____	_____
Your self image as a wife	_____	_____
Your self image as a career woman	_____	_____
Your overall self image	_____	_____
How you feel people in general view you	_____	_____
Other?_____	_____	_____

CLdj

How rewarding or costly (+10, +9, +8.....0.....-8, -9, -10) overall was the move to you (in your perception)? _____

On the same scale, how rewarding or costly was the move to your husband (in your perception)? _____

How familiar is this pattern in other moves that you have made?

_____

_____

_____

V. If you had no one except yourself to consider, would you have moved? _____

WAYS OF COPING (Revised) - Folkman and Lazarus (1983)
(Reprint permission granted)

Below is a list of ways people cope with a wide variety of stressful events. Please indicate by circling the appropriate number the strategies you are using in dealing with (SPECIFIC STRESSFUL EVENT).

		Does not apply and/or not used	Used some-what	Used quite a bit	Used a great deal
1.	Just concentrate on what I have to do next -- the next step.	0	1	2	3
2.	try to analyze the problem in order to understand it better.	0	1	2	3
3.	Turn to work or substitute activity to take my mind off things.	0	1	2	3
4.	feel that time will make a difference -- the only thing to do is to wait.	0	1	2	3
5.	Bargain or compromise to get something positive from the situation.	0	1	2	3
6.	doing something which I don't think will work, but at least I'm doing something.	0	1	2	3
7.	Try to get the person responsible to change his or her mind.	0	1	2	3
8.	Talk to someone to find out more about the situation.	0	1	2	3
9.	Criticize or lecture myself.	0	1	2	3
10.	Try not to burn my bridges but leave things open somewhat.	0	1	2	3
11.	Hope a miracle will happen.	0	1	2	3
12.	Go along with fate; sometimes I just have bad luck.	0	1	2	3
13.	Go on as if nothing is happening.	0	1	2	3
14.	try to keep my feelings to myself.	0	1	2	3
15.	Look for the silver lining, so to speak; try to look on the bright side of things.	0	1	2	3

		Does not apply and/or not used	Used somewhat	Used quite a bit	Used a great deal
16.	Sleep more than usual.	0	1	2	3
17.	express anger to the person(s) who caused the problem.	0	1	2	3
18.	Accept sympathy and understanding from someone.	0	1	2	3
19.	tell myself things that help me feel better.	0	1	2	3
20.	Inspired to do something creative.	0	1	2	3
21.	Try to forget the whole thing.	0	1	2	3
22.	getting professional help.	0	1	2	3
23.	changing or growing as a person in a good way.	0	1	2	3
24.	waiting to see what will happen before doing anything.	0	1	2	3
25.	Apologize or do something to make up.	0	1	2	3
26.	making a plan of action and following it.	0	1	2	3
27.	accept the next best thing to what I want.	0	1	2	3
28.	let my feelings out somehow.	0	1	2	3
29.	Realize I brought the problem on myself.	0	1	2	3
30.	I'll come out of the experience better than when I went in.	0	1	2	3
31.	Talk to someone who can do something concrete about the problem.	0	1	2	3
32.	Get away from it for a while; try to rest or take a vacation.	0	1	2	3
33.	Try to make myself feel better by eating, drinking, smoking, using drugs or medication, etc.	0	1	2	3

		Does not apply and/or not used	Used some-what	Used quite a bit	Used a great deal
34.	Take a big chance or do something risky.	0	1	2	3
35.	try not to act too hastily or follow my first hunch.	0	1	2	3
36.	Find new faith.	0	1	2	3
37.	Maintain my pride and keep a stiff upper lip.	0	1	2	3
38.	Rediscover what is important in life.	0	1	2	3
39.	Change something so things will turn out all right.	0	1	2	3
40.	Avoid being with people in general.	0	1	2	3
41.	Don't let it get to me; refuse to think too much about it.	0	1	2	3
42.	Ask a relative or friend I respect for advice.	0	1	2	3
43.	Keep others from knowing how bad things are.	0	1	2	3
44.	Make light of the situation; refuse to get too serious about it.	0	1	2	3
45.	Talk to someone about how I am feeling.	0	1	2	3
46.	Stand my ground and fight for what I want.	0	1	2	3
47.	Take it out on other people.	0	1	2	3
48.	Draw on my past experiences; I was in a similar situation before.	0	1	2	3
49.	know what has to be done, so I am doubling my efforts to make things work.	0	1	2	3
50.	Refuse to believe it will happen.	0	1	2	3
51.	Make a promise to myself that things will be different next time.	0	1	2	3
52.	Come up with a couple of different solutions to the problem.	0	1	2	3

		Does not apply and/or not used	Used somewhat	Used quite a bit	Used a great deal
53.	Accept it, since nothing can be done.	0	1	2	3
54.	try to keep my feelings from interfering with other things too much.	0	1	2	3
55.	Wish that I can change what is happening or how I feel.	0	1	2	3
56.	Change something about myself.	0	1	2	3
57.	daydream or imagine a better time or place than the one I am in.	0	1	2	3
58.	Wish that the situation would go away or somehow be over with.	0	1	2	3
59.	Have fantasies or wishes about how things might turn out.	0	1	2	3
60.	pray.	0	1	2	3
61.	prepare myself for the worst.	0	1	2	3
62.	go over in my mind what I will say or do.	0	1	2	3
63.	think about how a person I admire would handle this situation and use that as a model.	0	1	2	3
64.	try to see things from the other person's point of view.	0	1	2	3
65.	remind myself how much worse things could be.	0	1	2	3
66.	jog or exercise.	0	1	2	3
67.	try something entirely different from any of the above. (Please describe.)				
	_____				
	_____				
	_____	0	1	2	3

WAYS OF COPING (Revised)

Below is a list of ways people cope with a wide variety of stressful events. Please indicate by circling the appropriate number the strategies you are using in dealing with (SPECIFIC STRESSFUL EVENT).

