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**Residential relocation and adaptation to place: An exploration
of place-identity**

Walker, Peter R., Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1991

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RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION AND ADAPTATION TO PLACE:

AN EXPLORATION OF PLACE-IDENTITY

by

PETER R. WALKER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

1991

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

RESIDENTIAL RELOCATION AND ADAPTATION TO PLACE:

AN EXPLORATION OF PLACE-IDENTITY

by

PETER R. WALKER

Adviser: Professor Leanne C. Rivlin

Residential relocation affords a recurring life experience for observing the impact of change-of-place on identity. Using two instruments, a self-administered questionnaire containing batteries of questions, on overall well-being and change-in-activity impacts, and an open-ended interview, 89 adults were interviewed one year after their move. This sample of participants included 42 men and 47 women, spousal partners, who were home buyers in four communities in Connecticut. The participants had relocated from outside the community in which they were interviewed.

Drawing upon the symbolic-interactionist approach to role-identity, the research investigated the participants' experiences of change/s in role-activity-patterns across a number of common daily routines (e.g. "time spent with spouse and children"). Each question regarding activity-change contained a measure of perceived increase/decrease in the activity, as well as a measure perceived positive/negative impacts on one's life. The multiple-methods research design was open to positive and negative move outcomes. Findings from this research, along with an extensive literature review, suggest that settings, as the locus of daily activity, are linked with identity and should receive recognition in future theories of self-identity. The research did not find support for a null hypothesis which suggests that a change of dwelling place has no effect on self or identity.

Both men and women were interviewed with the same protocols. The results included sanguine or cheerful, optimistic move outcomes, as well

as somber or gloomy, melancholy move outcomes. Sanguine and somber outcomes were reported by both men and women in the sample. The reports of sanguine results are used to suggest possible solutions for those with somber outcomes. Men reported a wide range of outcomes, as did women, however, pointing to the need to report the experiences of men along with those of women in subsequent relocation research.

The analysis suggests that a loss of "locational-identity," encompassing whole networks of social contacts and activity-patterns in multiple physical settings, is experienced by some individuals. The findings also suggest reasons that this experience may not occur for all participants. Comments are made on participants' personal strategies for overcoming the situational isolation that sometimes occurs in a new community. The investigation also suggests new methods for research on place-identity.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the 89 participants who shared a part of their lives and without whom the study would not have been possible. I am indebted to all of my professors, particularly Leanne Rivlin, Lindsey Churchill, Susan Saegert and Gary Winkel each of whom encouraged me to consider my research from many perspectives, and to ground the report of findings in the experience of the participants. Appreciation is given warmly to my wife Leslie in whom I witnessed the impact of moving on identity, and who spent endless hours proofreading and contributing editorial comments to the many drafts of this manuscript.

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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

The Voices of Those Who Move

One approach to the consideration of what it means to move is to listen to the voices of the individuals who have changed dwelling places. The question, "How do you feel about the move?", which was addressed to some 89 individuals, has elicited comments ranging from, "It was a positive experience," for one individual, to, "I wasn't crazy about the idea." Whereas one participant ". . . felt sad leaving my home, first of all because I had lived there all my life," for another ". . . this was sort of like a move back home." Perhaps a final voice sums up the process of residential relocation concisely -- "I guess I look at it as a challenge."

Hearing these voices tell the stories of their relocation, the listener frequently discovers the instance of a life-change process, often of considerable proportion, an issue which is addressed by a cross-disciplinary group of authors (Fried, 1963; Greenspan, 1972; Heller, 1982; Horwitz & Tognoli, 1982; Raymond & Eliot 1980; Reul, 1971; Steinglass, De-Nour, & Shye, 1985; Waldram, 1987; Wax, 1960; Weiss, 1973a). The stories regularly display the elements of a naturally occurring breaching experience, moving away from one anchor point in daily life and landing in another (Coelho, Yuan, & Ahmed, 1980; Erikson, 1964; Feinberg, Feinberg, & Tarrant, 1978; Meintel, 1971; Simmel, 1950).

For adults, the participants in this research, the story is often a reflective one, the milieu of the present juxtaposed with the memory of the experience of past settings (Anthony, 1984; Cooper-Marcus, 1978; Harrington, 1965; Horwitz, Klein, Paxson, & Rivlin, 1978; Ladd, 1977).

Comparisons are made, appraisals are unmistakably undertaken, and evaluations rendered. The evaluations, circumstance by circumstance, may be filled with either assurance or dismay at the outcome of the relocation. The collection of these appraisals into a final summary of conclusions is reflected in the comments voiced above. Not every move is away from the sought after, the dear, and the satisfying. Indeed, some, perhaps many, moves are made to improve the quality of life.

Sanguine and Somber Outcomes and the Change of Dwelling Place

It is important to keep in mind, when reflecting on the outcome of a move, that an overall appraisal of a sanguine¹ or somber² life transition was influenced primarily by a change of physical setting³. The transferee moved his or her dwelling space from one place to another. A place⁴, in contrast with other physical spaces, has come to be defined

¹In the dissertation the adjective "sanguine" is taken to mean cheerful, optimistic or hopeful (American Heritage Dictionary, 1976; Webster's New World Dictionary, 1986).

²For this discussion the adjective "somber" is taken to mean dull, gloomy or melancholy (American Heritage Dictionary, 1976; Webster's New World Dictionary, 1986). "Somber" is also an antonym for "sanguine" (Devlin, 1938; Landau & Bogus, 1977). The two adjectives "sanguine" and "somber," are used to describe contrasting outcomes of the relocation experience across a number of daily activities.

³The term "setting" is given specific meaning by Stokols and Shumaker (1981, pp. 442-443), wherein they say, in part, ". . . setting, as it has been used in the psychological literature, typically refers to a common set of interrelated elements -- namely, a particular place in which specific individuals share recurring patterns of activity and experience."

⁴Stokols and Shumaker (1981, p. 442) specifically extend their definition of "setting" to include the concept of "place." For these two authors, the concept of "place" means the geographical and architectural context of behavior. Settings have two major components: "their physical milieu (places) and their occupants (individuals . . . and groups)" (p. 443).

as being a bounded geographic setting in which the activities of daily life occur. Many researchers have made significant contributions to the concept of place (Buttimer, 1980; Gerson, Stueve, & Fischer, 1977; Howell, 1983; Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky & Fabian, 1987; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; Relph, 1976; Rivlin, 1982; Rowles, 1983b; Shumaker & Taylor, 1983; Steele, 1981; Stokols & Shumaker, 1981; Stone, 1982), with Lavin and Agastein (1984) offering a particularly comprehensive definition.

The experience of a place is linked with not only the physical setting, but also the activities that take place there. Setting and activity are intertwined in place making. It may also be that, in order for the setting to be a "place" for a particular individual, the activities occurring there, as well as the physical setting, must be valued by the individual (Lavin & Agastein, 1984, pp. 51-52; Shumaker & Taylor, 1983, p. 233). For example, not everyone may think of the college library as a place. It is also possible that not everyone may think of his/her present dwelling as a place, yet many do. Making the assumption, for the moment, that home is an important place in many people's lives, it is possible to raise several questions regarding the impact of moving on the identity of an adult.

Place and Identity

Two elements, among many, are thought to shape adult identity -- interaction with others over time (Breakwell, 1983; Burke, 1980; Gordon, 1976; Gordon & Gordon, 1982; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stryker, 1982; Stryker & Serpe, 1982; Thoits, 1983; Turner, 1968), and continuity (Baumeister, 1986; Benedict, 1938; Guthrie, 1981; Wax, 1960). These two

factors are thought to make a substantial contribution to identity formation and maintenance. Both constructs, interaction and continuity, may be impacted by a change in dwelling place.

Although the transactional perspective on identity is drawn largely from the social interactionist, as contrasted with the psychoanalytic, perspective on identity, Weigert, Teitge and Teitge (1986) build a useful bridge between the two approaches. Their discussion outlines a genealogy of the blending of ego-identity and role-identity. Other bridges are found in Rosenberg and Gara (1985), Stryker (1981), and Bourne (1978a).

The ego-identity discussed by Erikson in his work with children (Erikson, 1950, 1960, 1968, 1982), is identity written large, the whole identity of the person (Baumeister, Shapiro, & Tice, 1985; Ewen, 1980; Marcia, 1966). It is also possible to conceptualize identity as being made up of smaller elements, or role-identities, taken from daily activity patterns (Burke & Tully, 1977; McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stryker, 1968, 1982, 1983; Stryker & Serpe, 1982). A more manageable task is to examine the loss or gain of a role-identity in interaction with an activity as a result of moving, than to inquire into the overall identity of the individual.

Interaction and continuity occur not only in time but also in physical space -- settings, a factor much overlooked by psychological theorists (Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983). Under the role-identity conceptualization adopted here (McCall & Simmons, 1978), which includes "where" as an analytical building block, it is possible to consider, "If the setting were not available, would

the identity forming or maintaining activity occur?" Does place impact identity? The place under consideration is home, the dwelling place -- an anchor point of daily life (Hayward, 1975). If this place is changed, does it impact how a person feels about him or herself?

It is also possible to ask, when the role-identity construction is adopted as a mode of inquiry, whether, when activities are summed up, if many salient role-activities have been lost or adversely impacted, a loss or diffusion of identity may occur. Relocation may be a useful process by which to study the impact of a change of place on identity.

Three Relocation Processes

The Temporal Process

Residential relocation is an event that has stages (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1976; Reul, 1971; Seaman, 1985; Sluzki, 1979; Walker, 1988). In the general case, something causes the move, the move occurs, and the mover settles in, sometimes adapting. Moving can also occur in periodic cycles, as in the case of a homeless family forced to move to several shelters in a brief period of time.

The Process of Activity Gain or Loss

From the perspective of stress, coping and adaptation, relocation is a change process (Coelho, Yuan, & Ahmed, 1980; Erikson, 1968; Feinberg, Feinberg, & Tarrant, 1978; Fried, 1980; Goldberg, 1980; Lofland, 1982; Marris, 1974; Moos & Tsu, 1976; Ruina, 1970; Ward, 1984; Weiss, 1973a) which may impact role-identities. It is possible that the feelings about the "self" that are at risk in relocation are the access to salient, satisfying, daily activity patterns.

An activity pattern available in a setting in the origin environment may be lost in the destination environment. For example, a wonderful next door neighbor is specific to the origin environment. When the move is completed, access to the relationship, in part fostered by proximity to the neighbor's dwelling, has been reduced.

Of course, it is quite possible that the person moving wishes to move away from an unpleasant situation in the neighborhood (Abu-Lughod & Foley, 1970; Clark & Cadwallader, 1973; Crutchfield, Geerken, & Cove, 1982; Droettboom, McAllister, Kaiser, & Butler, 1971; Goldhaber, Houts & DiSabella, 1983; Newman & Duncan, 1979), in which case the transition may be quite satisfying. Not everyone experiences loss as a result of moving. The question remains, however, "Do the gains off-set the losses?"

The Process of Cultural Change

When one thinks of the changes that may occur as a result of moving it is important to include the cultural contexts of the origin and destination environments. Cultural changes may have great impact on daily activity (Adler, 1975; Brein & David, 1971; Byrnes, 1966; David, 1971; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Minkler & Biller, 1979; Oberg, 1960; Szanton, 1967). Take the example of a woman transferred along with her husband from the United States to an Islamic country of fundamentalist persuasion. In this eventuality, the woman's role in the Islamic country is different from that in the United States and is dictated by long-standing cultural beliefs which are specific to the locality of the transfer.

It is also interesting to point out that an individual need not travel great geographic distances to have contrasting cultural experiences which impact daily life (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). A single move may possibly traverse a large cultural distance without traveling many miles. A move from city to suburb, and the converse, are examples of a cultural change along with geographic change (Fava & DeSena, 1984; MacKintosh, Olsen, & Wentworth, 1977; Saegert, 1985). The cultural distance between life on a block in Queens, a densely populated borough of New York City, and life in Bedford, New York, a sleepy, historic village only 25 miles away, may seem much larger than the geographic distance.

There are at least three change-processes that may occur simultaneously with residential relocation: the stepwise succession of getting ready for a move, moving, and settling-in; the risk of gaining and/or losing familiar activity patterns; and the possibility of traversing a cultural distance and encountering a cultural change. Authors concerned with the

practical, applied aspects of residential relocation often give considerable attention to one or more of these topics (Austin, 1983; Blomquist, Berger, & Hoehn, 1988; Brock, 1985; Byrnes, 1966; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Groh, 1984; Johnson, 1985; Jones, 1984; Kohls, 1979; Levin, Groves, & Lurie, 1980; Nida, 1983; Raymond & Eliot, 1980; Rubin, 1983; Ruina, 1970; Sinetar, 1986; Sluzki, 1979). A transferee who can exercise choice and consider his or her response to each of the transitions increases the likelihood of a sanguine relocation outcome.

Involuntary Relocation

This raises a final important issue. Is the move voluntary? If the move is involuntary, due to eviction, job transfer, natural disaster, urban renewal, public works projects, or declining health, it appears to color the assessment of the overall outcome toward the somber (Fried, 1963; Heller, 1982; Henig, 1985; Hutchins & Norris, 1989; Kasl, 1972; Newman & Owens, 1982; Steinglass, De-Nour, & Shye, 1985; Sumka, 1981; Waldram, 1987; Wilson, 1973). Having adequate information, and perceiving a free hand in initiating and choosing of the options associated with relocation are preferable processes for the individual.

Selecting From the Many Populations Who Move

The Frequency of Relocation in the United States

A widely quoted statistic from the 1970's was that 20% of Americans moved each year (Roistacher, 1974; Rossi, 1980, p. 29; Shumaker & Stokols, 1982). Of course this is a generalization, useful as a gross estimate of the total volume of relocation in the United States. The American population did move more often than many European populations in that time period. Within the United States, certain segments of the population -- the poor, young adults, and minorities -- tend to move more often than do others (Butler, Chapin, Hemmels, Kaiser, Stegman, & Weiss, 1969; DaVanzo, 1977).

Theories of Mobility and Migration

During the period of the 1960's and 1970's, economists and sociologists alike proposed hypotheses to explain overall trends in relocation in America. Peter Rossi (1980), in *Why Families Move*, discusses "life cycle stage" as one reason for relocating. In this

edition Rossi and others reflect on the efficacy of life cycle as a single explanation for moving. Rossi explores many dimensions of change in dwelling places, including "how the residences involved should be described" (Rossi, 1980, p. 22). A number of the other theorists, formulating systematic causes of migration, are reviewed by Speare (1974).

There have also been descriptive approaches which use "push-pull" and "productive-consumptive" explanations. A "push" might be an increase in rent which forced a move, while a "pull" might be a compelling job offer some distance away which induced the person to move. "Productive" and "consumptive" moves (Duncan & Newman, 1975; Roistacher, 1974) were another construct offered to simplify the underlying dynamics behind a residential relocation. A "productive" move was thought to enhance the position of the family economically, while a "consumptive" move might increase the quality of housing. These are examples of the broad extractions of the dynamic forces shaping the catalyst or reason for a move. Many exceptions can be found to these as stand-alone, inclusive explanations for moving, perhaps one reason why they are not often found in the current literature on mobility.

Categories and Taxonomies of Groups Who Move

Is there a single taxonomy of people who move? It is unlikely. The issues posed by the process of residential relocation know few bounds. The problem focus in the literature on relocation, however, may tend to put a gray cloud on all relocation, although some moves, away from adverse situations or to a space with an added bedroom, may have satisfying outcomes. A case in point is the work of Mark Fried on the

impact of displacement on individuals which was brought about by an urban renewal project in the predominantly Italian population of Boston's West End in the early 1960's (Fried, 1963).

Reflecting on his work in the West End, Fried (1980) described not one but four groups who were displaced. He categorized each, but studied only one in detail.

One very interesting type, generally more familiar in middle-class and higher-status neighborhood (sic) than in the working class, involves a dispersion of role behaviors in both local and non-local areas. . .

Similar to this type, but different in crucial ways, are those people who have never developed the concentration of role activities in the local area to the same degree, or are quite ambivalent about their local commitments. . . .

A third type poses some very specific problems by virtue of the fact that their total pattern of role behavior is, . . . contracted, and the disruptions of relocation frequently forces an even greater contraction. . . .

A fourth type, the one to which I devoted the greatest attention in my analysis of relocation impacts in the West End of Boston, are those for whom the pre-relocation neighborhood can truly be described as 'home.' . . . (Fried, 1980, pp. 90-91)

It is important to consider that for those not studied there was the possibility of either somber or sanguine outcomes. What about those who were not committed to the West End? Was another place more

satisfying? Did they grieve for their lost homes? Perhaps, but perhaps not.

Selected social and demographic groupings

A variety of populations based on standard social demographic clusters -- age, sex, ethnicity -- have been studied. Children are one group that has received attention (Goldberg, 1980; Knundson-Cooper & Leuchtag, 1982; Nida & Heller, 1985; van Vleit, 1985). Others include the elderly (Borup, Gallego, & Heffernan, 1979; Bourestom & Tars, 1974; Echert & Dunkle, 1984; Hunt & Gunter-Hunt, 1983; Lawton, 1985; Rowles, 1983b; Rutman & Freeman, 1988; Zweig & Csank, 1975), women in search of shelter (Greer, 1986), black residential mobility (Fairchild & Tucker, 1982), and the family (DaVanzo, 1977; Duncan & Perrucci, 1976; Gaylord, 1979; Jones, 1973; Lichter, 1982; Morris & Winter, 1975; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1976; Roistacher, 1974, 1975; Rossi, 1980; Rubenstein, 1988; Reul, 1971; Young & Willmott, 1957).

Selected social issues groupings.

Social issues have also received consideration from researchers, for instance, urban displacement and gentrification (Newman & Owens, 1982; Palen & London, 1984; Schill & Nathan, 1983), migration and immigration (Brody, 1969; Eaton, 1971; Malzberg & Lee, 1956; Parker, Kleiner, & Needleman, 1969; Reul, 1971), and disasters, such as the Buffalo Creek flood (Erikson, 1976). Corporations and government agencies, such as the military and the Department of State, are also concerned with the efficacy of their relocated personal (Brett, 1980, 1982; Burke, 1972 McKain, 1976; Grief & Munter, 1980; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985). A classic case of concern for sojourners abroad is the

early research on Peace Corps Volunteers (Brein & David, 1971; Guthrie, 1966; Szanton, 1967).

There are also large groups of movers which have been studied in other genres. Young people who leave home for the first time to attend college have been the subject for inquiry on loneliness (Cutrona, 1982; Russell, Peplau, & Cutrona, 1980). Finally, perhaps one of the larger groups of relocatees, not often seen in current social science literature, but of concern to the national economy, the real estate business, and the construction industries, are home buyers. The purchaser, upon the closing of the sale, leaves one residence to move into another.

All of these different types of individuals relocated. They changed the place that was one of the anchor points in their daily life. It is probably useful, when reporting on relocation, to consider that the transferee may be moving away from unsatisfying daily activities and places towards those which will be more fulfilling, as well as the other way around, no matter what the catalyst for the move.

The Experience of Moving

Probably few would disagree with the participant who described moving as a challenge. The transferring process is often filled with logistical problems, out-of-pocket expenses, and a host of daily hassles. Frequently individuals are so involved with the urgencies of the move that they have no time to take stock of the impact on their daily lives until sometime after occupying the dwelling space. Gullhorn and Gullhorn (1963) and Lundstedt (1963) both present a detailed analysis of this for those who travel abroad.

Changes-in-Activity Patterns

The process of moving includes many elements. The reasons for relocation, finding a new dwelling place, the transfer of people and personal belongings, unpacking, and settling into routines, as well as finding one's way around the new community are often, very justifiably, in the foreground of the concerns of a person when making a move. These obvious topics are frequently addressed by a variety of "guides to moving," including "guides to the best places." *This research* does not address these concerns, but, rather, *focuses on the often overlooked issue of how daily activity patterns may change* -- the background of the move. These changes-in-activity patterns or roles, as Fried (1980) suggests, may be a critical underlying element in how an individual feels about him or herself after the dust has settled and there is a moment to reflect on "Who am I in this new place?"

Taking Stock

If one moves across the hall to a new apartment, the taking stock process is relatively straightforward. Social linkages remain uninterrupted. Employment has not changed. The cultural surroundings of the neighborhood are no different. The amount of discretionary time one has at the end of the day is not altered, and one can still find the same local recreations. Relatively speaking, friends have not become less accessible. Moving a substantial distance culturally or geographically, however, can change all this.

What is often overlooked in the assessment of whether a move is suitable or not is the breaching that will occur in daily activity patterns, like those activities highlighted in the previous paragraph,

and the availability of satisfactory substitutes at the destination-environment (David, 1972, 1976; Guthrie, 1975; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985). If the transferee finds a repertoire of satisfactory activity patterns at the destination that may be substituted for those patterns lost in the origin community, the chances of a sanguine relocation outcome are increased.

Home and Neighborhood

Neighborhoods and home are not examined in detail in this research, in part because, for those who change homes, communities, and work settings, the home, although a primary anchor point in life, is only one element of life's activities that has been impacted by relocation. To study home, at the expense of other activity areas, in the context of relocation, might limit the findings.

It is important, however, to recognize the meaning home and neighborhood, the nature of which has been addressed by many authors (Cooper, 1976; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1985; Fernandez & Dillman, 1979; Fried, 1982; Gans, 1976; Geotze, 1979; Hayward, 1975; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Korosec-Serfaty, 1985; Lawton, 1981; Lee, 1970; Peponoe, 1973; Rapoport, 1982, 1985; Rivlin, 1988; Stone, 1982; Tuan, 1980; Wellman & Leighton, 1981; Winkel, 1981). Placing the research on home and neighborhood in the context of changes in daily-life-activities, the question may be posed with respect to an assessment of the overall outcome of the change of dwelling places, "What changes have occurred in nature of travel between settings, and patterns of personal interactions with the relocatee's social and physical environment since the move?" These activities include, household and

family activities, travel to other settings, employment outside the home, recreation, education, and visiting to name a only a few (Szalai, 1972). Inquiry about home and neighborhood in terms of activity-patterns permits the respondent to compare and contrast origin- and destination-environments, from the perspective of his or her daily life. If you move closer to your mother in the Mid-Atlantic states, after living for several years on the West Coast, it is likely that the activity pattern of visiting her will increase.

In this respect it is also important to reflect on the cultural, social, economic, and physical qualities of the new setting, such as language, cost of living and small visual and verbal cues of daily activity. For example, not knowing that a "regular" cup of coffee comes with milk already added in New York City may lead to uncomfortable misunderstandings until this cultural difference from other parts of the United States, where "regular" means black coffee, is fully understood. Many such small verbal and nonverbal miscues may make a newcomer feel uncomfortable in the destination-community, a topic addressed in some detail by research on sojourning in foreign countries (David, 1976; Guthrie, 1975; Hall, 1959; Oberg, 1960; Steele, 1981).

Striking a Balance

The experience of moving also reflects a balancing process. The cost of housing, more precisely the cost per square foot of dwelling space, must be balanced against the safety and amenities of the neighborhood and the commuting time to employment outside the home. Finding the compromise, in metropolitan areas like New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco, is particularly difficult where the cost of dwelling

space comes dear (DeVenuta, 1990; Dreir & Schwartz, 1988). The cost of housing forces difficult choices, even for those with financial means. Long commutes, in part due to the high cost of housing, impact activity patterns by reducing discretionary time -- a salient, but particularly opaque, topic when looking at the use of home without including the broader context of life experience.

Two Questions of Interest in the Study

This research addresses two concerns that should be highlighted. One is to add to the everyday understanding of the change-process of residential relocation, both sanguine and somber. The second is to bring the physical setting into the foreground of psychological theories on identity. Using the dramaturgical metaphor this research attempts to bring the stage, or place, the background of daily activity, into the foreground of consideration.

Summary

Three change processes associated with residential relocation have been introduced: the temporal process; the process of activity gain and loss; and process of cultural change. This project will focus on the impacts resulting from the gain or loss of salient activity patterns after a move. *Using a post only correlation design, perceived changes in daily patterns since leaving the origin-environment are examined. These changes in daily activities have occurred primarily because the participant relocated.*

A null hypothesis may be proposed -- a change of dwelling place will have no effect on self or identity of the relocatee. Statistically significant evidence to the contrary would suggest that the null

hypothesis is not sustained and must be rejected. A rejection of this null hypothesis would strongly suggest that the constituent elements of a place -- setting and social/cultural milieu -- can play a part in identity development and maintenance along with other forms of social interaction more traditionally associated with identity, such as interaction with peers, role modeling, reinforcements, and operant behavior, and stages of ego development.

The following chapters outline the methods and the theoretical antecedents of the research, then present a discussion of the results. Several questions are highlighted. What methods exist for the analysis of the interaction of place with an individual's identity? Is this particular contribution to individual identity taken from one place, or perhaps many places in interaction -- a locational identity?

Can a move outcome for an individual be thought of as a set of changes across many daily activity patterns? If so, then plotting the outcome of many individuals along a scale from somber to sanguine, what is the nature of activity changes for those with somber or those with sanguine outcomes?

Chapter II: The Literature Review

Introduction

The Experience of Moving

Taking the transferee's perspective, the context of the move has multiple domains including dwelling, social networks, employment, and the local physical setting. Often a move will breach daily routines (Brett, 1980), frequently revealing to the individual many familiar activity-patterns previously taken for granted (Garfinkel, 1984; Schutz, 1964). The interruption of life's routines may create a partial void in personal existence to be filled with new experiences. While some of the routines may be restored in the destination-environment, others may not. The non-replacement of experiences may constitute a gain or relief, an improvement in life, for example a shorter commute, more living space or more likeable neighbors while, on the other hand, there may be a loss, such as less contact with friends or familiar places.

The Nature of the Literature on Relocation

Because of the contextual nature of residential mobility, the literature is extensive, multi-dimensional and interdisciplinary. It is possible, however, to make a generalization concerning this body of research as a whole. Most investigators tend to center their work on relocation in one of three domains, the physical setting of dwelling, neighborhood and geographic region (Speare, Goldstein, & Frey, 1975); the social setting of people, networks and support (Fischer, Jackson, Gerson, Jones, & Baldassare, 1977); and life's work within the household, community and employment (Brett, 1982).

The present study, by focusing on the change-in-activity patterns of the individual, includes elements of these three traditional approaches to relocation research. This is accomplished by focusing on the feelings of the person about the changes-in-activities following relocation. The change-in-activity approach to relocation research includes the physical setting as the locus of activity, social interaction as a common part of the process of daily activity, and life's work as a major set of role-activities.

Considering the Change of Dwelling Place as a Research Topic

Residential relocation has not always been warmly received by all members of the academic community as a research topic. Peter Rossi (1980) comments rather pointedly in the introduction to the second edition of *Why Families Move*, first published in 1955:

I have often been asked why this monograph has been the only item I have ever published on residential mobility. I believe that the reactions on the part of the sociological fraternity, . . . constituted the reason why I simply left this field of research and moved on to other substantive concerns. From my perspective back in the late 1950s, my colleagues either sneered at the book because of its crass empiricism or simply disputed its findings, and hence further pursuit of an understanding of residential mobility might drive me deep into professional obscurity. (p. 18)

By 1982, however, the tide appeared to have turned as Sally Ann Shumaker and Daniel Stokols (1982) discussed "Residential Mobility as a Social Issue and Research Topic" while acting as joint editors for the issue of *Journal of Social Issues* which addresses "Residential Mobility:

Theory, Research and Policy." Shumaker and Stokols' opening article, which was the early inspiration for this research project, suggests in part that, "We need to explore the processes that mediate people's decision to remain in an area or to move and how these processes relate to the health of the individuals and communities" (p. 2). This statement points to the possibility that there may be a decision not to move, as well as to move, and that the origin-community as well as the destination-community may experience impacts of relocation along with the individual.

Available Research on Changing Dwelling Places

There is a good deal of useful research available on residential relocation and its impacts on the individual. A number of investigators from various disciplines have inquired into the individual's experience of changing dwellings. These studies conducted by anthropologists, social workers, sociologists, psychologists, and psychiatrists describe specific instances of their work involving *migration* (Brody, 1969; Eaton, 1971; Malzberg & Lee, 1956; Parker, Kleiner, & Needleman, 1969; Shaw, 1975; Sluzki, 1979; Speare, Goldstein, & Frey, 1975; Wolpert, 1966), *urban renewal* (Fried, 1963; Gans, 1962; Harrington, 1965; Young & Willmott, 1957), *gentrification*⁵ and *urban displacement*⁶ (Clay, 1980;

⁵Gentrification is a term used to describe the evolutionary process that occurs when a neighborhood in poor physical condition or of low socio-economic population is rehabilitated and upgraded so that the physical structures are in better condition and the population changes to include a greater number of high socio-economic population (Clay, 1980; Henig, 1980; Laska & Spain, 1980; London, 1980).

⁶Displacement often occurs when tenants are forced to move due to the activities associated with revitalization, such as the sale of property to a new owner (Grier & Grier, 1978). The earlier literature

DeGiovanni, 1983; Echert & Dunkle, 1984; Gale, 1980; Grier & Grier, 1980; Heller, 1982; Henig, 1980, 1985; Keating, 1985; London, 1980; Newman & Owens, 1982; Palen & London, 1984; Schill & Nathan, 1983; Sumka, 1981), *corporate relocation* (Brett, 1980, 1982; Burke, 1972; Burke & Weir, 1980; Gaylord, 1979; Gould & Penley, 1985; Grief & Munter, 1980; Jones, 1973; Levenson & Hollmann, 1980; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985, 1986; Raymond & Eliot, 1980; Seidenberg, 1973; Weiss, 1969, 1973; Weissman & Paykel, 1972), *dual-career households and career mobility* (DaVanzo, 1977; Duncan & Perrucci, 1976; Flanagan & Bamford, 1983; Leslie & Richardson, 1961; Lichter, 1982; Packard, 1972; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1976; Sekaran, 1989; Sell & DeJong, 1983; Winfield, 1985), *military transferees* (Lavee, McCubbin, & Patterson, 1985; McKain, 1976), the transience of *migrant farm workers* (Reul, 1971), the displacement and transfer of *elderly individuals* (Borup, Gallego, & Heffernan, 1979; Bourestom & Tars, 1974; Carp, 1976; Echert & Dunkle, 1984; Henig, 1985; Hunt & Gunter-Hunt, 1983; Kasl, 1972; Lawton, 1985; Rowles, 1983a, 1983b; Rutman & Freeman, 1988; Schulz & Brenner, 1977), and *children whose families move* (Goldberg, 1980; Greenberger, Steinberg, & Vaux, 1982; Kantor, 1965; Knudson-Cooper & Leuchtag, 1982; Kroger, 1980; Nida & Heller, 1985; Northwood, 1976; van Vleit, 1985). While these researchers concentrate on important situational aspects of the process of relocation, they tend to focus on the stressful experiences associated with moving. The work of many of these researchers is

on the adverse psychological effects of displacement points out that there are certain groups which are at greater risk, such as the elderly, those in the very lowest socio-economic levels, and those who are prone to depression.

published in the journals of the researchers' own disciplines, making them somewhat difficult to access.

I have assembled selected references on moving in an annotated bibliography focusing on the individual's experience (Walker, 1988), where residential relocation is defined as "the change process associated with moving from one dwelling place in an origin-environment to another dwelling place in some destination-environment" (p. 1). This bibliography draws attention to the contextual nature of relocation, that is to say, moving is accomplished within the physical and social circumstance of the daily life of the transferee. There is little in the literature to suggest that moving, in and of itself, is not a useful undertaking, even though some individuals may accomplish the task with greater ease than do others (Reul, 1971).

Topics Addressed in the Literature Review

This review draws from a variety of academic perspectives that reflect on the process of residential relocation, including self, role and identity; stressors and the social readjustment rating scale; the social context of relocation; culture and the social fabric of place; social indicators of well-being; and place and place-identity. From each of these perspectives this review highlights the interaction between the feelings of the transferee, on the one hand, and the change-in-activity patterns resulting from relocation, on the other.

Leave-Taking and the Experience of the Stranger

The relocation transition has two faces: one of departure, leave-taking and possibly uprooting, and that of settling-in, new beginnings and perhaps being a stranger. The image of the stranger is a powerful

one. One characterization of the "stranger" is offered by Georg Simmel (1950):

The stranger is . . . not . . . as the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather as the person who comes today and stays tomorrow. . . . He is fixed within a particular spatial group, or within a group whose boundaries are similar to spatial boundaries. But his position in the group is determined, essentially, by the fact that he has not belonged to it from the beginning, that he imports qualities into it, which do not and cannot stem from the group itself. (p. 402)

For a person formerly well rooted in the origin community Simmel's picture of the stranger offers a powerful contrast to prior experiences, particularly if the relocatee had a long standing connection with the origin-community. The theme of the stranger is taken up by several other authors addressing the topic of relocation (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1976; Franck, Unseld, & Wentworth, 1974; Lofland, 1973; Meintel, 1971; Packard, 1972; Schild, 1962; Schutz, 1964). The feelings of unfamiliarity may last only a short period of time if one has moved across the hall, but may never be overcome if great cultural and geographic distances have been traversed.

It is possible that the newcomer may arrive in the destination-community with a repertory of skills, credentials, competencies, and behavior patterns that may or may not be recognized by individuals in the new environment. Some experiences, such as leadership in locally based volunteer organizations in the origin-environment, may not be sought after or noticed in the destination-community.

If an individual's concept of self is directly tied to the role of leadership in the origin-environment, the failure of people in the destination-environment to acknowledge these abilities may not open to the newcomer a significant role with which he or she identifies (Seidenberg, 1973).

But what about the other face of moving, the leave-taking? In the preface to *Uprooting and Development*, George Coelho and Paul Ahmed suggest that, "uprooting [is] the crucial metaphor of modernization . . ." (p. xiii). These authors argue that "uprooting cannot be understood merely as a phenomenon of physical relocation. Uprooting disrupts, however temporarily, the sense of security and self-continuity of an individual moving through a changed physical and social environment" (p. 97). Both the experiences of rootedness (Raymond & Eliot, 1980; Tuan, 1980; Weil, 1955) and uprooting (Erikson, 1964; Feinberg, Feinberg, & Tarrant, 1978; Weiss, 1973a) have received additional attention by other authors.

Of course not every move is profoundly uprooting, as in the illustration of moving to an apartment across the hall, but even in this example there are occasions for the feeling of being in a strange place for a while. It is also the case that an individual may return home, after being away for several years, and feel out of place (Austin, 1983). Although returning may be a sought-after transition for some individuals, including those who have lived abroad, it is not without its own transitional difficulties (Johnson, 1985; Meintel, 1971).

Choice, Choice-Making, and Involuntary Relocation

To be without choice is to be without options or alternatives. As the literature on relocation is reviewed, it is important to consider, not from the researchers' reported standpoints and value judgements but rather from the participants' contextual situations in daily life, whether being without choice is unmistakably the case.

The reader of relocation research should exercise a cautious attitude toward accepting over-simplified interpretations about choice, or lack of choice, in the decision to move. One should consider carefully the linkages and the hierarchies in any individual's priorities which may lie behind a decision to move or not move, before accepting conclusions offered concerning this complex process.

This is not to say that urban renewal (Young & Willmott, 1957), urban revitalization (Palen & London, 1984), political shifts and public works projects (Fahim, 1980; Scudder, 1973; Steinglass, De-Nour, & Shye, 1985; Waldram, 1987), fires (Rapkin, 1982), natural and technological disasters (Erikson, 1976; Goldhaber, Houts & DiSabella, 1983) and war have not induced displacement and involuntary relocation. Perhaps the beginning point in reducing adversity from involuntary relocation is to mediate the outcome early in the decision-making processes of the individual by providing additional information, support and resources to those most in need -- those without shelter (Baxter & Hooper, 1981; Dovey, 1985; Peroff, 1987; Rivlin, 1990; Ropers 1988; Salins, 1987), the elderly (Heller, 1982; Henig, 1985; Kasl, 1972) and single parent households (Anthony, 1989; Birch, 1985; Greer, 1986) for example.

The decision to change a dwelling place is not likely to be made on the spur of the moment. It is probably fair to say that the decision to move, or not move, is the culmination of a series of evaluations, priorities assessments, resource appraisals and incremental choice making, much like links in a chain, probably not greatly different from processes suggested in the stress and coping paradigm (Lazarus, 1981) reviewed in the following section. When considering the voluntary or involuntariness of a move, the reader of relocation research should bear in mind the choice linkages that have implicitly been made in the decision to move, for example a wife remaining with her husband, when the husband receives a better job offer, enhancing the economic aspects of life but takes them elsewhere (Seidenberg, 1973), while in dual-career families, the reverse may occur. The question may be raised, "Did the husband or wife move involuntarily?"

On the other hand, it is also likely that not many moves are entirely voluntary. Depending on whether this word is used as an adverb or adjective its synonyms include, freely, spontaneously, independently, intentionally, by choice, optional, elective, or unpushed. Considering the nature of the daily hassles that are incumbent with relocation, a move that is entirely voluntary must have some catalyst or powerful push or pull associated with it. As the literature is read it is important to reflect on these catalysts or motivating forces behind the move. Is it a bedroom deficit in the present house, or too much space after a family is grown leaving too much house to care for on a daily basis? The choice made to relocate is probably based on a chain of linked evaluations which include ever changing individual priorities and

resources, the life cycle stage (Butler, Chapin, Hemmels, Kaiser, Stegman, & Weiss, 1969; Foote, Abu-Lughod, Foley, & Winnich, 1970; Heaton, Fredrick, Fuguitt, & Zuiches, 1979; Leslie & Richardson, 1961; Long & Boertlein, 1976; Michelson, 1980; Michelson, Belgue, & Stewart, 1973; Morris & Winter, 1975; Rossi, 1980; Speare, 1970), other members of the household, and the possibility of a sanguine outcome.

The Temporal Sequence of Moving

Moving is a process that unfolds in a series of overlapping stages, and may be repeated a number of times over the life span. Several authors have attempted a taxonomy of the sequence (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1976; Seaman, 1985; Walker, 1988). With respect to any taxonomy of the sequential process of moving it is important to highlight clearly the bench mark or beginning point in the origin-community -- the neighborhood and dwelling in which the transferee lived at the beginning of a single move iteration. For some this may be a home where a family was raised, a place the person has lived in for many years, while for others, it may have been an apartment, rented for a few months as a stepping stone along life's transitions. It is likely that the dwelling place -- home, neighborhood and social milieu -- in the former case will hold far more meaning for the transferee than will the later apartment. A single move cycle may serve to raise the skills of an individual in coping and adaptation or possibly serve to bring a family closer together through shared experience, but at the same time the process may raise questions regarding the efficacy of moving one more time (Flanagan & Bamford, 1983; Gould & Penley, 1985).

The Catalyst for Relocation

The next step shared by most move sequences is the occurrence of a catalyst or reason to move, a push or a pull -- the lease runs out, the family is grown, or there is a job-transfer. The catalyst is the salient factor(s) which raise(s) the threshold of possibility for a move to a level where a decision is made to act and relocate to the destination-environment (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1976; Reul, 1971; Rossi, 1980; Sell & DeJong, 1983; Wolpert, 1965).

Information, Decision, and Attitude

The decision to relocate is frequently associated with several constituent elements: informing and exercising choice between alternatives, participating in the choice-making process, planning for the move, consideration of long-term outcomes, forming attitudes toward the move, and specifically identifying the place of destination. A number of these issues are addressed in practical guides to moving available in many book stores or libraries (Nida, 1983; Nida & Heller, 1985; Raymond & Eliot, 1980; Ruina, 1970; Sterne, 1985). At this point in the sequence there may or may not be an awareness on the part of the relocatee of the extent to which a move disturbs place-based routines or impacts the multiple worlds of daily life.

The Logistics of Moving and the Process of Leave-Taking

Changing dwellings is a complicated process. Moving one's belongings, liquidating real property holdings, financing dwelling cost, finding transportation, and acquiring access to the destination dwelling are intense and time-consuming tasks. Assistance sought with these tasks contributes to a number of industries including truck rental

services, storage and van lines, integrated relocation firms, rental agencies, and real estate brokerages.

The activities associated with this component are perhaps the most interactive between people. Otherwise, moving is a distinctly personal and individual undertaking. With other difficult life transitions, such as the death of a spouse, parenting without a partner, divorce, or serious illness, supportive human contact is often forthcoming or accessible. This is frequently not the case with the life transition of moving. Perhaps one reason for this is the unique experience of leave-taking.

Saying good-bye to known people and known places may disconnect the person from supportive activities that are available in other life transitions, consequently, leave-taking is conceptualized as an element unto itself. Leave-taking is a specific behavior associated with altering an existing relationship. We take leave of jobs, spouses, parents, children, and so on. Moving presents a special place-based case of leave-taking (Feinberg, Feinberg, & Tarrant, 1978).

The moment of the move is the time for physical and geographic change, although human emotions may or may not be in pace with this physical transition. For example, important personal possessions may be left behind to be collected at a later date, or there may be interim destinations, each with a mini-move-cycle of its own. In this period of action the move *punctuates the life line* and is highly salient, although, as time passes, *moving day may only be a ripple* when compared with the number of transitions which may follow.

Settling-in

The moment of arrival at the destination marks the onset of a dialectic tension between the opportunity for a new beginning and the experience of leaving the past behind, though for a period this tension may be obscured by the activities associated with bringing order into daily routines. Arriving is one early element of the settling-in period. Unpacking, exploring, first impressions, finding the grocery store and learning one's way around also occur during this period.

The settling-in process is an exploration and testing period about which little has been written. So little, in fact, is available that Shumaker and Conti (1985), in the conclusion of their article on "Understanding Mobility in America," suggest further research by asking the question, "How do people make new places familiar?", openly wondering, "Do they simply transport valued objects, or do some mobile people select comparable housing and communities across localities?" (p. 250). In part, the literature on sojourning, reviewed in the following section, has addressed some of these issues. In addition, studies of cognitive maps (Devlin, 1976), social and physical anchor points (Wapner, 1981), distancing one's self from the origin-environment on the eve of departure (Wofsey, Rierdan, & Wapner, 1979) and the use of personal possessions to establish a sense of home (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1985; Shumaker & Conti, 1985) have also received some initial attention.

In some respects settling-in affords an excellent field research opportunity for exploring how individuals create meaningful life patterns following a disruption of existing routines. The breaching of

daily behavior episodes provides a naturally occurring independent variable. The methodology of Harold Garfinkel (1964), which inquires into the nature of daily life events, relies to some extent on the breaching phenomenon of disrupted daily processes to bring into the consciousness of the individual the meaning of daily activity-patterns. The breaching of roles and behavior patterns or daily routines, which is brought about by moving, may cause individuals to consciously consider the meaning which places have for them.

The settling-in component concludes gradually and fades into the next period of adjustment, the replacement of reliable informational and emotional support systems. As the settling-in period dissolves and some order is achieved in daily life in the destination-environment, the differences between past and present living environments come into consciousness (Anthony, 1984; Cooper-Marcus, 1978; Harrington, 1965; Horwitz, Klein, Paxson, & Rivlin, 1978; Ladd, 1977). The conclusion of the settling-in period is marked by having the time to reflect upon the past, to make comparisons between images of prior events and places, and the current perceived realities. This gradual change parallels the two-step phase of the "coping task" described by Moos and Tsu (1976):

In reality, coping refers to two distinct but related tasks. . . .

These two tasks are not necessarily dealt with simultaneously, for the coping process is dynamic, with the demands of the situation and the strategies of the individual changing as time passes. The overall pattern tends to fall into two phases: an acute phase in which energy is directed at minimizing the impact of stress, and a reorganization phase in

which the new reality is faced and accepted. This allows people to ration out their limited physical and emotional energy, while giving them some time to adjust to the change in their lives. The reorganization phase involves the gradual return to normal functioning and to the achievement of a new equilibrium in which changed circumstances and new feelings are integrated into the individual's life and self-image. (pp. 14-15)

Thus begins the process of post-move evaluation, the assessment of stressors and the determination of move efficacy.

The Period of Adjustment: The Focal Period of This Research

The period of adjustment, the next to the last component element in this conceptualization of the move cycle, is the temporal period on which this research is focused (see Figure 1). It is within this time period that individuals begin to come to terms with the outcome of the decision to move. This is the period during which it is possible to consider the effects of diffused self-concept associated with place change, "Is this me?". During this period many individuals report the experience of social isolation (de Jong-Gierveld & Raadschelders, 1982, see p. 107) and situational loneliness (Cutrona, 1982; Fischer, 1982; Fischer & Phillips, 1982; Lopata, 1973a, 1973b Weiss, 1982). By this time individuals know their way around in a limited fashion, but house is not yet home and space has not yet become place; it is a time when hanging on to the past may persist and getting on with new beginnings has not yet taken hold (Davis, 1979; Groh, 1984; Minkler & Biller, 1979; Olson & Brown, 1986; Rubin, 1983; Sherwood & DeSimone, 1983; Sinetar, 1986). This is for some a painful period when the move has been away

from rewarding and supportive daily activities in a familiar setting, while for others, who have moved toward satisfying daily activity-patterns, the experience is often rewarding and pleasant, a possibility not often identified as an outcome in relocation research. By focusing on change-in-activity patterns, the design of this research project is open to the possibility of either outcome.

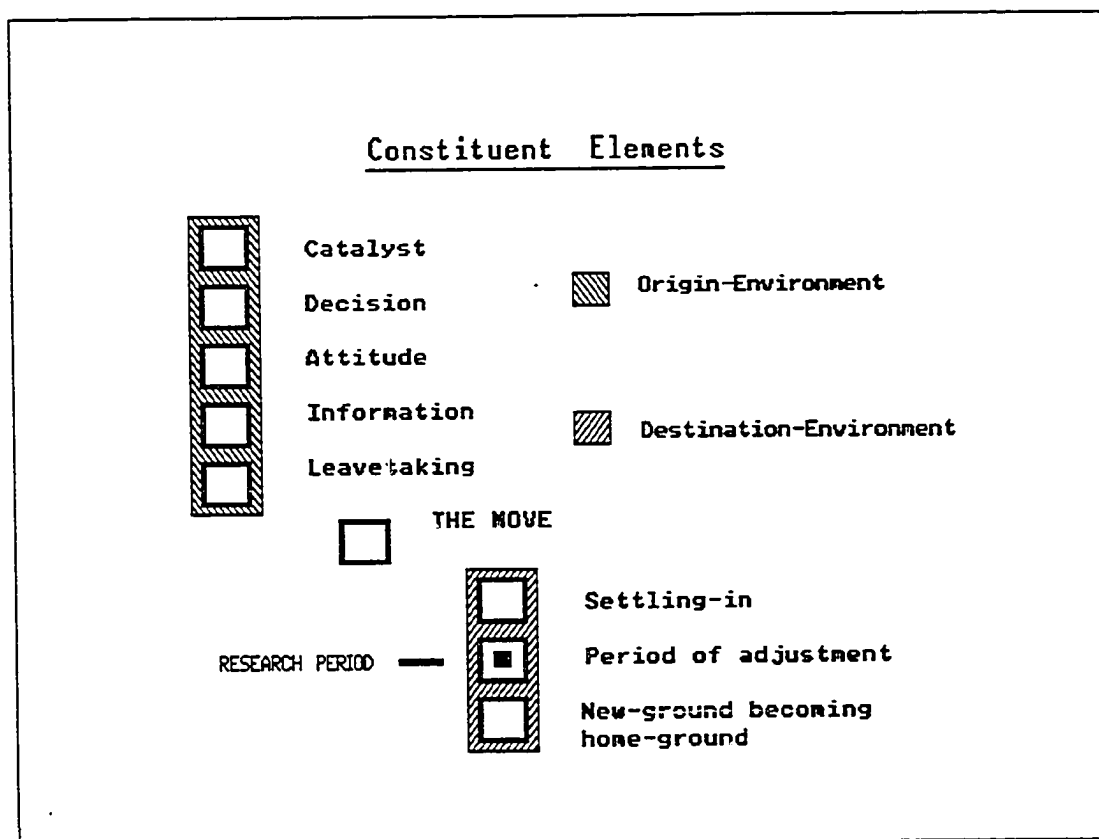


Figure 1. Constituent elements in a relocation cycle.

New-Ground Becomes Home-Ground

The final step in the relocation process occurs when settling-in and adjustment are complete and a sense of rootedness may take hold (Weil, 1955). This does not occur with every move cycle; for some it

may never occur. But when it does, it may be construed as an example of person/place fit or congruence (Caplan, 1983; French, Rodgers, & Cobb, 1974; Greenberger, Steinberg, & Vaux, 1982; Pervin, 1968; Stokols, 1979, 1981) where roles, cues, and expectations are well matched between the individual's constructs on the one hand and the perceived reality of the social/cultural milieu of the setting on the other.

Sojourning: Travel and Assignment Abroad

Sojourning is a rubric for the many variants of traveling abroad from one's home country. *Students* sojourn to the United States for college (Schild, 1962), *corporate executives* and their families travel from Japan to the United States to manage offices of multi-national corporations (Browning, 1986; Everett & Stening, 1989), *missionaries* bring religious practice to indigenous groups (Austin, 1983), *Peace Corps Volunteers* travel abroad to aid communities (Guthrie, 1966; Szanton, 1967), *technical assistance personnel* and their families bring their skills to other parts of the world (Byrnes, 1966; Hawes & Kealey, 1981), and the *families of foreign service staff* of many countries travel to postings all over the world (The Forum of the Association of American Foreign Service Women, 1977).

