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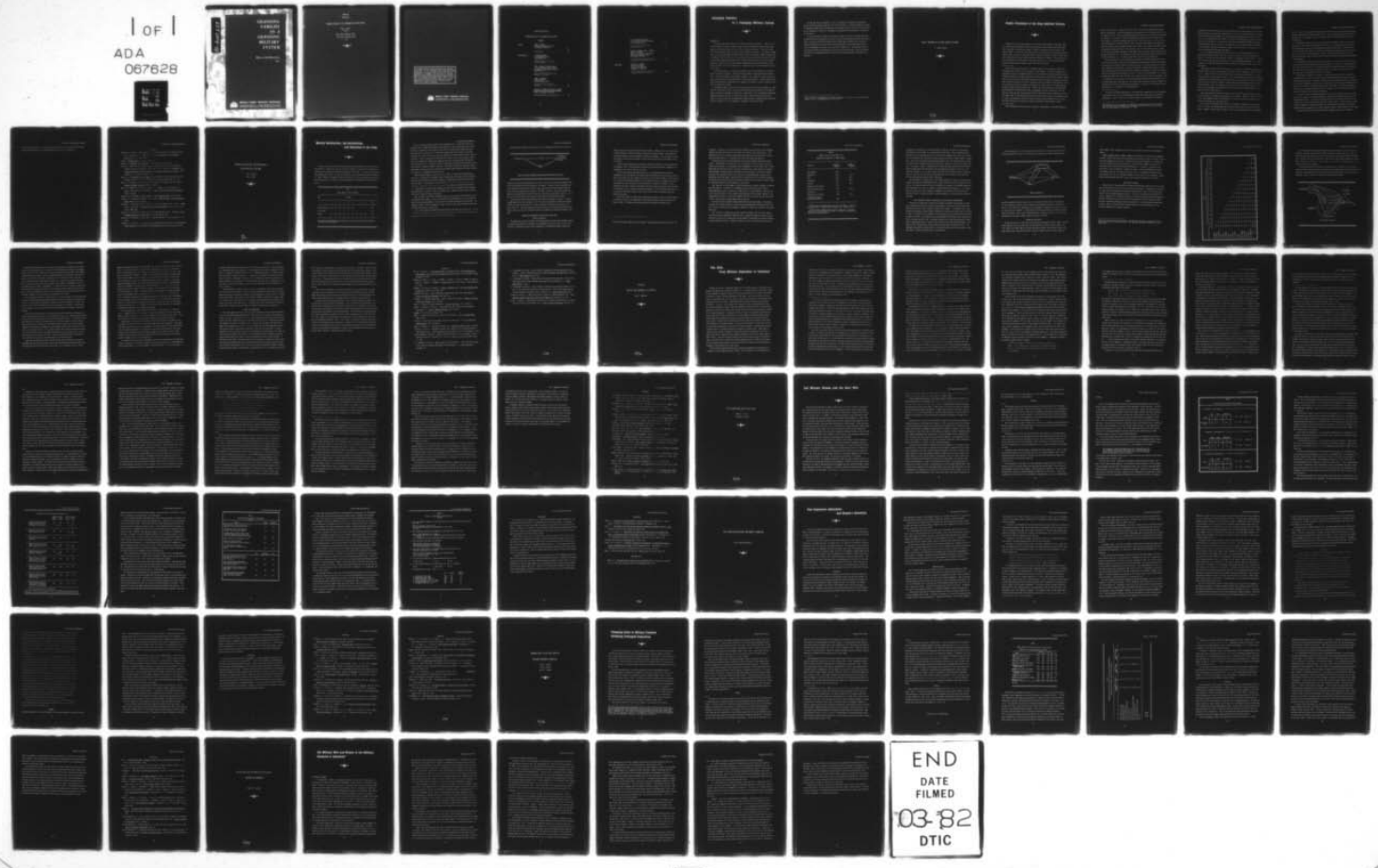

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CHANGING FAMILIES IN A CHANGING MILITARY SYSTEM

EDNA J. HUNTER, Editor

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Military Family Research Conference

Family Studies Branch - Naval Health Research Center
Code 8090, San Diego, CA 92152 (714) 225-7393 Autovon 933-7393

SYMPOSIUM

PROCEEDINGS

CHANGING FAMILIES IN A CHANGING MILITARY SYSTEM

EDNA J. HUNTER
Editor

NAVAL HEALTH RESEARCH CENTER

SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA 92152

1977

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Symposium Proceedings

CHANGING FAMILIES IN A CHANGING MILITARY SYSTEM

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Naval Health Research Center
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Changing Families in a Changing Military System

INTRODUCTION

Military personnel have always felt the impact of numerous transitions -- from civilian to military status, from peace to combat to peace, from one assignment to another, from one geographic area to another, and from active military status to retirement. The military family, too, has experienced the effects of war, mobility, separation, and loss. Only recently, however, has the military system begun to feel the impact of the military family. Whenever sudden dramatic changes or transitions occur, crises may result either for the individual or the institution. At the present time both the military system and the military family are in a period of rapid transition. Perhaps one of the most important changes that has occurred within the military since World War II has been the change from a "single-man's" Army to a married-man's Army, Navy, or Air Force.

A more recent change is the growing acceptance of women service personnel as an integral part of the military structure. With the increasing numbers of women affiliated with the military -- wives of servicemen and servicewomen included -- their importance to the military and their impact upon the military organization increases proportionately -- perhaps even more than proportionately, when the ingredient of the changing role of women in society in general is added to the equation for change.

The papers included as part of this symposium focus on (1) the various pressures and transitions which have been occurring from within and without the military system; (2) the impact of these transitions on individuals, institutions, and policies; and (3) the changing relationships between individuals, families, and the military system. Effects of the transitions now in process will be discussed, and an attempt made to show how events outside the system often adumbrate these effects, e.g., wars, depression, legislation, and court decisions.

The mere fact that this symposium -- the *first* symposium at the American Psychological Association meetings devoted exclusively to the military family -- was even scheduled is evidence of the growing recognition of the importance of the military family within an all-volunteer force and its importance in relation to recruitment, job performance, job satisfaction, and retention in the service.

In the limited space allotted, we can touch but lightly on some of the changes which have already occurred and are presently occurring in the military organization and within the military family, and discuss briefly how these two social systems impact upon each other, resulting in changes in expectations, services offered, and roles performed. These two systems, however, often find themselves in conflict, but in the words of Reuben Hill[1], "Perhaps these two institutions [the military and the family] may yet learn to coexist to achieve a level of collaboration that is more rewarding than what is seen by some as the present state of antagonistic cooperation."

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[1]Hill, R. *Foreword* In McCubbin, H.; Dahl, B.; and Hunter, E. *Families in the military system.* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishing Co., 1976, 11-15.

FAMILY TREATMENT OF THE DRUG ADDICTED VETERAN

M. DUNCAN STANTON

1/2

Family Treatment of the Drug Addicted Veteran

Concomitant with the growing interest in the military family (Goldman, 1976; Segal, Segal, Holz, Norbo, Seeberg and Wubbena, 1976), attention has also been increasingly directed toward family approaches to dealing with problems of soldiers and veterans (Frances and Gale, 1973; Stanton, 1976b). To some extent this change has been a spinoff from the increased attention families have begun to receive in the larger society, along with a mounting interest in family therapeutic modes within the mental health professions (Stanton, 1975; 1976b). In this paper the context and some aspects of this trend as it has been manifested in a clinical research program dealing with drug addicted veterans and their families are discussed.

Military Aspects

What role do family factors play in a soldier's addiction? Obviously early experience or upbringing plays a critical role in the genesis of such problems. In addition, however, one of the strongest cases for a nonphysiological basis for opiate addiction came from the massive urine screenings conducted on servicemen upon their exit from Vietnam in 1971 and 1972 (Stanton, 1976a). Data show that 75-90% of the men who were addicted to heroin in Vietnam had "cleaned up" (detoxified) a few days or weeks prior to their return home (Peck, 1973; Robins, Helzer and Davis, 1975). The screenings were clearly a powerful intervention, and, indeed, 90% of all Vietnam returnees surveyed by Robins (1974) approved of them. Further, 95% of those addicted in Vietnam had not become readdicted 8-12 months after return, a phenomenally high rate of remission. The vast majority of these men were not addicted before their Vietnam tour, and the importance of significant others comes to light when reasons given by the men for detoxification are considered. From all reports, the predominant motive for cleaning up before leaving Southeast Asia was to avoid the stigma, humiliation, and hassle from family and friends of returning home a "junkie."

Veterans and Drugs

After discharge from military service, what then? A good number of servicemen used drugs

heavily in the military -- perhaps for the first time -- and a certain percentage have subsequently continued use. Those unlucky enough to be caught while on active duty paid a price, as, for example, in 1969 - 1970 when 16,000 servicemen were punitively or administratively discharged for drug abuse. The majority (11,000) of those men were ineligible for VA treatment, and all of them were at a serious disadvantage when they later tried to obtain jobs. In late 1971 and 1972 the Department of Defense reversed its policy, and these servicepersons were allowed to apply for review of their discharges; however, such a review is not a particularly swift process, and damage had already been done in many instances. Also, in 1972 the Army revised its drug policy to permit honorable discharges for drug addicts and heavy abusers, usually following some attempt at rehabilitation. The importance of these steps was that drug abuse was being decriminalized and viewed as a *social* problem, rather than a strictly legal or medical one.

For the veteran with a service-connected drug problem, the Veterans Administration (VA) is an obvious place to turn. Of course non-VA programs may be deemed more desirable or convenient in some areas, but discussion here will not deal with these. It should be noted that VA psychiatric treatment has traditionally not been family-oriented. Although some changes are coming about, the VA has generally subscribed to the individual treatment models conventionally applied by most non-VA mental health treatment facilities. Further, a large percentage of its caseload includes older World War I and II veterans, many of whose families of origin are deceased. Thus, it is doubtful that a project such as that described below would have even been possible five, or perhaps even three or four years ago. But times change, and we will describe a program[1] for addicted veterans within a VA setting which highlights *family* factors in the addiction process and requires *family* involvement in the treatment plan.

Family Treatment Program

This family treatment program began in 1974 through the collaboration of the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, the VA Drug Dependence Treatment Center (DDTC) and the University of Pennsylvania. It was, first of all, a research program on the development of new therapy

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[1]The research portion of this paper was supported by the National Institute on Drug Abuse, Grant DA-01119, and was conducted at the Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, 34th Street and Civic Center Boulevard, Philadelphia, Pa. 19104.

techniques and in testing the efficacy of family therapy with VA drug patients. In this report we will deal not so much with the research aspects, as with tne clinical findings and tne treatment techniques which have emerged. The family therapy model employed was primarily a "structural" one, as defined by Minuchin (1974), and involved the therapist being active and maintaining control of the session, using behavioral tasks whenever appropriate, emphasizing symptom change, conceptualizing the structure of the family as a guide to interventions, setting generational boundaries, and focusing on positive change *in* the session and *between* sessions as the route to more permanent improvement and change.

The 45 patients who have been involved to date were all veterans between age 23 and 35, half were black and half white, none with a history of psychosis, and all were addicted to heroin for a period of at least two years. Most were on methadone, at least initially. Thirty-five to forty percent had served in Vietnam and, three fourths were Army veterans. All subjects included in the study had two parents or parent substitutes available and saw at least one of them weekly.

The extent of contact with family of origin (i.e., parents) is an important phenomenon. In 1972 we undertook a survey of these patients and found that 82% of them were in weekly, and 66% in *daily*, contact with at least one of their parents; they either lived at home, or in a downstairs apartment, or just "around the corner." This finding becomes even more striking when one remembers that (a) the average age of these individuals was 27 or 28, and (b) they had been away from home in the service for a minimum of several months and had nonetheless returned to their parents afterward. Thus, the importance of close family-of-origin ties before and after military service was apparent, and we believe that such forces strongly influenced many of them while they were on active duty also.

When we inspected the structure of these families we found descriptions consistent with those of families of drug addicts as described in the literature. Namely, (a) there was usually a very close, dependent mother-son relationship, (b) father was distant and excluded, and (c) 60-70% of the fathers had a drinking problem.

Upon initiation of treatment, the function of the symptom for these families became quite clear. In a sense, the addicted member was serving to keep the family, and particularly the parents, together. When he began to improve or clean up, the parents began to talk of separat-

ing, or a crisis or fight usually occurred. When he got "dirty" again, they rallied 'round and resumed a relation with him (Stanton, 1976c; 1977). Thus, the family system served to maintain the addiction. This pattern is similar to that which Haley (1973) described for families of schizophrenics.

The treatment approach used was a systems type which included all aspects of the drug program, such as drug counseling, methadone, urinalysis, etc. An important aspect was that the family therapists had control over methadone dosages and other medications. Without such control it would have been difficult for therapy to succeed, since these drugs are such a primary part of the reason for seeking treatment. Further, urinalysis results were particularly important because they helped to keep the family abreast of the addict's progress and made change a tangible event.

It has become increasingly clear that family treatment must first deal with the triad composed of addict and both parents before proceeding further. If this step is skipped, therapy will falter and possibly fail. In some cases,especially with married patients, we started with the marital pair and found that the treatment process only served to stress or dissolve the marriage; thus, the addict ended up back with his parent.

Approximately one month into treatment, we could pretty much predict that some kind of crisis would occur. As soon as the family system started changing, great anxiety was aroused and disequalibrium ensued. Frequently, it revolved around an attempt by the addict to detoxify. At such times the therapist was called upon to expend great time and energy through phone calls, home visits, or whatever, to help the family through this period. The therapist attempted to stop the cycle or repetitive pattern and alter its outcome. Such crises, then, became the harbingers of effective family change and improvement.

As of April 1976 we have completed follow-ups after one to 12 months (average four months) on 15 cases. Twelve of the families completed the required ten treatment sessions, and a few required more than ten. At the time of follow-up thirteen of the 15 cases (87%) were free of illegal drugs, and ten of the patients (67%) were either working or in school fulltime. These results are dramatically better than outcomes for a matched group of patients that received methadone and drug counseling, but no family treatment (Stanton, 1976c; Stanton and Todd, 1976).

We believe the family-oriented approach shows tremendous promise for the reduction or

elimination of drug addiction. *The implications for dealing with similar and related types of* family and mental health problems faced by veterans and servicemen seem obvious.

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MARITAL SATISFACTION, JOB SATISFACTION, AND RETENTION IN THE ARMY

JOHN C. WOELFEL

JOEL M. SAVELL

9/10

Marital Satisfaction, Job Satisfaction, and Retention in the Army

Problems of the Army family have received relatively little attention in past military research efforts. Possibly one reason for the lack of research on the Army family has been the relatively small percentage of married Army personnel in past years. In 1952 only 36 percent of Army personnel were married. By 1963 only 43 percent of Army personnel were married (Bennett et al., 1974). However, by November 1975 more than half (57.2) of all Army personnel were married. The percentages married for officer and enlisted paygrades for November 1975 are presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

PERCENT MARRIED IN US ARMY, BY PAYGRADE*

RANK	PAYGRADE									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Total
Commissioned Officer	40.6	60.5	83.7	91.0	92.8	95.2	-	-	-	81.2
Warrant officer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	90.2
Enlisted	14.1	20.2	25.4	43.3	71.3	86.2	91.6	93.8	95.4	53.1

*Data obtained from MILPERCEN Master Tape File November, 1975. Data were not available for General officers, or for Warrant officers by paygrade.