		Does not apply and/or not used	Used somewhat	Used quite a bit	Used a great deal
1.	Just concentrate on what I have to do next -- the next step.	0	1	2	3
2.	try to analyze the problem in order to understand it better.	0	1	2	3
3.	Turn to work or substitute activity to take my mind off things.	0	1	2	3
4.	feel that time will make a difference -- the only thing to do is to wait.	0	1	2	3
5.	Bargain or compromise to get something positive from the situation.	0	1	2	3
6.	doing something which I don't think will work, but at least I'm doing something.	0	1	2	3
7.	Try to get the person responsible to change his or her mind.	0	1	2	3
8.	Talk to someone to find out more about the situation.	0	1	2	3
9.	Criticize or lecture myself.	0	1	2	3
10.	Try not to burn my bridges but leave things open somewhat.	0	1	2	3
11.	Hope a miracle will happen.	0	1	2	3
12.	Go along with fate; sometimes I just have bad luck.	0	1	2	3
13.	Go on as if nothing is happening.	0	1	2	3
14.	try to keep my feelings to myself.	0	1	2	3
15.	Look for the silver lining, so to speak; try to look on the bright side of things.	0	1	2	3

		Does not apply and/or not used	Used somewhat	Used quite a bit	Used a great deal
16.	Sleep more than usual.	0	1	2	3
17.	express anger to the person(s) who caused the problem.	0	1	2	3
18.	Accept sympathy and understanding from someone.	0	1	2	3
19.	tell myself things that help me feel better.	0	1	2	3
20.	Inspired to do something creative.	0	1	2	3
21.	Try to forget the whole thing.	0	1	2	3
22.	getting professional help.	0	1	2	3
23.	changing or growing as a person in a good way.	0	1	2	3
24.	waiting to see what will happen before doing anything.	0	1	2	3
25.	Apologize or do something to make up.	0	1	2	3
26.	making a plan of action and following it.	0	1	2	3
27.	accept the next best thing to what I want.	0	1	2	3
28.	let my feelings out somehow.	0	1	2	3
29.	Realize I brought the problem on myself.	0	1	2	3
30.	I'll come out of the experience better than when I went in.	0	1	2	3
31.	Talk to someone who can do something concrete about the problem.	0	1	2	3
32.	Get away from it for a while; try to rest or take a vacation.	0	1	2	3
33.	Try to make myself feel better by eating, drinking, smoking, using drugs or medication, etc.	0	1	2	3

		Does not apply and/or not used	Used some-what	Used quite a bit	Used a great deal
34.	Take a big chance or do something risky.	0	1	2	3
35.	try not to act too hastily or follow my first hunch.	0	1	2	3
36.	Find new faith.	0	1	2	3
37.	Maintain my pride and keep a stiff upper lip.	0	1	2	3
38.	Rediscover what is important in life.	0	1	2	3
39.	Change something so things will turn out all right.	0	1	2	3
40.	Avoid being with people in general.	0	1	2	3
41.	Don't let it get to me; refuse to think too much about it.	0	1	2	3
42.	Ask a relative or friend I respect for advice.	0	1	2	3
43.	Keep others from knowing how bad things are.	0	1	2	3
44.	Make light of the situation; refuse to get too serious about it.	0	1	2	3
45.	Talk to someone about how I am feeling.	0	1	2	3
46.	Stand my ground and fight for what I want.	0	1	2	3
47.	Take it out on other people.	0	1	2	3
48.	Draw on my past experiences; I was in a similar situation before.	0	1	2	3
49.	know what has to be done, so I am doubling my efforts to make things work.	0	1	2	3
50.	Refuse to believe it will happen.	0	1	2	3
51.	Make a promise to myself that things will be different next time.	0	1	2	3
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	Does not apply and/or not used	Used somewhat	Used quite a bit	Used a great deal
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55. Wish that I can change what is happening or how I feel.	0	1	2	3
56. Change something about myself.	0	1	2	3
57. daydream or imagine a better time or place than the one I am in.	0	1	2	3
58. Wish that the situation would go away or somehow be over with.	0	1	2	3
59. Have fantasies or wishes about how things might turn out.	0	1	2	3
60. pray.	0	1	2	3
61. prepare myself for the worst.	0	1	2	3
62. go over in my mind what I will say or do.	0	1	2	3
63. think about how a person I admire would handle this situation and use that as a model.	0	1	2	3
64. try to see things from the other person's point of view.	0	1	2	3
65. remind myself how much worse things could be.	0	1	2	3
66. jog or exercise.	0	1	2	3
67. try something entirely different from any of the above. (Please describe.)				
_____				
_____				
_____	0	1	2	3

Questions for the Semi-Structured Interview - Exploration of the Process

1) What was the decision-making process?
   a) On what was the decision based?
   b) What was the discussion like for the both of you?
   c) Why did you agree to go?
   d) What did you see as your reward for moving?

2) What, if anything, was really special about your previous home to you? What did your home mean to you?

3) How would you respond to this statement: Women should move when their husbands have an opportunity for advancement and in what way did your belief regarding the previous statement affect your decision to move?

4) Your appraisal of the move:
   a) Did you perceive the move as 1) irrelevant to you
      2) benign-positive
      3) potentially harmful
   b) Did you ever view the move as a challenge?
   c) Did you believe you could make a good adjustment?

5) What was the experience of the move for you?
   a) sleeping and eating patterns
   b) emotional reactions and illnesses

6) What has been most difficult in the move?

7) What has been most positive in the move? (Signs of personal growth?)

8) How much distress did this move cause you on a scale from 0 to 10 (0 being much distress)?

9) Previous moving experiences - both as an adult and a child.

10) In what other situations have you had to rely strongly on your coping skills and how have they compared to this time? What has worked in the past? What is or is not working now?

11) How do you view your capacity to cope and the process that you go through in choosing specific coping mechanisms?

	V.	PH	Alt	Move	Exp	Real.
Friendships	____	____	____	____	____	____
Relationship with husband	____	____	____	____	____	____
Relationship with family	____	____	____	____	____	____
Relationship with neighbors	____	____	____	____	____	____
Your residence	____	____	____	____	____	____
Neighborhood atmosphere	____	____	____	____	____	____
Your career	____	____	____	____	____	____
Economic standard of living	____	____	____	____	____	____
Social activities	____	____	____	____	____	____
Church or Synagogue	____	____	____	____	____	____
Weather/Geography of area	____	____	____	____	____	____
Cultural opportunities	____	____	____	____	____	____
Recreational opportunities	____	____	____	____	____	____
Personal growth opportunities	____	____	____	____	____	____
Your self image as a wife	____	____	____	____	____	____
Your self image as a career woman	____	____	____	____	____	____
Your overall self image	____	____	____	____	____	____
How you feel people in general viewed you	____	____	____	____	____	____
Totals	____	____	____	____	____	____

Description of the Four Levels of Satisfaction Groups -- Graphs and Raw Data

The Graphs

Since this was a study-in-process, there were three points which could have appeared in graph form: (1) The time of decision-making; (2) the time just before the move; and (3) the time after the move. The point in time for which these graphs are prepared is the period after the move.

The scores from the women's questionnaires were tabulated (as described in chapter III) with regard to their previous homes, comparison levels of alternatives, predecision expectations, postdecision expectations, and the reality of the new home or the move outcome.