A Resource for Domestic Relocation Researchers

Systematic research on sojourning has been undertaken since the early days of the Peace Corps (Brein & David, 1971; Church, 1982) and appears regularly in the literature of cross-cultural psychology (Dinges & Duffy, 1979; Seidel, 1981), and organizational management (Adler, 1983; Harris, 1979; Harvey, 1985; Torbiorn, 1982; Zeira, 1975). Research on the sojourning process (Kohls, 1979; Ward, 1984), and the

sojourners' *preparedness*, their *efficacy* (Misa & Fabricatore, 1979; Stoner, Aram, & Rubin, 1972), their *training* (Brislin, 1979; Fiedler, Mitchell, & Triandis, 1971; Gudykunst, Hammer, & Wiseman, 1977; Kohls, 1984), their *selection* (Hays, 1974; Oddou & Mendenhall, 1984; Tung, 1981), and their *repatriation* (Austin, 1983) represents some of the most articulate theoretical research yet completed on residential relocation. Needless to say, this is probably the case because the costs of sending personnel abroad are high, and the costs of failed missions (Hays, 1974; Misa, Fabricatore, 1979) are even higher.

The research on the experience of the individual moving abroad is useful for domestic relocation as well. The process of adjustment is sometimes written across the sojourner's experience in bold faced letters, but the nature, albeit possibly not the context, of everyday experience has much in common with national moves. For this reason, research on sojourning has contributed substantially to the theoretical formulations in this dissertation. Topics such as expectations, dealing with alienation and isolation, willingness to communicate, as well as flexibility and open-mindedness are each given attention in the sojourning literature. This enthusiasm may seem somewhat more grounded, when daily activity-patterns are discussed cross-culturally in the following section.

Studies of the Use of Time in Daily Life

The budgeting of time, just as in the use of space, offers a lens through which one can focus a research inquiry on human behavior patterns in daily life. The choice of the lens -- time, space, or social interaction -- to some degree determines what will be in the

foreground of the summary report to the reader. For example, a social interaction -- having lunch with friends in a school cafeteria -- incorporates, in the same instant, the use of a physical place as a behavior setting for a behavioral episode (Barker, 1978; Barker & Schoggen, 1973; Schoggen, Barker, & Barker, 1963), a social role as friend, and the use of time. Although each of these three lenses may focus on separate aspects of the same social interaction, the choice of lens highlights a specific component of the situation as others are left unattended, perhaps inferring to the reader that they do not contribute to the circumstance of the situation. It is useful to look at time budgeting, as well as role, and the nature of place, in undertaking research on relocation, for it offers yet another perspective from which to address this life transition.

The use of time is a particularly interesting lens for studying continuity in daily activity-patterns, since, by definition, one anchor point of possible behavior episodes, the dwelling place, will be changed as a result of moving, making it difficult to examine breaches of continuity from a behavior setting standpoint. This suggests that for a mega-behavior episode, for example a daily-activity such as meal preparation or travel to work, using time rather than space as a basis might be useful. The use of time as a lens may present an alternative method for comparing and contrasting perceived changes in behavior patterns.

Alexander Szalai, along with many other collaborators, including Philip Converse undertook a one day, 24 hour, time-budget study of the daily-life-activities of 30,000 individuals in twelve countries during

the period 1964-1966 (Szalai, 1972). Individuals participating were men and women, ages 18-65, in households with at least one person employed outside the home. The households were generally in communities of 40,000 to 200,000. The countries included the United States, seven in Eastern Europe, three in Western Europe, and Peru. Chapters entitled "Everyday Life in Twelve Countries" and "Country Differences in Time Uses" were a particular contribution to this research. These chapters, along with the 335 pages of information on time allocation, particularly graphs on the cumulative percentage of time spent engaged in nine activities across a 24 hour period (pp. 736-739), were very useful in visualizing the overall nature of daily activities. These specific graphs are of further interest because the use of time for employed men and women and homemakers is differentiated, permitting comparisons.

Szalai's work, although somewhat dated, made it clearer that major activity-patterns are somewhat universal in daily life and might be used as a unit of inquiry in this research. This is quite compatible with the following discussion of role-identity, indeed, it was McCall and Simmons' citation (1978, p. xxii) of Szalai's work, as well as that of the work of F. Stuart Chapin (1974), which brought the "use of time" into consideration in this project. Others contributing to the literature on treatment of time in the context of residential relocation include Flowerdew (1978) and Cullen (1978).

Self, Role, and Identity

Of primary concern in presenting this review of perspectives on "role" and "identity" for application to residential relocation is maintaining an interactive approach, one which includes both the

individual and his or her cultural as well as physical surroundings. A number of approaches, which include both sociological and psychological perspectives, will be discussed.

The Context of Self

What is the self? In the simplest terms, it is where identity resides. The definition of self offered by Sarbin and Allen (1968) is an interesting starting point. Writing for the second edition of the *Handbook of Social Psychology*, these authors suggest:

The term "self" refers to the inferences the person makes about the referent for "I." It is a cognitive structure and derives from past experience with other persons and with objects. We define the self as the experience of identity arising from a person's interbehaving with things, body parts, and other persons.

(pp. 522-523)

Gordon and Gergen, writing in *The Self in Social Interaction* (1968), discuss self as follows:

The more moderate and most widely adopted position has thus been to view the self as an explanatory concept with hypothetical properties. That is, in order to explain the impact of certain environmental events on the person's behavior, it has been useful to theorize in terms of self-conception. (p. 3)

Perhaps the important point to be made is that self is a conceptual stepping off position for the consideration of identity.

Harold Proshansky links self to identity in this way:

"Self" can be thought of as a term which describes the individual as a total system including both the conscious and unconscious

perceptions of his past, his daily experience and behavior, and his future aspirations. A substructure of the self system . . . is the concept of self-identity⁷.

The main point here, apart from any specific explanations of how self-identity emerges, is that self-identity differs from the general concept of self in its focus on relatively conscious, personally held beliefs, interpretations, and evaluations of oneself. (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983, p. 58)

McCall and Simmons (1978) discuss "self," reviewing the theoretical perspective of William James (1890) and George Herbert Mead (1934) on two of the constituent elements of self, the "I" and the "me." The individual achieves selfhood at that point at which he first begins to act toward *himself* in more or less the same fashion in which he acts towards other people.

This reflexiveness is what William James meant when he wrote that the self as subject and the self as object -- the "I" and the "me" -- are not distinct entities but merely analytically separable aspects of the same thing.

Mead uses the terms "I" and "me" in a similar but importantly different sense. Both . . . took over . . . the "I" as the essentially unknowable active agent of the personality.

But, whereas James meant by the "me" all those aspects of the personality that the "I" knows and cares about . . . Mead

⁷Gordon and Gergen (1968, p. 10) refer to self-identity as ". . . the sense of a continuous separate existence."

meant all those perspectives on oneself that the individual has learned from others.

If the "I" and the "me" constitute the totality of the self, this self is best seen in what Mead called the "inner forum," the silent internal conversation. (pp. 52-53)

The "me" is the experience of daily life, while "I" is the reflective observer of the ego and the self.

Role

Very often the conceptualization of a term and the term's subsequent operational definition are only a rough approximation of the complexities of human experience in daily life and are taken from the prevailing point of view of a particular discipline, resulting in a somewhat different operationalization by different disciplines. Take, for example, "role" as used in both sociology and psychology. In Volume 13 of the *International Encyclopedia of Social Science* (1968) Sarbin, a psychologist, emphasizes "expectations" and "enactments," and Turner, a sociologist, highlights an "interactive framework." Both offer interpretations from their respective disciplinary perspectives.

The terms "role" and "identity" are also used in our daily language by individuals, as well as authors, as commonly understood expressions of the experiences of individuals or constituent groups (Gleason, 1983). Recognizing that the visible activities which constitute roles, or the less visible activities that contribute to identity formation, may be considered from various vantage points by different disciplines, is a practical early step when focusing these terms on the context of residential relocation.

Two common, but contrasting, perspectives are viewing human activity from the inside out, from the individual's point of view, and the other way around, from the outside in, from an observer's point of view. Expression of a role from the former vantage point might incorporate first-person expressions of feelings, expectations⁸, loss⁹ and gain¹⁰, while description of a role from the latter vantage point might encompass outside observations of performance in selected situations, as in "she seems to have a strong identity" or "he is a good role model."

Both views increase our systematic understanding of human interactions. However, these separate perspectives may offer a greater contribution to a comprehensive understanding of relocation impacts on an individual when they are combined, rather than used separately. The research perspective of McCall and Simmons (1978) in *Identities and Interactions* is a contribution to the blending of the two perspectives on "roles."

⁸While Sarbin's definition of role (1968) emphasizes the importance of role expectations, additional comments on role expectations may be found in Biddle (1979), *Role theory: Expectations, Identities and Behaviors*, or Duncan and Newman (1975), "People as Planners: The Fulfillment of Residential Mobility Expectations."

⁹Some examples of the experience of role loss may be found in Breakwell (1983), *Threatened Identities*; Davis (1979), *Yearning for Yesterdays*; Fried (1963), "Grieving for the Lost Home"; Lofland (1982), "Loss and Human Connection: An Exploration into the Nature of Social Bonds"; Marris (1974), *Loss and Change*; Meintel (1971), "Strangers, Homecomers and Ordinary Men"; and Weiss (1973a), "An Uprooted Woman: Mrs. Phillips"

¹⁰See the work of Thoits (1983), "Multiple Identities and Psychological Well-Being: A Reformulation and Test of the Social Isolation Hypothesis;" and the work of Sieber (1974), "Toward a Theory of Role Accumulation."

Identity

The term "identity," like "role," has attained a place in common language and is used in everyday circumstance, yet it also has a special meaning in the disciplinary vocabulary of several social and behavioral sciences. The operational use of "identity" in sociology and psychology traces its origins, in part, to the work of Erik Erikson on ego-identity (1960, 1969)¹¹. Erikson and others following in this frame of reference have used constructs such as "identity achievement" (Bourne, 1978a, 1978b; Marcia, 1966), "identity crisis" (Marcia, 1966), "identity deficit" (Erikson, 1960), "identity diffusion" (Baumeister, Shapiro, & Tice, 1985), and "identity conflict" or "legitimation crisis" (Baumeister, 1986;). Baumeister, for example, comments on the importance of multiple elements contributing to a core sense of self* in this way:

"A sense of identity furnishes one with a sense of strength and resilience, so that the impact of a specific misfortune or setback is diminished, and one's life can be oriented toward specific goals that include the fulfillment of certain potentialities.

Each identity contains an indefinite number of components. These are the units of self definition. The unity of these units is a unity of meaning. (pp. 19-20)

¹¹See Bourne (1978a, 1978b) for an extensive review of ego-identity.

¹²Stryker (1981) offers a discussion of the term "core self", in part saying, "It is the core self that provides structure and relative stability to personality and provides continuity and predictability to behavior" (p. 11).

While a psychoanalytic approach to the understanding of, and possible resolution of, personal issues is useful, it is not detailed. The finite fragments and the antecedent elements causing these various conditions in adults, as opposed to adolescent, are vaguely differentiated in the ego-identity approach (Ewen, 1980; Levinson, 1986). This perspective offers little explanation for various degrees of impact or shades of gray¹³ in adult life. There are, however, other explanations of identity, in the sociological psychology persuasion of symbolic interaction, stemming in part from similar conceptual roots. Several reconciling summaries and genealogies of the merging of these concepts are available (Bourne, 1978a; Burke, 1980; Gleason, 1983; Rosenberg & Gara, 1985; Stryker, 1981; Weigert, Teitge, & Teitge, 1986).

The role-identity perspective of McCall and Simmons (1978) recognizes, as did Baumeister (1986), that a core sense of self is made up in part of many components, called by McCall and Simmons "role-identities."

The concept of *role-identity* has attained some currency and, accordingly some further explication.

The notion that the self -- in its semantic rather than functional aspects -- is essentially a set of such role-identities organized according to dynamic hierarchical principles has been more widely entertained. The idea of salience hierarchy of role-identities has been further developed by . . . Stryker. (p. xvi)

¹³Breakwell (1983) in her introductory chapter to *Coping with Threatened Identity* offers a particularly penetrating assessment of the overlapping meanings attributed to the terms "role" as well as "identity" before launching into her own perspective.

It is postulated that a core sense of self thus, in part, may be composed of many role-identities, hierarchically arranged. The salience of a particular role-identity in the hierarchy may change from situation to situation. Various role-identities may become salient in certain situations. For example, the role-identities associated with marriage may be situationally less salient when commuting to work. The summation of a person's identities into a composite image of self may include many role-identities. It is interesting to note that both Thoits (1983) and Sieber (1974) discuss various aspects of the accumulation of identities. It may also be that identities atrophy over time, like that of being a high school student. Various role-identities may have greater or lesser salience and require greater or lesser commitment over time, as for example being a graduate student.

Thus, this particular conceptualization of roles, or more precisely role-identities, described in some detail by Burke and Tully (1977), Stryker (1968, 1981, 1983) and Stryker & Serpe (1982), proposes that a single role may be added to the core self, or a role may increase in salience¹⁴ and commitment¹⁵, or may find a different rank in a

¹⁴"Identity salience represents one of the ways, and a theoretically most important way, that the identities making up the self can be organized. Identities, that is, are conceived as being organized into a salience hierarchy. This hierarchical organization of identities is defined by the probabilities of each of the various identities within it being brought into play in a given situation. Alternatively, it is defined by the probabilities each of the identities have of being invoked across a variety of situations. The location of an identity in this hierarchy is, by definition, its salience" (Stryker & Serpe, 1982, p. 206).

¹⁵"Commitment refers to relations to others formed as a function of acting on choices, such that changing the pattern of choices requires changing the pattern of relationships to others" (Stryker, 1983, p. 52).

hierarchy of roles in various situations, or a particular role may atrophy naturally when no longer needed in the life cycle. This is particularly important point to bring forward in this research, as it offers a possible explanation for incremental impacts on feelings about the self as an outcome of changes-in-activity patterns following residential relocation. With these thoughts in mind, it is possible to conceptualize how a cumulative loss of many salient role-activities following a move may adversely impact feelings of identity, perhaps introducing a temporary conflict or diffusion of identity in adults until a satisfactory activity substitution are possible. It is also possible, using the role-identity frame work, to see that certain residential relocations might provide many satisfying changes-in-activity-patterns. This process of might be termed, reinforcement substitution, as describe by Mendenhall and Oddou (1985) -- a good strategy, when it can be achieved. Take for example, a return to a place where many friends and relatives live, and a dollar stretches much further in term of the quality of housing attainable. Kenneth David (1976, p. 126) suggests:

The identification of potent reinforcers may be a difficult task because a reinforcer may be taken for granted; full awareness of the satisfaction received from a reinforcing event may occur only after the event has been removed.

. . . Reinforcers are situational in nature -- 'event' rather than entities -- the problem is one of how to transfer the essential elements of the reinforcing event to a new cultural setting.

Those who are adroit at finding substitution may have an added advantage in finding sanguine relocation outcomes, particularly in difficult transitions. Perhaps a few satisfying changes mixed with a few unsatisfying change-in-activity patterns service to mediate the cumulative averse effects.

Ego-Identity and Identity-Conflicts

Baumeister (1986), working in the ego-identity frame of reference, considers the identity of the "person as a whole", yet expresses a somewhat similar idea, units of identity, suggesting a model of identity which contains both "functional aspects" and "identity components". Baumeister states the three functional aspects, then continues with a illustration of the components:

First, a clear sense of one's identity helps one make choices.

Examples of identity components are being a dentist,
 Christian, a genius, rich, . . . the fattest person in Cincinnati.
 . . . Any partial definition of the self is an identity component
 -- any valid answer to "Who are you?" (pp. 19, and 20)

Baumeister and his colleagues, Shapiro and Tice (1985), -- reflecting on the often cited work of Marcia (1966) which suggests a framework having four conditions of identity: diffusion, moratorium, foreclosure, and achievement --, distinguish between two types of identity crises, "motivational" and "legitimization" (see Table 1).

Baumeister and his colleagues suggest that their first category, "motivational," corresponds to the absence of identity attainment in "adolescence." This single category proposed by Baumeister overlaps two conditions defined by Marcia, "diffusion" and "moratorium," under which

conditions no commitment is made by the young individual. The framework for a motivational crisis is outlined in Table 1.

On the other hand, suggesting that "perhaps all identity crises do not have the same kind of process," Baumeister (1986) postulates a second type of crisis, an "identity conflict" or a "legitimization crisis". This, he says:

. . . refers to the multiply defined self whose multiple definitions are incompatible. More simply put, the different components of someone's identity are in conflict. The person suffering from identity crisis (unlike identity deficit) has firm commitments. But the different commitments make impossible or incompatible demands. The situation makes it impossible to choose and to act consistently with all the person's values and goals; one commitment may have to be betrayed. (pp. 199-200)

Perhaps this is the conflict which is felt by some adults whose residential relocation has removed them from a number of salient, reinforcing, daily activity-patterns (Fried, 1963; Lowenthal & Robinson, 1976; Parkes, 1972; Seidenberg, 1973). In the destination-environment these individuals may face the identity conflict suggested by Baumeister, Shapiro, and Tice (1985), posing the question to themselves, "Is this me?"

Table 1. Two Interpretations of Four Conditions of Identity Attainment

Condition	Marcia			Baumeister
	<u>Phases of Attainment of Identity</u>			Possible crisis condition
	Exploration	Commitment	Attainment	
Diffusion	No	No	No	Motivational
Moratorium	Yes	No	No	Motivational
Foreclosure	No	Yes	Yes	Legitimization
Achievement	Yes	Yes	Yes	Legitimization

If multiple salient role-identities have been adversely impacted by a single intervention, moving, this would strongly suggest a connection between physical settings, the locus of daily activity-patterns, and feelings about the self. The possibility of such an internal conflict existing suggests that a person's identity may be tied to place. Lavin and Agastein (1984), concerned with the imagery of place, suggest that:

When foreclosed individuals relocate or encounter dramatic changes within the places which support their identity, serious emotional stress will ensue, unless the new or transformed place makes very similar demands and offers very similar social and environmental supports to identity. For the person characterized by identity achievement, that is, successful conclusion of identity crisis, identity is less dependent on external props. (p. 55)

There is also the possibility of a fifth identity mode in addition to the four ego-psychology modes outlined above. The fifth condition, one of "transformation," where there may be a desire to alter an attained identity, is discussed by Lavin and Agastein (1984). In this

last case, self seeks to change identity, perhaps by moving from one place to another.

Place and Identity: Bridging the Theoretical Gap

Returning to the work of McCall and Simmons (1978), it is McCall and Simmons conceptual framework which permits the theoretical gap between the consideration of self and identity on the one hand, and the physical setting on the other, to be bridged. McCall and Simmons (1978, pp. xiv-xv, 11, 227) call the physical setting "where" and position it side by side with "who", "what", and "when", giving it equal emphasis in their theoretical perspective (see Figure 2).

Study of the *where* of social behavior has . . . advanced over the decades. Of particular importance has been the notable surge in micro-ecology and environmental psychology, studying respectively the interpersonal allocation of space and effects of places and spaces on social and psychological variables. (p. xv)

The inclusion of "where," is something that other role theorists have not always done. This is a point made by Harold Proshansky (1978), commenting on the theoretical conceptualization of the development of "self-identity" in the child. He says:

These roles and group designations and their related experiences are used to explain the formation and development of individual self-identity. What is most striking by its conspicuous absence in all of these conceptualizations, however, is the utter disregard for the influence of physical settings generally, and in particular for the places and spaces that provide the physical contexts for all of the social and cultural influences on the self

noted above. The family is not simply a mother, a father, brothers and sisters; it is also a place called home. (p. 155)

The "role-identity" model suggested by McCall and Simmons furnishes a theoretical framework which is contextual while embracing both identity and "where" or place (see Figure 2). McCall and Simmons propose that there are four elements to a single role-identity: Who, as in "Who else is involved?"; What, as, for example, "What is the activity?"; When, the temporal component, "When does this interaction occur?"; and finally, Where, the question about setting, "Where does the interaction take place?" Their conceptual framework is a theoretical cornerstone in conducting this research.

The role-identity conceptualization offers an illustrative approach for describing events over the life cycle which are more sympathetic to the phenomenological experience of daily life than those of ego-identity. The role-identity approach, from a symbolic interactionism¹⁶ frame of reference, recognizes as important contributions the works of George Herbert Mead (1934) and William James¹⁷ (1984). Drawing from the symbolic interactionist perspective, it is possible to consider how identity is tied to role.

¹⁶A useful genealogy of symbolic interactionist thinking is found in the opening chapters of Weigert, Teitge and Teitge (1986), *Society and Identity*, and in Stryker (1981).

¹⁷William James (1984) in *Psychology: Briefer Course*, first published in 1892, discusses the possibility of multiple-selves, and the "me" / "I" dialogue, later taken up by George Herbert Mead. Anticipating the possibility of place-identity, James says, "In its widest possible sense, a man's Me is the sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors, and friends, his

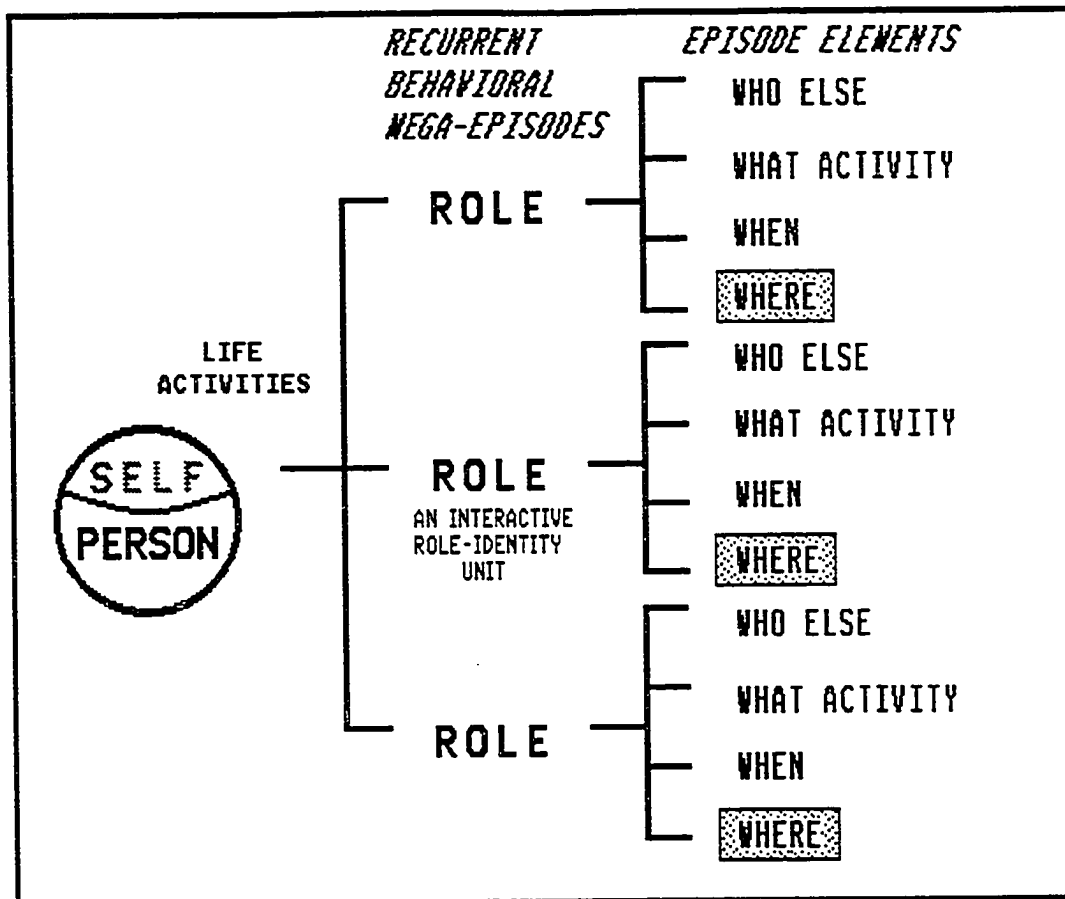


Figure 2. A framework in which place and identity can interact.

Role and Identity: Links Between Two Concepts

The conceptual linkages are constructed in roughly the following manner. Identity is viewed as one element of the larger concept of "self," and self is thought to take meaning from interaction with objects and others in daily life (James, 1984; Mead, 1934). The terms "self," "self-esteem," and "identity" are closely related conceptual descriptors of how we see and feel about ourselves.

reputation and works, his lands and horses, and yacht and bank-account" (p. 160). He goes on to suggest a hierarchy of "mes" [sic] (p. 170).

McCall and Simmons (1978), in their discussion of identity, suggest that various conditions may cause role-identities to be ranked hierarchically at various times. Of particular importance are those events which validate the self, or reinforce constructively our identity as a person. Finally, although not all behaviors or interactions are within the domain of a role or sets of roles, many such interactions are. Thus roles, as a descriptor of human interaction, can be an important conceptual link to identity and how we feel about ourselves.

Applications

Applying a role-identity approach to relocation, it is possible to spell out how moving from one place to another may dramatically accelerate the rate of role change, particularly with respect to loss of salient, validating roles, such as neighboring, or being a member in a geographically specific organization like a church council, a local job market, graduate program or high school class.

Although the nature of behavioral science research often focuses on problematic issues, such as identity conflict and identity crisis (Baumeister, 1986), many individuals may make stressful residential relocations without serious side effects. It is suggested that, because all individuals who move participate in roles in both the origin- and destination-cultures, a role-identity approach might help describe both those who have difficulty with post move adaptation and those who appear to weather similar stressful vicissitudes of moving with less adverse impacts.

Individual residential history, life cycle stage, role expectations, language ability, interest and patience in dealing with

ambiguity, and initiative in making social contacts may each play a part in post move adaptation. In addition, adequate planning and access to information are also important mediating variables. But the role -- the salient activity-patterns engaged in on a routine basis -- may serve as a useful independent variable in explaining adaptation outcomes. Finding legitimizing/validating activity-patterns in the destination-environment in a host culture may be one step that is often taken by those who are effective transferees. Helping those who have more difficulty finding these positive experiences may be a useful step in improving the success rate of those transferees for whom adaptation to a new place comes less easily.

A Change in the Locus of Activity-Patterns:

Wapner's "Multiple-Worlds" Concept

Place is frequently not in the foreground of the consciousness of the individual, it being more often the backdrop against which life's activities-patterns are played out. Harold Proshansky and his associates (1983), for example, suggest that the nature of conscious involvement with place is so taken for granted that it is not obvious to the individual.

While it is undoubtedly true that in the experience of daily life there is little self-conscious reflection on the meaning of home, the work place, or the neighborhood, there is value in articulating the functional properties of place-identity. (p. 61)

The work of Wapner (1981) and Hornstein and Wapner (1985) suggests an interesting concept that integrates place and the social milieu which they call "multiple worlds." Hornstein and Wapner (1985) proposes that

individuals live their lives in five domains: family, community involvement, friends, life's work, and recreation, supplemented by additional situations unique to each individual.

The notion of multiple domains of activity-patterns suggests a useful concept by which to compare and contrast the life styles of individuals who move. It is possible to visualize one person participating primarily in activities which about a person's dwelling place (see Figure 3, left-hand frame), while at the other extreme, another person might participate in extended multiple worlds (see Figure 3, right-hand frame), ranging over greater geographical distances and a broader diversity of experience. For example, many of Fried's (1963) participants from Boston's West End narrowed much of their life activity spheres to the West End, while others did not (Fried, 1980, pp. 90-91). It is possible to think of other individuals whose multiple worlds of activity are bounded by the local area, for example children (Greenspan, 1972; Goldberg, 1980; Kroger, 1980; Van Vleit, 1985), the elderly (Lawton, 1985; Rowles, 1983a; Schulz & Brenner, 1977), and possibly certain homemakers (Seidenberg, 1973; Weiss, 1973a; Weissman & Paykel, 1972). On the other hand there are those who have extended multiple worlds, or who, wishing to move to the next multiple world, seem to have less trouble with post-move adaptation. The duality between limited and extended multiple worlds suggests an interesting explanatory construct in predicting post-move adaptation.

It is plausible to consider the impact of a move first on the individual in the compact multiple worlds condition, then on the individual living in a pattern of extended multiple worlds (see Figure

3). At the same time it is possible to consider moderate and major moves. A major move positions a person in the destination-environment beyond easy access to the origin-environment and includes a change of work or school.

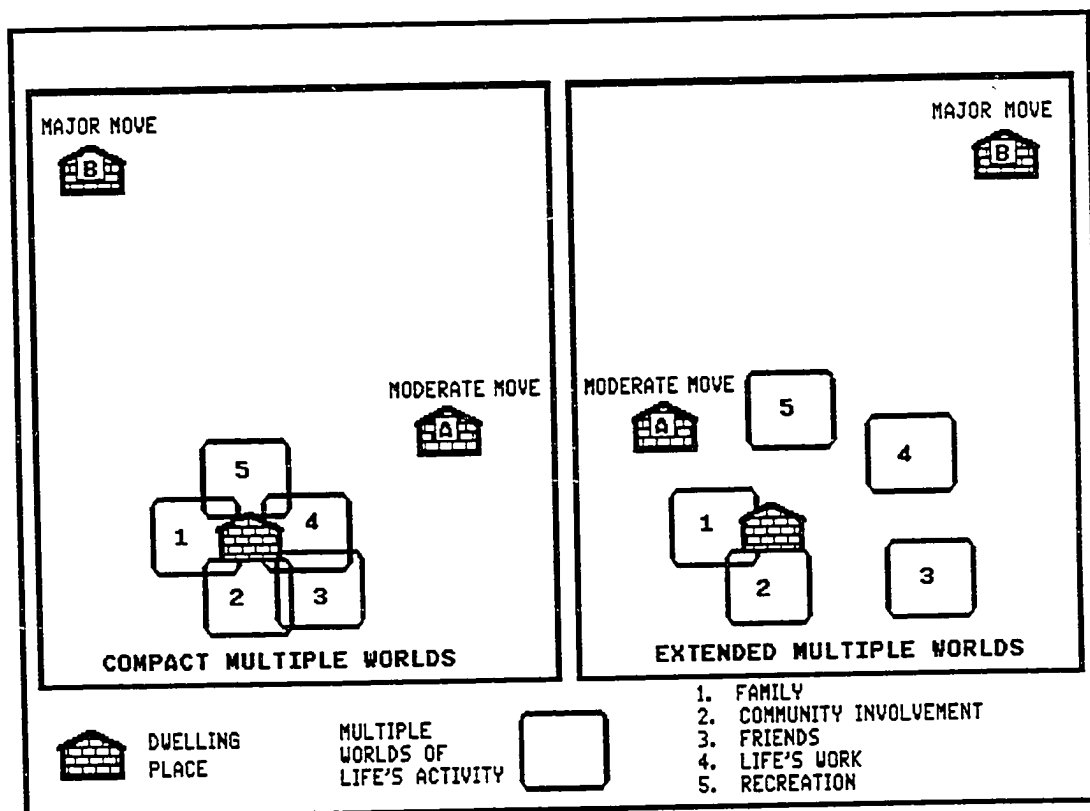


Figure 3. A framework for comparing the impact of relocation on individuals with "compact" and "extended" life worlds.

The multiple worlds approach does suggest domains of salient activity to be investigated. Of course there are many variations of the two categories, including the possibility that a moderate transition may include changing from compact to extended styles of living, perhaps through marriage or some other circumstance. It is these variants that leave many questions unanswered, for example what were the salient

changes-in-activity patterns for the individual? Although applications of the concept suggests some intriguing possibilities for exploring "compact" and "extended" role-activities, operationalizing the concept, which has its origins in phenomenological perspective¹⁸, needs considerable development. The work on daily activity-patterns described by Szalai (1972), Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976), Campbell (1981), and Andrews and Withey (1974, 1976), are useful alternatives. The multiple worlds approach will be left for future investigations.

Stressors and the Social-Readjustment Rating Scale

There are two reasons for the consideration of stress, coping, and adaptation in this research. First, moving often presents many occasions for an individual to appraise the meaning of events associated with moving as being within or exceeding his or her resources for managing them. For this reason it is important to outline the nature of this process. In addition, there is a conceptual linkage between coping, support and social networks, to be discussed in the following section.

Some stress is predictable as a function of the newness of the destination setting, particularly if it is in an unfamiliar culture or environment. Both daily hassles and the overall life transition of moving may cause stress and there is some question as to which is the more detrimental to well-being (DeLongis, Coyne, Dakof, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1982; Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer, & Lazarus, 1981).

¹⁸For example see A. Schutz (1964), *Collected Papers*.

The Stress Paradigm

Gary Evans (1982), in the introduction to his edited text on *Environmental Stress*, outlines the psychological stress paradigm:

Psychological models of stress emphasize cognitive interpretations of environmental conditions. Work in this tradition has been heavily influenced by Richard Lazarus's research on psychological stress . . . (Lazarus & Launier, 1978). According to Lazarus, individuals appraise how threatening events are. The extent to which an event will be seen as threatening is dependent upon a constellation of personal and contextual features. Individual attitudes about a stressor, prior experience with it, knowledge of its costs, and evaluation of alternative courses of action can all influence how an event is appraised. . . . An appraisal of no threat, for example, is more likely to occur when the individual believes the stressor is marginal, short lived, or relatively familiar. (p. 4)

In the coping and adaptation paradigm, Lazarus (1981) suggests two pro-active processes of coping. While one is problem-focused, including cognitive or behavioral efforts to deal with the source of stress, the second focuses upon efforts to reduce or tolerate one's own emotional reaction to the events. The process of coping is addressed by a number of other authors (Breakwell, 1983; Coelho, Hamburg, & Adams, 1974; Coelho, Yuan, & Ahmed, 1980; Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; Heller & Swindle, 1983; Hirsch, 1981; Lazarus, Averall, & Option, 1977; Moos & Billings, 1982; Pearlin & Schooler, 1979; Rutman & Freeman, 1988; Ward, 1984).

The processes of coping and adaptation differ conceptually from the idea of identity formation and maintenance. Self-concept and identity are reflective processes of self-assessment. Erik Erikson (1960), in attempting to more clearly define the subject matter of identity, points out that one of the four ways in which he has used the term is ". . . as [an] unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character." (p. 38). Benedict (1938) and Guthrie (1975) also discuss the importance of continuity in identity formation and maintenance. The linkage of these separate concepts is undertaken in the context of residential relocation where the breaching of daily routines is frequently a hassle and may impact the continuity of role-identities.

The Process of Coping and Adaptation

This discussion of coping and adaptation will work sequentially backwards -- from outcome to beginning -- by starting with a discussion of adaptation. This approach is taken to highlight the difficulty in operationally defining the process. Robert White (1974) suggests that adaptation is a compromise. He takes some pains to explain his position, not because common sense has failed to suggest this, but rather because the "psychological and psychiatric literature" (p. 50), beginning with Freud, implies that, for the individual, it is always appropriate to continue on, to thrust, not parry or retreat. White says:

In actuality, of course, there are many situations that can be met only by compromise or even resignation. Events may occur that require us to give in, relinquish things we would have liked,

perhaps change direction or restrict the range of our activities. We may have no recourse but to accept a permanent impoverishment of our lives and try to make the best of it. Furthermore, when dangers are real and information incomplete it is in no sense adaptive to march boldly forward. (p. 50)

White extends his discussion of adaptation by suggesting three critical elements:

. . . (1) keep securing adequate information about the environment, (2) maintain satisfactory internal conditions both for action and for processing information, and (3) maintain . . . autonomy or freedom of movement, freedom to use . . . [a] repertoire [of skills] in a flexible fashion. (p. 55)

Coelho, Yuan and Ahmed (1980) discuss the interrelation between stress and the uprooting associated with a move. They suggest that:

. . . [one] source of uprooting stress is the loss of sensory contact with the familiar physical environment. . . . Uprooting also requires the learning of new behavioral patterns. Uprooting disrupts the familiar social networks which provide mutual exchanges, emotional support, and self-identity. . . . The uprooted suffer from a loss of the sustaining cultural roots. They are required to relearn or modify existing competencies. (pp. 8-9)

The key phrases in these descriptive sentences illustrate the multiple reasons for stress to occur during the process of relocation.

Moos and Tsu (1976) point to Caplan's work (1964) in which Caplan addresses seven characteristics of effective coping. Moos and Tsu (p.

14) interpret these characteristics as: active exploration, free expression of positive and negative feelings, active invoking of help from others, breaking problems down into manageable bits, awareness of fatigue, active mastery and/or acceptance along with flexibility, and a willingness to change. Several of these themes can be found in characterization of coping strategy. Moos and Tsu suggest that:

Specific coping strategies differ in appropriateness according to the particular combination of situation and personality variables involved, but . . . [these] . . . characteristics can serve as general criteria in judging the effectiveness of a chosen pattern of coping behavior. (p. 14)

Major Life-Event Change Scales

Stress and its impact on health and well-being are also the subject of an extensive research generally addressed in the literature as life-events change scales, or social readjustment rating scales. Selected life events which are generic, regularly occurring, and commonplace are used in this research as indicator of change since relocation. Drawing from the work of Sarason, Johnson and Siegel (1979) and Holmes and Rahe (1967) several questions on major life events change are applicable to this research on residential relocation. This category of research was initially developed to offer an overall indication of the compound impact of multiple life stressor on the health and well-being of the individual. Other major contributor to the research on the creation, testing and evaluation of this genre of life event rating scales include (Bloom, 1985; Casey, Masuda, & Holmes, 1967; DeLongis, Coyne, Dakof, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1982; Dohrenwend &

Dohrenwend, 1974; Dohrenwend, Krasnoff, Askenasy, & Dohrenwend, 1978; Kanner, Coyne, Schaefer, & Lazarus, 1981; Ross & Mirowsky, 1979). The specific events, possibly contributing to a change in daily activity-patterns, chosen for this research are given further attention in Chapter IV: Methods.

Environmental Stressors

The environment, as well as daily hassles and major life events, can be stressful, for instance an individual may appraise a certain situation such as periodic, uncontrollable bursts of loud noise, like a jack-hammer, or an airplane taking off as stressful. These occurrences may meet the criterion described by Gary Evans, as proposed by Lazarus, and outlined in the previous section. Noxious smells, proximity to toxic waste, possible exposure to floods, freeway traffic, air pollution, and poorly maintained buildings all come to mind as possible environmental stressors. Research on environmental stress and stressors has been undertaken in recent years by a variety of investigators (Baum, Singer, & Baum, 1982; Evans, 1982; Evans, Cohen, & Brennan, 1986; Kaminoff & Proshansky, 1982; Lazarus & Cohen, 1977; Lazarus & Launier, 1978; Saegert, 1976). New York City is a quintessential urban environment. The Big Apple, as it is sometimes called, has provided the urban laboratory for research on environmental stressors of all kinds, and suggested the theory of overload (Milgram, 1970). To relocate to, or away from, one of the five boroughs of New York City in 1990 is to make a significant change in environment, perhaps reduce stress, as in finding a quieter less hectic place, or increasing stress by the absence of constant stimulation. Four letters to the editors of *Time Magazine*

(October 8, 1990), following *Time's* cover story on New York City of September 17, 1990, "The Rotting of the Big Apple," support this contention.

Almost everything in your article describing the crime, the filth, the homeless was accurate, yet I would not leave for anything. I am from a very small town in southern Florida, where it is warm, sunny, beautiful, clean and safe, and I truly hate going there. New York keeps me on my toes and makes me a strong, versatile and capable person. J. L., New York City. (p. 5)

As a New Yorker for 10 years, I can only say the city beats the hell out of Iowa. S. Y., New York City. (p. 9)

I lived in New York 20 years ago. Once I bought some bananas on the street for \$.12 a lb. The seller slipped in an obviously rotten one at the last moment and, when I complained, said, "What do you want for \$.12 a pound, diamonds?" New Yorkers were rude even then. I left New York, but I keep searching for it unconsciously. C. M., Cincinnati. (p. 9)

Give it up, New York. It's time to face the facts: the barbarians have won. D. M., Stamford, CN. (p. 9)

It is worthwhile to note that several authors cited in this literature review have completed research in one of the boroughs of New York City: Harold Proshansky, Karen Franck, Leanne Rivlin, Andrew Stone, Susan Saegert, Elizabeth Mackintosh, Stanley Migram and Oscar Newman.

The Social Context of Relocation

Moves can often disrupt social networks, placing the newcomer in a position where he/she must develop new social networks in the

destination-environment (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1976; Fried, 1963, 1980; Weiss, 1969, 1973a, 1973b, 1974). Several of these themes have been the subjects of extended research. The important role of friendship and informational networks (Fischer, 1982; Fischer, Jackson, Gerson, Jones, & Baldassare, 1977; Fischer & Oliner, 1983; Granovetter, 1982; Lopata, 1971; Verbrugge, 1979; Wellman, 1982; Wellman & Leighton, 1981) and the significance of mutual exchange and emotional support among people (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; Heller & Swindle, 1983; Hirsch, 1981; Israel, 1982; Rock & Dooley, 1985; Thoits, 1982; Weiss, 1969; Weiss, 1974) are two areas which have received attention in relation to a number of life experiences. Coping is also a topic considered in many of these same articles. The themes brought out by Coelho, Yuan and Ahmed (Coelho, Yuan, & Ahmed, 1980 cited in the previous section) have received attention specifically in the context of relocation (Christiansen-Ruffman, 1976; Cook & Weigel, 1983; Fried, 1963, 1980; Jones, 1984; Levin, Groves, & Lurie, 1980; Olson & Brown, 1986; Rubin, 1983; Sinetar, 1986; Weiss, 1969; Weissman & Paykel, 1972).

In related research a number of investigators have devoted their attention to social networks and the role they play in social interaction (Fischer & Jackson, 1976; Fried, 1963; Gottlieb, 1981; Israel, 1982; Litwak & Szelenyi, 1969; Rivlin, 1982; Weiss, 1969; Wellman & Leighton, 1981). Homogeneity and propinquity have been identified as elements of friendship formation in both urban and suburban settings (Ebbesen, Kjos, & Konecni, 1976; Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950; Fischer, 1982; Fischer & Jackson, 1976; Fried, 1963; Gans,

1976; Gans, 1981; Hunter, 1981; Hunter & Suttles, 1972; Kasarda & Janowitz, 1974; Michelson, 1977; Nahemow & Lawton, 1975; Webber, 1970).

Friendship Networks

Although a review of the literature does not indicate that investigators have offered a single, generally accepted, outcome measure for friendship, the concept of friendship has a number of contributing elements. These elements include propinquity, similarity of values, and multiple occasions for contact with another person. As with other change processes, there is an influential temporal dimension to friendship formation. The specific definition of friendship most commonly employed by researchers is the participant's perception of friendship, corroborated by the other party to the dyad, who confirms the similarity of feeling (Wellman, 1979).

When the relocatee is settling into a new place, friendship and support are often welcome but not always available or forthcoming. It is important to understand conceptually how, over our life span, a person has increased his or her social networks from zero to their present state. The interruption of one's network formation process, which can result from residential relocation, simply highlights the need to focus on available methods for making new friends. Barry Wellman and his colleagues (Hall & Wellman, 1985; Wellman, 1979, 1981, 1982; Wellman & Leighton, 1981) and Claude Fischer and his colleagues (Fischer, 1982; Fischer, Jackson, Gerson, Jones, & Baldassare, 1977; Fischer & Oliner, 1983; Fischer & Phillips, 1982) have conducted extensive research on individual friendships and friendship communities, both neighborhood/based and extended communities.

From a theoretical standpoint the literature on social network analysis (Berkowitz, 1982; Boissevain, 1974; Knobe & Kuklinski, 1981) provides a structured frame of reference. There are two available modeling techniques: network analysis and block modeling (Light & Mullins, 1979). Each has drawbacks. While the network analysis is difficult to bound, there being no formal way in which to determine where the social network ends, block modeling also has its own problems: it is difficult to acquire sufficient role-specific relationship information to specify accurately each level of relationship in the matrix algorithm used in this technique. Possibly the more parsimonious method is network analysis, for it has the advantage of being a useful heuristic while at the same time is an easily understood modeling technique.

In network analysis the individual is said to occupy a node (often connected to single or multiple social roles) in the network structure. Thus, the neighbor who is left behind as a result of a friend's relocation, might have 9 nodes around her as her circle of primary contacts (or friends). When the friend leaves one of these friendship nodes is vacant. Before the opportunity for a subsequent friendship can occur there must be someone occupying the node in the neighbor's social space with whom she can come in contact -- a new person must move in next door.

Once the nodes are occupied by friendship candidates, then such elements as frequency and multiplicity of contacts, propinquity, and homogeneity of interests become predictors of possible friendship formation (Festinger, Schachter, & Back, 1950; Nahemow & Lawton, 1975;

Newcomb, 1961; Rossi, 1980). For many individuals who relocate, the daily challenge is to develop and implement a strategy for rapid increase in access to friendship candidates. Of course joining or participating in one or more organized groups is one strategy. Another is simply to engage in those activities the relocatee enjoys or must be involved with, which also brings the person in contact with others. A striking example is raising young children, noted for being one of the fastest ways to make new friends in a community.

Networks and Social Support

The idea of support, particularly social support and support networks, has received critical attention from several reviewers of the process (Brownell & Shumaker, 1984; Depner, Wethington, & Ingersoll-Dayton, 1984; Eckenrode, 1983; Shumaker & Brownell, 1984; Thoits, 1982). People would like their networks to be supportive, but not all human contacts fulfill this desire. The critical question is, what are the multiple dimensions of a supportive activity which permit people to match their needs?

The intricacy of the support heuristic makes it difficult to operationalize. Although there is evidence that the perception of available support and human network contacts are beneficial to health and well-being, the precise form of this interaction is less clear (Berkman & Syme, 1979; Cohen & McKay, 1984; Folkman & Lazarus, 1980; Hall & Wellman, 1985; Kasl & Wells, 1985).

Several researchers have studied social support and relocation. These research efforts can be categorized into four groups: (a) research on institutionalized and/or elderly individuals (Echert &

Dunkle, 1984; Heller, 1982; Rowles, 1983b), (b) situations of forced relocation (Schill & Nathan, 1983; Steinglass, De-Nour, & Shye, 1985), (c) international relocations where cross-cultural adaptation is a primary focus (Lavee, McCubbin, & Patterson, 1985), and (d) domestic residential relocation (Cook & Weigel, 1983).

House (1981) suggests that there are four types of supportive acts -- emotional, appraisal, informational and instrumental -- which can interact with one or more of nine sources (spouse, relative, friend, etc.). Fischer (1982) suggests, in a study of residents of Northern California communities, that there may be some adequate as opposed to inadequate levels of social contacts for various types of social relationship needs outside of the household. Fischer codes the findings as follows: adequate levels of contacts for discussing personal matters and seeking advice ("counselling") were two or more individuals, while for social activities ("companionship") and discussing work, care of the home and lending money ("practical") four or more individuals were considered adequate (pp. 126-127).

Specifically with respect to an individual's vulnerability to distress associated with relocation several additional dimensions can be important. Three of these are discussed by Stokols, Shumaker, & Martinez, (1983): (a) the individual's residential history, (b) the temporal nature of the adaptation process, and (c) the individual's overall perception of congruence of the new place with personal objectives -- fit.

Criticism of the Social Support Paradigm

Recent reviews of research on social support, as a mediator of stress, are somewhat equivocal on the efficacy of social support across varying situations (Brownell & Shumaker, 1984; House & Kahn, 1985; Kasl & Wells, 1985; Thoits, 1982). From a research point of view there are also several unresolved conceptual issues. First, human interaction can both be stress producing and stress reducing, raising some concern over whether the presence or absence of interaction is most effective, depending on the situation. Second, there is often an interaction between stress and support. How is this to be treated conceptually (Thoits, 1982)? Third, there are, among other categories, both life events (Holmes & Rahe, 1967; Ross & Mirowsky, 1979), and daily hassles that can cause stress and impair health (DeLongis, Coyne, Dakof, Folkman, & Lazarus, 1982). However the conceptual model of social support interaction with stress may differ under the separate assumptions.

From an applied point of view, Rook & Dooley (1985), in their discussion of social support intervention in the buffering hypothesis model, question each of seven implicit assumptions of the stress-coping-social support paradigm. These authors suggest that researchers and practitioners collaborate to set a joint agenda which will systematically examine the multi-dimensional nature of social support. Of course, one possible example of a joint, applied research area of inquiry can be the social relationship needs of the relocated individual.

Research on individuals displaced for various reasons often makes inquiries into elements of social support. Steinglass, De-Nour, and Shye (1985) conducted their research in a small Israeli community of 500 homes in the Sinai Desert at the time of the Camp David Accords. In the stressful third week prior to the evacuation of the community, Steinglass's group canvassed remaining residents with a survey questionnaire focusing on psychological and social adjustment to their move. Using a multiple regression analysis, the results in part indicated that size of social network of both relations and non-relations was projected to be strongly correlated with the social adjustment scale used by these researchers.

Current Use of Support Networks in Relocation

The use of locally based support groups, particularly for employed women and homemakers in domestic relocation, has recently received attention in the literature of both social researchers (Cook & Weigel, 1983; Levin, Groves, & Lurie, 1980; Olson & Brown, 1986; Sherwood & DeSimone, 1983) and organization management (Levenson & Hollmann, 1980; Groh, 1984). Among the critical topics for discussion are employment counseling (Newton, 1984), adapting to temporary situational isolation from sources of support (Lopata, 1973a; Thoits, 1983; Weiss, 1973b), and methods for rapidly increasing the extent of social networks (Fischer & Phillips, 1982; Granovetter, 1982; Kadushin, 1983; Larner, 1985; Rubin, 1983; Wellman, 1982; Wellman & Leighton, 1981; Wireman, 1984) in anticipation of making new friends. The question remains, of course, what if networking is not the individual's style? Perhaps other, slower, but every bit as satisfying forms of reinforcement substitution

are possible -- find the things that satisfy, with emphasis on interaction with others, and do them regularly.

Contextual Competence

The conceptual notion of competence was introduced by Robert White (1959, 1976) as an approach to the motivation to achieve mastery over one's social/physical environment. Harold Proshansky and his associates (1983) discuss their interpretation of competence with respect to environmental skills:

The person must have *environmental competence*, such that he or she knows what to do and how to behave in relation to the physical setting as dictated by his or her understanding of it. The competence includes using the setting as it is in light of all its properties including its objects and facilities as well as the presence of other people. (p. 72)

Their discussion is centered on the importance of attaining environmental skills and environmental understanding in order that the individual may know ". . . a physical setting, be able to detect changes in it and to grasp what has to be done about changing it" (p. 72).

