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RESEARCH ON THE FAMILIES IN THE MILITARY SYSTEM: A REVIEW.(U)
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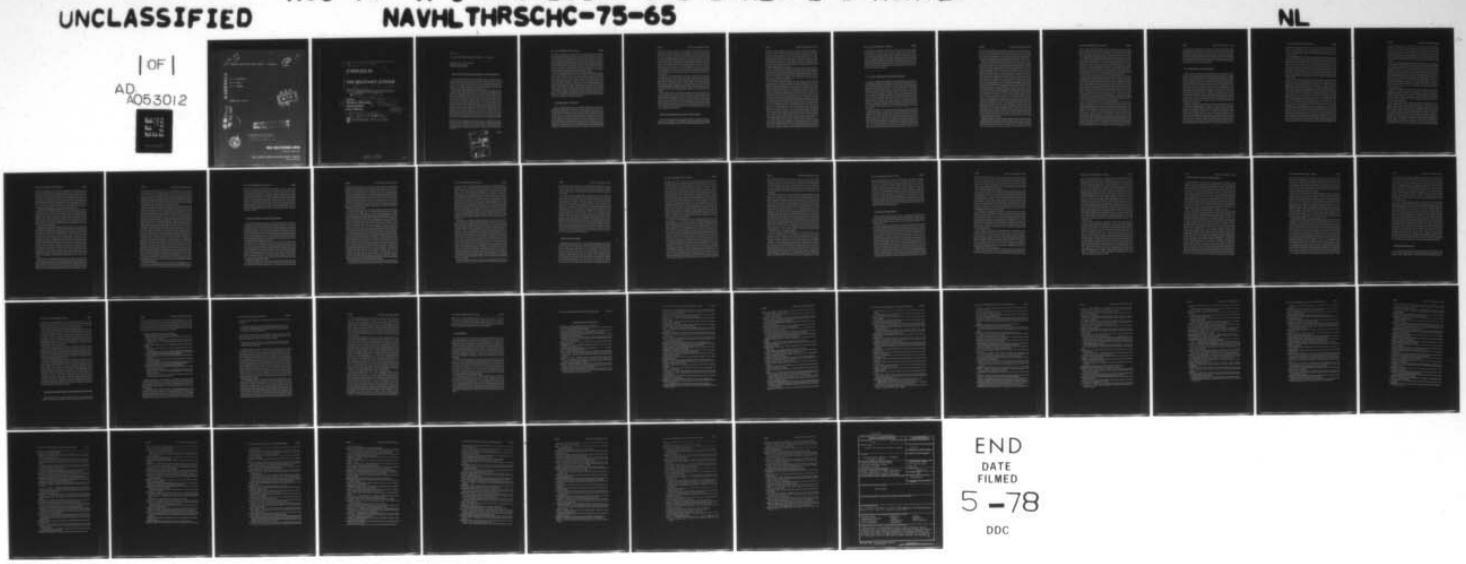

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Chapter 11

RESEARCH ON THE MILITARY FAMILY: A REVIEW

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THE LEGACY OF FAMILY RESEARCH IN THE MILITARY

In any review of family research in the Armed Forces, it is essential to keep in mind the political and social context in which such developments or lack of developments occurred. The history of the military, its mission, its perception of the role of the family within the military, and the Zeitgeist of the behavioral sciences in the military provide the perspectives required to appreciate the evolution of research on the family in the military system.

Although the Family Studies Branch of the Center for Prisoner of War Studies (an Army-Navy-Marine Corps activity within the Naval Health Research Center) was established as late as 1972, many of the myths, assumptions, and prejudices which had previously shaped the course of research on the military family were inherited. It is a frustrating legacy of intermittent research activity in the face of a myriad of obstacles and overt resistance by a military system unsure of the value of such scientific inquiries. The basis for such a legacy is complex and woven into the fabric of the military as an institution. Historically, the military has been concerned with the single man (Bennett, Chandler, Duffy, Hickman, Johnson, Lally, Nicholson, Norbo, Omps, Pospisil, Seebert, and Wubbena, 1974; Janowitz, 1960; Little, 1971; Moskos, 1970). As recently as 1952, the marriage rate for enlisted personnel was as low as 29.7 percent (U.S. Department of the Army, 1973). In the "old" military the saying, "if Uncle Sam wanted you to have a wife, he would have issued you one," had special meaning and served as a warning against family interference with the demands of military

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Hill, 1949). This period was characterized by significant strides toward the goal of identifying relevant factors which are associated with the effects of war on family life (Freud and Burlingham, 1943; Waller, 1940, 1944). Two purposes were served by the literature of this era: (1) to illustrate the extreme importance of understanding the military family, and (2) to demonstrate the significant value of studying families under stress. One need only review the findings of a few of these and more recent studies to recognize that the "military family" is influenced by a host of acute and chronic stresses related to, if not unique to, life in the military. No other large group is exposed so uniformly to the pressures of father absence and geographical mobility (Gonzalez, 1970).