After the groups were determined based on the level of satisfaction as noted above, in each group the mean of the move outcome (MO) and the previous home (PH) were tabulated and recorded on a graph. Since the expectations of the new home (CL on the graph) are the neutral point between satisfaction and dissatisfaction, CL is recorded on the graph as having no number. A "+" over the CL line indicates satisfaction and a "-" under the CL line indicates dissatisfaction. A move outcome (MO) lower than the CL level would mean an unsatisfying move. The numbers of women included in the compilation of the mean are indicated in the parenthesis.

The numbers are expressed on the graph in formula. For example, in graph 1, MO(3) -105 < CL means that the move outcome for three women was scored on an average of 105 points below the postdecision comparison level of expectation (which in the new home, becomes the comparison level or CL). MO(1) 68 > CL means that for one woman, the move outcome was 68 points above the postdecision comparison level of expectation. There is no comparison level of alternatives in these graphs since the graphs represent the time after the move and the comparison level of alternatives was part of the decision-making process. To have a rating for the comparison level of alternatives at this point would have required asking the women to score another instrument giving the best alternative to the present location.

Graphic illustrations of each group follow which suggest a dynamic interpretation of exchange theory. Each inch on the graph represents 40 points of the women's mean score for the differences between the Previous Home (PH), the Outcome (O), and the Comparative Level of Expectation (CL). That which is being measured is noted on the graph in formula. Measuring the points in this way illustrates the differences visually.

Group 1: The Low Level of Satisfaction Group

In Group 1, there were four women all of whom were nonvoluntary movers -- i.e. if the decision had been theirs

alone they would not have moved (Matrix II). When considering their husbands' wishes (Matrix III) three out of the four women still felt that the alternative of staying was preferable to moving. The one woman who was willing to move felt that the situation in which they were was sufficiently difficult (theirs was a commuter marriage) that a move should make things better. She felt that having more time together would improve the relationship. According to exchange theory, only she should have moved since her CLalt was "moving" and higher than her previous home. In fact, all four women moved.

Once the decision was made to move, two women expected the new place to be considerably better than the previous home. They hoped for improvements in all areas, but especially in the marital relationships. They were also the women who seemed to give up after the move and become very depressed when the expectations were not fulfilled.

The other two women expected the new home to be less satisfying than the previous home in almost all areas. One woman thought the move would affect the relationship with her husband negatively because she would lose her positive self-image and see herself as overly submissive (which she felt did happen). Both of these women perceived a potential loss with regard to their families who lived near-by.

Outcome of the move.

In the move outcome, the previous home ranked

considerably higher than the new home in the perception of all four women. The new location was also worse than the expectations in the perception of three of the women (MO(3) 105 < CL) which would increase the level of dissatisfaction. The woman with low expectations found that the new home was better than what she expected (MO(1) 68 > CL). Since it did not measure up to the previous home (see graph 1) she was still disappointed.

In Group 1, all of the women felt that the move had adversely affected many areas of their lives. Three of the four women felt that their relationships with their husbands had been negatively affected and also that their overall self-image had deteriorated. The only respondent who did not feel this way (she had low expectations and these two items did not change for her) was the one who used the preferred coping skills (seeking social support, problem-focused and focusing on the positive). Three women marked a loss in family relationships, and all four women indicated that friendships and their self-images as career women had suffered in the move.

The mean of the depression/happiness scale for the group was 4 on a scale from 0 - 10 (0 being clinically depressed). All four women had some therapy after the move. The average of the distributive justice rating was a minus 12.25 which indicated that the women felt their husbands gained far more from the move than they did.

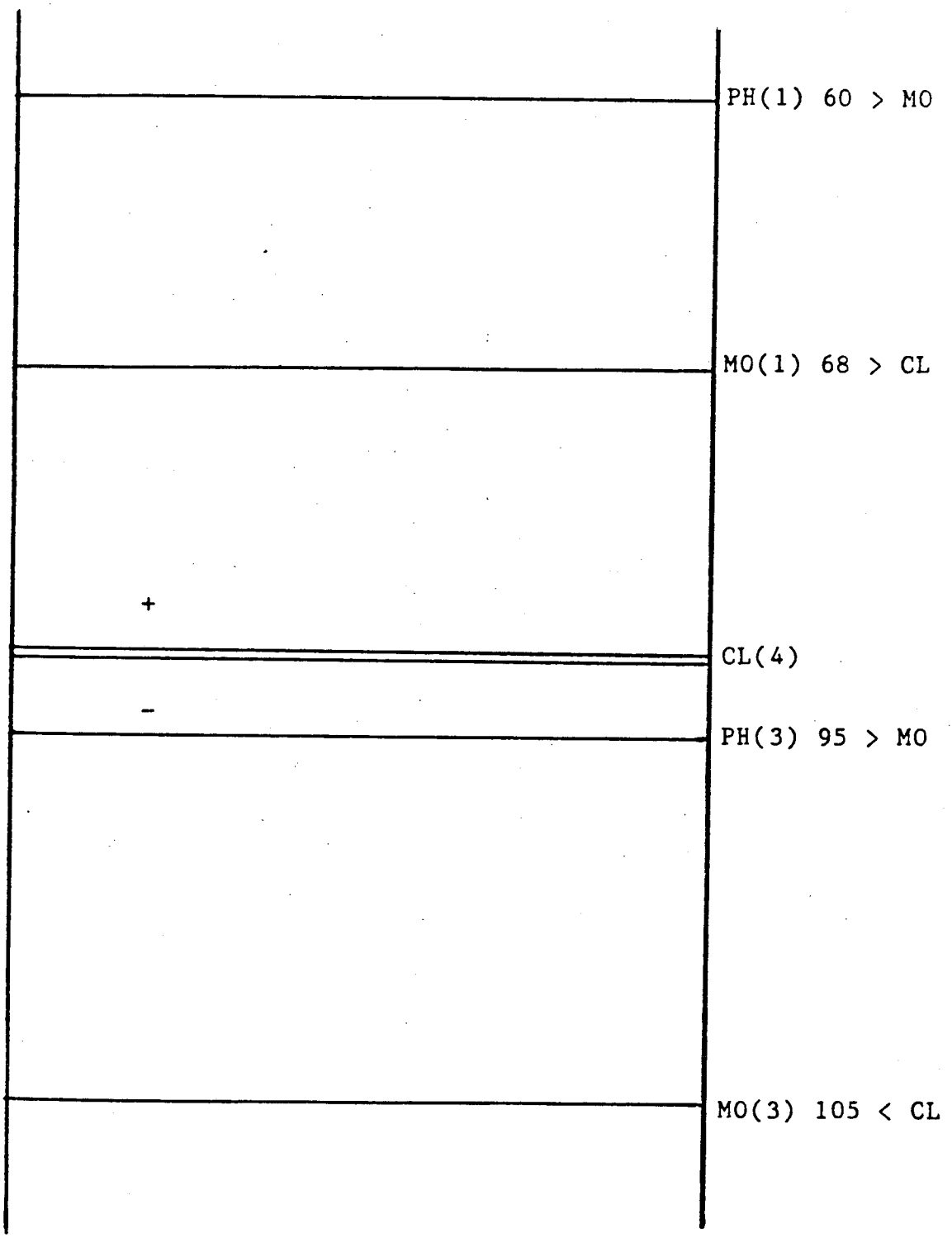
What differentiated these women in Group 1 from the women in the other three groups of respondents?