The fact that many soldiers now have family responsibilities, in addition to their Army responsibilities, suggests that promotion and maintenance of family harmony among Army families should act to promote job satisfaction and high levels of job performance among the soldiers from these families. Bennett et al. (1974) have suggested that family harmony is positively associated with a desire to remain in the Army. However, while this proposition seems intuitively obvious, it has not received sufficient empirical testing. There is some evidence, however, that family problems are related to both AWOL and desertion from the Army (Bell and Houston, 1976; Hartnagel, 1974). In addition, several family-related variables have been shown to affect the intention of soldiers to remain in the Army. Among these variables are frequency of permanent change of station (PCS) moves, separation from family, medical benefits, and wives' opinions of the Army (U. S. Department of the Army, 1971b).

Although studies suggest that family life is a factor in certain Army attitudes and behavior (e.g., retention and delinquency), there is apparently no evidence that family harmony is related to job satisfaction or to the performance of routine duties required by the soldiers' specialty (MOS). A second question we are raising is: *What aspects of Army life actually produce family disharmony or promote family harmony?* This question has received some attention (U. S. Department of the Army, 1969; Vineberg and Taylor, 1972), and several factors have been delineated which are related to family functioning, such as medical and dental care, separation from family, frequent PCS moves, and housing.

One limitation of the studies completed to date is that they have used forced-choice items to determine family problems. That is, they presented the respondents with a list of areas of Army life and asked respondents to rate these areas as either satisfying or dissatisfying. This technique, however, restricts responses to areas of Army life which have been specifically identified as satisfying or dissatisfying.

Still a third question concerning Army families which this paper will focus on is: *How does the simultaneous experience of living both within the context of the Army and the context of the family affect a soldier's job performance and job satisfaction?*

These questions regarding the Army family are first represented pictorially (see Figure 1).

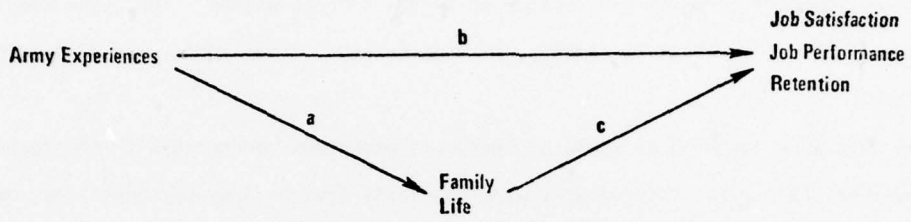

FIGURE 1.--PICTORAL REPRESENTATION OF QUESTIONS REGARDING ARMY FAMILIES

Essentially, question one addresses path (c), shown in Figure 1, the relationship between family life and satisfaction with and performance of Army duties. Question 2 seeks to determine path (a) by identifying the particular aspects of Army experience which have perceptible impact on family life and by measuring the strength of the impact. Question 3 looks at the interaction effects of Army experience and family life on job satisfaction and performance (paths a x c), as well as the direct effect of Army experience on satisfaction and performance (path b).

First, we shall provide some preliminary data bearing on the model in Figure 1. The data presented here derive from two studies. The first study was designed to identify those aspects of Army life which soldiers report are either satisfying or dissatisfying to them vis-a-vis their family life. The second study was designed to measure the relationships among Army experiences, marital satisfaction, satisfaction with military duties, and intention to remain in the Army.

METHOD FOR DETERMINING SATISFYING AND DISSATISFYING ASPECTS OF ARMY LIFE

The sample for this study consisted of 116 Army personnel who were either currently married or previously married while in the Army. The respondents were from Fort Lewis, Fort Dix, and Fort Polk. An attempt was made to select respondents to include equal numbers of males and

females, officers and enlisted, and whites and non-whites. However, due to the limited number of married females at these installations, particularly non-white females, we were unable to obtain equal numbers of males and females or whites and non-whites. Thus, the sample actually consisted of 77 males versus 35 females, 72 white versus 42 non-white, and 63 officers versus 53 enlisted.[1]

The data were gathered by means of personal interviews conducted with the respondents during September, 1975. The interviewers were specially trained Army personnel, matched to the respondents on the basis of rank, sex, and race.

The interview schedule consisted of three parts: (a) open-ended section requiring respondents to name any problems of advantages they believed the Army held for them in terms of their relationships with their spouses and in terms of raising their children (if they had any); (b) a request that respondents comment on certain aspects of Army life, suggested in previous literature, which they believed to be eitehr disruptive or beneficial to family life (e.g., separation from family, PCS moves, recreational facilities, medical and dental care, and financial benefits); and (c) a section which asked respondents to list the three most beneficial and the three most detrimental aspects of Army life, in terms of their relationship with their spouses and children.

The 10 areas of Army life which the respondents most frequently listed as either beneficial or disruptive to family life, based upon the open-ended questions from the first study, are shown in Table 2. The MOS-related factors were the most frequently mentioned area of

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[1]Due to missing data, number of males and females, and whites and non-whites do not total 116.

disruption. The majority of complaints about MOS centered around duty hours, with respondents reporting that their hours were too long, and/or too irregular, and/or too uncertain. They frequently claimed that problems centering around duty hours either prevented them from making plans with their families, or interrupted plans which had already been scheduled.

Separation from family and PCS moves were the next most frequently mentioned disruptive factors. Interestingly, one person saw *benefits* to separation. He felt that his separation from his wife afforded *her* the opportunity to be independent, a trait he valued in her. Results showed that PCS moves were listed as disruptive and beneficial by equal numbers of respondents. Some respondents listed PCS moves as both beneficial and disruptive. The principal benefits attached to PCS moves were the ability to travel and see new geographical locations and the opportunity to meet new people, particularly those of different social and ethnic backgrounds. The primary liability accruing from PCS moves was reported to be the disruption caused to spouse and children by uprooting them and moving to a new location.

The single most satisfying aspect of the Army experience (in terms of frequency of endorsement) was financial. The majority of respondents who were satisfied with the financial aspect named factors such as job security, number and size of fringe benefits, and/or base pay as the satisfying portions of the financial conditions derived from the Army. However, a few respondents were dissatisfied with their financial condition in the Army, and their two primary financial concerns were declining benefits and low base pay.

The area of housing, viewed as both good and bad by almost equal numbers of respondents, included lack of on-post facilities, lack of privacy associated with on-port housing, the high cost of off-post housing, and the inadequacy of BAQ (basic allowance for quarters) to help defer these costs.

The five factors, mandatory social events, medical and dental care, child care, recreational facilities and treatment of females by males, received some mention as dissatisfying or disruptive to family life, although less than ten percent of the sample felt adversely affected by these problems (See Table 2). Medical and dental care was also listed by almost half the

TABLE 2

ASPECTS OF ARMY LIFE BELIEVED TO BE

DISRUPTIVE OR BENEFICIAL TO FAMILY HARMONY

Variable	% Disruptive (N=116)	% Beneficial (N=116)
MOS-related[a]	59.5	
Separation	50.9	0.9
PCS	25.9	24.1
Financial[b]	11.2	62.9
Housing	11.2	10.3
Mandatory social events	9.5	
Medical and Dental care	6.9	44.8
Child care	4.3	
Recreational facilities	2.6	9.5
Treatment of females by the opposite sex	2.6	

[a]This category included comments such as "extra duties," needless or meaningless work," "uncertain work schedule," and "long duty hours."

[b]This category included responses such as "base pay," "retirement benefits," "PX and commissary privileges," "benefits," "job security," and "economic considerations."

respondents (44.8 percent) as a satisfying aspect of Army life, and over half (62.9 percent) perceived the financial aspect as a satisfying part of Army life. Specific complaints about Army health care included long waits (up to four hours) for emergency and regular care, insensitivity of the medical staff to patient problems, and the elimination of dental benefits to dependents. Many of the satisfying and dissatisfying aspects of Army life uncovered here are similar to those obtained in previous research, and thus, offer a measure of reliability for these findings. For example, a 1969 U. S. Department of the Army study found both officers and enlisted personnel named separations from family as the most dissatisfying aspect of Army life. With regard to PCS moves, a *Ladycom* (1973) study of military wives also found a split in opinion; 62 percent of the wives said that the best thing about Army life was mobility, while 38 percent said that moving was the primary stress on marriages.

Concerning medical and dental care, a 1972 study concluded that "actions in the health care category rank among the top MVA/VOLAR actions in terms of impact on overall attitudes and on retention. The retention impact of action in the Health Care category is considerably greater for married personnel than for single personnel" (Systems Development Corporation). A U.S. Department of the Army study (1971a) identified inadequate or non-existent child care facilities a deterrent to wives of military personnel in seeking employment to relieve financial pressures on the family.

ARMY EXPERIENCES, MARITAL SATISFACTION, JOB SATISFACTION, AND RETENTION

Although the preceding data illuminate the problems and benefits Army personnel see accruing to them and their families from their Army experience, the data do not show to what extent these Army experiences actually promote or disrupt family harmony. To accomplish this, a questionnaire was designed to assess soldiers' experiences in the same ten areas of Army life listed in Table 2, in addition to an assessment of job satisfaction, marital satisfaction, and intention to remain in the Army. The questionnaire was administered to 215 soldiers at Fort Hood and Fort Riley in February and March, 1976. The sample consisted of 112 males and 100 females†, of whom 83 were commissioned officers, 14 were warrant officers, and 117 were enlisted personnal. With regard to race, 158 were white, 35 black, and 15 were from other racial/ethnic origins. All respondents were either currently married, or had previously been married at some point in their Army Career. [†Totals do not add up due to missing data.]

The data gathered by this effort allowed further opportunity to provide some specification of the model presented in Figure 1, and the testing of a second (see Figure 2) which presents

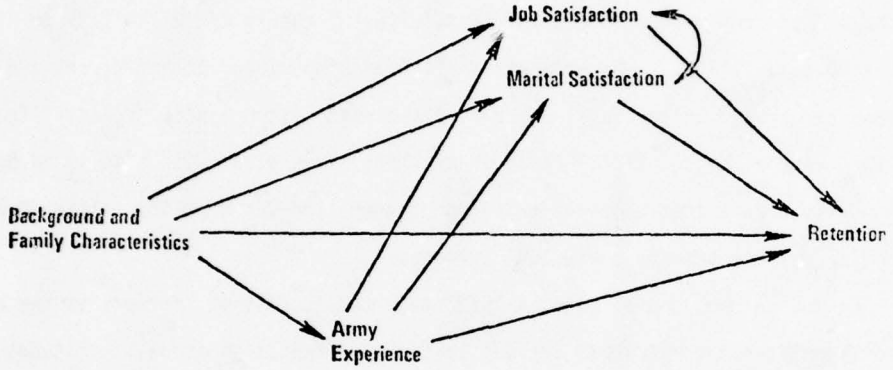

FIGURE 2.-BASIC MODEL

selected background and family characteristics in relations to their effect on the serviceperson's Army experience, marital and job satisfaction, and intention to remain in the military service. In the model, Army experiences are also depicted as influencing job satisfaction, marital satisfaction, and retention. Job and marital satisfaction, moreover, are shown as being related to one another, with no causal ordering predicted. Both these variables, job and marital satisfaction, are posited to affect intention to remain in the Army.

VARIABLES IN THE MODEL

We shall not discuss in detail how each variable was operationally defined. Rather, we shall merely enumerate the various background, and Army experience variables, which included: sex, rank, length of marriage, number of children, MOS-related factors, hours worked per week, knowledge of duty hours, separation from family, PCS moves, economic factors, housing, mandatory

social events, medical and dental care, child care, recreational facilities, and treatment of females.

Before proceeding further, however, perhaps we should define the three primary endogenous variables: marital satisfaction, job satisfaction, and intention to remain in the Army. Marital satisfaction (MARSAT) was the sum of a 7-item scale obtained from Campbell et al. (1975), with low scores reflecting low marital satisfaction. Job satisfaction (JOBSAT) was the sum of 11 items comprising the Military Work Role Scale (Bauer et al., in press). Low scores on this scale reflect low job satisfaction. Intention to remain in the Army (RETENTION) was scored 1, if respondent planned to leave Army after current tour; 2, if respondent planned to stay at least one more tour; and 3, if respondent planned to stay in the Army until retirement. Respondents who were undecided about their future career plans were excluded from the analysis.

SOLUTIONS TO THE MODEL

Theoretically, all the potentially satisfying and dissatisfying aspects of Army life can be seen as being related to marital and job satisfaction and retention. Arguments can also be made for linking the four demographic and background characteristics to each of the Army experience variables and the primary endogenous variables. In order to delineate the more important variables, a stepwise multiple regression analysis was performed to estimate each of the experience variables (excluding child care and recreation)[2], regressed on the four background variables, and each of the primary endogenous variables regressed on all of the background and experience variables. Table 3 presents the means, standard deviations, and intercorrelations of the variables subjected to the stepwise regression.

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[2]Child care was excluded from the analysis since fewer than 100 persons expressed an opinion about the quality of child care facilities. The recreation scale was excluded due to its low reliability.

TABLE 3

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND INTERCORRELATIONS OF THE VARIABLES IN THE STEPWISE REGRESSION

	y_1	y_2	y_3	x_1	x_2	x_3	x_4	x_5	x_6	x_7	x_8	x_9	x_{10}	x_{11}	x_{12}	x_{13}	x_{16}
y_1 MARSAT	-																
y_2 JOBSAT	.10	-															
y_3 RETENTION	.05	.40	-														
x_1 SEX	-.04	.07	-.35	-													
x_2 RANK	-.12	-.20	-.23	.02	-												
x_3 YRSMARR	-.00	.05	.40	-.43	-.10	-											
x_4 #CHIL	-.02	.10	.35	-.42	-.01	.48	-										
x_5 PMOS	.17	.20	.21	.21	-.04	.11	.07	-									
x_6 #HOURS	.11	.07	.32	.43	-.10	.22	.32	.00	-								
x_7 KNOWHRS	.02	.19	.20	.22	-.28	.07	-.11	.21	-.17	-							
x_8 SEP	-.10	-.16	-.08	.03	.07	-.03	-.10	-.07	.06	.12	-						
x_9 PCS	-.06	-.07	.04	-.21	-.07	.17	.05	-.06	.09	.01	.31	-					
x_{10} ECONOMIC	.13	.21	.13	.01	-.15	.09	.05	.11	-.04	.24	-.13	-.15	-				
x_{11} HOUSING	.07	.22	.08	.11	-.08	-.06	-.06	.00	-.09	.04	-.10	-.05	.17	-			
x_{12} SOCIAL	-.01	-.10	-.26	.17	.60	-.16	-.15	-.05	-.10	-.22	.04	-.08	.09	-.01	-		
x_{13} HEALTH	.10	.21	.04	.14	-.07	-.07	-.15	.02	-.18	.27	-.06	-.00	.11	.17	-.01	-	
x_{16} TREATOPPSEX	-.14	-.18	-.28	.43	.30	-.16	-.30	-.00	-.13	.12	-.01	-.02	.02	-.02	.17	-.02	-
Mean	19.30	25.01	.86	.42	1.05	2.67	1.18	.61	4.21	.90	.53	.31	1.88	2.61	5.45	2.05	.66
sd	4.46	9.48	.86	.50	.96	1.40	1.19	.49	1.69	.72	.57	.34	.77	.98	2.36	.72	1.06

In order to estimate the equations, complete data were required on all variables in the equations; therefore, 80 cases were eliminated, reducing the sample size to 135. Thus, the sample for this model consisted of 78 males and 57 females, and included 59 commissioned officers, 10 warrant officers, and 66 enlisted. With regard to racial/ethnic composition, 106 were white, 17 black, and 12 were from other racial/ethnic backgrounds. The median number of years married was the 3-6 year category.