From the available literature on military families, all identifiable and obtainable research articles, along with the most scholarly clinical and descriptive papers, were selected for review in the present chapter. Although this review is not exhaustive, care was taken to include as many of the studies as possible in order to reflect the full range of research or clinical investigations undertaken on the military family. Attempts to classify these research and clinical articles into existing classification schemes of families under stress (Hill, 1949; Hill and Hansen, 1964; Parad and Caplan, 1960) presented difficulty, since no single system appeared adequate. Final categorization of the studies was accomplished by adhering to the topics to which the students of family research are most likely to refer: Mobility, Child Adjustment and Development, Adjustment to Separation, Family Reunion and Reintegration, Adjustment to Loss, Families in Transition, and Services to Families under Stress.

I. GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

The few studies dealing with how the military family system is affected by geographical mobility have emphasized the uniform exposure of the family to the pressures of frequent moves within the United States and foreign countries. Several studies have focused upon the negative effects of living experiences fashioned out of a series of transiencies which can produce a segmented, discontinuous, and uninvolved existence. Bower (1967: 790), in his survey study of army families in overseas communities, found that although many families find overseas duty an exhilarating and highly educative experience, "the phenomenon of 'culture shock' is a real and significant fact to many families living in Europe. For many, the familiar cues of living are gone." Bower contends that problems associated with relocation can be attributed to the loneliness felt by

life. It also served as a reminder of the importance of unit solidarity and the priority of the military mission. Janowitz (1960: 178) pointed out that in the single man's army, "the problem of choosing between work and family life did not exist." A military organization and a community evolved emphasizing esprit de corps. The military family was viewed as an integral part of this total system which defined the role of the family in terms of the husband's rank and social status in the system. The predominant attitude which prevailed was that the family, and in particular the serviceman's wife, played an important but subordinate role in the husband's career. Satisfied with the status of the military family, the military community was not particularly concerned with the search for knowledge about family development and functioning. Social and psychological problems were absorbed by the military community: "The military took care of its own."

Despite the ever changing profile of the military toward a "married man's army" (Bennett et al., 1974; Little, 1971) and the changing patterns of military community life away from its Gemeinschaft-like qualities and away from solidarity (Coates and Pellegrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1960), the military system has been slow to recognize the need for a reexamination of the assumptions and prevailing philosophy regarding the military family. Policy makers have tried to maintain a delicate balance between meeting family needs through medical and community services and establishing the "priority" of preparing men for combat.

Since the late 1940s, the growth of behavioral science research, represented by the emergence of large civilian and military laboratories to investigate various aspects of performance, behavior under stress, and human effectiveness, has been reinforced by the military's mission to create and maintain a combat-ready military institution. Therefore, research emphasis has constantly been placed upon selection procedures, troop morale, combat effectiveness, and socialization of the soldier into military life. It was not until recently that family research was even considered as a possible approach to understanding the development and functioning of military personnel.

FOCI OF RESEARCH ON THE MILITARY FAMILY

It was primarily during and immediately following World War II that the importance and feasibility of conducting scientific investigations with military families became generally recognized and accepted (Boulding, 1950; Eliot, 1946;

the wife, who finds it difficult to accept the change in life style and is unable or unwilling to become involved within the host country. McKain (1969, 1973) came to a similar conclusion in his study of 80 enlisted army families interviewed just after having made a move. His findings indicated that the army family likely to experience the greatest incidence of family problems associated with geographical relocation is the family in which the wife/mother feels alienated from society and from the community. Furthermore, McKain found that the greatest incidence of family problems are associated with moving when the family resides off the military post.

Marsh (1970) focused on the economic instability of the military family, in particular the enlisted family, engendered by frequent moves. After viewing the frequency and type of disruption families experience during moving in his study, involving 205 army enlisted families, Marsh concluded that the military requires them to move but fails to subsidize the move fully and, therefore, forces the family into a financial crisis which further complicates the family's already overtaxed emotional and social stability.

Family mobility, an inherent aspect of military life, may have detrimental effects upon the children's emotional and social development. Coates and Pellegrin (1965), in their extensive volume devoted to the study of American military institutions and military life, focus on the social-psychological costs of frequent geographical relocation to the children in a military family. These authors stress the fact that not only must the children become accustomed to giving up old friends and establishing new ones when each move occurs but are also faced with the problem of changing from one school to another, which considerably complicates their educational experiences. The child has to adapt to several school programs, teachers, and classmates and attempt at each locale to take up where the thread of life has left off. Kurlander, Leukel, Palevsky, and Kohn (1961) reported a median of six geographical moves for military children referred to a child guidance clinic. Although Pepin (1966), in his study of three groups of high school students (a military mobile group, a nonmilitary mobile group, and a nonmobile group) in the same community, found no significant differences among the three groups with regard to the number of residential and school changes and the number of personal adjustment problems on eight of eleven categories of the Mooney Problem Cheklist, there were significant differences in three problem areas: (1) finances, living conditions, and employment; (2) curriculum and teaching procedures, and (3) adjustment to schoolwork.

Gonzalez (1970), in his case studies of military "brats" referred for psychological help, emphasized that children, particularly adolescents, have to discontinue their immediate, familiar life pattern, and depend primarily on the type of ties that exist within the family. He also found that younger children primarily react not to geographic change but to the emotional changes in the parents, and

that generally the children's reactions to moves depend on the emotional relationships in the family prior to moving. Pedersen and Sullivan (1964) corroborated this observation that parental attitudes toward mobility were important in determining the child's ability to adjust to the move. In their study of 27 emotionally disturbed military children and 30 matched normal military children, although the incidence of geographical mobility in the histories of the children did not differentiate the groups, parental attitudes did. Mothers of normal children appeared significantly more accepting of frequent relocation, and both parents of the normal group showed significantly stronger identification with the military community.