The extent and duration of the learning, for young and old alike, may depend on several variables: ability level, motivation, and degree of dissimilarity between old and new settings. A number of researchers have discussed approaches to becoming effective in a new setting. Some of these approaches include making new friends, finding reliable sources of information, and stepping beyond one's own group in a new culture (Jones, 1984; Kepler, Kepler, Gaither, & Gaither, 1984; Levin, Groves, & Lurie, 1980; Oberg, 1960; Rubin, 1983; Ruina, 1970; Taft, 1977; Ward,

1984; Weiss, 1969, 1974). Engaging in these active processes is often suggested to those having difficulty separating memories of previous origin-environments from their perceptions of the present destination-environment.

One outcome of the progressive contextualization process is contextual competence and mastery of the social and physical settings (Dinges & Duffy, 1979; Hinkle, 1974; Kaminoff & Proshansky, 1982; Lee, 1979; Taft, 1977). Way-finding (Devlin, 1976) and knowing one's way around the social milieu, do not necessarily correspond to satisfaction (Campbell, 1972; Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976; Fried, 1982; Michelson, 1977; Pervin, 1968; Speare, 1974) or adjustment (Brein & David, 1971; Church, 1982; French, Rodgers, & Cobb, 1974; Morris & Winter, 1975; Oberg, 1960; Priemus, 1986; Wolpert, 1966), each concept implying some element of congruence or fit. Fit (Caplan, 1983; French, Rodgers, & Cobb, 1974) can be constructive but is not necessary in order to attain place familiarity. It is possible to exercise considerable competence and mastery of the social and physical setting and yet experience dissonance with respect to that place.

Culture: The Social Fabric of Place

Places have as their anchors geographic settings in space and time but are more complex. They are, among other things, imbedded within cultures and subcultures. Culture is used here as a neutral term. Ward (1984) discusses the work of Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), who compiled an extensive review attempting to collect the many ways culture had been defined in literature. After noting 164 definitions, Kroeber and Kluckhohn offered the following conclusion:

We do not propose to add a one hundred and sixty-fifth formal definition. . . . We think culture is a product; is historical; includes ideas, patterns, and values; is learned; is based upon symbols; and is an abstraction from behavior and the products of behavior. (p. 157)

Ward (1984) goes on to say:

The most important thing to learn about the correct use of the word "culture" is that it is a neutral term. It should not be used to indicate something good, desirable, or perfected. To say that a person is "cultured" is usually an affectation; to say that a person is "encultured" indicates that he or she has incorporated the norms of a given culture with such thoroughness that the person exemplifies the culture. (p. 54)

The culture, or more precisely the experience of change in cultural ambience following a move from an origin-environment to a new place, where the products, history, ideas, patterns, symbols and values of the destination-environment may be different from the origin-environment, populates the literature on residential relocation. The inquiry into this experience of change is the source of the number of explanations of various forms and degrees of temporary cultural bewilderment.

Cultural Bewilderment and Surprise

Four related themes or accounts of bewilderment are found in this genre: *cultural fatigue* (Guthrie, 1966; Szanton, 1967), *culture shock* (Adler, 1975, 1977; David, 1971, 1972; Furnham & Bochner, 1986; Hall,

1959; Oberg, 1960; Sinetar, 1986; Smalley, 1963), *future shock* (Toffler, 1970), and *role shock* (Byrnes, 1966; Minkler & Biller, 1979).

Beginning this discussion with cultural fatigue, Szanton (1967), whose work focused on the experience of the Peace Corps Volunteer, "considered culture fatigue to be the exhaustion that results from the endless number of minute adjustments required for long-term living in a foreign culture" (Brein & David, 1971, p. 219). Future shock on the other hand, "suggests that excessively rapid environmental change characterized by high diversity, transience, and novelty, result in 'future shock,' a severe" stress reaction" (Heller, 1982, p. 438).

Oberg (1960), generally credited for having introduced the term "culture shock," conceived of it as an occupational disease of people who suddenly find themselves located in a culture very different from their own. Oberg stated that "culture shock is precipitated by the anxiety that results from losing one's cues to social interaction. The cues include the many ways in which one orients himself to daily life" (Oberg, 1960, p. 178). Hall (1959), writing somewhat earlier, defines culture shock as "a removal or distortion of many of the familiar cues on encounters at home and the substitution for them of other cues which are strange" (p. 156). The importance of cues, verbal and non-verbal, and their subtle changes when moving from one cultural situation to another, are also addressed by several other researchers (David, 1976; Guthrie, 1975; Steele, 1981). Working with cues, as a unit of analysis, might be a very interesting project in relocation research if cues could be operationally defined.

Not all researchers, however, accept the phenomenon of culture shock as a complete explanation for the disorientation a person may experience following a move. For example Mintel (1971) suggests that a person's self-concept may also be impaired. In a parallel, yet different vein, Minkler and Biller (1979) elaborate on the schema for role shock. Role shock they defined as:

The stress and tension manifested as a discontinuity is encountered when moving from familiar to unfamiliar roles.

Three major sources of role shock may be conceptualized. There are (1) changes in the relative "active" or "passive" nature of one's role, (2) critical discrepancies between anticipated and encountered roles, and (3) changes in the level of role ambiguity experienced by the actor.

Unlike culture shock, where causal factors are rooted in a changed cultural environment to which the individual must adapt, the locus of change in role shock lies within and individual's role, such that internal changes in self/role conception are required. (p. 128)

The Role of the Mentor

There are some suggestions in the literature for overcoming culture shocks of various origins. One that seems to hold promise is the mediating person as a resource and bridge to the new setting. Furnham and Bochner (1986) call this person a "culture friend" describing the person as a "an unofficial tutor in cultural affairs" (p. 250). While several other authors discuss this concept (Gaylord, 1979;

Guthrie, 1981; Seidel, 1981), Taft (1981) describes the sought after relationship and characteristics of this mediator in some detail.

The person must possess competencies that are relevant to each culture. . .

Knowledge about the society, such as its history, folklore, traditions, and customs . . .

Communications skills, which include at least the gestural and spoken language or languages (and in some societies, the written) . . .

Technical skills that are required by the person's status in the society, such as hunting, athletics, crafts, academic skills, and the ability to perform rituals . . .

Social skills needed in order to perform effectively in appropriate social roles. These skills require a knowledge of the rules that govern social relations with the society. At the same time, the individual also needs sufficient self-control to be able to perform the roles . . . (p. 73-74)

Although these characteristics are phrased in formal terms, they do not suggest that this mediator need become a close friend, nor does this person need be in the transferee's immediate social network. What is suggested, rather, is that the mediator be a resource when needed. The wise neighbor down the block, the pastor of a church, or a business associate might fill this role. In the United States Foreign Service they might be called "exemplars." These are the men and women who know

the ropes at a particular posting and are called upon to share the knowledge with the newly assigned personnel.

Cultural Distance Contrasted with Geographic Distance

Finally, in the discussion of cultural contrast, it is important to touch on a topic introduced in the first chapter, the possibility of traveling great cultural distances without moving very far geographically. This might occur, for example, when a change in status is accompanied by residential relocation, as might be the case in marriage or divorce.

Furnham and Bochner (1986) discuss the concept of culture distance and suggest, on the basis of their own research, "that the degree of difficulty experienced by sojourners in negotiating every day encounters is directly related to the disparity (or cultural distance) between the sojourners' culture and host society" (p. 122). Bakiker, Cox and Miller (1980) propose a 10 item index of cultural distance including: climate, clothes, language, educational level, food, religion, material comfort, leisure, family structure, and courtship/marriage. It is not difficult to imagine how a domestic move across town, for example from the Lower East Side of Manhattan to the Upper East Side, may be a cultural distance of some size, while the distance traveled is only a few miles. The outcome of moving such a cultural distance might be role or culture shock even though one remains within the same geographic locality.

Social Indicators of Well-Being

The literature on well-being might well be nicknamed the "happiness" scales. Well-being (Campbell, 1976) is discussed in this review for two reasons. On the one hand, it is given passing mention in

relocation research by Brett (1982) and Stokols and Shumaker (1982), while, on the other hand, it has a long standing literature on methodology for measuring quality of life (Andrews & Withey, 1976; Bradburn, 1969; Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976) which is useful as a multiple-methods check on the validity of the change-in-activity patterns proposed for this research. Social indicators research (Andrews & Withey, 1974; Carley, 1983; Land, 1971) anticipates that by asking questions about a number of life's domains across a large population some overall measure of quality of life (Rodgers & Converse, 1975) or subjective well-being (Kennedy, Northcott, & Kinzel, 1978; Levy & Guttman, 1975) will be obtained. The research maps (Andrews & Withey, 1976; Levy, 1976) the response of the individual on to some overall assessment of the affect (Bradburn, 1969) or happiness of the individual using the well-being indicators developed by Andrews and Withey (1976). Frank Andrews (1974) defines well-being as:

. . . Broadly conceived to mean the 'level' of life quality -- i.e., the extent to which pleasure and satisfaction characterize human existence and the extent to which people can avoid the various miseries which are potentially the lot of each of us. (p. 280)

Diener (1984) published an extensive review of the literature on subjective well-being, addressing issues of measurement, causal factors and theory. Some of this material will be given additional treatment in the "Research Design Section" of Chapter IV: Method. The primary reason for inclusion of well-being is as a multiple methods

corroboration (Campbell & Fiske, 1967) of the change-in-activity patterns measures described in Chapter IV.

Well-Being and the Trait of Internal/External Locus of Control

Angus Campbell (1981) discusses *The Sense of Well-Being in America*, reflecting on his years at the Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, drawing particularly upon his work with Converse and Rodgers (Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976). Campbell devotes a chapter to the "Personal Characteristics and Sense of Self" in which he outlines the outcome from a battery of six questions, which appeared in his work with Converse and Rodgers (1976, pp. 555-556). In the *Sense of Well-Being*, he calls this battery of questions "the sense of personal control scale" (1981, p. 214).

Perhaps somewhat mistakenly, Campbell adopts the term "perceived control" (1981, p. 214) to describe Rotter's concept of "locus of control as an expectancy" (Rotter, Seeman, & Liverant, 1962). Rotter and his colleagues originally defined internal and external locus of control as follows:

Internal control refers to the perception of positive and/or negative events as being a consequence of one's own actions and thereby under personal control. Whereas external control refers to the perception of positive and/or negative events as being unrelated to one's own behavior . . . and therefore beyond personal control (p. 499).

Similarly, Campbell (1981) describes the "sense of personal control," thought to be measured by the battery of questions in the scale, as ". . . the extent to which people feel they are able to

control their own lives or see themselves as controlled by outside forces" (p. 214). Four of the six questions presented by Campbell (1981, p. 214) are included in this research as a measure of the trait of internal/external locus of control. Campbell (1981) enjoins a certain degree of caution in the interpretation of the responses from this battery of questions, particularly for adults.

He suggests that while "genetic factors" might influence the outcome, alternatively, a feeling about the control of an adult's life may be "the result of advantages [he/she] possesses as adults -- economic status, high education, good health, intelligence, good looks, and the like. Their sense of controlling their fate depends on their experience of having these advantages" (p. 215). Campbell continues, based in part on his work with Converse and Rodger (1976), by saying:

The resources these advantaged people bring to bear on their circumstances evidently enhance their ability to control their lives and their perception that they do in fact control them. (p. 215).

Having a strong sense of controlling one's life is a more dependable predictor of positive feelings of well-being than any of the objective conditions of life we have considered.

One could argue that the feeling of controlling one's life does not precede sense of well-being in a causal sense but is rather in itself a measure of well-being in the same degree that perceived affect and satisfaction are" (p. 219).

The cyclical nature of operant conditioning associated with the learning paradigm sometimes make it difficult to know which came first

-- positive outcomes or positive expectancies. Campbell bring foreword this paradox when applying the locus of control construct without giving attention to the context of its applications. This is a noteworthy caution considering this research project focuses on adults who have sufficient resources to purchase a home.

Rotter (1989) offers a constructive reflection on the "heuristic value" of locus of control, commenting on the frequent use of the construct across a variety of disciplines. He notes several reviews, including the work of Lefcourt (1976). A change of dwelling place suggests yet another condition under which to examine the locus of control construct.

Place and Place-Identity: A Review

A few researchers suggest that, in the context of residential relocation, some individuals may suffer from a diffusion of their self-concept¹⁹ and self-identity (see footnote 7) as a result of place-based change. The terms used to describe the experience of individuals in these studies are somewhat varied, as are the conceptualizations of self and identity, but they tend to focus upon the experience of a temporary deficit or crisis in identity associated with moving away from roles enacted in the social/physical milieu of an origin-environment which gave the self a sense of identity.

¹⁹"When we use the term 'self-concept,' we shall mean the totality of the individual's thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an object" (Rosenberg, 1979, p. 7).

For example, Brett (1980), in developing a theoretical model for "the effects of job transfers on employees and their families," describes the breaching of daily life events in the following manner:

Moving interrupts some of those routines by changing the environment in which they are carried out and sometimes changing the people with whom they are enacted. Such change is hypothesized to be disruptive to routines and threatening to identity if it results in feelings of loss of valued outcomes, . . . uncertainty . . . and/or lack of control. (p. 100)

Buttimer, reflecting on the experience of a sense of place (1980), elaborates upon the experience by saying, "It appears that people's sense of both personal and cultural identity is intimately bound up with place identity" (p. 167). Mark Fried (1963), reporting upon the experience of grieving for a lost home expressed by many of the participants in his Boston research, suggests, "In fact we might say that a sense of spatial identity is fundamental to human functioning" (p. 156). Harrington (1965

My argument is that the removal of the socially deprived to a new environment, which has the significance to them of 'getting on', can result in a disturbance of their sense of identity, where identity has depended very much on being a part of a group whose common ego ideal held no place for getting on. (p. 129)

Each research proposes that the individuals drew upon place for at least a part of their identity.

Reul (1971), while discussing "breaking with the past" -- a process many helping professionals suggest to those clients having

difficulty adapting to new settings -- says, "Since all the familiar things around him -- even the unpleasant ones -- are part of his sense of identity, this sense of loss creates conflict for the migrant that may be seen in some form of separation anxiety" (p. 9). Possibly this is a place-based example of the "identity conflict" suggested by Baumeister (1986; Baumeister, Shapiro, & Tice, 1985) as occurring in those who have already "committed" to an identity in life?

Rowles (1983b), taking another perspective on place and identity, reflects on his work with Appalachian elderly where he ". . . explores aspects of old people's attachment to place and illustrates ways in which such attachment is intimately linked to preservation of a sense of personal identity. . ." (p. 300).

Drawing from her own diary as a young cultural anthropologist in a unique setting, Wax (1960), 12 years after the publication of her first field work experience in a Japanese-American internment camp during World War II, reflects on her personal experience of identity deficit:

If her own image of herself had been clear and well defined, if she had been reasonably sure that she was capable of playing the role of a competent investigator, she might have found this situation irritating but not demoralizing. . . . The anxiety which this student suffered in trying to defend the self of which she approved was so agonizing [in the destination field setting] that she was unable to describe it adequately in her document.

(p. 177)

Wax's comments suggest that, for some individuals, establishing an existence in the new place may involve two constituent steps. On the

one hand, the person must learn the new place, but at the same time an equally challenging task may need to be undertaken, that of grounding the self-concept in the destination-environment.

The Conceptualization of "Place" in the Literature

Russell and Ward (1982) define place as "a psychological or 'perceived' unit of the geographical environment" (p. 654). Consistent with Russell and Ward, Lavin and Agastein (1984) suggest that:

A place must necessarily have physical qualities but these are not sufficient; the creation of place requires that an individual or group endow it with meaning. Place must, therefore, be regarded as cognitive and emotional constructions of individuals and groups. (pp. 51-52)

Relph (1976, pp. 1-4), referring to the identity of the physical setting and associated activity-patterns, provides an introduction to "the concept of place." In the framework indicated by Relph, he draws heavily from the work of Lukermann (1964). Critiquing Lukermann, Relph proposed that "A place is not just the 'where' of something; it is the location plus everything that occupies that location seen as an integrated and meaningful phenomenon" (p. 3). He then goes on to discuss being an "insider" or an "outsider" to a place. For example, one might be an outsider if one is a stranger (Schutz, 1964; Simmel, 1950) to a place. In this instance Relph is referring to something more closely linked to the identity of the person or group of individuals, saying in part:

The major components of the identity of place do not apply solely to places, but are to be found in some forms in all geographies,

landscapes, cities, and homes. The essence of place lies not so much in these as in the experience of an "inside" that is distinct from an "outside"; more than anything else this is what sets places apart in space and defines a particular system of physical features, activities, and meanings. To be inside a place is to belong to it and to identify with it, and the more profoundly inside you are the stronger is this identity with place. (p. 49) Lavin and Agastein (1984), referring again to the physical setting and associated activity-pattern of place, suggest that:

. . . place functions to support the self-system at the various levels of its hierarchy. Place serves four general functions in the operation of the self-system. . . . First, place has a symbolic function, serving to support the superordinate identity of a person. . . . A second function that place serves is to express the self. . . . In its third function, a cognitive one, place provides cues for appropriate behavior and for the retrieval of memories of past selves. . . . Finally, place serves an instrumental function, as a means for repeated contact with desirable groups or preferred activities. (pp. 52-53)

These same authors continue by saying:

In addition to describing places in terms of function, we can characterize places along a number of dimensions. Places may vary in terms of scale, temporal properties, boundary characteristics, aesthetic qualities, qualities of resources, social orientation, diversity of functions supported, degree of perceptual

accessibility, ease of modification, the modes by which they may be experienced, and their symbolic qualities. (p. 54)

Attachment to Place, Place-Dependence, and Place-Identity: A Comparison of Converging Perspectives

Humanist geographers such as Relph (1976) and Tuan (1980) outline the existential experience of place. A person's connectedness to place in the form of dependence (Stokols & Shumaker, 1981) and attachment (Gerson, Stueve, & Fischer, 1977; Shumaker & Taylor, 1983) have been formulated to describe the formerly overlooked and important position of place in the psychological constructs of an individual.

Stokols and Shumaker (1981), in their discussion of people in places, suggest that:

. . . places can be characterized in terms of numerous criteria, including their overt physical attributes, individuals' perceptions of these attributes, and occupants' collective interpretation of place meanings. We have chosen to develop a categorization of places based on their functional, motivational, and evaluative meanings as reflected in the collective appraisals of their occupants. (p. 445) [see Figure 4, right-hand frame]

The work of Stokols and Shumaker is cited here for two reasons. The first is to bring forward an important conceptualization of place research. The second reason is to highlight the fact that two parallel research efforts in environmental psychology draw from separate theoretical domains (Figure 4).

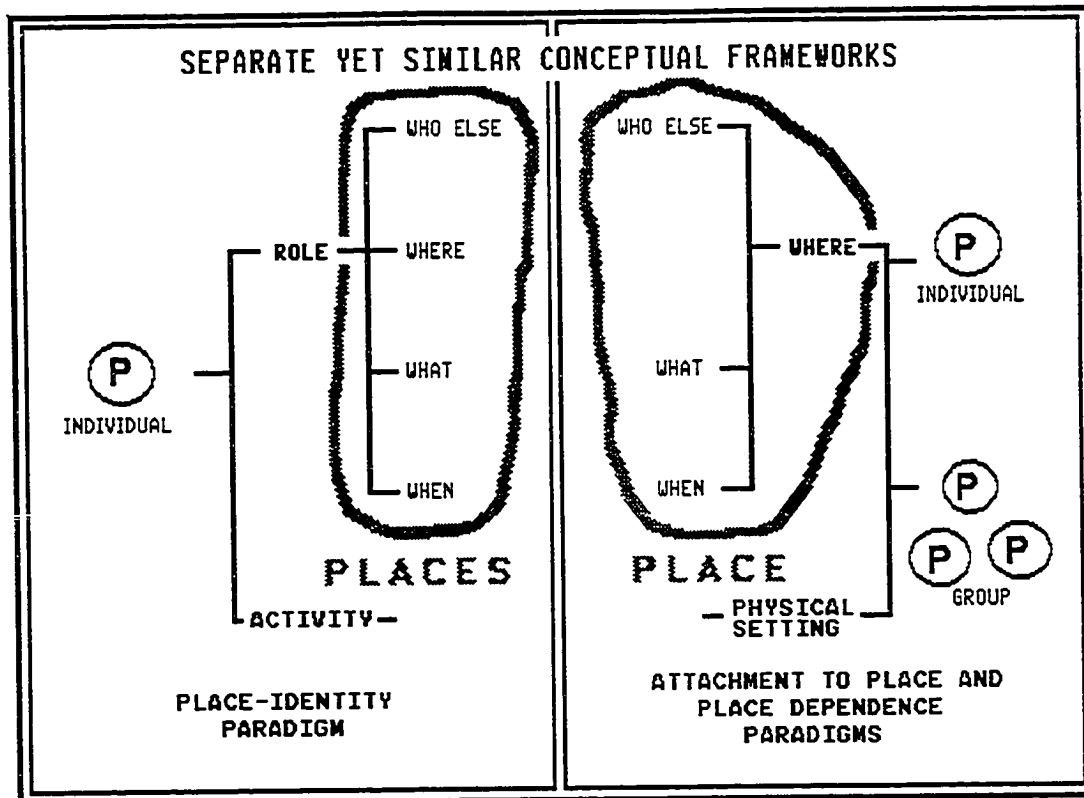


Figure 4. Comparison of two conceptual frameworks for inquiry into the interaction between person and place.

On the one hand, place research proposed by Stokols (1979, 1981), Stokols and Shumaker, (1981), and Shumaker and Taylor (1983) draws from the social psychological paradigms of cognitive consistency theories²⁰ and comparison levels of alternatives²¹. These paradigms, taken from

²⁰Shaw and Costanzo (1982) say "The term 'cognitive consistency theories' refers to a host of proposals based upon the general proposition that inconsistent cognitions arouse an unpleasant psychological state, which leads to behaviors designed to achieve consistency, which is psychologically pleasant" (p. 198).

²¹Shaw and Costanzo (1982) discuss the work of Kelly and Thibaut (1978) on comparison levels and comparison level of alternatives, saying, in part: "The adequacy of experienced or inferred outcomes is evaluated on two criteria: (1) the *comparison level* (CL) and (2) the *comparison level of alternatives* (CL_{alt}). The first of these is the standard by which an individual evaluates the attractiveness of a relationship; the second is the standard by which an individual decides

traditional laboratory research in social psychology, are well specified and have been conceptualized by Stokols, Shumaker, and others for adaptation to field research. For example Stokols, Shumaker and Martinez (1983), approach the definition of a specific physical setting, a "where" to be called "place," through a panel agreement (see Figure 5, right-hand frame). The work of Proshansky (1978) and Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983), however, draws from a self-system approach, reflecting the neoanalytic approach of Karen Horney, Erich Fromm and Harry Stack Sullivan²², and the theoretical work of Erik Erikson on ego-psychology (1960, 1964, 1968). This paradigm of place research often focuses on individual activity-patterns, as defined in terms of roles (see Figure 5, left-hand frame), and it will be referred to as the psychodynamic approach²³.

The concept of "place dependence" (figure 4, right-hand column), developed as part of a transactional analysis of behavior settings, is summarized by Shumaker and Taylor (1983) as being:

. . . an "occupant's perceived strength of association between him or herself and specific place." Extrapolating directly from Thibaut and Kelly's . . . model of comparison level and comparison

whether or not he/she will remain in a relationship" (Shaw & Costanzo, p. 85).

²²The perspective of these three psychologists is outlined in Chapter 5 of Ewen (1980), where he describes these theorist/practitioners as building "upon the work of Freud, Jung, and/or Adler. All three emphasize social determinants of personality, albeit in varying degrees, and share a marked distaste for Freudian libido theory" (p. 211).

²³*Webster's New World Dictionary* (1986), defines "psychodynamics" as, "the study of the mental and emotional processes underlying human behavior and its motivation, esp. [sic] as developed unconsciously in response to environmental influences" (p. 1147).

level for alternatives, Stokols and Shumaker [1981] proposed that the assessment of "strength of association" involved a two-component process, including an individual's judgment of: the quality of current place, and the relative quality of comparable alternative places. (pp. 224-225)

In the same article, Shumaker and Taylor draw on the earlier work of Stokols and Shumaker (1981) to propose a revised conception of the "strength of association" which they describe as "attachment". They suggest that attachment may be viewed as:

. . . a positive affective bond or association between individuals and their residential environment. The strength of this bond is determined by the physical and social amenities of the environment, residential choice, local social networks, individual needs and personality style, and a CL/CL_{alt} [see footnote 21] assessment of the quality of current place as it compares to past and possible future locations. (p. 233)

The reason for expressing these two conceptualizations in detail is to illustrate how they differ from the formulation of "place-identity" proposed by Harold Proshansky (Figure 4, left-hand frame). Proshansky (1978) defines "place-identity" by saying:

. . . . we mean those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relationship to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, references, feelings values goals, and behavior tendencies and skills relevant to this environment. (p. 155)

He continues by saying, "It can be properly and correctly argued that for each of the role-related specific identities of the person, there are physical dimensions and characteristics that help define and are subsumed by these identities" (p. 155). Proshansky and his associates (Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983) expand the limited focus of his conceptualization of place-identity to include, in addition to the physical environment, the social and cultural milieu. Sarbin (Sarbin, 1983) offers his own perspective on place-identity.

The perspectives taken by Stokols and colleagues, on the one hand, and Proshansky and colleagues, on the other, each have strengths and weaknesses. The cognitive consistency approaches (dependence and attachment to place) have the advantage of specifically addressing past, present, and future, while the self system approach focuses primarily on past and present experiences, being somewhat vague on the interpretation of expectations. The cognitive consistency approach postulates a dialectic between internal cognitions and external experience, while the self system approach proposes an internal dialogue between the "I" and the "me."

Darby Bem (1967) fortunately suggests a conceptual bridge between the cognitive consistency theories and the self system perspective. Cognitive consistency is somewhat narrowly focused, entering its research from a well-specified position, while, on the other hand, the self system approach anticipates a more broadly defined individual experience of settings and associated behavior. A next step for environmental psychologists may be to combine the strengths of each perspective into a unified approach to place research. However, until

this synthesis is achieved, the researcher, applying either perspective to field research such as that on relocation, should be aware of the subtle similarities and differences between the two approaches.

Physical settings and their associated activity-patterns are the observable anchor points of place. While a place, such as a church or a public market may take on an identity of its own, this is not to be confused with a unit of a personal identity. Personal identity may be drawn from a place by frequent association with the activity-patterns in the physical setting over time. Thus the place-identity of a public market (Figure 4, right-hand frame), as opposed to the personal identity of a patron of the market (Figure 4, left-hand frame), while perhaps drawing from the same physical setting and activity-patterns for singularity, are different with reference to the term identity. The first is the identity of a place, generally agreed upon by a panel of observers and given by them to the place, while the second may be a constituent element of the overall identity of a single person. Both are drawn from the same physical setting and activity-patterns. This research is primarily concerned with the identity of the person drawn from the physical setting and activity-patterns, not the identity of the place as agreed upon by a panel of observers.

Environmental Autobiographies and the Imagery of Place

There is an existing body of research on environmental biographies and memories of place, which draws attention to the salience of these experiences in the cognition of individuals (Anthony, 1984; Cooper-Marcus, 1978; Horwitz & Tognoli, 1982; Ladd, 1977). In unpublished research on relocation Walker (1987) discussed the frequent use of

comparison and contrast sequences by participants to arrive at a present evaluation of their destination-environments. Shumaker and Taylor (1983, p. 225), while discussing the place dependence concept outlined by Stokols and Shumaker (1981), explain a parallel conceptualization using Thibaut and Kelly's theory of comparison levels of alternatives which formulates the choice process between alternatives. In earlier research (Walker, 1987), it was observed that when participants compare and contrast historically created mental images with their present situations it serves as one means of determining the fit or congruence of the present situation with their desired outcomes (Caplan, 1983; French, Rodgers, & Cobb, 1974; Pervin, 1968; Stokols, 1979).

The conceptual elements suggested here parallel those in the dialogue between the "I" and the "me" of Mead's self (1934). However, in this case, while one voice is still conceptualized to be a personal cognition internal to the individual, the other element of the dialectic is the perception of external circumstance or alternative circumstances. The modest difference in conceptualizations of resident memories of experience has significantly different theoretical antecedents. While the "I" / "me" dialogue is a part of the self system and psychodynamic perspective in psychology, the congruence approach is an outcome of research on the cognitive approach to social psychology. Both approaches have been adapted to describe the interaction between person and place as discussed in the following section on home.

The Special Case of Home

Perhaps one of the most succinct descriptions of the destination of a move, a "place" for many individuals, is Hayward's (1975) description of home. He suggests that the dwelling place may have one or all of the following characteristics for the inhabitant: "a physical structure;" "a territory" over which some control is exerted by the tenant; "a locus of space," a central point of reference in daily life; "as . . . self-identity . . . people think of home as an integral part of themselves;" and "as a social cultural unit" in community with family or larger local populations. Home is a special case of place, yet it often takes some living in a place to make a dwelling a home. Bringing important personal items along is frequently a first step. A number of other authors and researchers have addressed the meaning of home (Anthony, 1984; Buttimer, 1980; Cooper, 1976; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton, 1985; Duncan, 1982; Horwitz & Tognoli, 1982; Korosec-Serfaty, 1985; Rapoport, 1985; Rutman & Freeman, 1988; Saegert, 1985). Spending many hours a day in a location like home again raises the question of interaction between place and identity.

The Possibility of Place-Related Identity

The exploration of the phenomenon of attaining and maintaining identity are to some degree constrained by the vocabulary used to describe the conceptual framework of the identity construct. Unquestionably role, cues, self, self-system, self-identity are all a part of this vocabulary at the present time. To a large extent these words are also used, at least in a research vocabulary, in the context of some theoretical perspective.

This literature review thus far has attempted to assemble a lens with which to view not only residential relocation but also the salience of place in contributing to identity formation and maintenance -- place-identity. Place-identity, as it is viewed here, is not a stand a lone construct, but rather one that is responsive and interacts with other constructs on role and identity (see Figure 5). It simply takes into account "where" along with "who else," "what," and "when" when discussing the psychological aspects of daily life. Daily life occurs in physical settings just as do social interactions, cultural differences, and the passage of time. Residential relocation is a, sometimes, difficult life transition which serves to bring foreword the potential importance of place by breaching experience in one setting an replacing it with a different experience in a destination-environment.

Trusting that a useful framework has been built by the preceding literature, *the review strongly suggests that place and identity interact*. The balance of the research, work focusing on the interaction between place and identity, will be devoted to the continued exploration of how place maps on to identity, using as a contextual source residential relocation.

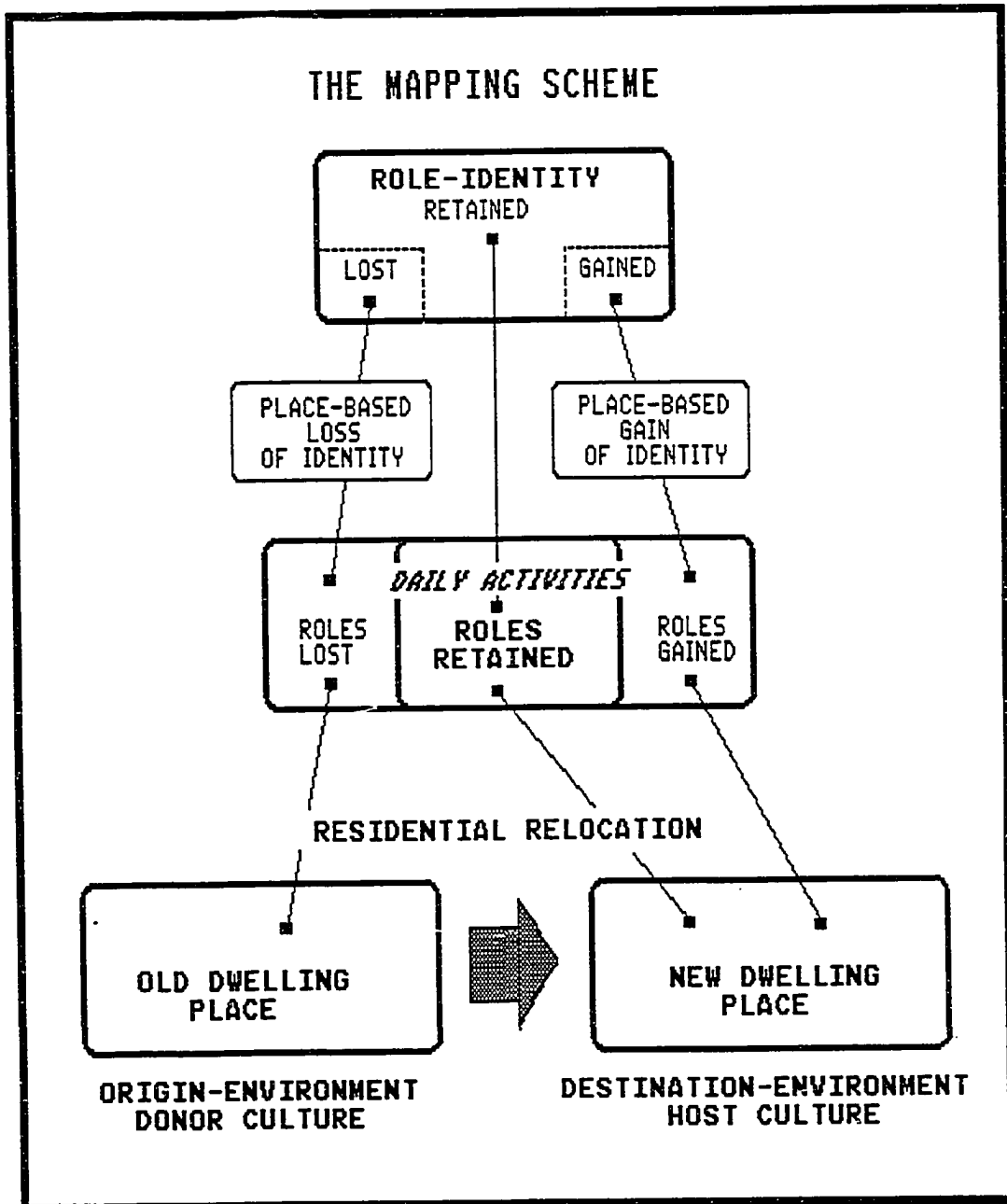


Figure 5. Mapping place on to identity.

Summary

The preceding literature review and preliminary research (Walker, 1987, 1988) have attempted to address several questions. What is the general context of a move sequence? How can one type of move be conceptually differentiated from another? What methods are available for investigating the possible existence of an interaction between place and identity?

Searching in a random manner for indications of an individual's awareness, perceptions, and reactions to diverse cues in a new environment, however, is a somewhat haphazard and exploratory process at best. Although awareness of place and cues appears to be raised by the change of residence, the nature of the cues is varied and often considered so mundane as to not be noteworthy, unusual, or otherwise significant to the individual. Moreover, it is uncommon for the question of identity to be raised in terms of cues or units of legitimization. Instead it is discussed in terms of major role changes -- graduation from college, divorce, retirement, new job, marriage -- or events -- major illness, death of a spouse, moving. Yet within these behavior episodes -- some written very boldly in personal experience -- are imbedded numerous cue changes.

Reflecting on the usefulness of aggregating individual acts and experiences into larger units of behavior, it is probably more realistic to inquire regarding the impacts on identity in terms of mega-behavior episodes, major life events or change-in-activity patterns. In order to focus the exploration, major life activities and/or roles will be used in this inquiry. These summations of cues and episodes are more easily

understood and discussed by participants. There is, however, a research trade-off. The use of major life events as an indicator may obscure the salience of a particular role element (see Figure 2) such as "where". Ideally, for this research, it would be useful to summate the salience of "where" across roles, but that theoretical approach remains only a possibility at this time.

Conceptually, it is possible to consider mildly positive or mildly negative cues which have little effect on attained adult identity but nevertheless are comprehended by the individual, for example, the absence of street signs in a new community. A more striking group of cues might lead to a sense of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a new residence, possibly expressing a modest shift in identity. It is also possible to consider a large number of cues which are so overwhelming that they collectively impact identity, a circumstance which was possibly experienced by some of the participants in Fried's studies (1963). Structuring the interaction between place and identity in this manner it is feasible to interpret the salience of the interaction between place and self-identity as a weighted progression of possible influences, dependent, in part, on the individual's preconception of what a place should be.

Within this framework it becomes possible to explore a number of outcomes for the individual from the experience of moving. For example, a major geographical change, with few cultural differences and moving toward something sought after, may have a small impact on the identity of an individual. On the other hand, a minor geographic change, leaving several sought after and meaningful daily activities behind, may have

great impact on another individual. The difference may lie in the perception of salient cues in the destination-environment.

The questions remain regarding cues. How many of these subtle, often mundane, place-based cues does a person perceive as changed and, furthermore, are the new cues evaluated by the person as supportive, positive, and legitimizing, or the other way around?

CHAPTER III: THE STUDY

Introduction

An obvious opportunity for a naturally occurring circumstance in which place-identity might be observed is when an individual changes the location of a major life activity. Changing dwelling places is one such life event, often requiring social readjustments following the move. This research will study the linkage between place and identity in the context of residential relocation.

A second objective of this study, having selected a major life event - moving, a possible stressor - as the naturally occurring intervention in this research design, is to discuss possible mediations and interventions which may ease the transition from one dwelling place to another. These are the two primary aims of the research.

In the process of addressing these two issues, comments will be made on some of the gaps in the literature, including the following three questions. What are the characteristics of a sanguine, as contrasted with a somber, move? Are there differences between men and women in their feelings following residential relocation? What elements contribute to the possibility that spouses will have similar or differing perceptions of a move?

Studying the Link Between Place and Identity

The preceding literature review strongly suggests that place and identity interact. The study will be devoted to the continued exploration of how place maps onto identity, using the breaching experience which often accompanies the change of dwelling place as the primary intervention in this post-only, field research design.

The exploration of the phenomenon of attaining and maintaining identity in adulthood is constrained by the vocabulary used to describe the conceptual framework of the identity in this period of the life cycle. Unquestionably role, cues, self, self-system, and self-identity are all parts of this vocabulary at the present time. To a large extent these words are also used, at least in a research vocabulary, in the context of some theoretical perspectives.

It is not clear, however, that a single role or a group of cues are sufficient to describe the phenomenal interaction between person and place. Other terms which might enter into this context are *behavior episode* (Barker, 1978; Barker & Schoggen, 1973; Schoggen, Barker, & Barker, 1963), *personal competence* (Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976; Dinges & Duffy, 1979; Lee, 1979; Moos & Tsu, 1976; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; White, 1959), and *life activity domains* (Campbell, 1981; Hornstein & Wapner, 1985; Szalai, 1972; Wapner, 1981), each of which has merit in this context. However, activity patterns, with emphasis on roles rather than on settings, also has a functional appeal. In this case, the term "activity" is conceptualized to be somewhat similar to a "mega-behavior episode," which extends over time yet is not necessarily limited to one physical setting. The activity might include a group of settings linked by the activity as a whole. Taking a child to school then returning home; running errands; or leaving work to meet friends for lunch then returning to work - each is an example of one activity which links several settings.

A person might be said to identify with an activity which includes several settings. The location of the activity is a locale containing

several significant settings: work-place, dwelling-place, school, and lunch-place. In the this context place-identity might have a companion concept, locational-identity, whose theoretical basis is the self-in-interaction and whose units of analysis are roles or activity patterns.

This issue is taken up at some length for, if place provides cues useful to the attainment and maintenance of identity, it may be useful to expand the descriptors of this process, or possibly create new units of measure such as "change-in-activity" patterns or "change-in-activity impacts," as are proposed here²⁴. This would be an addition to the research instrumentation available at present.

This research will approach place from the perspective of the self-in-interaction, rather than from the introspective perspective of the neoanalytic²⁵ approach taken by Harold Proshansky (1978). The determination of meaning given by "place" to an individual's identity from the psychodynamic²⁶ perspective is, to a large degree, dependent on the person's perceptions of meaning attributed to a single setting as a place. On the other hand, place or "where," from an interactionist perspective, has the somewhat more observable characteristic of being the locus of an activity, or role, that occurs in a setting or requires several settings to complete the action.

Working with the available vocabulary and building on existing theoretical structures, including roles and behavior episodes, this

²⁴These concepts are discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV: Methods.

²⁵See footnote 22.

²⁶See footnote 23.

research will attempt to extend the boundary of the understanding of the link between place and identity. It will suggest the possibility of a locational-identity as a companion theoretical structure to the present concept of place-identity.

Looking at place, using the theoretical perspective of role-identity outlined by McCall and Simmons (1978)²⁷, the units of research are the activities enacted as a role, rather than the cues exchanged between the person and the social/physical milieu. Activity is the primary focus, while the setting and/or place tends to be the backdrop against which activities are played out. Under these conditions it would be useful to find either a role in which place is highly salient, or a setting where many roles are enacted. Home and/or the work-place, recognizing that they may be one and the same, are two separate candidates on which to focus a setting-based inquiry into the interaction between place and identity. This research will focus on the change in dwelling place or home, recognizing the importance of the surrounding neighborhood and community and proximity to the work-place.

Framing the Research

The preceding literature review and preliminary research (Walker, 1987, 1988) have attempted to address several questions. What is the general context of a move sequence? How can one type of move be conceptually differentiated from another? What methods are available for investigating the possible existence of an interaction between place and identity?

²⁷See earlier references to McCall and Simmons (1978, pp. xiv-xv, 11, 227).

Searching in a random manner for indications of an individual's awareness, perceptions, and reactions to diverse cues in a new environment, however, is a somewhat haphazard and exploratory process, at best. Although awareness of place and cues appears to be raised by the change of residence (David, 1976; Guthrie, 1975; Oberg, 1960; Steele, 1981), the nature of the cues is varied and often considered so mundane as to not be noteworthy or unusual. This may cause participants to report isolated yet memorable incidents out of context (Walker, 1987). Moreover, it is uncommon for the question of identity to be raised in terms of cues or units of legitimization. Instead, it is discussed in terms of major role changes -- graduation from college, divorce, retirement, new job, marriage -- or events -- major illness, death of a spouse, moving (Holmes & Rahe, 1967; Sarason, Johnson, & Siegel, 1979). Yet within these behavior episodes -- some written very boldly in personal experience -- are imbedded numerous cue changes.

Reflecting on the usefulness of aggregating individual acts and experiences into larger units of behavior, it is probably more realistic to inquire into the *impacts* on identity in terms of mega-behavior episodes or *change-in-activity* patterns. In order to focus the inquiry, change-in-activity patterns or salient roles will be used to underscore the changes in daily events that may have occurred in life since the move. These summations are more easily understood and discussed by participants. There is, however, a research trade-off. The use of changes-in-activity as a major indicator, while giving attention to "what" has changed, may obscure the salience of the other three sub-elements of a particular activity - specifically, "who else," "when,"

and "where" (see Figure 2 [Chapter II, The figures will be edited when chapters are revised]). Ideally, for this research, it would be useful to summate the salience of "where" across roles, but that theoretical approach remains only a possibility at this time.

Conceptualizing the Interaction Between Place and Identity

In order to frame the primary question for this research, it is possible to consider the concept of identity, which is itself an abstraction of life experience. For the moment, the measure of identity will be placed on a single continuum which may be thought of as having positive and negative end points. The negative end point symbolizes a temporary decrement or conflict in self-identity, while the other end point might symbolize a particularly satisfying or reinforcing sense of self.

For an adult in mid-life, an example of a decrement or conflict in identity might be a move away from aging parents with whom the adult now identifies, as a caregiver. The decrement in this example has been caused in large measure by a change in locality of the adult caregiver. Because the propinquity associated with the "where" of the activity of caregiving was altered by a move, the activity of caregiving was altered, and a decrement in sense of self-identity may occur. The opposite occurrence, a particularly satisfying reinforcement of the sense of self, may occur when the same adult returns to the locale of the aging parents. In this sense, relocation is a door that may swing both ways.

Focusing on the adult who, having grown through childhood, has "attained a sense of identity," it is possible to contemplate some mid-

point on the continuum where cues exchanged in interaction between the person and the socio/physical environment in daily activities keep the attained identity in balance. Conceptually, it is possible to consider a mild increase or decrease in role-activity which has little effect on sense of attained identity but, nevertheless, is comprehended by the individual, for example, the loss of visiting with a former neighbor.

A more striking group of increases or decreases in role-activities might lead to a sense of satisfying or unsatisfying experiences in the destination-community. The individual may experience a temporary or modest shift in identity. An example might be Mrs. Phillips, the uprooted homemaker which Weiss (1969) describes. Mrs. Phillips moves to a new community only to find that things are not working out in the neighborhood she and her husband have chosen. They move again, in the same community, informed by their first experience, and have a successful outcome. It is also possible to consider a large number of change-in-activity impacts which are so overwhelming that they collectively affect identity, a circumstance which was possibly experienced by some of the participants in Fried's studies (1963, 1980). Another example of a temporary dislocation of identity is outlined by Wax (1960), a cultural anthropologist who describes her experience upon an early field assignment²⁸.

With this framework in mind, it becomes possible to explore a number of outcomes for the relocatees' experiences of moving from one dwelling to another. For example, a major geographical change may have

²⁸See Wax, in the preceding chapter for a compelling autobiographical statement made 10 year after her field experience.

a small impact on the identity of an individual if few activity patterns are changed and the cultural context of the destination is similar to that of the origin-community. On the other hand, a minor geographic change may have great impact on another individual, such as those forced to move from Boston's north end by urban renewal (Fried, 1963, 1980 Gans, 1962), if many role-activities were changed. The difference may lie in the perception of salience of the role in a role-identity hierarchy of the individual. This, of course, raises the question, how many of these subtle, often mundane, place-based, daily role-activities must a person perceive as changed before the person becomes aware of a diffusion or conflict in identity? Although this research will not attempt to answer this question precisely, it will suggest the theoretical approach which may lead to an answer.

The Research Questions

The research questions are raised in two sections, general and specific queries. There are four general queries, identified as questions I-IV. Answering these general queries requires the interpretation of both the survey responses and selected interviews. Responses to the specific queries, identified as questions V-X, are obtained by reviewing specific batteries of responses from the survey questionnaire.

General Questions

- I. What part do the participants' attitudes and preparations for a move play in their sense of well-being following the move?²⁹
- II. Apart from individual traits and personal characteristics, does the life transition of moving impact members of a household differentially?³⁰ .
- III. What experiences of loss and/or gain are felt as a result of moving?³¹
- IV. What is the importance of attachment to place with respect to activity satisfaction?³²

Specific Questions

- V. Does an increase of frequency in familiar or satisfying activities following the move, as measured by the *change-in-activity* variables, have a direct relationship to the affect

²⁹Responses are found in survey questions 40-45, and interview questions 2 and 4, Appendices A and B.

³⁰Responses include variables in two separate factor analyses. One set of variables come from the well-being battery of questions, numbers 13-37, 49-58, 60-62 and 66-68, while a second set of variables comes from a factor analysis of variables from the change-in-activity impact battery of questions, number 74.1-90.1

³¹Responses include those given to interview questions 7 and 8, Appendix B.

³²Responses include survey questions 63-65, 106.1 and 107.1, and the directed interview, particularly the two follow-up probes of interview question 1, as well as question 3, Appendices A and B.

- or feelings of an individual, as measured by the companion *change-in-activity impact* variable?³³
- VI. Is there a relationship between positive change-in-activity impacts following a move, and a pair of summary measures of change-in-activity impact?³⁴.
- VII. What is the level of well-being of each participant as measured by the "selected twelve concerns" developed by Andrews and Withey (1976, pp. 124, 346-348, & 392)?³⁵
- VIII. Is there a direct relationship between sense of self-identity following residential relocation and the outcome measures of well-being?³⁶ .
- IX. Is there a direct relationship between the trait of internal/external locus of control and outcome measures of well-being?³⁷.

³³Responses include survey questions 74-90 and 74.1-90.1 of Appendix A. The a priori hypotheses, regarding the directions of correlation for each pair of variables, are specified in the methods sections, Table 2.

³⁴The independent variables are described in survey questions 74.1-90.1, while the dependent variables in this case are the two summary variables 106.1 and 107.1.

³⁵The independent variables are survey questions 13-37, 49-58, 60-62, 66-68 and the outcome measures are survey questions 59 and 69.

³⁶Elements from the factor analysis of well-being and change-in-activity impact are used to address this question.

³⁷Variables of interest are found in survey questions 70-73 and survey questions 59 and 69.

X. Is there a relationship between the variables of relocation outlook and the summary variables of change-in-activity impact?³⁸

Relocation is not a one dimensional experience. Themes concerned with 1) change-in-activity impact, 2) well-being, 3) relocation outlook, 4) local social networks, e) attachment to place, and 6) the experiences of loss/gain as a result of moving are examined. Drawing the connection between feelings about the self, on the one hand, and place and/or settings, on the other, in conjunction with changing dwellings, will be as difficult in this research as it has been in past work on the topic. However, by using existing theoretical constructs, which have not, so far as the author knows, been applied to residential relocation or place-identity, it is possible to make a contribution to the literature on place-identity, while at the same time suggesting constructive interventions for those who have difficulty changing dwelling places.

The exploration of questions I to X is the central objective of this research. During the process of expressing the outcomes from these 10 issues, it will be possible to report on differences between genders and differences between communities. It will also be possible to comment on the critical role of extending social networks in new communities.

The literature review also suggests some additional dimensions which might be addressed in future research. Among these topics are the experiences of children, minority groups, and the elderly; the

³⁸Variables of interest are survey questions 40-43 and the summary variables of change-in-activity impact 106.1 and 107.1.

demographic dimension of life-cycle stage; and the cultural dimension of life style-change, to suggest only a few.

The Investigator in the Context of the Research

Field research and ethnographic techniques are in keeping with the traditions of environmental psychology. The sample was drawn from a Connecticut county described in the following chapter. The author moved across the country, with his family, to this county at the time he began graduate studies in environmental psychology. A year after arriving, he purchased a home in his community. His earlier research on relocation (Walker, 1987) was completed in his own community, although it is not one of the communities in the present study.

