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COPING: THE APPLICATION OF A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK TO A CASE STUDY

A Thesis Presented

By

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Submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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Department of Psychology
COPING: THE APPLICATION OF A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK TO A CASE STUDY

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I. Literature Review ........................................... 1
  Coping ................................................................. 1
  Marriage and Married Students ..................................... 15

Chapter II. The Problem .................................................. 30

Chapter III. The Study and Methods .................................. 36
  The Design ............................................................. 36
  The Interview ......................................................... 37
  Participants .......................................................... 39
  Process ................................................................. 40
  Analysis ................................................................. 43

Chapter IV. Analysis and Discussion of the Case .................... 45
  Introduction to the Scott Case ...................................... 45
  Style of Relationship ................................................ 46
  The Stressful Situation .............................................. 51
  Contextual Resources ................................................ 56
  Coping Style .......................................................... 59
    Disposition ......................................................... 59
    Preparation for Coping ........................................... 63
    Coping Behavior ................................................ 66
    Coping Skills ..................................................... 66
      The Hard Reality--Time ........................................ 66
      Interpersonal Skills .......................................... 69
      Style of Thinking .............................................. 71
    Appropriate Use of Affect ........................................ 75
    Evidence of Reciprocal Relationship with the Community ... 76
    Outcome of Coping ................................................ 79

Chapter V. Interactional Framework .................................... 83

Chapter VI. Concluding Remarks ...................................... 85

Bibliography ..................................................................... 91

Appendix A ...................................................................... 97

Appendix B ..................................................................... 105
The research process which yielded this finished thesis was not linear, and therefore requires some preliminary description. Essentially, this process can be described in eight developmental steps, which I will only mention here to orient the reader and discuss in greater detail in the chapter, "The study and methods."

1) **North Village Interviews.** In the fall of 1971 I worked with Drs. Harold Raush and David Todd, who were conducting semi-structured interviews in the university married housing project, North Village. The purpose of these interviews was to find out what life was like for the married student couples living there. I studied and organized the data (Appendix A).

2) **Open-ended interview format for thesis.** After studying the initial North Village interviews, I became interested in conducting some more interviews which again would use the open-ended format, but which would investigate in substantially greater depth the life situation of the married student couples. Thus, I developed an open-ended interview format which was to serve as the basis for collecting data for my masters thesis. I chose to conduct the interviews, prior to reading the literature on married students because I wanted to gain an emergent naturalistic picture of their lives--a phenomenological self-report.
3) **Interviews with two couples.** Of the original couples interviewed, I chose two couples who were atypical of the initial sample, and conducted the open-ended, indepth interviews with them. I chose anomalous couples because I intended to use them as my pilot study, and to reserve the normative couples for my thesis.

4) **Pilot becomes the basis for M.S. study.** However, as I was conducting the interviews, I was increasingly impressed with how the two couples were coping with their challenging living situations. I decided to use them for the data of my thesis. Their ability to cope with a stressful situation made them special and perfect couples for a study of coping.

5) **Literature.** After deciding on the focus of my thesis, I studied the married student literature, and the literature on coping.

6) **Conceptual framework.** From an integration of these two literatures, I developed a conceptual framework which I could use to analyze the interview data.

7) **Post hoc analysis.** In the process of analyzing the two couples by applying the conceptual framework to the data, I realized that the analysis and discussion of one couple provided rich data illustrating how one interactional framework could be applied to married student couples coping in a stressful situation. The conceptual framework and its use now became the primary focus of this study.

8) **Elaboration of framework.** The writing of the case
study put the usefulness of this interactional framework to test.
CHAPTER I
LITERATURE REVIEW

Coping and marriage are areas for research which have not before been integrated and which might be fruitfully interrelated; the present study will address this area. One way of understanding how married students manage in a stressful situation is to look at the coping literature and the married student literature and from them develop an integrative framework for analysis. This framework could then be applied to a case study, the data organized in terms of the dimensions developed. Finally, three issues becomes relevant: 1) How well did the conceptual framework fit the case study? 2) In the case study, how did the dimensions interact? and 3) Did the framework prove illuminating as a way of looking at married student families.

Coping

Many researchers and theoreticians have attempted to define the process of "coping", but so far they have not achieved consensus among themselves as to what they mean by coping behavior. There are several different orientations to a definition of coping. Among them are the ego psychology position taken by the ego psychologists Lois Murphy (1962, 1974), Theodore Kroeber (1968), Allan Weinstock (1967),
Karl Menninger (1963), Norma Haan (1964), and Heinz Hartman (1958); a cognitive position represented by Richard Lazarus (1966, 1968, 1974), James Averill (1968, 1974), and Edward Opton (1968, 1974); a social psychological position represented by David Mchanic (1970) and Gerald Caplan (1972). Each of these positions has something to offer to a view of coping which I have developed.

Coping behavior becomes necessary when an individual is confronted with a novel experience which reflex and habituated actions will not directly resolve and make nonstressful. Instead, the individual needs to respond to a nonhabituated fashion by synthesizing and integrating such resources as attentiveness, memory, reflexes, and previously learned modes of coping. Established patterns of response are a part of the coping process, but they are not coping per se. Sole use of learned and habituated coping behaviors is adaptation in contrast to coping, which requires the creative integration of elements to meet new and challenging situations. Thus, coping is a creative process of developing ways of dealing with new and difficult situations. Because individuals each have different drives, capacities, and past experiences which make them unique, so too have they developed and integrated these characteristics to different degrees; all of these differences interact with the environment, the result being their unique coping style. An individual may use many coping devices and strategies, but his total range determines his cop-
ing style (Murphy, 1962). The fact that a person's coping style interacts with his environment is crucial to a concept of coping. Coping involves a reciprocal relationship between the organism and its environment.

Man not only adapts to the community but also actively participates in creating conditions to which he must adapt. Man's environment is moulded by man himself. Thus the crucial adaptation man himself has to make is to the social structure, and his collaboration in building it (Hartman, 1958, p. 31).

There are four major aspects to the coping process, as I view it. The first is the character of the particular stressful situation with which one must cope. This includes a description of the particular configuration of challenging circumstances. Secondly, one should look at the contextual resources upon which one draws as an aid to coping. Contextual resources refer to the support groups and relationships available and used by the individual. Third is one's coping style, made up of three elements: a) his unique disposition; b) his preparatory behaviors for coping; and c) his coping behaviors. Fourth is the outcome of coping. One needs to evaluate the effectiveness and impact of the coping process, e.g. whether one's uncomfortable tension was relieved, if one's self-esteem was increased, what the costs were to the individual, and if his coping contributed to a productive relationship with his environment.
The Stressful Situation

The study of coping behavior is the study of individuals' behavior in response to stressful situations. Stress has a number of dimensions. First, stress is the "discrepancy between a problem or challenge and the individual's capacity to deal with it or accommodate to it" (Mechanic, 1970, p. 111). Engel (cited by Menninger, 1963) touches on a second important dimension of stress--the necessary use of cognitive processes (usually integrative and creative) required by the stressful situation.

Psychological stress refers to all processes whether originating in the external environment or within the person, which impose a demand or requirement upon the organism the resolution or handling of which requires . . . activity of the mental apparatus before any other system is involved or activated (Menninger, 1963, p. 129).

Finally, Murphy (1962), in describing situations in which children use coping behavior, adds a final and important dimension to the definition of the stressful situation, and that is its interpersonal element.

The interaction of the organism-environment level of mutual influence (due to drives and sensitivities on both sides) and the child's economic situation (needs, capacity to discharge tension, thresholds for and tolerance of tension) and the total dynamic setting, especially the mother-child relation, tend to determine both the coping problem and the pattern of response (p. 339).

This statement could as well apply to adult relationships.
A distinction should be made between stress and strain. Stress is "the force producing or tending to produce deformation in a body," and strain is "the deformation resulting from stress" (Lee, 1966, p. 84)--an internal condition of increased activity and pressure. A number of dimensions common to a variety of stress stimuli which serve as important determinants of the particular stressful situation are intensity, imminence, ambiguity, duration, and anticipation (Lazarus et al., 1968).

Thus, a stressful situation calling for a coping response is one which challenges an individual's ability to cope with it and thus requires integrative and creative problem solving effort. This effort may well call in an interpersonal relationship which would affect the character of the stress and the eventual coping process.

**Contextual Resources**

Contextual resources serve as aids to one's coping behavior and help give coping behaviors further meaning within one's social environment. Early studies of coping did not give much attention to the social environment, especially with regard to how an individual can, through the support of others, deal with some harsh realities and maintain his self-esteem (Mechanic, 1970; Hamburg, Coelho, & Adams, 1974). Hamburg's studies of college freshmen has provided evidence that peer groups can support and guide older adolescents.

Other resources used in coping with a new situation are new
and existing friendships. And an individual's coping process may also be aided by socially approved institutional arrangements (Hamburg, Coelho, & Adams, 1974), e.g. Alcoholics Anonymous.

The term, support systems, refers collectively to the resources mentioned above. Support systems are those groups with which one is involved in long term, constant, or periodic contacts, and which contribute significantly to his psychological and physical well-being. A most important aspect of support systems is the fact that they treat the individual as a unique person.

The other people are interested in him in a personalized way. They speak his language. They tell him what is expected of him and guide him in what to do. They watch what he does and they judge his performance. They let him know how well he has done. The reward him for success and punish or support and comfort him if he fails. Above all, they are sensitive to his personal needs, which they deem worthy of respect and satisfaction (Caplan, 1972, p. 4).

These supports may be enduring and long term or they may be short term, but both have three basic elements: 1) the members of the system help the individual to cope with his psychological problems; 2) they help him with his chores; and 3) they supply him with material goods such as money and tools and with knowledge to help him cope with his situation. Support systems buffer the individual from incorrect and possibly harmful feedback from the outside community in
two ways. First, they may gather information about the outside and from this give guidance and direction in helping the individual to understand his reality and to help guide him on his journey in the community; and second, they can serve as sanctuaries where the individual may retreat and regroup his forces before entering the outside community again (Caplan, 1974).

Coping Style

Disposition. One's disposition provides a general orientation to the stressful situation. "Disposition" describes the qualitative sum of one's motives, beliefs and attitudes; one's priorities; and one's general emotional state. One's motives, beliefs, and attitudes interact with situational variables and are most influential in the coping process when stress is moderate. (As stress becomes severe, attitude becomes less important and basic survival needs predominate.) The appropriateness of one's attitude to the situation better determines how well he will cope than what his attitude is per se. For example, restraint and submissiveness in the presence of a boss who rigidly makes demands and punishes subordinates when they question his decisions might be an appropriate attitude for the situation, however this attitude would not be beneficial to coping with all bosses. An appropriate attitude can reduce physical stress and its accompanying strain. However, it is difficult to know what is cause
and effect—whether a person who copes successfully is alert because he experiences less strain or whether he experiences less strain because he is alert. Whatever the case, attitude is certainly linked to successful coping and reduced strain.

One's emotional state affects one's coping behavior. "To the extent one can control his emotional state, the coping process is facilitated. How well he performs will depend on the techniques and intrapsychic mechanisms by which he contains his emotional state" (Mechanic, 1970, p. 115). One's emotional state can change what was a rational problem solving effort into an irrational one. For example, anxiety or anger may interfere with adaptive thought with the result that the individual defensively distorts reality. Affective pressures also can disorganize one's established coping structures. Such pressures may result from "severe traumata, threats, illnesses, excessive demands, which lower one's threshold for managing tension and thus adversely affecting one's coping behavior" (Murphy, 1962, p. 280).

**Preparation for coping.** Preparation for coping behavior involves three primary behaviors: 1) delay of response, 2) information seeking, and 3) rehearsal. Delaying response to stimulation is a frequently used means of controlling one's response. Whether this is referred to as suppression or sublimation, the ability to hold immediate actions in abeyance until an appropriate moment is useful for the preparation of coping. A time delay before the coping response
is needed and is beneficial where the luxury of delay is possible; delay facilitates the preparation of one's coping strategy, maximizing the chances of the coping being successful (Mechanic, 1970).

During this preparation time, one foresees a confrontation and prepares his coping strategy. Hamburg (1967) stresses the importance of information seeking during this period. People tend to seek out information about how to perform their new role; about how they can relieve their distress; about how they can sustain rewarding interpersonal relationships; and about how they can meet the requirements of the stressful situation. Hamburg and Adams (1967) in their studies of students making the transition from high school to college have been able to delineate a number of such information seeking behaviors. These high school students who were experiencing a fair amount of stress surrounding their upcoming transition to college sought advance information about their new situation. As they reduced the ambiguities as to what college life would be like, the students gained confidence.

Assuming one obtains this information, a person may rehearse new behaviors he believes will be relevant to his new role. Both Mechanic (1970) and Hamburg and Adams (1967) discuss the importance of rehearsal to coping behavior. For example, a high school graduate may try out new forms of independent behavior in preparation for his freshman year in
college (Hamburg and Adams, 1967).

Coping behavior. It is perhaps somewhat arbitrary to draw a line between the preparation for coping and the carrying out of coping behavior, but for the sake of organization, I will draw such a line. Crucial to the carrying out of coping are coping skills, which include the coping mechanisms (as described by Kroeber, 1963) and a modulated use of defense mechanisms, appropriate use of affect, and evidence of one's acting on and changing his environment (as opposed to the more traditional position taken by most ego psychologists, of man merely reacting to external conditions).