II. CHILD ADJUSTMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A number of studies have emphasized the thesis that children growing up in the military are unique because of positive aspects of life in the military system. Lyon and Oldaker (1967), in their descriptive study of military dependents in an elementary school system, pointed out the unique sense of security afforded this population, such as the fact that each has a working father (or stepfather) presently living with the child's mother. In addition, these authors indicate that there is relative homogeneity among these children, since among military men there is little income differential, except for the officer-enlisted dichotomy; there is free medical care available to the families; and all the fathers tend to be at least average in intelligence. When Kenny (1967), in his study of American children living in a military community in Germany, found that the military children were significantly higher in IQ and had better school adjustment and less juvenile delinquency than the United States child population as a whole, he, too, explained these differences by the fact that the military is a "select community."

Several investigators have taken the opposite point of view, stressing the nonapplicability of this "uniqueness" phenomenon. Blochberger (1970) studied 30 families of military men in an effort to assess the potential influences of the military on the family's life style. The focus of this investigation was whether military families were more alike than different and whether the location of family residence, on or off post, was important in differentiating military life styles. From his observations he concluded that it was a fallacy to consider only one "type" of military family, but went on to state that the on-base families were more easily described by the characteristic of similarity in their attitudes and their sources for activities than off-base families where diversity was the

theme. Darnauer (1970), in his investigation of adolescents and their parents in 60 career army families, suggested that teen-age development in the Army may not be unique. In fact, his data indicated that, in general, neither the adolescents nor their parents appeared to view adolescent life in the army family as dissimilar to adolescent life in civilian communities. The major difference or unique aspect of military life was the adolescents' vulnerability to relocations.

Children, by virtue of their youth, proximity to a war, or because of a family member's involvement in a war, are extremely vulnerable to the direct as well as the indirect stresses of war. A number of studies during World War II and more recently, during the Yom Kippur War in Israel, have pointed up the traumatic effects of war upon children's emotional and social development. Freud and Burlingham (1943), in their clinical study of children in three nurseries in England during World War II, observed children's reactions to bombing, destruction, and early separation from families. They concluded that war has a direct effect upon the children in that it disrupts homes and causes enforced separations and also causes anxiety in parents "which is almost without exception reflected in the child." In a clinical-descriptive report of children whose fathers or brothers enlisted in the Armed Services during World War II, Gardner and Spencer (1944) found that among the "delinquent group" (children referred to the juvenile court), in more than half the cases the first offense occurred following the enlistment. Milgram and Milgram (1975) compared pre- and post-war anxiety levels in Israeli children (85 fourth- and fifth-graders) and discovered that the general anxiety level of the children nearly doubled, with the children who reported the lowest prewar anxiety levels reporting the highest postwar levels. Contrary to expectation, however, the rise in the anxiety level was not related to war-related stress or personality parameters, but to socioeconomic status, sex, and intelligence. Ziv (1975) also investigated manifest anxiety levels of children from different socioeconomic backgrounds before and after the Yom Kippur War and found that only among children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds did level of anxiety increase significantly. Kedem, Gelman, and Blum (1975), in their study conducted shortly after the Yom Kippur War, attempted to evaluate the effects of the war on the attitudes and values of young adolescents. In their responses to a questionnaire, subjects, who were junior high school students, indicated that the war had a strong effect on their political-social attitudes but the amount of active participation of members in the war did not affect the students' attitudes.

Additional studies carried out recently during the Arab-Israeli conflicts have investigated children's responses to family deaths owing to wartime casualties. Smilansky (1975) and Lifshitz (1975) investigated the perception of death by Israeli children and the environment's influence on this perception to assess the need for professional intervention in helping children with the bereavement

process. Weider and Nashim (1975) noted parallel reactions among young children and their mothers during the missing in action and notification of death periods. The children evidenced such behaviors as regression and sleep disturbances which appeared to be in response to the loss of their mothers, who went into varying stages of psychological suspension, depression, regression, and rage.

But what about the long-term effects of war-related stress? Studies concerning second generational effects of the concentration camp experience, i.e., its effects upon the children of survivors, have emphasized the value and need for longitudinal studies to address this question. Dor-Shav (1975), who compared concentration camp survivors and their children to control groups on a battery of clinical tests, found differences between the groups with regard both to personality factors and to aspects of perceptual-cognitive functioning. Evidence of impoverishment of the personality, and particularly their inner life, was found on the Rorschach, and there were indications of problems in affectivity.

Rakoff (1966), in his description of three adolescent children of concentration camp survivors displaying severe psychiatric symptomatology, indicates that it would almost be easier to believe that they, rather than their parents, had suffered. Rakoff, Sigal, and Epstein (1967), in their clinical studies of families of concentration camp survivors, describe numerous features which these families have in common. They observed a deterioration in the organization of the family and found limit setting by the parents as either rigid or chaotically ineffectual, but rarely related to the needs of the child. In addition, they reported that the children lacked appropriate involvement in the world. While in some cases, apathy, depression, and emptiness often appear, in other cases they discovered an agitated hyperactivity reflecting great dissatisfaction with parents and society at large. They conclude that, after a relatively brief clinical inquiry, what usually emerges is that there is not one disturbed member but that the family itself is a collection of severely disturbed and traumatized individuals.