For two women, in their previous situation their relationships with their husbands were problematic. They moved hoping and expecting the relationships to improve. Not only did that not happen, but both of them perceived their relationships with their husbands as worse.

In addition, they had problems in their academic programs. These women experienced losses in almost every one of the eighteen experiential areas. Also, perhaps because of the poor relationships with their husbands, the loss of friends was felt especially deeply. They were terribly disappointed in the outcome of the move. These women had high expectations and the expectations may have exacerbated the stress of other aversive life events.

The before and after the move coping mechanisms used by these women were not the preferred mechanisms. It is difficult to say whether a personality factor impacted on their choice of coping mechanisms or whether they simply were overwhelmed by the number of things that had gone wrong in their lives and were mobilizing their resources to cope with the life events. They did not perceive these as their usual coping styles.

For the other two women, life events seriously affected their levels of satisfaction. The first respondent's mother died and she had to leave her father and move across the country. She was very close to her family and, because of the move,



Graph Number 1:

Chart For Group 1

	1	2	3	4
Reason for move	Husband family	Commuter marriage	Husband PhD. prog	Husband job
Matrix II	No	No	No	No
Matrix III	No	Yes	No	No
Life Events	Marriage Academic Problems	Marriage Academic Problems	Marriage Financial Problems	Mother death Her illness Leave father
Coping Mechanisms	6	6	SSS Prob. Foc Detachment Self-blame	preferred
Moves as child	Negative Moves	None	None	None
Moves since Marriage	First	Multiple	Multiple	None
Ruth Principle	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
Distance	2500 mi.	North	Cross Country	Cross Country
Meaning of Prev. Home	Self-worth	Friends Environment	Family Environment	Family
Costs	Self-image Self-worth Friends	Self-image Self-conf. Career	Self-respect Friends Career	Family Friends Career
Reward	Found Job	Found Job	Found Job	Husband Happiness Economic
Appraisal	Very Positive	Mostly Positive	Threat	Threat
Reappraisal	Threat	Threat	Threat	Challenge
Expectations	Very High	Very High	Low	Low

experienced the loss of both her parents. She herself had been recently hospitalized. In addition, to move across the country was a sudden decision with little opportunity for discussion and assimilation. The other woman had major financial losses and illness in the family. She also left her family to move across the country. In addition, this was her fourth move in three years of marriage and all of the moves were made for her husband's career advancement. She had been very definite that she did not want to move to California, but here she was. She, along with two of the other women (the woman who moved to end a commuter marriage is the exception) felt totally powerless to prevent the undesired move which contributed to the depression. The fourth woman had a lot to say in the decision to move, but felt powerless in the present situation.

Group 2 - The Low-Middle Level of Satisfaction Group

There were two women in Group 2 both of whom were voluntary movers (Matrix II). In the process of considering their husbands' wishes (Matrix III), the women did not shift their stance. Both women also felt that the alternative of leaving was better than staying (which was no surprise since their husbands wanted to move). According to exchange theory, these two women would have been expected to move.

Both of these women expected the new home to be a far better place to live than the previous home.

Outcome of the Move.

Although the first prediction was fulfilled (MO(2) 84 > PH), both respondents' expectations were considerably higher than what the reality turned out to be (MO(2) 187 < CL). That fact dramatically decreased their levels of satisfaction (see graph 2).

The first respondent in Group 2 indicated that her relationship with her husband had deteriorated since they had moved (+2 to 0). They had less time together and fewer common interests because of the move. Also, her image of herself as a wife took a severe beating in the move (from a +2 to a -2). In addition, several other areas were marked as "costs" in the move. In spite of this, because of rating the previous home so low, there was an overall improvement for her in the move.

This woman marked her career as a -3 in both her previous and present locations. She had sacrificed her career in order to be free to make multiple moves with her husband. Before being married she had been licensed in her profession, but because of the moves she had been underemployed, several years had gone by, and she did not think she could even function in her previous vocation. She was also painfully aware of the differences between her lack of career advancement and that of college friends.

The other respondent in Group 2 felt that the move had improved her relationship with her husband (+1 to +2). She