By use of coping skills, I am referring to coping behaviors usually taught by social institutions, e.g. families, schools, evidenced in one's handling of stressful situations. The enactment of these social skills is dependent upon society's institutions, and whether or not one was taught the necessary social skills. These skills are innumerable, and which ones are called for depend on the situation at hand. However, an important overall coping skill is the ability to pace one's activity. One needs to know his capacities and limits and to recognize when he needs to rest and when he must resume work again. Modulating one's activity level so as to maximize the use of one's energies is a key to continued effective coping.

Kroeber presents ten general mechanisms of the ego which can take on either coping or defensive functions (Appendix B).
The presence of at least some of these coping mechanisms is essential to coping behavior. However, Kroeber's model consists of sets of predicative opposites. "They assume that any given coping or defensive process is characterized by the same fundamental style of thought regardless of its level of adequacy" (Lazarus, 1968, p. 17). For example, the defense of intellectualization has as its counterpart at the coping level, intellectuality, the tendency to analyze a situation in order to deal with it. Thus coping and defense are rooted in a common approach to dealing with internal and external realities.

Defensive ego behaviors can be distinguished from coping ego behaviors on six dimensions. Defensive behavior is compelled and pushed from the past; they distort the situation, involve mostly primary process thinking, try to completely remove uncomfortable affects, and permit impulse gratification only indirectly. On the other hand coping behaviors are characterized by being flexible, pulled toward the future, and reality oriented; they involve mostly secondary process thinking, work according to the needs of the individual, and permit open impulse gratification (Kroeber, 1963).

Defense mechanisms can facilitate the process of coping. The assumption that if one uses defenses, it necessarily is at a cost to himself is not empirically justified (Lazarus et al., 1968). Evidence shows that if a person is helpless in a situation, and finds he has little choice but
to use defense mechanisms, these defensive ways of coping can later give way to a more realistic and active form of coping when the individual's capacity to use them improves. Further, the value-laden dichotomy between coping and defensive mechanisms made by many ego psychologists is not necessarily useful. It is not always clear which scheme is more desirable or adaptive. The dichotomy of flexibility and rigidity serves as an example. One needs to be sufficiently flexible so that he can change his goals if this becomes necessary, but he also must be rigid and compelled enough so that he is not too easily overwhelmed by obstacles in the course of achieving his goal, e.g. illness which would set back the progress of his work.

Lazarus et al. (1968) conclude,

It is possible to think of repression [rigidity] and sensitization [flexibility] merely as different ways of coping with threat without any greater pejorative implications given to one or the other, or to regard one as a more desirable or effective form of coping than the other depending on the kinds of functioning which are highly valued by the researcher (p. 14).

Normal and flexible use of defense mechanisms is necessary, and one would be limiting his view of ego functions if defense mechanisms were not considered a party of healthy coping functions (Murphy, 1967). Thus a primary function of defense mechanisms is that of facilitating the coping process (Mechanic, 1970). However, when used to the exclusion of
coping, defense mechanisms obviously are not a constructive element in the process of coping.

Similarly, because coping involves some synthetic and integrative processes, expression of emotions per se is not coping. For example, expressing anger alone is not coping; however, anger coupled with thought given as to whether it is worthwhile to express the angry feeling would be one way of coping. The expression of affect is a means of everyday coping which can pave the way for further coping.

Weeping, by lowering the general feeling-tone of the body, breaks or reduces the shock of the stimulus, and keeps the subject less intensely aware of it, meanwhile, exerting a distinctively soothing effect upon the mind until, by allowing the painfully induced and temporarily dominant energy of the shock to be worked off gradually. A return is made to the state of normal feeling-tone. In the adult, as well as in the child, this not infrequently declares itself in a distinct sigh of relief (Menninger, 1963, p. 138).

Finally, coping behavior involves a reciprocal relationship between the person and his environment. One not only needs to cope with his environment and its stresses as they arise, but he also needs to actively participate in moulding the conditions with which he must later deal (Hartmann, 1958).

**Evaluation of Coping**

Evaluations of the effectiveness and impact of coping behavior are as varied as the theories of coping behavior.
For present purposes, coping behavior is successful to the degree that five conditions are met. First, successful coping reduces undesirable tension and anxiety, and/or it provides a means for handling the uncomfortable feelings of strain in such a way that the person is satisfied. Second, successful coping efforts mature the individual in the sense that the individual's mastering one situation allows him to go on to deal with a still more complex and difficult situation. Third, the costs to the individual must be evaluated. Coping and mastering new tasks require energy and the successful coper keeps his costs as low as possible (Menninger, 1963). Fourth, successful coping increases (or at least maintains) one's self-esteem (White, 1974; Murphy, 1962; Hamburg and Adams, 1967). "No adaptive strategy that is careless of the level of self-esteem is likely to be any good" (White, 1974, p. 60). An individual's level of confidence and self-esteem depends, in part, on whether his environment incorporates evaluative systems and supports the individual (Mechanic, 1970). Finally, successful coping leads to a productive interaction with the environment. Usually oneself and others in one's society are that much better off as a result of successful coping. In sum, "A life will be successful or not according as the power of accommodation is equal to the strain of fusing and adjusting internal and external changes" (Menninger, 1963, p. 125).
Marriage and Married Students

One way to extend the study of coping behavior beyond individual and intrapsychic phenomena is to look at the marriage as a social unit and study how spouses as individuals and as a couple cope with various challenges and conflicts which arise. The present study approaches this task in a particular area, special problems confronting married students living in university married student housing. But first, let me provide a framework to the study of marriage which will serve as a perspective from which one can look at the more unique problems of married students. Rather than attempting to synthesize the literature on marriage in general, I will, for the purposes of this discussion draw primarily on Harold Raush's work (1963, 1974) because I found his review of traditional sex differences and his notion of marital stages of development useful. The first task will be to describe traditional broad sex differences; second, to offer an explanation for these differences and describe the resultant modes of communication; third, to briefly describe different styles of marriage which emerge from the different modes of communicating; and fourth, to review the notion of stages of marriage.

Traditionally, there are broad differences between men and women and subsequently between husbands and wives. Our culture has taught women that they should be emotional, ro-
mantic, and dependent; and men to be rational, high achieving, independent and individualistic. Thus sex differences are created with regard to separateness and connectedness. When they marry, women need their husbands' attention and resent their spouses' time spent out with the boys hunting or fishing. Men fear being tied down and ensnared in a marriage because they feel, as a result, they will lose their sense of identity. Thus wives invest more in maintaining a strong marriage, and husbands tend to focus their energies outside the family, often at work. There is some evidence that these traditional differences may be changing. Women today are more educated and have struggled and competed within the same systems as their husbands. Men seem more able to acknowledge their dependency needs. Sex roles are being seriously questioned and changed, perhaps in a revolutionary way, but how much and for whom has not been determined.

However, at least until very recently, the woman emerges dependent and the man independent. When a woman gets married her identity becomes bound up in her husband's. She takes on his name, goes to live with him, moves with him as his job demands, and in general takes on his life style no matter what hers was. The woman can only fulfill her role as woman by marrying and having children. In contrast, the man's identity has less to do with his marriage and more to do with his career and his success on the job. From adolescence, he has planned his education and jobs so as to actualize his career.
The young woman, in adolescence, was more vague about her plans knowing what she would do depended on her future husband.*

How does one explain these broad sex differences? Levinger (cited by Raush, 1974) "argues that there is a task specialization (division of labor) within marriage, but that socio-emotional behavior must be reciprocal to maintain the dyad" (p. 146). Both Levinger and Rossi (cited by Raush, 1974) argue that task specialization and socio-emotional behavior are two different modes of behavior found in all roles. Men and women need to develop both modes and to be capable of flexible alternation between expressive and instrumental modes. For example, a man needs to be able to perform his task at work and then to be emotionally supportive at home. To continue to perform an expressive function that is never returned is difficult to imagine, and someone who is not capable of communicating in the expressive mode will be seriously handicapped in his relationships with others (Levinger and Rossi, cited by Raush, 1974).

Out of these basically different modes of communication emerge different styles of marriage—traditional versus companionate; utilitarian versus intrinsic; shared versus segregated roles; and task versus relationship oriented. At the

*In The Future of Marriage Jessie Bernard provides a more complete review of sex differences.
heart of all of these types of relationships is the issue of an intrapersonal versus interpersonal style of relationship as Erikson suggests in describing the stage of Intimacy vs. Isolation and Distantiation. The issue is whether the couple is primarily involving themselves interpersonally in a way that might involve humor, playfulness and spontaneity, or whether they are primarily relating in a way so as to create distance, for example, by using sarcasm and sado-masochistic means. Are they engaging, or avoiding each other vis-a-vis interpersonal issues? Raush (1974) reports that both of these styles of relationship can lead to strong and effective marriages if there exists an ongoing bond of affection. Couples develop styles of relationship early in their marriages and their style of relationship is the key source of information if one wants to predict how a couple will behave. Raush (1974), Levinger (1973), and Cuber and Harroff (1965) have found that these styles of interaction persist for long periods of time and across various developmental stages of marriage.

This brings me to my final point about marriages in general, that there exists the notion of developmental stages in marriage (Raush, 1974; Raush, Goodrich, & Campbell, 1963). The concept of stages in marriage is closely related to Erikson's stages of the life cycle. The different stages require different modes of coping with the tasks of each stage, and the successful completion of one stage leads to the next
stage. Raush specifically mentions intimacy and generativity as two early stages couples go through. In the first stage, intimacy, there are a number of early tasks a couple needs to work out. They need to co-orient themselves to their sex life, the running of their household, their relationship with their in-laws, their career plans, child-bearing plans, eating habits, and management of money. The more general functions of this early stage include: resolving their needs to be intimate and independent; combining their ways of communicating into a meaningful style; devising a means to resolve conflicts between themselves; and creating means to make decisions. These more general functions are related to such dimensions as supportiveness, understanding, and good communication. A couple needs to effectively cope with what has been "predefined" whether it be external (time and money) or internal (attitudes and values mutually or independently held). In the second stage, generativity, a couple is concerned with giving birth to children and to raising them. For the most part, they have resolved the issues of the first stage of marriage, and issues surrounding parenting become central—e.g., how many children they should have, how to show affection to their children, how to discipline their children, what role the child will play in their lives, and what sacrifices they will and will not make for the child.
Married Student Life

The notion of these stages is particularly relevant in understanding the issues married students are concerned with. The number of married students on college campuses has been increasing at a sharp rate. In 1970, approximately 20% of the college and university populations were married students, whereas in 1940, married students were a rarity on campus (Moore, Forrest & Hinkle, 1970). There are a number of reasons for this: people are getting married at a younger age; there has been an increasing acceptance of married college students; and finally, the government has sponsored a number of educational programs making it possible for veterans to attend college. These veterans tend to be older and are more likely to be married (Rogers, 1958; Ferson, 1960). A number of studies done in the 1950's and early 1960's have attempted to understand how married student couples can "adjust" (e.g., Reimer, 1947; Thorpe, 1951; Christensen & Philbrick, 1952; Christopherson, Candiver, & Krueger, 1960; Eshelman & Hunt, 1967). Most recently, Marshall and King (1966) reviewed the literature on undergraduate student marriages and found that research done between 1940 and 1965 focused on several issues, two of which are: 1) the aspirations and marital adjustments of these couples, and 2) the students' management of their finances. A number of other areas were also researched. These include how married students schedule their time, what role children play in their lives, what kind of
social life and recreation they participate in, how going to school affects their marriage, what married students need and how they manage with the resources available to them. Of course, the areas of possible investigation far exceed these I have just mentioned, but for the purpose of this study, these are the ones which are most relevant. Critical of most of the studies which have been done largely using the survey, questionnaire and interview methods, Marshall and King cite sampling problems, inadequate control groups, if any, and they feel it is impossible to draw meaningful conclusions on the basis of these data. Having reviewed a number of these studies myself, I agree that they provide some guide to general attitudes, beliefs, concerns, trends, and life styles which exist among married college students; and I find their investigations helpful in my understanding of the couples at North Village, whether or not their specific findings were accurate.

Being a married student has a number of advantages and disadvantages. Students surveyed in the existing literature reported the advantages to be an increased sense of emotional security, superiority of home comforts due to pooled resources, a greater incentive to succeed, growing and maturing together, and sex. Among the reported disadvantages, most frequently mentioned are financial hardship, the possibility of having unplanned children, shortage of time together, limited social life, in-laws, and unequal sharing of family
chores (Christopherson, 1960; Aller, 1963). Overall, students evaluated their marriages to have more positive aspects than negative aspects, and they agreed with the hypothesis that "marriage, far from being a handicap, is an aid in the pursuit of higher education" (Chabliss, 1961, p. 416). However, recent culture changes, including a greater acceptance of two people living together without being married, may lead to very different attitudes. After all, the advantages to marriage which are cited in these studies can perhaps be gained by living together.

Even without such cultural changes, married student couples are in a situation where the traditional division of labor is not functional, and they find themselves having to redefine their roles. For most couples, this necessitates a more equilitarian arrangement of shared responsibility in the running of the household (Thorpe, 1951; Christopherson, 1959).