In a more sophisticated clinical study, Sigal and Rakoff (1971) observed 32 families of concentration camp victims as well as 24 clinical controls. Their findings indicated that, when compared to control families, concentration camp families showed significantly more complaints of excessive sibling rivalry, overvaluation of the children, and difficulties in self-control or control of the behavior of the children. The authors postulated a causal link between the preoccupation of the parents and the problems in the family. In a later study involving 25 adolescent children of concentration camp survivors and 20 controls, Sigal, Silver, Rakoff and Ellin (1973) found that the children of the concentration camp victims had more behavioral and other disturbances and less adequate coping behavior than the controls. Once again the authors suggested parental preoccupation as a contributing factor—the parents were viewed as seeing their children's needs as an interference in the mourning process or as an

extra burden. As a further test and confirmation of Sigal et al.'s (1973) thesis of a relationship between the stresses of captivity and the father-child relationship following father's return, McCubbin, Dahl, Lester, and Ross (1975b) found that among the numerous background, family adjustment to separation, psychiatric, and stress of captivity variables collected on 48 returned American PWs from Vietnam and their families, the stresses (psychological and physical) of captivity were isolated as the critical predictors (negatively related) of the father-child relationship one year after the family reunion.

III. ADJUSTMENT TO SEPARATION

Family separations owing to wartime assignments, unaccompanied tours, and repeated temporary duty assignments have a profound impact upon the family system and the emotional health of its individual members. Fagen et al. (1967), in their investigation designed to examine the pattern of factors, both predispositional and mediational, which relate to differential adjustment to father absence in 23 army families, stressed the importance of recognizing the possible differential impacts of the father absence "crisis situation" and its potential for facilitating more adaptive or less adaptive modes of behavior. In Hill's (1949) classic study of families who experienced separation because the husband/father served in the military during World War II, the degree of adjustment was judged by effectiveness of role reorganization, by degree of accompanying nervous strain and emotional maladjustment, and, in general, by whether the family continued to satisfy the needs of its members. Hill (1949) concluded that the family's adjustment to separation was a function of (1) the wife's perception of the separation; (2) the resources the family brings to the situation; and (3) the hardships of the separation.

Numerous studies have emphasized the emotional and social problems associated with the wives' adjustment to separation. Lindquist (1952), in her study of 52 Air Force (SAC) families, reported the deleterious effects of frequent separation on family life. Findings of this survey study indicated that family stability was endangered by wives' fear of philandering, assumption of the matriarchal role, and/or reliance on relatives for emotional support and protective functions. MacIntosh (1968) found that a significant number of military wives who were referred to a psychiatrist had symptoms directly related to separation. In his comparative study of 63 military wives experiencing psychiatric disturbances while separated from their husbands for military reasons, MacIntosh, like Belt and Sweney (1973) in their study of Air Force wives,

suggested that separations for a military wife may be a developmental task which is more difficult early in life and becomes easier with practice. Furthermore, both studies emphasize Hill's (1949) thesis that the wife's perception of the husband's absence is a critical factor in determining her response to the separation.

Frances and Gale (1973: 172) also indicate that periodic separations tax the resourcefulness of the military and its families. They point out that the most dramatic separation is the assignment of the husband/father overseas, perhaps under threat of death or injury, where wives' fantasies take various forms - "of abandonment, incapacitation, or, on the other hand, hope that his safe return will lead to a higher level of harmony. A particularly common hope is that sexual appetite and performance will be improved, denying that the causes of deficits in sexual relatedness prior to separation will still exist." Bey and Lange (1974), in their study of 40 noncareer army wives whose husbands were serving in Vietnam, concluded that waiting wives experience many demands and frustrations and might benefit from preventive psychiatry programs during husband/father absence.

The extreme situation of a husband missing in action or a prisoner of war brings into focus the complexity of prolonged separations. In this situation the normal emotional and social adjustment processes are thwarted and complex adjustments in the family's life style are required. In a study of 40 Navy PW/MIA wives, Hunter and Plag (1973) indicated that these families had experienced a variety of adjustmental problems, paramount among these being emotional and legal difficulties. Nelson (1974) stressed that the legal complications were, in part, a function of the length of absence; for these women, even simple legal transactions, e.g., sale of homes, stocks, and other belongings, were often complicated by the fact that powers of attorney had expired. McCubbin, Hunter, and Metres (1974) and McCubbin, Hunter, and Dahl (1975), in their study of 215 PW/MIA families, emphasized the extreme complexity of prolonged separations and their effect upon the family; 31.3 percent of the wives were either receiving therapy or had been in treatment at some time during husbands' absence. An additional 51.4 percent appeared to be in need of psychological assistance. In a clinical, treatment setting with eleven wives of men who were listed as prisoners in Vietnam, Hall and Simmons (1973) also found that these wives' major concerns centered around problems caused by the husbands' leaving the family structure: problems of role definition, problems of sexual adjustment, and problems caused by isolation. Furthermore, these investigators reported that the single most important issue for these wives was their ambivalence concerning their husbands' return and subsequent guilt that these feelings engendered. Their observations are reminiscent of Isay's (1968) "sub-

mariners' wives syndrome," in which the wife experiences sleep disturbances, depression, irritability, etc., shortly before or after the return of her husband from sea duty. Isay postulated that the primary etiologic factor of this "syndrome" appeared to be an unacceptable rage over desertion and suggested that a contributing cause of the depression may be the loss, when the spouse returns, of one or more of the gratifications that the separation provides—e.g., resumed dependency upon parents, opportunity to assume masculine or shared responsibilities, avoidance of physical or emotional intimacy with the marital partner.