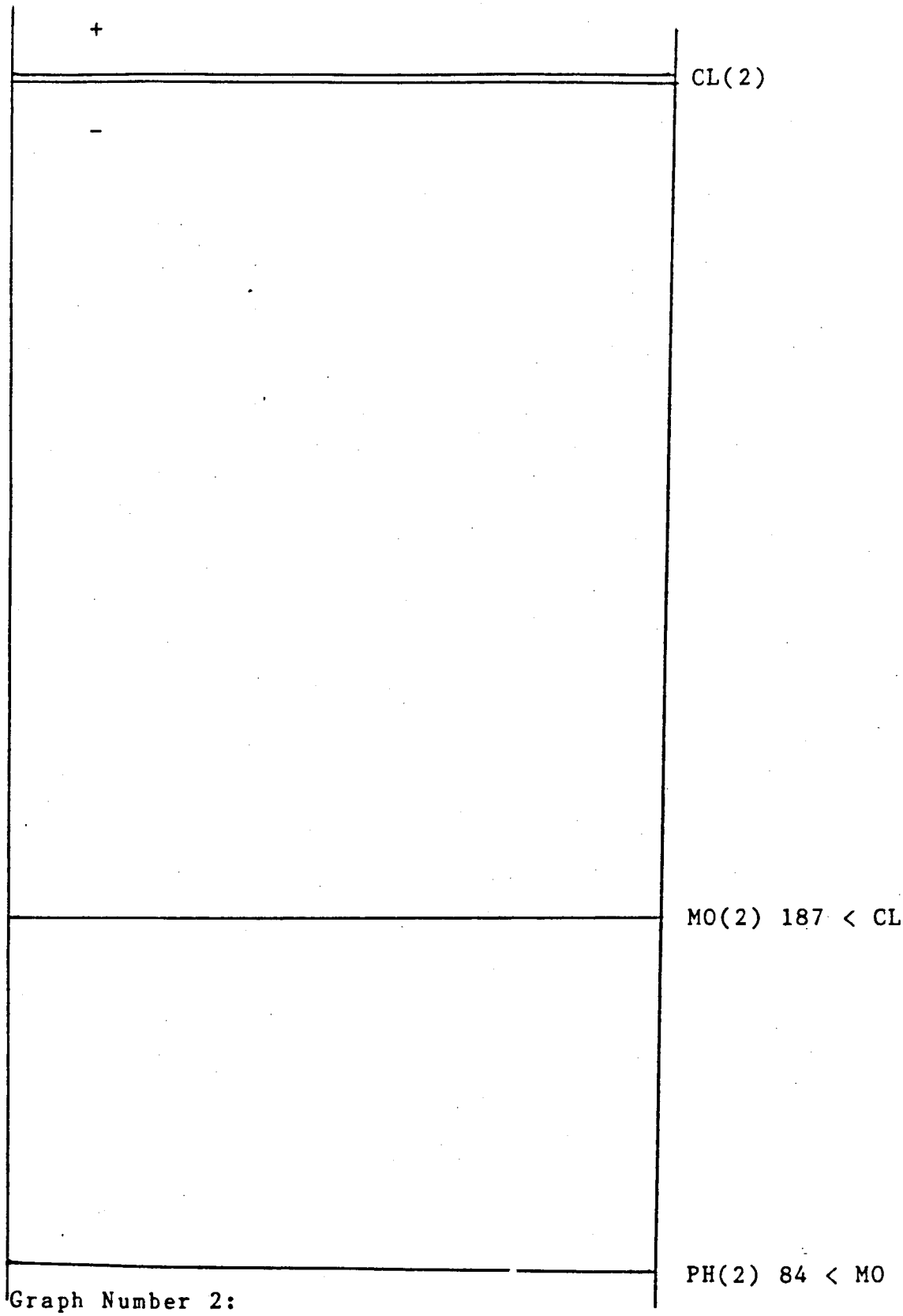
had been working nights on the previous job and the shift to days made her feel much better physically and gave her more time with her husband. Her image of herself as a career woman and her relationships with her neighbors were listed as the two "cost" areas from the previous home. Both of these were down by one point as against several factors that had high values that were up one, two, or three points. Since she rated her previous home so low, the new location was much more satisfying. However, she was still a "5" on the depression scale because of high expectations.

This woman found looking for a job very painful. As with other areas, her expectations were far too high. She thought she would find the "perfect position" and, instead, had encountered many rejections. She had obtained a position that was better than her previous job, but was still seeking other employment.

The average score for Distributive Justice was minus 3 which reflected considerably less discrepancy than the score for Group 1. Again, the lack of attachment to the previous home would presumably make a great difference here.

The average on the depression/happiness scale was 4.5 on the scale of 0-10. This low score reflected the gap between expectations and outcome.

The major difference between these two women and the women in Group 1 was that these women were "voluntary movers." They were eager to leave their previous homes. In



Graph Number 2:

Chart For Group 2

	1	2
Reason for move	Husband job	Husband job
Matrix II	Yes	Yes
Matrix III	Yes	Yes
Life Events	Personal Illness	--------
Coping Mechanisms	SSS Prob. Foc. Wishful Thinking Self-blame Keeping to Self	SSS Prob. Foc Wishful Thinking
Moves as child	None	None
Moves since Marriage	Multiple	Multiple
Ruth Principle	Yes	Yes
Distance	2500 mi.	Cross Country
Meaning of Prev. Home	None: -116	None: 25
Costs	Self-image Career (-3) Marital Prob.	Career (0)
Reward	Left Prev. home	Friends Rel. with Husband
Appraisal	Very Positive	Very Positive
Reappraisal	Threat	Threat
Expectations	Very High	Very High

addition, they did not have as many traumatic "life events" with which to contend as did the women of Group 1. As was true for two of the women in Group 1, they entered the move with very high expectations and were disappointed in the outcome. However, because of not being connected to the previous home, they gained rather than lost in many areas. These facts led to the feeling that the balance of costs and rewards with their husbands was higher than the women in Group 1.

Group 3 -- The High-Middle Level of Satisfaction Group

There were six women in Group 3. All of these women were nonvoluntary movers (Matrix II). After taking into consideration their relationships with their husbands in the decision-making process (Matrix III), four women still felt that the alternative of staying was better than moving. One respondent who was prepared to move was the woman who was ending a commuter marriage. The other felt she needed to leave because her husband wanted to go to graduate school. Therefore, according to social exchange theory, only these two should have moved.

None of these women expected the new home to measure up to the previous home. One woman, who seemed to be representative of the group since this was a consistent pattern, said that she had purposely kept her expectations low because she liked her previous home so much.

Outcome of the Move.

In the move outcome, the women's predictions were realized. None of the women found the new home to be as desirable as the previous one. In comparing the move outcome to their expectations, for two women the move outcome was lower than the expectations, but by very little (MO(2) 24 < CL). For the other four women the move outcome was higher than expectations (MO(4) 60 > CL) (See graph number 3). Three out of the six women perceived their careers to be adversely affected by their moves. In addition, for one of these women, her relationship with her husband had deteriorated in the move. Her career had taken a plunge from +2 to a -3 (on a +3 to -3 scale) which must have had some affect on the marriage. She is the only woman in Group 3 who sought therapy after the move. One other women felt that her relationship with her husband had suffered with the move because of living with her parents for a while (from +3 to +1). Two women said their relationships with their husbands had improved because of having more time together. One of these women indicated that her career was slightly less desirable now.

The level on the depression/happiness scale for this group was 6.8 (more than 2 points higher than the other two groups). The distributive justice rating was minus 2.5 which meant that, in the perception of the women, there was a more even balance between the outcome for themselves and