An awareness of the unique psycho-social and environmental needs of the married community is essential. Many social-psychological problems concerning married students have their genesis in the unique position and role occupied by the wife. Many student wives occupy the unclear role of being a wife as well as the family provider. This is coupled with the strain of raising a family in an atmosphere not particularly suited to meet the needs of children. In addition, because she is, in a sense, prisoner to her apartment and children, she cannot share with her husband in his intellectual development. Hence, the situation exists in which the husband progresses and grows intellectually, while the wife remains stagnant, becoming an increasingly less stimulating partner to her husband. Such conflict in the wife, necessarily produces strains in the marital relationship, which
often cannot be reduced unless concrete changes in the environment are made (Faculty Student Planning Committee, p. 6, 1970).

Men tend to have more education than their wives at the time of marriage and continue their education while their wives tend to end their education at all levels with marriage. Increasingly, wives see their primary role as working to help support the family. A range of 46% to 66% of student wives have been reported as working (Chabliss, 1961; Oppelt, 1965; Eshelman, 1967). For the most part, these women take on traditional female jobs, such as secretarial work, teaching, nursing, and sewing.

How a woman perceives her husband's attitude toward her use of her intelligence influences what she does. Further, some women are themselves in conflict between roles of wife and mother and those of a feminine career. Within a traditional framework, the wife, in marrying, may be choosing between homemaking and a feminine career. In the student marriage situation, out of financial necessity, the wife may take on a feminine career, in marrying, and then once the husband has completed school and found a job which will support his family, the wife stops working and becomes homemaker. In sum, role expectations are sometimes more complicated and difficult to cope with within the married student family.

The problems faced by married students are numerous. Several include financial problems, problems inherent in hav-
ing children, problems arising from a shortage of time, and hindrances to having a satisfactory recreational and social life.

It is well documented that financial responsibilities are of most concern to married students, more so than educational and personal-social responsibilities (Aller, 1963; Rice, 1969; Altman & McFarland, 1960; Bailey, 1956; Reimer, 1945; Oppelt, 1965). As mentioned above, in most families the wife works to support the family in order to prepare her husband to earn a livelihood. A number of men also carry part-time jobs and a large number of students rely on the G.I. Bill (Christopherson, 1959; Oppelt, 1965). Additionally, a number of students rely on parental subsidization (Christopherson, 1959). Aller suggests that perhaps couples mention financial problems frequently because they feel there is greater acceptance of having financial problems than of other problems within their marriage. Perhaps this is true, if they are still in the first stage of marriage. However, it is also possible that these couples have worked through the developmental tasks of the first stage of marriage, and more than emotional conflict they are feeling the pinch of a hard reality, very little money. These couples would, under other circumstances, perhaps be concerned with parenthood.

Children have several effects on married students. They can have either a deleterious or positive effect depending upon whether the children were planned, wanted, or financial-
ly feasible (Poffenberger, 1952; Eshelman, 1967). They also influence the husband's studying, the couple's financial situation, the amount of time they have together, as a family, and the couple's social life. Although children do not tend to influence the amount of studying, they do affect where their father will work. Fathers with children are twice as apt to study away from home as childless married men (Eshelman, 1967).

Naturally, having one or more children is an increased financial burden, and frequently, women object when they find themselves in the position of having to be wife, and mother, and family supporter. People who felt children to be a disturbance to their marriage usually mentioned the increased economic demands. Having children, too, usually meant the families had little time to be together as a family. New and sometimes difficult time schedules were necessary. Aller found that husbands and wives arranged their schedules so that they attended classes at different times. Baby sitters were generally too expensive with the result that one parent or the other did the babysitting, forcing a separation of the mates. In all, with school and work demands, parents frequently felt their time with their children was limited.

This brings me to another most important issue--planning and the use of time--which is considered by many couples to be as important in successful home management as budgeting money effectively (Thorpe, 1951). Naturally, the tremendous
responsibilities which last the entire day necessitates a carefully worked out schedule which both husband and wife need to follow precisely (Reimer, 1945).

Being on such a tight schedule necessarily affects couples' social and recreational activities. And indeed, married students participate significantly less than unmarried students in all types of campus activities (Oppelt, 1965; Rogers, 1958; King, 1969).

Rogers (1958) suggests that married students have a different type of social life from the usual campus social life. I think it can only be expected that married students, especially those with children, would feel separated from their unmarried classmates and have a need to look elsewhere for recreational and social activity. Three additional, obvious factors which inhibit social life are a shortage of time and money, and cramped living quarters. Thus, married student socializing tends to be with just a few others, informal, infrequent, and inexpensive.

It is hard to determine the effects marriage has on a student's schooling. Christensen (1952) found that approximately a third of the married couples interviewed indicated college attendance aided their marital adjustments, a third indicated college attendance disturbed their marital adjustment and about 40% said it had no effect. Those who found college attendance disturbing to their marriages explained that school caused financial worries and sacrifices, including
unsatisfactory and unsettled living conditions. They also said class attendance and homework took too much time from home and that academic tensions were transferred to their home life.

What are some of the needs of these students given the strains under which they live? In 1969, the Faculty Student Planning Committee at the University of Massachusetts, held a meeting to ascertain from the married students what they saw to be their needs. Students indicated four areas of need: 1) day care for children, thus allowing the mothers to work or study; 2) recreational facilities such as community centers where students could get together to spend leisure time; 3) counseling services, which would meet the unique needs of married students; and 4) marital enrichment groups, such as family and home enrichment groups, family finance consultation and child-rearing groups. A need was felt for discussion groups and preventive and educative programs. One commonly hears reports that colleges and universities fail to provide married students with medical services, counseling, financial assistance, education and community orientation, information about family planning and administrative representation (Moore, Hinkle, & Forrest, 1972).

What would be aids to these married student couples? For many, the educational programs mentioned above, which also have a heavy emphasis on discussion of family concerns, provide a preventative service (FSPC, 1970; King, 1969).
Also, programs directed toward nonworking wives, which include didactic content as well as interaction, seemed to enrich the social and emotional lives of many wives, especially those who feel lonely. The Faculty Student Planning Committee (1970) makes the point that if student family members were able to spend time together, close to home, many of their pressures would be relieved. However, the situation, even at present, is not necessarily too bad. Oppelt (1965) indicates that married students are "better able to cope with emotional problems and tensions than unmarried students as determined by self-rating technique" (Oppelt, 1965, p. 231). And Reimer (1947) commented that he felt that couples who had put forth all their energy to complete school were favorably affected in their emotional adjustment to each other.

Thus, marriage presents advantages and disadvantages to students, and more especially to students with children. The literature reflects a very traditional concept of marriage and the family, and one that is not so true today. For instance, there are many more instances in which the wife is the student and the husband supports the family, and there is far more equal sharing of household and job-oriented tasks. With equal opportunity rights, women are not so confined to traditionally feminine careers or jobs. Also, students commonly live together unmarried. Still, many of the issues remain the same--a shortage of time and money, the effects of children on a student couple, married or not, in-laws, and
tight schedules.
CHAPTER II
THE PROBLEM

This study is an analysis of an effectively coping married student couple faced with what would appear to be a formidable situation. The literatures of coping and married students have not been brought together before in this way. Both involve the analysis of complex behavior, and therefore, from the intersection of these literatures complex questions emerge which provide a framework for a naturalistic, in depth study of the coping of married students living in a married student housing project. Phrased in terms of the three issues discussed about marriage in general, and the four issues of coping mentioned earlier, here is how I define the issues at the interface of these two literatures.

In an analysis of how married students living in married student housing cope, it is important to answer three preliminary questions about their relationship in general, the answers to which will provide perspective when asking the more specific questions about being married students. First, what is the style of the couple's relationship? How do they relate to each other? Do they tend to engage or avoid each other vis-a-vis interpersonal issues? Second, how do they balance task-specialized and socio-emotional modes of relating--e.g. can they both easily alternate from one mode to the other as needed? And third, what issues have they worked
through, and which ones are they now confronting? Answers to these questions set the stage for understanding how a married student couple copes with their unique living situation.

What emerges from the literature with regard to married student coping are four important areas of investigation: 1) the character of the couple's particular stressful situation; 2) the contextual resources upon which the couple draws, i.e. their support groups and their own relationship; 3) the couple's coping style which includes three elements--a) disposition, b) preparation for coping, and c) specific coping behaviors; and 4) the outcome of their coping.

By character of the couple's unique stressful situation, I above am referring to those elements which place a particular strain on the couple. It has been reported that for married students living in married student housing, a shortage of money, busy schedules, having one or more children with both parents occupied full time, cramped space, all potentially place stress on the couple and present problems which need to be coped with. Naturally, for each couple the particular configuration of these elements will be different.

The contextual resources upon which the couple draws are made up of their support groups and their marital relationship. Married students' support systems are made up of people within their housing project, friends outside the housing project, their extended family, people connected with the husband's schooling, and people where the wife works. One needs
to ask how supportive and useful are their support groups and who makes up these groups. The couples' relationship serves as an important resource to their capacity to cope. How have they redefined their roles so as to accommodate being students, family providers, parents, and lovers? What are their expectations of each other, and to what degree are they meeting their mutual role expectations? Who and what have influenced their role definitions? Are they, as many researchers have suggested, primarily role-sharing as opposed to role-segregated as a result of the husband's being in school and the wife's working? Finally, does there exist between them a basic core of affection which makes viable whatever style of relationship they have worked out and settled upon?

Coping style is made up of dispositions, preparatory behaviors for coping, and coping behaviors. With regard to their disposition—i.e. attitudes, motives, beliefs—one needs to know their general disposition vis-a-vis family planning, the role of children within their family, discipline, sharing feelings, education and work. Given their motives and beliefs, one needs to determine what are the couple's priorities. Finally, the character of their emotional state and how it affects their coping is important. Do they have a general sense of well being? To what extent (if any) are they experiencing distress? What are the sources and character of this distress. Does it originate within their relationship, family, family of origin, school, or
work?

One must ask if in preparing for coping with a stressful situation, the couple delayed their response. If they did delay their response, how did they do this? Did they seek assistance from each other or anyone else? During the delay period did they seek out information that would help them to cope with the upcoming stressful condition and their new roles within the stressful situation? If so, where did they get this information and how helpful was it? Finally, did they rehearse their new roles? If so, where and with whom?

Looking at the carrying out of their coping styles, one needs to examine three dimensions of their coping: 1) which coping skills do they use—e.g. what methods have they learned for themselves which they have found effective and which do they use as elements of their coping style when they are faced with a novel situation? How is their use of coping mechanisms similar and different? How do they mesh their different skills? To what degree do they use defense mechanisms? Does their use of defense mechanisms pave the way to more effective coping, or prevent successful coping? Which mechanisms do they use? 2) How do they use the expression of affect in the process of coping? Following their expression of feelings, are they able to pursue further coping efforts? 3) How do they act on their environment so as to create conditions with which they will later need to deal? Do they show this quality of effectance in the several systems within which
they live and work--i.e., family, school, work, and friends? Do they show a greater sense of effectance in one situation than another? What accounts for these differences?

In the evaluation of the outcome of the couple's coping, one must look at five possible results. 1) If they were experiencing uncomfortable or undesirable tension and anxiety, to what degree were these relieved? If the couple did not relieve their anxiety and tension, how have they handled these feelings? Are the couples satisfied? 2) Did their coping behavior mature them in any way? If so, how have they as a couple changed and grown as a result? 3) Did the couple experience an increase in their self-esteem as a result of their coping? 4) What were the costs (time, energy, etc.) incurred by the couple as a result of their coping, and 5) Did their coping lead to a productive relationship with their environment?

Thus, in an examination of married students, the researcher must follow a number of steps. One needs, first, to describe the nature of the couple's relationship and which developmental tasks they are facing; second, to examine those elements which contribute to making the married student life stressful; third, to describe the couple's contextual resources; fourth, to describe the couple's coping style; fifth, to examine and evaluate the outcome of the couple's coping. The conceptual framework offered here suggests that the response of a married student couple to a stressful situation
can be well-understood in terms of the above factors and their interaction. The writing of a case study puts the usefulness of these factors to test.
CHAPTER III
THE STUDY AND METHODS

As noted earlier, the process of this study was not linear, but rather developed in a circular and spiralling fashion. The description of methods is organized around five topics: 1) design, 2) interview, 3) participants, 4) process, and 5) analysis; this organization will hopefully convey both the development of the study and the methods used.

Design

Concerned with a variety of complex interactions, this hypothesis-generating case study represents, explores and analyzes methods of coping of an ordinary couple with a child, living in a fairly stressful situation. This stressful situation can be briefly described as one in which the couple had a very limited amount of time together; both as a couple and as a family; they had very little money, and worked hard to earn what they did have; the husband was working under academic pressures; and their living space was crowded. Because this complex area of behavior was unexplored, the data were collected using the intensive interview method, and later systematized according to the conceptual framework.
Interview

During the summer and fall of 1971, thirty semistructured interviews were conducted with randomly selected couples in a married student housing project, North Village, at the University of Massachusetts. The purpose was to find out in a broad sense what life was like for these couples. After studying the interviews (collected mostly by graduate students under faculty supervision) and gaining an overview of the lives of these couples in North Village, I became interested in more fully understanding particular aspects of their lives. I was especially interested in studying four areas from the initial interviews: 1) the husband's education and the wife's job—i.e. their respective occupations; 2) the hard realities of their lives and how they were affected by them—e.g., money, time, and living space; 3) their relationships as husband and wife, mother and father, student and employee; and 4) their relationships with their families of origin and their friends.