At the time that interviews for the present research were initiated in the Autumn of 1989, the author had been a participant observer of the ebb and flow of the county for several years -- a resident homeowner, like the participants. Thus, as the study began, the author was, to some degree, grounded in the phenomenon of moving across country and living in the county where the research was conducted, Fairfield County, Connecticut.

Several other studies addressing relocation have drawn sample populations from Southwestern Connecticut (Packard, 1972; Raymond & Eliot, 1980; Seidenberg, 1973; Weiss, 1973b). Fairfield County is within commuting distance of New York City. The county is also home to a number of headquarters offices of national and multi-national firms. Housing turnover rates in conjunction with changes in employment are high. It is possible that Fairfield County is among the most likely

sites in which to conduct relocation research. This, then, sets the stage and background for the reporting the research which follows.

Chapter IV: Methods

Introduction

Multiple methods (Campbell & Fiske, 1967) were employed to examine the impact of moving on the daily activity patterns of the participants in this post-only correlational design (Judd & Kenny, 1981). The research addresses the experience of the individual who has changed one, and possibly several, major anchor points of daily life. *The participant's experiences of change in daily activity patterns are the major organizing features of the research design. Moving is the major intervention.*

Thus the study is conceptualized to sample across a variety of environmental changes, examining a variety of individual experiences of changing dwellings. The participants in the research moved to one destination-area, Fairfield County Connecticut, but the origin-environments were quite diverse. Some origin-environments were outside the continental United States, others were in the Mid-Atlantic States adjoining Connecticut, while other origin-environments were in the Mid-West and on the West Coast.

In addition, the design draws upon multiple indicators. Chief among these are (a) the participant's assessment of impacts - change in affect or feelings - resulting from changes-in-activity patterns since the move, and (b) the participant's assessment of present quality-of-life, using indicators of well-being adapted from a portion of the life-quality scale developed by Andrews and Withey (1976). The indicators of well-being are conceptualized to be the major dependent outcome measure,

while, on the other hand, change-in-activity "impacts" are the major group of independent variables.

Moving, the naturally occurring intervention, is seen as one of many possible major-life-events (Holmes & Rahe, 1967) that may contribute to overall quality-of-life or general sense of well-being. The change-in-activity indicators developed for this research are conceptualized as a subset of the major life-event of "moving" found in Social Readjustment Rating Scales (Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1974; Holmes & Rahe, 1967; Sarason, Johnson, & Siegel, 1979). In this research change-in-activities are seen to interact with an assessment of well-being. However, impacts from change-in-activity may, or may not, be a major contributing factor to an overall assessment of life-quality. For example, other major life-events can occur, such as a serious illness, the birth of a child, or taking different employment. At the same time, on the face of things, a major move from one region of the United States to another may not have adverse impacts on an individual because satisfying activities and conditions were found in the destination-environment.

Although it is hypothesized that a summated value for an index of change-in-activity impacts (change-impacts) will have a positive correlation with an index measure of well-being, a cautious attitude is taken about asserting a direct relationship. This caution is necessary in view of the fact that other major life-events may occur in the participant's life between the move and the interview, a period of 9-15 months. However, a positive correlation between an index of change-impacts from the life-event of moving, and an index of quality-of-life

following the move would suggest that place-change impacts self and identity, as is often the case with other major life events such as the death of a spouse or the birth of a child.

Ecological Validity

Attention has been given to a design which recognizes the need for ecological validity in field research (Winkel, 1983a, 1983b). This has been accomplished in several ways. A theoretical cornerstone of the study is a construct which is contextually realistic for this research -- role-identity, or more precisely changes-in role-identities, due to a change of settings. The research inquiry is structured around a major organizing feature of behavior -- perceived experiences of changes-in-activity patterns since the move.

The investigation seeks to examine the individuals' experiences of changes across a variety of environments -- local, regional and international moves. Multiple indicators of an individual's affect are included in both the survey questionnaire and in the directed, open-ended interview. These indicators include questions regarding "gains/losses" experienced since the move (interview), change-impact (questionnaire), well-being (questionnaire), relocation outlook (questionnaire), and attachment to place (questionnaire).

Threats to External Validity

It is important to acknowledge that this group of households self-selected themselves into their communities, and the communities were selected on the basis of criteria which is discussed in the following section. Also, this sample is from a fragment of the population, married couples who are home buyers. Neither renters nor single

individuals were sampled. All of these factors contribute to the extent to which the findings of the research may be generalized.

In addition, the participants are all adults, each of whom is acknowledged to bring to the research his or her own residential history. That is to say, the participants have lived some place else before, possibly many other places. In this case, however, this is a contributing, rather than a confounding element. The existing literature on residential histories, reviewed earlier, suggests that past experience of home colors present perceptions of the dwelling place. Questions have been designed to capture this information, including questions regarding "attachment to place" and "a place called home."

A Working Premise

The assumption was made in this analysis that the performance of the activities explored in the study are sufficiently commonplace, routinized, and socially interactive so as to be classified as roles (Sarbin, 1968; Szalai, 1972; Turner, 1968). Thus, these activities may be conceptualized as contributing to various role-identities (McCall & Simmons, 1978; Stryker, 1983; Stryker & Serpe, 1982) and mapped onto feelings (affect) about change-in-activity following the move (Figure 6). An item by item description of the change-impact questions is presented in Appendix E: Change-in-Activity Impact Tables.

Change-in-Activity Impact Questions

In an attempt to capture information on major daily life patterns which may have undergone change as a result of moving, a new battery of questions was developed, drawing from the work on major life-events

(Holmes & Rahe, 1967; Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1974; Dohrenwend, Krasnoff, Askenasy, & Dohrenwend, 1978; Sarason, Johnson, & Siegel, 1979) changes and daily activity patterns across countries (Cullen, 1978; Smith, 1979; Szalai, 1972) and affect balance (Bradburn, 1969).

These questions, beginning with question 74 in Appendix A, are in two parts. While the first part of each pair of questions asks the participant to report whether the activity under consideration has "increased" or "decreased" since the participant moved to the new setting, the second portion asks the individual to make a current evaluation of the positive or negative impact of this change on his or her life. In effect, *change-in-activity is mapped onto feelings of positive and negative affect* (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 428) (Figure 6). The "affect value" of the response given to the second, or impact portion of the question, uses a Likert-type 7 point scale.

The values from the impact portion of the change-in-activity questions can be summed, or these variables can be used in factor analysis or multiple regression procedures to offer some overall indication of the somber or sanguine outcome of the move for the individual. The change-in-activity battery of questions includes: 13 change-in-activity variables (Appendix A, questions 74-86), 3 change-in-condition variables (questions 87-89), 1 recognition-change variable (question 90), and 2 summary outcome change-in-impact variables (question 106 & 107) -- 17 independent and 2 dependent variables in all. A detailed explanation of this approach is offered in Appendix E. The predicted direction of the correlation between affect (feeling about the

impact) and increase or decrease in activity for variables 74-90 is outlined in Table 2.

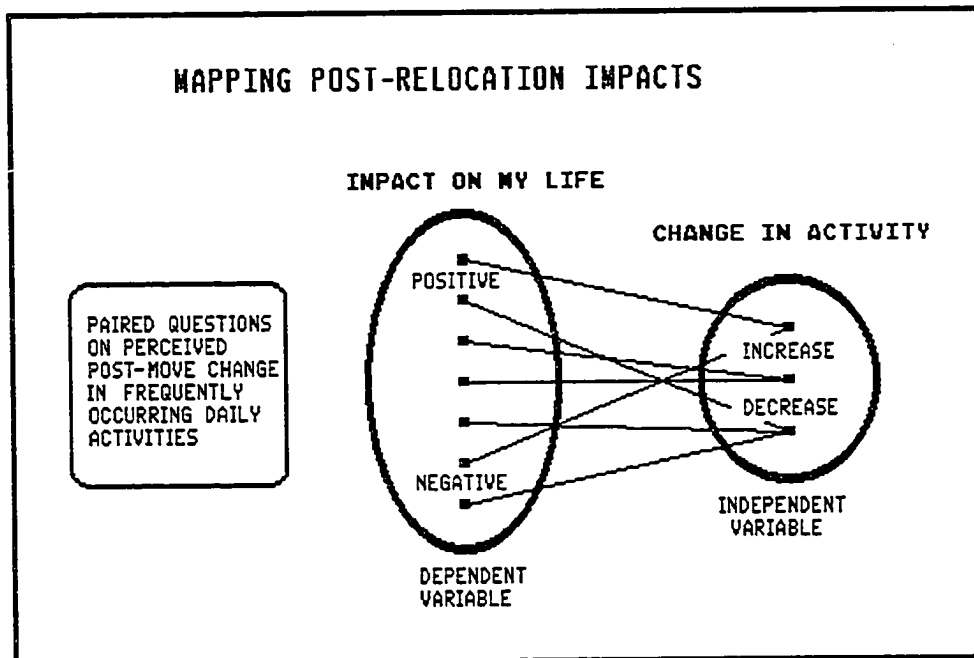


Figure 6: Mapping post-relocation change-in-activity on to feelings of positive and negative affect.

Additional Indicators

Several additional indicators have been designed into the survey questionnaire. First, a series of additional questions from the Social Readjustment Rating Scales (Dohrenwend & Dohrenwend, 1974; Dohrenwend, Krasnoff, Askenasy, & Dohrenwend, 1978; Holmes & Rahe, 1967; Sarason, Johnson, & Siegel, 1979) were included in the response format. This was done in order not to overlook the possibility of other simultaneous major life-events happening during the period of the research (see Appendix A, questions 91, 92, 94-105). Although the Social Readjustment Rating Scale, or its variants, are largely used as a measure of stress, when one looks beyond the outcome of stress it is likely that many of

the indicators represent role changes, for example, "completing formal education." For this reason, some of the questions found in these life-event scales are also found in the change-in-activity battery of questions.

Table 2. Predicted Positive Correlations for
Change-in-Activity Questions 74-90

	Change-in-activity ^a		
	Decrease	No change	Increase
"Positive" impact on life	74, 77, & 89		76, 78, 79 80, 81, 82 83, 84, 85 87, & 88

^aNo prediction is made for questions 75, 86 and 90.

The second check on the change-impact questions was the use of elements of the well-being scale, developed by Andrews and Withey (1976). Forty two questions on indicators of well-being were adapted from Andrews and Withey (Appendix A, questions 13-37, 49-62, 66-68), primarily chosen from what these two researchers call the "selected 12 concerns" (1976, pp. 124, 346-348, & 391-392). Two of these questions are outcome measures regarding the participant's "life as a whole," and "how happy" the participant views his or her life (Appendix A, questions 59 and 69). The remaining variables are independent indicators of well-being. Andrews and Withey's approach to social indicators of well-being was selected over those proposed by Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976) because it was felt the questions developed by Andrews and Withey

echoed the issues of concern to relocatees which were revealed in the preliminary research (Walker, 1977).

In addition, the survey instrument also included other questions which addressed attachment to place³⁹ (questions 63-65), relocation outlook⁴⁰ (questions 40-45), the trait of internal or external locus-of-control⁴¹ (question 70-73), extent of local social networks⁴² (questions 38-39), origin-environment of the move (question 9), and the presence or absence of "a place called home" (question 10). The survey questionnaire was also used to collect standard demographic data, including age, sex, number of children under 18 living at home, educational attainment, and whether the person lived in the area of the study at some previous time.

The Interview

The interview (Appendix B) was designed to supplement and corroborate data gathered by the survey questionnaire. Questions were posed to the participant regarding the person's feelings about the move, feelings about leaving the old home and neighborhood, and feelings about

³⁹Two questions on "attachment to place" were adapted from Fernandez and Dillman (1979). A third question on attachment to prior place was developed by the author.

⁴⁰The questions were developed by the author, based on prior research and the literature review.

⁴¹Four bi-polar questions on personal control were selected, on the basis of the discussion offered by Angus Campbell (1981, pp. 214-219). Similar, or paraphrased, versions of these questions may be found in Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976, pp. 555-556) and Robinson and Shaver (1969, p. 28).

⁴²The questions on "local social networks," and "a place called home" were developed by the author.

coming to a new place. In addition, the participant was asked about his or her expectations, reasons for the move, and how the dwelling was chosen. Critical questions on the interview included asking the participant "What has been gained?" and "What has been lost?" as a result of moving.

Administration of the Two Protocols

Both instruments were administered during a single visit with the participant. Participants were asked which protocol they would prefer to respond to first. This practice resulted in an evenly balanced distribution of administration of the instruments, with each instrument being given first about half of the time.

The Time for Contacting the Participant

The timing of the contact with the participant was planned. The literature (Brein & David, 1971; Church, 1982; Gullhorn & Gullhorn, 1963; Lundstedt, 1963) strongly suggests that during the period roughly 6 months after a major relocation the individual may suffer from depressed affect for a period of time, perhaps several months. In order to avoid intrusion on the participant at a difficult transition period, the research was scheduled to take place 9 - 15 months following the occupancy of the dwelling.

The Sanguine and The Somber Move

It is important to note that this study is intentionally designed to collect data on both somber and sanguine outcomes. By considering both positive and negative activity-impacts experienced by individuals, it may be possible to share with the reader the turn of events that contributed to creating a sanguine outcome. Taken one activity at a

time, it is possible that small, achievable, incremental changes may be identified, from the sanguine stories, which may be useful interventions in easing the pain of a somber move.

Sample Selection

Population Sample

The sample frame is composed of couples, husband and wife sharing the same surname, who have purchased homes in one of four Lower Fairfield County, Connecticut, communities (see the vicinity map, Figure 7). Brief profiles of each community are offered in Table 3. The median cost of a dwelling in the county during the 12 month period beginning October 1, 1988, was \$220,000 base on 11,816 sales⁴³, including condominiums, new and existing houses⁴⁴.

The four communities were selected because they shared the characteristic of having only one zip code each. Also, these communities had identifiable core areas -- they are small municipalities as contrasted with a neighborhoods of larger towns. The four communities differed in several respects, however, including: cost of dwelling, number of high school students attending four year colleges, SAT scores reported by the public high schools of each community and travel time to the regional hub, New York City (Table 3).

⁴³Connecticut Census Data Center (1990). *Connecticut Residential Sales Price Data for FY 1989* (Table XI, p. 30). Hartford, CT: Office of Policy Management.

⁴⁴*Harmon: Lower Fairfield County*, a free trade publication, offers photos and asking prices for dwellings in Lower Fairfield County, Connecticut. These dwellings are comparable to those purchased by the participants. *Harmon* is published by Harmon Publishing Company, P. O. Box 246, Danbury, CT 06813.

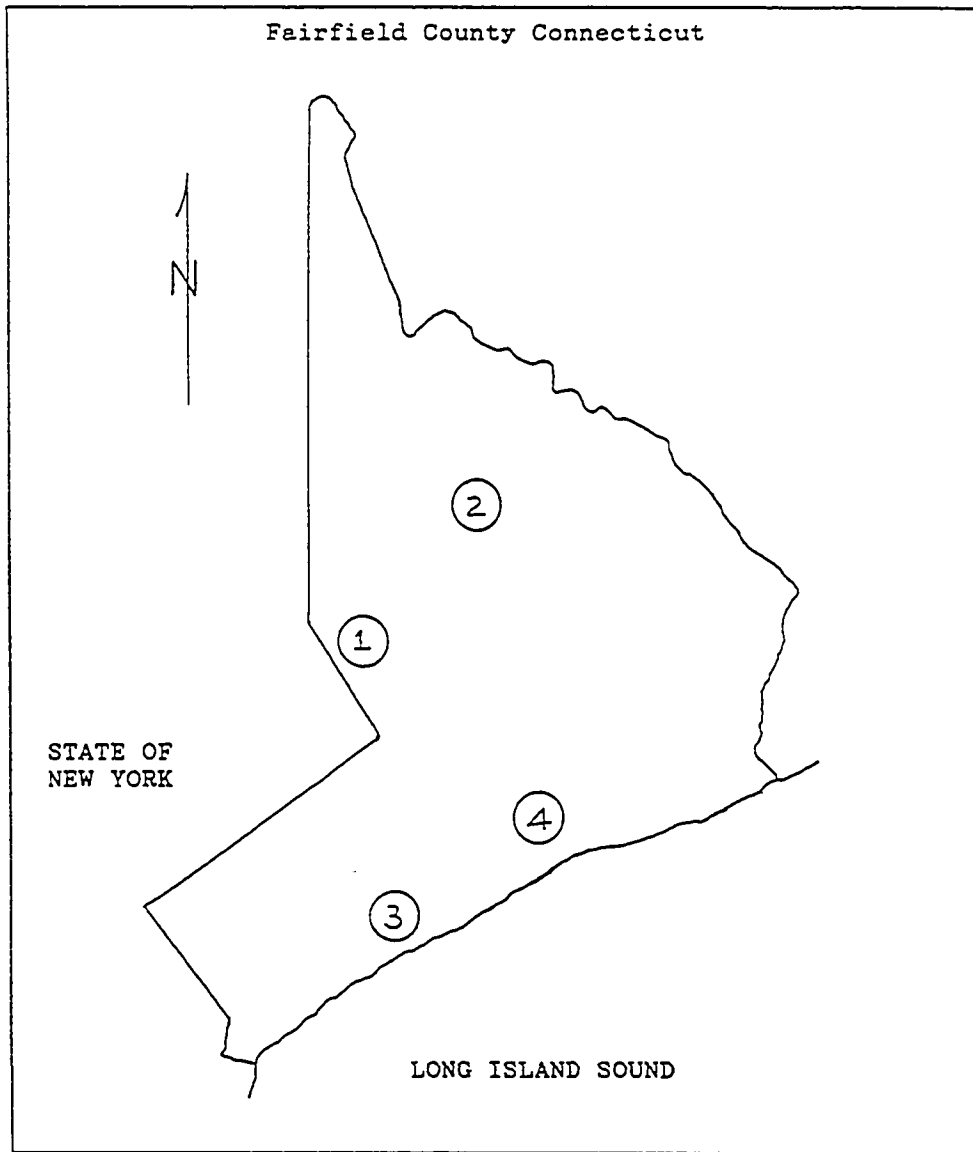


Figure 7. Vicinity map of the four research communities.

Married home buyers, as contrasted with single individuals or renters, were selected for several practical reasons in terms of research efficacy -- time, resources and replicability. There are a number of problems with attempting to gather a quasi-random sample of either of these latter two groups. Chief among these is trying to locate a random sample of these individuals. Using couples also has the advantage of equal representation from both sexes, across the same set of issues, something which is infrequently reported in prior psychological literature on relocation.

Table 3. Community Data

Source	Comm 1	Comm 2	Comm 3	Comm 4
Area in square miles	30.5	17	14.9	22.4
1980 population density per square mile	580	953	1,267	1,147
Number of ZIP codes	1	1	1	1
Travel time to New York City in hours one-way, by rail ^a	1:45	2:00	0:55	1:10
1980 report of those over age 25 with college degrees ^b	46%	25%	48%	49%
1983 report of students attending 4 year college ^c	78%	52%	75%	81%

^aSterne, M. (Ed.). (1985). *The New York Time Guide to Where to Live in and Around New York.*

^bConnecticut State Department of Education, (1986). *Connecticut Public Schools: Town and School District Profiles Bases on 1985-1986 Data.*

^cCollege Entrance Exam Board, (1984). *The College Board Guide to Secondary Schools: New England, Volume 1.*

Selecting the Sampling Frame

Names and addresses of home buyers are listed weekly by community in *The Commercial Record*⁴⁵. The sale of a home appears in the paper roughly 30 days following the closing of the transaction. In order to screen the sampling frame for residents who had been in the community for greater than 9 to 15 months, a preliminary list of names of home buyers was developed. This list was checked against the 1988 telephone directory for each community. Names appearing in the 1988 directory at a different residence from the one reported in *The Commercial Record* were dropped from the preliminary list. Names were also dropped from the preliminary list if there were residential property transfers made between individuals with the same last surname.

A final check of the current addresses and names of potential participants was made by visiting the city assessor's office of each of the 4 communities, checking the assessor's records of home sales against the draft list of potential participating households. This procedure may in part account for the high rate of delivery of contact letters (Table 4). The method of drawing the sample frame did not preclude inclusion of households which had unlisted telephone numbers.

The Contact Letter

The selection procedure produced a list of 321 couples who had purchased homes in one of the four communities of interest during a 6

⁴⁵*The Commercial Record* publishes every deed filed with every town clerk in the state. *The Commercial Record* is a weekly business newspaper published in Connecticut, offering statewide real estate information. The publisher of the *Record* is The Commercial Record, South Windsor, Connecticut.

month period 9-15 months prior to the beginning of the interview process in Autumn 1989 (Table 4). These couples were sent a letter of introduction requesting their participation in the study (Appendix C). The letter was addressed to both names shown on the warrantee deed, eg. "Andrew and Margaret Watson." Enclosed with the letter was an addressed and stamped return envelope along with a response card for each potential participant (Appendix C). If no response was received within 15 days, a follow-up letter was sent (Appendix C). The response rates are shown in Table 4.

The response cards requested information about individual's willingness to participate and asked for a means for further communication with the individual, including the participant's telephone number (Appendix C). Upon the receipt of an affirmative response, an initial telephone contact was made with the potential participant using a telephone protocol (Appendix C). During this telephone contact, the procedure for the research was briefly explained, participants were assured of their anonymity, a time was set for the meeting, and permission was requested to tape record the interview.

Table 4. Sample Frame Data by Community

Source	Comm 1	Comm 2	Comm 3	Comm 4
Couples who purchased homes between 06/01-11/31/1988	99	66	65	89
Non-delivered letters of introduction	2	1	1	0
Households responding	44	23	27	39
Response rate	44%	35%	42%	44%
Households willing to participate	15	9	11	21
Withdrew from participation ^a	1	0	1	3
Households participating	14	9	10	18
Participation rate	14%	14%	17%	20%

^aParticipants withdrew or were dropped for several reasons: 1) the participant became too busy after initially volunteering, 2) the participant wanted to engage in the study by telephone, or 3) the participant wanted to have the two instruments administered at separate times.

Most participants granted permission to tape record the interview. Occasionally a respondent was mildly interested in participating, however wished for the administration of the instruments to be altered, for example not engaging in the interview and having the survey mailed to the participant's home. These individuals were thanked for their expression of interest, but dropped from the study with an explanation, for example, the interview is designed to be administered in person, not over the telephone, or both instruments in the protocol must be administered at the same time, etc. The final group of participants

included 89 individuals from 51 households. There were 42 men and 47 women. While many couples participated, a number of individual men and women participated without their spouses.

Procedure for the Interview and Questionnaire

The meetings with the participants often occurred in their homes, although interviews also were conducted at participant's places of work, or in public meeting areas. An effort was made, when both participants were present, to interview each participant separately. This was made somewhat easier by the fact that there were two tasks to be accomplished. One spouse often went to another room, sometimes at the investigator's request, to complete the questionnaire, while the other spouse remained with the author to participate in the interview.

Immediately following the administration of both protocols the participant/s were debriefed. The author offered to describe the research or discuss questions which the protocol may have brought to the participant's mind. Often, extended, genial conversations ensued. Moving, it appears, is something few ask about but there is a readiness and enthusiasm for discussion of it. The research often opened the door for a sought-after conversation.

Data Analysis

The data from the survey questionnaire was encoded and entered into data files accessible by the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS/PC, Version 3). Selected open-ended interviews were completely transcribed using the issues raised in the protocol as major organizing themes, eg. what was gained/lost as a result of the move. The selection of interviews is described in the following section.

Analysis of Questionnaire Data

The analysis of the data from the questionnaire is conceptualized in three interacting dimensions: themes, individuals, and communities (Figure 8). Frequency distributions were completed on all questions. A check was made for skewness and kurtosis. Correlation matrixes were completed on all batteries of questions. Correlations were completed between summated independent variables of well-being and corresponding dependent outcome measures. Similarly summated correlations were completed for independent measures of change-impact and the corresponding dependent outcome measures of this indicator. The indicators of relocation outlook and locus of control were also summed and a correlation matrix of these summated indicators was prepared.

The response to both the well-being questions and the change-impact questions were prepared using a Likert-type 7 point scale. Taking normal license and treating these Likert-type scaled ordinal indicators as interval scales (Kerlinger, 1973, pp.438-441, 496-497), more advanced statistical procedures such as factor analysis and regression analysis, were also performed.

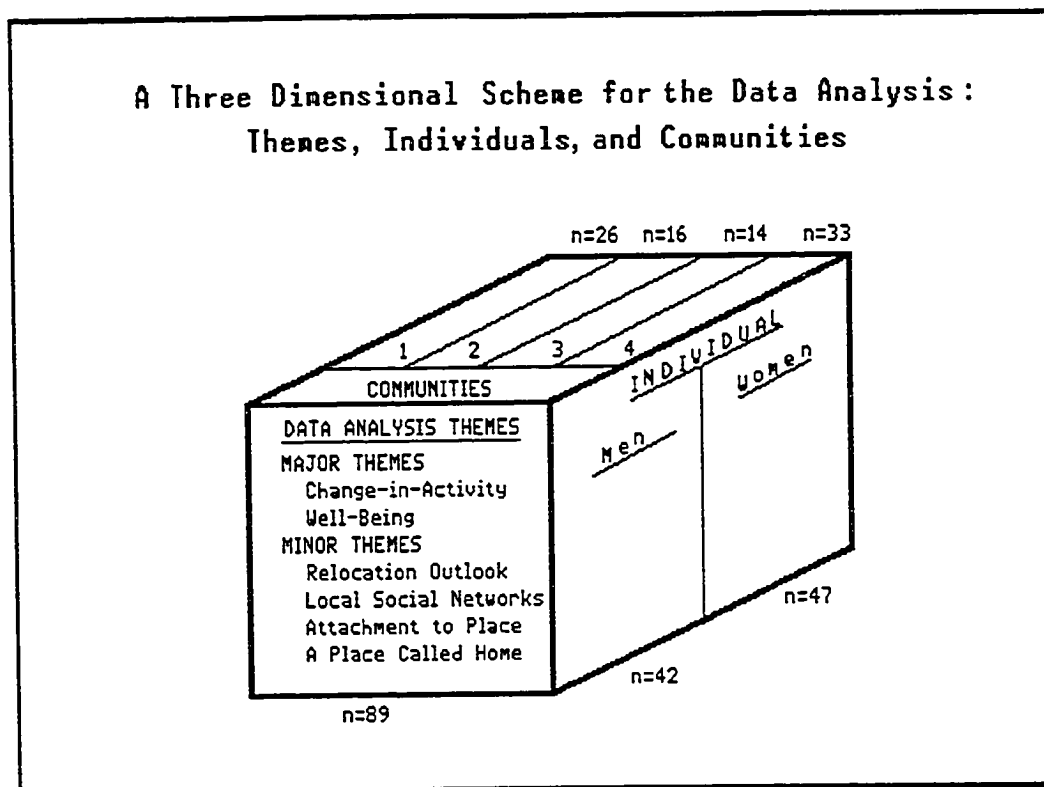


Figure 8. The conceptual scheme for the analysis of the survey questionnaire.

Individual Index Scores

A composite index score of selected independent variables of well-being and, similarly, a composite index score of selected independent indicators of change-impacts were summed for each participant. The individual composite scores for well-being were defined as an "index of perceived quality-of-life" in the destination-environment, while individual composite scores of change-impact were defined as an "index of a perceived sanguine/somber move." A high score reflected a positive outcome. Because moving is only one life event, among many, it was not anticipated that every sanguine score would have a correspondingly high

quality-of-life score [The correlation between the two indexes, however, was statistically significant, Pearson's $r = .497$, $p < .001_{t-2}$].

Selection of Interviews to be Transcribed and Analyzed

The index scores of sanguine/somber moves were normally distributed. A rank order list of participants, according to the index score, was prepared and partitioned into three groups: (a) those with index scores greater than one standard deviation above the mean, sanguine moves; (b) those with index scores less than one standard deviation below the mean, somber moves; and (c) the remainder. A sample of 1/3 of the sanguine moves and 1/3 of the somber moves was obtained by dropping the most extreme score in each group, then selecting every third interview. In those selected cases where the participant's spouse was interviewed, then his or her interview was also transcribed. Each of these 15 interviews⁴⁶ was completely analyzed using the themes of both interview and questionnaire.

Analysis of Difference Between Means

It was possible to explore the differences of means between men and women across themes using Student's t-test. It was also possible to explore the difference between communities on variables of interest, using a one-way analysis of variance. These tests were performed.

⁴⁶Of the 7 men and 8 women whose interviews were transcribed, 6 had sanguine moves, 6 had somber moves, and 3 had index scores falling between the mean and 1 standard deviation from the mean of the index. The distribution of this selection by community is: community 1=2; community 2 = 7; community 3 = 1; community 4 = 5.

Factor Analysis

A factor analysis was not contemplated in the original proposal. Instead, a canonical correlation between independent indicators of well-being and corresponding dependent outcome measures and a similar canonical correlation for change-impact variables was contemplated. This was not possible, however, because the summed responses to the dependent variable of well-being developed by Andrews and Withey (Appendix A, questions 59 & 69) had an unacceptably high (positive) skew (kurtosis 2.86, skewness -1.35).

On the other hand, the correlation between the summed, normally distributed independent variables used in the index of well-being and the summed, normally distributed independent indicators used in the index of change-impact (Sanguine/Somber index) were positively correlated and statistically significant (Pearson's $r = .497$ $p < .001$). As an alternative to the canonical correlation, a factor analysis was completed for 17 selected independent variables of well-being (Quality-of-Life Index) and 11 selected indicators of change-impact (Sanguine/Somber Index). This analysis was completed for 86 of the 89 participants. Three participants had missing data.

To obtain the variable included in the two separate factors analyzed, the 42 well-being variables and the 17 change-impact indicators were checked for skewness and kurtosis, applicability to all members of the sample, correlation with other variables, and construct validity. A number of variables were dropped because they failed to meet one or more of the criteria just listed, for example a number of variables from well-being battery of question had a kurtosis greater

than 2.5 and skewness greater than 1.5. Twenty-five variables were dropped from the Andrews and Withey well-being battery, and 6 from the change-impact battery⁴⁷.

The factor analysis procedure for each of the two adjusted batteries of indicators was run on SPSS/PC, Version 3. A principle component analysis was completed. The number of factors extracted was determined by the eigenvalues. Varimax rotation was specified, correlational matrices were obtained, plots were requested, and missing values were deleted listwise. The analysis of the 11 indicators of change-impacts and, similarly, the analysis of the 17 variables of well-being each produced four factors. Further consideration of these analyses is found in Chapter VI.

Multiple Regression

The selected 17 variables of well-being⁴⁸ are defined to constitute an Index of Quality-of-Life following the move. The summated variables in the Index of Quality-of-Life were the dependent variable, the outcome measure in a regression model. The four factors found in the analysis of the 11 change-in-activity indicators, the indicators constituting the Sanguine/Somber Index, were the 4 independent variables in the regression. Two of the four Sanguine/Somber Index factors were significant contributors to the Index of Quality-of-Life. Beta weights were obtained. Further discussion is found in Chapter VI.

⁴⁷A list of variables dropped and the criterion for deletion is present in Appendix G. Table G-1 describes change-in-activity impact variables, while Table G-2 describes indicators of well-being.

⁴⁸Further description of these variables is present in Chapter V, Table 8; and in Appendix G, Table G-2.

Treatment of Missing Data

The amount of randomly missing data did not exceed 3% and was not given further attention. However, in the battery of questions on change-impact there was an instance of systematically occurring missing data. The treatment of this occurrence is addressed in some detail in a letter to members of the dissertation committee (Appendix F).

In essence, it was concluded that, even with extensive visual formatting of the instruction on the questionnaire (Appendix A), a small handful of individuals proceeded through the change-in-activity battery of questions very quickly. Where these particular participants responded that there had been no increase or decrease in an activity, they responded only to the first part of the question "no change" but failed to check the corresponding impact portion. This left some change-impact questions unanswered.

A detailed analysis of this pattern was made and reported in the letter to the committee. It was agreed that this systematically occurring event might best be handled in the case of a response to "no change-in-activity," by scoring the corresponding change-impact as a neither positive nor negative impact. All other occasions of omitted responses were reported as missing data.

Integrating the Interview and Questionnaire Data

At best the statistics from the questionnaire are suggestive of the interactions between people and place. The participant's comments to the directed open-ended interview parallel responses to the survey questionnaire. The following chapter will report on the item by item results from the questions, interpreted with the use of information from

transcribed interviews. "Chapter VI: Discussion" will consider the issues with multiple dimensions and the outcomes from advanced statistical procedures, interpreting these findings with the aid of the interviews.

Chapter V: Results and Discussion -- An Overview of the Data

Introduction

As discussed previously, the research used multiple methods of inquiry. The research was conducted in Fairfield County, Connecticut. The sample pool was drawn from homeowners who had purchased homes in mid-1988. Interviews were conducted in the Autumn of 1989, generally 9-15 months following the purchase of the home. Both protocols were administered in one sitting, each being administered first about half the time.

The Sample Population

Eighty-nine adults from 51 households in four communities provided data for the research (Table 5). In all, 42 men and 47 women responded to both the questionnaire and the interview. The average educational attainment of the participants was a bachelors degree plus some additional college. In 38 of the households, both partners in the marriage participated. In 8 of these particular households both spouses were employed outside the home, a topic which is discussed in greater detail later in the chapter.

Couples who purchased condominiums, as well as those who purchased single-family homes, were in the sample pool. The 51 households that ultimately participated, however, had purchased single family dwellings. In 1988, the time the participants purchased their homes, the median sales price of an existing single family home in Connecticut, as a whole, was \$168,000, while in Fairfield County the median cost of an

existing single family home was \$253,000⁴⁹. The median cost of a home in the participating sample of households was \$375,000. At the time of the research, Autumn 1989, the estimated annual income for a Connecticut couple in which both spouses had 16 or more years of education was \$73,050.00 (Table 6). The estimated median range of annual income for participating households was between \$125,000 and \$149,999 (Figure D-3).

Table 5. Participant Data

Criterion variables	Comm 1	Comm 2	Comm 3	Comm 4
Households participating	14	9	10	18
Participating individuals				
Men	13	8	6	15
Women	13	8	8	18
Average age of participant	40	30	34	41
Number of families with children under age 18	9	6	8	11
Average number of children under 18 living at home	1.5	0.75	1.75	1.0
Average number of moves in the past 5 years ^a	2.35	2.38	2.71	1.6

^aIncludes present move.

The men and women who participated ranged in age from 25 to 61 years. On the basis of the face to face interviews, it was determined that one couple belonged to a minority group. Thirty-four of the 51

⁴⁹Connecticut Census Data Center (1990). *Connecticut Residential Sales Price Data for FY 1989* (Table XIV, p. 33). Hartford, CT: Office of Policy Management.

households participating (66.7%) had children under the age of 18 years living at home. The average rate of relocation for couples in the participating sample of households, 2.14 moves in a five year period, was higher than for similar households nationally (Table 5 and Table 6). At the time of the research, couples nationally⁵⁰ tended to move 0.69 times in a five year period. Those married couples where both spouses had 16 or more years of education tended to move slightly more often, 0.80 times in a five year period.

Twenty-three of the participants reported having lived in the vicinity of their present community at some prior time, while most had not. Seven moved from the western states of California and Colorado; 18 relocated from the Midwest - Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Minnesota, and Wisconsin; 44 moved from eastern states - Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania; 11 traveled from southern states - Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; and 9 came from abroad. While most participants had moved directly from the origin-community to their residence in the destination-community, 10 participants made an interim move, often within their present community, living in rented space until their home became available for occupancy.

⁵⁰Data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Number 437, *Household and Family Characteristics: March 1988*, (Table 18, pp. 96-97 and Table 19, p. 102-103).

Table 6. Comparison of 1988 Data From the Bureau of the Census, Current Population Survey for Married Couples^a, With Data for Households Participating in the Dissertation Research^e

Criterion Variable	Characteristics	
	Number of moves in past 5 years	1988 estimated household income
Nationally ^a , all married couples	0.69 ^b	\$34,700
Nationally ^c , couples in which both individuals have 16 years or more of education	0.80	\$57,070
Connecticut ^d , (per capita income is approximately 128% of the national average)	NA	\$73,050
Households participating in the dissertation research ^e	2.14	\$137,500 ^f

^aU.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Number 437, *Household and Family Characteristics: March 1988*, (Table 18, pp. 96-97).

^bMobility is defined on page 133 of Series P-20, Number 437. Annual mobility rates from Table 18 are multiplied by 5. These figures are comparable with those presented in the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Number 430, *Geographic Mobility: March 1986 to March 1987* (Table B, p. 5). Table A of Series P-20, Number 430, indicates that the national average annual rate of moving has declined from 0.206 moves per year in 1960-61 to 0.186 moves per year in 1986-87, suggesting the national rate of turnover in 1986-87 for all individuals over 1 year of age is 0.93 moves every 5 years as opposed to 1.03 in 1960-61.

^cCurrent Population Reports, Series P-20, Number 437 (Table 19, p. 102-103).

^dOffice of Policy Management, Connecticut Census Data Center, *Connecticut Data Sampler, 1989*, p. 15. ($\$57,070.00 \times 1.28 = \$73,049.60$).

^eThe field research for the dissertation was conducted in 1989.

^fThis income figure is rounded to compare with the U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports (also see dissertation Appendix D, Figure D-3 for additional information on participating households).

The Response Rate

In the four communities from which the sample was drawn, 789 residential home sales were reported by *The Commercial Record*⁵¹ between June 1, 1988, and November 30, 1988. Using the methods for selection described in Chapter IV, 319 of these transactions were identified as sales to couples sharing the last surname. Each of these households was invited to participate in the study. Forty-two percent of those households contacted responded ($n = 133$, Table 4, Chapter IV). Four households out of every 10 responding participated ($n = 51$), while 186 households did not respond. This resulted in a final participation rate of 16% of the households which were initially contacted.

The Representativeness of Participants

One means for estimating the representativeness of the household members participating in the study, with respect to households from which the sample was drawn, is to compare median purchase price of participants' dwellings with the median purchase price for dwellings bought by couples, in each community. In Table 7 the median purchase price of all homes over a six month period, from June to November, 1988, is the beginning point.

⁵¹*The Commercial Record* is a weekly newspaper publishing real estate information for all areas in the State of Connecticut. See footnote 45.

Table 7. Median Purchase Price^a of Homes: A Comparison

Criterion variables		Comm 1	Comm 2	Comm 3	Comm 4
Median purchase price for reported residential sales 6/01 - 11/30/1988	<i>P</i>	\$300,000	\$196,000	\$393,000	\$440,000
		223	147	179	240
Median purchase price of homes of couples sampled, sales 6/01 - 11/30/1988	<i>N</i>	\$350,000	\$197,000	\$422,500	\$477,500
		99	66	65	89
Range of the 95% confidence interval for the mean					
high		\$369,000	\$225,000	\$619,000	\$573,000
low		\$322,000	\$193,000	\$459,000	\$484,000
Median purchase price for participating households	<i>n</i>	\$337,500	\$178,000	\$451,000	\$528,000
		14	9	10	18

^aData on purchase prices was obtained from *The Commercial Record*, South Windsor, Connecticut. The sale price data presented is comparable to that which is found for municipalities in Table XVII of Connecticut Census Data Center's publication, *Connecticut Residential Sales Price Data for FY 1989*. Hartford, CT: Office of Policy Management.

Contrasting the median price for reported residential sales as a whole (*P*) with the median purchase price for homes of couples sampled (*N*), it appears that homes in the sample were priced 0.5% to 16% higher than the purchase prices paid as a whole during this period. This outcome is not surprising. One element contributing to this difference is that married couples are often parents, 34 of the 51 household participating had children living at home. This life-cycle stage of couples (*N*), as contrasted with the population of home buyers as a whole (*P*) in these communities, may account for their need to purchase more floor space, particularly the number of bedrooms, hence the higher

purchase price of their dwellings. Using the Student t-test to measure the difference between means of the purchase prices of homes for couples who did not participate with those who joined the study, no reason was found to believe that the participants, on the basis of cost of dwelling, differed in a significant manner from other couples purchasing homes in their respective communities⁵².

The cost of dwelling space, as Table 7 illustrates, however, did differ dramatically from community to community in both real and statistical terms. The price of dwelling space in communities 1, 3, and 4 was significantly higher than in Community 2 (Scheffe $p < .05$). In those communities, particularly communities 3 and 4 which are within a 1 1/4 hours commute to New York City and have ready access to major interstate highways along the Long Island Sound, costs of dwelling space were highest (Figure 8, Table 7). Additional comments on each community are presented in following sections.

A final mode of comparison of the participants (n) and the sample of couples purchasing homes (N) was undertaken. Using the central limits theorem, one might expect to find that the central number in a small sample, like that of the participant's purchase price for a home, to fall, 95 out of 100 times, with the confidence interval of high and low figures shown in Table 7. The median⁵³ purchase price of a home of a

⁵²Community 1 ($t -1.19, p < .246_{t-2}$);
Community 2 ($t 1.09, p < .290_{t-2}$); Community 3 ($t -0.48, p < .640_{t-2}$);
Community 4 ($t 0.16, p < .871_{t-2}$).

⁵³The median, the central number in a list of numbers, as opposed to the mean, the average of all numbers, is used for reporting this portion of the findings because the range of purchase prices paid by couples is occasionally distorted by extremes. The measure of skewness

participant in Communities 1 and 4 falls within this range, while the median purchase price of a home of a participant from communities 2 and 3 are somewhat below the low figure shown in Table 7. The couples participating from these latter two communities are also younger than their counterparts in communities 1 and 4 (Table 5), which suggests that they are purchasing homes as their families grow but before their budgets can afford the average housing cost figure in their community.

It is difficult to speculate about the characteristics of those who did not join the study, but the population that did participate appeared to include a high number of persons satisfied in their marriages. In this dimension the sample of participants was likely to be non-random, the households in which marriages were distressed having self-selected themselves out of the population⁵⁴. This would tend to inflate the overall scores on assessment of well-being. Indeed, these scores are somewhat positively skewed as measured by the index of quality-of-life discussed in the following section.

Analysis of the Data

No participant's questionnaire responses was dropped from the study. All questionnaire data were encoded for analysis using SPSS/PC Version 3. SPSS data analysis procedures included examination of

on the distribution of purchase prices paid by the couples in each community ranged from 1.042 to 1.903.

⁵⁴The responses to question 55, Appendix A, indicate that 58 of the 88 participants were extremely satisfied in their marriages, while 22 of 88 were satisfied with their marriages. In question 99, Appendix A, 6 individuals indicated that this question concerning recent marital conflict applied to them. Only 3 participants reported being separated from their spouses due to conflict since the move (question 92), and no participant reported being divorced since the move (question 98).

frequency distributions; testing for the difference between two means with Student's t-test; tests for the difference between multiple groups, using a one-way analysis of variance; measures of the correlation between two variables, including Pearson's *r* and Kendall's *tau-b*.

Change-in-Activity Impact Correlations

The correlations for the change-in-activity pairs described in Table 2 support the hypothesis proposed and were statistically significant ($p < .001$). The single exception is the responses to question 77 (Appendix A), concerned with the change in the amount of travel for children's activities following the move. A summary of the correlation between activity change following the move and participants' feelings regarding the impact of these changes on their lives, a measure of affect, is presented in Table 8. The results of the correlational analysis of the change-in-activity impacts questions are reported in greater detail in the tables in Appendix E.

The questions were developed by the author. The notion for these questions was drawn from the genre of Social Readjustment Rating Scales, particularly the work of Sarason, Johnson and Siegel (1979) and Holmes and Rahe (1967). Six of the questions came from items presented in these two citations.

Each of the 19 questions has two parts. While one section addresses the perceived change-in-activity, such as ". . . available time to spend with spouse or children," the second part of the question asks the participant to express the perceived impact of the change on his/her life. This second part is scaled on a 7-point Likert-type scale.

Table 8. Correlations Between the Relocates' Experiences of an Overall Increase or Decrease in Daily Life Experiences^a and Feelings of Positive or Negative Impacts^b, One Year Following the Move

Criterion variable	Pearson's <i>r</i>	Explanatory Table ^c
Change ^d in time spent in travel to shopping or work	-.657	E-1
Change ^d in available time to spend with spouse or children	.810	E-2
Change ^d in outdoor chores or gardening activities	.349	E-3
Change ^d in travel for children's activities ^e	.048	E-4
Change ^d in the number of family get-togethers	.793	E-5
Change ^d in frequency of attending cultural events	.697	E-6
Change ^d in social activities	.851	E-7
Change ^d in amount of exercise activities	.900	E-8
Change ^d in hobby or pastime activities	.806	E-9
Change ^d in community leadership activities	.821	E-10
Change ^d in amount of church activity	.764	E-11
Change ^d in contact with friends	.875	E-12
Change ^d in contact with relatives	.792	E-13
Change ^f in financial position	.839	E-14
Change ^f in living condition quality	.801	E-15
Change ^f in cost of living	-.244	E-16
Change ^f in positive recognition from others	.827	E-17

^aThe *independent variables*, change-in-activities and change-in-conditions, general referred to as "change-in-activities," were scored as follows: decrease equal to 1, no change equal to 2, increase equal to 3.

^bThe *dependent variables*, feelings of positive or negative impact, generally discussed as "change-in-activity impacts," were scored on a 7-point, Likert-type scale, most negative equal to 1, most positive equal to 7.

^cDetails of the correlation, including Kendall's tau-*b*, as well as the unparaphrased question are presented in Appendix E.

^dChange-in-activity

^eThis question did not apply to 32 of the 89 participants.

^fChange-in-condition

Tables E-1 to E-19 contain correlation coefficients and cross tabulations for each of the change-impact pairs of questions found in the survey instrument in Appendix A. It is interesting to note that, although the Social Readjustment Rating Scales of various authors are used largely as measures of stress, when one finds a cumulative high score on a stress scale it is likely that a contributing factor may be multiple, salient role-activity changes. For example, a person may graduate from college, completing formal education, relocate, and take a full-time job within a period of a few months, creating a high cumulative score on a life-event stress scale. This person may have contributed to the high score by changing many daily activity patterns in a physical setting in the process.

Social readjustment scales tend to focus on "critical life events." In order to broaden the battery of change-impact questions, directing the questions more toward the process of moving, it was necessary to add additional areas of questioning. These additional materials were focused on the process of daily human activity, using information from cross-cultural research. The motivation for 8 further queries in this battery of 19 questions was drawn from the work of Alexander Szalai and his colleagues (1972, pp. 562-566), *The Use of Time: Daily Activities of Urban and Suburban Populations in Twelve Countries*. The remaining five questions, including the pair of outcome measures, were developed by the author from his earlier research on relocation (Walker, 1988).

The correlations presented in the tables in Appendix E include Pearson's r , and Kendall's τ - b . The significance levels are for 2-

tailed measures, although the direction of many of the paired relationships was predicted a priori (Table 2). The correlation coefficients in Table E-1 to E-19 are derived from the original data, each calculated from a 3 by 7 matrix of information. For reporting purposes, the cross-tabulations have been collapsed to a 3 by 3 matrix. All gradations of positive and/or negative impact were recoded into a single score for simplicity in this visual presentation. The original questions are available in Appendix A. Certain questions permitted the participant the response of, "Does not apply to me." The responses reflecting this choice are shown in the tally of scores where this reply was an option. Randomly occurring missing responses in the data, as a whole, occurred in less than 3% of the answers to any single question. Occasionally, systematic errors occurred in responding to the option "no change". The manner in which these systematically occurring omissions were handled is described in Appendix F - Raw Data Transformation Methods.

The scores on this battery of questions are presented in detail to bring to light responses which reveal that moving may contribute to both positive as well as negative outcomes on an activity by activity basis for a single individual. These findings suggest a mode of inquiry not previously used. These tables, taken as a whole, indicate the ways in which the *cumulative impact of daily activity change may affect an individual*. It appears that the cumulative influence of many negative or positive activity change-impacts, or the salience of a single particular activity, may contribute to the overall assessment of a favorable or unfavorable relocation outcome.

The theoretical work of McCall and Simmons on role-identity (1978), discussed in Chapter II of the thesis, in the section "Place and Identity: Bridging the Gap," contributes additional implications for these tables. The concept of role-identity, when viewed in light of these tables, suggests a plausible explanation for how a single salient negative change-in-activity impact may have exceptional influence on an individual's affect, for example longing for a friendly neighbor left behind. In the same moment, these tables suggest several ways in which this single notable loss may be partially compensated for. A negative impact of loss of salient activity may be mediated by substituting several, more controllable, positive activity changes.

The concept of substitution in conjunction with relocation is referred to by Guthrie (1975, p. 106) as "reinforcement contingencies." Kenneth David discusses a similar concept in two articles (1972, 1976). Particularly pertinent comments by David appear in Chapter II, at the end of the discussion of identity, in the section entitled "Self, Role and Identity" in this thesis. More recently, Mendenhall and Oddou (1985) propose "reinforcement substitution." These authors state that this "substitution involves replacing activities that bring pleasure and happiness in the home culture with similar -- yet different -- activities that exist in the host culture . . ." (p.40). These findings are seen as supporting the contentions of Guthrie, and David. Various aspects of these findings, supported by the strong correlations presented in Appendix E, are discussed throughout the remainder of the results sections.

.

Outcome Measures of Change-in-Activity Impact and Well-Being

Both the change-in-activity impact variables and the well-being indicators had their own outcome measures included in the questionnaire⁵⁵. The correlations are strong on both measures. Between the sum of the change-in-activity impact variables and their respective change-in-activity impact outcome measures, the correlation is Pearson's $r = .499$. Similarly, the correlation is strong between the sum of the well-being indicators and the well-being outcome measure used by Andrews and Withey (1976)⁵⁶, Pearson's $r = .701$. The well-being outcome measure, however, was negatively skewed (-1.353), perhaps reflecting a demand characteristic of this pair of questions (Appendix A, questions 59 and 69). No further consideration was given to the outcome measures of well-being or change-in-activity impact. Instead, a factor analysis was undertaken for the independent change-in-activity impact variables and the independent indicators of well-being

⁵⁵Offers a response to "specific research questions VI", Chapter III.