The variables which were significant in each equation at or below the .10 level were retained, and the resulting equations were estimated using standard path analytic techniques. The variables in these equations which were insignificant were then deleted, and the equations re-estimated. Figure 3 contains the significant paths among the variables.

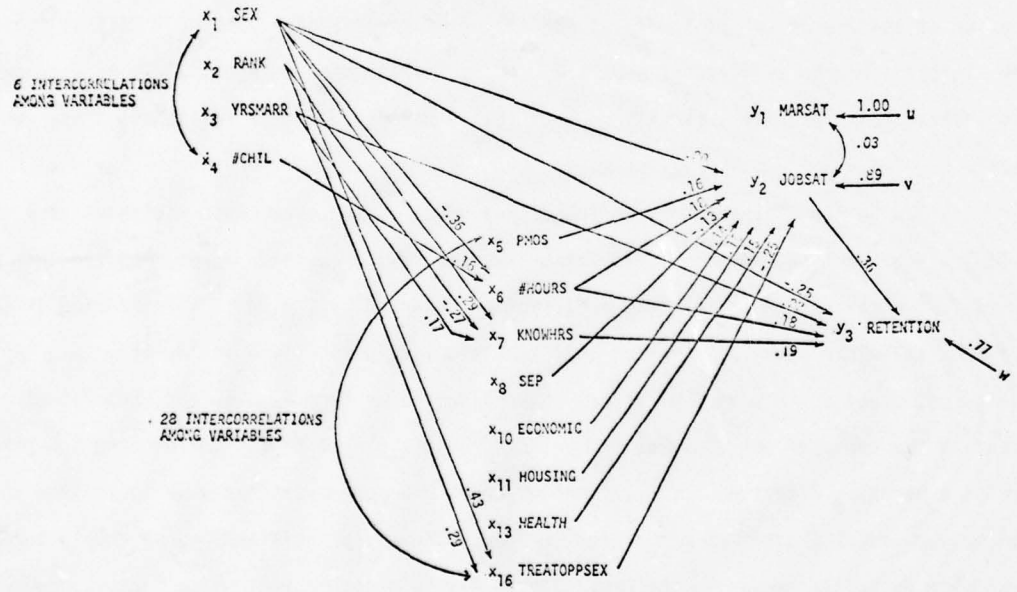

FIGURE 3.--SOLUTION TO PATH MODEL

Note which variables were totally eliminated - the PCS moves and mandatory social events. A glance at the correlation matrix in Table 3 shows that mandatory social events were strongly related to rank (r= .60), indicating that officers, more than enlisted personnel, feel pressure to attend these social events. However, required attendance at these functions does not perceptibly alter marital satisfaction, job satisfaction, or intention to remain in the Army. It may seem surprising that PCS moves were eliminated, but it should be recalled that PCS moves were listed as both satisfying and dissatisfying by equal numbers of respondents in the first study mentioned in this report. Consequently, it is possible that if we divided our sample into those who enjoy PCS moves and those who dislike PCS moves, PCS moves might have a positive impact on the primary endogenous variables for the former group and a negative impact for the latter group. However, our limited sample size precluded such an analysis.

Of more importance than the excluded variables is the fact that none of the Army experience variables or background variables exhibited any impact (positive or negative) on marital satisfaction, or at least upon the respondents' perception of marital satisfaction. Marital satisfaction, in turn, had no significant impact on job satisfaction or retention. These findings were in contrast to our prior expectations that family harmony would be related to those two variables.

Turning now to job satisfaction, we found that seven of the experience variables were related to job satisfaction, as well as to one background variable, sex. Women reported they were more satisfied with their jobs than the satisfaction reported by the men. This finding is somewhat paradoxical since women also report they are less likely to remain in the Army than men. Women also perceived a great deal of verbal abuse directed at them by men, and, this abusive treatment by the opposite sex appeared to be the strongest single factor influencing job satisfaction in a negative direction. Thus, although women are more satisfied with their jobs than men, perceived verbal abuse from men seemed to reduce their job satisfaction, which, in turn, reduced their desire to remain in the Army. There may be other factors which cause women to leave the Army more so than men, and these factors will be discussed later.

Among the Army experience variables, two MOS-related factors affected job satisfaction. Respondents who were actually working in their primary MOS were more satisfied with their jobs than those who were not working in their primary MOS. Also, the number of hours a soldier

worked was positively related to job satisfaction -- the more hours worked, the higher the satisfaction. The fact that soldiers who work in their primary MOS are more satisfied with their jobs is not surprising, since, in most cases, the job they hoped to perform in the Army is the job they were specially trained for. However, it was unexpected to find that those who worked longer hours were more satisfied with their jobs, since findings from Study 1 indicated that long work hours were a cause of dissatisfaction among the soldiers. However, it may be that those servicemembers who work longer hours are more committed to the Army. We had intended to operationalize #HOURS as the number of hours the respondent was *required* to be on duty. Our speculation was that the longer a person is required to work, the more dissatisfaction there will be toward the job. However, in measuring #HOURS, we may actually have tapped the number of hours the respondents were on duty both *involuntarily and voluntarily*. If this was the case, it could mean that those working longer hours per week, by and large, were those doing so by choice, perhaps to improve their standing in the Army. It is also possible that job satisfaction is a causal factor with respect to number of hours worked, with those who enjoy their jobs putting in more hours. In any event, since we cannot be sure that #HOURS has the meaning we intended, we cannot accurately interpret path $P_{y_2 x_6}$.

Two of the experience variables which influenced job satisfaction were of a financial nature -- economic index and housing quality. These relationships are consistent with common sense, as well as with evidence from national surveys of job satisfaction (Weaver, 1974). Thus job satisfaction is positively related to one's satisfaction with income and housing.

Medical care is also related to job satisfaction and could perhaps be considered an economic benefit of Army life since it is free to Army personnel and their dependents. Separations from family, too, are related to job satisfaction. The combined effect of these eight variables on job satisfaction accounted for 21 percent of the variance in job satisfaction. Job satisfaction was also found to have a strong effect on retention, as predicted. Nichols (1971), Schreiber and Holz (1973), and Waters and Roach (1973) also found job satisfaction related to positive intention to remain at a particular job.

In addition to job satisfaction, two background variables and two experience variables were related to retention. The background variables are sex and years married. As noted before, men exhibit higher levels of intention to remain in the Army than women. It is not surprising to

find women expressing more reluctance to remain in the Army since the Army is still an organization dominated by males and an organization in which women do not ordinarily receive equal treatment; e.g., women are prohibited from taking part in combat-related duties. In addition, women perceive that their chances for promotion in the Army are significantly less than the promotion chances for men (U.S. Department of the Army, 1974). Although years married is positively related to retention, the correlation is probably spurious; the coefficient is probably due to the fact that years married and retention are both related to the number of years the soldier has been in the Army.

The Army experience variables related to retention are knowledge of duty hours and number of hours worked per week. Although it was expected that knowledge of duty hours would be related to retention indirectly through job satisfaction, the variable appears to exert all of its influence directly on retention. Hours worked is also related to retention, although in a direction opposite. However, this relationship may be confounded by the relationship of hours worked to commitment to the Army, as mentioned earlier. Altogether, we are able to account for 41 percent of the variance in retention, with the single most important factor being job satisfaction.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report presented the results from two studies designed to provide a better understanding of the relationships among Army experience, family life, job satisfaction, and intention to remain in the Army. The results from the first study indicated several areas of Army life which soldiers say impact either positively or negatively on their family life. Among these variables were separation from family, frequent PCS moves, financial rewards, health care, and housing. However, when we examined those areas of Army life further, we found those experiences were not significantly related to the soldiers' perceptions of their marital satisfaction. We cannot completely rule out the possibility that the Army experience does affect family life in some way, since we have only looked at one indicator of family harmony, marital satisfaction. Moreover, neither have we looked at the impact of the Army experience on children of Army personnel. A third point we must make is that we have measured only the soldiers' perception of their marital satisfaction; the findings might have differed had we measured their spouses' marital satisfaction, and then related spouses' marital satisfaction to the Army experience variables. Certainly, soldiers and their spouses are differentially affected by Army life. The soldiers have military

duties which may, in some measure, take their minds off problems in the home. They also spend a large segment of time with other soldiers with whom they can relax and discuss problems. Such interaction may act to alleviate some of the tension which the Army experience produces in their families. Many spouses of Army personnel, on the other hand, do not have jobs, and may not have close friends. If the spouses are not able to occupy their time with outside activities, they may tend to spend more time reflecting on their family situation and the effect the Army has upon it, which could lead to a strong relationship between the Army experience and marital satisfaction.

A final point to be made here is that data collection for this study took place in peacetime whereas many prior studies of the Army family have been conducted during war. With the added threat of death during wartime, we could speculate that many of the Army experience variables examined would have more of a disruptive effect on the family during time of war.

Not only was marital satisfaction unrelated to any of the Army experience variables, it was also unrelated to job satisfaction and retention. Our initial speculation that marital satisfaction would be related to job satisfaction and retention, then, is unsupported. Nor has the proposition that family harmony is related to job performance been proved, since we have measured job satisfaction and retention, but not job performance. Job satisfaction and job performance have indeed, been shown to be related in certain studies (Greenwood and Soar, 1973; Katzell et al., 1961); however, this relationship has not been found in other investigations (Kahn, 1960; Martin, 1969; Rosen and McCallum, 1962). In the present investigation we used only one type indicator of family harmony, marital satisfaction. Although marital satisfaction was found to be unrelated to job satisfaction and retention, selected Army experience variables did demonstrate effects on job satisfaction and retention, and job satisfaction emerged as the single most important factor in soldiers' intentions to remain in the Army.

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THE WIFE:

FROM MILITARY DEPENDENT TO FEMINIST?

LYNNE R. DOBROFSKY

The Wife:
From Military Dependent to Feminist?

Although the military is undergoing changes, the all volunteer services, affirmative action, opening the academies and occupations to women, etc., it currently remains a closed social system. The most apparent and important feature of the military organization is its formal stratification system which is almost exclusively defined by social status. The military is primarily structured as a combination caste and class system. A dual caste system exists with the higher caste representing the officers corps or commissioned officers and the subordinate caste being the enlisted men. In form, if not in content, this preserves a feudal orientation where military service was determined by ascribed status that equated blood lines with ability to lead and perpetuated the divine right of kings. With ascribed status and caste being ideologically distasteful to institutionalization in a democratic society, the dual caste system has provided various escape valves which provide for recognition of a select number of enlisted to become officers and gentlemen and a technologically sound but culturally biased entry screening system that favors "equally" those who have internalized the society's goals and had access to the institutionalized means for obtaining the goals. Within each caste system, the military has provided for continuous upward mobility as each private envisions the power of a sergeant major and each lieutenant yearns to ultimately see gold bars replaced by glistening stars. Upward mobility within the class structure is generally assured with longivity and conformity to the rules of conduct with officers subjected to more stringent evaluations in the form of fitness reports and modes of entry. The caste of officers being an elitist stratification system is idealized by either a Christmas tree or pyramid which provides occupancy for only a select few at the apex. The enlisted caste and the officers caste closely parallel the working class and professional/managerial classes respectively in open society.

Military status (rank) defines the social structure and determines the identity and consciousness of military members and their families. One's occupational role of administrator,

physician, or pilot is not as structurally salient as is one's rank of captain. Rank consciousness exists as a homogeneous military experience as it shapes all aspects of a member's life and, contrary to the wishes of some, his/her family's life; the sharp separation of work and home represented in most civilian cases is just not true of the military (Montalvo, 1976:153). In the civilian community, members occupy many roles while in the military, there are only two primary roles: warrior and warrior's wife. Occupational roles represent primary tasks and status represents task level. This is evidenced by the military belief that officers, in particular, can be moved from combat to administration to training tasks without undergoing extensive occupational training. While rank consciousness plays a more meaningful role among the officer ranks, it also has meaning to enlisted personnel as well.

The Military Man - His Status

It is into this system that the male enters the military structure at which time he is assigned his military caste and initial class membership in the form of a particular status. These status assignments, extraneous to the individual, require those who join the military to surrender their previous civilian roles and status identity to their newly assigned position in the system if they wish to advance. In the military, we find it is the rank, not the man, which is saluted; G.I. becomes government issue; an officer is by act of Congress, a gentleman. The military social structure, based almost entirely on this system of rank, becomes analogous to a father surrogate whose authority is symbolized in family name (military rank), in the role of provider (economic, social, medical, educational, religious, recreational services, etc.), in disciplinarian (fitness reports, discharge, or promotion), as socializing parent (training in rules of conduct, both occupational and social), etc.

Until the all-volunteer military, we find the services being peopled by young males who are on the brink of entering the adult world of independence, self reliance, and competition, primarily enlisting or being drafted in the military womb or family before fully confronting the insecurities of an open system. This route brings many unmarried or newly married youth to supply the enlisted man caste while the officer corps draws on young adults generally college educated and newly married and full of aspirations. The newly married military man brings to the service an equally inexperienced bride and she must be a duly licensed bride because the military does not tolerate alternative family living arrangements. Initially conforming to the low status of

her husband, the military wife will be minimally recognized by the military, authorizing her minimal privileges and maintaining her in a category similar to camp follower. The minimal recognition is a result of the military structure preferring single men during their initial institutional baptism. It is generally not until re-enlistment when the male and the military affirm their commitment to each other that, as a reward, the military wife is allowed to become a full participating member of the military community.

The Military Wife - Her Status as Dependent

Upon his entry, the man becomes the property of the military structure and for the military wife, entry into this social structure is by extension of her husband. She becomes a member of the structure through an ascribed role and organizational status - as a military "dependent." She occupies the role of a military wife and, at the same time, she becomes Mrs. NCO or Mrs. Lieutenant or Mrs. Field Grade. Once again we see the feudal form where the wife's status is determined by husband, and the Lord always has a Lady.

The military wife has no official independent status as a person nor as a member of the military; she neither enlists with her husband (except in rare cases), nor signs a contract, nor makes agreements. She is, however, issued an I.D. card, she does travel on military orders and aircraft, and she does acquire a series of officially-defined privileges associated with military life and differentiated by rank. She is marginal in that she is recognized as an associate member of the military structure "sponsored" by her husband while at the same time, she must relinquish most of her autonomy and identity with the overall social structure of civilian society.

The military gives the dependent wife training in her role and status the same as it trains its own member, the military man/woman. Each is instructed in rules of conduct and etiquette for on and off base activity which vary according to time of day and type of function. Wives learn appropriate protocol at social functions (as do the men) ranging from who may first leave a party (senior officers) to instructions regarding in what person one should address a superior, how to reciprocate invitations, thank junior or senior wives for planning affairs, etc. The location and size of one's assigned living quarters also corresponds to the man's rank and marital status (Little, 1971:252) and carries with it certain living and entertaining expectations and requirements which the military wife appropriately learns to observe. Even her privileges carry with them sets of expected behavior: no curlers in the P.X., no jeans in the clubs,

etc. The lists of do's and don't's which characterize the role and status of the military wife are printed and made available so that individual behavior is rarely, if ever, left completely up to the woman to determine (Gross, 1969; Gross & Fondren, 1970; Gross, 1974). These rules of conduct not only reinforce the military structure but the dominance of the individual military commander over the military wife as rules of conduct for her vary and change within the commander's preferential limits from base to base. On Okinawa, long legs become an issue as a commander sets the length of the female dependents' shorts; in Thailand, dirty feet become an issue as the rules of conduct require hose with sandals and unisex becomes an issue in Germany as pant outfits become *verboten*.