With regard to the husband's schooling, I wanted to know the nature of his and his wife's involvement with the university. What aspects of the university were most important to them? How much time did they spend at the university, and with whom did they spend their time at the university? What were their feelings about the university? I was interested in the wife's work, how she felt about working, how she chose her career, and if she planned to continue her job when her
husband finished school.

I wanted to understand the nature of the hard realities of their lives. Was money a problem? How did it affect their life styles? I wanted to know how they managed their money. Given the fact that the husband was a student, and the wife worked full time, how did they manage their time? What were their priorities? I wanted to observe their living spaces, how they used their space, and how they felt about the space they had.

With regard to their family relationships, I was first interested in the couple's relationship, how much time they spent together and what they did when they had time together. I wanted to know what their mutual expectations were and whether or not they were meeting each other's expectations. I wanted to know how they dealt with conflict and how they reached decisions. Finally, I was interested in how they would like to change their relationship. I wanted to know how they functioned as a family. What did they do together as a family? How much time did they have together? How did they divide and share responsibilities for their child? How did having a child affect their lives?

In considering their families of origin and friends, I wanted to know the nature of their relationships with their families of origin. What part did their families of origin play in their lives? How frequently did they visit each other? What expectations did they have of their families and
vice versa? Did they meet these expectations? How satisfied were they with their relationship with their families? With regard to their friends, I wanted to know who their close friends were, where they lived, how often they saw them, and how they would describe their relationship with them. I wanted to know if their friends were married, how long they had known them, how they had met, and under what conditions they tended to get together or call each other. Finally, I wanted to know if they as a couple formed relationships with other couples or if they tended to have separate friendships.

The last area I wanted to investigate was their relationship to the North Village community. I wanted to know how they felt about North Village as a housing project for married students. Did it meet their needs adequately? Were they involved with the committee to lower the rent? Was the wife a member of the Woman's Club? Did they feel they had friends in North Village? How did they compare themselves to others at North Village?

**Participants**

During the summer of 1972, I selected two couples from the original thirty and interviewed them in depth. Unlike Bott (1957)* who found it difficult to interest couples and

*Bott interviewed twenty families in England in an attempt to understand their marital relationship and their social networks.
families in this type of study, I found the couples I asked very enthusiastic about such an exploration, and they went out of their way to make time to meet with me. Initially the couples I interviewed were to be the subjects for my pilot study for my masters thesis, the aim of which was to find out in general what life was like for them, but as I became involved in the interviewing process, I was impressed by their particular styles of coping and interpersonal dynamics, and as a result I decided to use them as the data for my thesis. In many senses they were atypical of the couples in the initial project, and I had chosen them for my pilot work because they were not representative of the North Village population. They were not typical of those living in North Village in that the family situation was one in which the husband was a full time student, the wife worked full time, and they had one child. The two couples were typical of the original thirty in the sense that they were "ordinary" couples, i.e. they had not asked for help (although, of course, couples can be pathological and not ask for help and vice versa).

**Process**

Three aspects of the process of this study are important: 1) the structure of the interviews, 2) my relationship with the couple, and 3) the handling of bias.

The structure of the interviews was open ended. Ini-
tially I informed the couples of the content I wanted to explore, and they were free to structure and order the interviews as they wished. The two couples were interviewed conjointly (husband and wife together) in four and five sessions for a total of about six hours each. I did all of the interviews in the home, in order to simultaneously observe them in their home setting.

In the first interview I restated my purpose and the areas of their lives I wanted to discuss. I told them that all information was confidential, but that this study was to partially fulfill the requirements for my masters degree and would be written as my masters thesis and discussed with several faculty. I also asked for and received their permission to audio-tape our sessions.

In this kind of study, the relationships I developed with the couples would crucially effect the data I would gather. With the couples I viewed my social role as being that of a researcher interviewing and gathering data, and what I said and did hopefully followed from that role definition. With this role clearly in mind, reliability and depth could be achieved. However, I was concerned the couples would feel used by me, that I might somehow hurt them, or that they would gain nothing from the interviews. This fear was alleviated when they indicated they enjoyed having the time together and that at times they used the interview session as an opportunity to learn something new about their spouses.
I tried to understand my emotional involvement with them, and theirs with me. I contrast to Bott's (1957) description of her rather intense involvements with the families she interviewed, I was relatively less involved, keeping to my role of researcher and information gatherer. Because this kind of relationship was new to me, I found my discussions of the interviews with my research advisor helpful in understanding my relationship with the couples. For example, when one couple did not show up for an interview, I felt they were "resisting" and were not interested in the interviewing. However, after discussing this with my advisor, I was able to understand their behavior within their context. Their not being home for the scheduled interview meant that a spontaneous trip home was important to them and took precedence over an interview. They had completely forgotten to cancel our meeting.

The question of bias is a difficult one and that it exists is certain. I handled this issue in three ways. First I tape recorded the sessions in order to have an accurate record of what was said and to minimize omissions, distortions, elaborations, condensations or other modifications. Second, following each session, I reviewed the interview while referring to the interview guide, keeping account of the information shared and of the content still needing to be covered. Finally, I discussed the interviews as to content, direction, and dynamics with my research advisor, which
helped me to keep the process of the interviewing in proper perspective.

Analysis

This study reports a post hoc analysis of data. Because in the course of the interviewing process I became impressed with how effectively these couples seemed to be coping with stressful living conditions, I studied the literature in the field of coping. As a result of integrating the married student literature and the coping literature, I developed the conceptual framework presented in the section describing The Problem, p. 30, which serves as the basis of this post hoc analysis. I found that the analysis of one couple was rich in and of itself and served the purposes of this study--to illustrate how a conceptual framework could be applied to a married student couple coping in a stressful situation; to see how the dimensions of this method interacted; and to determine the potential usefulness of this method as a way of looking at married student families. Given the judgment to analyze one couple, I chose to study the couple which seemed to give more complete data.

In the analysis of the data then, I will first describe the couple's relationship vis-a-vis three dimensions: 1) their style of relationship; 2) how they balanced task-specialization and socio-emotional modes of relating; and 3) the
developmental stage of their relationship. This description will set the stage for a more focused analysis of their coping styles. The analysis of their coping styles as married students living in married student housing will consider four dimensions already outlined in the statement of the problem: 1) First I will describe in detail the nature of the couple's particular stressful situation; 2) I will cite the couple's resources upon which they draw in order to facilitate coping; 3) I will describe the couple's coping style; 4) I will report and evaluate the outcomes of their coping responses.

Disguising material in this kind of study is important. I have followed Bott's policy. That is, I have published material about the couple if it was innocuous, and I published confidential material about the couple if I could disguise it so that the couple could not recognize themselves. Overall, I disguised material so that friends would not recognize the couple, but not so much that data necessary for analysis was eliminated.
CHAPTER IV
ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE CASE

Introduction to the Scott Couple

John and Myra Scott were a young married couple, John and Myra aged 26 and 24, respectively, who had been living in the married student housing project, North Village, for one year at the University of Massachusetts when I met and interviewed them. They had one daughter, thirty months old, and Myra was four months pregnant with her second child. John was a graduate student in the School of Business Administration, and Myra was a registered nurse working full time at a nearby nursing home.

The Scotts had been married five years, having met nine years ago while they were both in high school in a Boston suburb. During the four years they dated each other, John spent three years in the Navy, and completed one year of college; and Myra completed her work to become a registered nurse. In 1966 they were married. The following year John graduated from the two-year community college he was attending, and they moved to Amherst where he had earned a scholarship to a small private college and where he finished his BA degree majoring in History. During these two years Myra worked as an R.N. at a local nursing home. After John graduated from college the Scotts moved to North Carolina where
John entered the graduate program in Political Science at Duke University. After one year there he decided he was more interested in studying Business Administration, applied to various programs, and finally decided to move back to Amherst where he entered the master's program in the School of Business Administration. When I interviewed the Scotts, John had completed one year of work and was expecting to complete his work for his masters degree in the next year.

**Style of Relationship**

Basically the Scotts were a highly task-oriented couple who coordinated their household on a role-sharing basis. Their primary task was John's education, and whatever they did was organized around that goal. They lived in Amherst in order that John could earn his M.S. degree, and Myra worked full time in order to lessen John's work load and to meet their bills. The vast majority of the Scotts' time was spent accomplishing their tasks separate from each other. Working within a role-sharing context was not problematic for them.

J: It never bothered me that she was supporting me. We don't think . . .
M: We don't think of it as supporting, yeah . . .
J: Yeah . . .
M: To have a goal . . .
J: We structure our lives around the education because we want the education.

They shared in the care of their daughter, Eva. Myra would
get her up in the morning and care for her until she went to work at 2:30 P.M., and John would take care of her in the evening. They had shared in Eva's care since she had been born, and they planned to do the same with their second child.

M: We took turns getting up with Eva, and it might well be the same way with the second one.
J: Um, I suppose.
M: Suppose.

While the Scotts revealed a great deal of role-sharing in their home, they also showed task-specialization (as Levinger speaks of it) in the sense that John's job was to earn his degree, and Myra's job was to function as a nurse and to support the family.

In addition to sharing the household tasks, they also shared the socio-emotional tasks of their relationship. Both were willing to discuss their problems and work toward a cooperative solution. For example, Myra found it difficult to be pregnant for several reasons, one of which was she felt particularly unattractive and wanted from John more compliments than he was used to giving. After they were able to discuss this, John was glad to recognize Myra's needs and to meet her needs knowing he was making her feel better.

While the Scotts were primarily task-oriented and role-sharing, they looked forward to a traditional style of relationship. Eventually John planned to be the main provider; Myra would primarily raise the children. Though Myra was
currently the family provider, she had chosen a traditionally female occupation. Atypical for the traditional mode, but typical of a married student couple, they were role-sharing at home; typical of a traditional orientation, they were looking forward to a more role-segregated future when John completed his education and found a job.

Thus, both John and Myra had developed task-specialization outside their home and shared socio-emotional behavior. Levinger and Rossi (cited by Raush, 1974) stress the importance of task-specialization and shared emotional behavior in a cohesive relationship. John and Myra derived a good deal of strength from their highly mutually supportive relationship directly reflecting the depth of their relationship (Levinger, 1973). During our interviews they expressed deep affection for each other on several occasions: Their mutual caring was also reflected in their mutual supportiveness during the interview--e.g. in the discipline of their daughter, in their verbal supportiveness and agreement, their checking out certain topics with each other before discussing them.

J: Well . . . we're married and very much in love with each other and . . . know each other very well.
M: I think we're very happy. We have our problems like everybody else.

This love for each other made their style of relationship viable (Raush, 1974).

As a final orienting topic, I will discuss the stage of
marriage in which John and Myra were functioning. For the most part, they seemed to have dealt with the issues associated with the stage of intimacy, and they were currently facing the challenges of generativity. The Scotts had achieved a mutually satisfactory balance of their needs for closeness to and independence of each other; and they had worked out most of the basic early tasks of marriage (outlined by Raush, 1963) as evidenced by their having resolved issues with regard to sex, the running of their household, their career plans, child bearing plans, eating habits, and to some extent the managing of their money. (The exception was that they had not worked out their relationship with their in-laws.) They had combined their individual ways of communicating into a meaningful style thus permitting them to devise means of resolving conflicts and of making decisions.

Having partially dealt with the issues of intimacy and isolation and the tasks of early marriage, a major growing concern was the development of a family. John and Myra chose to begin our interviews by talking about their family, and they spoke of being emotionally "centered" around their family.

J: ... because like Myra was saying, that's where we're centered.

Expressing strong convictions about the importance of plan-
ning their children, they saw themselves as different from most North Village residents vis-a-vis child planning.

M: Eva was a planned child. Our next one, we're expecting one in March, that's a planned child . . . We plan all our children.

After having two of their own children, they planned to adopt as many children as they could support.

M: . . . with priorities today, you know, one has to think about the other children coming into the world.

Most important to John and Myra was giving Eva enough of their attention.

J: We schedule everything so that she has a maximum amount of attention . . . so she's got a parent with her all the time, and we schedule things around that. We don't want to do too much that would take us away from giving her the amount of attention she should have.

Myra summed up their feelings of responsibility and pleasure they felt toward their daughter and expected child.

M: When you bring a child into the world, that's your responsibility. It's no one else's . . . We're quite happy with them and enjoy them.

Thus, the Scotts were a task-oriented, role-sharing couple who felt deep affection for each other and who were functioning in the adult stage of generativity. Working toward a kind of life they wanted for themselves, both had settled upon an occupational identity.
Given this brief introduction to the Scotts, how can one study their process of coping? I will follow the structure I outlined earlier. That is, I will first explore the character of their stressful situation; second, their contextual resources, e.g., support groups, their relationships, etc.; third, their coping style, i.e., dispositions as individuals and as a couple, their preparation for coping, and coping behaviors. Finally, I will evaluate the outcome of their coping according to whether their undesirable anxieties were relieved, whether they matured, whether their self-esteem was enhanced, what the costs were to them, and whether they established a productive relationship with their environment.