Brown and Huycke (1974) described the burden placed upon the mother to raise the family single-handedly and pointed out that, in spite of the PW/MIA wives' efforts to perform their roles well, the wives received little satisfactory feedback and had to deal with the realization that there were few if any socially acceptable outlets to enhance their self-esteem. In group discussions with PW/MIA wives, Hunter, McCubbin, and Metres (1974) and Benson, McCubbin, Dahl, and Hunter (1974) also indicated that socializing appeared to be a very difficult area of adjustment for these women. One of the problems voiced by the women was that they were handicapped by not finding a proper social outlet, and dating often resulted in both guilt feelings and feelings of frustration. Price-Bonham (1970), in a study of 32 wives of men missing in action in Vietnam, corroborated this finding; social life was the most unanimous problem of the women interviewed—wives reported feeling out of place, unable to fit in with any social group.

Although the majority of studies which touch on the subject of coping with separation, i.e., how families and wives, in particular, respond to and endure the hardships engendered by short-term and prolonged separation, have tended to emphasize the dysfunctional responses to separation, Fagen, Janda, Baker, Fischer, and Cove (1967), on the basis of a battery of psychological tests and clinical interviews, attempted to define functional as well as dysfunctional patterns of wives' adjustment.

They described four groups of wives: (1) anxious but adaptive wives were realistic, sought support, and exhibited self awareness; (2) anxious but maladaptive wives denied problems, emphasized loneliness, and indirectly sought help; (3) nonanxious but maladaptive wives indulged themselves in sadness and discouragement; and (4) stable and adaptive wives met problems head on and were efficient in problem solving. McCubbin, Dahl, Lester, Benson, and Robertson (1975) also stressed the need for more definitive and objective measures of the family's coping responses to separation; they attempted to delineate a broader range of responses to separation, one which would emphasize the positive aspects of adjustment, not just the idiosyncratic and pathological behaviors. On the basis of data obtained from wives adjusting to prolonged war-induced separations, these investigators were able to isolate six coping

patterns: Seeking Resolution and Expressing Feelings (I); Maintaining Family Integrity (II); Establishing Autonomy and Maintaining Family Ties (III); Reducing Anxiety (IV); Establishing Independence through Self-Development (V); and Maintaining the Past and Dependence on Religion (VI). These patterns appeared to be a function not only of the wives' background, education, and occupation, the husbands' education and career commitment, and the families' development (quality of the marriage) but also of the stresses that the families were forced to face during the prolonged separation. Boss (1975) in studying these same families identified "maintenance of psychological father presence" as an additional coping mechanism, but found it to be dysfunctional.

Although Duvall (1945) indicated that the wife experiencing the loneliness of husband absence may find that children restrict her outside participation, the wife may also view the children as a source of support and comfort. Yet, the children are also subject to direct and indirect stresses resulting from father's absence and/or mother's adjustment to the stresses of separation. Gonzalez (1970), in his clinical case studies of children experiencing father absence, indicated that the loss of father's valued presence may precipitate symptoms of grief, depression, and anxiety, and the child may feel deprived of a source of comfort, pleasure, and security.

Murphy and Zoobuck (1951) reported on 50 consecutive case referrals of school adjustment problems to a military child guidance clinic. In rank-ordering those factors in military life which appeared most stressful in the cases studied, the investigators found that the most important was absence of the father from the home—64 percent of the cases had a family history of father absence for over six months. The study of father absence by Baker, Cove, et al. (1968) emphasized the mother's difficulty in maintaining family controls as a factor in the children's behavior problems. Social introversion and associated feelings of loneliness by the children were common in their particular study group. Igel (1945), in his clinical study of father absence owing to wartime military duty, observed children referred for treatment because of parental reports of undesirable behavior occurring after the father's enlistment. He postulated that when the father-child relationship was sound, absence might be felt more in the beginning but recovery would take place faster. Gonzalez (1970) and Trunnell (1968a, b) also stressed the fact that the child's reaction depends on numerous variables, including the father-child relationship and the role of father in the family.

Baker, Fagen, et al. (1967) compared a group of boys from military families whose fathers were absent with a group whose fathers were present and found increased masculine striving and poorer peer adjustment among the father-absent group. Gabower (1960) compared a group of 15 military children referred for psychological treatment and a control group of military children and found that although no marked differences appeared between the two groups in relation to

the length of separations from the father, each child in the behavior problem group had had more separations than the controls. The greatest difference between Gabower's two groups was that while many in the control group expressed their need to have Dad at home, none of the children in the behavior group expressed such a need. In a similar study, Pedersen (1966) compared 27 disturbed male military dependents with 30 controls and found that within the disturbed group the extent of father absence in the child's history was highly predictive of an independent index of emotional disturbance.