Like her husband, the military wife becomes socialized by the rank hierarchy into her own auxiliary role. Most of the socialization which she experiences is, of course, directly linked to her husband's rank and gets translated in terms of his job, his promotion, and his opportunities. Conformity to her role in accordance with her husband's rank is her burden of responsibility; a wife (or a child) who does not appropriately conform threatens the stability and upward mobility of her husband; it is likely that he'll be transferred if the military defines her conduct as unaccepable. There is an Army saying that "a wife can't necessarily make you, but she sure as hell can break you" (King, 1972: 114). Since it is the wife, then, who is taught that she is responsible for her husband's promotion, tenure, etc. (which ultimately exists as a belief system to which husbands of all ranks seem to subscribe) like her husband, she also becomes controlled by the military but primarily through operationalization of guilt. She is made to believe, as she is responsible for her husband's career, that her trespassing will result in his punishment. The military rarely interferes directly with the military wife except to deny her access to a club or facility, but depends on the angry husband, who is transferred or denied promotion, to discipline or take care of the embarrassing wife. She can neither be court martialed nor demoted in status since she has no official status or membership - dependents are formally and legally outside the chain of command.

> *"In some ways I think the military is too interested in the wife or a member. I do not think that my actions should be my husband's responsibility. I am quite capable of taking responsibility for my own actions on or off base."*

This comment, made by a woman in response to her perception of the role of military wife, while perhaps in the minority, reflects how the military perceives wives in relation to their husband's careers.

The Military Wife - Her Role as Unpaid Laborer

Through effectively using guilt as a means of controlling the wife, the military is able to use the wife to promote, preserve, and serve its own needs in a variety of ways. As such, the wife becomes unpaid labor for the system:

> *"When you marry a military man and they stamp you 'dependent,' they aren't kidding. You stand behind your man unless needed for voluntary work or social events. It is definitely time for a change."*

But basically, socialization within the military is successful and only occasionally challenged. For example, of 4500 military wives from all the services, Doodeman (1974:8) found that even though 35.6% responded 'often' and 56.4% responded 'sometimes' to the question, "Do you think military life puts extra pressures on a marriage?", 53.7% "felt that military life is terrific with many benefits for a family," and 17.5% considered it "easier than civilian life." The contradiction is obvious - the unquestioned acceptance that the military, which puts extra pressure on the marriage, benefits the family significantly reflects the effective internalization of the value system.

However "terrific" or "easy" military life is reported to be, it is not without special responsibilities demanded of military wives. Her responsibilities increase as her husband progresses through the ranks and, as she increases the chances of a successful career for her husband (Gross, 1969:1), she correspondingly increases her service as a volunteer to the military structure and military community at large. Little (1971:256) reported that officers' wives tend to be more active in the military community than the member, and Finlayson (1976:32) found that among Army wives, "volunteer work is seen as a responsibility commensurate with the wife's status ...". Their volunteer participation in the military community contributes to its preservation if not to its dependence - who depends on whom? The military wife serves the military as a volunteer because she is expected to do so (see Finlayson, 1976:31-41 for a discussion of volunteer service on and off base, by education, rank, etc.).

In addition to a myriad of volunteer services expected and required (the higher up she

goes) of the military wife, her domestic responsibilities and marital obligations increase at various times, particularly during husband/father absences when she is required to perform a dual parental role. Insofar as her own workload increases as a consequent of being in the military, she additionally works for the military as an instrument of maintaining the appropriate form of military family life.

By putting her husband's -- and therefore the military's -- needs before her own, the military wife provides the system with an enormous amount of unpaid and unseen labor. By heading the household when he is gone, she frees her husband from familial worries and concerns, thereby increasing his level of job performance and morale than would be possible if military husbands and fathers had to also worry about their families. By single-handedly overseeing the numerous domestic hassles and responsibilities of packing and re-packing inherent in transfers (even though moving services may be provided), she further releases her husband from domestic burdens which, in turn, enables the military to exact work commitments from him *as if* he were single and without the concerns of a married, family man. That transfers are a concern of life (Little, 1971:266) is revealed in Doodeman's findings that 38.6% had moved more than 7 times, and 29.4% had moved 3, 4, or 5 times, (1974:8). By requiring the participation of female companionship at all formal social activities for officers, for example, wives are used to promote and legitimate certain military functions. For senior command officers, the ceremonial role of the wife is an essential component of the occupational role of the military man (Little, 1971:251-251) and can be seen as still another way in which the wife is being used both to insure her husband's attendance and participation and to preserve these military affairs.

The rigid stress on the formalization of the role of military *wife* and the assignment to her of the status of *dependent* requiring a sponsor would be oppressive to her civilian married sisters. What could be more sexist than identifying a women exclusively in terms of her dependent status as wife and as an individual who must be sponsored, the perpetuation of an archiac system where the women was first the property of her father and second, the property of her husband? The military epitomizes sexism by minimizing or eliminating a woman's *personal* identity, as well as restricting growth, development, and independence by virtue of the onerous marital and domestic responsibilities with which she is saddled: household head and legal representative in husband's absence, manager of numerous national and international transfers, mandatory social

escort, husband's career support, family sustainer, etc. (On the other hand, the military mentality regarding the military wife can be considered progressive rather than oppressive if it is remembered that in the not so distant past, permission to marry had to be obtained from one's commander!)

The Military Wife -- As Non-Feminist

It would appear that as a result of being used and controlled by a social system whose only concern is her husband's performance and a system to which she only has associate membership, the military wife would be the most likely candidate to join or support the feminist movement. Research, however, shows that the feminist movement has had little impact on the military wife regardless of the expectations and requirements that she subsume her identity to a social structure chosen by her husband (see Dobrofsky & Batterson, 1976, in press).

Although a few researchers (Finlayson, 1976:24; McCubbin, Dahl, & Hunter, 1976:305,317) refer to the women's liberation movement in terms of a parallel social movement which may (*should* is implied) be supportive to military wives in accepting the idea of self-worth and status independent of husband's rank and reinforcing their independence *and personal growth* necessarily exercised during husband's absences, my own study of 162 air force wives conducted at a major midwestern air force base, sought to discover what, if any, impact feminism has had on this female population. And while the data has been discussed elsewhere (Dobrofsky & Batterson, 1976), it was discovered that the women's movement presently reflects minimum salience in the lives of military wives. The survey responses and comments reflect a minority of pro-feminists. The outstanding exception is the "equal pay for equal work' principle but, as such, it can not be taken to mean feminist support.

Consistent with the profile of women who are active and/or committed feminists (Freeman, 1975) we found that "wives of military officers appear to be both more familiar with and/or more in agreement with the general ideology of feminism than are wives of enlisted personnel" and that feminism is more compatible with the personal goals of officers' wives than of enlisted men's wives. This is not surprising because of the higher level of education and the officer status and, correspondingly, his wife's status which would be characteristic of the first two waves of the feminist movement, middle class and professional. Though awareness shows a reflection of the socio-economic characteristics of her civilian sister, the military wife obviously does not recognize her civilian counterpart as a reference group and does not, therefore, respond in similar

ways.

Hypothetically removing any and all possible constraints felt by being in the military still found that 64.8% of the respondents reported that they would not be more interested in the women's movement if their husbands were not in the military. However, this reflects more of their commitment to the military than a non-feminist position since we discovered that at career midpoint and near retirement, a significant number of the women being confronted with the potential of the "real world" are more responsible and supportive of the feminist movement.

Because of the numerous military functions and services required of the wife and because the military is a male homosocial world (Lipman-Blumen, 1976:16), the woman who is married to a man in the military lives a relatively isolated life. Military life is very separate from civilian life, a separation which is maintained by rules of conduct, general isolation, and architectural conformity of bases, high rates of mobility and internal military functions and services. The constant moving successfully prevents both military personnel and wives from establishing roots in any civilian community and in turn, reinforces physical and social isolation from most but other military families and wives who can fully identify with and be expected to support and understand the idiosyncracies of military life. Furthermore, rather than mellowing the insulated nature of military community life, transfer from military community to military community reinforces the separation between military and civilian life since even though families move a great deal, they never really leave the military environment. The familiar post-World War II California-style stucco box house characterizes much military housing both on and near military installations (see Hall, 1974). Moving for the military from California to Japan to Texas to Germany would be equivalent for the civilian counterpart to moving from house to house in the same project.

Because of this relative community insulation (Little, 1971 :260), adult socialization within the military takes on an institutionalized nature which is rarely threatened by outsiders or even challenged from within since alternative patterns of thought and behavior either don't apply and are therefore dismissed or are incorporated because they are compatible or seen as solutions to internal problems. For example, the military ignored race relations for almost a decade after it had ripped society apart and only introduced race relations seminars when it became an internal military problem. Those military members or wives who attempt to introduce ideas, programs, or lifestyles which are considered inappropriate are themselves threatened rather

than posing a threat to the system and must either conform or run the risk of transfer, discharge, or being passed over for promotion. It probably should be noted, however, that military socialization is and assume, because of the turmoil in civilian society and the mass media coverage, that they either have or will have a problem and attempt early prevention. Some bases have introduced consciousness raising for women and one can only wonder if this misperception and definition of a non-existent problem may result in the self-fulfilling prophecy.

The military wife is thus isolated from other women in other roles and other positions (Dobrofsky & Batterson, 1976). She is isolated from women in the women's movement and she is isolated from ordinary recruitment means. Furthermore, because she can rarely work for extended periods of time (promise of transfer), she is denied situations which might expand her own economic base and political awareness. Succinctly, military wives are prevented from seeing, knowing, and interacting with other women whose struggles, work, and lives are not immediately or situationally relevant to them because of the unique world which they inhabit.

But, it is not strictly the physical isolation which, for military wives, reduces an enlightened vision or an appreciation for other women. Nor is it the military community insulation from civilian life combined with the predominantly male-administered and supported social structure of the military. A critical feature suggesting partial explanation for the minimal impact of feminism on military wives is the unusual supportive network of community life in the military which is designed *for* the military wife and her children, for the military family. In contrast to Belt & Sweney (1973) who recommend that the air force pay more attention to the military wife, military wives inhabit a world of guaranteed provisions ranging from commissary, P.X/B.X. services to social, psychological, medical, religious, educational, recreational and other internal support systems - even her religious advisor wears not only the cross or the star, but a uniform - and all one has to do for entitlement is be a military dependent. In fact, the extent to which special services exist can be measured by the availability of abortion services to the military wife long before the January, 1972 Supreme Court decision made abortions legal for civilian women. Here again we recognize the 'marginal' status of the military wife in as much as abortion services and access to alcoholic beverages find her free of the laws of the state yet legally outside of the military's chain of command. She is not only isolated from civilians but to a large degree, the political or governmental restraints to which they are subjected.

School desegregation, poverty, crime, taxes and public services impact only minimally on the military wife. That this is a significant factor readily acknowledged by wives is best illustrated in this voluntary response of a military wife to the inquiry regarding dependent status.

> *"I would be interested to know how other wives feel about the term 'dependent.' I cannot find it objectionable because my use of military facilities such as the hospitals, PX, recreational spots, etc. is 'dependent' upon my husband's affiliation with the A.F. As civilians, we would not be entitled to their use."*

Confirmation of the actual use of military services is found in Doodeman's (1974) data: 99% of the respondents reported shopping for groceries at the commissary.

Ironically, then, the common feminist attack on male-dominated systems for excluding women from opportunities and participation finds that the military is an unusual and strange exception! What other male-dominated system provides women with such elaborate systemic opportunities for involvement and community provisions and relies so heavily upon their required participation than the military? The fact is that military wives *are* treated as an *integral* part of the military system.

Partial exceptions can be found outside the military in the case of the wife of some corporate executives who may have some status through her husband's position but this is limited only to that group of corporate executives with whom her husband works and not with the community at large. Except in specialized situations, the corporate executive's wife is denied access to opportunities and/or positions in the larger society which would give her independent identity and status. Unlike the corporate wife, the military wife has status in her community, the total military community, and she rarely must confront the day-to-day drive for status and individual identity her non-military sisters must confront. As her husband progresses upwardly in the military, so does she. One author described this process as "... the conformity-conscious rank-climbers and their wives who were constantly trying to impress the batallion commander and his wife" (King, 1972:19). But, unlike the corporate wife, the military wife's status *is* recognized for it is a real status with definite rights and privileges within the military community ("she wears his rank more than he does"). Her upward mobility increases with his; strangely, it is not merely a symbolic status; it functions as an actual status for her. As a result, the military wife does not suffer the non-identity or alienation that characterizes other non-military women.

Fifty-one percent of those who responded, responded negatively when asked whether or not the military should *officially* recognize a wife's interests, career, and job opportunities when making change of station assignments. Thus, the relative deprivation concept whereby one sees and feels an obvious discrepancy between what one has and what exists simply does not apply for the majority of military wives. The military wife does not feel excluded because of sex nor does she feel discriminated against: 35% of those who replied in the negative to the personal significance of the women's movement also stated that there is no need for the movement while another 12% respectively volunteered traditional responses that they have always felt equal, both alone and with their husbands, and that they are happy being a wife and a mother.

The Military Wife -- As Potential Feminist

The discussion thus far has identified the military wife in her unique world which, at first glance, could appear to some as a better alternative than civilian status or liberation. That she is used by and for the military and compensated with multiple and available services for her and her family regardless of her non-membership status has also been discussed. But a closer analysis of her ambiguous status serves to spotlight the potential conflict between feminism and the military if and/or when the military wife recognizes that she has no real status in either the civilian or military world.

It has been pointed out that the woman married to a military man is a dependent's dependent. It has also been pointed out that it is through this extension that she not only shares in her husband's status but through her marital relation to him and therefore to his rank, she assumes her own 'rank' appropriate to her marital wife status. However, as a wife, she is not independent in the military and as a military wife, she is not independent in civilian society.

It has been argued that the military wife is institutionally socialized and isolated and because of this, the military is able to exercise effective social control over her through guilt in terms of her husband's career - the only real hold the military has over her. Because her socialization in the military is bolstered by such a convenient and completely supportive service system (privileges, access, etc.), discrimination is not perceived of by sex but rather by husband's status; competition with males is non-existent in a system which is subjectively defined as a male occupational system, and roots are established and re-established but only in similar military environments.

To date, this design has worked effectively in insulating the military family from various social phenomenon and from threatening alternative family life styles (single parent families, co-habitation, serial monogamy, communal living, etc.). If the divorce rate is any reflection, for example, the military has prided itself on reporting low rates of divorce proportionate to the high divorce rate in the population at large, and Williams (1976) attributes this factor to the very characteristics which set the military apart as a unique social system -- shared values, norms, and beliefs, homogeneous experiences, the integrated (and responsible) role of the wife in the marriage and in the family, marital stability from concentrating resources on upwardly mobile husbands, etc.

But there are various reasons to believe that even with the continuation of "the service is your family" orientation (Little, 1971:266) and all which that implies, the military will not be able to maintain the shield which screens its community from various civilian influences. A minority of military wives are already identifying with feminism (see letter, "Dear Sisters") and other movements like the Gay Rights movement are directly relating to homosexual cases, issues, and legal proceedings involving the military (Williams &Weinberg, 1971). The changes in the military membership itself, with more women, minorities, and even some married military couples, will necessarily create a differentiated relationship between the military and military families and between the military and civilian societies. Daily newspapers are full of articles reporting these events and changes.