⁵⁶Thirty-one independent indicators of well-being from the questionnaire were used in this correlation. The 31 questions were taken from what Andrews and Withey call the "selected 12 concerns [domains]" (1976, p. 124; pp. 346-348; and pp. 391-392). There are two outcome measures in the questionnaire (Appendix A, questions 59 and 69), also taken from Andrews and Withey. The independent and dependent measures were summed and correlated. Andrews and Withey (1974, p. 18) report the product moment coefficient between the "12 domains" and "Life 3" as $r = .72$. Life 3 is quite similar to the outcome measure used here. The similarity between product moment coefficients in this study, Pearson's $r = .70$, and those in Andrew and Withey suggests a replication of the work on quality-of-life completed by Andrews and Withey.

The Factor Analysis

The change-in-activity variables developed for this research, and the well-being variables selected from work completed by Andrews and Withey (1976), discussed in Chapter II, were both separately factor analyzed. Variables in each battery of questions were reviewed for inclusion in the factor analysis. Variables were dropped for one or more of the following reasons (explained in greater detail in Appendix G, Tables G-1 and G-2): (a) the question did not apply to all participants, for example questions dealing with work outside the home or children; (b) skewed responses, such as those dealing with cost of living in Fairfield County (Appendix E, Tables E-16); and (c) questions which had few correlations with other questions in the battery, such as feelings about the natural environment (Appendix A, question 26).

Meeting this test were 11 change-in-activity variables (Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin .681) and 17 well-being variables (Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin .744). The two batteries of questions were separately factor analyzed, each producing four factors (Table 9, and Table 10). A varimax rotation was specified on statistical program SPSS/PC Version 3. Missing values were determined listwise; the number of factors were determined by the number of eigenvalues (eigenvalue > 1.00). The results of the analysis are presented in Tables 9 and 10. The amount of variance shared by variables is shown in these two tables, along with the communality -- an indication of variable contribution to shared variance of the factor. The 11 change-in-activity variables form the sanguine/somber move index, while the 17 well-being variables form the quality-of-life index. The factors in the sanguine/somber index account for 66.6% of the variation

in the 11 variables, leaving 33.4% unexplained. The four factors in the quality-of-life index account for 62.1% of the variation in the 17 variables, while 37.9% of the variance is unexplained.

Table 9. The Index of Sanguine/Somber Moves (S/S-IND)

Factor	Communality	Percent of variance acct. for
<u>CHG-SOC-NET</u>		
Factor 1-S/S: <i>Change in Contemporary Social Networks and Recreation</i>		30.4%
Change in social activities -- visiting, movies, etc.	.699	
Change in the amount of exercise or active recreation	.630	
Change in contact with friends	.520	
<u>CHG-DISC-TIME</u>		
Factor 2-S/S: <i>Change in Discretionary Time</i>		14.0%
Change in available time to spend with spouse or children	.779	
Change in time spent traveling to shopping or work	.497	
^a Change in time for relaxation, hobbies, and pastimes	.555	
<u>CHG-CONT-KIN</u>		
Factor 3-S/S: <i>Change in Contact with Kin</i>		12.1%
Change in frequency of contact with relatives	.843	
Change in number of family get-togethers	.798	
<u>CHG-IN-RECOGN</u>		
Factor 4-S/S: <i>Change in Positive Recognition Received from Others, or Living Conditions</i>		10.1%
Change in positive recognition given by others	.706	
Change in quality of living conditions	.619	
Change in financial situation -- worse or better off than before the move	.688	

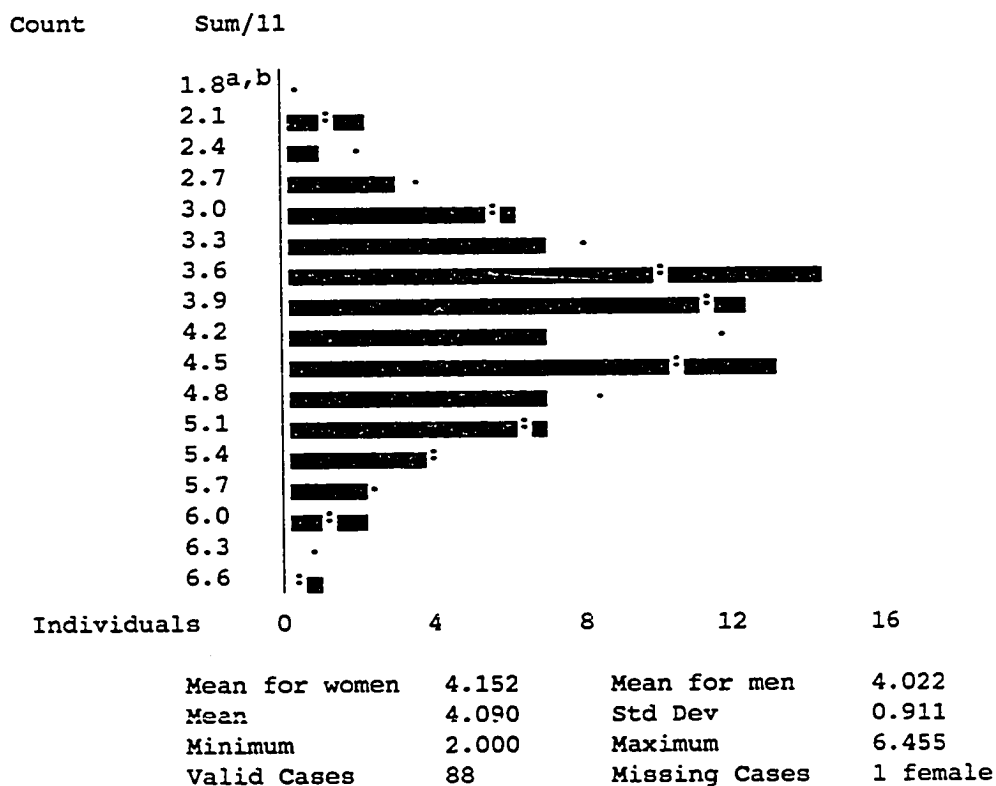
^aVariable displaying a gender difference t-test $p < .05_{t-2}$

The Sanguine/Somber Index and the Normal Distribution of Index Scores

The distribution of scores on this index is normal and is presented in Figure 9. Some individuals were dissatisfied, or even quite dissatisfied, with the changes the move brought to their lives, 18% or 16 individuals. A number of individuals were in the midrange, within one standard deviation below or above the mean score, about 65% or 57 individuals. These individuals were neither noticeably sanguine nor somber about the move outcome some 9 to 15 months following their change of dwellings. There were also individuals who were moderately or extremely satisfied with changes associated with the move, again approximately 16%. The roughly normal distribution of response scores strongly suggests that, contrary to the impression left by many journal articles, *moving can have positive as well as negative outcomes.*

All the variables in the change-in-activity impact battery are described in Appendix E, including the two outcome measures and those variables dropped from the index. There is no difference in the index scores between men and women presented in Figure 9 ($t = -.67$ $p < .505_{t-2}$). Although men and women do differ on several of the variables, only one, noted in Table 9, is statistically significant (change in time for relaxation, hobbies, and pastimes). Gender differences are discussed in further detail in later sections of the results.

Individual Index Scores for the Sum of 11 Change-in-Impact Variables
Reported in the Factor Analysis of Change-in-Activity Impacts



^aExtremely negative = 1, neither negative nor positive = 4, extremely positive = 7

^bSee Appendix A, beginning with question 74.

Figure 9. Normal distribution of the sum of 11 change-in-activity impacts.

Quality-of-life Index

The 17 indicators of well-being used here as an index reflect, in part, the original concept underlying these indicators -- quality-of-life (Andrews & Withey, 1976; Campbell, Converse, & Rodgers, 1976). While the mean score of the index of sanguine/somber moves fell close to the midpoint, or neutral on the Likert-type 7-point scale, ($M = 4.090$), the mean score of the index of quality-of-life was a point higher than

on the index of sanguine/somber moves, "somewhat positive," or 5 on the 7-point scale ($M = 5.240$, $SD .669$)⁵⁷. This difference can be attributed in part to the conceptual differences between the two indices. The sanguine/somber index reflects impacts of a change in a single, although often significant, life event -- moving. The index of quality-of-life, on the other hand, reflects a slice-in-time assessment of life as a whole. This assessment is often impacted by many life events, Table 10.

It can also be speculated that individuals who have stable marriages and can purchase a home have a degree of control over their lives that is not necessarily shared by all Americans, which undoubtedly contributed to their scores on measures of quality-of-life. As in the sanguine/somber index, there was no difference between men's quality-of-life index scores ($m = 5.210$) and women's scores ($m = 5.267$). Although both scores are slightly positive, the differences are not statistically significant ($t -.39$ $p < .696_{t-2}$). There were, however, factors and variables in this index which demonstrated statistically significant gender differences $p < .05_{t-2}$ (Table 10: Factor 1-QL, quality of discretionary time; Factor 3-QL, the sense of self as a whole; and 5 variables -- (a) ways in which spare time is spent at home, (b) amount of time a person has to do what he/she wants, (c) feelings about people who are seen socially, (d) feelings about time for friends and what is done together, and (e) feelings about what is being accomplished in life). These differences are discussed in further detail in subsequent sections.

⁵⁷Offers a response to "specific research question VII", Chapter III.

Table 10. The Quality-of-Life Index (QL-IND)

Factor	Community	Percent of variance acct. for
<u>QL-DISC-TIME</u>		
b Factor 1-QL: <i>Quality of Discretionary Time</i>		29.4%
a Ways in which spare time is spent		
at home	.794	
a Amount of time a person has to do		
what he/she wants	.644	
The fun a person is having	.767	
Things being done together with the family	.429	
<u>QL-SOC-NET</u>		
Factor 2-QL: <i>Quality of Contemporary Social Networks</i>		12.6%
Feelings about people in the destination		
community	.666	
a Feelings about people who are seen		
socially	.676	
Feelings about the possibility to know		
people one is comfortable with	.678	
a Feelings about time for friends and		
what is done together	.697	
<u>QL-SENSE-SELF</u>		
b Factor 3-QL: <i>The sense of self as a whole</i>		10.6%
Feelings about the self	.703	
a Feelings about what is being accomplished		
in life	.566	
Feelings about handling problems that		
come up	.545	
Feelings about health	.436	
Feelings about the person's primary job,		
including homemaking	.425	
<u>QL-LIV-CON</u>		
Factor 4-QL: <i>Quality of Daily Living Conditions</i>		9.5%
Standard of living -- housing, car,		
recreation, etc.	.699	
The house presently living in	.647	
The neighborhood as a place to live	.690	
Feelings about what is paid for basic		
necessities -- food, housing,		
clothing	.503	

^avariable displaying a gender difference t-test $p < .05_{t-2}$

^bFactor displaying a gender difference t-test $p < .05_{t-2}$

It is interesting to note that each gender experienced a decrement on one or more indicators. They also appeared to have benefited on others. This is a finding not often reported in the psychological literature on relocation. This leaves open, however, the question of the salience each experience represented by these gender sensitive variables had in a single individual's life.

The Regression Equation Expressing the Interaction Between the Factors of the Sanguine/Somber Index and Factors in the Quality-of-Life Index.

The four factors of change-in-activity impact, as summarized in the sanguine/somber index (Table 9,) account for 31.6% of the variation in the quality-of-life index (Table 10). A multiple regression equation for the interaction can be expressed by the formula $Y_{QL-Ind} = \text{Constant} + B_1X_{CHG-SOC-NET} + B_2X_{CHG-DISC-TIME} + B_3X_{CHG-CONT-KIN} + B_4X_{CHG-IN-RECOGN} + e$. These regressions have been computed, first with the quality-of-life index score as a whole. Then the four factors in the sanguine/somber index were regressed on each of the factors in the quality-of-life index, one at a time (Table 11). The beta weights for each of the sanguine/somber factors (1-S/S to 4-S/S) are shown in Table 11. These weights suggest the relative importance that each sanguine/somber factor plays in the outcome in the quality-of-life indicator. The beta weights were derived by introducing the sanguine/somber factors in a stepwise manner in the regression model. The value for the multiple r and the F statistic are also shown in Table 11.

Table 11. Beta Weights and Multiple Correlation Coefficients for Sanguine/Somber Factors Regressed on to the Quality-of-Life Index

Criterion variable	Beta Weights					F
	Multiple r	Sanguine/Somber Factors				
		CHG-SOC-NET (1-S/S)	CHG-DISC-TIME (2-S/S)	CHG-CONT-KIN (3-S/S)	CHG-IN-RECOGN (4-S/S)	
QL-Index	.562	.283	.026	.027	.382	9.575**
QL-DISC-TIME (1-QL)	.514	.195	.210	.047	.263	7.456**
QL-SOC-NET (2-QL)	.411	.439	-.052	-.053	.014	4.209*
QL-SENSE-SELF (3-QL)	.359	-.041	-.047	.001	.378	3.071
QL-LIV-CON (4-QL)	.533	.204	-.052	.078	.421	8.227**

** $p < .001$ *df* 4/83 * $p < .01$ *df* 4/83

The tables provide a useful reference in further discussion of the results, but it is interesting to point out that sanguine/somber factor CHG-CONT-KIN, "change in contact with kin," while making a contribution to the explanation of the variance among the four sanguine/somber factors (Table 9), has little or no contribution to make to any of the five equations in Table 11. This outcome is quite puzzling and counterintuitive. Loss of contact with family is often lamented by

relocatees. One would expect that increased activity with family would be strongly correlated with factors such as "sense of self" (QL-SENSE-SELF), "quality of contemporary social networks" (QL-SOC-NET), and "change in social networks" (CHG-SOC-NET). Another partial explanation is that moving brought a number of participants closer to family and relatives. Thirty-three participants reported increased contact with relatives, while 35 reported a decrease, (Appendix E, Table 18).

While many of topics discussed in the interviews are consistent with the results introduced thus far, this one is not. The inconsistency of the interviews with the statistical data in this area may be explained in part by the notion of salience expressed by McCall and Simmons (1978) and discussed in Chapter II. For some individuals, it may be that family networks are a particularly salient part of life which has been lost. For others, interaction with kin may not be a rewarding experience. See, for example, Table E-13, in Appendix E, where two participants found it positive to have decreased contact with relatives and three participants found it negative to have an increased contact with relatives. On the other hand, additional instances in which contact with family appears to be a salient outcome of the move are discussed in some detail in Chapter VI, in the section titled "Change in Contact With Kin, CHG-CON-KIN."

Correlation between factors of the Two indices.

The correlation for the factors in the two indices are presented in Table 12. It is satisfying to note that, although one set of indicators, the sanguine/somber index, measures feelings about changes in daily activity brought about by the move, and the second index

examines overall feelings about quality-of-life at the time of the interview, there are a number of statistically significant interactions. The more influential indicators include CHG-SOC-NET (change in contemporary social network, and CHG-IN-RECOGN (change in positive recognition received from others), along with QL-DISC-TIME (quality of discretionary time) and QL-LIV-CON (quality of daily living conditions).

Demographic characteristics as predictors of index scores.

The influence of six demographic characteristics on the two indices and their respective factors were examined using two separate regression analyses (Tables 13 and 14). The six demographic characteristics included: cost of dwelling, level of education, number of moves in the past five years, age, sex, and number of children under the age of eighteen years living at home.

The first analysis, presented in Table 13, regressed the six demographic characteristics onto the sanguine/somber index and index's four factors. In general, the demographic characteristics examined are not helpful in predicting the outcome score. The number of moves in the past five years, however, made a modest contribution in predicting how individuals felt about contact with family (CHG-CONT-KIN), although this factor, (CHG-CONT-KIN) is not an influential predictor of outcomes in subsequent regression analyses. CHG-CONT-KIN is given additional discussion in Chapter VI.

Table 12. Correlational Matrix Between the Two Indexes
and Their Respective Factors

Sanguine/Somber Correlation Matrix					
INDEX S/S-Ind	CHG- SOC-NET 1-S/S	CHG- DISC-TIME 2-S/S	CHG- CONT-KIN 3-S/S	CHG- IN-RECOGN 4-S/S	
S/S-Ind	1.000	.762**	.703**	.614**	.647**
1-S/S		1.000	.394**	.310*	.308*
2-S/S			1.000	.190	.282*
3-S/S				1.000	.206
4-S/S					1.000

Inter-Factor Correlation Matrix					
INDEX S/S-Ind	CHG- SOC-NET 1-S/S	CHG- DISC-TIME 2-S/S	CHG- CONT-KIN 3-S/S	CHG- IN-RECOGN 4-S/S	
QL-IND	.498**	.429**	.250	.181	.476**
1-QL	.496**	.382**	.370**	.187	.389**
2-QL	.274*	.412**	.115	.068	.122
3-QL	.181	.074	.043	.030	.345**
4-QL	.440**	.340*	.162	.220	.486**

Quality-of-life Correlation Matrix					
INDEX QL-Ind	QL- DISC-TIME 1-QL	QL- SOC-NET 2-QL	QL- SENSE-SELF 3-QL	QL- LIV-CON 4-QL	
QL-Ind	1.000	.800**	.688**	.693**	.642**
1-QL		1.000	.421**	.447**	.364**
2-QL			1.000	.302*	.231
3-QL				1.000	.221
4-QL					1.000

Note: $N = 85$, missing = 4, ** $p < .001_{t-2}$ * $p < .01_{t-2}$

The second step in the analysis, presented in Table 14, added the six demographic characteristics to the regression questions presented in Table 12. Gender (male coded 1, female coded 2) has a modest influence on QL-DISC-TIME (quality of discretionary time) suggesting that women have greater discretionary time than do men.

Three demographic characteristics moderately influence QL-SOC-NET (quality of contemporary social networks). As satisfaction with social networks increased the price paid for the dwelling, relative to scores on factor QL-SOC-NET, declined. This suggests that propinquity is not at work for those in homes with a higher purchase price. The cost of a home in the study area is unquestionably influenced by the cost of land. More costly dwelling sites may be on larger parcels of land, perhaps a 2 acre parcel as opposed to a subdivision lot on a cul-de-sac. Participants in the former type of site frequently lamented not knowing their neighbors, while those on cul-de-sacs occasionally reflected on how they had come to meet their neighbors and join in occasional neighborhood activities.

Table 13. Six Demographic Characteristics Regressed on to the Factors

Percent of var. acct. for by factor	Criterion variable	Multiple r	Percent of var. acct. for by regress.	Beta weights			
				Demographic data analysis			
				Cost of dwelling	Level of education	Number of moves in past 5 yrs	Ac
66.60%	S/S- IND DEMOG.	.239	5.71%	-.051	-.137	.016	-.1
30.40%	CHG- SOC-NET 1-S/S DEMOG.	.184	3.39%	-.054	-.114	-.035	-.1
14.00%	CHG- DISC-TIME 2-S/S DEMOG.	.262	6.86%	-.068	-.086	-.131	-.1
12.10%	CHG- CONT-KIN 3-S/S DEMOG.	.282	7.95%	-.025	-.032	.242(a)	.0
10.10%	CHG- IN-RECOGN 4-S/S DEMOG.	.233	5.43%	.014	-.142	-.011	-.1

Notes: (a) The significance of F for this variable in the present equation is $p > .05$.
 (b) This variable is coded: men = 1 and women = 2.

Regressed on to the Factors of the Sanguine/Somber Index

Beta weights								
Demographic data analysis								
	Level of education	Number of moves in past 5 yrs	Age	Sex(b)	Number of children > 18 yrs	F	Signif. of F	Degrees of freedom
	-.137	.016	-.142	-.038	-.119	.819	.5581	6 / 81
	-.114	-.035	-.102	.041	-.031	.479	.8223	6 / 81
	-.086	-.131	-.171	.096	-.053	.998	.4322	6 / 81
	-.032	.242(a)	.066	-.058	-.166	1.810	.3248	6 / 81
	-.142	-.011	-.171	-.204	-.086	.787	.5826	6 / 81

present equation is $p > .05$.

Table 14. Demographic Characteristics and Sanguine/S

Percent of var. acct. for by factor	Criterion variable	Multiple r	Percent of var. acct. for by regress.	Sanguine/somber		
				CHG- SOC-NET 1-S/S	CHG- DISC-TIME 2-S/S	CHG- CONT-I 3-S/
62.10%	QL- IND	.562	31.58% (a)	.283(b)	.026	.02
	DEMOG.	.588	34.57%	.298(b)	.037	-.01
29.40%	QL- DISC-TIME	.514	26.42% (a)	.195	.210(b)	.04
	1-QL\DEMOG.	.611	37.33%	.183	.174	.03
12.60%	QL- SOC-NET	.411	16.89% (a)	.439(b)	-.052	-.05
	2-QL\DEMOG.	.552	30.47%	.441(b)	.040	-.14
10.60%	QL- SENSE-SELF	.359	12.89% (a)	-.041	-.047	.00
	3-QL\DEMOG.	.443	19.62%	-.010	-.020	-.01
9.50%	QL- LIV-CON	.533	28.41% (a)	.204	-.052	.07
	4-QL\DEMOG.	.578	33.41%	.226(b)	-.021	.07

Notes: (a) Reported in Table 9 -- Beta Weights and Multiple Correlation Coeffi
 (b) The significance of F for this variable in the present equation is
 (c) This variable is coded: men = 1 and women = 2.

Sanguine/Somber Factors Regressed on to the Factors of the Quality-of-Life Index

Sanguine/Somber move index		Demographic data analysis						F	Signif. of F	De fr
CHG-CONT-KIN 3-S/S	CHG-IN-REGOGN 4-S/S	Cost of dwelling	Level of education	Number of moves in past 5 yrs	Age	Sex(c)	Number of children > 18 yrs			
.027	.382(b)							9.575	.0000	
-.013	.405(b)	.028	.117	.116	.098	.057	-.080	4.068	.0002	1
.047	.263(b)							7.456	.0000	
.034	.307(b)	.172	.079	.057	-.071	.238(b)	-.086	4.589	.0000	1
-.053	.014							4.209	.0037	
-.141	.055	-.227(b)	.029	.261(b)	.277(b)	.130	-.043	3.377	.0011	
.001	.378(b)							3.071	.0206	
-.011	.350(b)	-.016	.173	.032	-.045	-.184	-.076	1.881	.0606	
.078	.421(b)							8.227	.0000	
.075	.427(b)	.136	.050	-.020	.125	-.038	-.020	3.871	.0003	

n Coefficients for Sanguine/Somber Factors Regressed on the Quality-of-Life Index
 tion is p > .05.

on to the Factors of the Quality-of-Life Index

ights

Demographic data analysis

	Level of g education	Number of moves in past 5 yrs	Age	Sex(c)	Number of children > 18 yrs	F	Signif. of F	Degrees of freedom
						9.575	.0000	4 / 83
	.117	.116	.098	.057	-.080	4.068	.0002	10 / 77
						7.456	.0000	4 / 83
	.079	.057	-.071	.238(b)	-.086	4.589	.0000	10 / 77
						4.209	.0037	4 / 83
b)	.029	.261(b)	.277(b)	.130	-.043	3.377	.0011	10 / 77
						3.071	.0206	4 / 83
	.173	.032	-.045	-.184	-.076	1.881	.0606	10 / 77
						8.227	.0000	4 / 83
	.050	-.020	.125	-.038	-.020	3.871	.0003	10 / 77

umber Factors Regressed on the Quality-of-Life Index

As the number of moves in the past five years increased so did QL-SOC-NET. This suggests that a certain amount of skill building may occur with each move. Reaching out in order to make new social contacts in the destination community may be a competence that comes with several moves. However, the desire to use this competence and rebuild one's life following a move may peak. A certain similarity may exist between the inverted "U" hypothesis, frequently used to describe the efficacy of a stress, and the ability to reach out in a new community. This suggests an additional avenues for subsequent relocation research. Finally, older individuals appear to have had more satisfying social networks, perhaps reflecting an addition competence or extended social network which come with age in this sample population. None of the six demographic characteristics discussed here, and presented in Table 14, change the predictive influence of the four sanguine/somber factors presented in Table 12.

The Importance of Occupation as a Reason to Move

The importance of occupation as a critical reason for undertaking a move is a frequently recurring theme in the literature on relocation. Participants were asked what role occupation played in their own decision to move. The results were entered into an extended version of the regression analysis presented in Table 14 and made no significant contribution. The mean score for each level of importance played by occupation in the decision to move, for men and women, is presented in Table 15. Although there are differences between the scores on various conditions of importance, none was statistically significant using the conservative Scheffe test in a one-way analysis of variance.

Table 15. Mean Index Scores for Men and Women on Five Levels of the Importance of Occupation in the

Criterion variable	Decision to Move					
	Men			Women		
	<i>n</i>	Mean score S/S-IND	Mean score QL-IND	<i>n</i>	Mean score S/S-IND	Mean score QL-IND
Very unimportant	2	4.227	5.588	14	4.071	5.181
Somewhat unimportant	3	4.758	5.608	3	4.909	5.196
Neither important nor unimportant.	4	4.318	5.765	9	3.980	5.150
Somewhat important	5	3.909	4.977	8	4.500	5.397
Very important	28	3.906	5.103	13	4.028	5.376
Summary	42	4.022	5.210	47	4.152	5.267
Statistical significance in a one-way analysis of variance		none	none		none	none

Gender Difference: A Note of Caution

The 11 variables in the sanguine/somber index, although having a significant influence on the perceived quality-of-life index (multiple $r = .567$), do not contribute substantially to differences between men and women. Using the discriminant analysis, discussed in a following section and presented in Table 21, only 6% of the variance between men and women is accounted for by the sanguine/somber index. On the other hand, the major contributors to gender differences are the four factors in the quality-of-life index. The factors of the quality-of-life index, when subjected to a discriminant analysis, account for about 27% of the variance between genders. All variables which make a significant difference, ($p < .05_{t-2}$) using Student's t-test, are noted in Tables 9 and 10.

The fact that the quality-of-life index, using well-being indicators makes better than four times the contribution to gender differences, than does the sanguine/somber index of change-in-activity impacts, (QL-IND 27% / S/S-IND 6%), suggests that gender differences existed before the move. This is not a surprising outcome, but rather one which may be overlooked in the interpretation of the findings if it were not otherwise pointed out.

The Duplex Nature of Sample Responses

While discussing the results an effort is made to point out that for most reactions found at one end of the distribution of scores on any particular dimension of interest, for example relocation outlook, some individual, or group of individuals, has a converse reaction falling at the other end of the distribution (for example Chapter VI, figures 14

and 15). The challenge in the analysis of these data is to bring forward the critical themes, those that appear to make a difference when summed, which lead to overall positive or negative outcomes. It appears, for example, with the sanguine/somber move index, that it is the cumulative impact of several changes that leads an individual to his or her overall assessment. The loss of a single salient activity may be made up for by several gains.

Other Important Themes

There are other themes to be examined. It is important to consider briefly the context of the process. Where did the move originate? Where did the participants settle? What is the extent of participation in local organizations, and how many neighbors does a participant know well enough to chat with in a neighborly fashion?

What was the participant's relocation outlook? Was the move made by choice? How many moves have been made in recent years? How much information gathering was done by the household? How much does the person feel a part of past or present communities? In other words, what are some of the individual perceptions of daily activity in the new community as contrasted with the origin-community, and who else is in the social network of the participant since the move?

Summary

The information gathered by both the interview and the questionnaire was considered as a single body of data to be analyzed along three major dimensions: themes, communities, and individuals (Figure 8). The themes included indicators of a sanguine or somber move based on change-in-activity impact; issues of perceived quality-of-life

based on questions adapted from the well-being question developed by Andrews and Withey (1976); measures of connection to place; relocation outlook; internal/external locus of control; and local social contacts. The consideration of communities included both origin and destination areas and how prior experiences in the one may color the activities in the other. In addition, gender similarities and difference have been considered. These dimensions will be further interpreted through the use of the analyzed interview transcripts.

Communities and Participants by Community

Although suburban in nature, the four single-zip code communities selected for the research, each with a small but distinct central business district, have all been incorporated municipalities in Connecticut for a hundred or more years (Figure 7).

The participants were remarkably similar across communities. Those differences which did occur fell in the larger category of life-cycle stage. Participating households differed in age and number of children at home (Table 5). On the other hand, the consistent difference between communities was cost of housing, although perhaps, more precisely, it was cost of land. Many homes of participants in these four towns seemed to have been built of similar materials, with families who are at the same life-cycle stage. From the casual observation permitted by brief visits to a number of these homes, to sit in their living rooms and kitchens and talk with the owners, the primary contribution to cost differential between homes in the four communities is not building materials or floor area but site location and size of the parcel of land. Location, particularly that which reduces the

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elapsed daily round-trip commute time to employment in midtown Manhattan (including driving time to the train stations) seemed to be a chief contributor to the cost of the property.

Information on household income was requested but responses, not surprisingly, were spotty and frequently husband and wife, who were asked separately, gave different figures, the husband generally giving the higher figure. The estimated ranges of income by community are presented in Appendix D, Table D-2. Consistent with housing prices, the salaries reported by participants in communities 3 and 4 were the highest. These were the two communities in which participants most often found employment in midtown Manhattan. Indeed, several of these participants were interviewed in their offices in New York City. In these cases no home visits were made.

What follows is *not a comparative view of the four communities as they appeared at the time of the research. Instead, the following comments reflect the communities as perceived through the eyes of the 89 participant relocatees.* These adult participants shared in common the experience of moving to a new community and bringing with them their own personal experiences of previous communities. A brief narrative description of each community, taken from "Chamber of Commerce" style statements is also included to give the spirit of the community while protecting its anonymity. A vicinity map of the 4 communities is presented in Figure 7, Chapter IV.

At the onset, it is fair to say that the past experience of a participant colors his or her response to the a new residential setting. For example, any one of the four communities may have been seen through

rosier colored glasses by someone returning home to family and friends than by the participant who may have moved from an area where dear friends were left behind. These separate perspectives are reflected in comments by two participants:

I was actually quite excited about [the move]. . . . I am originally from about a half an hour south of here. So for me, in large measure, this was returning home. (*Man, community 2*)

I felt sad leaving my home, first of all because I lived there all my life. My mother was born in the house we grew up in and we lived several blocks away. But with the neighborhood changing we needed to move. (*Woman, community 1*)

As the communities are described, this form of personal background should be kept in mind.

Participants in each community had both sanguine and somber move outcomes⁵⁸; only those differences between communities that were statistically significant are reported. From the participants' eye-view the communities afford many common experiences. Only a few attributes on which participant relocatees expressed their experiences stood out as differing from community to community.

Community 1

It is a 1 3/4 hour trip, one way, to midtown Manhattan from community 1. This place is characterized as being a peaceful yet prosperous community of small-town friendliness. This may be contrasted

⁵⁸Means and standard deviations for the sanguine/somber index by community: community 1, $n = 26$, $m = 4.21$, $sd .89$; Community 2, $n = 16$, $m = 4.16$, $sd 1.06$; Community 3, $n = 14$, $m = 4.00$, $sd 1.04$; Community 4, $n = 33$, $m = 4.00$, $sd .82$.

with the busier urban atmosphere sometimes found in communities 3 and 4. While a number of the participants in the study from community 1 worked locally, some made the trip to midtown Manhattan 5 days a week.

The town records date back several centuries, and the community has historically expressed concerns for town planning and plan implementation. Development of home sites is usually zoned for 2 and 3 acre parcels. Participants from this community often expressed the fact that they did not know their neighbors, not entirely surprising if one does not come in close proximity to another person in these automobile dominated environments. On the other hand, many participants from community 1 enjoyed the pastoral setting of their home sites, as expressed this way:

When I saw the house I liked the house. Mostly I liked the land - the terrain. The house, I would have preferred a bigger house, but, ah, finances. This was the house. I really fell in love with the layout. (Man, community 1)

Participants from Community 1 (Table 5) were older than those in community 2, a difference which was statistically significant (Scheffe $p < .05$), and felt less satisfied about "the income they have" than did the participants in community 4 (Scheffe $p < .05$). These individuals in Community 1 tended to have moved in the recent past more often than those in community 4 and were less active in church affairs than those individuals in Community 3 (Scheffe $p < .05$).

It is interesting to note, however, that for 87 participants -- those who had moved 1 ($n = 32$), 2 ($n = 26$), 3 ($n = 21$) or 4 ($n = 8$) times, within the last 5 years -- there was little difference in the

average scores each had on the sanguine/somber index or the quality-of-life index. This suggests that a number of constituent variables impact the outcome of a single move cycle (Figure 1), including whether one moves home to family and friends, or to a new beginning in an unfamiliar place.

Community 2

Community 2, about a 20 minute drive from community 1, was an alternative to Community 1 for several home buyers in the study. The cost of housing was less, perhaps because the parcels of land on which dwellings were built appeared to be much smaller. Most homes visited were in subdivided tracts of land where home sites were only a portion of one acre, although the floor space appeared to be equal to many of those visited in community 1. It was expressed this way by one participant from community 2:

The house seemed to have the most potential . . . The other thing was that it was sort of an open street, rather than feeling isolated around here. Some of the houses that we looked at were surrounded by trees and hills, and you didn't see anybody else. And I sort of like seeing the other houses and people. It's more like the neighborhood I grew up in. (Man, community 2)

Participants in community 2 also seemed to know their neighbors, many living on short streets or cul-de-sacs. Propinquity appeared to be at work. No participant from community 2 commuted to work in Manhattan, a 2 hour, one way trip to Grand Central Station, although there was limited commuter rail service.

Community 2, incorporated for over 100 years, was originally an agricultural and apparel manufacturing area. The community, whose population has more than tripled in the 30 years prior to the study, has residential, commercial and industrial areas. Few participants who had full-time employment outside the home in this community, however, worked in the community. These individuals commuted by car, often long distances to their places of employment.

The average age of participants in this community was the youngest, 30 years old (Table 5). These participants, as a whole, were the least attached to their community of origin, although the community of origin may not have been the place a participant called home, perhaps having moved several times since leaving that memorable place. For this relatively young group the move away from the place called home had often occurred several moves earlier and the origin of this most recent move was sometimes only a stop along life's path. However, as was often the case with the response distributions in this research, several of the most compelling stories about moving away from the area called home were told by the participants moving into this community. This is the reflective story told by one participant about his spouse's experience:

I think the biggest thing that we lost was the close proximity to family, especially [my wife's]. They were less than half an hour, 20 minutes [away]. Now that is the best part of an hour and one-half [to reach them]. But it is not the same. Whereas before she would see them possibly twice a week [now it is twice a month]. [It is a] big difference between twice a week and twice a month, especially when you are not . . . working, and interacting with

people. You are in a new community and you have the baby. (*Man, community 2*)

The individuals in Community 2 were often just starting their families, and for some this was the first home they had ever owned. The participants in community 2, although "somewhat satisfied" with their standard of living, were less satisfied about -- "the things they had, such as housing, car, furniture, recreation and the like" -- than those in community 4 (Scheffe $p < .05$). Although high compared with prices for similar dwelling space in many parts of America (Table 5), the cost of dwellings in this community was significantly less expensive than in Community 3 (Scheffe $p < .05$, see Table 7). With respect to cost in community 1, one participant put it this way: ". . . you are paying about 20% premium for the same house in [community 1] as in [community 2]." Participation in church activities here and in Community 3 was significantly higher (Scheffe $p < .05$) than in communities 1 and 4, where the participants were older and their children had sometimes left home or gone to college.

Community 3

Although slightly more than forty miles from New York City along the Long Island Sound, commuters from Community 3 enjoyed 1 hour one-way service to Grand Central Station with few stops, even in off peak-periods. This community also has easy access to two major vehicular transportation routes. Both of these circumstances undoubtedly influenced the cost of real estate in the community. The average age of participants here was 34 (Table 5). Real estate promotional material touts community 3 as comfortable, affluent, and convenient.

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The costs of dwellings were significantly higher in Community 3 than in Community 2 (Scheffe $p < .05$). Location, and convenience in travel to New York City, seem to play a large part in this pricing scheme. Although a few homes of large floor area situated on several acre parcels were visited in this community, many homes and sites were quite comparable to those in community 2. These participants have also moved more frequently in the past 5 years than participants in community 4, but the difference was not statistically significant using the conservative Scheffe test.

The participants from this community, however, were less satisfied with the "sports or recreation facilities they used themselves" than were participants from community 1 or 4 (Scheffe $p < .05$). One participant put it this way:

[Here] young couples have one or two children so you have to get a baby sitter and everything has to be planned for months in advance, which has been frustrating for us, because we like to do things. . . . So when you are young and you can do things, do them now. We like meeting people. We like going out and having fun. We like playing sports. But [here] it is a lot harder to do things because it has to be so organized and so programmed . . .

(Woman, community 3)

As noted previously, participants in community 3 were more involved in church activities than either community 1 or community 4 and tended to have more children under 18 years of age living at home than any of the other communities.

Community 4

Community 4 is slightly further away from New York than Community 3, along the Long Island Sound, though still within reasonable commute to New York City, 1:15 minutes one way, and has similar access to major transportation links. The participants in community 4 were the oldest group, average age 41 years (Table 5). Observations made during home visits suggested that many of the children remaining at home were in junior high school or high school, while others had gone to college or left home. This was in contrast to the number of pre-school aged children observed in the homes of participants in communities 2 and 3.

Participants from community 4 had made significantly fewer moves in the prior 5 year period than had the participants in community 3 (Table 5) (Scheffe $p < .05$). Speculating on a single reason for the difference is particularly risky. As the following report of results of relocation will show, many factors may have entered in. But it is likely that career stability, concern for the well-being of school age children, and networks of friends were three topics given consideration in any decision not to move more often.

On three measures of well-being, community 4 has significantly more satisfied scores. In reporting these differences as statistically significant, which they are, it is important to keep in mind that what is at stake is only a matter of small degree -- the difference between somewhat satisfied (5) and satisfied (6) on a Likert-type seven-point scale. Nevertheless, participants as a whole from community 4 were more satisfied about their standard of living than those in community 2 (Scheffe $p < .05$); more satisfied about sports and recreation facilities

which participants use themselves than those in community 3 (Scheffe $p < .05$); and more satisfied about income than participants in community 1 (Scheffe $p < .05$). Again, it is quite risky to comment on a single reason. Although from the most casual observation of people, as a participant observer over the past several years during the research, it is possible that these participants not only had resources, but enjoyed a certain degree of control and independence in their own lives that came from their own efforts. Here are two comments from a man and his wife respectively:

New York has its pluses and minuses. I have been here before. I kind of knew the experience of the commute thing. I knew it would be lousy. The size of the office is much larger. . . . I guess most of those [comments] are all negatives. I had some choices. I selected the New York area, primarily because of the nature of the assignment. And, also, it would be reasonably closer to family. I have a sister who lives in [Connecticut]. . . . (Man, community 4)

I was kind of excited [to come to a new place]. I really was. I guess it came at a good time in our lives, with our children's ages. (Woman, community 4)

Summary of Community Analysis

The four communities were selected because they were appealing residential locations for home buyers and were identifiable places. This was necessary in order that the discussion of the place to which a person had moved was internalized by all participants from that community as the same locality with similar identifying terms.

The research was designed to gather data about the experience of moving to a new place. On the whole, the experiences of the participants in the four separate communities varied significantly on only a few dimensions. Some of these differences, such as cost of dwelling and commute time to New York, are directly observable. The more subtle dimension of the move was the participants' past experience. For example, an individual selling a three bedroom home in Ohio and purchasing one in community 3 or 4 experienced what was often called "sticker shock" by participants, referring to the cost of housing. On the other hand, if the origin community was Los Angeles or San Francisco the prices charged for homes in communities along Long Island Sound in Fairfield County were not a source of great surprise.

A writer for *The Wall Street Journal* addressed the regional cost differential in housing as an issue for relocatees in an article entitled, "Making the move: Relocation can take you from a hovel to a mansion -- or the other way around" (DeVenuta, 1990). Similar issues of regional housing cost differentials for relocatees are discussed by Drier and Schwartz (1988) in the *Harvard Business Review*, particularly those moves where the participant was forced by the economic differential in housing cost to relocate to a home with less floor space than before.

In conclusion, it is important to note that the research did not intend to examine in depth the characteristics of the four municipalities per se, but rather the participants' experiences of the community, from their own perspectives. In each community participants had both sanguine and somber move outcomes. It was often the

participant's experience of the community relative to his or her own prior history, rather than the community itself, that shaped the individual assessment of the outcome. While the statistical significance of the differences reported suggests that the communities occasionally differed in a non-random manner, a matter of relatively positive degrees, the difference between being "somewhat satisfied" (5) and "satisfied" (6) on a 7-point Likert-type scale.

Attachment to Place and A Place Called Home

What is the importance of attachment to place with respect to activity satisfaction? The next sections will respond to the question from several perspectives. Participants in the study were asked if they had a place to call home and, if they did have such a place in their own mind's eye, where it was. The results are shown in Table 16. There are four mutually exclusive conditions: (a) the place called home was in the present, destination community; (b) home was in the community where the move originated; (c) home was in some other place; or d) there was no place that the person called home. The discussion of participants' attachment to place, community by community -- creating a 4 by 4 matrix -- divides the sample into such small numbers that it is difficult to draw well-founded inferences. For this reason the outcomes are discussed by category - "no place to call home," etc. - in subsequent tables.

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Table 16. The Place Called Home

Criterion variable	Comm 1	Comm 2	Comm 3	Comm 4
Destination community	38.5%	20.0%	30.8%	39.4%
Origin community	23.1%	20.0%	53.8%	24.2%
Other community	19.2%	53.3%	15.4%	24.2%
No place called home	19.2%	6.7%	0.0%	12.2%
<i>n</i>	26	16	14	33

The mean scores, by condition, for the four sanguine/somber index factors are shown in Table 17. Similar to earlier scores, the scale used in Table 17 is based on a 7-point Likert-type scale in which 1 represents the most negative score, 4 is a neutral mid-point between negative and positive, and 7 is extremely positive. It is interesting to note that those individuals with *no place to call home* are the least satisfied with changes-in-activity impacts since moving. A one-way analysis of variance for the conditions described in Table 17 was carried out and there is no statistical significance to report on the index nor on any of the four factors listed, using the conservative Scheffe test.

One of the 11 variables in the sanguine/somber index (Table 9), however, does show a significant difference across the four conditions, the perceived "change in quality of living conditions," found in factor 4 (CHG-IN-RECOGN). Participants who felt their present community was home have significantly higher scores on this variable than do those who called no place home (destination, $m = 5.667$; no home, $m = 4.000$; Scheffe $p < .05$).

Table 17. Mean Factor Scores on the Sanguine/Somber Index for Participants in Each of Four Conditions of a Place to Call Home

Criterion variable	Mean score sanguine/somber index and factors					n
	S/S-IND	CHG- SOC-NET	CHG- DISC-TIME	CHG- CONT-KIN	CHG- IN-RECOGN	
Destin.	4.23	3.81	3.87	4.25	5.01	30
Origin	4.00	3.54	4.12	3.81	4.54	24
Other	4.12	3.94	3.72	4.15	4.68	23
No home	3.70	3.10	3.70	4.10	4.03	10

Note: A one-way analysis of variance using the conservative Scheffe test indicated no statistical significance among any of the conditions.

The response is interpreted in this way: when asked, "Since you moved here has there been a change in quality of living conditions of the family (e.g. worse living condition or better living conditions)?" Those who called no place home felt their change in living conditions had neither a positive nor negative impact on their lives. On the other hand, those who felt that their home was in their present dwelling felt that the impact of change of living conditions on their lives was moderately positive.

Turning now to the quality-of-life index (Table 10), participants who felt their present community was the place called home scored significantly higher on quality-of-life factor 4 (QL-LIV-CON)⁵⁹, "quality of daily living conditions" than those participants in the

⁵⁹The four variables included in factor 4 are listed in Table 8.

three other conditions. This is consistent with the previous finding on change-in-activity. One may draw the following inference. A change for the better in living conditions, including one or more of the following elements -- improvement in perceived standard of living, housing, neighborhood as a place to live, and what is paid for basics -- contributes to a person calling the present community home. Such an event is likely to be categorized as a reinforcing experience. Moving away from such experiences would be a loss for which substitutions may not be found immediately. These elements, contributing to calling a place home, are the subtle links between place and identity. William James (1984) in the chapter on the "self" appearing in *Psychology: Briefer Course*, originally published in 1892 and recently republished, said:

In its widest possible sense, however, a man's *Me* is the sum total of all that he can call his, not only his body and his psychic powers, but his clothes and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works, his lands and horses, and yacht and bank-account. If they wax and prosper, he feels triumphant; if they dwindle and die away, he feels cast down, - not necessarily in the same degree for each thing, but in much the same way for all. (p. 160)

One wonders why place and identity have not been linked together more often by psychologists since James' time, given these phrases as a starting point.

What the participants did to find their new community also seemed to contribute to the place called home. Those in the "destination" and

"other" conditions spent significantly more time in gathering information about the their new community than did participants in the other two conditions (Scheffe $p < .05$). In talking with participants, it often seemed to be their experience that satisfaction with the present home came under one of two conditions. First there was the serendipitous finding - the house or neighborhood just felt right, as the following comments illustrate:

After seeing probably close to 8 to 12 houses, we just like . . . this particular subdivision [in community 2]. [This house] is the kind of house that appealed to us. And it really seemed there was a neighborhood with younger people with children that [my wife and baby daughter] would have a chance to interact with. Not [a place] where homes were more spread out on a half acre rather than a quarter acre and you were not as accessible - as close to neighbors. (*Man, community 2*).

We looked around a considerable amount to try to find a neighborhood or an area that we liked, that we could afford. . . . We saw five houses in [community 1], this was number 4, and the following day we put a binder down on it. . . . We had no intention of buying a house, and we fell in love with [community 1] and this house. So that was it. . . . It was the land, to tell you the truth. We both enjoy the woods. We enjoy somewhat of the isolation you enjoy here without being totally isolated. (*Woman, Community 1*)

The other condition seemed to occur when compromises had to be made but there was adequate time for a thorough search and information gathering.

The participants, in the end, were satisfied with the compromises. The couple had done all that they could with the resources at hand. For example:

We picked the house [in community 2] because of the neighborhood. We liked the neighborhood. It is an established neighborhood, and this is one of the cheaper houses on the block. And everyone tells you to buy low in the neighborhood and fix it up, and you can sell it for more than you paid for it. That was part of my logic. It was also one of the few Colonial [style homes] we could touch in price. It has a lot of space. (*Man, community 2*)

We wanted a big house, and we wanted to keep our cost down. . . . I came out by myself and stayed with this friend in [New York City] and commuted out and met with the Realtors in both [Community 4 and a nearby community]. I did that for 5 days. And then [my husband] came out and we concentrated [on these two communities]. We found a house in each. We weighed all the pro's and con's. . . . (*Woman, community 4*)

The spouse of the preceding participant explains it this way:

We had basically our firm's relocation system. You have so many days to find something. I wanted to rent for a year. That would accomplish two things. Number one we would really get to know the area and the neighborhood, and really, for once in our life, make a selection with a real solid knowledge base. [My wife] said, "If I have to move twice, I ain't moving. I don't want to move and have to put the furniture in storage some place, rent for a year,

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then look around. If were going to go, lets find a house." So, basically we looked for a house. (*Man, community 4*)

Suffice it to say, these individuals came to the home-buying process with criterion in mind. While some of the criteria were objective and in the foreground of consciousness, other criteria were less accessible until the moment the person saw the neighborhood or dwelling.

The Region of Origin and Scores on the Sanguine/Somber Index

When a project is undertaken such as this research on relocation, some preconceived ideas are secreted away in the back of one's mind. One such idea was that individuals moving from abroad would have the most difficult time with changes-in-activity as measured by the sanguine/somber index. This was not so, perhaps due in part to the high number American expatriates in this group. The nine individuals participating who had moved from overseas had an average score of 4.000 on the 7-point Likert-type scale, a neutral midpoint, neither positive nor negative about the changes (six were return American). The lowest scores, as a whole, on the sanguine/somber index of change-in-activity were registered by the 11 relocatees from the southern states, a mildly negative 3.400.

Perhaps this section on regional difference on the sanguine/somber index is the clearest example of the importance of change in cultural ambiance as a significant element in moving, even within the United States. Those who moved from the Midwest, 18 in all, had scores of 3.733. Near to a neutral midpoint, neither positive nor negative about the changes the move brought, were those from the western states ($m = 3.914$, $n = 7$). Finally, those who were the most sanguine about the

move, as a whole, were those closest to their new communities, those who were already living in eastern states ($m = 4.511$, $n = 44$). The exact numbers from each state are reported in the introduction to this chapter.

It is difficult to paint a picture of the possible cultural differences which may have influenced these scores, but the broad-ranging definition of culture developed by Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952), quoted in Chapter II, suggests many dimensions of life's activities impacted by culture and cultural change. After reading their definition, and reflecting on the diversity of this country, it is not hard to imagine why someone from Florida, or Tennessee, or Virginia, might not be as at home with Southwestern Connecticut's cool winters, high cost of living, and hectic pace of life as someone from New York State.

Attachment to Community

Place and attachment to place were introduced in Chapter I and discussed in some detail in Chapter II. In anticipation of a further discussion of place, it was defined in Chapter I as, "a bounded geographic setting in which the activities of daily life occur." When attachment to community is discussed, recognition must be given to the fact that a person's pattern of activities in daily life often takes him/her to a number of separate places - home, work, children's school, recreation, etc. Although "locality" does not have the same pleasant ring to it that "place" does, *further research on place and identity should bear in mind the need to have a descriptor of community*

attachment that includes multiple places (for example see Chapter II, Figure 4).

Participants were asked how much they felt a part of the community they had just moved from (origin), and also how much they felt a part of the community they had moved to (destination). The frequency distribution of these responses is shown in Table 18. Attachment to one community, of course, does not necessarily preclude attachment to a second community.