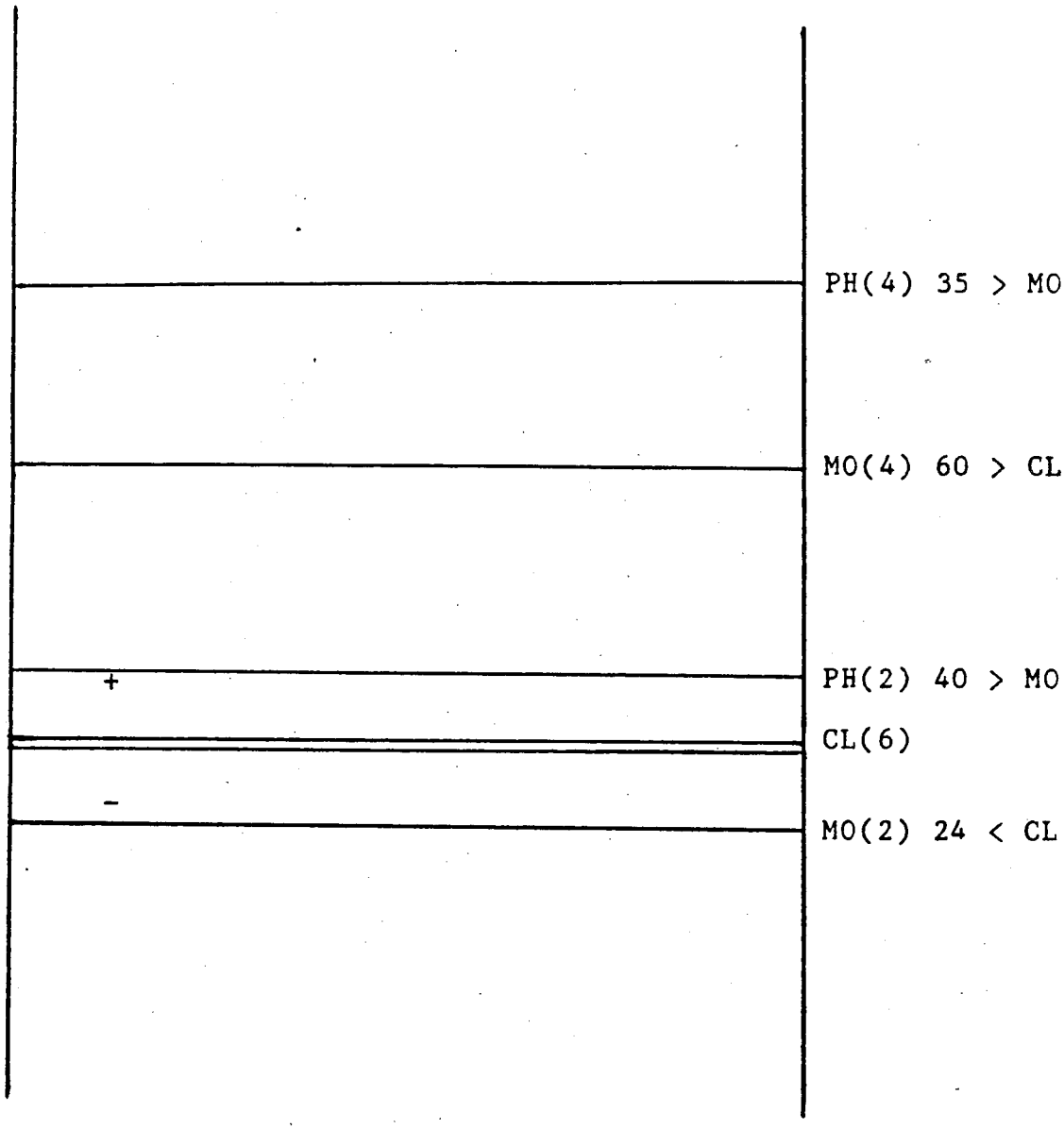
their husbands than in the other two groups.

Summary.

There were several factors that separated these women from the other two groups. First: All six of these women viewed the move as a "challenge" in the process of reappraisal even though their original reaction (primary appraisal) was to feel threatened by the move and they did not want to leave. Seeing the move as a potential challenge helped them to profit from the move. Everyone of them viewed the "reward" of the move as growth-producing -- either maritally or personally and, in the case of two women, both.

Second: The expectations of these women of the new location were lower than their perception of the previous home. Therefore, they did not experience the disappointment of several of the women in the lower-level groups who had extraordinarily high expectations. In spite of lower expectations, for two women the expectations were higher than the outcome, but by only a few points so, even for them, the expectations did not cause a problem.

Third: The life events score was even lower than for the women in Group 2 and considerably lower than for the women in Group 1. Fourth: Only one woman was a supporter of the Ruth Principle which seemed to make a difference with regard to the level of satisfaction. Fifth: The coping mechanisms used by five of these women were the "preferred" mechanisms



Graph Number 3:

Chart For Group 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Reason for move	Commuter marriage	Husband job	Husband job	Husband job	Husband job	Husband job
Matrix II	No	No	No	No	No	No
Matrix III	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	No
Life Events	Argue.	Large Loan	Family Illness	____	____	Ill Parent Argue.
Coping Mechanisms	pref.	pref.	pref.	pref. Det. Self-blame	SSS Prob. Foc. Wish. Think.	pref.
Moves as child	None	None	Disruptive Moves	None	None	Positive
Moves since Marriage	None	None	None	None	None Sudden Move	None
Ruth Principle	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
Distance	Within State	North	Within State	Within State	Cross Country	2500 mi
Meaning of Prev.	City	Family	Xian Comm.	Made it	Made it Family	Family
Costs	Friends Career Marr. Rel.	Friends	Friends	Friends Marr. Rel	Friends Career	Friends Career
Reward	Per.Gr.	Marr.Gr.	Marr.Gr.	Per.Gr.	Per.Gr. Marr.Gr.	Per.Gr. Marr.Gr
Appraisal	Threat	Threat	Threat	Threat	Threat	Threat
Reappraisal	Challenge	Challenge	Challenge	Challenge	Challenge	Challeng
Expectations	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low	Low

of seeking social support, problem-focused, and focusing on the positive. The one who did not use all three, used seeking social support and problem-focused as her two top mechanisms. Wishful thinking was her third mechanism.

Group 4 -- The High Level of Satisfaction Group

In Group 4 there were four women. Three of the women were nonvoluntary movers and one was a voluntary mover (Matrix II). This fourth respondent had little attachment to her previous home and was looking forward to a move.

In the decision-making process (Matrix III) upon considering the wishes of their husbands, for three of the women the CLalt of moving was higher than the PH. According to exchange theory, these three women would be expected to move and the other one would not. However, the CLalt was scored very close to the previous home for the fourth woman.

Once the decision was made to move, three out of the four women expected the previous home to be better than the new home. The voluntary mover in Matrix II, was the exception and had the highest expectations of the women in her the group.

Outcome of the Move.

In the move outcome, for two women their new residence was much better than the former home (PH(2) 142 < MO); two women found that the new place was slightly better than the previous home (PH(2) 3 > MO).

As indicated in the graph, for three women, the move

outcome was higher than expectations (MO(3) 28> CL) and for one women the move outcome was slightly lower than expectations (MO(2) 29 < CL). This last woman was the one who had moved voluntarily. This means that for the three women in the sample of sixteen women who were voluntary movers, the outcome of the new place was lower than their expectations. The outcome was slightly lower for this woman and considerably lower for the women in Group 2.