It appears that the very mechanisms of social control which the military has successfully employed regarding the military wife (guilt, responsibility for husband's career, etc.) are those which feminism promises to threaten the most. The women's movement certainly gives new and different meanings to those very obligations which have heretofore bound the military wife to her husband's career, his rank, and to the military itself as it reinterprets the independence and self confidence required of military wives and as it provides an alternate legitimation of a woman's separate identity and status.

The contradiction revealed in Doodeman's data (1974:11) regarding the reasons why military life puts extra pressures on a marriage found that 33.8% reported "frequent moves" and 69.3% reported "frequent family separations" also found that 56.2% of the same sample reported that the best thing about military life is "that it provides a chance to travel and live in many areas" -

a contradiction which will have to explode with increased feminist awareness. The rank consciousness which has basically shaped the role and status of the military wife is bound to be replaced by women's individual consciousnesses and personal growth as Finlayson (1976) and McCubbin, et. al (1976) have hinted, especially *if* the present minority of feminist military wives swells into a significant number.

The evidence (Dobrofsky & Batterson, 1976) that officers' wives are the most feminist prone is important in this context for two reasons: officers' wives are most socio-economically and educationally like non-military women who are feminists. Also, officers' wives, having the highest status among military wives, serve as an example to younger wives, in addition to having a degree of power and authority over them. It may very well be that among the very ranks that promote, legitimate, and sustain the military hierarchy and rank consciousness exists the greatest potential for feminism to enter the military to a significant degree. The eye opening realization of no status may trigger a separate wave of feminism among military wives.

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THE MILITARY WOMAN AND THE NAVY WIFE

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45/46

The Military Woman and the Navy Wife

Since August 1972 when Admiral Zumwalt signed Z-Gram 116, the role of women in the Navy has been rapidly expanding and their numbers have grown from approximately 5,000 to almost 20,000. This change may be having a far-reaching impact on the military family, though one can only speculate on its exact nature. For example, as military men encounter more and more women as peers, certain stereotypes may come under challenge. If Navy women perform competently in "male" jobs, men in traditional marriages may reevaluate certain of their assumptions about appropriate roles for women and move toward a more egalitarian relationship with their spouses. On the other hand, if the military ceases to function as a "cult of masculinity" or escape from women, other husbands may reassert power in their homes. Thus, just as contact with ethnic minorities reduces the prejudice of some individuals while reinforcing the negative feelings of others, so the transition of women into the previously all-male domains of the military will have differential effects upon the men with whom they come in contact, and indirectly, upon the family.

An obvious result of increased utilization of women in the military will be the growing influence of their male spouses as dependents. Both military programs for dependents and social traditions will be affected, and the strength of the military as a distinctive subculture will be weakened. The assumption that a service member has a spouse willing to serve in a support role, providing the continuity in the family and nurturing Navy social traditions, will no longer be tenable. Dual career families will decrease tolerance for the mobility demanded by the military, while pressure by families for services, such as day care for children, will increase.

Reactions of wives to the attempted integration of women into other previously all-male professions may forecast problems the military will experience. The New York City Policemen's Wives Association, for example, demonstrated against policewomen, who they claimed were unable to physically defend their partners in an emergency. In addition, some wives reluctantly confessed problems of jealousy to an interviewer: "[*My husband, in a patrol car,*] *would be sitting with a*

woman for eight hours. [They] talk about personal things, I'm sure. He's not with me that long talking about personal things, and I would resent it" (Sherr, 1975).

A group of Merchant Marine wives in San Diego recently complained that the presence of a female crew member on their husbands' tug, *"living in close proximity with our men and in the confinement that this particular type of work requires,"* threatened their homes and marriages (San Diego Evening Tribune, June 1976). Firemen's wives in various cities have also protested against the training of women firefighters. A common concern voiced by these wives' groups is over the "*leisure*" time their husbands will share with women coworkers, a similarly sensitive subject for the spouses of male naval personnel when shipboard assignments for women are discussed.

The satisfaction of wives of naval personnel with Navy life has long been recognized as an important influence on a man's decision to reenlist. A wife's attitude may well be influenced by what she perceives her husband's work group and living situation to be. The possibility of romantic and/or sexual involvements among deployed service people will become an issue if women are permitted to rotate to sea duty or remote overseas assignments. However, stereotyping Navy wives as being threatened by the changing role of active duty women may not be supportable in fact. Many Navy wives favor passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, including Dabney Holloway, wife of the current CNO. Moreover, Pat Leeper, the national coordinator of NOW's Committee for Women in the Military, is the wife of a Navy Lieutenant Commander.

In October 1970 the Navy Wives' Ombudsman program was established. This action provided the spouse with a direct channel of communication to her husband's Commanding Officer and gave formal recognition to the need to ease the day-to-day problems of the family. Because of the need for objective, rather than anecdotal, feedback information for the various levels of the larger commands, the Navy Personnel Research and Development Center was asked to develop and analyze two surveys for administration to wives and active duty women. This request was welcomed by the researchers as a means of investigating the attitudes of both groups toward the changing role of women in the Navy. Among the questions that were deemed important were: What are Navy wives' perceptions of military women and how accurate are these perceptions? Do wives view themselves as contemporary or traditional in their role affiliation as women, and is this orientation an important moderator of their views on Navy women? What values, motivations and

role affiliations do active duty Navy women hold, and how different are they from Navy wives? This paper attempts to answer these questions.

PROCEDURE

Sample

The 163 wives surveyed during this past summer were attending the Navy Wives' Information School or meetings of Navy wives' clubs in the San Diego area. This group is not a representative sample because of the self-selection that occurs in attending such meetings and the geographical limitation. However, these women are members of the target population whose opinions are important to the Navy. They are active participants in the military subculture and their satisfaction has a critical influence on their husbands' career plans.

The 81 active duty Navy women surveyed were stationed at four commands in the San Diego area. Some were working at traditionally female jobs in offices and dispensaries, whereas others were assigned to duties on tugs and in engine shops.

Questionnaires

The Navy Wives' Information From Experience (WIFE) survey consists of 109 multiple choice items. The areas tapped are the background of the wife and husband, satisfaction with Navy services, activities and interests, commitment to military life, attitude towards women's role in society, and opinions about active duty women. Some of the items have a 5-point Likert-type scale for response options, while others request that the best answer from among those presented be chosen.

The second survey, named the Women in the Navy Questionnaire (WINQ), has 14 items in common with the WIFE concerning the role of women in society, and 8 common background items. The remaining 97 questions tap experiences in the Navy, attitudes toward shipboard assignment, and satisfaction with the job and base facilities.

Analysis of Data

For the purposes of this study, all of the items common to both surveys were analyzed. In addition, the wives' attitudes toward active duty women and the Navy women's views of sea duty and male/female interactions were examined. The two samples were combined for the analyses investigating the relationship between background variables and role affiliation. Tests of the significance of the differences in distributions of responses made by the various subgroups were

computed.

RESULTS

Some of the background questions tapped areas believed to mediate female sex role concept, making a comparison between the two samples on these demographic variables necessary. The wives in the sample were older on the average than the military women. However, 60% were under 30, so the wives were probably not old enough to show the bias toward traditionalism usually observed in more mature women. Eighteen percent of the wives were college graduates, versus 2% of the enlisted women, a difference that would tend to make the former group more contemporary in their views. The wives had been associated with the Navy 3-5 years versus 1-2 years for the active duty women. Forty percent of the military women were married, and 30% had children. Seventy percent of the wives were mothers also, and 25% had jobs outside the home. On the remaining variables the two groups were very similar: 22% of both samples were reared in military families, almost half of the women had mothers who worked outside the home, and the majority of both samples were reared in towns of less than 100,000 population.

A key section common to both surveys concerns contemporary versus traditional role affiliation. Two sentences defining these concepts were presented and the respondents asked to indicate which one they subscribe to as well as which they think the majority of active duty women, Navy wives, enlisted men and officers would subscribe to. The statements are as follows:

> The contemporary view of male/female roles involves husbands and wives sharing domestic and financial responsibilities. The traditional view assigns primary responsibility for the home and children to the woman and the man provides the financial support.

These sentences are paraphrases of those used in a 1974 Army survey that included 70 enlisted WAC in the sample (Savell & Collins, 1975).

The first chart in table 1 shows how the respondents viewed the majority of women in the Navy. Half of the wives were undecided. Of those who had formed an opinion, 6 out of 7 thought active duty women would subscribe to the contemporary female role; 9 out of 10 Navy women agreed with this premise. Two chi squares are indicated on the figure. The overall 2 x 3 contingency table yields a significant chi square. However, when the "undecideds" are removed the chi square for the traditional versus contemporary distribution does not attain the .05 level of probable difference.

TABLE 1

Role Affiliation of Wives and Navy Women

1. Responses in percentages to: *"Active duty women tend to be contemporary..."*

	TRUE	FALSE	UNDECIDED	
Wives (N-163)	43%	7%	50%	X^2 = .14.71 (2df) p<.01
Navy Women (N=81)	68%	7%	25%	X^2 = .58 (1 df) n.s.

2. Responses in percentages to: *"Navy wives tend to be contemporary..."*

	TRUE	FALSE	UNDECIDED	
Wives	43%	24%	33%	X^2 = 9.45 (2df) p<.01
Navy Women	25%	23%	52%	X^2 = 2.05 (1df) n.s.

3. Responses in percentages to: *"I tend to be contemporary..."*

	TRUE	FALSE	UNDECIDED	
Wives	48%	44%	8%	X^2 = 3.12 (2df) n.s.
Navy Women	61%	33%	6%	X^2 = 2.89 (1df) n.s.

The data concerning the perceived role affiliation of wives are presented in chart 2 of table 1. Half of the active duty women didn't know what role wives were most apt to take in their marriages, and the remaining were evenly split in their perceptions of Navy wives as contemporary or traditional. Among the wives who had formed an opinion, 2 out of 3 thought that their peers were contemporary. Again, the 2 x 3 table yields a significant chi square but the 2 x 2 does not.

The third chart of table 1 shows which female role the women *themselves* affiliated with. Not surprisingly, more active duty women accepted the contemporary concept of male/female roles than did wives; however, the difference between the two groups is not significant. The 33% of these Navy women who subscribed to a traditional role is a much higher proportion than the Army's reported 10% figure for enlisted WAC accepting the traditional sex role. The majority of both groups also saw Navy officers and enlisted men as subscribing to the traditional viewpoint; i.e., that a woman's place is in the home.

Table 2 shows the percentages of wives and military women who took a contemporary versus traditional position on nine questions about female roles. A z-test of the difference between proportions was applied to these data.

For the most part, wives and Navy women expressed fairly similar opinions on these topics. Only 6 out of 18 comparisons between the two groups yield significant z-ratios. Where differences exist, the wives were more apt to hold the contemporary view and the Navy women the traditional view.

There were significantly more military women against going aboard ships than there were wives against having their husbands serve in a sexually integrated crew. The finding that 32% of the wives strongly opposed shipboard assignments for women is consistent with the results of another recent survey, performed by System Development Corporation, in which 36% of the 578 wives questioned were against changing this prohibition (Grace, 1976). Twice as many Navy women as wives were in opposition to ERA, perhaps because passage of the amendment was seen as tantamount to sending them to sea. The one item on which active duty women were significantly more contemporary than wives concerns guiding children into traditional sex roles, a practice which they were against.

The relationship between the 9 items concerned with attitudes towards female role and 7 of the background variables was also investigated. The samples were combined into one group of 244

TABLE 2

ATTITUDES OF WIVES AND NAVY WOMEN TOWARD FEMALE ROLES

	Contemporary View		Traditional View	
	Wife (N=163)	Navy ♀ (N=81)	Wife (N=163)	Navy ♀ (N=81)
1. If the law were changed so that women were assigned to ships, (I would urge my husband to) or (I would) get out of the Navy.	68%	47% $p < .01$[a]	11%	32% $p < .01$[b]
2. If the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) were put to a popular vote, I would vote for it.	48%	37%	14%	30% $p < .01$[b]
3. Women should be allowed to work at any job they are capable of performing.	86%	90%	6%	4%
4. Parents should guide their children into traditional roles and goals appropriate for their sex.	59%	75% $p < .05$[a]	22%	8% $p < .01$[b]
5. Some women are able to be good wives, good mothers, and good employees simultaneously.	92%	83% $p < .05$[a]	3%	6%
6. Women should take a supportive position in society, marriage, and the world of work rather than trying to be the leaders.	51%	60%	29%	20%
7. Most women cannot stand the stress and strain associated with being a high level manager or a commanding officer.	54%	60%	15%	11%
8. Certain civilian and military jobs are so unfeminine that women should be excluded from performing them.	61%	72%	23%	17%
9. Women should not compete with men for promotions because a man's career is more important and should not be jeopardized.	82%	91%	9%	5%

Note. Undecided responses are not presented.

[a]Significant difference between proportions of wives and Navy women choosing contemporary view.

[b]Significant difference between proportions of wives and Navy women choosing traditional view.

women and 63 correlation coefficients were computed. Twelve significant correlations, at the .05 level of probability, were obtained and are discussed below.

Age was related positively to the belief that children should be guided into traditional sex roles and that women should be excluded from unfeminine jobs. Educational level correlated with 4 of the 9 attitudinal items. Those with more education stated that they would not sever their ties with the Navy if women were assigned to ships. They expressed the belief that women can stand the stress of management positions and that they should be allowed to compete with men in the world of work. Moreover, they rejected a supportive role, as opposed to a leadership role, for women. The number of children correlated positively with traditional responses to items 3, 4, 6, 8 and 9 of Table 2. Having a father in the military during childhood was related to the belief that women cannot be good wives, mothers and employees simultaneously. The remaining three background items investigated, i.e., years associated with the Navy, size of hometown, and mother's employment status, did not co-vary with any of these 9 attitudes to a significant degree. Only one background variable was predictive of personal role affiliation; namely, education was positively related to the contemporary view of male/female roles.

Some of the questions on the WINQ relate to active duty women's views on the hypothesized concerns of Navy wives; that is, on the possible assignment of women to ships and the interactions between the sexes on the job. Table 3 shows how these items were answered.

These Navy women had very mixed feelings about shipboard assignments. Eighty percent agreed that women should go to sea and 63% would not exempt women from serving on ships going into combat. More than half did not anticipate that ships would be run less efficiently with mixed crews, but the majority (57%) did not want to serve on a ship themselves.

The second group of questions refers to the experiences of Navy women with their male co-workers. The majority of active duty women (86%) had been made to feel, at least sometimes, that women don't belong in the Navy. Additionally, 91% experienced resentment from men for presumably taking up their shore billets. They felt that these negative attitudes usually didn't affect their own job performance, but that such views are driving many women out of the Navy. Almost two-thirds of the military women reported having experienced resentment from Navy wives. Yet nearly half of these women (46%) stated that they would avoid dating enlisted men in their work group.

TABLE 3

ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES OF NAVY WOMEN
(N = 81)

Item	Agree	Disagree
Women should be allowed to go to sea if they want to go and can do the job.	80%	20%
If women go to sea, they should not serve on ships going into combat.	37%	63%
If women were assigned to ships, relationships between men and women would affect the efficient running of the ship.	44%	56%
Would you want to serve aboard a ship?	43%	57%
Negative attitudes of Navy men cause many women to leave the Navy.	65%	36%
If I were single, I would avoid dating an enlisted man in my group.	46%	54%

	Yes	Sometimes	No
Have you been made to feel like the Navy is a man's world, and you don't belong?	35%	51%	14%
Have you experienced resentment from men who accuse women of taking their shore billets?	76%	15%	9%
Have negative male attitudes about women made it hard for you to do your job?	16%	39%	45%
Have you experienced resentment from wives of Navy men with whom you come in contact?	46%	17%	37%

Table 4 shows how wives responded to questions about active duty women. For the multiple choice items, only the 3 alternatives having the highest response frequencies are presented.