The Stressful Situation

The stressful character of the Scotts' situation was not unlike that of most married students with a child--little time together as a family, little money, cramped space, and problems with their in-laws. Their biggest stress was not having enough time together.

For several years a shortage of time together had been a stress on the Scotts. When they were living in North Carolina, John had to leave for school at 7:00 A.M. and did not come home until 5:00 P.M. At the same time Myra was working the evening shift (3:00-11:00 P.M.) at a nearby nursing home. They felt like they never saw each other. In Amherst a lack
of time was still their biggest problem, however, they saw more of each other in Amherst than they did in North Carolina. Myra expressed their feelings about their lack of time together this way:

M: Most of the things that bother us is a lack of time that we have together. We don't get enough time to sit and talk.

Most married students state that a shortage of time and money are their two major stresses. With respect to the latter, the Scotts expressed mixed feelings. Earning approximately $10,500 per year they did not experience being short of money as a stress. They did not worry about money; however at times they were aggravated by not having more money. They saw their situation in relative terms: it could be worse, and it could be better.

J: I don't think our problems are really financial.
M: Yeah.
J: Because you always, you know, I'm working so hard trying to get something done and I want to go out and buy something and I can't. You know, like she might say to me, "Here I go to work. I work forty hours a week and I kill myself and I have to get up early in the morning to take care of Eva, and if I want to go out and buy myself a new dress, I can't because we don't have the money." But the money isn't really the problem. That's just a symptom or maybe it's a bit of a catalyst. But the real problem is, well, you know, part of it's the thing that you have no control over, and that's the economy in general . . . . We're not exactly living off the fat of the land. We are certainly doing all right, you know. I don't complain about this. It's not a ghetto, and we're not wearing pieces of rags we had to sew to-
gether and the main reason we don't eat a balanced diet is because of our schedule, not because we can't afford it... the main point anyhow is money is just something that aggravates... Money is not something that either one of us worries about.

In addition to a shortage of time, they mentioned two other areas of conflict and tension, the housework and their in-laws. They described their problem with the housework this way:

M: The housework we share.
J: Yeah, and every once in a while we get mad and say, "You know I've come home every day for the last three weeks and the dishes are still in the sink, the rug hasn't been vacuumed," or something like that, "and why can't you do it?" And of course the reply is like "Can't you do it?" And...
M: The housework I think is the biggest thing. But then after a while I've learned...
J: Those arguments tend to come up at times when you most expect them to come up like at the end of the semester when I ignore everything except my daughter and the term paper I'm trying to do. So that she gets stuck with it all.
M: And then, plus not seeing him.
J: Yeah, right. Because as little as we see each other, it's even less at a time like that.

In the Scotts' case the stress vis-a-vis their in-laws arose from Myra's and John's relationship with John's family. Myra disliked the way she felt his family treated John and herself. She felt they treated them as if they were second rate to the other children (John's older brother and younger sister), and that John's older brother, whom she disliked intensely, was treated especially kindly and with great care.
John did not think the situation was as Myra described it. He said his family appeared to be more kind to his brother because his brother had a terrible temper and held grudges for a long time. For that reason no one in his family wanted to stir him up. John did not believe they treated himself and Myra as being second rate. He believed his family felt more comfortable and open with himself and Myra than with other members of the family. John also pointed out that he had been made executor of his mother's will; his grandmother had an especial fondness for Myra; and his mother liked Myra better than she liked John's sister-in-law. So according to John they were better off than Myra thought.

J: My brother is a very, can be a very nasty person, he holds, it he gets mad, he holds a grudge for years and years and years. So nobody wants to offend him because nobody wants to split up the family. Right? Ah, and Myra thinks they ought to be concerned about offending me as they are about offending him. But they're not because they know I don't get mad. But if I do get mad, I don't stay mad. You know, I'm not that type of person. I don't hold a grudge.

M: I just can't understand how they can treat him second rate, you know, this Max, who's the pinnacle and then there's Mary. She's next to the pinnacle, .... And no matter what you do for them, it's still, well there's Max, you know Max, you know.

John insisted that Myra was missing some key facts like his being executor of the will and John's being regarded as the father figure in the family. If his mother or sister had a problem, they would go to John. John explained the reason
his family was such a source of strain between himself and Myra:

J: We fight about it because I know that she knows that she should understand it, and she can analyze it, but she just, she refuses to react intelligently to it. She reacts emotionally.

A final stress mentioned by the Scotts was their cramped apartment space. The only time this became a strain was when they would have liked to entertain a group of people, and there was not enough room. But since they did not do much entertaining anyway, this was not a major source of strain.

So as Christopherson et al. (1960), and Oppelt (1965) found in their studies of married students, I too found a shortage of time, sharing the housework, and in-laws to be sources of stress for John and Myra. However, unlike most married student couples reported in the literature, the Scotts reported mixed feelings as to whether money was a source of stress. Their means of support was typical of married student couples—that is the wife supporting her husband supplemented by the G.I. Bill. Aller (1963) suggests that having adequate finances helps a married student couple to be well adjusted, and it seems to me to the extent money was not a stress on the Scotts this contributed to a smoother running of their family.
Given their stressful situation what were the contextual resources on which the Scotts drew to facilitate their coping? Essentially, they drew on two resources: 1) their marriage, and 2) their connectedness with their several friends and their families.

Their marriage served in many ways as a resource: as mentioned above they had redefined their roles into an efficient role-sharing system which they found functional and satisfactory; they were working toward a common goal; they helped each other to work out problems between themselves; and underlying their mutually supportive relationship, they felt deep love for each other. Myra had been a supportive resource for John in that she had helped and taught John many of the basics of raising their daughter. Myra had always had babies around her as she grew up so she was able to guide John in the care of their daughter.

J: I think I'd be very lost without her guidance on what to do.

Myra had also helped John through the difficult first year and one half of college. John's rational understanding of emotion-laden situations supported her through and helped her to understand situations to which she reacted only emotionally. And as organizer of his family John was a resource—e.g. he coordinated their moves to and from Amherst.
Aside from their marriage, the Scotts did not make much use of support groups in the sense which Caplan (1972) speaks of them. Two conditions may have accounted for this: they did not have time to be with others in that capacity; their own relationship was a tremendous source of support for them. To some extent though, their families and friends did function as support groups for them.

For Myra visiting her family approximately once every six weeks was supportive. She felt especially close to her brother and sister who were near to her in age.

M: And I'd say my sister and I are very close. My older sister and I, we're only two years apart and we were close . . . we're different, but we're close. And my brother and I are close. We're very different. I'd say we're a really close family. We have our arguments and everything, but you know, basically we can talk most anything out.

Beyond this statement, I know nothing of the quality of her relationship with her family; I only know that her being with them was important to her.

Although John did not feel a need to visit their families as frequently as Myra, he felt he was as close to his family as Myra was to hers.

J: I really don't think that she and her family are that much closer than I and my family.

He pointed out that of the members in their families, they (John and Myra) were most inclined to help their families out
in time of need. And of his relationship with his brother, he said that despite all their differences, if either needed something, both would help each other out.

J: We're a lot closer than Myra thinks we are. . . . I agree, it's obvious that my brother and I have a lot of differences. But if he needed my help, do you doubt for a minute that I would help him?
M: Oh, no.
J: . . . and despite the fact that I'm sure you [Myra] doubt for very many minutes that he would help me, you're wrong about that.

Though the Scotts had little time for them, their friends served an important function in their lives. John and Myra reported having casual friends at work and school but did not give any details about these relationships. And within their triangle at North Village, John and Myra were friendly with one couple, the Millers, whom they saw as being in the same situation as themselves, and with whom John spent some of his free time. The Millers were also married with one child; Jeff Miller was a full time graduate student; and Susan Miller worked full time on the evening shift at a local hospital.

J: I spent a lot of time with Jeff. We're both in the same situation. Both our wives work. We both have small children. We spent time together . . . because we have that in common.

The Scotts did not feel they had much in common with the other couples in North Village. John and Myra were older;
they had been married longer; they drew on very different life experiences.

Outside of North Village, the Scotts were friends with three or four couples whom they knew from John's undergraduate days in Amherst. Though these friends were strictly "working types" and according to the Scotts, did not completely understand their situation, they were people with whom John and Myra sat down and discussed issues which were of concern to themselves—e.g. politics, the Viet Nam War, issues surrounding raising their children, etc. They also celebrated holidays together with these friends. So while they did not have much time for them, these friends fulfilled an important role in the Scotts' lives.

Coping Style

Disposition

The Scotts' strong individual ego identities; beliefs, attitudes, and feelings toward school, work, children, their families of origin, each other; their priorities; and the character of their emotional state all represent the dispositions which they brought to a coping situation.

Both John and Myra had realistic self-images. They had a good sense of who they were and what they could do. For example, when John graduated from high school he had dropped from being #15 in his junior year class to being #270 out of
330 students in his senior year. Uninterested in studying then, he knew he was not ready for college, and he decided to look for a job. But unable to find one because he was 1A, he enlisted in the Navy for three years. Several years later John realized when demands at Duke were too much, and he decided to enroll in a more reasonable program for himself in Amherst. Also aware of her capacities, Myra knew she wanted to go to nursing school; that she would like and could manage a family; and that she could support John while he was in school.

From a functional point of view both John and Myra considered John's education most important. Myra had felt very strongly that John go to college, and she played a major role in encouraging him to go to college.

M: . . . 'cause he had all these brains and he wasn't using them.

At first not enthusiastic about going to college, John made a deal with Myra which left his going to college somewhat up to chance. John promised Myra that if the new G.I. Bill was passed, thus making it possible for him to afford college, he would go. The next year the bill was passed and he went. During his first year and one half, John still was not enthusiastic about school; however, soon thereafter he became more involved in his course work and in some extracurricular activities, and he began to enjoy college. In Lee's (1966)
terms, one could say his attitude toward school became positive and appropriate, therefore reducing the stress of school and facilitating coping with academic challenges. In graduate school John seemed to view school very much like a job. This was evidenced by his regular hours, 8:00 A.M.-5:00 P.M., and his attitude and feeling that school life and home life were separate and important aspects of his life. He went to school to work, and came home to have a family life. After John completed college, Myra's attitude toward his being in school changed, and she felt that any further education was strictly John's decision. As far as she was concerned he had gotten the education she thought was important, and now she would support whatever he chose to do.

As for Myra's attitude toward her work, she viewed it as an advantage that she liked her work. She would have preferred to be home raising their daughter. She worked full time because if she worked part time, John would have had to work on a teaching assistantship, which would have interfered with his academic work. As stated before, John and Myra expressed comfort with her supporting him: they were working toward a common goal for which they needed a certain amount of money; and Myra's working was the easiest way for them to achieve their goals.

As already discussed in the stage of marriage section, the Scotts highly valued their children. From what I observed in their home, they were conscientious in their dis-
ciplining of Eva. For example, instead of spanking her when she misbehaved, they made her sit on a chair placed in an inconspicuous corner of the room. This chair was called her "think chair" which they used much like a "time out." One time, when she spit at a neighbor's child, Myra put her on the chair and told her to think about not spitting. After a few minutes, Myra told her she could get off the chair.

John and Myra brought different interpersonal styles to the coping situation. John said that he was not a very sensitive person.

J: I can be fairly dense about things and not know there is a problem.

And Myra recognized she was a defensive and indirect person.

M: Yeah, I'm a very very closed person.
J: I'll probably be able to sense for a couple of days ahead of time that there's something wrong.
M: I'm not the type of person who'll break down and tell you anything.
J: And I'm not sensitive enough to figure out what it is.
M: I've dropped enough hints around the house.
J: So then it takes me a while to pick it up. So it's not until she gets tired enough to let her defenses down that she'll be very blunt about it.

Though the Scotts expressed differences in their interpersonal styles, and needs, this did not prevent them from experiencing and conveying a sense of well being. As already noted, they said on several occasions throughout the inter-
viewing process that they had a good marriage; they felt this was obvious to people who knew them. On the whole, they were satisfied with what they were doing; things were going well for them.

In the light of these attitudes and beliefs, what were the Scotts' priorities? They expressed being "centered" around both their family in a personal/emotional sense, and around John's education in a functional/instrumental sense. John's education was most important in that they scheduled themselves around it. However, if because of any family member's health, they needed a change of climate, they would move. They spent most all their time aside from work, being parents and mates. Friends and other activities were definitely less important.

Preparation for Coping

Given their unique stressful situation, their contextual resources, and the dispositions they brought to challenging situations, how did they prepare for coping--e.g., use of delayed response, use of assistance from others, seeking information and role rehearsal? There were three situations about which they discussed some sort of preparatory behavior. Those were John's initial decision to go to college, their returning to Amherst from North Carolina, and their planning their children.

John had thought that he would go to college some day.
However, he delayed going to college feeling that he really was not ready to pursue academic study. After three years in the Navy, he sought assistance from Myra, his girl friend at the time. She helped prepare him for college. (How she did this beyond encouragement I do not know.) So, in Hartmann's (1958) terms, John withdrew from the external world, academics, which he hoped to join later; gathered strength; and returned to academics with a new competence.