For one woman, the relationship with her husband was down by one point (+3 to +2). This was the woman who did well in her career. She had been promoted and was traveling a considerable amount. Since her husband moved to complete an academic career, she was the "bread-winner". He was financially dependent on her and disliked the dependency. For the other three women, the marital relationship was at the same level as in the previous place.

All of the women felt that their careers improved or remained at a high level since the move. Three of the four women experienced a loss in relationships with friends. The fourth woman, who marked the friendship level the same as the previous home, indicated that she had only one friend in her previous home since she lived there only one year and had been away a lot because of her mother's illness.

The overall self-image of all these women and their images of themselves as wives either remained the same as in the previous home or improved. Except for the loss of

friends and the one woman who experienced a loss in the relationship with her husband, consistently, the experiential areas upon which they placed the highest value either remained the same or improved.

In Group 4, the average of distributive justice was minus .5. This is the lowest CLdj rating which indicated that these respondents felt they received an almost equal balance of profit/loss in the move as compared to their husbands in spite of the fact that three out of the four had not wanted to move. The depression/happiness scale was 8.5 which is a high level of satisfaction.

The differences between Group 4 and the lower-level of satisfaction groups are similar to the differences of Group 3 and these groups. The similarities are: The reappraisal process; the Ruth Principle; and the coping mechanisms (three of the four women used the "preferred" mechanisms).

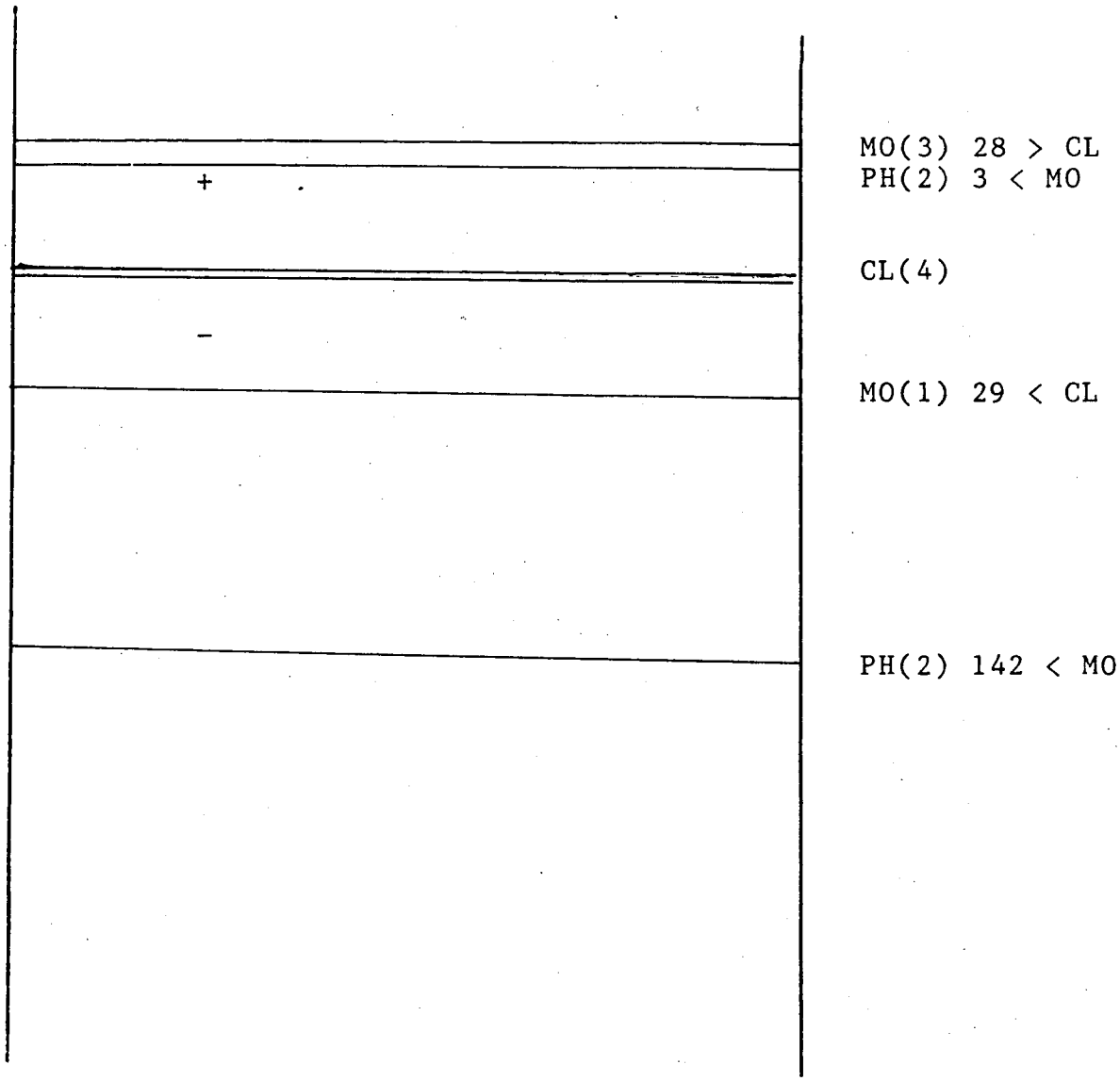
However, the life events mean was higher for Group 4 than for either Groups 2 or 3. Yet the level of satisfaction was the highest for all of the women. In spite of being attached to their previous homes, all of the women preferred their new homes to their previous ones (none of the women did in Group 3); only one woman had expectations that were higher than the outcome (and even she was close); the outcome for all of their careers was either better or the same as previously; they all felt they coped well with the move; and their depression/happiness scale was the highest for all the

groups as was their distributive justice rating scale.

The major difference between Group 3 and Group 4 is that in the decision-making process, when considering their husbands' desires, in Group 4 two women changed from nonvoluntary to voluntary; one woman was already a voluntary mover; and the fourth woman still wanted to stay in the previous home, but by a narrow margin. By contrast, four of the six women in Group 3 preferred not to move even after considering their husband's desires (some by a considerable amount) to the San Francisco Bay Area or Los Angeles. The only respondents prepared to move were the woman ending the commuter marriage and a woman who said because of her husband's goals, "Staying simply was not an alternative."

It seems then that the attitude of the women of Group 4 was more positive before the move than that of the women in Group 3. Even though they had some very difficult life events, they seemed able to surmount them by focusing on the positive aspects of the move before they left their previous homes.