Item 1 is one of the most critical questions in this study of whether the increasing number of women in the Navy is impacting on the wife. It is safe to say, that for this sample, they are having very little impact, since 83% of the wives essentially said "none." Additionally, item 2 shows that 35% didn't know what their husbands' attitudes toward Navy women were, indicating that these men probably didn't have strong feelings about their female coworkers.

The wives' perceptions of what motivates women to join the military showed a lack of understanding. Young women join the Navy for exactly the same reasons young men do -- for the education and training made available to them (Thomas, Note 1). While travel and benefits are important, "to find a husband" has been reported in Army and Navy research to rank so low in a list of possible motivators as to be inconsequential (Plog & Kahn, 1974; Horn, 1965). Despite this lack of understanding, these wives had a generally positive attitude toward the military as a career for women in that only 25% could not imagine ever wanting to join themselves.

The finding that two-thirds of those wives with an opinion felt that women are taking up the more desirable shore billets is disturbing. The Navy has put a 20,000 limit on the number of enlisted women in its ranks in order not to disrupt the sea/shore rotation of men. Either this precaution is not achieving its goal or the facts are not being communicated adequately to male personnel or to their dependents. Another disconcerting finding is that 24% of the sample, or one-third of those with an opinion, felt Navy women behave differently on the job than civilian women. Since the stereotype of the military woman used to be negative, it is assumed that "differently" means "worse."

The last question refers to some real and some hypothetical situations in which Navy men and women might interact on the job. Ten to 15% of the wives apparently would like to have their husbands work in a totally female-free environment, since they were opposed to having their spouses work with women, supervise women, or be supervised by a woman. An additional 20-25% would not like it if their husbands stood after-hours watches, went on unaccompanied tours, or served on a ship with Navy women. A consistent 50% were in favor of the full utilization of women in the Navy, as reflected in these items, even though their husbands might be participants in the integration process.

TABLE 4

WIVES' OPINIONS ABOUT ACTIVE DUTY WOMEN
(N-163)

1. Have your husband's experiences with active duty women on the job spilled over into his home life?

   (60%) No, not that I can think of.
   (23%) He has never worked with Navy women, or I don't know.
   (17%) Yes.

2. Which statement describes your husband's attitude toward women in the Navy?

   (35%) I don't know what his attitude is.
   (19%) He feels women are being assigned to some jobs that should be restricted to men.
   (16%) He feels the current rating restrictions on Navy women are reasonable.

3. Why do you think most women join the Navy?

   (38%) To travel and work at unusual jobs.
   (26%) Because of security and benefits.
   (15%) To find boyfriends or get a husband.

4. Under which of the following conditions might you consider joining the military, assuming age as no barrier?

   (30%) If I could be guaranteed that I'd stay with my husband.
   (25%) I am certain I would never join.
   (23%) If I were single.

5. Do you feel that women take up the more desirable shore billets?

   42% Don't know 39% Yes 18% No

6. Do you think Navy women behave differently on the job than civilians?

   43% No 33% Don't know 24% Yes

7. How would you feel if your husband.....?

	OK	Dislike	Very Negative
a. Worked daily with women	76%	13%	2%
b. Supervised several women	79%	10%	1%
c. Worked for female supervisor	61%	18%	5%
d. Stood after-hours watch with women	51%	37%	4%
e. On unaccompanied tour with women	49%	31%	7%
f. Assigned to ship with women	52%	32%	5%

CONCLUSIONS

This study is still in progress, so any conclusions that might be drawn are tentative. One inadequately controlled variable is the educational level of the two samples. This imbalance will be corrected in the near future when the responses of women officers to the survey are obtained. In addition, it is hoped that larger samples of military women with children and of working wives will result from future administrations of the surveys so that the effects of motherhood and employment status may be better analyzed.

Based on the findings so far, it appears that, contrary to popular opinion, there is very little difference in the female role concepts of these military wives and women in the military. Both tend to be more contemporary than traditional in their personal role affiliation and both see the active duty women as more contemporary than she really is. The Navy women sampled were theoretically in favor of women serving on ships and going into combat, but half of them did not want to go to sea themselves. Most of the Navy wives were not resistant to having their husbands serve on an integrated ship.

The overall impression one receives from these statistics is that the degree of dissatisfaction of active duty women with their on-job relationships with Navy men is greater than the unhappiness of Navy wives over having their husbands interact with women in the work place. An overwhelming 91% of the Navy women thought the men resented them for taking up shore billets and 63% felt the wives resented them as well. The wives, on the other hand, frequently answered items about military women by responding that they didn't know, with only a minority expressing negative attitudes toward Navy women.

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POST SEPARATION ADJUSTMENT AND WOMEN'S LIBERATION

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61/62

Post Separation Adjustment and Women's Liberation

The interaction between post separation adjustment for reunited military families and the Women's Liberation Movement is a complex occurrence which is beginning to have a profound effect on some military families. Two forces are acting upon wives of servicemen that subject marriages to conflicts previously unheard of.

One force is the critical period of reunion when husband and wife must readjust to each other after a prolonged separation. The second force is the impact which the Women's Liberation Movement has had on the wives while the husbands were away. The consequences are the wife being subjected to revert to a dependent role after the husband returns from an unaccompanied overseas tour. She has lost, upon her spouse's return, the role of an independent, emerging woman she had begun to enjoy during his absence. While the homecoming of the husband is viewed consciously by both as a happy reunion, slowly the wife unconsciously begins to resent her mate's return. The confusing state of undirected frustration, guilt, and hopelessness felt by the wife is not understood by the husband. In many cases neither the husband nor the wife is aware of why the marriage is in difficulty. The focus of this paper will be on the conceptualization of these two forces, the effect it has on the couple, and how treatment may assist to stabilize the marriage.

BACKGROUND

Recent social-psychological research regarding military families during post separation reunion and reintegration has focused on the readjustment process and associated problems. A wealth of clinical data has been collected and processed regarding dysfunctional interpersonal relationships and coping behaviors (Metres, McCubbin & Hunter, 1974; McCubbin, Dahl, Metres, Hunter & Plag, 1974; McCubbin, Dahl & Hunter, 1975; McCubbin & Dahl, 1975; Farish, Baker & Robertson, 1976). Additional social science research examining husband-wife role relationships within the military reveals role definition and identification difficulties in these marriages.

Some investigators (Stanton, 1975; Stoddard & Cabanillas, 1975) feel that there is a relationship between marital difficulties and the growing influence of the Women's Liberation Movement.

Aside from marital problems within military families, other researchers have found evidence to support the theory that recent changes in women's roles and independence are having an adverse effect on marriages in the civilian sector.

Dr. Virginia Abernathy (1976) has discussed sex role stereotypes and how our culture presently limits, within marriage, the wife's self-concept. Later, unanticipated growth on the part of the woman upsets the balance of marriage. Casady (1975) reports that many wives, feeling trapped in housewife roles, are running out on their husbands and families. Humphrey (1975) has suggested that marriage counselors adopt a reality orientation toward changing sex roles.

The conclusions from these examples of recent research suggests that a husband and wife, reuniting after a prolonged separation, may face a difficult and potentially dangerous readjusment process. In addition, marriages, both in and out of the military, are subject to increased stress in interpersonal relationships due to expanding roles and newly-gained independence of American women. In summary, the Women's Liberation Movement may be having a negative effect on the institution of marriage, especially a marriage subjected to the additional strain of a forced, prolonged separation where the wife was required to become the head of the household during the husband's absence.

CONCEPTUALIZATION

Most of the knowledge about the interaction of post separation readjustment and women's liberation is an outgrowth of studies on the families of returned Vietnam prisoners of war. The Center for Prisoner of War Studies in San Diego has documented the ex-POW's difficulty (Metres, McCubbin & Hunter, 1974) in adjusting to their wives new-found independence. When the husbands returned home they found their wives were successful at running a household and managing a family. The traditional "role" of the male head of the household had been taken over by the wife and, in many cases, she was reluctant to relinquish control back to her spouse. The husband felt "left out" and perceived himself as an unimportant element in the family and marriage.

Stanton (1975) noted that an increasing number of servicemen's wives have sought jobs in order to supplement their incomes. This trend, he contends, is a result of new images and roles of women and their vocational emancipation. Stoddard and Cabanillos (1975) further suggested

that gradual marital and family instability in military personnel is due in part to the growing influence of the Women's Liberation Movement which is attempting to destroy demeaning, outdated female stereotypes.

In the past, law enforcement and private "missing persons" agencies spent much of their time hunting wayward husbands. Today, the missing people are not husbands, but wives (Casady, 1975). They are escaping marriages they view as totally dissatisfying. The wives feel unwanted, unappreciated, unneeded, and unfulfilled. Freedom, self-determination, and a hope for self-fulfillment are major reasons for abandoning their marriage.

The question is, why does this happen? What causes a couple to go in opposite directions after reunion? Are these problems peculiar only to military marriages?

The process of two people rejoining their lives after a separation of a year or longer has been an accepted way of life with the military, most recently during the Vietnam conflict. Whatever occurs within the homecomer when he returns is a unique and personal experience. Schutz (1964) explained that:

> *The home to which he returns is by no means the home he left or the home which he recalled and longed for during his absence. And, for the same reason the homecomer is not the same man who left. He is neither the same for himself nor for those who await his return.* (1964, pp. 115-116)

A Los Angeles psychiatrist (*Time*, February 19, 1973) spoke of the problems encountered by married Vietnam POW's during the post release readjustment period. He referred to the aftermath of marital tragedies as the "zombie reaction." The returnee had idealized the woman he would return to, cherishing an impossible dream in order to survive. In most cases this dream would crumble. A recent issue of a popular magazine (*People*, May 3, 1976) contained an article on eight ex-POW's trying to cope with our changing country. Three of the eight were divorced following their POW experiences and three others reported the need for therapeutic intervention after return in order to make successful adjustments. A retired Navy Captain, although successfully reunited with his wife, reported sensing a new assertiveness on her part upon his return. She had become a leader in the POW wives' movement. Still another Air Force Colonel stated that his marriage broke up seven months after repatriation, saying *"She had just grown differently than I during those five years. We were strangers."*

Another Vietnam veteran (Weintraub, 1973) said the hardest part about returning home was trying to fit back exactly where you left off. You couldn't wait to visit old school friends, but when you got together things just weren't the same.

This difficult homecoming readjustment is not just a recent reaction to the Vietnam conflict. The tale of Rip Van Winkle created by Washington Irving in 1819-20 recounted the confusion experienced after Van Winkle woke from his twenty-year sleep. Over three thousand years ago, Homer's story, the *Odyssey*, described Ulysses' bewilderment when he returned home after a twenty-year journey. Historically, there is evidence that the difficult readjustment people (especially soldiers) face has been a problem for at least as long as man has been waging war (Worthington, 1973).

Jo Ann Wendt (1974), in her article, "Remote Tour After-Shock," explains the extent of the homecoming adjustment problem within the military. She writes about "separation after-shock" and describes how readjustment *after* separation is determined by what had happened *during* the separation.

In most instances the male spouse is the active duty military family member. He is sent away to serve a short tour in an overseas area. Furthermore, he is sent to a strange environment where he spends most (if not all) of his time involved in his job. He is the one who will attempt to return to a way of life and a family he left behind. For him, the passage of time has not changed his expectations of his wife and family. Even though changes have occurred back home, because he did not experience them, they do not exist. Psychologically, he will be returning to the home and people he left when he departed for his overseas assignment a year before. In actuality though, he has changed; he has lived for a year or more in a new and different environment. The man who returns is not the man who left.

The wife, although not necessarily changing her physical environment, usually is forced to experience a major life style change. Prior to separation, many military wives are in a passive, reactive position. The demands of the military life style cause the couple (and more so the wife) to react to situations and/or events which affect their lives (e.g., military schooling, promotions, social requirements, transfers, military regulations governing dependents, etc.). After the husband's departure, the wife has the opportunity to seek freedom from the military environment and, if she desires, total separation from any military involvement.

(Most wives, though, retain at least minimal contact through utilization of military benefits; i.e., P.X., commissary, and medical treatment facilities.) The wife, mostly through necessity, becomes extremely independent during the husband's absence. As McCubbin and Dahl (1975) found, the wife has functioned in the role of head of household; she has matured, gained self-confidence, and developed a life style devoid of her mate. Previously, military and social customs were such that the wife willingly relinquished this role to her husband upon his return. Today, broad changes in our social structure have occurred, specifically the Women's Movement, which support the new independent roles of the wives, making it difficult for them to revert back to previously dependent status.

The Women's Liberation Movement (Adler, 1975; Collins, 1976; Huber, 1974; Kaye, 1976; Stanford, 1974) is a sociological phenomenon of the 1970's. This is the decade of the emerging woman. This social movement advocates the equality of the sexes. Even the most secure of male bastions, the military, is falling beneath the assault of the Women's Movement. Women are serving as military aircraft pilots, senior officers commanding all male units, and now, our nation's military academies have accepted female cadets. The myth that female fulfillment is limited only to the role of wife, homemaker, and motherhood is being exploded. The expansion of vocational options available to women is not without its toll, though. Conflicts, previously unheard of among females, have developed over the changing roles and image of the young women of today (Halas, 1974; Humphrey, 1975; Komarsovsky, 1974; Weisman & Paykel, 1974). Many women report feelings of dissatisfaction and relate it to an awareness of sex-role discrimination. Dena Kaye (1976) discusses what she terms business sexuality, a new atmosphere where custom, habit, psychology, and historic patterns blend to create a continuous obstacle which inhibits men and women working together and detracts from their realizing their full potential. Mental health professionals see this as a prime factor in promoting mental illness among young women (Gove & Tudor, 1974; Weissman & Paykel, 1974).

The conflicts and problems have had a reversal effect on the military wives of husbands on unaccompanied assignments. The Women's Movement advocates equal treatment, responsibilities, and recognition, especially in areas which were previously considered "all male." In many ways, the objectives have been successfully met by wives during their husbands' absences. Some wives are reluctant to give up their newly-acclaimed and much enjoyed independence, but they do. In

essence, the husband comes home, expecting to return to a family life as it was, thinking this is what the wife also desires. The wife, aware of what her husband wants, reluctantly attempts to provide this. In time, she begins to resent this decision, her position, her family, and her husband; she feels trapped.

The wife may begin to neglect home and family. While both husband and wife are aware of her subtle changes, he is at a loss as to why she is different and she usually denies any outward change. She tends to isolate herself, withdraws from her husband, and slowly sinks into a pattern of feeling and acting helpless, hopeless, and unneeded. In more serious cases this object loss (independent life style) can and does lead to a neurotic depressive reaction. The woman is subjected to inner conflict as she is forced into a role she has successfully left. At the same time she must also contend with the social and psychological pressures resulting from other liberated women who now view her (or so she assumes) as a turncoat.

Case History

An example of the post separation adjustment syndrome and the Women's Liberation Movement is illustrated in the case of Sara and Ralph.