Table 18. Frequency Distribution of Attachment-to-Community Responses

Response choice	Origin community	Destination community
Not at all	15	5
Not very much	16	33
Somewhat	18	33
Pretty much	20	16
Very much	20	2

As might be expected, more individuals were strongly attached to communities left behind than to destination communities. Forty participants felt "pretty much" or "very much" a part of the origin community, while only 18 felt this way about the destination community. It is interesting to note that 31 of the 89 participants in the study did not feel a part of the community they left behind.

Using the 5-point scale shown in Table 18, a correlation was computed between scores on the attachment-to-community scale⁶⁰ and factors in the sanguine/somber move index and in the quality-of-life index. Responses to the attachment-to-community questions were scored on the following scale: "not at all" (1), to "very much" (5) and Pearson's r was calculated and is present (Table 19).

Participants who felt a strong positive connection to the community of origin, a year following the move, also tended to have low scores on the respective indices and factors in Table 19, resulting in a negative correlation. This was particularly true for the overall measure of sanguine and somber move outcomes ($S/S-IND$, $r = -.357$, $p < .001_{t-2}$).

These findings are consistent with comments by individuals in the helping profession regarding post-move depression (Davis, 1979; Groh, 1984; Minkler & Biller, 1979; Olson & Brown, 1986; Rubin, 1983; Sherwood & DeSimone, 1983; Sinetar, 1986), as well as with the work of Mark Fried (1963)⁶¹. Those participants who still retained a strong attachment to the community of origin, months following the move, had somber scores. Suggestions for overcoming these feelings are offered by several

⁶⁰Questions may be raised as to whether the response categories in Table 13 qualify as an ordinal scale. However, as an exploratory statistic, the assumption is made that the scale is ordinal and the use of Pearson's r is reasonable. This process contributes useful understandings to the analysis of the data.

⁶¹It is recommended that the reading of Fried's (1963) article "Grieving for the lost home," be combined with a reading of Fried's later article "Stress, strain and role adaptation: Conceptual issues" in which Fried (1980, pp. 90-92) describes his sample of respondents in the "Grieving article" in the context of all individuals displaced from Boston's West End by Urban Renewal.

researchers (David, 1972, 1976; Guthrie, 1975; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985), and are discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

Table 19. Correlations of Attachment-to-Community With Factors
on the Two Indices

Criterion variables	Origin Community ^a	Destination Community ^b
S/S-IND	-.357**	.214
CHG-SOC-NET	-.297*	.314*
CHG-DISC-TIME	-.182	.078
CHG-CONT-KIN	-.222	.120
CHG-IN-RECOGN	-.275*	.049
QL-IND	-.148	.452**
QL-DISC-TIME	.045	.315*
QL-SOC-NET	-.070	.588**
QL-SENSE-SELF	-.036	.274*
QL-LIV-CON	-.366**	.106
Origin	1.000	-.057
Destination		1.000

Note: $N = 85$, missing = 4, ** $p < .001_{t-2}$ * $p < .01_{t-2}$

^aHigh scores on connection with the origin community and low scores on the two indices created a negative correlation.

^bA positive correlation results from scores on both attachment and indices paralleling one another.

As noted, scores of participants who felt a part of the present community (destination) were generally positively correlated with the factors in the two indices. A particularly strong correlation exists between the attachment to destination and the quality-of-life factor 3 (QL-SOC-NET), the perceived "quality of contemporary social networks" ($r = .588$ $p < .001$).

A tentative conclusion drawn from the finding just discussed is that participants are more satisfied in communities where they have

social networks - not terribly surprising. Importantly, however, it is at this point that the existential link between place and identity becomes more reality-based. To begin with, satisfactions, positive feedback if you will, reinforce identity. If one moves away from a locality and its reinforcing interactions, a temporary loss of reinforcer of identity may occur. In this way place and identity can be linked. This recognizes that many, though not all, social networks are largely locality specific.

From the theoretical perspective of McCall and Simmons (1978), outlined in chapter II and illustrated in Figure 2, the link between place and identity may be cast in these terms which reflect the theoretical position of McCall and Simmons: When a person moves away from *where*, he/she may also move away from *who else*, *what*, and *when*. Each of these four elements is thought to contribute to role-identity (see Figure 3). Multiple role-identities accumulate into a personal identity, a sense of self. A temporary loss of salient roles, without finding substitutes, may contribute to a loss of sense of self or a temporary diffusion of identity. The logic is simple: if one can experience a temporary loss of identity because the person moved from one place to another, then place and identity must have been linked prior to the move.

What if other major life events occur that provide alternate explanations? Some events, normally found on "readjustment rating scales" were examined. Several events that seem to have happened frequently in respondents' lives since the move include: 21 participants had new family members join the household; 15 individuals

experienced the death of a close family member; 20 had the experience of having a family member injured or seriously ill since the move; 13 had major personal illnesses of their own; and 6 engaged in marital reconciliation. These events are not seen as minimizing the inference that place and identity are linked. They merely ground the relationship in a particular context.

Supportive of the contention that a change of place may impact identity in this sample of individuals, 39 participants experienced increased separation from their spouses due to work since the move; 52, including homemakers, experienced change in their working conditions since the move; 43 felt that the experience of their spouses' changed work situation affected them since the move. These selected major life events occurred for the participants following, or as a direct result of, the move and do not conflict with the proposition that place identity may contribute to sense of self.

It is also possible that a move can be made toward sought after activities or that, either serendipitously or through the relocatee's own efforts, new satisfying activities are engaged in and new networks are formed. Interviews with participants who were satisfied with their new community reflected this satisfaction.

[The move] was a positive experience. It was something I was looking forward to. I am satisfied with the choice. (*Man, Community 1*)

For me this was sort of like a move back home, because I was raised in [the northeast], and I went to college in Massachusetts. . . . My family is still mostly in this area. So

I felt very comfortable with coming back here. Both my husband and I wanted to move back to New England. (Woman, community 2)

With respect to gender difference, both men and women seemed to have feelings of connectedness to their prior communities. Although not statistically significant, women's scores suggest that they felt only slightly more a part of the community left behind than did men (scale range 1 to 5, men₄₂, $m = 3.000$; women₄₇, $m = 3.298$; $t -1.01$ $p < .316$ _{t-2}). Regarding the destination of the move, much the same was found to be the case. Although not statistically significant, women also seemed to feel somewhat more a part of the new community to which they had moved than did men (men, $m = 2.571$; women, $m = 2.894$; $t -1.73$, $p < .087$ _{t-2}). The mean scores, both of which were below the mid-point (3) on the 5-point scale, suggests that men, as well as women, have difficulty establishing themselves in the new community. When asked how active a participant was in gathering information about the new area, women as a whole responded that they were "very active," while men were "somewhat active" (men, $m = 4.024$; women, $m = 4.511$; $t -2.43$ $p < .017$ _{t-2})⁶².

The Trait of Locus of Control

One would suspect, after having shared a small part of these participants' lives, that it would be fair to say that they were internally motivated. To a large extent, these individuals perceived positive and/or negative events as being a consequence of their own

⁶²The data did not permit an analysis of the "information gathering" activities connected with the new community by work status of the participants.

actions and thereby under their personal control. This was often the case. In 71.9% of the interviews the participant felt that planning ahead in life was worthwhile, 58.4% felt that things would work out the way they had been planned, 95.5% felt that problems were not too big for them to handle and that they could run their own lives, and 74.2% felt pretty sure that life would work out alright.

Dropping the one variable with the 95.5% score, the other three binary indicators of internal/external locus of control were summed. The positive skew of these responses brings into question the results of any correlation. However, people who generally felt they had their life within their own control also felt more a part of the destination community than did other participants (Pearson's $r = .308$ $p < .01_{t-2}$). At best, this should be interpreted as an interactive process. People who feel good about their present situation may also feel more in charge of their own lives. Correlations with the indices of sanguine/somber moves and quality-of-life were not significant (S/S-IND $r = .187$; QL-IND $r = .268$), nor were Student t-tests for gender difference ($t = -.74$ $p < .462_{t-2}$).

Local Social Contacts

Participants were asked several questions regarding whom they knew in the neighborhood and the number of local organizations with which they were affiliated. It would be a leap of faith to call the responses to these inquiries a measure of social network. It is probably more appropriate to suggest that each contact represented a potential friendship candidate. Whether a social relationship came about is not known. Table 20 outlines the responses to these two questions.

It is interesting to note the percentage of participants who did not join local organizations, 62%, suggesting that not everyone is a joiner nor is joining a group a natural event for relocatees seeking new community contacts. Serendipitous contacts with people who were proximate or who shared current life situations, such as raising young children, were often reported as an alternative method for meeting new people. One woman, who had moved a number of times as a military child herself, reported taking her youngster for regular walks on the block after they moved in. Finally, one day, with some forethought, the mother stopped in front of a home where another youngster about the same age was playing and let the children play until the other mother came out, thus acquiring a new acquaintance for herself.

Table 20. Contact with Neighbors and Local Organizations

Criterion variables	Comm 1	Comm 2	Comm 3	Comm 4
Number of nearby neighbors known well enough to chat with in a friendly fashion ^a				
Men	7	7	10	6
Women	5	7	17	5
Active participation in a local organization				
Men	38.5%	25.0%	16.7%	13.3%
Women	38.5%	37.5%	62.5%	61.10%

^aMedian response

There is a noticeable difference in the rate of participation in local organizations between communities 3 and 4 and communities 1 and 2. The broad characteristics of each community were introduced earlier in

this chapter. In communities 3 and 4, both located along the Long Island Sound (figure 7, Chapter IV), men participated less and women participated more in local organizations than did participants in communities 1 and 2. All the participants interviewed had active lives and often spent many hours commuting, however, a disproportionate number of men in communities 3 and 4 commuted to New York, often leaving home by 7:00 AM and not returning home until after 7:00 PM, five days a week, perhaps accounting for the lower participation rate of men in local activities in these later two communities.

Home

In the interviews, participants were asked how they came to pick the dwellings they bought. Often the stories dealt with location, school districts, and proximity to work versus cost. Far less was learned about how a house became a home.

Only a few ideas are suggested. Those who now called the destination community home were also more active in gathering information about their new community than those who felt they had no place to call home (Scheffe $p < .05$). Similarly, these 30 individuals felt significantly better about their "change in living condition" (CHG-IN-RECOGN, Table 9), than those who felt they had no place to call home (Scheffe $p < .05$). These figures, although interesting, don't say much about how a house was turned into a home. One might speculate, however, that being involved in daily activities in which one found satisfaction made a contribution to this process.

Summary

Individuals can and do form attachments to places. The attachment is conceptualized to be one which includes a social/cultural milieu in a locality. The locality may have several places in which salient daily activities take place. Thus, when attachment to community is described it implies attachment to activities in several places within a locality (see Table 19).

Participants in the study were asked how much they felt a part of both the community they left behind, and their new community. One could feel a part of both. But for those who continued to feel a strong attachment to the community left behind scores on the sanguine/somber index were often low. This, of course, supports Fried's (1963) finding regarding grieving for the lost home. But, as Table 18 points out, not everyone, not even a majority of the participants, felt strongly attached to the origin community. On the contrary, 34% of the participants called their present community home. This leaves open to question the extent to which people had anticipated this to be the outcome or whether this turn of events happened as a matter of course over time.

Relocation Outlook

Participants were asked three questions concerning their outlook toward moving. One question dealt with choice, one with participation in planning and decision making, and the third dealt with attitude toward the move⁶³. These scores were summed. Those participants with

⁶³Offers a response to "general research question I", Chapter III.

the high scores were also those who called their present community home; those with the lowest scores were those who had no place called home. Yet all scores were mildly positive, 4 or above on a scale of 1 to 5. There was no difference between men and women ($t = .07, p < .946_{t-2}$).

Gender Differences

Men and women differ in this sample, but, surprisingly, the major contributor to the differences are not impacts from change-in-activities due to moving, as reported in the sanguine/somber index (Table 9), but rather individual assessments of elements of well-being, reported in the quality-of-life index⁶⁴.

The Quality-of-Life Index

Men

Men, as compared to women, feel more positive about themselves as a whole. For example, men felt more satisfied about "their sense of self as a whole" (QL-SENSE-SELF, Table 10), (men₄₂, $m = 5.586$; women₄₇, $m = 5.217$; $t = 2.25, p < .027_{t-2}$). This is particularly the case for the variable concerned with "what an individual feels he or she is accomplishing in life" (men, $m = 5.691$; women, $m = 4.801$; $t = 4.35, p < .000_{t-2}$). This difference suggests that the men were engaged in more tasks for which positive feedback was received than were the women in this sample, 18 of whom reported their primary occupation as homemaking (Table D-3). How often do the responsibilities of a homemaker receive direct positive feedback?

⁶⁴The scales used in both the sanguine/somber index and the quality-of-life index were 7-point Likert-type scales where 4 is the midpoint and 7 is the most satisfied score. See Appendix A.

Women

On the other hand, women felt more satisfied than did men on another factor of the quality-of-life index, "quality of discretionary time" (QL-DISC-TIME), (men, $m = 4.791$; women, $m = 5.367$; $t -2.62$ $p < .010_{t-2}$). Several variables related to the use of time in factor 1 (QL-DISC-TIME) make a contribution to this measure of difference (Table 10): (a) "the way spare time is spent at home" (men, $m = 4.523$; women, $m = 5.383$; $t -3.18$ $p < .002_{t-2}$); and (b) "the amount of time a person has to do what he/she wants" (men, $m = 4.024$; women, $m = 4.851$, $t -2.58$ $p < .012_{t-2}$).

There are several possible reasons for this difference. First, both sexes scored lower on this factor than on other factors in this battery, suggesting that neither men nor women had as much free time as they would have liked. An additional explanation is even more speculative. Travel time to work is often a function of finding affordable housing in a satisfactory community. The men from these households all worked outside the home, and many described time-consuming commutes by train to New York or by car to distant sites. A possible outcome was that men felt more dissatisfied about the quality of their discretionary time than did women.

A second factor (QL-SOC-NET), although not showing a gender difference itself ($t -1.46$ $p < .161_{t-2}$), contains two indicators of well-being on which there were a significant gender differences. Women felt more satisfied about "the people who are seen socially," than did men (men, $m = 5.357$; women $m = 5.851$; $t -2.26$ $p < .026_{t-2}$). The same held true for, "the time they had for friends" (men, $m = 4.571$; women m

= 5.298; $t = -2.50, p < .014_{t-2}$). In summary, the index of quality-of-life did not show a gender difference, but 2 factors in the index did (Tables 10 and 21), suggesting that outcomes on specific factors offset one another. While men and women tend to have high scores on separate factors in this index, the cumulative scores across all four factors of the index are roughly equal for men and women (men, $m = 5.210$; women, $m = 5.267$).

Sanguine/Somber Index

In the only change-in-activity variable demonstrating significant gender differences, women were more positive than men. The variable is found in factor 2, Table 9 (CHG-IN-DISC-TIME) and is concerned with change in time for "relaxation, hobbies, and pastimes" (men $m = 3.405$; women, $m = 3.957$; $t = -2.02, p < .047_{t-2}$). This is consistent with the quality-of-life index score, and can be interpreted as both men and women experiencing change in this type of leisure time, with the women feeling more positive about the changes the move had brought than the men. Both were mildly negative about this change in their life as a whole.

Ranking Factors Which Account for Gender Differences

In keeping with the cautionary note introduced earlier, it is fair to raise the question as to which of these variables makes a significant contribution to gender difference. In addition, one may ask if there are any other variables, not in the index, which are important in this dimension of the analysis. These queries are of interest particularly in light of the fact that on neither index did overall scores show a significant gender difference, suggesting that there are advantages and

.

disadvantages that affect each gender. Men both suffered and benefitted following the move, as did women, a finding that is not often reported in relocation literature. Table 21 gives the pooled-within-groups correlation between discriminating factors and variables. The contribution to gender differences of three additional elements, previously discussed, are also shown: attachment to the origin community, attachment to the destination community, and relocation outlook.

Table 21. Factors Contributing to Gender Difference

Criterion variable	Pooled-within-groups correlations between discriminating variables	
	Pooled within correlation	Percent of variance explained ^b
S/S-IND	.245	6.0%
CHG-SOC-NET	.166	2.8%
CHG-DISC-TIME	.246	6.1%
CHG-CONT-KIN	.001	0.1%
CHG-IN-RECOGN	-.160 ^a	2.6%
QL-IND	.523	27.4%
QL-DISC-TIME	.483	23.4%
QL-SOC-NET	.265	7.0%
QL-SENSE-SELF	-.330 ^a	10.9%
QL-LIV-CON	-.103 ^a	1.1%
Attachment to Origin	.187	3.5%
Attachment to Destin.	.277	7.7%
Relocation outlook	.022	0.0%

^aThe negative correlation is a result of the binary coding of the gender variable (men = 1, women = 2), men feeling more satisfied on factors with a minus sign.

^bFactor percentage overlaps index percentage due to shared variance.

The positive correlation in Table 21 reflects a factor where the 47 women in the study, as a whole, felt more satisfied about the issue raised than did the 42 men. A surprising outcome presented in Table 21

is that women's attachment to the present community makes a strong contribution to gender difference. Women were more attached to the new communities than are men.

Looking for a moment at the factors from the sanguine/somber index, these factors, as a whole, contribute only 6% of the variance between the scores of men and women in the study. The power of each of the factors in the sanguine/somber index (S/S-IND) may also be further interpreted by referring to Table 11, where the Beta weights for each of the sanguine/somber factors regressed on to the quality-of-life factors are shown. The indicators of well-being - differences which may have existed before the move - make the major contribution to gender differences. These measures are found in the quality-of-life index.

Dual-Career Households

Although this research did not seek out dual-career couples, in 8 of the households, of the 38 households where both couples were interviewed, both spouses held full-time employment outside the home. This represents 21% of the 38 households where both couples were interviewed. The estimated national average for similar households in 1988, where both spouses had 16 years or more of education, is 67% (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1989, Series P-20, No. 437, pp. 96-97).

Several cautious notes must preface reporting on this group of participants, as this was not the focal point of this research. This research, although inviting both partners in the marriage to participate, accepted the response of a single participant. Were dual-career couples the focus, it would have been important to interview both partners. Additionally, no attempt was made to operationally define

what constituted a dual-career household. For example, had such a definition been developed it should have included home-based work, and part-time employment. It is also important to note that several of the couples who fell into this grouping appeared to have retained existing employers, in existing employment locations, while changing dwelling places. Finally, six of these couples did not have children under the age of 18 at home, while two did.

Comparing the dual-career couples (8) to other couples where both spouses were interviewed (30), there were some interesting findings. Both men and women in dual-career households reported significantly higher scores on sanguine/somber factor 4 (CHG-IN-RECOGN), the "change in positive recognition received from others" than did the other 30 couples with whom the dual-career couples were compared (dual, $m = 5.313$, $n = 16$; non-dual, $m = 4.411$, $n = 60$; $t = 3.30$, $p < .001_{t-2}$), Sekaran (1989, p. 97) reflects on similar findings by other researchers. The dual-career couples also scored higher on the sanguine/somber index (dual, $m = 4.454$; non-dual, $m = 3.966$).

Bifurcating this unequal distribution of the sample along gender lines produces very small numbers. Because these differences are subject to some question, the exact statistics are not given. However, there are some interesting results from the analysis.

The 8 men in dual-career marriages scored significantly higher than did the 30 men in non-dual-career marriages on the sanguine/somber index (S/S-IND), the sanguine/somber factor 4 (CHG-IN-RECOGN), and quality-of-life factor 4 (QL-LIV-CON). The dual-career men did not appear to have any significant decrement on the factors used.

The 8 women in dual-career marriages scored significantly higher than their 30 counterparts in non-dual-career marriages on sanguine/somber factor 4 (CHG-IN-RECOGN). Although, these eight scored higher than their counterparts on quality-of-life factor 4 (QL-LIV-CON), the difference was very modest. The dual-career women did not appear to have any significant decrements across all the factors used. All these findings should be considered cautiously.

Summary

In general, there are gender differences in this sample population. Many of those variables contributing to gender differences may have existed in this adult population before the move and continued after the move. Men seemed to receive more positive recognition for their efforts than did women, while women tended to have more discretionary time and contact with friends. Women also tended to feel more a part of both origin and destination communities than did men. When scores are summed together across variables in the index men's and women's scores do not show significant differences, suggesting that both have up and down elements in their lives as measured by the factors in the indexes.

Place and Identity

The dissertation research was conducted on relocation for two reasons: to describe the dimension of the experience of taking up residence in a new community, in an effort to suggest ways in which the transition can be made less difficult, while, at the same time, establishing the link between place and identity.

Considering, now, the link between self-identity and place, each of the indexes contains a factor related to the self⁶⁵. The sanguine/somber index contains factor 4 (CHG-IN-RECOGN), "change in the positive recognition received from others." This is close to the self in interaction, the "me" that William James (1984) and Herbert Mead (1934) outlined, also discussed at some length in Chapter II. At the same time, the quality-of-life index contains factor 3 (QL-SENSE-SELF), "the sense of self as a whole," similar to the reflective "I," also discussed in Chapter II. The mean score for each of these two factors, for each of four conditions of "having a place to call home," is shown in Table 22.

Table 22. The Place Called Home and Sense of Self

Criterion variable	CHG-IN-RECOGN ^a	QL-SENSE-SELF ^b
Destination	5.01	5.41
Origin	4.54	5.30
Other	4.68	5.50
No home	4.03	5.24

^aThe mean score for this sanguine/somber factor for men is 4.82, while for women it is 4.57 (Table 9).

^bThe mean score for this quality-of-life factor for men is 5.58, while for women it is 5.22 (Table 10).

With respect to change-in-activity, those who called the present community home scored higher than any of the other four conditions on this measure of sense of self in interaction. However, it must be borne mind that many life-events, of which moving is only one, can impact a

⁶⁵offers a response to "specific research questions VIII", Chapter III.

sense of overall well-being. Indeed, the sense of self as a whole, as measured by quality-of-life factor 3, QL-SENSE-SELF, does not have the same pattern of responses as does CHG-IN-RECOGN.

Summary

The data, interviews and questionnaire, are seen as one body of information on relocation. The data presented thus far have been analyzed across three separate domains: (a) themes, including the sanguine/somber move index, the quality-of-life index, relocation outlook, a place to called home, attachment to place, and locus of control; (b) community similarities and differences; and (c) gender similarities and differences. With respect to contrasts between destination communities, and contrasts in change-in-activity impacts for men and women, there were far more similarities than differences.

Scores on the central measure in this study, the index of sanguine/somber moves, are normally distributed. The average score fell close to the midpoint of the 7-point Likert-type scale, neither positive nor negative impacts. A normally distributed portion of these scores was one standard deviation above and below the mean, that is to say both men and women had particularly sanguine and particularly somber move outcomes. A result similar to this one has seldom appeared in psychological research on relocation.

The sample was drawn from couples who were home buyers in four Fairfield County, Connecticut, communities in 1988. Eighty-nine individuals participated, 38 couples, plus 13 individual married persons. This group of participants appeared to have unusually stable marriages, although there were some marital problems reported. Those

having serious marital difficulty possibly self-selected themselves out of the sample. Those who participated generally felt that life's events were a consequence of their own actions. They were active individuals, many with children under 18 living at home. As parents, these individuals often expressed concern for their spouses and their children in relation to the move.

Individuals who found the place they called home in the present community, the destination of the move, often felt better about themselves on a number of factors and indices than did those with no place that they called home. Those who felt that they could call the present community home also had put the most effort into gathering information about the new community during the moving process; those who felt they had no place to call home had put the least time into information gathering about the new community.

Those who were attached to the present community also seemed to have had positive experiences in forming new social networks. This may have been due to an individual's own resourcefulness or the participant may have made a move that returned him or her to family and friends.

Several links were made between place and identity. The logic of this was not complicated. If one can partially lose identity by leaving a place, then place and identity must be linked. Here is one expression of how that link might be seen in the eyes of a participant:

[The move], I wasn't crazy about the idea. I guess [I was] sort of hesitant, having done it before, knowing the investment you have to make developing new friends, getting

acclimated, and all that stuff. So, [I was] probably resistant - resigned to move. It was something that was work related. (*Man, community 4*)

In the following chapter, the broader links of the various domains of this analysis are discussed. How can two individuals in a marriage have quite different experiences from the same move, and what are the experiences of loss and gain resulting from relocation? Considerations of ways in which the process of adjustment to a new place may be made easier are introduced.

Chapter VI:

Results and Discussion -- Multiple Dimensions and Outcomes

Introduction

The preceding chapter examined the experience of moving from the perspective of three separate dimensions: themes, communities and gender (Figure 8). This chapter extends the materials developed in the preceding chapter, proceeding from the previous statistical analysis to focus on a descriptive report of the feelings of individuals and couples. Here a somewhat more holistic analysis of the assessment of change-in-activity impacts on everyday life, a year following the move, is presented. The reporting of these experiences is grounded in the comments of individuals reflecting on gains and losses encountered as a result of the moves. The primary mode for describing the changes will be the scores reported on the sanguine/somber move index and the four factors contributing to this cumulative index score (Table 7).

Can Each Partner in a Marriage Have a Different Move Experience?

Can one spouse have a different move outcome than the other, as measured by the summary score of the somber/sanguine index? The answer is yes. About 60% of the spouses had scores that differed from those of their partners by greater than one-half step on the Likert-type scale (Figure 10, 11, and 12). However, roughly 40% had similar scores; that is to say, these partner's scores were within five tenths of a point of one another on the Likert-type scale, although some of these pairs are positive while others are less sanguine.

Scores From the Quality-of-Life Index (QL-IND) and
the Sanguine/Somber Move Index (S/S-IND)

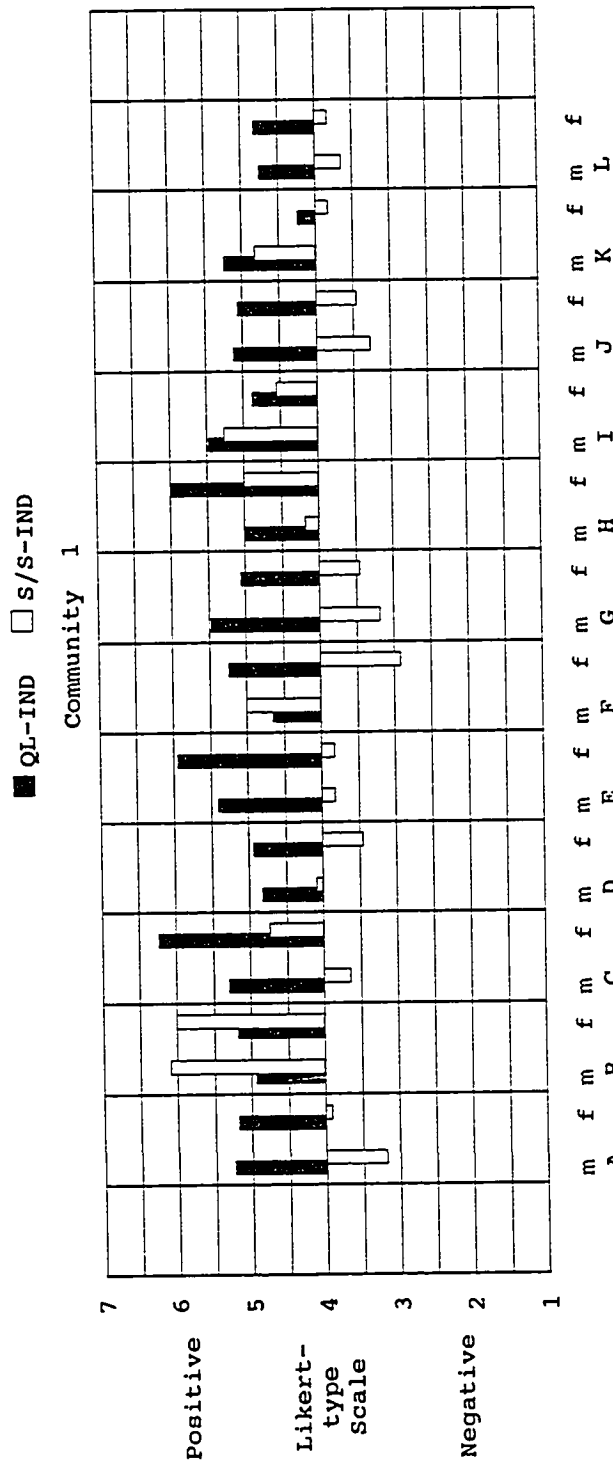


Figure 10. Couple index scores for community 1.

Scores From the Quality-of-Life Index (QL-IND) and
the Sanguine/Somber Move Index (S/S-IND)

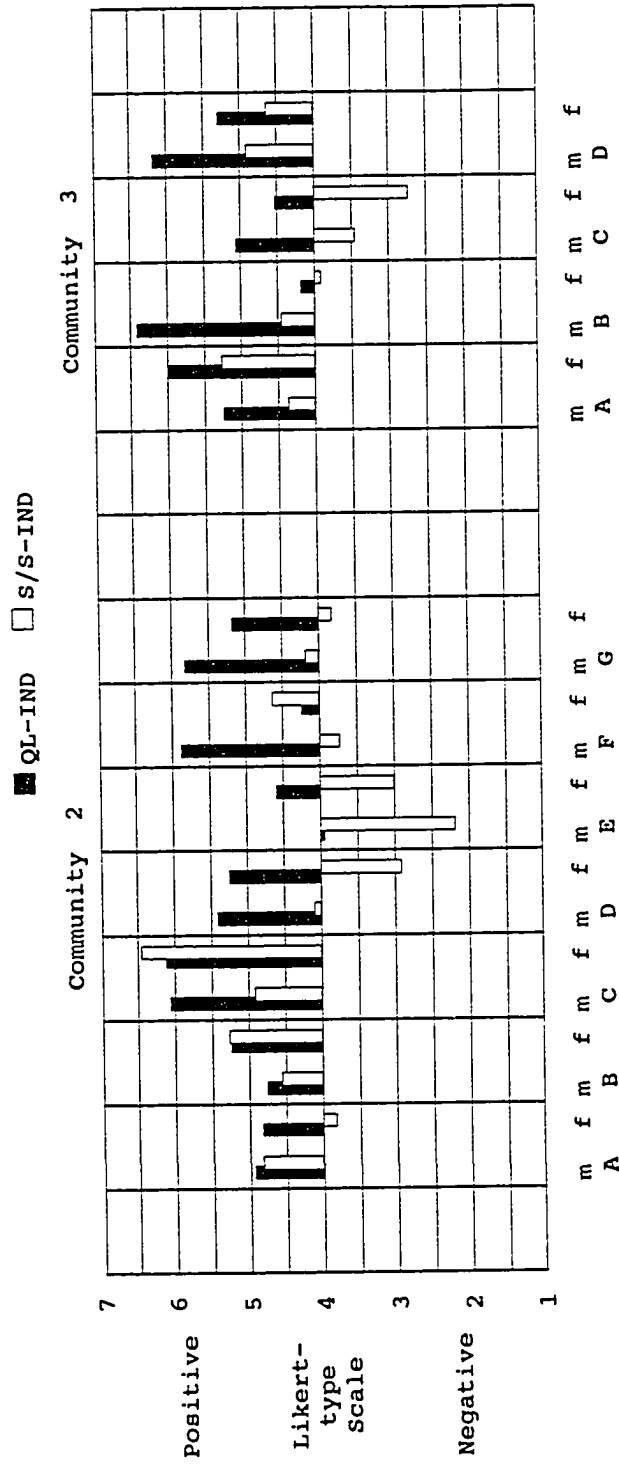


Figure 11. Couple index scores for communities 2 and 3.

Scores From the Quality-of-Life Index (QL-IND) and
the Sanguine/Somber Move Index (S/S-IND)

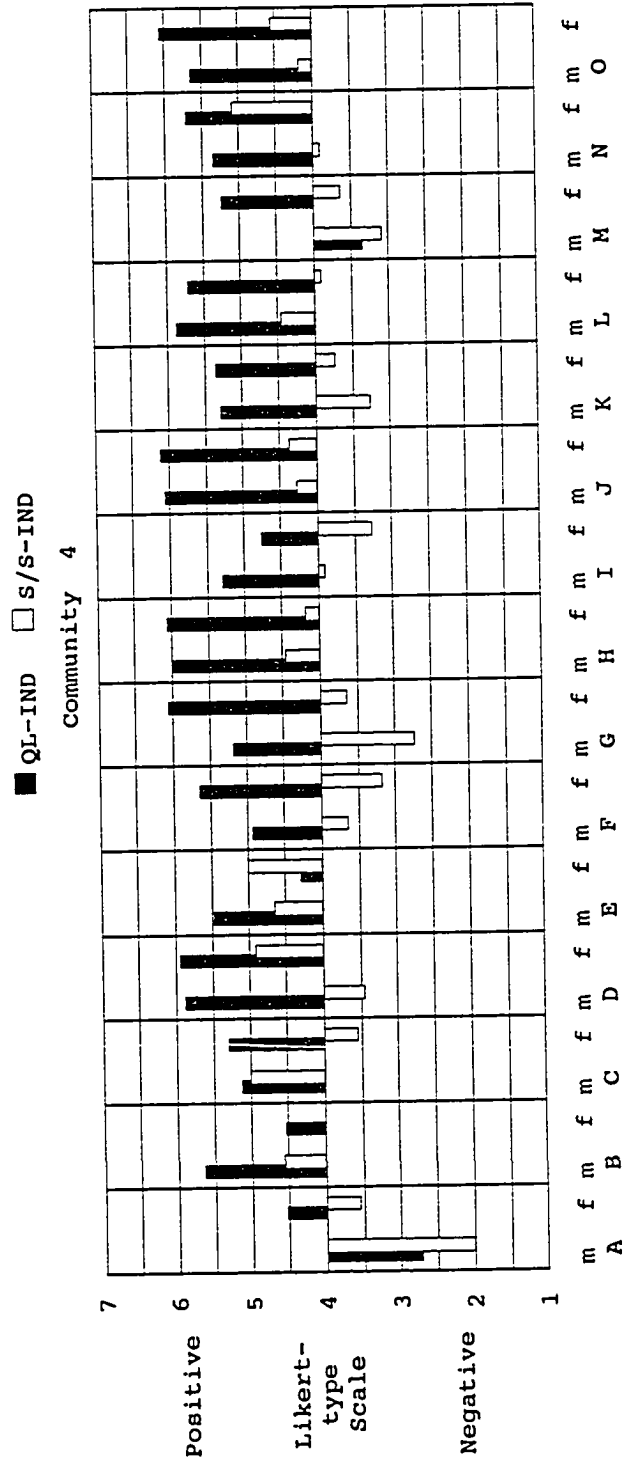


Figure 12. Couple index scores for community 4.

Beyond these findings, what may contribute to these summary impacts from change-in-activities following the move? The sanguine/somber scores of all couples⁶⁶ who participated in the research are shown in Figures 10, 11 and 12, along with their respective scores on the quality-of-life index (Table 8). Inspecting these three figures, it is possible to develop a number of descriptive categories, two of which suggest themselves immediately.

Comparison of the Two Index Scores for Each Couple

The first category looks at each couple as a unit, while examining the variations found in each of the two sets of scores for the couple. As reported in the previous chapter, the scores for the measure of overall well-being -- the quality-of-life index -- are somewhat positive for the participants in each of the four communities, community 4 having generally the highest scores. The summary scores for an individual's assessment of the outcome in change-in-activity impacts, as measured by the sanguine/somber index, are about neutral, neither positive nor negative, as previously reported.

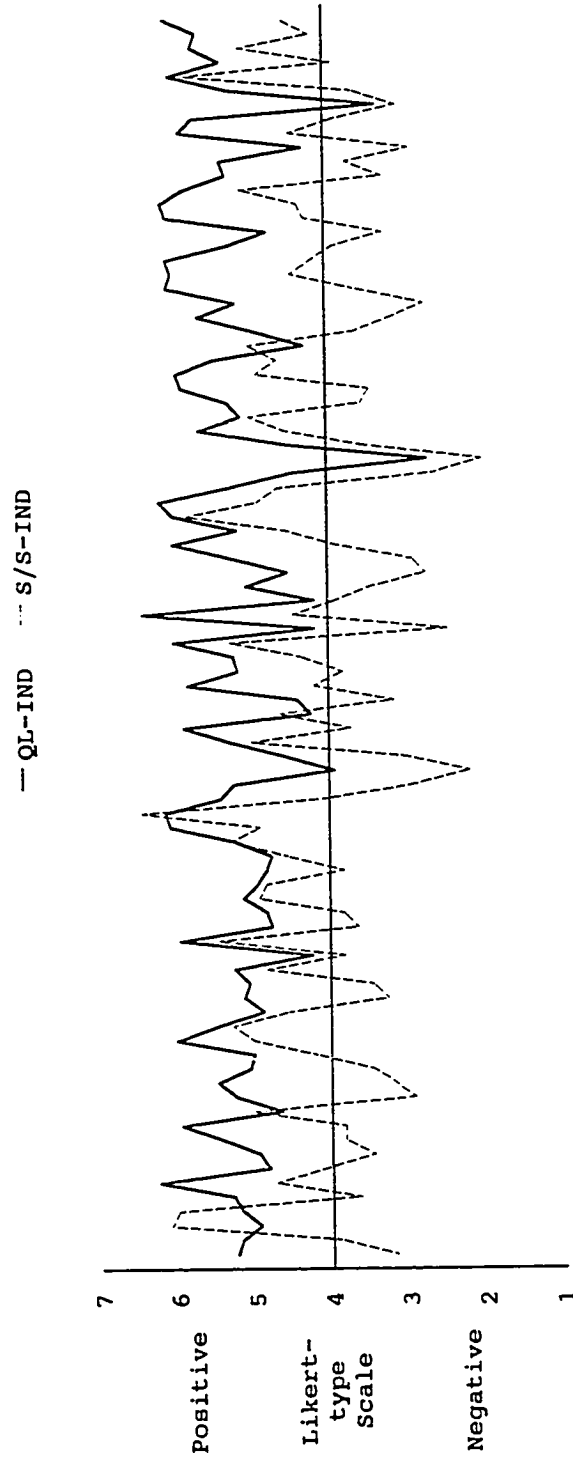
Each community was host to individuals who had both negative and positive summary impacts from the move. The composition of factors impacting feelings about positive and negative changes-in-activity are discussed in a subsequent section. It is important to remember that the participant's residential history plays an important part in determining the sanguine or somber nature of an outcome. Returning home to family

⁶⁶While adult spouses from 51 households participated, only 38 couples were involved in the research. One spouse from each of the remaining 13 households participated.

and friends is a substantively different experience from arriving in a place to undertake a new beginning. In this sense, the destination community is merely a contributing factor to the outcome. One of the limitations of this research is evident. At this point it would be useful to have longitudinal information to describe the before and after effects of the change-in-activity impacts following relocation on the summary measure of overall well-being. From a longitudinal study it would be possible to see more directly the influence of the move on well-being, controlling for other major life events. For this project, such a costly and time consuming process was out of the reach of the investigation. Figure 13, however, visually suggests a relationship between the summary measure of positive change-in-activity impacts (S/S-IND) and the positive scores on the summary measure of well-being (QL-IND)⁶⁷. In Figure 13, the respondents' scores on both indices are presented in the order in which the individuals participated in the study. The correlation between the two sets of index scores is positive and statistically significant $r = .498$ $p < .001_{t-2}$, (see Table 10).

⁶⁷Quality-of-life is a measure of overall well-being, considered to be the outcome or dependent variable, while the sanguine/somber move index is a measure of perceived positive or negative experience resulting from a change-in-activity following the move, the independent variable.

Individuals' Scores From the Sanguine/Somber Move Index (S/S-IND) Plotted
With the Scores From the Quality-of-Life Index (QL-IND)



Note: Order of presentation is the order of participation in the study.

Figure 13. Index scores for participants.

Similarities and Differences Between Spouses on a Single Index

The second relationship to be examined in Figures 10, 11 and 12 is considered by establishing the three following conditions for couples in the study: (a) couples who vary less than one-half step (0.5) on the Likert-type scale for a single index, (b) spouses who vary between one-half and one and one-half steps (0.5 - 1.5) on the Likert-type scale for a single index, and (c) those individuals who vary one and one-half steps or more on the scale.

Sanguine and Somber Move Outcomes

Five examples of condition (a) for the sanguine/somber move index are found in community 1 (Figure 10) -- couples B, E, G, J and L demonstrate one-half unit of variation, or less, on the Likert-type scale. These five couples share similar summary scores on the measure of change-in-activity impact following the move. As is discussed in the preceding chapter, men and women do differ on separate factors in the sanguine/somber index, however, cumulatively, across the four factors in this index, there is no significant difference between men and women on this measure. Men have somewhat less satisfaction on criterion variables associated with discretionary time (CHG-DISC-TIME) while women receive lower scores on recognition from others (CHG-IN-RECOGN) (see Tables 7). Some couples experienced changes for the better, as for example couple B, while couples G and J appear to share a somewhat less satisfying experience. These examples of shared experience are also evident in communities 2, 3 and 4 (Figure 11 and 12).

Looking now at those who varied between one-half and one and one-half steps on the 7-point scale, six examples can be found in community

1 -- couples A, C, D, H, I, and K. It is interesting to note that men have lower scores about 50% of the time (couples A, C, H). In this rough count, across all four communities, men as a whole seem to have less positive change-in-activity impact scores about half the time. *This strongly suggests that the incidence of unsatisfactory move outcomes for men is under-reported in the literature.*

The cases where the difference between spouse's scores on the sanguine/somber index exceed one and one half steps on the 7-point scale are fewer. Three examples are noted (community 1 - F, community 2 - C, and community 4 - A). Under this third category of differences between spouses, two men and a women received low scores.

Gains and Losses Due to the Move

The opening chapter outlines a number of authors who have addressed the possibility of a gain or a loss resulting from changing dwelling places (Coelho, Yuan, & Ahmed, 1980; Feinberg, Feinberg, & Tarrant, 1978; Fried, 1980; Goldberg, 1980; Moos & Tsu, 1976; Ruina, 1970; Ward, 1984; Weiss, 1973a). It was not always productive to ask a participant about a single salient change-in-activity impact, the preliminary study having suggested that the response was likely to be anecdotal. On the other hand, when an individual was asked in the interview about his or her experience of *loss or gain* as a result of moving (Appendix B), the person very often focused on salient role-activities and identity, as the following group of anonymous responses from participants illustrates. The responses are in pairs, one pair of

responses for each individual commenting⁶⁸. First the experienced "gains" are reported, then the experienced "losses."

[GAIN] I feel like I have gained -- how do I say it? I have gained more independence. I am an independent person. I prefer to be away from family and see them just once in awhile. That is a terrible thing to say. . . . And I feel like [my husband] and I have gotten a little bit closer. But we have gone into each move feeling it always made our family closer, because the first four months all you got is each other.

[LOSS] It is hard to say, because I do not feel like I have lost my friendships. And I don't feel like I have lost contact with [my] kids. [They are away at college], and I think it is better not to be too close to them. I do have a more difficult time shopping around here. I am very frustrated by that. And I don't feel as safe in this part of the country as I did in the Midwest. . . . (*Woman, community 4*)

[GAIN] I gained a lot as far as time with my family. [I am able] to come home for lunch sometimes, leave a little later and get home a little earlier. It is definitely a nice part of [the change]. I joined a Saturday League, and that starts again this Saturday . . . and that was a lot of fun, so I'll do that again

⁶⁸The method for selecting interviews for transcription is discussed in Chapter IV: Methods.

this year. I would not have that opportunity if I were in [my former community].

[LOSS] There were more children in the immediate area [in the former community] for my son to play with. It was a little more active of an area. It is very desolate here, [the highway] is a barrier, really because no one on the other side of the [highway] comes underneath it to our area. Yeah, we lost a little on account of that, and it took a little time because it's harder to develop friendships here with people, because we have that [highway] which is kind of a barrier. . . . With the kind of money you have to spend, the way housing is up here, it is hard to find the exact place you want, so you do the best you can. It [the dwelling space] is still better than anything else we could find at the time. (*Man, community 3*)

[GAIN] Oh, yeah, there are things I've gained. I think my marriage has taken on a different light. I think now things are settling down. [We think] about starting a family, where if we were still back in [a major Midwest city] we would probably be still running at ninety miles an hour, 7 days a week. I think I have devoted a lot more time to doing things that I have always wanted to do, that I never had time to do -- taking classes -- because the first couple of months when I got out here I didn't work. . . . I spent a lot of time with both my grandparents. . . . So there were things that I got to be able to do, that I never had the chance to do, and of course I gained my family.

[LOSS] Yeah, I lost a lot of friends. We had made some terrific friends out there. I shouldn't say lost them, though, because I still consider them friends. They have been out to visit [here] and we have been back there. But I think I have lost a lot of who I was. I mean, everything I had done in [the midwestern city], I had done on my own. Not because of who my family was, or who my father is, or I was not someone's sister, or someone's daughter. Everything I achieved, I achieved completely on my own. No one had any idea of who my family members were. It was something I was very proud of. Every friend I made, I made on my own. . . . So I really enjoyed that. . . . And, ah, I feel coming back it is now, I am once again someone's daughter, or someone else's wife, or someone else's sister. I have lost a little bit of my own independence, I think. (*Woman, Community 3*)

This is perhaps the clearest statement in the interviews that links place with a locational identity. This woman explains how she left behind the what, who, when and where of a salient role-identity (McCall & Simmons, 1978), and how it made her feel. The following story expresses a similar experience.

[GAIN] Ah, yeah, definitely! We are closer to both our families now. We see them a lot. And friends of mine from college, that I was very close to, I see more of now. Well my best friend from college never left [here]. So I see a lot of her. My husband makes more money -- [our] standard of living has been better.

.

[LOSS] Yes, I had a couple of good friends that were still in [the college town, I left behind], and also the people in [that town] who were my friends knew me as a graduate student and a PhD. When I moved here, I was known as a housewife, and so I guess I sort of lost status in that respect. It usually doesn't bother me. I usually don't think about it. It hits me if I go to one of my husband's company functions where all of the women there are working, then I feel like I am different [participant has doctorate in same field as her spouse]. . . . (*Woman, Community 2*)

[GAIN] The primary thing I gained was the career opportunities and career exposure . . . Here I have been working with senior management of the [firm] that I couldn't have possibly done down in [the origin-community]. So, clearly, exposure, people that know me now, people that know the work I can do -- that is one thing I gained. Probably another thing we gained is the knowledge that we can move away from [our former community], which if you asked me before we moved up here, there would have some amount of doubt. So we gained that experience, and we can do it. If need be we can probably do it again. . . .

[LOSS] The biggest thing I think we lost was the connection with the family -- both my family and [my wife's] family. We lost the drop-in company. No one drops-in to visit us here. [Here] your whole social life is arranged. You have to make an appointment for the kids to play with each other. You are never sitting around on the weekends and someone comes by the house. . . . The

informal kinds of visits is what we miss. This is probably the biggest thing, because we had so much family around [in the origin-community] you didn't mind if you didn't have that many social interactions with other couples on the street. Because we had bought my parent's house [in our former community] it was sort of the meeting place. It was a huge house. People just came. . . . There were a lot of connections which made it very natural for all kinds of interactions between the families. (*Man, community 1*)

[GAIN] [Participant fished for positive answers none were forthcoming.]

[LOSS] I don't think there is any doubt about it. The prestige, within the firm -- I suppose power. I never was particularly comfortable with power anyway. To me it was more a fiduciary responsibility. . . . And, community activities, it is that sense of giving something back to the community. You knew a lot of people. You were recognized. We were very comfortable. The commute was very easy. It was a great place to live. I had more [work] flexibility. If I wanted to work to ten o'clock one night, and only for two hours the next day, I could do that. Whereas here it is much more as an employee than a partner. And the commute, the week is shot. From Monday morning until Friday night forget that there is anything else you can really do with your life but work. But the weekends are more my own. Putting up with that commute, you know, you just feel like hey, Saturday and Sunday are my time, and I do what I want. (*Man, community 4*)

As was so often the case in this research, there was an equal and opposite reaction to the previous move scenario.

[GAIN] Peace of mind, less stress. It's more leisurely. I gained more time. I socialize a lot more with the people I work with. Since I don't have that long commute, most of the socialization has been with the kids. I have increased socialization with co-workers more than I have with people in the neighborhood.

[LOSS] I can't think of a single thing I have lost. (*Man, community 1*)

Without the data from the interviews, as well as the statistical analysis of the material from the questionnaires, it would be difficult to separate the outcomes emerging in common from the study. One such outcome is that localities are the locus of salient activity patterns which reinforce identity. A change in locality can contribute to gain or loss of those activity patterns which promote a sense-of-self. While some activities are not replaceable, substitutions can be made for other activities which can mediate the sense of loss for those activities left behind.

The following section introduces a analysis of the cumulative impacts of changes for each of the four factors in the sanguine/somber index. The discussion focuses first on the 16 participants with sanguine outcomes (index scores greater than, or equal to, one standard deviation above the mean of scores for the sanguine/somber index $m = 4.090$, Figure 9), and then suggests implications for the 16 individuals

who had somber outcomes (scores equal to, or less than, one standard deviation below the mean).

Four Factors Contributing to Sanguine and Somber Move Outcomes

The sanguine/somber move index is a measure of affect resulting from perceived changes-in-activity patterns since the move. There are four factors in the index (Table 7), CHG-SOC-NET, CHG-DISC-TIME, CHG-CONT-KIN, AND CHG-IN-RECOGN. Each factor is composed of criterion variables whose specific outcomes are explained in some detail in Appendix E. The first, second, and fourth factors have three criterion variables, while the third has only two (Table 7).

In the following section the factors and their subordinate criterion variables are discussed, one at a time. Both the factors and the criterion variables represent measures of salient role-activities, the increase or decrease of which can be impacted by the change in residential location of the participant.