Also, apart from the voluntary mover, their expectations were not overly high. Although the women in Group 3 viewed the move as a challenge, the women in Group 4 who also viewed it as such, seemed to have a more over-all positive and forward-looking attitude than the Group 3 respondents. This positive attitude is confirmed by this researcher from the interviews. It would seem that this is the major difference between these two groups. This reflects what was



Graph Number 4:

Chart For Group 4

	1	2	3	4
Reason for move	Husband job	Husband job	Husband PhD. prog	Husband job
Matrix II	No	Yes	No	No
Matrix III	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Life Events	Personal Illness	Family Hosp. Motherdeath	Friend Death Father Illness	Mother death Family Hosp.
Coping Mechanisms	Preferred	Preferred	SSS Self-blame Wish. Think. Keep to self	preferred
Moves as child	Positive Moves	None	None	None
Moves since Marriage	None	Second	None	Multiple Husband Moved for her
Ruth Principle	No	No	No	No
Distance	Instate	Cross Country	North	2500 mi.
Meaning of Prev. Home	Romantic Feelings	Envir.	Family	Close-bonded Friends
Costs	Friends	Friend	Family Friends Marr. Rel.	Friends
Reward	Career Marr. Gr.	Career Per.Gr.	Career Per.Gr.	Career Per.Gr.
Appraisal	Positive Little Anxious	Positive Little Anxious	Positive Little Anxious	Positive Little Anxious
Reappraisal	Challenge	Challenge	Challenge	Challenge
Expectations	Low	Very High	Low	Low

written by Lazarus and Launier (1978) that some personalities seem to be more inclined toward challenge than toward threat (p. 304).

The Comparative Chart of the Four Groups

A chart follows which indicates a comparison beween the four groups in all of the different areas which have been discussed. A brief discussion of each area follows.

1) Matrix II

Matrix II refers to the transformation process as conceptualized by Kelley and Thibaut and is the "given" matrix. At this point, the woman evaluates the decision to move based only on her own wishes. This matrix is operationalized with the question regarding voluntary/ nonvoluntary moving.

2) Matrix III

Matrix III is the "effective" matrix which indicates the woman's choice regarding moving in the reformulation process of transformation. At this point she is evaluating moving as it impacts on the relationship with her husband. This matrix is operationalized in the questionnaire (Appendix p. 194).

3) The husband's reason for moving

The majority of moves that were made were not made because of a corporation requiring a move. Twelve husbands chose to make the move because of job opportunities elsewhere or for other personal reasons.

4) Appraisal of Previous Home

Out of the sample of 16 women, 13 believed that they accurately appraised in advance whether their new home was going to be more or less satisfying than their previous home. Two women in Group 1 expected their new homes to be better than their former homes and were disappointed. One woman in Group 4 expected the new home to be less enjoyable and it was better.

5) Outcome -- Predecision and postdecision

In 12 situations, the outcome was closer to the predecision expectations than to the postdecision expectations.

6) Depression/Happiness Scale

The depression/happiness scale was evaluated at the time of the interview. The women rated themselves on a scale from 0-10 with 0 being a clinical depression.

7) Distributive Justice

Distributive justice indicates the gain or loss that the women felt in comparison to their husbands in evaluating the outcome of the move.

8) Life Events List

This figure is the "mean" figure for the women in each group of their life events in the period of one year before the move up to the present.

9) The Outcomes Less Expectations

With regard to the outcomes less expectations, in Group 1, in only one situation was the new home better than what was

expected (+ 68). However, for that same woman the new home measured 79 points less than her previous home. In Group 2, the new home was far less desirable than the expectation; in Groups 3 and 4 the new homes were better than expected for seven women and not as desirable as expected for three women, but the difference was not large.

10) The Outcomes Less Previous Homes

For all of the women in Group 4 the new location was viewed as better than the previous home in comparison to the women in Groups 1 and 3. The women in Group 2 also viewed the new home as better than the previous home, but far under what they had hoped to find.

11) Career

With regard to career, out of the first three groups of 12 women, all but two felt that their careers had suffered a loss in the move. All four women in group 4 felt that their careers had improved.

12) Multiple Moves

Four women in the lower groups had made multiple moves (three or more moves since being married). One woman in Group 4 had made several moves since being married. However, at least one of those moves had been for the benefit of her career.

13) Out of State Moves

All of the women in Groups 1 and 2 had moved from out of State. Four women made "instate" moves and they were all

in the higher groups.

14) The Ruth Principle

Five of the six women who believed in the Ruth Principle were in the two lower groups (1 and 2). The seventh woman had made only one move since being married. She indicated that she had been very depressed shortly after moving for about three months, but was feeling less depressed at this point nine months after the move. She had been reluctant to leave her former home.

As indicated in the chart, the major differences between the four groups seem to be: The outcome less expectation; the outcome less previous home; career; multiple moves; instate moves; and the Ruth Principle. Also, the women in Group 1 had a higher "mean" number on the life events list.

	Group 1 Low level 4	Group 2 Low-middle 2	Group 3 High-Middle 6	Group 4 High 4
1) Matrix II	All Nonvol.	All Vol.	All Nonvol.	3 Nonvol. 1 Vol.
2) Matrix III	3 stay 1 move	2 move	6 stay	1 stay 3 move
3) Husband's reason for moving	4 chose	2 corp.	1 corp. 5 chose	1 corp. 3 chose
4) Appraisal of PH as against O	2 exp. O > PH - was worse 2 exp O < PH - were accurate	2 O > PH - were accurate	6 O < PH were accurate	3 O > PH - we accurate 1 O < PH - was better
5) Outcome -- Predecision Closer than Postdecision	4	1	4	3
6) Depression/ Happiness Scale	4	4.5	6.8	8.5
7) D.J.	- 12.25	- 3	- 2.5	- .5
8) Life Events List	332	210	179	218
9) O < CLexp	-71 -100 -144 +68	-225 -149	-38 +58 -10 +57 +91 +32	-29 +50 +30 +3
10) O < PH	-128 -65 -92 -79	+112 +46	-42 -59 -40 -17 -102 -29	+111 +5 +2 +152
11) Outcome of Career	4 loss	2 loss	4 loss 2 up	4 up
12) Multiple Moves	2	2	0	1
13) Instate Moves	0	0	3	1
14) Ruth Principle	3	2	1	0

Informed Consent Form
(Sample)

I, _____ (human subject), hereby willingly consent to participate in the _____ (name of study) research project of _____ (principal investigator's name) of ICSW.

I understand the procedures to be as follows:*

I am aware of the following potential risks involved in the study:*

I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. I understand that this study may be published and my anonymity will be protected unless I give my written consent to such disclosure.

Date: _____

Signature: _____

WITNESS:

_____

*To be filled in by the subject in his or her own writing if he or she is defined to be "at risk."

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