Sara is a 30 year old mother of two. She married immediately after graduating from high school. Her husband, in the National Guard, was six years her elder. Shortly after their marriage, he went on active duty, and began a military career. Their tours included assignments with military units, military and civilian schools, and two unaccompanied short overseas tours. The first short tour was in Vietnam in the mid-sixties. The second tour was in the early 1970's in Korea. While Sara had the same responsibilities during both separations, she had more freedom because the children were older during Ralph's second tour, and she became more aware of her independence.

Sara found it extremely difficult to return to her previous role after Ralph returned, especially after the excitement of the reunion period wore off. As time passed (12-13 months) she became less satisfied with her life and increasingly more depressed. Neither she nor Ralph knew why.

While Sara refused to accept her mental state, her husband sought professional help. Eventually Sara was persuaded to recognize her position and enter into a treatment program.

The treatment consisted of helping the couple to realize what had happened and why. It involved many sessions of exploring their concept of their own roles and their expectations of each other's roles. The couple began to accept the situation and realistically reappraise their relationships to each other, their marriage, and their family. They very slowly become aware of who they were and how their lives together could either promote or defeat self-fulfillment. If the marriage were to succeed, each had to compromise. Both individual sessions and joint couple sessions were held over a period of eight weeks. In time a realistic impression of each other emerged.

The initial goal was to get Sara to acknowledge her strengths as well as all of her self-described faults. Psychological testing instruments (IQ tests, projective tests, personality inventories, vocational tests, etc.) were used to show Sara that her abilities were much greater than she would give herself credit for. Her interests, likes, dislikes, fears, and long repressed feelings were discussed. Through self-expression she became cognizant of her true self. Individual sessions with the husband were also very necessary to help him to realize that his wife was a person in her own worth. He slowly became aware of his behavior and how it restricted Sara's self growth. Joint sessions aided in their understanding of each other and in working out a viable plan to allow both partners to continue in their marriage yet pursue independent paths for self-fulfillment. Sara requested additional vocational testing and through an employment agency located a job as a receptionist and office assistant in a large automobile agency in the city where they lived. Her employer wanted a mature woman who had the ability to field a multitude of inquiries and respond appropriately without constant supervision. He was impressed with her intelligence, maturity, and confidence.

While their life did not reverse itself overnight, it improved immensely. Both partners were much happier and working together to build a better marriage and improve their own self satisfaction.

TREATMENT

Successful treatment is not a simple matter; it involves both members of the marital partner-

ship. A major therapeutic goal lies in the ability of the woman to identify the cause of her depressed state; that is, the loss of her newly emerged identification, her independence. The difficult part is that this becomes almost impossible unless the husband can understand what has happened to their marriage relationship and realize how their future is dependent upon *his* willingness to change also. While the woman unconsciously desires her independence she usually avoids any direct confrontation with her spouse. Being aware of her internal conflict is one thing; asking her to react to it, against her husband's understanding of a wife's role, is another thing entirely.

Therapeutic intervention, therefore, becomes a three pronged approach. An effort must be made to help the wife identify the source of her conflict. This is usually done by individual counseling sessions. An integral part of her therapy is the involvement of supportive counseling to include psycho-diagnostic evaluation to assist in measuring the wife's strengths and weaknesses. Appropriate feedback to the wife is a necessary part of the treatment. In conjunction with the wife's treatment the husband also needs help to realize what is happening to his wife and why. He must understand that successful treatment of the wife (and the salvage of their marriage) depends on his understanding, compassion, and the support he can lend her. In most cases this requires that he accept the new role his wife seeks and in turn, redefine his role as husband and marital partner. There is a direct relationship between the husband's desire to maintain the marriage and his ability to change.

Many times marriages have sustained this complex conflict, but in name only. Both go their own way while remaining married for the sake of their children, convenience, religion, or because of strong social or family pressures. A key element in the therapeutic process is an undeniable belief, shared by husband, wife, and therapist, that the couple is willing to compromise because, above all else, they want and need a successful marriage which each can share and develop with their partner. Without this conviction there is no common goal for each to strive for; without this, each would go their own way or ignore the agony of the other.

The first prong is the wife's ability to identify the source of her inner turmoil. The second prong is the husband's ability to understand the manifestations of their conflict and his willingness to change himself. The third prong involves conjoint therapy to help the couple to work together to rebuild their marriage. The beginning of therapy is dependent on the wife

being able to examine herself, her beliefs, her identification, and being able to articulate and understand the role in life that *she* wants, not what familial or societal pressures dictate. The outcome of therapy is dependent on the husband's ability to understand and his willingness to change, to adapt to his wife's desired role. This does not mean capitulation, it involves negotiation and compromise -- for both partners. Again, it must be stressed that without a mutual and strong desire by both spouses to keep the marriage intact as a meaningful relationship, mutual success will not be realized.

CONCLUSION

The case of Sara and Ralph serves as an example of a complex interpersonal and social conflict which military families are susceptible to. There is ample evidence to acknowledge the fact that a post separation syndrome does exist. There is also data to support the contention that the Women's Liberation Movement is creating marital problems and causing psychological disturbances among women of today. This paper outlined how these two different social-psychological concepts can combine to produce a uniquely devastating threat to military marriages. The causes described are an unprecedented intermix of events and conditions reflecting the military system and the impact of today's social changes on the people who serve this system. It becomes important for those who provide marital counseling to recognize all aspects of marital readjustment problems subsequent to a prolonged separation. In many cases the inner turmoil of the wife and the total confusion of the husband is related to a conflict the wife is experiencing between the old marriage life style and her previously emerged life style.

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CHANGING ROLES IN MILITARY FAMILIES

FOLLOWING PROLONGED SEPARATION

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75/76

Changing Roles in Military Families Following Prolonged Separation

Social role has been defined as the part played by an individual in a specific group situation where each person tends to occupy a functional position, and other members of the group tend to attach certain expectations to each member's behavior in the group. Conflict and tension arise whenever conflicting demands are imposed by the complex roles people assume as they interact with others. Within the family, marital conflicts arise whenever there is a failure to work out relationship rules or relatively stable roles that will be durable and equitable (Lederer and Jackson, 1968).

The recent Vietnam prisoner of war (POW) experience, with its unprecedented length of father/husband absence, necessitated a reshuffling of roles within these families, often to the point of closing out the man's role completely during his absence (McCubbin, Hunter, & Dahl, 1975; McCubbin, Hunter & Metres, 1974). In addition, during the prolonged periods of separation, the wives of men held in Southeast Asia tended to modify their assessments of the perceived satisfaction of their marriages over time, indicating less satisfaction with the marriage immediately prior to their husbands' return than they retrospectively assessed it prior to casualty (McCubbin, Hunter, & Metres, 1974). This reassessment resulted in a new set of expectations with regard to their marriages by the time of reunion with their husbands. Also, through necessity, the wives had functioned independently as heads of household for up to eight or nine years in some instances, developing behaviors during the husbands' absences which could be expected to lessen the probability of successful reunions (Metres, McCubbin & Hunter, 1974).

Since 1972 the Center for Prisoner of War Studies[1] in San Diego has been following

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longitudinally the process of adjustment to separation and reunion of the families of Army, Navy, and Marine Corps POWs. As reunion became imminent one of the major concerns expressed by wives during initial family interviewing by the Center for Prisoner of War Studies (CPWS) staff in 1972 was the anticipated difficulty of their husbands' adjustments to shifts in family roles which had occurred during the separation period (McCubbin, Hunter, & Dahl, 1975). When release from captivity came in 1973, these families were families in transition, within a military system in transition, during a period of rapid change in society in general.

During the post-reunion period, discrepancies between spouses' perceptions of the roles or tasks each marital partner performs can perhaps be treated as indicators of the ongoing process of family reintegration or disintegration following prolonged family separation. At any given point in time these discrepancies could hypothetically be expected to reflect the quality of marital adjustment, personal adjustment of marital partners, and parent-child relations. This paper reports on the first phase of a longitudinal study of the changes in family role structure subsequent to reunion. The questions posed by the study included: (a) Were there significant differences between husbands' and wives' perceptions with respect to Family Role Allocations and marital partners' Agreement on Family Tasks and Philosophies, (b) Were demographic and captivity variables related to between-spouse discrepancy scores on Family Role Allocations, and (c) Were discrepancies between spouses' perceptions related to perceived Personal/Emotional Adjustment, Marital Adjustment, and Family Communication?

METHOD

Sample

The sample for this report was comprised of 28 intact marital couples, where the husband was a former Army, Navy, or Marine Corps POW, and for whom comparable data were available for both spouses. Statistical tests for significance indicated that there were no significant differences between this sample and the total sample of married Army, Navy, and Marine Corps returnees on demographic and captivity variables. Unfortunately, for this first year of the longitudinal study, data were not available on all intact families because the self report instrument was not available until after several men had already received their physical examinations. The average period of family separation for this sample was 50.8 months. The mean age for the men was 37.6

years at the time of their capture, and the majority of the men were officers with a mean of sixteen years of formal education at the time of capture. On the average, the wives were one year younger than their husbands, and, at the time they were first interviewed by the Center for Prisoner of War Studies (CPWS) staff in 1972 -- prior to husbands' return -- they had a mean of 14.8 years of formal education, a portion of which was obtained during their husbands' absences. There was an average of 2.04 children per family in this sample.

Data Sources

Basic demographic and captivity data were obtained from information collected by the CPWS during the separation period and at the time of reunion (1973). Wives' retrospective assessments of marital satisfaction immediately prior to Homecoming were obtained in 1972. In addition, approximately one year after return of the POWs (1974), all Army, Navy and Marine Corps returnees received a comprehensive first-year medical and psychiatric follow-up examination at either the Naval Aerospace Medical Institute, Pensacola, Florida, or at Brooke Army Medical Center, San Antonio, Texas. A Self-Report Inventory was completed by the man at the time of the medical examination. Within the same time frame, the families of these men were personally interviewed in their homes by CPWS professional staff members, and a comparable questionnaire was completed by the wife during the family interview.

Measures Employed

A modified version of Hill's (1949) *Family Reunion Questionnaire* was included in the self report to obtain measures of Family Role Allocations, spousal Agreement on Family Tasks and Philosophies, and Family Communication. The items used were four or five-point Likert-type scales. Questions included in these scales were based on Hill's (1949) classic study of family adjustment to the crises of war separation and reunion in which he defined adjustment to reunion as the process of opening the family ranks to include the father, realignment of power and authority, reworking the division of labor and responsibility, sharing home and family activities with the father, renewing husband-wife intimacies and confidences, resuming father-child ties, and bringing balance between husband-wife, mother-child, and father-child relationships. Other scales derived from the *Self Report Inventories* provided measures of Personal/Emotional adjustment (husband's perception/wife's perception). A second report discusses the derivation of those scales in greater detail (Hunter, 1976).

Analyses

The analyses were carried out in several parts. First, correlated t tests of the significance of the differences between husbands' and wives' responses on the *Family Role Allocations Scale* were computed to determine whether or not significant differences existed between spouses' perceptions of who usually assumed the dominant role in performing the various tasks of disciplining the children, caring for the family, and managing the household. Discrepancy scores were then computed on the *Family Role Allocations Scale* by subtracting the absolute value of the husbands' responses from the absolute value of the wives' responses. An *overall* discrepancy score was developed by computing the mean of the discrepancy scores across all tasks included in the scale. Next, these discrepancy scores were correlated with basic demographic and captivity factors (e.g., length of marriage, age of husband and wife, educational level of each spouse, and number of children). In addition, correlations were computed between the following measures: Role Discrepancy Scores, husbands' and wives' perceptions of Personal/Emotional adjustment, Family Communication (open versus closed), and Marital Adjustment. Finally, correlated t tests were computed on the *Agreement on Family Tasks and Philosophies Scale* to assess the amount of spousal agreement about each task, as well as the degree of agreement on basic family philosophies.

RESULTS

Means, standard deviations and t's for responses on the *Family Role Allocations Scale* are shown in Table 1. There were two significant differences on the nine tasks studied. Wives perceived themselves as assuming the dominant role on Homemaker tasks significantly more so than did their husbands ($t = 3.06$, $p<.01$). Again, with regard to Maintaining Discipline and Imposing Punishment with the children, the wives perceived themselves as playing the dominant role significantly more often than did the husbands ($t = 3.38$, $p<.01$).

(See Table 1 on following page.)

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations, and t-Tests for Between-Spouse Differences on the Family Role Allocations Scale

Items	Husband $\bar{X}$	Husband S.D.	Wife $\bar{X}$	Wife S.D.	t
Support the family financially	1.22	.506	1.07	.267	1.69
Doing Handyman chores at home	2.11	.641	2.37	.688	1.76
Doing daily homemaker tasks	4.15	.362	4.52	.580	3.06*
Caring for children's everyday needs	3.92	.400	4.12	.526	1.55
Making final decisions when family members disagree	2.41	.636	2.74	.594	1.97
Managing family income and finances	2.63	1.006	2.81	.879	1.22
Maintaining discipline and imposing punishment when needed	2.68	.557	3.12	.600	3.38*
Teaching and advising children	3.28	.542	3.20	.500	.70
Being friend and companion to children	3.28	.458	3.28	.614	0.0
Average Role Score	2.24	.253	2.32	.236	1.47

*p < .01

Correlations of discrepancy scores on the *Role Allocations Scale* with Personal/Emotional Adjustment, Family Communication, and Marital Adjustment are presented in Table 2. The findings indicated that the between-spouse discrepancy on Teaching and Advising the Children was significantly correlated with perceived Personal/Emotional Adjustment for the father (-.48, $p<.01$). In other words, the greater the discrepancy between husbands' and wives' perceptions of whose role it was to teach and advise the children, the lower the husbands reported themselves to be on Personal/Emotional Adjustment. Based on the wives' perceptions of Family Communication, high discrepancy scores on Maintaining discipline and imposing punishment (-.59, $p<.001$) and Teaching and advising children (-.42, $p<.05$) were significantly related to Family Communication, indicating that the higher the discrepancy scores between spouses on these variables, the more the wives perceived Family Communication to be closed, rather than

Table 2

Correlation of Role Allocation Discrepancy Scores with Perceived Personal/Emotional Adjustment, Communication (open-closed), and Marital Adjustment

	Personal-Emotional Adjustment		Communication		Marital Adjustment	
	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife	Husband	Wife
Support of family financially	.15	.21	.11	.25	.08	.20
Doing handyman chores at home	-.10	.00	-.06	.08	-.25	-.22
Doing daily homemaker tasks	-.28	-.17	-.05	-.13	-.03	.23
Caring for children's everyday needs	.03	.03	.33	.01	.05	.17
Making final decisions	-.08	-.25	-.25	.14	-.09	.03
Managing family income	.15	.16	.21	.03	.02	-.09
Maintaining discipline and imposing punishment	-.02	.01	-.09	-.59***	-.25	-.33
Teaching and advising children	-.48**	-.33	-.26	-.42*	-.28	-.08
Being friend and companion to children	-.32	-.03	-.04	-.34	-.06	-.26
Total Score	-.34	-.16	-.09	-.21	-.25	-.07

*p < .05
**p < .01
***p < .001

open.

There were no significant differences between husbands' and wives' responses for the *Agreement on Family Tasks and Philosophies Scale*. Regardless of family role structure -- that is, who actually performed specific roles -- there was considerable *agreement* on basic family philosophies and the roles each spouse performed.

With regard to demographic variables, the actual length of time the husband/father was held captive was found to be positively related ($r=.39$, $p<.05$) to the average discrepancy score between spouses as to who performed which family role. In other words, the longer the family had been separated, the larger was the mean Family Role Allocation discrepancy score. Other demographic and captivity variables, including length of marriage prior to casualty, were unrelated to Role Discrepancy scores.