McCubbin, Hunter, and Metres (1974) observed, in group discussions with children whose fathers were missing in Vietnam, that, unlike their mothers, the children's reactions did not appear to be attributable to the grieving process, but rather to the emergence of various struggles with identity formation and interpersonal relationships which may be unique to children at different ages. Several other studies have mentioned the "age" factor as crucial in understanding the adjustment of a child to his father's absence. Dickerson and Arthur (1965) and Brown and Huycke (1974) have emphasized the harmful nature of separation during critical stages of development in both boys and girls—stages that require a father figure in order to proceed satisfactorily. Seplin (1952) compared 43 children who had experienced father absence during the "early years" to their 43 siblings who had not experienced father absence in the early years to discern the effects on the child's later development of the father's absence from the home for military service. When the children in the study group gave evidence of being more deeply disturbed than the control group, Seplin concluded that the disturbances were directly attributable to the father's period of military service during the child's "formative years." However, in the Pedersen (1966) study, cited earlier, the data did not support an effect specific to a particular age period. In investigations with children of returned prisoners of war (Dahl and McCubbin, 1974, 1975) and children of servicemen missing in action (Dahl, McCubbin, and Ross, 1975), findings indicated that these children, who had experienced extended periods of father absence (a mean of 5 years), revealed significantly lower personal and social adjustment scores than the norms on the *California Test of Personality*. To explain the contradictory findings that age was not a critical factor, investigations like Hillenbrand's (1970) study of 126 Marine children, postulated that the detrimental effects of separation upon the older child may have been offset by the added responsibilities of new role assignments—the older child, who occupies the position of "responsible one" among his siblings, may have been reinforced for this role and consequently benefited from the total experience.

One aspect of family separation often overlooked is the adjustment of parents of sons who are serving military duty during wartime, more specifically, those of sons who do not return. In group discussions held with 79 parents of MIAs,

McCubbin and Metres (1974) found that grieving was a major facet of the parents' total adjustment process; as a whole, mothers especially needed to talk about their experience, grief, frustrations, and aspirations, whereas fathers needed help in expressing their feelings and getting in touch with their hidden anger and frustrations. Hunter, McCubbin, and Benson (1974) also found that mothers of sons missing in action approached the stresses of separation by making unique demands upon themselves and upon others. For most mothers there was a never-ending search for answers and a constant struggle with their feelings about their sons' loss. For them answers could only be found by the "full accounting" of their sons' whereabouts and through reference to religion. Religious retreats offered parents a chance to express their feelings and renew their trust in others.

FAMILY REUNION AND REINTEGRATION

Reuben Hill (1949), in his study of 135 families who experienced separation and reunion in World War II, concluded that family reunion was an extremely complex process and could not be understood without taking into consideration the family's history, characteristics of family members, the family's adjustment during the separation, as well as family interactions at the time of the reunion. He emphasized that the process of reunion involves the reestablishment of bonds of coherence and family unity, of which the husband-wife relationship, the division of labor within the home, the reallocation of roles, the revitalization of the father-child relationship, and the stabilization of husband-wife, mother-child, and father-child relationships are paramount.

Numerous other investigators (Brown, 1944; Cuber, 1945; Griffith, 1944; Hill, 1945) have also consistently indicated that reintegration into the family system is a major stress requiring an extensive effort on the part of the family as well as of the returning serviceman. Schuetz (1945), in a descriptive study of returning World War II veterans, pointed out that men away from their families tended to idealize persons, places, and past events, and they returned to their families with a distorted view of how things really had been when they left. While a returning serviceman may recognize changes in himself resulting from the stresses of war, he is often apt to forget that those who remained at home may also have changed (Cuber, 1945).

Certainly, separation has a profound and disturbing effect upon the family unit during the serviceman's absence, and this may, in turn, have an effect upon the reunion. Hill (1949) emphasized the wives' difficulties in coping with their

husbands' absence, particularly in the areas of role adjustment and emotional adjustments. For most families, adjustment to separation involved the process of "closing ranks" (closing out of the husband's role) in order for the family to develop a more efficient and functional pattern of operation. Although closing ranks was an essential feature of coping with separation, among Hill's families it was found to precipitate difficulties at the time of reunion. For the wives who experienced prolonged separations, reunion posed a threat to one or more of the gratifications that separations provide, i.e., the opportunity to assume greater freedom, the latitude to determine the use of their income, and the avoidance of any confrontation with the manner in which they had conducted themselves during their husbands' absences (McCubbin, Hunter, and Dahl, 1975; Metres, McCubbin, and Hunter, 1974).

With the exception of recent research on families of servicemen missing in action (MIA), returned prisoners of war (RPW), and families of servicemen listed as prisoners of war (PW), only one major research investigation on family reunion has appeared since the classic studies following World War II. Baker, Cove, Fagen, Fischer, and Janda (1968) studied the effects of father absence and reunion upon the family system and its individual members. In a comparative study of 12 separated and 6 nonseparated families, the investigators revealed that the returning servicemen did not realize the changes in the family system which had evolved in their absence and expected to resume the position of power in the family after they returned. Emotional struggles, particularly feelings of rejection, emerged, making the reestablishment of affectional bonds between husband and wife and father and child extremely complex and difficult.