Following John's acceptance in the graduate school of Business Administration, the Scotts prepared themselves to return to Amherst. They established as best they could what their situation would be in Amherst.

M: We knew what to expect when we came . . . about what our time would be like, what school would be like.

J: How much time we'd have together, how much money we'd have to meet the bills with.

M: He knew he could get his old job back . . . . We knew what finances were coming when we came up here.

So knowing the specifics of their living situation before they returned, and having already had a taste of being married graduate students with a child, the Scotts were prepared for their return. By their preparation, they had maximized their chances of coping successfully in Amherst (Mechanic, 1970).

The third instance they discussed at length regarding their preparation, was the planning of their children. They decided they would have their first child when they finan-
cially could afford it, and when they planned their second child, they took four conditions into consideration: 1) their past experience with Eva; 2) the timing of the second child relative to Eva's age and experience; 3) their financial situation; and 4) the amount of living space they had.

They felt they had done a good job raising Eva, and they thought they could also do well by a second child. Relative to Eva's age, they thought it was a good time to have a second child, because if Eva were any younger, she would not be able to cope with another child; if they waited until Eva was older, she would become spoiled. Financially they could afford a second child, because the hospital associated with the nursing home where she worked would pay all the maternity expenses--which included Myra's check-ups and delivery. The income they would lose from Myra's being out of work they would make up in the scholarship John would receive the next year. Although they already filled their two-bedroom apartment, they planned to have their infant sleep in their bedroom, and they they would move him/her out into the hallway when s/he was older. Even though they felt their timing was maximally good, they expected Eva's "nose to be very out of joint" for a while. Thus, they fairly thoroughly planned for their second child. In light of Eshelman's (1967) findings that fewer than one-third of the married students he studied planned their children, the Scotts appeared to be among the minority of married students who plan their children.
Coping Behavior

After preparing for coping how did the Scotts carry out their coping behavior? I will look at their coping behavior in terms of the three dimensions I mentioned earlier: 1) their coping skills; 2) their use of affect; and 3) evidence of their acting on their environment so as to establish a reciprocal relationship with that environment.

Coping skills. The Scotts demonstrated coping skills in three areas: 1) their management of a hard reality, time; 2) a facility in their interpersonal relationships with others and with each other; and 3) effective styles of thinking--e.g., suppression, logical analysis, a tolerance for ambiguity, intellectuality, and displacement. They were also able to establish a balance between flexibility and rigidity.

The hard reality--time. There were heavy time demands on John and Myra, however they had arranged their schedules so that they could meet their mutual and individual responsibilities. They structured their lives around John's education. John worked at school from 8:00 A.M. until noon whether or not he had classes. He then came home for lunch with Myra and Eva from 12:00-1:00 P.M., and then returned to school from 2:00-5:00 P.M., again whether or not he had classes. Myra pointed out that John had a forty-hour week, and John quickly added that some of that time was for
"throwing the bull a little bit." At first John had attempted to work at home in the evening, but he found that after putting Eva to bed and cleaning up the apartment, it was 10:00 P.M. or 10:30 P.M., and he was too tired to begin studying. So he arranged his work so that he would complete it at school. Myra worked the evening shift thus assuring Eva would have a parent with her during the day and in the evening. She left for work at 2:30 P.M. at which time Eva was in bed, and a babysitter stayed with her while she was asleep. John came home at 5:00 P.M., fixed dinner, played a short time with Eva, and then put her to bed. Sometimes John would put Eva to bed late so that Eva would wake up later in the morning thus giving Myra more time to sleep in the morning. Myra returned home from work between 12:00 and 12:30 A.M. at which time John was waiting up for her. They spent an hour together, and then in the morning they began the same routine again, John up at 7:00 A.M. and Myra up usually around 9:00 A.M. As was required of all nurses with whom Myra worked, Myra worked every other Thursday and Friday and every other Saturday and Sunday. This meant that John and Myra had two evenings together and one day every other weekend, because John usually worked at the library one day of the weekend.

J: . . . in the winter the only time we really see each other is that every other weekend that she's off for any extended period of time. You know like I wait up for her at night and and we see each other for about an hour then
before we go to bed, but that's one o'clock in the morning so . . .
M: Yeah, that's the time we have. We spend . . .
an hour a day.
J: A little more than that. I usually come home
for lunch you know. We get an hour there so
. . .
M: Sometimes if he's not too busy . . .
J: Mmmmmm, but more often than none.
M: More often than none he came home for lunch.

Working out viable schedules for themselves while taking into
consideration their belief that at least one parent should be
with their daughter was demanding of their time and energy.

M: Seems that we're working crazy fools!

However, after describing their working schedules John com-
mented:

J: We see each other I think a little more than it
sounds like when you talk about it.
M: Um, hum.

During the times that they did have together they usu-
ally invited friends over or went visiting. And if both John
and Myra had a three day weekend, they usually went to visit
their families in Boston. During John's leisure time, es-
pecially in the summer evenings, he visited with his neigh-
bor, Jeff.

So, like the married student couples Reimer studied as
long ago as 1945 at the University of Wisconsin, the Scotts
needed to follow a carefully worked out schedule in order to
meet their large number of responsibilities. The Scotts
functioned quite effectively within their tight schedules. Aller found that children sometimes forced the separation of mates due to their schedules, and this was also true for the Scotts. However, Aller found this was usually true because baby sitters were too expensive, but in the Scotts' case their child forced their separation, not because baby sitters were too expensive, but because of their belief their daughter should have one parent with her most all the time. Finally like the student fathers Eshelman studied, John worked away from home because he found the activity at home too distracting. In the summer John and Myra had some relief from their schedules and had more time together, because John had less work to do.

Interpersonal skills. The Scotts revealed a social facility with their friends and an effective ability to relate to each other.

A social skill the Scotts used in dealing with new and challenging situations was reaching out and getting to know their neighbors. Though they had little time to spend with them, knowing their neighbors at least casually was important to the Scotts. They initiated within their triangle what came to be called triangle parties, the North Village version of block parties. Initiating these parties came easily to them.

J: We felt we knew so few of the twenty couples right in this triangle. We knew maybe a doz-
en of them, and out of those dozen we knew most of them didn't know each other. So it seemed that it would be a fairly simple thing to do to ask the dozen we knew to come over and ask the others to stop over too.

This kind of initiation of involvement was characteristic of this couple. In North Carolina they had also made a point of meeting as many of their neighbors as they could. It was evident too that the Scotts were comfortable with neighbors dropping by and with Eva's friends coming in and out. Knowing their neighbors seemed to orient and to ground the Scotts within their community which was their home.

In addition to making new friends when they returned to Amherst, the Scotts also looked up their old friends from John's undergraduate days and resumed these friendships.

So as Moor (1972) suggested in his description of married couples' social lives, the Scotts did socialize differently from the usual kind of campus socializing. They socialized with other married students living in their project or with other married friends outside of the University. And typical of other married students their entertaining was informal and inexpensive. Their strategy of coping with their new situation in Amherst followed a pattern noted by Hamburg (1967)--i.e., the making of new friends and the deepening of existing friendships.

Another skill which made up their coping style was their capacity to resolve conflicts between themselves. Their meth-
od was predictable and systematic. According to John and Myra their problems simmered for a while during which time Myra became angrier and angrier, and John sensed something was wrong but did not know what the problem was, even though Myra had dropped hints for several days. Then as John described the situation,

J: One of us eventually gets mad enough to blow up and then we realize that we have to take time to sit down and discuss it . . . . That usually occurs at night when Myra comes home from work and she's sufficiently tired to let her guard down and tell me what's bothering her.

The first night they let off steam, and then the following evenings they are able to discuss the problem.

J: After you get through that first night of letting off steam then you can discuss it intelligently the second night.
M: And then you've had a day to talk, to think it over in your head, what he said and what you said.

This system worked for them. John agreed with Myra when she said,

M: I don't believe there's ever been a time we haven't talked it out.

Style of thinking. Six modes of thinking which reflect the Scotts' coping skills are 1) suppression, 2) logical analysis, 3) intellectuality, 4) tolerance for ambiguity, 5) balance between flexibility and rigidity, and 6) dis-
Both John and Myra needed to use the mechanism of suppression. In order to maintain their high degree of task performance, it was functional for them to avoid certain interpersonal issues. Only when they could stand it no longer did they finally openly recognize the problem and attempt to work it out.

Being intelligent, well-organized people functioning at a high level, John and Myra used logical analysis and intellectuality. Their capacity to logically analyze was evident in their family planning and in their assessment of their situation in North Carolina and consequent decision to return to Amherst. Relative to each other John seemed more prone to use his intellectuality. He seemed more able to analyze the most emotional circumstances intellectually--e.g., his family situation. Following his nearly impartial analysis he was able to figure out the most effective way to cope. Realizing there was nothing he could do to change his family behavior when he was home, he used a type of selective awareness.

J: I sit there, I have no idea what's going on around me. I just tune myself out and that's probably the result of twenty-two years of practice in living with my family.

M: He knows how to cope with it.

J: I cope with it by not dealing with it at all. I just let it go . . . watch the television, read a newspaper, anything. But she doesn't do that. She argues with people over things that are going to upset her . . . Myra doesn't tune herself out very well.
Myra most noticeably used her intellectuality in bringing up her daughter. She was a competent mother, and her past experience with a younger brother and sister gave her knowledge and confidence in this regard. Even in the midst of an emotion-laden discussion with her husband, Myra was able to deal with Eva on her terms and not cloud her response to Eva with her feelings toward her husband.

John and Myra's plans for the future revealed a coping mechanism discussed by Kroeber (1963), tolerance for ambiguity. John was hoping to be a school administrator. A number of communities were beginning new school programs, and because these programs had not existed before, employers could not require experience (as most other jobs would). However, one problem John foresaw was that these programs, which were to be federally funded, had not been allocated funds, and thus communities may not have begun their programs by the time he would need a job. In the event that a position with one of these school programs did not work out, John and Myra said they might move West where they knew county schools needed help. A still less desirable alternative that they considered would be to join the Peace Corps where they could gain good experience. However they did not especially want to take two small children into the Peace Corps. No matter what John's job or where it would take them, they foresaw having more time together.

With regard to Myra's continuing work, John commented,
J: She'll work part time until the children are older.
M: To pay off the kid's college.
J: Yeah.

Thus, John and Myra were able to live and think in terms of "either-or" and "both-and". They did not feel a need to commit themselves to a job when their available alternatives were not clear. Additionally, their plans for the future revealed their future orientation, or in Kroeber's words, they were "pulled toward the future."

The Scotts had established an effective balance between flexibility and rigidity. For example, they were flexible enough so that when the situation in North Carolina became too unpleasant, they were able to take action and to pursue an alternative career. However, they were also rigid enough in the sense that, having determined how they wanted to lead their lives (and a graduate education for John was a part of that determination), they continued to work unswervingly toward that goal. Kahn's (1964) view of balancing flexibility and rigidity is most useful here in contrast to the ego psychologists' point of view which considers only flexibility as being crucial to effective coping.

In addition to coping skills and coping mechanisms, defense mechanisms made up part of Myra's coping style. In contrast to her husband's method of tuning out his family, Myra did not tune out. Placing a high value on involvement no matter how unpleasant, Myra displaced her resultant anger
toward her in-laws onto her husband. John explained the effect of her displacement of her anger on him.

J: The reasons I don't like to call are not because I can't stand my brother, but because I don't want to put up with what's going to happen in my family . . . with Myra and I, distress for a week or two before and after. I don't want that. I don't care. I can go over there and put up with anything for two days. That won't bother me . . . Myra's anger is justified anger . . . . It's just that I don't want to have to listen to it. It's more grief than it's worth.

Viewed in terms of their total functioning, Myra's displacement of her anger was not a major drawback to their overall coping style and general sense of well being. Their visits occurred at the most every six weeks, and thus Myra's anger was predictable and occurred only periodically. Furthermore, this was a subject they had agreed they would not discuss between visits.

Appropriate use of affect. A third important element of coping behavior is the appropriate use of affect. While coping skills, mechanisms and defense mechanisms have to do with instrumental behaviors, cognitive functions, impulse economics, perceptive,apperceptive, and time factors, affect is the feeling, irrational dimension of human experience which accompanies coping skills, mechanisms, and defense mechanisms. I only touched upon this area in my interviewing, but had I developed my conceptual framework, I
would have pursued their use of affect in depth. The information I gained relates to two areas of their functioning: one, their working out of their problems between themselves; and two, Myra's displacing her anger onto John.

In the first case they used their expression of feelings as a means for paving the way for working out their conflict. After tension between them had mounted, and Myra had let John know what was bothering her, the first night they spent "letting off steam." Then, the following evening they were able to discuss their problem "intelligently," and they usually came to a satisfactory conclusion for themselves. In this case their affect was appropriate to the situation and paved the way to more effective coping.

In the second case Myra's affect was inappropriate to the situation. Although her anger was justified, it did not lead to their being able to work out their problem. Instead her angry feelings led to distress and distillationation between her and John.

Evidence of a reciprocal relationship with the community. Though they had little time to become involved in their community, the Scotts did participate in their community in such a way as to establish a reciprocal relationship. That is, they participated in creating their environment to which they would later have to adapt. This reciprocity was expressed in many situations, including activities in the North Village community, John's academic communities (college
and graduate school), and their daughter's school. Additionally, Myra's attitude toward involvement in her community reflected the value she placed on establishing a reciprocal relationship with her environment.