One other noteworthy finding was that although there was a high correlation between husbands and wives for perceived Marital Adjustment (.58, $p<.001$), the wives, as a group, perceived Marital Adjustment as significantly ($t = 2.72$, $p<.01$) less satisfactory than did the husbands. It should be noted, however, that on the average *both* husbands and wives in this sample rated their marital adjustment as average or above.

DISCUSSION

An earlier study in which data were collected through informal interviews with families of returned prisoners of war approximately six months after the men were released from captivity indicated that the husbands had experienced initial feelings of being "unneeded" in the family or "unimportant" as fathers and husbands (Metres, McCubbin & Hunter, 1974)). Similarly, the wives had reported that it was not only difficult to relinquish complete control of the family, which they had exercised during the preceding years, but also that they perceived their husbands as having difficulty adjusting to their (the wives') independent behaviors. One year subsequent to the mens' return, however, the families in this study appeared to have overcome many of the problems associated with adjustment to reunion. The data seem to indicate that they had opened the ranks of the family to include the father and reworked the division of labor and responsibility for the most part. Thus, in this sample the fathers were becoming assimilated once again into the family system and were assuming roles in the home and family.

It must be remembered, however, that this particular group of 28 families is a select

sample because they were still intact at the end of one year. If we had also looked at the 25 to 30 percent of the total sample who separated or divorced during this same time frame we would have discovered a different role structure. These latter data are yet to be analyzed to determine if failure to work out relatively stable and equitable family roles plays a significant part in the dissolution of marriages following prolonged separation.

It is interesting to note that the areas of disagreement with respect to role allocations centered around homemaker tasks and maintaining discipline and imposing punishment with regard to the children. Using Kirkpatrick's (1963) definition, most of these families would be classified as "traditional" at the point in time they were studied, i.e., the wife-mother role was the stereotypical one for the married woman. In a study of family roles Safilios-Rothschild and Georgiopoulos (1970) reported that in the United States, college-educated men (who comprised the bulk of our sample) were more likely to consider the expression of love and affection toward their children as an important parental role. Prior studies of traditional families have shown that even if the father *does* want to be friends with the children or to interact with them, the mother tends to keep that role as marginal as possible to prevent erosion of her roles as mother and homemaker -- the only roles she has, and ones that are crucial to her identity and a justification for her very existence (Lopata, 1971; Safilios-Rothschild, 1972a). A previous study of families -- families of men who had not been POWs -- in which mothers and fathers were interviewed separately, demonstrated that the fathers tended to perceive more interaction with the children than their wives were willing to attribute to them (Safilios-Rothschild, 1969). Neither of these findings is specifically documented in the present study, however we did find that for the wives in our sample, discrepancy scores were significantly related specifically to the Communication variable and matters pertaining to the children, rather than to Personal/Emotional Adjustment as was the case for the husbands.

As noted by other investigators, as time passes, marriage partners usually grow closer together through the processes of confrontation, communication, negotiation, and compromise (McCubbin, Hunter, and Dahl, 1975). The captivity experience interrupted these normal family processes creating a gap which had to be narrowed if successful marital adjustment were to occur, as evidenced by the finding that the shorter the captivity, the greater the family reintegration one year after return. However, the relative absence of large between-spouse discrepancies with

respect to agreement on the performance of family roles appears to be indicative of good adjustment to reunion. Over time, with continuing renegotiation between spouses and increasingly open communication, the discrepancies which were evidenced between spouses in this sample might be expected to diminish even further.

Reinerth (1976) found that in military families, the more frequent the separations and the longer the separations, the more the family structure centered about the mother; therefore, one would expect the issue of family roles to be even more crucial where the husband had been absent from the family system for several years. The importance for these fathers of establishing a parental role with their children is pointed out by the significant relationship between the discrepancy scores on Teaching and Advising Children and perceived poor Personal/Emotional Adjustment on the part of the husbands as found in the present study. The importance of the father-child relationship in family adjustment to reunion in terms of Personal/Emotional Adjustment, open or closed spousal Communication, and Marital Adjustment, and the direction of these relationships should become more clear as subsequent follow-up analyses are made on this sample, and further data analyses are completed on those families who have separated or divorced.

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THE MILITARY WIFE AND WOMEN IN THE MILITARY:

ENSLAVED OR LIBERATED?

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87/88

The Military Wife and Women in the Military: Enslaved or Liberated?

DISCUSSANT'S COMMENTS

In the Department of Defense, the burgeoning research interest in the military family is most properly set against the background of demographic and role changes in the profile of women. Women's longevity has increased since the turn of the century; they are marrying somewhat later, planning and having smaller families, and delaying their families. More women are choosing to remain childless, and legal abortions are depressing the overall and, particularly, the illegitimate fertility rate. The last decade has witnessed an impressive increase in the number of female-headed families, partly a reflection of the rising divorce rate. The women's labor market participation continues to grow. By 1975, 45.6% of all women of working age (16 and over) were in the labor force, and women represented 39% of all workers. In 1973, 42% of married women, with husbands present, worked. This trend has challenged the behavioral scientist in the military to address the central issues regarding the ramifications of the changing role of women for the military community.

The six papers presented at the Symposium on "Changing Families in a Changing Military System" at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association in 1976 certainly reflect the various strategies involved in studying women as wives or dependents of military personnel and as women who serve as active members in our Armed Forces.

In discussing these papers, I would like to single out one paper for general comment, and then focus on the remaining five presentations because of their common theme. The paper by Stanton on "Family Treatment of the Drug Addicted Veteran" emphasizes the family of *orientation* rather than the family of procreation. The uniqueness of this paper is the emphasis it places upon involving *parents* of veterans in treatment and the supporting research which demonstrates

that this total family treatment model reduces or eliminates addiction. This paper has obvious implications for drug rehabilitation programs in the armed services which do not as a matter of practice include family members, who appear to play a part in the maintenance of the drug habit.

Woelfel's and Savell's investigation is an ambitious effort to examine critical aspects of military life and their relationship to marital satisfaction, job satisfaction, and intention to remain in the service. There were no surprises in the first part of the study, which emphasized various aspects of job factors, particularly hours worked; the traditional complaints about separation; the disruptions which accompany permanent change of stations; the value of adequate housing; and financial stability. However, I would like to raise two methodological questions.

First, with respect to sampling: As is true for the study of families of returned prisoners of war, which I will comment on later, the drastic reduction of sample size from the original 215 to the final sample of 135 (loss of 80 subjects), raises the question of representativeness. It is basic to ask whether the final sample is different from the original sample which was, I assume representative. Whether the approximate increase of five percent in male distribution, the drop of four percent in Black subjects, and the six percent in officer subjects are significant, should be determined. Second, because the sample included those men presently married, as well as those married at one time though not married now, should not this be a variable, and the influence of present marital status be determined, particularly if marital satisfaction is considered a criterion?

The findings of this investigation run contrary to some of the previous studies which underscore the important and influential role of the family in both retention and performance. The recent studies by Eric Gunderson of the Naval Health Research Center demonstrate the relationship between life stresses in the family and the serviceman's health. I believe that the wife's feelings and perspective on such matters are vital to any investigation relating family factors to performance and retention.

Woelfel and Savell demonstrate the growth in sophistication of the analysis of complex family data. More important, this study clearly points to our need to strengthen family research by tightening our criterion measures of retention and performance by including more objective measures of retention and performance (i.e., carrier landings for aviator personnel). Additionally, the present study points to the need for longitudinal and prospective studies of factors

associated with retention and performance.

The Webster, Hunter, and Palermo paper on "Changing Roles in Military Families Following Prolonged Separation" focuses upon a very unique population, families of returned prisoners of war (RPWs). The investigators raise a series of questions regarding role perceptions, role allocation, and their relationship to personal/emotional adjustment, marital adjustment, and family communication following prolonged separation. The question which immediately arises is whether the sample is adequate to answer the research questions. While the investigators indicate recognition of the absence of those families divorced or separated and the complex problem of comparable data which reduced the sample to 28, it would be beneficial if we understood in what respects this subsample differed from the total *population* of RPWs or the *original representative* sample selected for their longitudinal study. If the study sample is not representative and involves only intact families and functioning families who have obviously made some successful role adjustments, *the questions originally posed for this investigation may no longer be salient.*

I was interested in the conclusions, findings, and the interpretations made. The most significant finding was that discrepancies between Husband and Wife regarding role allocations focuses on the Homemaker and Disciplining Roles, which the investigators interpret as being indicative of traditionalism, that is, the wives' expression of their dominant role in these areas, the "last bastions of the wife". However, I wonder about the validity of role allocation scales in which there will *always* be discrepancies. Can we reasonably expect to obtain valid perceptual measures of role allocation in the homemaker and disciplining realm, considering that mothers, out of fear of self-incrimination are unwilling to acknowledge the husbands' movement into these roles -- because they are crucial to her identity and existence?

The significant correlations between discrepancy scores and husbands' assessment of their personal adjustment or to wives' assessment of family communication, lead me to pose two questions for consideration. First, I wonder how much weight we should give to conclusions drawn from significant correlations, as in the case of discrepancy in "Teaching and Advising Children" being related to fathers low personal/emotional adjustment, when the discrepancy between husband and wife in this area is *not* significant. Second, The significant differences in role allocation between husband and wife in the Homemaker and Disciplining area, but with no significant association between these discrepancy variables and the *criterion* measures of personal adjustment,

family communication, and marital adjustment deserve greater discussion, what else can we say about these discrepancies in role allocation and their impact upon the family?

The strength of this paper is its focus upon the internal dynamics of family role adjustment, with all their complexities. Nonetheless, their longitudinal research should shed light upon many questions regarding family roles and family adjustment to the demands of military life.

Several papers struggled with the hypothesis that military wives would be influenced by the changing role of women in society and in the military. The Thomas and Durning study of dependent wives and women in the military offers a unique set of data which attempted to explore this hypothesis from two vantage points -- the wife and the servicewoman. The findings of military wives who are familiar and in agreement with the ideology of feminism and who are less resistant to the women's expanding role in the military deserve greater discussion and explanation. Why do military wives differ in their reaction from the negative responses which were observed among merchant marine wives and the New York policemen's wives? How can we account for this? I will try to examine this issue in the closing remarks.

One of the most exciting aspects of the Thomas and Durning research is the emphasis placed upon insights they have already gained as to the women's experiences within the new military. While this is not a family factor *per se*, such research will eventually and unavoidably shed light upon a number of basic issues, such as the processes of adaptation to the male environment and the role of husbands as "dependents" of military servicewomen.

Worthington's case study and theoretical treatise of the interface between the women's movement and the military wife makes several unique contributions to the papers by Thomas, Webster, and Dobrofsky. Specifically, it is the first paper to emphasize the clinical or treatment implications of social change. Secondly, it indicates a particular crisis, reunion, the social context in which the impact or influence of the women's movement is most likely to be felt or observed. Third, it draws attention to the vulnerability of the marriage to the changing role of women in the military.

In thinking through the research on the military family which underscores the seemingly oppressive aspects of military life, and also examining the Dobrofsky; Thomas and Durning; Webster, Hunter, and Palermo; and Worthington papers, I am struck by the wives' liberated viewpoints, the family's ability to adapt, and to cope, and the wives' willingness to support the traditional

role. There appear to be several alternative hypotheses which might be considered:

First, given the seemingly complete socialization system in the military with regard to wives and family, as described by Dobrofsky, it would be reasonable to hypothesize that this process includes not only control through guilt, but in more positive terms, it involves the cultivation and development of family and individual strengths and coping behaviors that society should learn more about. Might it not be possible that the military community, despite its outwardly appearing oppressiveness, has also developed the social processes which enable wives and families to cope with stress without destroying the family?

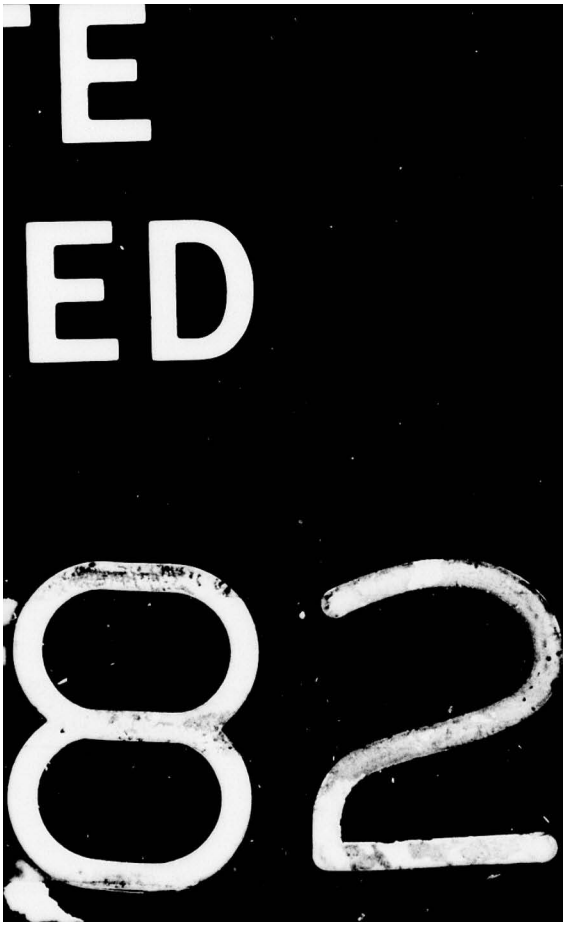
Second, there appears to be evidence presented in the papers here to suggest that the military has *always* had a quasi-feminist movement, has already experienced or anticipated a feminist movement, and has made social accommodations to support it. To be specific, it appears that the demands of military life and its mission call for wives to assume tremendous family and community responsibilities, and, further, the system gives the wives the resources to fulfill these responsibilities.

I wonder if the military system requires an independent, self-sustaining, and, to some degree, *liberated* woman, to accomplish its mission, and has done much to support wives in this way. Despite the "dependency" label which is given to the wife, the actual social processes within the military, in fact, reflect the opposite. It gives overwhelming responsibility to the wives or spouses to maintain the family, to create a social network among families to support themselves, and gives them the authority, by rank, to meet the demands of military life. To carry this one step further: Might the social obligations and social contacts often required of men and their spouses, though often referred to in negative terms, be the very social processes which permit the wives, as it does an executive, the very personal contacts and visibility in terms of "status among wives" to gain the support of other wives and the establishment of informal leadership in the community? If we consider the frequent relocations, deployments, temporary duty assignments, and wars which the system subjects the serviceman to -- might it not follow that independent, responsible wives are essential to the military mission? More important, this thesis of the women's vital, though circumscribed role in the military, leads to the corrollary proposition that: the difficulties and frustrations of wives in the military may not be solely the responsibility of the military system, and may not be *pay* for services, recognition,

and support. Rather, the difficulty of spouses who do not understand the importance of the independent wife, and who are unable to or unwilling to adapt to and accept this important role for women, opt out of the service. As we have observed, family stability and adaptability during naval cruises are severely disturbed by men who choose to "run" their families while at sea.

The socialization of men into the role of soldier, aggressor, and authority figure does not, unfortunately, also include training in family role flexibility and adaptability. The problems we observe in the military family may well be like the very ones facing the dual-career family -- overload dilemmas, dilemmas of identity, and role cycling.

Considering the military's long history of dealing with this situation, I also wonder if society would benefit from learning how the military family adapts in this situation -- in devising family mechanisms for adjustment and coping which contribute to the woman's self-esteem and facilitate adjustment *without* destroying the family.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