There are two reasons for introducing this analysis. One is to bring forward the link between setting specific activity and role-identity. The other is to suggest that each of the 11 criterion variables represents an outcome of change following the move. The deep meaning to be drawn from the analysis is that some of the outcomes for criterion activities can be altered by the active interest of the participant -- somber moves can become more sanguine by considering some of the implications of the following discussion. When cumulative changes, across a number of variables, are positive, the move outcome is more sanguine, and of course the opposite is also the case, as Figures 14 and 15 illustrate.

In the previous chapter, several topics salient to the outcome of the move were discussed: relocation outlook, the place called home and attachment to place. These are elements of an individual's adult history which he or she brings to the present relocation experience. Attachment to place and the place a person called home seemed to play a roll in whether a move outcome would be sanguine or somber (Figures 11 and 13). If the participant called the present destination-community home, then the respondent's score was generally higher on the sanguine/somber index (Table 12). In this section, the implications of the four factors in the index are examined further. Figures 14 and 15 employ column charts to show the scores on each of the four somber/sanguine factors for each sanguine and each somber individual in the study, 32 individuals in all.

The Four Factors

In general, it is possible to examine Figures 14 and 15 and see how cumulatively positive or cumulatively negative outcomes for the four factors contributed to an overall sanguine or somber score. This is a critical point. Herein lies a practical, as well as theoretical, method for suggesting interventions to mediate somber outcomes.

Change in contact with kin, CHG-CON-KIN.

Interaction with family is important to the relocatees. When referring to family members and subsequent contact with them, the social interaction between the relocatee and family is often place specific. Face to face, contact generally occurs in the "family's community and residence" or in the "relocatee's community and residence." In this sense the family contact factor (CHG-CON-KIN) is frequently "place

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specific," a point Rowles (1983a) makes rather clearly. Moving towards, or away from, family, once the decision to move has been made, is not something that can be easily changed.

Frequent home visits and telephone calls sometimes ease the pain of separation. However, many participants reported that a visit is just not the same as living there, near family. Once the decision to move has been made, contact with relatives is less under the control of the participant than are some of the other elements in the following discussion.

Looking first at Figure 14, sanguine outcomes, the frequency of women whose moves increased contact with family CHG-CON-KIN, and thus contributed to a sanguine outcome, is striking. This single factor, among the four factors, was particularly influential in bringing the cumulative scores of these women to a sanguine outcome. The negative scores for CHG-CON-KIN, for women with somber outcomes, is presented in Figure 15, but is not as striking a pattern as for those women with sanguine scores.

Men with somber outcomes had generally the same pattern as did women with somber moves. In these cases, CHG-CON-KIN was an influential but not dominant part of the pattern for somber moves. On the other hand, one man with a sanguine outcome (Figure 14) managed to overcome strong feelings about the loss of contact with family. He says of the move:

I wasn't too crazy about it. The main reason [for the move] was economics. . . . So in looking for a house, if you are going to be up this far [from New York City], you might just as well cross

the border and save a little money in taxes. . . . I have family down in [a community in New York State, along the Long Island Sound]. I would have rather stayed down with them, but you know we couldn't afford it. (*Man, community 2*)

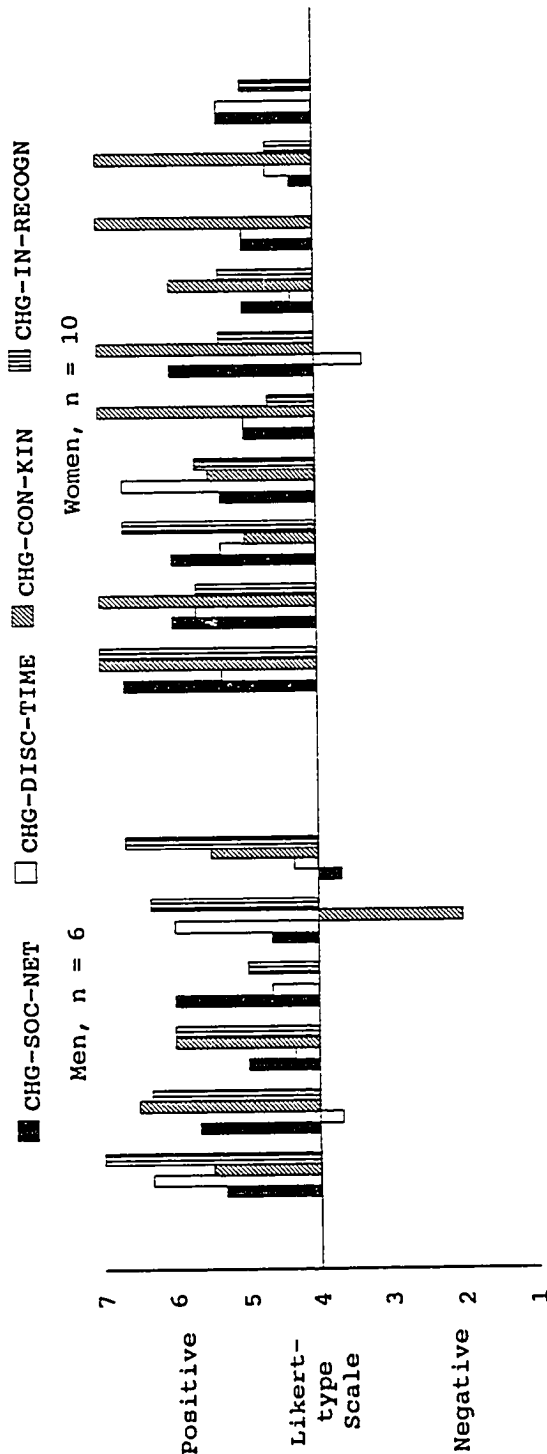
Moves which brought relocatees into more frequent contact with relatives, and increased the perceived possibility for family gatherings (Appendix E, Table E-5), were frequently, although not always, well received (Table E-12). It was not evident from the statistical analysis of the CHG-CON-KIN factor in the previous chapter how this factor made a contribution to the overall score on the sanguine/somber index, however, Figures 14 and 15 make it somewhat clearer, even though scores on the CHG-CON-KIN factor are not significantly correlated with factors in the quality-of-life index (QL-IND, Table 10).

Change in contemporary social networks, CHG-SOC-NET.

As noted before, each of the four factors in the sanguine/somber index, S/S-IND can be assessed and addressed individually, considering each of the subordinate criterion variables. The objective to keep in mind is the change-in-activity which will bring positive experience for the individual. Consider social networks (CHG-SOC-NET, Table 7).

This factor is composed of three elements, or criterion variables, each of which can be interpreted for action in daily life. These three elements are generally concerned with an individual's experience of contemporary or present interactions with people or activities in the new setting -- visiting and casual social activities, the amount of exercise or active recreation, and contact with friends.

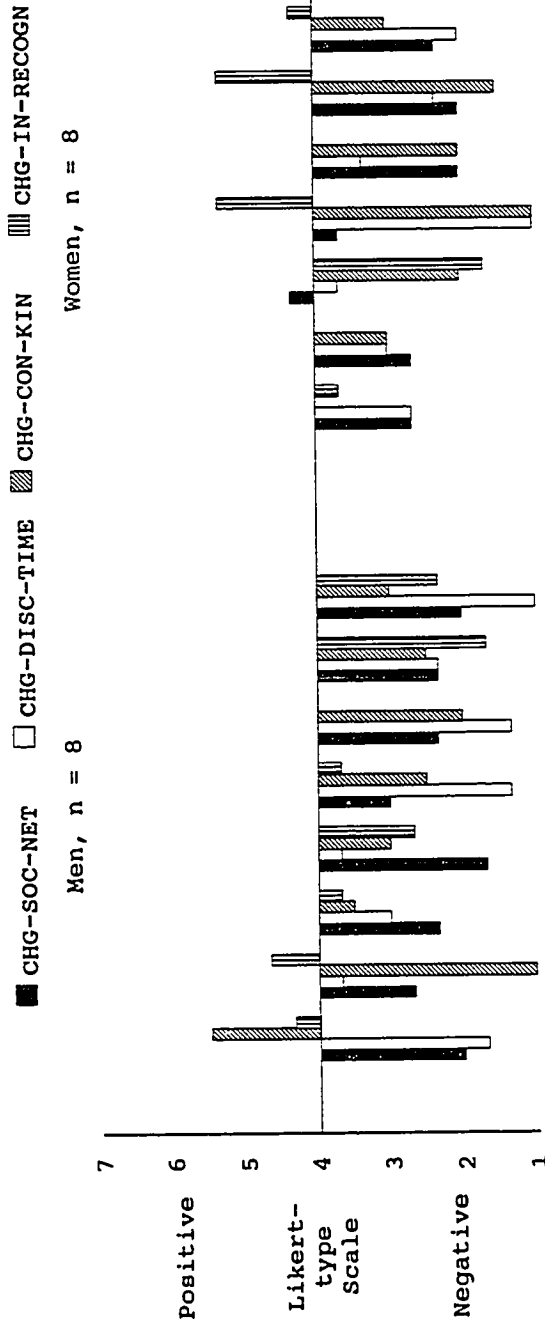
Four Sanguine/Somber Factor Scores (1-s/s to 4-s/s)
for Participants With Sanguine Outcomes



Note: A sanguine outcome is one where the S/S-IND score is greater than or equal to one standard deviation above the mean ($m = 4.090$, $sd = 0.911$).

Figure 14. Factor scores for individuals with sanguine outcomes.

Four Sanguine/Somber Factor Scores (1-S/S to 4-S/S)
for Participants With Somber Outcomes



Note: A somber outcome is one where the S/S-IND score is less than or equal to one standard deviation below the mean ($m = 4.090, sd = 0.911$).

Figure 15. Factor scores for individuals with somber outcomes.

Assuming that an outcome score on any one of these variables is, to a greater or lesser extent, within the control of the relocatee, it can be incrementally improved. Assumptions concerning post-move change rely, to a large degree, on the willingness of the participant to direct his or her own resourcefulness toward a more satisfying outcome. The person need not join in an activity, but one must leave the house to begin the process.

Going to movies and casual social activities may seem mundane, yet the number of individuals, particularly with young children, who remarked on the decline in these reaffirming activities was substantial. Finding a reliable baby sitter, most particularly on short notice, was virtually impossible in some neighborhoods. This outcome directly impacted flexibility and the options available, particularly when discretionary time was limited.

Exercise was a surprisingly important constituent variable in this sample of people (Table E-8). Participants often described this element as an important means of interaction with spouse, children, and friends. It was also an important means of meeting new people.

The decline in number of friendship contacts was also recounted. Fifty participants reported a decrease in contact with friends and felt negative about the loss, while only 18 participants reported an increase in coming together with friends as a result of the move (Table E-12). Regardless of how friendship is operationally defined, it takes time to connect with people. The relocatee needs to take the initiative to come in contact with a number of people, a few of whom may become friends.

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Change in discretionary time, CHG-DISC-TIME.

Another factor over which a participant might have some control is discretionary time (CHG-DISC-TIME, Table 7). Three variables are at work in this factor: a change in time to spend with spouse or children; a change in time spent traveling to shopping or work; and a change in time for relaxation, hobbies and pastimes. A positive shift in any one of the criterion variables (Appendix E, Tables E-1, E-2, or E-9) would have contributed to a more sanguine move outcome.

These three variables can be influenced by the choices made by the relocatee and perhaps the relocatee's employer. The choices, however, may necessitate the sacrifice of discretionary time in favor of other elements in the decision-making process. These competing concerns often include such criteria as school district, the amount of floor area the purchaser can obtain per dollar when buying a home, and the perceived nature of the community or neighborhood. Other economic factors may also play a role in the compromises made in the choosing of living conditions in the new setting, for example city and state taxes.

A shorter commute to work, proximity to children's schools, local availability of consumer goods and services, access to desired activity patterns, as well as a number of other elements can contribute to a person's perception of increased or decreased discretionary time following the move. The individual's feelings about discretionary time, in turn, impact the assessment given to the change-in-activity following the move. Time is a resource. The consideration of time budgets and time management, as part of the overall moving decision process, can contribute to the positive outcome of a move.

Change in positive recognition received from others, CHG-IN-RECOGN

This factor reflects an individual's perception of the change in the quality of feedback about ones self since the move (CHG-IN-RECOGN, Table 7). The CHG-IN-RECOGN is thought to be somewhat akin to the "me" described by William James (1984), and echoes an interactive process involved with daily life.

There are several processes at work here: personal history; the social milieu, as well as the setting, of the new environment; and individual personality. The question of personality will be deferred to other researchers. The importance of personal history has been discussed earlier but is salient here. Much of what a person perceives as positive recognition is derived from prior experience.

Three variables in this factor contribute to the overall score. The first is "change in positive recognition received from others" (Table E-17). Eighteen participants reported a decrease in positive recognition received from others and felt negative about this experience of loss of recognition of self, while, on the other hand, 31 participants reported increases in positive recognition given to them by others, and felt positive about this post-move experience. Interpretation of what constitutes positive recognition may span a wide range of experiences, from increased "face recognition" at the local grocery store to a significant promotion resulting from effort-filled work.

If a person moves away from those who know him or her, then one must begin again to be known and receive feedback. This is a particularly critical issue for relocatees who have lived for a long

period of time in only one locality prior to moving. For these people, the realization that one must begin all over again is sometimes overwhelming. The cross-cultural literature on sojourning contains several suggestions for handling this problem for travelers abroad, including obtaining information about the destination-community in advance, finding satisfying substitute activities for those left behind, having access to a mentor or guide to the culture, and being open to cultural difference in the destination-environment. The strategies may be applied to domestic moves as well (David, 1972, 1976; Guthrie, 1975; Mendenhall & Oddou, 1985). In this sense, reinforcement of who a person is, is place specific. Individuals with extended lives, making contact with others in multiple contexts, may have an easier time of moving (Fried, 1980).

A change in living conditions (Table E-15) is also a variable impacting the score on this factor, CHG-IN-RECOGN. The question raised with the participants was one of historical contrasts, relative to living conditions as a whole in the settings they moved from -- are conditions worse or better than before the move? Ten participants said they had experienced a decrease in their living condition since the move and felt negative about this, while 61 experienced an increase in their living condition and were positive (Appendix E, Table E-15).

Turning the corner on this criterion variable of CHG-IN-RECOGN can improve the feelings an individual has regarding the move outcome as a whole. One common theme discussed by those who had favorable outcomes was that these individuals had explored the alternatives open to them in terms of cost and location of dwelling, coming to a decision which was

an informed compromise, one with which the couple could live. Couples who rushed into a choice headlong, without time to process alternatives, occasionally turned up with somber results. One question which should be asked early in the relocation process is, "Is this move necessary?" Other effective alternatives may have equally satisfying outcomes, in the long run.

Finally, a person's financial situation is also a variable in this factor (Table E-14). Twenty-six individuals reported a decrease in their financial position since the move and felt negative about this situation, while 39 reported feeling positive about an increase (Table E-14).

As with other questions in this factor, this is a relative question concerned with contrasting present and past experience. It is particularly related to the value of a dollar in different "places." Inflated prices bring fewer goods and services for the same amount of money, and, of course, the opposite is also true. This can be considered a part of any cultural distance the relocatee traverses as a result of the move (Furnham & Bochner, 1986). It is possible that, even though the relocatee received an increase in salary, and possibly a cost of living increase to move to the New York Metropolitan area, this person's financial position was worse because costs in the new community exceeded new income. It is not difficult to understand how this turn of events can contribute to negative feelings about the move outcome.

Summary

The preceding section illustrates that the issues underlying the outcome are sometimes complex. However, with forethought some of the

adverse impacts can be mediated by considering the ramifications of a move, across a number of factors. With the aid of information gathered, as well as a flexible response, replacement activities may be substituted for activity and experience left behind. This may soften some of the impacts. A move away from family and friends can be offset to varying degrees by positive events in other quadrants of a person's life in the new community, such as increased discretionary time; positive recognition from others; improved living conditions; access to affordable recreational activities; time to enjoy the little things, like going to a movie, and maintaining contact with family, albeit over a long distance.

The Mid-Range and Somber Moves

Fifty-seven of the participants' scores were located in the mid-range on the normal distribution (Figure 9). They showed a more positive combination of elements than do the participant's scores reported in Figure 15, but less positive than scores reported in Figure 14. Figure 15 indicates that 16 participants out of 89 had somber move outcomes. In this group of men and women, social networks, discretionary time, and contact with relatives had decreased since the move, and they felt negative about these cumulative move outcomes. There were occasional offsetting factors, but none was sufficient to bring these scores above one standard deviation below the mean score for all participants.

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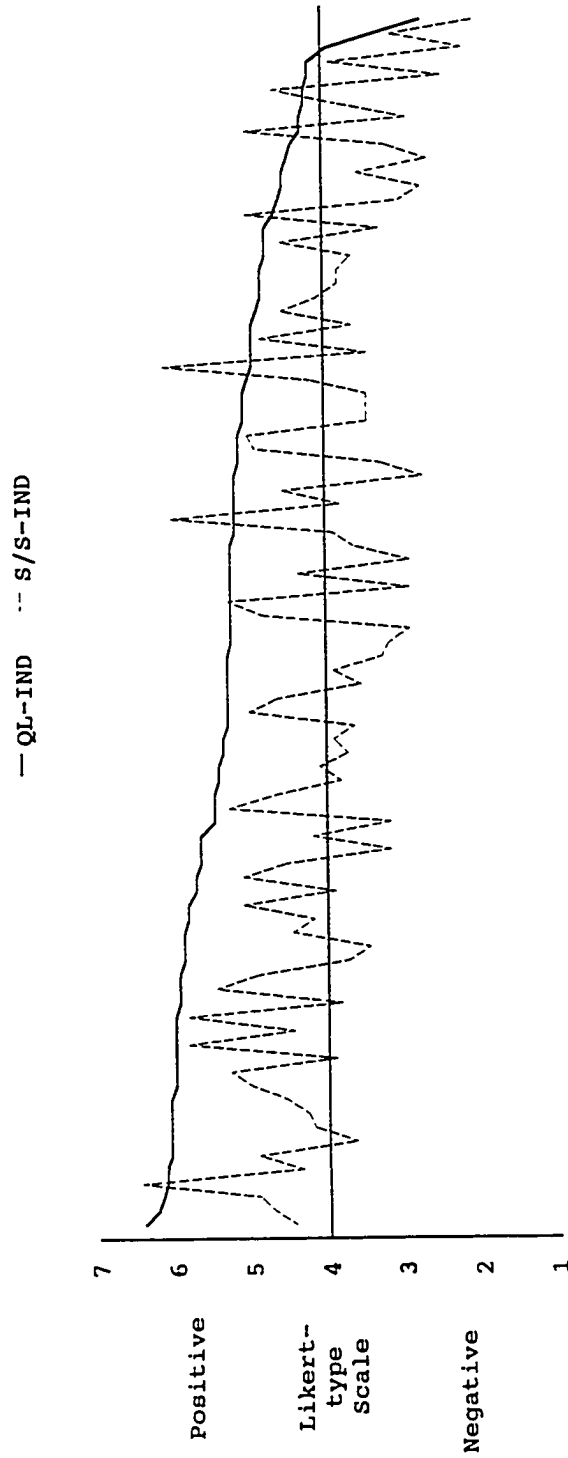
Couples

The previous discussion illustrate how each partner in a marriage can have a separate set of circumstances impacting his or her assessment of the move. A husband who takes a new job in which there is little positive support, a long commute, less time with family and the overall financial position has worsened as a result of the move, can be contrasted with a spouse, whom the move has returned home to family and friends she can see more often, and where she has more social contacts. The pattern might look like couple A, Community 4 (Figure 12). There are, of course, many, many permutations and combinations, some leading to very positive outcomes for both parties, for example couple B, Community 1 (Table 10). An extend discussion of these variations is beyond the scope of this research.

Rank-Order Plot of Well-Being With Change-in-Activity Impact

This study asked participants several batteries of questions. An analysis of one of the batteries resulted in the sanguine/somber move index. An analysis of a second battery, which was taken from the work on well-being by Andrews and Withey (1976) resulted in the quality-of-life index. Conceptually the change-in-activity impact variables (S/S-IND) are the independent variables, while the well-being indicators (QL-IND) are the dependent variables. The responses of the participants on each index are plotted in Figure 16. The quality-of-life score is the rank-ordered criterion variable.

Individuals' Rank-Ordered Scores on the Quality-of-Life Index (QL-IND)
 Plotted With Their Scores for the Sanguine/Somber Move Index (S/S-IND)



Note: N = 85, correlation $r = .498$ (see Table 10).

Figure 16. Rank-order plot of index scores.

This is a post-only research design. The primary intervention was the experience of the move from one dwelling place to another. The resulting correlation between the two sets of scores is a Pearson's $r = .498$ $p < .001$ (Table 10). This relationship suggests that 28.4% of the variance in the well-being of the participants is related to the change-in-activity impact (S/S-IND), caused by relocation. From this finding it is possible to infer a relationship between change of dwelling location and well-being. This change may have a positive, as well as a negative, impact on the quality-of-life. The literature on negative impacts is quite extensive (Fried, 1963; Heller, 1982; Henig, 1985; Hutchins & Norris, 1989; Kasl, 1972; Newman & Owens, 1982; Steinglass, De-Nour, & Shye, 1985; Sumka, 1981; Waldram, 1987; Wilson, 1973). These citations represent only a portion of the work on this topic. Other references are found in Chapters I and II, but few citations report the possible positive outcome from relocation.

Two Measures of the "Sense-of-Self" Following the Move

The research included two factors which were concerned with the self, one from the sanguine/somber move index (CHG-IN-RECOGN), and one from the quality-of-life index (QL-SENSE-SELF). The latter factor, QL-SENSE-SELF) is thought to be more like "I," a reflective image, the self as a whole as described by James (1984). Scores for these two factors are plotted for each participant, along with the participant's well-being score in Figure 17. The results are not conclusive, but there is a scattered pattern around the central theme of overall well-being (QL-IND).

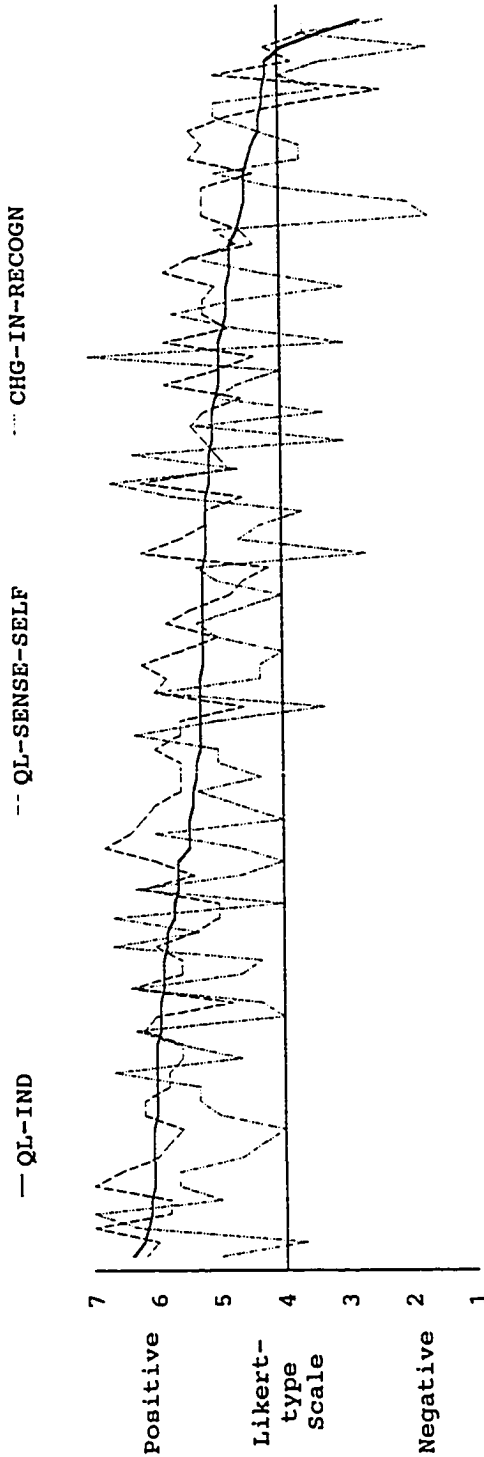
QL-SENSE-SELF is a one of the four factors of QL-IND and thus has an unusually strong correlation $r = .693$ with the QL-IND score. CHG-IN-RECOGN, however, is from a separate battery of questions and has a statistically significant correlation with QL-IND, $r = .476$ $p < .001$ (Table 10). This sense-of-self factor, a measure of perceived change-in-recognition following relocation, accounts for 22.7% of the variance in the quality-of-life scores of the participants following the move. This is significant considering that the change-in-recognition received by the individual is due in large part to a change in dwelling place.

In addition, the same two measures of sense-of-self are plotted against a rank-ordering of scores on the sanguine/somber index (Figure 18). The pattern of the plot suggests that positive changes are related to positive feelings about one's self, but negative outcomes from changes following the move do not have such a direct relationship to the two sense-of-self factors, perhaps somewhat muted by other overall factors in an individual's life.

Conclusions

This concludes the focused analysis of the data and interviews from the relocation research. Broader implication will be considered in the following chapter. This chapter addressed three topics: spouses who have similar, as well as, dissimilar feeling about change-in-activities following the move; changes-in-activity which the relocatee can reflect on as a means to achieving a sanguine outcome; and additional links between place, well-being, and the sense of self.

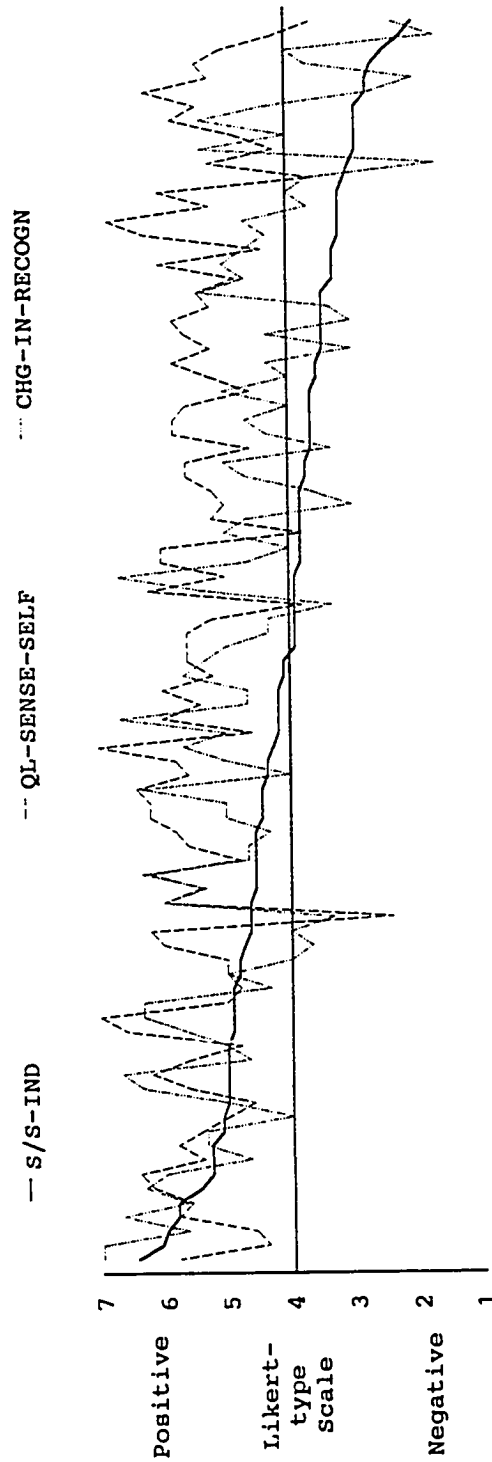
Individuals' Rank-Ordered Scores on the Quality-of-Life Index Plotted With Their Scores for the QL-SENSE-SELF Factor (3-QL), and the Scores for the CHG-IN-RECOGN Factor (4-S/S)



Note: N = 85; correlations, QL-IND with QL-SENSE-SELF $r = .693$, QL-IND with CHG-IN-RECOGN $r = .476$, and SELF with RECOGN $r = .345$ (see Table 10).

Figure 17. Rank-order plot of the two "self" factors with the quality-of-life index (QL-IND).

Individuals' Rank-Ordered Scores on the Sanguine/Somber Move
 Index Plotted With Their Scores for the QL-SENSE-SELF Factor (3-QL),
 and the Scores for the CHG-IN-RECOGN Factor (4-S/S)



Note: N = 85; correlations, S/S-IND with QL-SENSE-SELF $r = .181$, S/S-IND with
 CHG-IN-RECOGN $r = .647$, and SELF with RECOGN $r = .345$ (see Table 10).

Figure 18. Rank-order plot of the two "self" factors with the sanguine/somber index (S/S-IND).

Each spouse brings separate residential histories to a move and can experience quite separate change-in-activity patterns in the new community. Anticipating the type of activity changes in daily routines that the move will bring about is suggested as a useful step in preparing for a move. In addition, it appears that being informed and flexible about activity substitution in the destination can increase the likelihood of a sanguine outcome.

Many activities in the origin-environment, from which one takes a sense-of-self, are place specific. This is to say that reinforcing interactions from which one comes to know who he or she is, are due in part to interaction with the social/cultural milieu of specific settings, or more accurately localities -- a number of places, where salient activities occur, linked together in daily activity patterns. Moving away from such a locality can mean that some of the supportive, self-validating, interactions which are a part of daily life have been left behind. Thus, "where" is a locus of activity for the patterns of social interaction which many researchers agree on as supporting identity. McCall and Simmons (1978) have simply added where to who, what, and when which have long been associated with identity. The place, or where, is included in the concept of role-identity, which is has not happened in many other conceptualizations of identity. Where, can also be an contributing factor to sense-of-self, just as who, what and when have long been thought to influence a personal-identity. Residential relocation is just one obvious example of demonstrating this link between place and identity.

Chapter VII: Implications

Introduction

Using a post-only research design, the study examined the impacts of change-in-activity on the role-identities of 89 adult individuals, one year following their relocation. The participants had moved to one of four communities in Fairfield County, Connecticut. The findings point to a link between place and identity.

This link is established by the consideration of how an individual feels with respect to changes in common daily activity patterns in the destination-environment, which result primarily from a move from one dwelling place to another. The focus is on changes-in-activity patterns as surrogates for a role-activity, and is in contrast to the alternative of focusing on the physical settings themselves.

This approach is in keeping with the transactional perspective of this research, previously outlined in the introductory chapters. Also in keeping with the transactional perspective, the role-identity concept advanced by McCall and Simmons (1976) is a theoretical cornerstone of the research. The role-identity approach conceptualizes the physical setting, or "where," as one of the four constituent elements of a single role-activity (Figure 3).

Salient daily activities often occur in one or several physical settings within a locality, contributing to a locational-identity. Moving away from a locality, where many pleasant attachments to activities with others may have been formed, is often perceived as a loss. On the other hand, moving toward a place where many attachments exist, perhaps from having grown up there, may be seen as a gain.

"Place" is not necessarily written boldly on a person's self-identity but, rather, in small letters, along with social interactions and cultural ambience, in the experience of daily life. Physical settings are the locus of daily activity, and, as such, should be registered in psychological theories on identity, taking a position in any theoretical perspective along with social contacts, motivating factors, and reinforcing influences.

In summary, a move may bring a sudden end or new beginnings to one or several daily patterns in which setting specific activities have contributed to a sense of self. This research outlines ways in which place is a constituent element in daily-activity patterns, and in this way settings contribute to identity formation and maintenance over the life span (Figure 3). *If one can experience a sense of loss of identity by relocating, as some participants described, then there is strong evidence to refute the assertion that place and identity are not linked.*

Change-in-Activity as a Technique for Studying Place-Identity

Activity patterns occur in physical settings, for example the work place or a relative's home. A sense of self is in part drawn from social interactions which occur in places. An inference can be drawn that, by studying changes-in-activity patterns, while being sensitive to the strategic role of settings as the locus of daily life and including social interactions and cultural milieu, the link between place and identity may be expanded.

Role-Identity as a Theoretical Bridge Between Setting and Self

Role-identity (McCall & Simmons, 1976) may be the theoretical link in the connection between the physical environment and the sense of

self. McCall and Simmons' theory of role-identity is easily applied to a variety of separate daily role-activities, in contrast with the conceptual perspective of Erik Erikson (1960, 1964, 1968, 1982), which is a more holistic, and less specific, approach to identity in the daily life.

In the Eriksonian perspective, it is difficult to include place written small. This approach is more responsive to the connection between the physical environments and identity if the impact of place is written large on human experience, or, perhaps more precisely, involves the involuntary loss of place by individuals. The urban renewal of Boston's West End (Fried, 1963), the disaster at Buffalo Creek (Erikson, 1976), the relocation of Israeli citizens in conjunction with Israel's withdrawal from the Sinai (Steinglass, De-Nour, and Shye, 1985), or, more recently, the threatened displacement of Navajo residents from their sacred lands in Arizona (Hentoff, 1990) can be taken as examples of this phenomenon. McCall and Simmons' approach to self-identity affords the distinct advantage of using smaller, more definable, building blocks -- role-identities. The assemblage of these smaller constituent units ultimately reflects the identity that Erikson discusses (Weigert, Teitge, & Teige, 1986), but the role-identity approach accomplishes this incrementally, in small units of analysis accessible to researchers.

The McCall and Simmons approach to role-identity suggests a new and perhaps more flexible alternative for research on place-identity, which is consistent with place being written large or small on the experience of daily life.

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Studying Both Sanguine and Somber Moves

Unlike much of the research literature on relocation, this research design was open to both positive and negative relocation outcomes. Additionally, both men and women were interviewed with the same protocols. Although a number of women felt negative about the move outcome, as has been frequently reported in the research of others (Jones, 1973; Levin, 1980; Lichter, 1982; McCullum, 1990; Olson, 1986; Seidenberg, 1973; Weiss, 1973a; Weissman, 1972), an equal number of men also had negative feelings about the move outcome (Figures 9 and 15), a finding rarely reported by previous researchers. It may be concluded that *there is a serious underreporting in the relocation literature on men's experience with somber move outcomes*, a point which may stimulate a new area of relocation research, particularly in cases of the relocation of dual career households.

Both men and women also reported positive outcomes from moving (Figure 9 and 14), *suggesting that researchers concerned with addressing the problematic nature of relocation have often overlooked the possibility of beneficial outcomes from a move.*

Suggestions for Sanguine Move Outcomes

This research has gained several useful insights by studying the experiences of individuals with sanguine outcomes, which might be used in suggesting coping and adaptive strategies to those who may have somber outcomes. Perhaps most important among these are to begin with a conscious, thoughtful consideration of the decision to move, gathering information about the destination, and exercising choices concerning the inevitable compromises associated with finding a new dwelling. Visiting

the new setting and anticipating and exploring possibilities of what the routine of daily life may be like in the community is another useful step, as can be making an inventory of activities which are enjoyed in the origin-environment, prior to the move, and seeking out replacements for these activities in the destination-environment. This later exercise can be especially valuable in anticipation of helping children move, but is no less applicable to adults.

This research suggests that adults, who took the time to digest alternatives, after gathering information, appeared, on the whole, to be more accepting and sanguine about the outcome of relocation, than did those who moved briskly to the destination-community.

Generalizability

Although the research population consisted of well educated men and women with resources, and certain data reflects their status as middle- and upper-level management families, the questions which provided the most revealing responses were those taken from general life experiences shared by many individuals: changes-in-recognition from others, changes-in-living conditions, changes-in-contact with friends and relatives, relocation outlook, and attachment to community, each salient issues for relocatees across a wide spectrum of the population as a whole.

These questions groups were the basis for identifying different domains of the process of moving, and the possible impacts on self and identity. The questions were not geared to upper-middle-income families, and the methods of the research, and many of the findings, may have implications for other groups of individuals in the population,

including the elderly, children, single individuals and homeless families.

It is also possible that the absence of institutional and emotional adversity helped bring forward important underlying place-based circumstances, resulting from the move, which might have been obscured by sampling a population which did not have access to the resources of these participants. In a sense, the research sample may have reduced the confounding research design elements, helping to bring forward findings about the link between place and identity which might otherwise have been obscured by the immediately pressing issues endured by other populations of relocatees, such as those displaced by flood or public works projects. Never the less, the impact of change-in-activity patterns, as a result of relocation, particularly the somber experiences, are likely shared by both the population of this sample and other populations of relocatees, suggesting that the reported findings have broad applications.

Comparison With Previous Relocation Research

The introductory chapter and the literature review examine the extensive literature of relocation studies, while the methods section discusses in some detail the combination of protocols and batteries of questions used in this research. It is possible to compare this study with other research in several fundamental areas.

The participants in this research were not forced to relocate involuntarily due to some external event such as a natural disaster, urban renewal or political change. Whether the participants felt pressured to move due to employment or bedroom deficits is left an open

question. Setting aside this interpretation of the voluntary or involuntary extent of the decision to move, the research drew from a population which had some choice about the decision to move. However, sitting and listening to the 16 participants who told somber stories about their relocation outcomes -- details of people left behind and activities lost -- it is hard to believe that their feelings of loss and/or grief, when seen through their own eyes, would differ greatly from those told by individuals forced to relocate. The difference between this research as a whole, however, and prior reported research, is that an equal number of individuals, 16, told sanguine stories of new friends and gains in activities.

Another comparison is in terms of the research design. The sample of participants were home buyers of new and existing homes, whose names were obtained from a list of all buyers in the subject communities, drawn from the public records of the city assessors. The participants had all moved from outside the destination-community. Men and women were both contacted and the same two protocols were used for each gender. A single contact was made, some 9-15 months after the participants' move. This research approach may be contrasted with that used by Michelson (1977), who conducted longitudinal research of middle-class relocatees within the Toronto area. The sample of participants' names was submitted to Michelson by those creating new dwellings in Toronto at the time. Michelson's research focused primarily on the experiences of women, and, although both men and women were interviewed, each was administered a somewhat different protocol.

Michelson's research is similar to this project in that both draw from the work presented in Szalai's *The Use of Time: Daily Activities of Urban and Suburban Populations in Twelve Countries* (1972). Michelson's statistical analysis of the data, however, in contrast to this research, does not rely on the powerful tools of factor analysis, discriminant analysis or multiple regression, leaving the reader to infer conclusions about the interaction between variables.

In another dimension of relocation research, this thesis recognizes the importance of an individual's residential history in coming to terms with the destination-environment. Previous authors, reporting in the genre of residential history, include Anthony (1984), Cooper-Marcus (1978), Horwitz, Klein, Paxson & Rivlin (1978) and Ladd (1977). This research supports these earlier projects. It found that individuals used prior residential experiences as a benchmark against which to compare present experience.

Finally, perhaps, is the term "well-being," used in the work of Brett (1982) and Stokols and Shumaker (1982). In this research the measures of well-being, reviewed in Chapter II, are taken one step further by including an extensive battery of well-being variables, combined into a single independent outcome measure, the quality-of-life index. Against this outcome measure, the influences of changes-in-activity impacts, the sanguine/somber move index, were correlated (Pearson's $r = .498$, $p < .001_{t-2}$, Table 12). The correlation between the two indices offers an additional mode for characterizing the impact of relocation on an individual. Neither Brett nor Stokols and Shumaker place well-being centrally in their conceptual analyses of relocation.

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What Can be Done Differently in Future Research?

Both protocols contained probes, or groups of questions, that proved somewhat unproductive and should be dropped in future research. These included questions on locus of control, general questions on comparability of present home and community (questions 11 and 12, Appendix A), and questions which may not apply to all participants unless they are specifically designed to segment the sample.

The battery of change-in-activity impact questions were easily understood by participants and received clear patterns of acknowledgments which were contextually consistent with other responses. This battery of questions should be expanded and refined for further research.

Conclusions

Three processes are involved in a move: the temporal process, the process of activity gain or loss, and the process of cultural change. The latter two processes are the less obvious, and probably the least considered by the relocatee, but are often the more powerful in determining whether the outcome of a move will be sanguine or somber.

Studying relocation brings the change in place into the foreground of the research. The primary life event under consideration is changing, for what ever reasons, one's dwelling place, a place thought to be one of the anchor points of daily life. The sanguine/somber index developed for this research (Table 7) illustrates, in a number of tables in the results section and in Appendix E, how relocatees felt concerning a variety of outcomes from the change in dwelling place. The research

suggests how a combination of factors are accumulated by the individual into a summary assessment of a move.

The underlying assumptions of the research do not precluded a single salient change from coloring the outcome of a move, but the findings suggest that more often it is a number of factors, including attachment to prior communities, recognition received from others in the conduct of daily life, increase or decrease in contact with friends and relations, positive or negative assessment of change in living conditions, and impacts on an individual's discretionary time, which, when summed together, reflect the appraisal of the outcome of the move.

Finally, without the previous work of Harold Proshansky (1978) and his colleagues (Proshansky & Fabian, 1987; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983) on place-identity, the question addressed in the dissertation might never have been raised. It was a personal pleasure to discuss this project with President Proshansky early in its inception. Hopefully, this project will expand upon his concept of place-identity.

Appendix A: The Survey Questionnaire

THE CHANGE OF RESIDENCE STUDY

Questionnaire

Dissertation Research
Program in Environmental Psychology
Graduate School and University Center
City University of New York

The process of settling into a new residence is regularly filled with new experiences, experiences which can frequently be unfamiliar. This research is directed toward learning how people feel about their own lives after living in a new place for a while. The questions are concerned with ways in which an individual comes to know a new place, and establishing new routines. Please answer all the questions that you can. Your best recollection on dates and address is acceptable.

Your Name: _____

PRESENT ADDRESS

City: _____ State: ___ Zip Code: _____

1. Have you ever lived in this community or surrounding area before your present stay here? Yes ___ No ___
If you answered yes,
 - 1) What was the last year of your previous residence in this area? 19_____
 - 2) How long had you lived in the area before you moved away? Years _____ months _____
 - 3) How old were you when you moved away? _____
 - 4) What was your address before moving away?

City	State	Zip Code

2. In the past five years, how many times have you moved from one residence to another? _____ moves

3. What type of housing do you live in now? (Check one)
 - _____ a) Single family structure
 - _____ b) Condominium
 - _____ d) Other (Specify) _____

4. Do you:
 - _____ a) Own?
 - _____ b) Rent?
 - _____ c) Other? (describe) _____

5. How long have you currently lived in this town?
Years _____ Months _____

6. How many dwellings have you lived in since you moved here (include your present residence)? _____

7. How long have you lived in your present residence?
Years _____ Months _____

8. How many individuals live at your present residence?
 _____ Adults (19 years and older)
 _____ Children (18 years and younger)

9. When someone in your community asks, "Where did you move here from?" what do you reply?

Please give the postal address of the place you moved here from

_____ ' _____ ' _____ ' _____
 Community State ZIP Code Country

10. Do you have a place you call "home?" ___ Yes ___ No If you answered yes, do you think of the place you moved here from as "home?" ___ Yes ___ No
 If No, please give the postal address of the place you think of as "home."

_____ ' _____ ' _____ ' _____
 Community State ZIP Code Country

11. How comparable is your present dwelling to the residence you moved here from?

- ___ a) Very similar
 ___ b) Somewhat similar
 ___ c) Neither similar nor dissimilar
 ___ d) Somewhat dissimilar
 ___ e) Very dissimilar

12. How comparable is your present neighborhood to the neighborhood you moved here from?

- ___ a) Very similar
 ___ b) Somewhat similar
 ___ c) Neither similar nor dissimilar
 ___ d) Somewhat dissimilar
 ___ e) Very dissimilar

Next are some questions about your feelings. CIRCLE the number that best summarizes the feeling you have now.

Most of the questions can be answered by choosing the response that comes closest to how you feel: 7 for "extremely satisfied," 6 for "satisfied," and so forth on to 1 for "extremely dissatisfied." Occasionally there may be a question that is not appropriate for your situation, when this occurs CIRCLE 8 "does not apply to me."

How do you feel about . . .

13. Your house, condominium or apartment?

- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 2 Dissatisfied
 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 5 Somewhat satisfied
 6 Satisfied
 7 Extremely satisfied

How do you feel about . . .

14. The outdoor space that there is for you to use outside your home?
 - 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me

15. The house(s)/apartment(s) near your home?
 - 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied

16. This particular neighborhood as a place to live?
 - 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied

17. This particular town or community as a place to live?
 - 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied

18. The general level of services you get in this neighborhood -- like garbage collection, and fire protection?
 - 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied

How do you feel about . . .

19. How safe you feel in this neighborhood?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
20. The way the police and courts in this area are operating?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
21. Your ability to get around the area, going to work, schools, shopping, etc.?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
22. The schools in this area?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me
23. The doctors, clinics, and hospitals you would use in this area?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied

How do you feel about . . .

24. The way your local government is operating?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
25. Outdoor places you can go in your spare time?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me
26. The condition of the natural environment -- the air, land, and water in this area?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
27. The sports or recreational facilities you yourself use -- things like parks, YM/YWCA's, beaches?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me
28. The goods and services you can get when you buy in this area -- things like food, appliances, clothes?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied

How do you feel about . . .

29. What you have to pay for basic necessities such as food, housing, and clothing?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
30. Your standard of living -- the things you have, such as housing, car, furniture, recreation, and the like?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
31. The income you (and your family) have?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
32. The taxes you pay here -- the local and state taxes together?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
33. The people who live in the community?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied

How do you feel about . . .

34. The people you see socially?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
35. The time you have with your friends and the things you do together?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
36. The possibility you have to know people with whom you can really feel comfortable?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
37. Organizations you belong to?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me
38. How many of the people living in the area nearby your home do you know well enough to chat with in a neighborly fashion? _____
approximate number
39. Do you actively participate in any organizations that meet in this city? No / Yes If yes, give the number _____

In the following group of questions *CHECK* the most appropriate response.

40. At the time you relocated what was your attitude toward the move?
 a) Very positive
 b) Somewhat positive
 c) Neither positive nor negative
 d) Somewhat negative
 e) Very negative
41. At the time you moved how would you describe your involvement in making choices for the relocation process?
 a) Very involved
 b) Somewhat involved
 c) Neither involved nor uninvolved
 d) Somewhat uninvolved
 e) Very uninvolved
42. At the time you relocated how voluntary was your decision to move?
 a) Very voluntary
 b) Somewhat voluntary
 c) Neither voluntary nor involuntary
 d) Somewhat involuntary
 e) Very involuntary
43. At the time you relocated how active were you in gathering information about your new area?
 a) Very active
 b) Somewhat active
 c) Neither active or passive
 d) Somewhat passive
 e) Very passive
44. At the time you arrived in this community, the first few months, was there someone specific you could call upon to acquaint you with the social and physical surroundings? (pick the answer that best describes your experience)
 a) There was someone who was very helpful
 b) There were occasionally individuals who were helpful
 c) Members of organizations I joined volunteered information
 d) Occasionally I found help if I sought it out
 e) There was no one I could call on
 f) Other, describe _____

45. How would you describe the importance of your occupation in your decision to move here?
 a) Very important
 b) Somewhat important
 c) Neither important nor unimportant
 d) Somewhat unimportant
 e) Very unimportant

46. What is your occupation? _____

47. Are you working at it now? Yes ___ No ___

48. If you answered no, what are you doing now?

In the next section are some questions about your feelings. *CIRCLE* the number that best summarizes the feeling you have now.

How do you feel about . . .

49. Your primary job (including homemaking)?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me
50. The people you work with -- your co-workers?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me
51. The work you do on the job -- the tasks you do?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me

How do you feel about . . .

52. What it is like where you work -- the physical surroundings?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me
53. Number of hours you work and the amount of work you are asked to do?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me
54. Resources you have available for doing your job -- the equipment, information, good supervision, and so on?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me
55. Your marriage?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
 - 8 Does not apply to me

How do you feel about . . .

56. Your children?

- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied
- 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
- 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
- 5 Somewhat satisfied
- 6 Satisfied
- 7 Extremely satisfied
- 8 Does not apply to me

57. The things you and your family do together?

- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied
- 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
- 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
- 5 Somewhat satisfied
- 6 Satisfied
- 7 Extremely satisfied
- 8 Does not apply to me

58. Your own health and physical condition?

- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied
- 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
- 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
- 5 Somewhat satisfied
- 6 Satisfied
- 7 Extremely satisfied

59. Your life as a whole?

- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied
- 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
- 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
- 5 Somewhat satisfied
- 6 Satisfied
- 7 Extremely satisfied

60. The amount of time you have for doing things you want?

- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied
- 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
- 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
- 5 Somewhat satisfied
- 6 Satisfied
- 7 Extremely satisfied

How do you feel about . . .

61. The way you spend your spare time home -- hobbies and personal pastimes?

- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied
- 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
- 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
- 5 Somewhat satisfied
- 6 Satisfied
- 7 Extremely satisfied

62. How much fun you are having?

- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied
- 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
- 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
- 5 Somewhat satisfied
- 6 Satisfied
- 7 Extremely satisfied

Now *CHECK* the most appropriate response.

63. How much do you feel a part of the community in which you live?

- a) Not at all
- b) Not very much
- c) Somewhat
- d) Pretty much
- e) Very Much

64. How much did you feel a part of the community you moved here from?

- a) Not at all
- b) Not very much
- c) Somewhat
- d) Pretty much
- e) Very Much

65. Which one of the following statements best describes how well you like living in this community?

- a) I would never consider leaving here.
- b) I would move to another community if I had to but would be reluctant to leave here.
- c) It makes no difference to me whether I live here or in another community.
- d) I would probably be more satisfied living in another community.
- e) I would really like to leave this community if I had the opportunity.

In this following group of questions about your feelings, *CIRCLE* the number that best summarizes the feeling you have now.

How do you feel about . . .

66. The way you handle the problems that come up in your life?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
67. What you are accomplishing in your life?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
68. Yourself?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied
69. How happy you are?
- 1 Extremely dissatisfied
 - 2 Dissatisfied
 - 3 Somewhat dissatisfied
 - 4 Mixed -- about equally satisfied and dissatisfied
 - 5 Somewhat satisfied
 - 6 Satisfied
 - 7 Extremely satisfied

Next there are some questions of a different kind. Previous questions have asked about various parts of your life. These questions ask about your life as a whole.