As mentioned above, the Scotts' initiation of the triangle parties established a community of friends and acquaintances for themselves. This sense of community continued, and later others within their triangle initiated triangle parties. Ironically, the Scotts had not attended subsequent parties, because John did not want to go alone, and all the parties had been held on evenings Myra worked.

A practical issue concerning the Scotts was the proposed North Village rent increase. During the time I interviewed them, the University was threatening to raise the rent, and many North Village residents were actively concerned. While the Scotts did not have time to work on the North Village committee to investigate the issues surrounding the proposed rent increase, it was important to them that they attend the North Village tenant meetings where they expressed their opinions about the rent increase.

Joining in activities and participating on committees was relatively new for John. After Myra's encouragement and support, John showed a real capacity to become involved in his school environments. Despite the difficulty he experienced in his freshman year of college, in his second year he became active in extracurricular activities. For example he
was chairman of the Student Judiciary in college. And later, at the University of Massachusetts, he participated on the committee to recruit faculty, and he interviewed prospective faculty members when they visited the University.

J: That's something at least recent in terms of my entire life, not recent in terms of my college career, but I was, ah, what 22, 23 before I joined something you know.

M: And found out that it could be a rewarding experience.

J: Yeah. Extremely rewarding ...

M: ... only because I told him that, "Gee, you know if you join something maybe you'll like it a little better."

J: Yeah, yeah. So, one day when they said they needed people for a certain organization ...

M: Committee ...

J: ... a student judiciary committee I said, "Well, what the heck. I'll go over and see what it's about." And I ended up as the chairman. I mean ... and that's what I say. Once I get into it, I do get into it, and I get very much involved ... But I need prompting to get into it. And Myra is the prompter usually.

M: You know, like he'll say, he'd hem and haw until it was over ... about joining and I'll say, "Go ahead and join or go ahead and do it." And then he'll go ahead and do it and find it's a worthwhile experience ...

Myra had always been an active joiner in her work situation but at the time of the interviews she had little time to join organizations. She had agreed to be on the parents' board of her daughter's nursery school, but we did not discuss what responsibilities were involved.

M: My family were always joiners and active in whatever they did. My parents were in a very small group back home and this is where I pick-
ed it up from. Wherever I went to high school I was on the student council and everything else like that. And I went to nursing school. I was vice president of the student council there and you know, I was very active in programs and things that were going in. I was in the nursing program, the student nurses' association of Massachusetts, and I'd do all that, and he, well right now I'm not active in the nurses association, but I belong.

J: But again it's a question of, you know, they meet in the evening and if you have to work evenings, you can't be active in the organization.

M: You know, they sent me a questionnaire. After I got it I sent back the questionnaire and said no evening would be acceptable. I also feel that my evenings that are so few should be spent with my family. I shouldn't be running out to meetings at this point.

Thus, John and Myra had developed a reciprocal relationship, which they highly valued, with their living and working communities. While they did not actively use these friendships and relationship as resources in their coping process, these relationships provided an important basis for support and accessible resources for the Scotts if they should need them.

Outcome of Coping

There are several possible outcomes of successful coping, among them a general relief of uncomfortable anxiety, maturation, a sense of increased self-esteem, minimal costs to the individual, and the maintaining or strengthening of one's productive relationship with one's environment. Each of these indicators of successful coping was evident in the
Scotts' coping behavior.

John and Myra had relieved and were capable of relieving much of their uncomfortable tension and anxiety. By pursuing a less grueling graduate program in Amherst, they had relieved their distress in North Carolina which had been brought on by overwork and rarely seeing each other. They had accommodated themselves to a shortage of time together by working out efficient schedules, and they could predict when stress vis-a-vis the housework and their in-laws would occur. For the most part they were capable of working out their conflicts by using a systematic method they had developed for resolving their problems.

Myra and John revealed they were maturing in several ways: John was actively preparing himself to take a responsible job in the community; Myra was facilitating this process; and they were conscientiously raising their daughter. Having realistic self-images, they were aware of their capacities and limitations, and they were acting in accordance with their awareness.

The costs were potentially great. They had little time together; they had little feeling of being a family unit in the sense of knowing what it would be like to be together—John, Myra, and Eva, at one time; and they had still less time to socialize and to spend for recreation. But to achieve their goals they were willing to delay these gratifications. The long term benefits they foresaw outweighed
the temporary costs to themselves.

The Scotts expressed a sense of increased self-esteem and pleasure at seeing themselves achieving their goals and being able to run their household efficiently given the many demands on themselves. They were proud of being self-sufficient; they were pleased with how they were raising their daughter; and they were proud of their strong and loving marriage. They reported that their friends too saw them as being successful: their friends frequently asked their advice vis-a-vis going back to school, or into the service, or about handling financial matters.

One area of their relationship that they had not worked out was that having to do with John's in-laws. After fighting about it almost constantly throughout the first year of their marriage,

J: ... we learned there's just no resolution to it ... What we learned is that we don't discuss it and we don't respond to each other when it's brought up, you know, because it's just not worth it. We're not going to resolve anything by arguing about it. We know that. After five years it we are still arguing the same points we argued before we were married ... no solution is forthcoming.

Though the issue of John's in-laws was one area of their relationship which remained unresolved, for the most part the Scotts' coping efforts were successful. The outcome of their coping was a general sense of well being with themselves and with others. And this sense of well being allowed them to
maintain a highly task oriented marriage; and their security with each other gave them a strong base from which to meet the demands of their lives.
CHAPTER V
THE INTERACTIONAL FRAMEWORK

What emerges from this study of married students and coping is a conceptual framework which can be illustrated in the following manner.

Each sub-system feeds into every other sub-system, modifying it, and creating changed and new conditions. There are arguments in the literature about whether successful coping is the result of reduced stress or whether reduced stress is the result of successful coping (Lazarus, 1968). Using this interactional model, both are true. Any modification in one sub-system necessarily affects changes in all sub-systems, and thus the total system. Any study of coping must consider and evaluate all sub-systems. The system of analysis presented
here is a living system which at the least tries to maintain homeostasis, and which works toward adaptive compromise that will allow it to grow and increase its autonomy.
Several questions remain to be answered: how well did the conceptual framework fit the data?; how significant was the interplay of the sub-systems?; and, what hypotheses, suggestions, and questions emerge from this study?

The conceptual framework fit well as a method of analysis of this case study. For the most part the interviews provided more than enough information about each sub-system. Still, had I developed the framework before interviewing the Scotts, I would have asked more specific questions about some areas of their lives. For example, I would have explored the quality of Myra's and John's relationships with their families of origin. I would have clarified what Myra meant when she said she was "close" to her family and what John meant when he said he felt as close to his family as Myra was to hers. Knowledge of the quality of these relationships would add to understanding how their families served as contextual resources for them. Secondly, I would have attempted to understand the nature and quality of their affective expression. Vital to one's functioning, the expression of affect is often overlooked as a part of the coping process, while cognitive functions are explored in depth. Overall, what I learned from the interviews allowed me to use the conceptual framework as a method of analysis.
In addition, the conceptual framework allowed all the information from the interviews to be included. The information applied either to the orienting descriptive analysis or to the conceptual framework. In the six hours of interviewing, I gathered more information than I could use in the body of this thesis; however, the information provided internal validation and a basis from which I could accurately highlight certain behaviors, attitudes, and feelings.

Using this method of analysis forces one to see the importance of interpersonal relationships in the coping process, as opposed to the analysis of the coping processes of each spouse individually. The meshing of John's and Myra's coping styles was crucial to their functioning. That they agreed on issues such as their goals and how to accomplish them, and that she was a "joiner" and functioned as John's "prompter" to join activities, which he later found rewarding, exemplify the importance of the intermeshing of individual styles.

The application of this conceptual framework to a case study underscores the interdependence of the sub-systems. For example, the attitude that John's education was most important in a functional/instrumental sense, and that their family was most important in a personal/emotional sense, combined with their tendency to thoroughly prepare for major changes and decisions lead to several positive outcomes. They were able to predict their stressful situation; they were aware of the
costs to themselves; and they were able to maintain a future orientation. John's and Myra's capacity to suppress their conflicts permitted them to concentrate on their respective tasks, to meet their numerous demands, to maintain a supportive relationship, and to periodically work out conflicts between themselves. All of the above contributed to their general sense of well being. Finally, their ability to keep to a tight schedule indicated they used their energies efficiently, and thus kept the costs to themselves at a minimum while performing at a high level.

Finally, this method of analysis points out that any one behavior cannot be understood as an isolated event: each behavior must be understood within its total context. For example, if one were to look only at John's and Myra's relationship with their in-laws or at the limited amount of time they had together as a couple, one might erroneously conclude that this couple experienced deep interpersonal trouble. But, viewed in terms of their total context, one realizes currently these problems were only of secondary importance to their total functioning. A corollary to the above statement that any one behavior cannot be understood as an isolated event is: any number of single attitudes or behaviors if different would produce a very different outcome. For example, if John had not viewed his work as being a nine to five job, thus taking him away from his family when he was home, this attitude and subsequent behavior could have caused distress be-
tween himself and his wife. Or, if John and Myra had not carefully planned their children, they might have found themselves in a more stressful situation financially, and therefore, emotionally. Thus, one cannot make judgments about the quality of the functioning of a couple on the basis of single problems, attitudes, or behaviors; one must take the total context into consideration.

Several hypotheses are suggested by this study: how married students cope depends upon the unique configuration and interaction of their stressful situation, their coping style, their contextual resources, and the outcomes of their coping behaviors. Malfunctioning in any one sub-system would affect all sub-systems and possibly challenge the system's maintenance of homeostasis and growth toward autonomy. Strengths in sub-systems may or may not make up for what is lacking in other systems.

This study highlights the potential importance of students helping each other informally. The Scotts had five years of experience, and others, less experienced at being married students, asked their advice vis-a-vis everyday matters and major decisions. The Scotts' anticipation of their stressful situation in Amherst had been crucial for them, and perhaps their ability to provide information to less experienced couples may have been important. Information of this kind could be provided in a number of ways: support groups of young, inexperienced married student couples could be formed;
this thesis could be rewritten in the form of a manual and made available to newly married students. It would serve as an example of how one couple coped with the challenges of being married students.

Another issue yet suggested is: married students are forced into a role-sharing situation which bears many of the earmarks of a liberated marriage--e.g. wife and husband share in the housework, wife frequently works, husband and wife share more equally in the caring of their children. This poses the following questions: how do married student couples who consider themselves liberated differ in their style of coping from those married student couples who express and look forward to a traditional future?; how do liberated married student couples change their life style after completing their education?; and, how do the traditionally oriented married student couples make the transition from a role-sharing relationship to a primarily role-segregated relationship? It is possible that some married student couples engaged in a role-sharing relationship and who consider themselves liberated, complete their education, establish a home, and find they are not liberated. And some traditionally oriented married students may find they have grown accustomed to a role-sharing relationship, and, contrary to their expectation, develop and maintain a relationship which is more liberated in nature. How long lasting and all pervasive is the style of relationship which is developed in the first years of a
married student marriage? Raush (1974), Levinger (1973), and Cuber and Harroff (1965) have noted that a couple's style of relationship is developed early and that it persists across the stages of marriage. Does the role-sharing style persist even though being married students is a transitional phase of development and despite the fact students anticipate changes in their style of relationship?
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APPENDIX A
NORTH VILLAGE PROJECT

Occupation, Children and Marriage History

Of the 28 NV couples interviewed so far, all husbands are students, approximately half undergraduates and half graduates. Approximately 1/3 (8) of the wives are students: most (5) of which are undergraduates, and three of which are graduate students. About 2/3 (17 out of the 28) wives are doing some kind of work, while 1/4 of the husbands are working. It is unusual (16.67%) that either the husband or the wife is both working and studying. About half of the couples have one child, about 1/5 have two children, and about 1/4 have no children. (For some couples we don't have this data.) The couples have been married on the average of three years and are mostly in their mid-twenties.

Description of Apartments

The apartments varied in appearance, but in general they were furnished with inexpensive furniture which did not necessarily match. The rooms tended to be neat and clean, but if the couple had one or two children, toys tended to be scattered around. The apartments were not necessarily completely furnished, and the furniture tended to be more practical than aesthetic. Although a few apartments gave the feeling of a home environment, most gave the feeling that it was only a temporary dwelling.

Living Location History

Because NV is generally less expensive than other housing in the area, and because it is close to the University—most of the couples applied for University housing and were placed in NV in late 1970 or early 1971. About 2/3 of the NV residents moved to NV from other housing in Amherst or from housing in surrounding towns. One couple moved in "sight unseen".

Likes

Most couples like living in NV because it is convenient to the University and less expensive than most housing in
Amherst. They find the apartments clean, quiet, and comfortable and like the fact that the apartments are new, one story, carpeted, and each having its own front door. They like the fact the apartments are away from the road so that they don't need to worry about their children playing outside.

They enjoy having other students whom they find friendly and in their same situation (especially financially) living close to them. This closeness also provides lots of children for their children to play with.