Investigators at the Center for Prisoner of War studies, through their longitudinal research efforts, have attempted to replicate and expand upon the studies carried out following World War II by placing particular emphasis upon the long-term effects of dismemberment and subsequent reunion upon the family system. Segal (1973) discussed the fact that the returned prisoner of war carries to all his interpersonal relationships, particularly to those with his family, the remorse, anger, and frustrations engendered by his unique and stressful experiences during captivity. Hall and Malone (1974), on the basis of in-depth and continuing interviews with six families of returned prisoners, emphasized the potentially disturbing effects of the psychiatric residuals of the stresses of captivity upon family reunions. The returning man, having experienced the extremes of physical and psychological abuse, is also vulnerable to feeling rejected and overwhelmed by the changes in the family system and his children. Reunion, for some men, was characterized by withdrawal, isolation, and feelings of not being wanted or being estranged from their families.

The problems and stresses encountered by the wives of returned prisoners of war during the separation period have been causally linked to the initial conflicts

surrounding family reunions. On the basis of a study of 215 PW/MIA families, McCubbin, Hunter, and Dahl (1975) noted that the social and psychological stresses of prolonged separation encouraged families to develop behaviors and styles of life which lessened the probability of successful reunions. Wives' independence and personal growth as well as their movement toward total autonomy during their husbands' absences, in part fostered by women's liberation, contributed to conflicts and confrontations between husband and wife at the time of the reunion – the returning serviceman was confronted with changes in the family for which he was not totally prepared (McCubbin, Hunter, and Dahl (1975); Metres, McCubbin, and Hunter, 1974). In following the families of prisoners of war returned from Southeast Asia in 1973, McCubbin and Dahl (1974b) found that 26.9 percent of the families who had been married before the separation had since received divorces or were in the process of obtaining a divorce one year following their family reunion. Certainly, these observations are in contrast with Boulding's (1950) conclusions following World War II; she emphasized that following the initial "honeymoon euphoria" at time of reunion, families generally returned to more or less their prewar patterns of family interaction.

The research on families of returned prisoners of war has permitted the careful study of relationships between longitudinally collected data and criterion indices of families' adjustment. In an initial study of 54 families of returned PWs, McCubbin and Dahl (1974a) isolated three factors which explained the dynamics of family reunions: (a) length of marriage, (b) the husband's plans for the future which he had thought about during captivity, and (c) the degree to which the family was prepared for the separation. To determine the factors involved in family reintegration or disintegration, McCubbin, Dahl, Lester, and Ross (1975) examined data on the psychiatric functioning of the returning serviceman (determined at the time of his release from captivity), data on family adjustment to separation (obtained before the man's release from captivity), and data regarding background and demographic information on the man and his family, and related these data to family adjustment one year following family reunion. The variability in family reintegration could be explained by three variables (out of 42 considered in the analyses): (a) the length of the marriage before the separation, (b) the wife's retrospective assessment of the quality of the marriage before the separation, and (c) a negatively related variable, the wife's emotional dysfunction during the separation period. The investigators concluded that for these families it appeared that a relationship strong enough to endure the stresses of separation, reunion, and reintegration was established early in the marriage.

Because of deep concern for the children who experience prolonged separations, particular attention has been devoted to the father-child relationship at

the time of the family's reunion. In an early controlled study of father relations of children born during World War II, Stolz (1954) showed that the returning father had difficulties in adjusting to his first-born child, and that his consequent attitude and behavior toward this child adversely affected the child's normal development.

In a predictive study of father-child reintegration one year following father's return from captivity in Southeast Asia, McCubbin, Dahl, Lester, and Ross (1975) isolated two variables which explained the variability in the father-child relationship: (a) a residual of captivity – the degree to which father felt he experienced physical abuse in captivity, and (b) the family's preparation for separation. In an initial study of children of prisoners of war returned from Southeast Asia, Dahl and McCubbin (1975) revealed that children exhibited significantly lower scores on indices of social and personal adjustment when compared with norms established for the *California Test of Personality*. To examine further the impact of father's return, these investigators (Dahl, McCubbin, and Ross, 1975) compared the earlier results with scores obtained by children of servicemen missing in action (children whose fathers did not return). Findings revealed that family reunion (father's return) appeared to have only a slight effect upon the children's personal and social development. Both groups of children, those from reunited and those from nonreunited families, were below the norm in most areas of personal and social adjustment. Children of reunited families indicated significantly higher scores in the areas of community relations and freedom from nervous symptoms. Thus, the importance of father's return to the family was only partially supported, leaving the issue of the effects of father's reunion open to further investigation.