CHECK the best answer for you.

70. Have you usually felt pretty sure your life would work out the way you wanted it to, or have there been times when you haven't been sure about it?
- _____ a) Pretty sure
_____ b) Haven't been sure
71. Do you think it's better to plan your life a good way ahead, or would you say life is too much a matter of luck to plan ahead very far?
- _____ a) Plan ahead
_____ b) Too much luck to plan
72. When you make plans ahead, do you usually get to carry things out the way you expected, or do things usually come up to make you change your plans?
- _____ a) Things work out as expected
_____ b) Have to change plans
73. Some people feel they can run their lives pretty much the way they want to; others feel the problems of life are sometimes too big for them. Which one are you most like?
- _____ a) Can run own life
_____ b) Problems of life too big

The following group of questions is concerned with activities which may have changed in your life since you moved here from your previous community.

The response is in two parts. First, CHECK the answer which applies to your estimate of the change in activity since you moved, "decrease," "increase," "no change," or "does not apply to me." If you chose one the first three responses (increase, decrease, or no change), then CIRCLE the number that best indicates the degree of impact. It is important to give your assessment of impact even if you have responded no change. A rating of -3 would indicate an extremely negative impact. A rating of +3 would indicate an extremely positive event.

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

74. Change in amount of time spent in travel to shopping or work?

- Decrease
 No change
 Increase
 Does not apply to me
- Impact on my life
- 3. Extremely negative
 - 2. Moderately negative
 - 1. Somewhat negative
 - 0. Neither negative nor positive
 - +1. Somewhat positive
 - +2. Moderately positive
 - +3. Extremely positive

75. Change in available time to spend with spouse or children?

- Decrease
 No change
 Increase
 Does not apply to me
- Impact on my life
- 3. Extremely negative
 - 2. Moderately negative
 - 1. Somewhat negative
 - 0. Neither negative nor positive
 - +1. Somewhat positive
 - +2. Moderately positive
 - +3. Extremely positive

76. Change in outdoor chores or gardening?

- Decrease
 No change
 Increase
 Does not apply to me
- Impact on my life
- 3. Extremely negative
 - 2. Moderately negative
 - 1. Somewhat negative
 - 0. Neither negative nor positive
 - +1. Somewhat positive
 - +2. Moderately positive
 - +3. Extremely positive

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

77. Change in amount of time devoted to travel for children's activities?

- Decrease
 No change
 Increase
 Does not apply to me
- Impact on my life
- 3. Extremely negative
 - 2. Moderately negative
 - 1. Somewhat negative
 - 0. Neither negative nor positive
 - +1. Somewhat positive
 - +2. Moderately positive
 - +3. Extremely positive

78. Change in number of family get-togethers?

- Decrease
 No change
 Increase
- Impact on my life
- 3. Extremely negative
 - 2. Moderately negative
 - 1. Somewhat negative
 - 0. Neither negative nor positive
 - +1. Somewhat positive
 - +2. Moderately positive
 - +3. Extremely positive

79. Change in frequency of attending cultural events such as live theater performances or museum?

- Decrease
 No change
 Increase
- Impact on my life
- 3. Extremely negative
 - 2. Moderately negative
 - 1. Somewhat negative
 - 0. Neither negative nor positive
 - +1. Somewhat positive
 - +2. Moderately positive
 - +3. Extremely positive

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

80. Change in social activity, (e.g. clubs parties, movies, visiting, organizations)?

 Decrease

 No change

 Increase

Impact on my life

-3. Extremely negative

-2. Moderately negative

-1. Somewhat negative

0. Neither negative nor positive

+1. Somewhat positive

+2. Moderately positive

+3. Extremely positive

81. Change in usual amount of exercise or active recreation?

 Decrease

 No change

 Increase

Impact on my life

-3. Extremely negative

-2. Moderately negative

-1. Somewhat negative

0. Neither negative nor positive

+1. Somewhat positive

+2. Moderately positive

+3. Extremely positive

82. Change in the time you have to relax, do hobbies or other pastimes?

 Decrease

 No change

 Increase

Impact on my life

-3. Extremely negative

-2. Moderately negative

-1. Somewhat negative

0. Neither negative nor positive

+1. Somewhat positive

+2. Moderately positive

+3. Extremely positive

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

83. Change in activities as an officer or leader of local community or religious activity?

Decrease

No change

Increase

Impact on my life

-3. Extremely negative

-2. Moderately negative

-1. Somewhat negative

0. Neither negative nor positive

+1. Somewhat positive

+2. Moderately positive

+3. Extremely positive

84. Change in the amount of church activity?

Decrease

No change

Increase

Impact on my life

-3. Extremely negative

-2. Moderately negative

-1. Somewhat negative

0. Neither negative nor positive

+1. Somewhat positive

+2. Moderately positive

+3. Extremely positive

85. Change in frequency of contact with friends?

Decrease

No change

Increase

Impact on my life

-3. Extremely negative

-2. Moderately negative

-1. Somewhat negative

0. Neither negative nor positive

+1. Somewhat positive

+2. Moderately positive

+3. Extremely positive

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

86. Change in frequency of contact with relatives?

 Decrease

 No change

 Increase

Impact on my life

-3. Extremely negative

-2. Moderately negative

-1. Somewhat negative

0. Neither negative nor positive

+1. Somewhat positive

+2. Moderately positive

+3. Extremely positive

87. Change in financial position (e. g. worse off or better off than usual)?

 Decrease in financial position

 No change in financial position

 Increase in financial position

Impact on my life

-3. Extremely negative

-2. Moderately negative

-1. Somewhat negative

0. Neither negative nor positive

+1. Somewhat positive

+2. Moderately positive

+3. Extremely positive

88. Change in quality of living conditions of family (e. g. worse living conditions or a better living conditions than usual?)

 Decrease in living conditions

 No change in living conditions

 Increase in living conditions

Impact on my life

-3. Extremely negative

-2. Moderately negative

-1. Somewhat negative

0. Neither negative nor positive

+1. Somewhat positive

+2. Moderately positive

+3. Extremely positive

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

89. Change in cost of living (e. g. usual amount spent for food, clothing and shelter)?

_____ Decrease in cost of living
 _____ No change in cost of living
 _____ Increase in cost of living

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
 -2. Moderately negative
 -1. Somewhat negative
 0. Neither negative nor positive
 +1. Somewhat positive
 +2. Moderately positive
 +3. Extremely positive

90. Change in the positive recognition others give you for who you are?

_____ Decrease in positive recognition
 _____ No change in positive recognition
 _____ Increase in positive recognition

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
 -2. Moderately negative
 -1. Somewhat negative
 0. Neither negative nor positive
 +1. Somewhat positive
 +2. Moderately positive
 +3. Extremely positive

The following group of questions is concerned with events which may have changed in your life since you moved here from your previous community. These events may be somewhat different in nature than the activities in the previous cluster of questions and the reply format is somewhat different.

The response has two parts. First, *CHECK* the answer which applies to your experience since your moved here "applies to me", "does not apply to me" or "no change." If you chose, "applies to me," then *CIRCLE* the number that best indicates the degree of impact this change has had on your life since you relocated here. A rating of -3 would indicate an extremely negative impact. A rating of +3 would indicate an extremely positive event.

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

91. Gaining of a new family member (e. g. through birth, adoption, family member moving in, etc.)?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

92. Separation from spouse due to conflict?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

93. Change in how you feel about yourself (your personal self-regard)?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

94. Death of a close family member?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

95. Serious illness or injury of close family member?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

96. Major personal illness or injury?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

97. Separation from spouse due to work or travel?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

98. Divorce?

- Applies to me
 Does not apply to me
 Impact on my life
 -3. Extremely negative
 -2. Moderately negative
 -1. Somewhat negative
 0. Neither negative nor positive
 +1. Somewhat positive
 +2. Moderately positive
 +3. Extremely positive

99. Marital reconciliation with spouse?

- Applies to me
 Does not apply to me
 Impact on my life
 -3. Extremely negative
 -2. Moderately negative
 -1. Somewhat negative
 0. Neither negative nor positive
 +1. Somewhat positive
 +2. Moderately positive
 +3. Extremely positive

100. Change in work] situation (different work responsibility, major change in working conditions, working hours, etc.)?

- Applies to me
 Does not apply to me
 Impact on my life
 -3. Extremely negative
 -2. Moderately negative
 -1. Somewhat negative
 0. Neither negative nor positive
 +1. Somewhat positive
 +2. Moderately positive
 +3. Extremely positive

101. Change in spouse's work (beginning new job, changing jobs, retirement)?

- Applies to me
 Does not apply to me
 Impact on my life
 -3. Extremely negative
 -2. Moderately negative
 -1. Somewhat negative
 0. Neither negative nor positive
 +1. Somewhat positive
 +2. Moderately positive
 +3. Extremely positive

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

102. Change to a different line of work?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

103. Dismissal (firing) from work?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

104. Retirement from work?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

105. Son or daughter leaving home (e.g. marriage, attending college, etc.)?

Applies to me

Does not apply to me

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

The following two questions are concerned with activities as a whole which may have changed in your life since you moved here from your previous community.

The response has several parts. First, *CHECK* the answer which applies to your estimate of the change in activity since you moved, "decrease," "increase," "no change," then *CIRCLE* the number that best indicates the degree of impact. It is important to give your assessment of impact even if you have responded no change. A rating of -3 would indicate an extremely negative impact. A rating of +3 would indicate an extremely positive event, then proceed to the next part of the question.

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

106. Change, as a whole, in the frequency of your involvement with unsatisfying activities (activities from which you derive *little* enjoyment and *little* support for who you are)?

- _____ (a) Decrease in unsatisfying activities
- _____ (b) No change in unsatisfying activities
- _____ (c) Increase in unsatisfying activities

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

If your response was (a) a decrease or (c) an increase of unsatisfying activities, list two or more examples which come to mind and rank them in importance to you.

Also check where the activity occurred: "here" in your new community, or "there" in your former community, and explain whether the activity took place in a specific physical setting such as "home," "work," "church or synagog" or some other physical place you can describe. Try to explain the reason/s you feel the way you do. If you need more room use the back of this page.

If your response was (b) *no change*, skip the remainder of this page and continue on to the following page.

My examples are:

Rank	Activity	Where
1	_____	_____ there _____ here _____ place
The reason/s I feel this way is/are _____		

Rank	Activity	Where
2	_____	_____ there _____ here _____ place
The reason/s I feel this way is/are _____		

Since you moved here has there been a . . .

107. Change, as a whole, in the frequency of your involvement with satisfying activities (activities from which you derive enjoyment and support for who you are)?

- _____ (a) Decrease in satisfying activities
- _____ (b) No change in satisfying activities
- _____ (c) Increase in satisfying activities

Impact on my life

- 3. Extremely negative
- 2. Moderately negative
- 1. Somewhat negative
- 0. Neither negative nor positive
- +1. Somewhat positive
- +2. Moderately positive
- +3. Extremely positive

If your response was (a) a decrease or (c) an increase of satisfying activities, list two or more examples which come to mind and rank them in importance to you.

Also check where the activity occurred: "here" in your new community, or "there" in your former community, and explain whether the activity took place in a specific physical setting such as "home," "work," "church or synagog" or some other physical place you can describe. Try to explain the reason/s you feel the way you do. If you need more room use the back of this page.

If your response was (b) no change, skip the remainder of this page and continue on to the following page.

My examples are:

Rank	Activity	Where
1	_____	_____ there _____ here _____ place
The reason/s I feel this way is/are _____		

Rank	Activity	Where
2	_____	_____ there _____ here _____ place
The reason/s I feel this way is/are _____		

THE FOLLOWING PERSONAL DATA WILL BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL PLEASE ANSWER THE QUESTIONS YOU FEEL COMFORTABLE RESPONDING TO, THE OTHER QUESTIONS MAY BE LEFT BLANK.

108. What is your age? _____

109. What is your sex? male ____ female ____

110. What is the last level of school you completed?

- _____ a) Some high school or less
 - _____ b) High school graduate
 - _____ c) Some college
 - _____ d) College graduate
 - _____ e) Some graduate school
 - _____ f) Graduate or professional degree
- Please specify _____

111. What is your total yearly household income?

- _____ a) Less than \$20,000
- _____ b) \$20,000 - \$29,999
- _____ c) \$30,000 - \$39,999
- _____ d) \$40,000 - \$49,999
- _____ e) \$50,000 - \$59,999
- _____ f) \$60,000 - \$74,999
- _____ g) \$75,000 - \$99,999
- _____ h) \$100,000 - \$124,999
- _____ i) \$125,000 - \$149,999
- _____ j) \$150,000 - \$174,999
- _____ k) \$175,000 - \$199,999
- _____ l) \$200,000 - \$249,999
- _____ m) \$250,000 - \$299,999
- _____ n) \$300,000 - \$349,999
- _____ o) \$350,000 - more

THANK YOU

Appendix B: Open-Ended Interview Schedule

THE CHANGE OF RESIDENCE STUDY

Interview

Dissertation Research
Program in Environmental Psychology
Graduate School and University Center
City University of New York

Open-Ended Interview Schedule

Administered in-person at along with the questionnaire in one visit.
For additional details see Chapter 4: Methods.

Opening statements:

- A. Personal introductions [as required]
- B. Objective of the research

The purpose of this study is to learn about the ways people become accustomed to a new place to which they have moved. I am interested in your experiences in moving to this area (your new city) and the way you came to know this place.

- C. *There is no best answer for the questions on the interview. Please just tell me about your experience from your own point of view.*

Open-ended Interview Questions:

1. For many people, making a move from one place to another has a particular meaning. I'd like to know how you felt about moving here?

Probes: *How did you feel about leaving your old home and neighborhood?*

How did you feel about coming to a new place?

- 2 Did you have any expectations?

Probes: *What did you think life would be like when you moved here?*

3. When someone in you community asks, "Where did you move here from?", what do you reply?

4. What were some of the reasons for making the move?

5. When you were making the decision to move, did you consider other places besides this one?

6. What made you decide to choose this place?

Probes: dwelling
neighborhood
school district
financial considerations
proximity to work

7. Are there some things you lost by moving here from _____?

Probes: Can you *describe them*?

 Is *there another example* of something you
 lost by moving here?

8. Are there some things you *gained by moving* here from _____?

 Can you *describe them*?

 Is *there another example* of something you
 gained by moving here?

9. We're nearly at the end of the interview. Is there anything else
 you'd like to cover before we finish?

Appendix C: Contact Protocol

Description of the Contact Process

The initial contact letter was sent to all potential participants in the sampling frame in each of four communities, a total of 321 households. Each letter contained a response card and a stamped return envelope. Two weeks after had been no response from the initial contact letter at the end of two weeks, a follow-up letter was, also containing a response card. Upon receipt of a response card indicating a willingness to participate, the participant was contacted by telephone, using the number volunteered by the participant on the response card. The contact made using the telephone protocol both described the study in further detail, and scheduled a mutually agreeable time a place for an in person interview. During the telephone contact permission was request to tape-record the interview.

First Contact Letter

University Letterhead

John and Nancy Participant
222 Small Lane
Hometown, CT 06000
Aug. 13, 1989

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Participant,

As a part of my doctoral research in the Program in Environmental Psychology I am contacting individuals who have moved in the last 9-15 months to gather information regarding their own experience relocating to a new environment. Your participation in this study would help make a contribution to the field.

Relocating from one home, neighborhood, or state to another often brings an individual in contact with unfamiliar settings and situations. Each person has his or her own strategies for dealing with these events. One sound way of gathering information on the process of getting to know a new place is by talking with those who have recently had the experience.

I would like to talk with each of you. The amount of time with each person is approximately one hour. All comments will be entirely confidential and names never will be used in writing up the results. Separate appointments may be made for each of you.

The research is scheduled for the period between September 1 and 30, 1989. I would be happy to speak to you at your home or office, or arrange for some other meeting place. Morning, afternoon, or evening meeting times can be arranged. If you feel you are able to participate, please complete and return the enclosed response cards.

When the research is completed, each participant will be given a summary of the overall findings. For additional information regarding this research you can reach me at [home telephone number], or contact Professor . . . at the Graduate School, [office telephone number].

Your participation in this research will make a special contribution to our understanding of the individual outcomes arising from changing dwelling places. I think you will find it an interesting experience. I would be most grateful for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Follow-Up Letter

University Letterhead

John and Nancy Participant
222 Small Lane
Hometown, CT 06000
Aug. 13, 1989

Dear Mr. and Mrs. Participant,

Recently I wrote to you, asking for your participation in a residential relocation research project. This is a doctoral research study in which couples are sought to answer some questions, which have not been previously addressed, concerning moves in the United States.

To date the mail has not brought your response. I would be grateful for your cooperation in this research. If you are considering participation in the project please return the enclosed cards.

I would like to talk with each of you about the experience of making a new place familiar. The amount of time spent with each person is approximately one hour. All comments will be entirely confidential and names never will be used in writing up the results.

Appointments can be made separately. The research is scheduled for the period from November 3 to 20, and, following Thanksgiving, from November 28 to December 15, 1989. I would be happy to speak to you at your home or office, or arrange for some other meeting place. Morning, afternoon, or evening meeting times can be arranged.

When the research is completed, each participant will be given a summary of the overall findings. For additional information regarding this research you can reach me at [home telephone number], or contact Professor . . . at the Graduate School, [office telephone number].

Sincerely,

Participant Response Cards

Participant response cards were enclosed with the first letter and the follow-up letter. The response card was accompanied by a stamped return envelop addressed to the investigator. The response cards of individuals volunteering for the study contained the telephone number of the potential participant. The next step was to contact by telephone those respondents who had volunteered. Some respondents declined to participate, while other couples failed to respond.

<p>John Participant 222 Small Lane Hometown, CT 06000</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <u>Yes</u>, I would like to participate in the research. The best time to contact me is _____.</p> <p>My phone number is _____.</p> <p>The best time for an appointment is _____.</p> <p>The best location is _____.</p> <p>I moved to this address from</p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> in state. City _____</p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> out of state. City _____, State _____</p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> out of the country. Country _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <u>No</u>, I don't feel I can participate at this time.</p>

<p>Nancy Participant 222 Small Lane Hometown, CT 06000</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <u>Yes</u>, I would like to participate in the research. The best time to contact me is _____.</p> <p>My phone number is _____.</p> <p>The best time for an appointment is _____.</p> <p>The best location is _____.</p> <p>I moved to this address from</p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> in state. City _____</p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> out of state. City _____, State _____</p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> out of the country. Country _____</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> <u>No</u>, I don't feel I can participate at this time.</p>
--

Telephone Protocol

Hello

My name is _____.

I am from the City University of New York.

I am calling you to thank you for your interest in participating in the research on residential relocation.

I want to briefly outline the two elements of our meeting, and schedule a convenient date for us to get together.

Our meeting will include two segments. First, an interview, where we talk about moving, and, second, I will ask you to respond to a more specific survey questionnaire.

The interview will take about 15 minutes, while the questionnaire should take about 35 minutes. The whole process should take a little less than an hour.

All responses will remain strictly confidential.

When you're done, we can have a chance to discuss the study. I will answer any questions you might have.

I would like to ask your permission to tape-record the interview.
Yes/no

You've indicated (on the response card) that _____ would be a good time to meet. When would be a good date?

Let me ask you for some specific driving directions.
(write on respondent's card)

Would it be possible to confirm our appointment just prior to our meeting? Where would be the best place to reach you?

[If the participant asks how his or her name was obtained, the following is a factual explanation.]

At the time the sale of your home was recorded in the city assessor's office, it was picked-up, and subsequently published, by a weekly newspaper -- *The Commercial Record*. *The Commercial Record* is published here in the State of Connecticut, and covers real estate sales across the state. That is where your name came from.

Appendix D: Selected Demographic Data

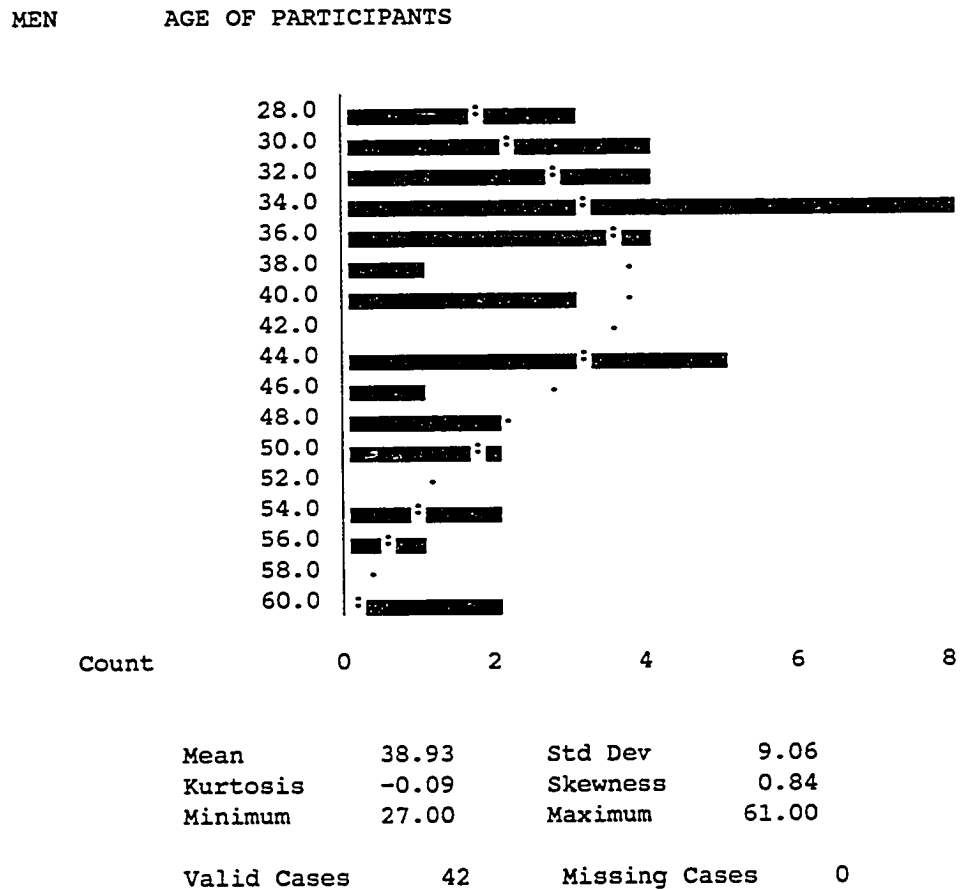


Figure D-1. Frequency distribution of the age of male participants.

WOMEN

AGE OF PARTICIPANTS

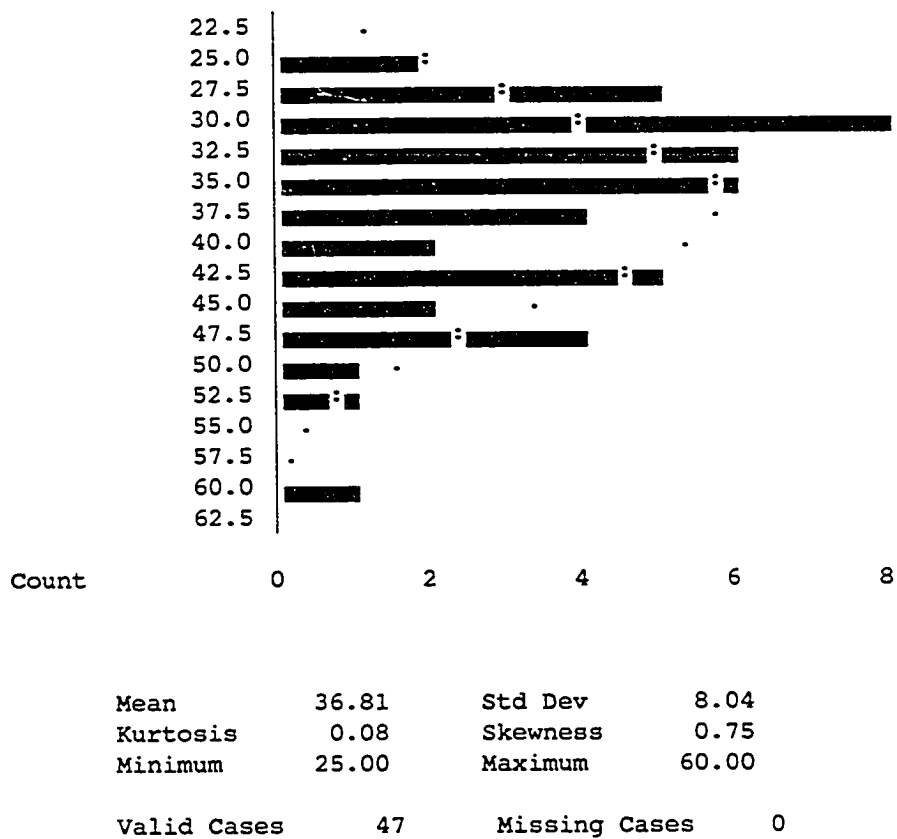
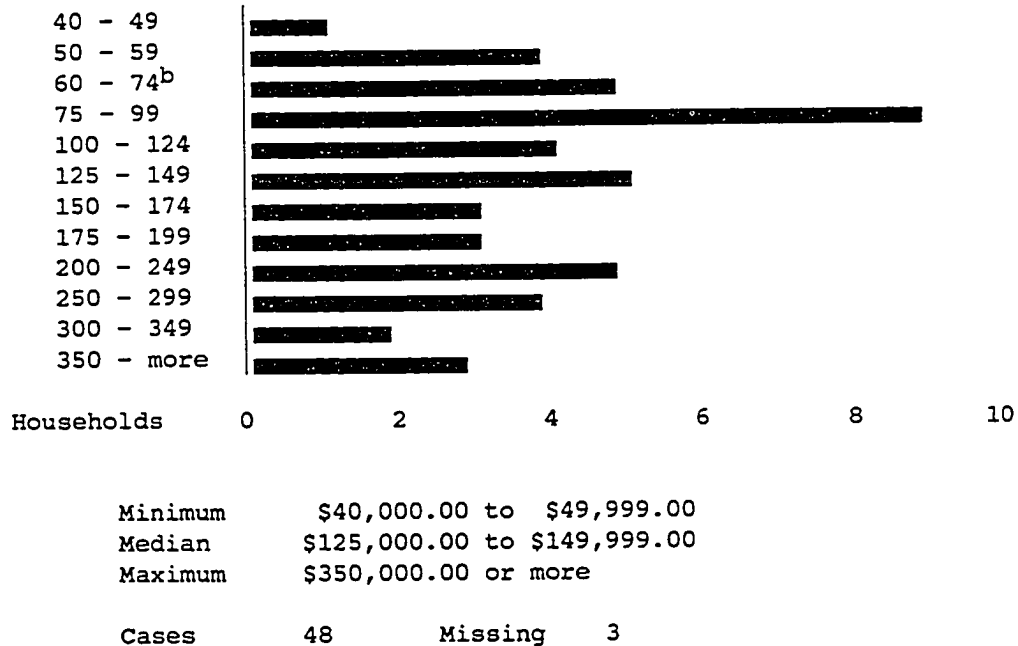


Figure D-2. Frequency distribution of the age of female participants.

Estimated Range of Income for Participating Households in
Thousands of Dollars



Notes:

^aRespondents were asked to estimate the range of their annual household income (see the final page of the questionnaire, Appendix A).

^bThe estimated household income for a couple living in Connecticut in 1988, in which both husband and wife had 16 or more years of education, was \$73,050 (see Table 6).

Figure D-3. Distribution of estimated annual income for participating households.

Table D-1. Distribution of Participants' Educational Attainment

Educational Attainment	Frequency	Percent
High school graduate	2	2.2
Some college	9	10.1
College graduate	30	33.7
Some graduate school	12	13.5
Graduate or professional degree	36	40.4

Table D-2: Income of Participating Households in Thousands of Dollars^a

Criterion Variable	Communities				Summary
	Comm 1	Comm 2	Comm 3	Comm 4	
Range of the 25th percentile	75-99	50-59	60-74	125-149	75-99
Range of the 50th percentile	100-124	60-74	200-249	175-199	125-149
Range of the 75th percentile	125-149	75-99	300-349	250-299	200-249
<i>n</i>	14	8	9	17	48
Missing	0	1	1	1	3

^aValue labels for 14 income ranges from the final page of the questionnaire (Appendix A) were encoded on SPSS/PC Version 3.0. The percentile rank in this case represents the "percentage of cases in a comparison group that achieved scores at or lower than the one cited" (Runyon & Haber, 1980, p. 63).

Table D-3. Occupations of Participants

Occupation	Men	Women
Adult Education	0	1
Artist	0	1
Attorney	0	1
Business and finance	39	13
Caterer	0	1
Childcare	0	1
Designer	0	2
Homemaker	0	18
Hospital Administration	0	1
Research	1	1
Retail sales	1	0
Social work	0	2
Teacher	0	2
Writer	0	1
Summary	42	45
Missing	0	2
Working at occupation when interviewed	42	35
Not working at occupation when interviewed	0	11
Missing	0	1

Appendix E: Change-Impact Tables

The following set of tables contains correlation coefficients and cross tabulations for each of the change-impact pairs of questions found in the survey instrument in Appendix A. Each of the 19 questions has two parts. While one section addresses the perceived change-in-activity, such as ". . . available time to spend with spouse or children," the second part of the question asks the participant to express the perceived impact of the change on his/her life. The second part of the question is scaled on a 7-point Likert-type scale. The questions were developed by the author.

Table E-1. Change in Time Spent in Travel to Shopping or Work

Since you moved here, has there been a change in the amount of time spent in travel to shopping or work?

Change-in-activity

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	20	2	2	24
Neither pos/neg	1	21	5	27
Negative	2	1	34	37
Total	23	27	41	88

Correlation

Pearson's $r = -.657$

Kendall's tau-b = $-.677$

Significance * $p < .001$

Missing = 0

Does not apply = 1

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 74.
 Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
 * two-tailed

Table E-2. Change in Available Time to Spend with Spouse or Children

Since you moved here, has there been a change in available time to spend with spouse or children?

Impact on my life	Change-in-activity			Total
	Decrease	No change	Increase	
Positive	2	3	22	27
Neither pos/neg	5	18	0	23
Negative	33	3	2	38
Total	40	24	24	88

Correlation

Pearson's $r = .810$

Kendall's tau-b = .718

Significance * $p < .001$

Missing = 1

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 75. Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values. * two-tailed

Table E-3. Change in Outdoor Chores or Gardening Activities

Since you moved here, has there been a change in outdoor chores or gardening?

Change-in-activity

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	1	0	42	43
Neither pos/neg	1	16	10	27
Negative	4	0	15	19
Total	19	27	67	89

Correlation

Pearson's r = .349

Kendall's tau-b = .324

Significance *p < .001

Missing = 0

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 76.
 Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
 * two-tailed

Table E-4. Change in Travel for Children's Activities

Since you moved here, has there been a change in the amount of time devoted to travel for children's activities?

Impact on my life	Change-in-activity			Total
	Decrease	No change	Increase	
Positive	4	3	14	21
Neither pos/neg	2	23	4	29
Negative	1	0	5	6
Total	7	26	23	56

Correlation

Pearson's r = .048
 Kendall's tau-b = .107
 Significance *p < .364

Missing = 1
 Does not apply = 32

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 77.
 Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
 * two-tailed

Table E-5. Change in Number of Family Get-Togethers

Since you moved here, has there been a change in the number of family get-togethers?

Change-in-activity

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	0	5	26	31
Neither pos/neg	4	16	1	21
Negative	33	1	3	37
Total	37	22	30	89

Correlation

Pearson's r = .793

Kendall's tau-b = .709

Significance *p < .001

Missing = 0

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 78.
 Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
 * two-tailed

Table E-6. Change in the Frequency of Attending Cultural Events

Since you moved here, has there been a change in the frequency of attending cultural events such as live theater performances or museums?

Change-in-activity

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	0	1	27	28
Neither pos/neg	1	32	1	34
Negative	22	1	3	26
Total	23	34	31	88

Correlation

Pearson's r = .697

Kendall's tau-b = .754

Significance *p < .001

Missing = 1

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 79. Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values. * two-tailed

Table E-7. Change in Social Activities

since you moved here, has there been a change in social activities (e.g. clubs, parties, movies, visiting, organizations)?

Change-in-activity

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	0	2	22	24
Neither pos/neg	5	20	0	25
Negative	38	1	1	40
Total	43	23	23	89

Correlation

Pearson's r = .851

Kendall's tau-b = .806

Significance *p < .001

Missing = 0

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 80.
 Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
 * two-tailed

Table E-8. Change in Amount of Exercise Activities

Since you moved here, has there been a change in the usual amount of exercise or active recreation?

Change-in-activity

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	0	2	25	27
Neither pos/neg	0	20	0	20
Negative	36	6	0	42
Total	36	28	25	89

Correlation

Pearson's $r = .900$

Kendall's tau-b = .848

Significance *p < .001

Missing = 0

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 81. Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values. * two-tailed

Table E-9. Change in Hobby or Pastime Activities

Since you moved here, has there been a change in the time you have to relax, do hobbies or other pastimes?

Change-in-activity

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	0	4	13	17
Neither pos/neg	7	25	0	32
Negative	36	4	0	40
Total	43	33	13	89

Correlation

Pearson's $r = .806$
 Kendall's tau-b = .764 Missing = 0
 Significance * $p < .001$

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 82.
 Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
 * two-tailed

Table E-10. Change in Community Leadership Activities

Since you moved here, has there been a change in activities as an officer or leader of a local community or religious activity?

Impact on my life	Change-in-activity			Total
	Decrease	No change	Increase	
Positive	0	0	10	10
Neither pos/neg	5	62	0	67
Negative	11	0	0	11
Total	16	62	10	88

Correlation

Pearson's r = .821

Kendall's tau-b = .872

Significance * p < .001

Missing = 1

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 83.
 Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
 * two-tailed

Table E-11. Change in Amount of Church Activity

Since you moved here, has there been a change in the amount of church activity?

Change-in-activity

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
1 Positive	1	1	17	19
2 Neither pos/neg		45	0	47
17 Negative		6	0	23
Total	20	52	17	89

Correlation

Pearson's r = .764

Kendall's tau-b = .781

Significance *p < .001

Missing = 0

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 84.
 Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
 * two-tailed

Table E-12. Change in Contact with Friends

Since you moved here, has there been a change in frequency of contact with friends?

Impact on my life	Change-in-activity			Total
	Decrease	No change	Increase	
Positive	0	2	18	20
Neither pos/neg	1	15	1	17
Negative	50	2	0	52
Total	51	19	19	89

Correlation

Pearson's $r = .875$

Kendall's tau-b = .782

Significance * $p < .001$

Missing = 0

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 85. Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
* two-tailed

Table E-13. Change in Contact with Relatives

Since you moved here, has there been a change in frequency of contact with relatives?

Change-in-activity

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	2	1	27	30
Neither pos/neg	3	18	2	23
Negative	30	3	3	36
Total	35	22	32	89

Correlation

Pearson's r = .792

Kendall's tau-b = .715

Significance *p < .001

Missing = 0

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 86. Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
* two-tailed

Table E-14. Change in Financial Position

Since you moved here, has there been a change in financial position (e.g. worse off or better off than usual)?

Impact on my life	Change in financial position			Total
	Decrease	No change	Increase	
Positive	0	2	39	41
Neither pos/neg	2	11	6	19
Negative	26	3	0	29
Total	28	16	45	89

Correlation

Pearson's $r = .839$

Kendall's tau-b = .759

Significance *p < .001

Missing = 0

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 87. Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.

* two-tailed

Table E-15. Change in Living Condition Quality

Since you moved here, has there been a change in quality of living conditions of the family (e.g. worse living conditions or better living conditions than usual)?

Change in living conditions

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	0	0	61	61
Neither pos/neg	3	11	0	14
Negative	10	2	2	14
Total	13	13	63	89

Correlation

Pearson's r = .801
 Kendall's tau-b = .697
 Significance *p < .001

Missing = 0

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 88.
 Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
 * two-tailed

Table E-16. Change in Cost of Living

Since you moved here, has there been a change in cost of living (e.g. the usual amount spent for food, clothing, and shelter)?

Change in cost of living

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	3	1	6	10
Neither pos/neg	0	6	11	17
Negative	4	2	55	61
Total	7	9	72	88

Correlation

Pearson's $r = -.244$

Kendall's tau-b = $-.236$

Significance * $p < .01$

Missing = 1

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 89. Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values. * two-tailed

Table E-17. Change in Positive Recognition

Since you moved here, has there been a change in the positive recognition others give you for whom you are?

Change in positive recognition

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	0	4	31	35
Neither pos/neg	2	31	1	34
Negative	18	2	0	20
Total	20	37	35	89

Correlation

Pearson's $r = .827$

Kendall's tau-b = .805

Significance *p < .001

Missing = 0

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 90. Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
* two-tailed

Table E-18. Change as a Whole in Unsatisfying Experiences

Since you moved here, has there been a change, as a whole, in the frequency of your involvement with unsatisfying activities (activities from which you derive little enjoyment and little support for who you are)?

Change in frequency of unsatisfying experiences

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	16	4	1	21
Neither pos/neg	0	48	1	49
Negative	1	2	14	17
Total	17	54	16	87

Correlation

Pearson's $r = -.741$

Kendall's tau-b = $-.750$

Missing = 2

Significance *p < .001

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 106. Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values.
* two-tailed

Table E-19. Change as a Whole in Satisfying Experiences

Since you moved here, has there been a change, as a whole, in the frequency of your involvement with satisfying activities (activities from which you derive enjoyment and support for who you are)?

Change in frequency of satisfying experiences

Impact on my life	Decrease	No change	Increase	Total
Positive	0	3	51	54
Neither pos/neg	0	13	0	13
Negative	17	2	0	19
Total	17	54	51	86

Correlation

Pearson's $r = .885$

Kendall's tau-b = .795

Significance * $p < .001$

Missing = 3

Note: Activity-impacts are collapsed from a 7-point scale in question 107. Pearson's r and Kendall's tau-b are computed from the original values. * two-tailed

Appendix F: Discussion of Data Transformation and Missing Data

March 31, 1990

Dissertation Committee Members
Graduate Center
City University of New York
33 W. 42nd Street
New York, NY

Dear Committee,

I would like to report on my progress toward the completion of the dissertation "Residential Relocation and Adaptation to Place: An Exploration of Place Identity." You may recall that the dissertation data was gathered in the autumn of 1989, from 89 participants in 51 households located in 4 communities within Fairfield County, Connecticut. The communities were selected in part because each was within one zip code and had a clearly identifiable town center.

Participants included 42 men and 47 women, ranging in age from 26 to 61, with an average attained educational level of college graduation plus some additional advanced study. The demographic characteristics of participants from these four communities are often similar except for the following attributes: average age, number of children under 18 years, number of moves in the past 5 years, household income, and cost of dwelling. These differences, however, may be attributed in part to life-cycle-stage -- for example, younger couples have less income, less costly dwellings and tend to move more often. The tables describing these and other demographic characteristics are now prepared and are available at your request.

Coding of the Questionnaire Data

Transcribing of the questionnaire data to coding sheets is complete. All encoded data from the coding sheets has been transferred to a computer spread sheet compatible with SPSS. A "system file" for the data, using SPSS, has been created including "data lists," "variable labels," "value labels," and "user defined missing data." The SPSS program has been loaded and run, accepting data from Microsoft Excel, the spread sheet.

The responses have been reviewed for missing data and, as one might expect in a survey questionnaire, there are cases of randomly occurring unanswered or erroneous responses. These randomly occurring cases exist occasionally throughout the data, however they represent only 1 to 3 percent of the responses in any single variable (1-3 cases out of 89). All instances of randomly occurring missing information have been identified as "user defined missing data" on SPSS or "#N/A" on the spread sheet.

The Occasion of Non-Random Missing Data

In previous contacts I believe a questionnaire was left for your review. The battery of questions 74-90 and 106 & 107 were in two parts: coding daily activity change on the one hand and the corresponding affect or "impact on my life" on the other. Daily activity patterns were encoded respectively "decrease -- 81," "no change -- 82," "increase -- 83," and, in certain variables, "does not apply to me -- 85." The corresponding affect measures were scaled using the equally occurring interval evolved by Likert, including "extremely negative -- 1," "moderately negative -- 2," "somewhat negative -- 3," "neither negative nor positive -- 4," "somewhat positive -- 5," "moderately positive -- 6," and "extremely positive -- 7." The original data pattern is summarized on the attached enclosures.

As may be seen by visual examination of the attached enclosure, the data is in sound condition, suggesting many strong correlations, with the exception of the systematically recurring absence of responses in the "no change -- 82" condition. I suggest that this is a non-random¹ or "mechanism²" difficulty. This difficulty is a simple one. Several participants checked "no change" then proceeded to the following question, overlooking the bold faced, italicized instructions to the contrary which asked the participant to complete both portions of each question in the battery. The pattern of omissions is limited to the "no change -- 82" conditions and does not occur in any non-random fashion for "decrease -- 81" or "increase -- 83" responses. The majority of participants responding "no change -- 82" accompanied that response with a corresponding answer on the affect measure.

While the literature on the treatment of random missing data is extensive, for example Roderick Little and Donald Rubin's text on the subject *Statistical Analysis with Missing Data*³, the treatment of non-

¹Frane, J. W. (1976). Some simple procedures for handling missing data in multivariate analysis. *Psychometrika*, 41(3), 409-415.

²Brown, C. H. (1983). Asymptotic comparison of missing data procedures for estimating factor loading. *Psychometrika*, 48(2), 269-291.

random missing data is somewhat oblique. In this data set these non-random instances were examined by calculating the mean and standard deviation of the completed 82's for each variable then listing them at the foot of the column for each variable on the attached enclosure. This treatment of these occurrences is somewhat similar, albeit less complex, to the approach of "hot-decking" discussed by Little and Rubin in conjunction with "Nonresponses in Sample Surveys" pp 62-67. As you may see, no mean exceeds the value for "neither negative nor positive -- 4" by + or - 0.5. The standard deviations for the 19 variables under consideration ranged from 0.00 to 1.48 with 15 variables having a standard deviation on the completed 82 conditions of less than 1.00.

In order to ground this analysis in the intentionality of the participants, I contacted a two participants, a man and a woman, each from separate communities. These two participants were randomly selected from the few who had over 5 such omissions in their response profiles. I told each of these contacts that a portion of certain questions had been overlooked. Each was willing to help. I read two questions containing frequently overlooked affect portions -- questions which, indeed, these two participants had overlooked as well. I indicated their origin response for part one -- activity -- and asked them to complete the question as I read the selection from the affect protocol. Each participant answered "neither negative nor positive -- 4" to both questions.

In order to correct this somewhat benign yet far reaching difficulty, and unless I hear from you to the contrary, I will replace the missing 82's in questions 74 - 90, and 106 & 107 with the value 4 "neither negative nor positive" impact on my life. I would be happy to discuss this or other matters regarding the dissertation at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Peter R. Walker

cc: Dissertation Committee Members.

³Little, R. J., & Rubin, D. B. (1987). Statistical analysis with missing data. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Appendix G: Tests of Criterion Variables for the Factor Analyses

A factor analysis was completed for 17 selected independent variables of well-being (Quality-of-Life Index) and 11 selected indicators of change-impact (Sanguine/Somber Index). This analysis was completed for 86 of the 89 participants. Three participants had missing data.

To obtain the variable included in the two separate factors analyzed, the 42 well-being variables and the 17 change-impact indicators were checked for skewness and kurtosis, applicability to all members of the sample, correlation with other variables, and construct validity. A number of variables were dropped because they failed to meet one or more of the criteria just listed. Twenty-five variables were dropped from the Andrews and Withey well-being battery, and 6 from the change-impact battery. The criterion for retaining or dropping each variable are listed in Tables G-1 and G-2 on the following pages.

The factor analysis procedure for each of the two adjusted batteries of indicators was run on SPSS/PC, Version 3. A principle component analysis was completed. The number of factors extracted was determined by the eigenvalues. Varimax rotation was specified, correlational matrices were obtained, plots were requested, and missing values were deleted listwise. The analysis of the 11 indicators of change-impacts and, similarly, the analysis of the 17 variables of well-being each produced four factors. Further consideration of these analyses is found in Chapter V.

Table G-1. Examination of Variables for Inclusion in Factor Analysis

Change-in-activity impact variables									
Conditions for dropping variables from the analysis									
Appendix A question #	Variables dropped	Less than two corr. > .300	Inclusion produced Kas.-Mey.-Ol. KMO < .5	Missing value Miss. > 3	Does not apply DNA > 3	Kurtosis K > 2.5	Skewness SK > 1.5		
74.0				0	0	0.540	-0.074		
74.1				0	1	-0.758	0.299		
75.0				1	0	-1.489	0.358		
75.1				1	0	-0.797	0.312		
76.0				0	0	1.989	1.751		
76.1	*			0	0	-0.555	0.134		
77.0				0	32	-1.453	0.125		
77.1	*			1	32	-1.547	-0.046		
78.0				0	0	-1.670	0.155		
78.1				0	0	-1.146	0.197		
79.0				0	0	-1.341	-0.167		
79.1	*	*		1	0	-0.061	0.171		
80.0				0	0	-1.428	0.447		
80.1				0	0	-0.259	0.443		

Table G-1. Examination of Variables for Inclusion in Factor Analysis

Change-in-activity impact variables									
Conditions for dropping variables from the analysis									
Appendix A question #	Variables dropped	Less than two corr. > .300	Inclusion produced Kas.-Mey.-Ol. KMO < .5	Missing value Miss. > 3	Does not apply DNA > 3	Kurtosis K > 2.5	Skewness SK > 1.5		
81.0				0	0	-1.487	0.235		
81.1				0	0	-0.786	0.391		
82.0				0	0	-0.855	0.612		
82.1				0	0	0.677	0.580		
83.0				1	0	0.464	0.054		
83.1	*	*	*	1	0	4.536	-0.186		
84.0				0	0	-0.555	0.031		
84.1	*	*	*	0	0	1.363	0.199		
85.0				0	0	-1.073	0.756		
85.1				0	0	-0.444	0.663		
86.0				0	0	-1.694	0.066		
86.1				0	0	0.985	0.755		
87.0				0	0	-1.641	-0.389		
87.1				0	0	-1.051	-0.026		

Table G-1. Examination of Variables for Inclusion in Factor Analysis

Change-in-activity impact variables									
Conditions for dropping variables from the analysis									
Appendix A question #	Variables dropped	Less than two corr. > .300	Inclusion produced Kas.-Mey.-Ol. KMO < .5	Missing value Miss. > 3	Does not apply DNA > 3	Kurtosis K > 2.5	Skewness SK > 1.5		
88.0				0	0	0.218	-1.346		
88.1				0	0	-0.142	-0.751		
89.0				0	0	2.830	-2.054		
89.1	*			1	0	1.537	0.684		
90.0				0	0	-1.208	-0.231		
90.1				0	0	-0.554	0.132		
106.0				2	0	-0.313	0.007		
106.1	* Outcome			0	0	0.850	0.657		
107.0				0	0	-0.936	-0.841		
107.1	* Outcome			3	0	-0.693	-0.506		

Table G-2. Examination of Variables for Inclusion in Factor Analysis

		Indicators of well-being					
		Conditions for dropping variables from the analysis					
Appendix A question #	Variables dropped	Less than two corr. > .300	Inclusion produced Kas.-Mey.-Ol. KMO < .5	Missing value Miss. > 3	Does not apply DNA > 3	Kurtosis K > 2.5	Skewness SK > 1.5
13				0	0	1.719	-1.487
14	*			0	0	7.843	-2.443
15	*		*	1	0	0.332	-0.924
16				0	0	0.530	-0.991
17	*			0	0	3.252	-1.694
18	*		*	0	0	0.911	-1.033
19	*		*	0	0	3.885	-1.338
20	*	*		3	0	6.607	-1.912
21	*		*	0	0	4.215	-1.748
22	*			0	21	0.935	1.038
23	*			4	0	3.406	1.633
24	*		*	0	0	0.836	-1.174
25	*			0	2	3.526	-1.754
26	*	*		0	0	0.354	-0.878
27	*			0	4	2.937	1.378
28	*		*	1	0	0.163	-0.745
29				0	0	-1.015	0.099
30				0	0	0.968	1.185
31	*	*		0	0	0.532	-0.775
32	*	*	*	0	0	-0.214	-0.658

Table G-2. Examination of Variables for Inclusion in Factor Analysis

Indicators of well-being									
Conditions for dropping variables from the analysis									
Appendix A question #	Variables dropped	Less than two corr. > .300	Inclusion produced Kas.-Mey.-Ol. KMO < .5	Missing value Miss. > 3	Does not apply DNA > 3	Kurtosis K > 2.5	Skewness SK > 1.5		
33				0	0	1.174	-0.972		
34				0	0	2.080	1.223		
35				0	0	0.280	-0.798		
36				0	0	0.204	-0.663		
37	*			0	30	-0.388	-0.479		
49				0	0	0.616	1.042		
50	*			0	24	-0.656	-0.277		
51	*			0	9	0.381	-0.627		
52	*			1	13	2.981	-1.288		
53	*			0	13	-0.304	-0.358		
54	*			0	20	0.177	-0.753		
55	*			0	0	4.074	-1.975		
56	*			0	16	11.022	-2.204		
57				0	0	0.868	-0.945		
58				0	0	1.862	-1.366		
60				0	0	-0.862	-0.311		
61				0	0	-0.123	-0.567		
62				0	0	1.787	-1.109		
66				0	0	0.641	-0.774		
67				0	0	0.447	-0.645		

Table G-2. Examination of Variables for Inclusion in Factor Analysis

Indicators of well-being									
Conditions for dropping variables from the analysis									
Appendix A question #	Variables dropped	Less than two corr. > .300	Inclusion produced Kas.-Mey.-Ol. KMO < .5	Missing value Miss. > 3	Does not apply DNA > 3	Kurtosis K > 2.5	Skewness SK > 1.5		
68				0	0	2.192	-1.218		
59	* Outcome			0	0	2.324	-1.173		
69	* Outcome			0	0	1.960	-1.256		

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