Dislikes

Most couples at NV feel they are paying too much for too little. And to make matters worse the rent and security deposit are going to be raised. With the rent so high they dislike not having laundry facilities, a playground, and a central place to meet each other.

In general they feel NV was cheaply constructed. The walls are made of wood. Some complain of poor sound proofing and poor ventilation (there are no screens on the front doors). People can easily break into the apartments.

Most people don't like the fence that was put up between Puffton and NV, and between NV and Presidential Apartments.

A couple of NV residents said they "can't complain because (they) knew what to expect."

How Change

Most people expressed a desire for a laundramat and a playground. Many (6) would like a central building or recreational area where NV people could meet each other and a few suggested a pool and tennis court be built. Many thought a bulletin board would help communication. More patrolling and better maintenance of the grounds were also suggested.

Some NV residents have sent a petition around for a playground and laundramat. One couple expressed a desire to start an action committee which would fight for improvements.

Some (4) NV residents say you can't do anything to change the situation, and see moving out as the only solution to the problem. Most people saw change coming about by somebody else doing it.
Friends at NV, How Met and Meet? Who Know?

Unless they have just moved in, all NV residents know the people who live in their own triangle. They met primarily through their child or dog, through a sharing or aiding incident or through a social event. Common examples are meeting when out walking the baby or dog, when sitting on the porch and saying "Hi"; and when playing frisbee or football. Often the older children got to know other children and then the parents met each other. They have also gotten to know each other by sharing babysitting, the telephone, or anything else a neighbor might need. A few barbeques and picnics have been given for the entire triangle. Some of the wives have gotten to know each other through the Girls NV Club.

Since most of these occasions for meeting occur outside, people tend to meet each other in the spring and summer. Most found it very difficult to meet other residents of NV in the winter.

How Socialize

For this question I have data for less than half of the sample. From the 12 responses I found that NV residents tend to socialize with each other primarily in two ways. Either they may have their neighbors over for the whole evening, or the whole triangle may get together and have a party in the common backyard. However, they don't have much time for socializing because they work and study and have their families to care for.

Attitudes about Meeting Other NV Residents (12 R's only)

There are varying attitudes toward meeting other residents in NV. Most say it is worthwhile and important to get to know other residents whom they see as likeable people who want to be helpful. Others say it is worthwhile to make friends at NV, but they have too little time because they need to study so much. Still others say it's worthwhile to make friends but find it difficult to get close to anyone because people are moving out all the time. A few aren't interested in meeting other NV residents because either they see them as too different or not so friendly.

How Easier to Meet NV Residents

Most residents feel that a common meeting ground such as a recreation area, a pool, a laundry room, or a playground
would make it easier to meet their neighbors. Several people thought that there was no way to make it any easier to meet people in NV. One couple suggested that somebody should have a party.

Selves in Comparison to Others

(Very little data on this as yet.) In general the NV residents see themselves as much like their neighbors in that they have little money, are trying to get through school, need babysitters and are all pressed for time. Some see themselves as liberals, and feel that the majority of NV residents are conservative and not "hip". There is some feeling of difference between the war vets and the non-war vets.

Friends Outside NV

All residents at NV tend to make friends or have friends outside of NV. They have friends where they lived before, e.g., dorms, Colonial Village, Presidential Apartments, Easthampton, Northampton, and Belchertown. They also make friends through their jobs and at school either within their department or in their classes. Only one could said they don't really have friends outside NV; they don't see many people anyway.

From Whom Would You Seek Help

NV residents essentially distinguished two different kinds of help when answering this question--very personal problems either emotional or financial and more immediate simply solved problems. In the first case they said they would go to their families (parents) for money and for some of their personal problems. Also they indicated they would turn to closer, long standing friends whom they knew from their former residences or school. Some said they would consult some kind of counselor either a priest, minister, psychiatrist or PSC for help with personal problems. For the more immediate and simply solved problems they usually said they would go to their NV neighbors for help.

Buy or Sell

Most NV residents said they would put an ad in one of the local newspapers or the Collegian if they wanted to buy or sell something. Many would put up a sign in the local laundry, by the NV garbage bins, or on the Student Union bul-
letin board. Some said they would communicate their need to buy or sell by word of mouth. Many expressed the desire to have a NV bulletin board.

**NV Residents with Real Trouble**

About half of our sample said some or most of the NV couples have money problems and the other half did not know specifically or generally of any couples with problems. One couple thinks that the other NV residents exaggerate their money problems. Some specific financial problems mentioned were: 1) a couple on food stamps and 2) two couples in debt. Other problems mentioned were the couples' marital problems, one man arrested for burglary, one couple with racial problems, and one man with a drinking problem.

**Others Helpful**

When asked if people in NV are helpful 16 said yes. Five of these qualified their yes by saying some are more helpful than others. Five couples said others in NV were not helpful. Of these, two cited a specific exception to the "rule", one had had no occasion for help, and two answers were flat no's. Finally, three couples fell into neither the yes or no categories. Of these, two mentioned only specific people who are helpful and one has had no occasion to find out if people are helpful.

**Examples of How Couples Helpful**

Five couples share babysitting responsibilities and four couples share rides. Three couples mentioned that others give them food and two couples mentioned others serve as an open ear. Other examples were sharing their freezer, and helping each other fix a car or air conditioner.

**What Are People at NV Like?**

Only one answer to the question "What are the people like who live at NV?" The response was: "Really nice."

**NV Residents Who Cause Trouble**

When asked if there are residents who cause more trouble than others, 15 said no. Nine couples cited one or two trouble makers. Four times adults in NV were seen as not taking
good care of their children, e.g., husband who beats his kids and a couple who locks their children out. Other causes of trouble cited only once were noisy, impudent children, a husband who shot holes in the walls, and a couple who takes advantage of the goodwill of others.

Rumors

Twenty-three couples said that rumors exist while only two couples were unaware of any rumors. Seventeen of the 23 couples indicated rumors about the rent, three mentioned rumors about the leases and twice the laundry, burglars, and peeping toms were mentioned. Only three responses were obtained as to how rumors spread and all three were different. One said rumors spread when parents are out with their children; one said they spread through wives' gossip; and one said they spread through the kids' gossip.

Characteristics of Amherst: Vote Here? Home Here?

Twenty-one couples expressed that they like Amherst in general, seven expressed only negative feelings about Amherst, and one couple was neutral. The most common complaint about Amherst was the high prices. Only six of the 21 couples who like Amherst complained about the high prices, while six of the seven couples who dislike Amherst feel prices are too high. In general NV residents like Amherst's college atmosphere, and its small, clean, country and cultural setting. Several feel there is not enough to do in Amherst; the town lives off the students; the rents are too high; and they lack a decent supermarket. Ten couples do not vote in Amherst; six couples do vote in Amherst; and three are undecided. Twelve couples feel Amherst is their home and eight couples feel some place other than Amherst is their home.

Concerns Them Most

The husbands and wives differ in what concerns them most. Of the 29 husbands interviewed 13 expressed concern about their present school situation and five about their future schooling; 10 are concerned about a job either in the present or future; eight are concerned about money, three indicated their families; and two said their wives come first. Of the wives eight expressed concern about school, usually her husband's schooling, nine are concerned about money; five about a job—usually for her husband; eight are concerned about their home; five about their children. One husband and one wife are concerned about politics.
Future

Of the 28 couples interviewed 17 had definite plans for the future, eight had an idea of what they would like and were optimistic but were not specific as to what they would do. Three couples were uncertain about their future and were not so optimistic as the others. In nine cases the husband will work and in six cases the husband will go to graduate school. Eight families plan to have more children; and three couples plan for each of them to work. Of those who are uncertain about their future, one is unsure he will fit into the community and another is unsure his graduate education will be useful.

Conservative vs. Liberal

Although the interviewees were not asked if they were conservative or liberal, 11 couples brought up the issue. Three of these couples did not commit themselves to either one position or the other; three see themselves as "traditional"; one seems themselves as in between and another as conservative hippies going further and further out each year; and another as "liberal."

Decision Making

As far as making decisions 14 couples make decisions together. In four of these 14 couples the husband makes decisions in special cases, e.g., mechanical decisions or money decisions. In nine instances the husband makes the decisions and in two instances the wife makes decisions. In three cases either the husband or wife makes the decision depending on the situation.

Effect of Changing Roles

Seven couples said straight forwardly that the changing roles of men and women have not affected them and that they prefer to live within the traditional framework. Nine couples said that the changing roles have affected them. The effects have been quite different. Two husbands try to get their wives to do something more than just remain at home, although their wives would rather remain solely homemakers. Three couples find it easier to share household tasks. Two couples have difficulty as a result of the changing roles because the wife wants to be more independent and/or to share household chores, and the husband doesn't like this. It was interesting that although only seven couples said they were unaffected
by the changing roles, 15 couples describe themselves maintaining traditional sex role functions.

**Conservative vs. Liberal and Future**

Those 21 couples who made no comment \((18^n)\) or were "traditional" \((3n's)\) have at least some idea about their future, if not definite plans. Of the three who didn't commit themselves, two are uncertain about their futures. Of the three couples who see themselves as relatively liberal, one wants to bum around Europe in the future; one is uncertain about what he'll do; and one is uncertain he'll fit into the community.
# APPENDIX B

## THE EGO MECHANISMS AND THEIR MANIFESTATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Defense</th>
<th>Coping</th>
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<td><strong>1. Discrimination:</strong> Ability to separate idea from feeling, idea from idea, and feeling from feeling.</td>
<td><strong>Objectivity:</strong> the separation of ideas from feelings to achieve an objective evaluation or judgment where situations require this sort of behavior.</td>
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**Isolation:** the severing or keeping apart of ideas that emotionally belong together, the severing or keeping apart of ideas and the affects corresponding to them. 

2. **Detachment:** Ability to let mind roam freely, speculate, analyze, create, without restriction from within or without. 

**Intellectualization:** (a subcategory of isolation) S retreats from the world of impulse and affect to a world principally of words and abstractions. 

3. **Means-End Symbolization:** Ability to analyze causal texture of experience to anticipate outcomes, to entertain alternative choices. 

**Rationalization:** S offers apparently plausible causal content to explain behavior and/or intention, which allows impulse sub rosa gratification but omits crucial aspects of situation or otherwise imprecise. 

4. **Selective Awareness:** 

**Denial:** S refuses to face thoughts, percepts, or feelings that would be painful to acknowledge. Basic for- 

**Logical Analysis:** S is interested in analyzing thoughtfully, carefully and cogently, the causal aspects of situations, personal or otherwise; proceeds systematically in his exposition. 

**Concentration:** S is able to set aside recognizably disturbing, or attractive feelings or thoughts in order to stick to
mula: There is no pain, no danger. As applied to the past, the formula is: it did not happen that painful way at all.

5. Sensitivity: In direct relationships, apprehension of the other's often unexpressed feelings or ideas.

Projection: S unrealistically attributes an objectionable internal tendency to another person or persons in the environment instead of recognizing it as part of himself.

Empathy: S sensitively puts himself in the other fellow's boots; he is able to imagine how the other fellow feels, and experiences this en petite himself. Allows for relationships that take account of feelings of others.

6. Delayed Response: Ability to hold up decision, to time-bind tension due to non-commitment, complexity, or lack of clarity.

Doubt and Indecision: Inability to resolve ambiguity. S doubts the validity to his own perceptions or judgments, is unable to make up his mind, and is unable to commit himself to a course of action. He hopes that problems will solve themselves or that someone will solve them for him. States situations or feelings, then qualifies them to meaningless death.

Tolerance of Ambiguity: Ability to cope with cognitive and affective complexity or dissonance. S is capable of qualified judgments; he is able to think in terms of "both-and," as well as "either-or." S does not need to commit himself to clear-cut choices in complicated situations where choice is impossible.

7. Time Reversal: Ability to replay or recapture experience, feelings, attitudes, ideas of the past.

Regression: S resorts to evasive, wistful, ingratiating, age-inappropriate behavior to avoid responsibility, aggression, and generally unpleasant demands from others and self and to allow concomitant indulgence.

Playfulness: (regression in the service of the ego) S utilizes feeling and ideas that are not directly ordered or required by the practical, immediate elements of the situation and that belong to past experience, to add to his solution of problems, his handling of situations, and his enjoyment of life. He essentially utilizes his preconscious functioning in a rich and
8. **Impulse Diversion**: Ability to modify aim or object of an impulse.

Displacement: S temporarily and unsuccessfully represses unacceptable impulses or affects in relation to their original objects or situations, but these find expression in some other situation. May occur as a temporal displacement or as an object displacement.

9. **Impulse Transformation**: Ability to appropriate some energy from an impulse by disguising it through symbolization as its opposite.

Reaction Formation: a personality change involving transformation of impulses and affects into their opposites, resulting in more or less permanent alteration of behavior with occasional breakthrough of the original impulses.

10. **Impulse Restraint**: Ability to control impulse by inhibiting expression.

Repression: the total inhibition of affect and/or idea. Repressed material is revealed only by symbolic manifestations.

Sublimation: S finds alternate channels and means which are socially accepted, tempered, and satisfying for expression of primitive impulses.

Substitution: the appropriation of energy from primitive impulses in a secure manner so that tempered and domesticated opposites are evident.

Suppression: impulses are held in abeyance and controlled until the proper time and place, with the proper objects.