ADJUSTMENT TO LOSS

Family adjustment to death of a serviceman has been studied as a cultural and psychological process of bereavement and mourning. The majority of the studies focus on bereavement precipitated by a war-induced tragedy with emphasis upon the wife's adjustment to the crisis. Several reports (Golan, 1975; Lieberman, 1971a, b; Palgi, 1970, 1973, 1975; Spolyar, 1974; Zunin, 1974) discuss the existence of several phases which the wife must go through in her slow process of coming to grips with her loss and the criteria for her adjustment. Spolyar (1974) described a grief cycle which includes periods of shock, anxiety, depression, heightened preoccupation with the departed, and feelings of guilt and hostility. He stressed the point that although there is no common or universal grief experience, since each person undergoes the grief cycle differently owing to

individual circumstances and personality characteristics, the final phase should eventually result in a readjustment to reality and a future life of social normality. Golan (1975), in a study of Israeli war widows, discussed a two-stage transitional process that may take months or even years to encompass: moving from being a wife to being a widow, and then from being a widow to being a woman ready to engage in future personal investment with others, including another man. Bereavement was emphasized as a transition situation rather than a crisis. Palgi (1970, 1973, 1975), through her work with Israeli war widows, observed variation in mourning behaviors which appeared to be a function of the wife's age, the community, and the culture in which these women lived. Among some of the Jewish women, Palgi (1973) observed the existence of death rites consisting of definite phases that she felt may correspond to the discrete intrapsychic stages of the mourning process. Zunin (1974), in his group work with wives of men killed in the Vietnam conflict, noted the normal stages of the grieving process but also observed and emphasized the importance of the final stages of this process. There appeared to be two special indices of adjustment which reflected when these women had reorganized their lives and were ready to begin anew. First, there was a primary identification readjustment associated with the feeling that "I am a single woman"; second, there was the time they chose to remove their wedding rings.

A number of recent studies have focused on adjustment of wives to a more enigmatic loss; i.e., the situation of having a husband classified as missing in action (MIA) or as an unconfirmed prisoner of war (PW). Investigators of the Family Studies Branch of the Center for Prisoner of War Studies (McCubbin, Hunter, and Metres, 1974; McCubbin, Hunter, and Dahl, 1975), on the basis of in-depth interviews with 215 PW/MIA wives, stressed the findings that for these women the future remained uncertain and any attempt to resolve the situation was fraught with feelings of guilt and ambivalence. Spolyar (1974), on the basis of his work with MIA families, emphasized that the indeterminate absence created a certain amount of anxiety and unknown fear; the wives were suspended in limbo until more definite facts were known. Spolyar pointed out that of particular significance in the MIA situation was the problem of "anticipatory grief" which usually developed, not as a result of definite death, but as an unconfirmed loss under the threat of death. He cautioned that two problems appeared to be related to anticipatory grief. First, if the wife worked through the grieving process prior to the actualization of her husband's death, there may be emotional complications when her husband's death is confirmed, such as a sense of guilt or feeling of shame brought about by the cultural directive to mourn, a process she had already completed. Second, in the case where the husband returns and the wife has emancipated herself through anticipatory grief, the emotional readjustments which follow present a major crisis for the family.

Eliot (1946) observed that adjustment to loss appears to be a function of the wife's age; when a young woman loses her husband, it is easier for her than for the older woman to go on with her life. In contrast, Benson, McCubbin, Dahl, and Hunter (1974: 159) pointed out that youth and age are not significant in the case of the MIA wife whose loss is uncertain; for this group of women, "anxieties and depression have fluctuated month after month and year after year in a cyclical rhythm which has defied resetting into an on-going pattern of adjustment."

Although the process of grieving is a difficult one for the MIA wife held in limbo, several studies suggest that for the parents of the missing men the adjustment to the loss of a son may be even more difficult. Shortly after the return of American prisoners of war from Vietnam in the spring of 1973, Hunter, McCubbin, and Benson (1974) interviewed mothers and wives of American servicemen missing in action in Southeast Asia; in general, mothers were struggling to come to terms with their feelings about the loss of their sons; the wives, on the other hand, appeared to be more concerned with the practical issues of raising a family, pursuing a career, or establishing a new life style–i.e., coming to terms with themselves and projecting themselves into the future. McCubbin and Metres (1974), in a series of group discussions with 79 parents of sons missing in action, observed that for these men and women grieving was just one facet of their total adjustment process–grieving appeared to fluctuate with other life stresses. The normal work of mourning appeared to be modified by many factors, including the personality of the parent, the nature of the relationship between the parents and their son, the social and communication climate in which the loss occurred, and the ambiguity of the situation which left these parents in a state of limbo as to the finality of their loss. The investigators concluded that, as a whole, mothers talked about their grief, whereas fathers showed difficulty in expressing their feelings.

The basic question as to how children react to the loss of a father or to a situation in which father's fate is unknown is, at best, controversial. While grieving is the most accessible concept available to describe children's reaction to loss, the literature is neither clear nor uniformly consistent on the subject. Research on children's reactions to loss has tended to emphasize the children's sensitivity to their mother's reaction to the loss, rather than the children's involvement in a personal grief (McCubbin, Hunter, and Metres, 1974a). On the basis of group interviews with a total of 124 children of men missing in action or listed as prisoners of war in Southeast Asia, McCubbin, Hunter, and Metres (1974a) concluded that the children's reactions did not appear to be attributable to the grieving process but rather to the emergence of various struggles with identity formation, interpersonal relationships, and peer relations. The investigators also emphasized the fact that there may be limited value in making

comparisons between the mourning of adults and the mourning of children. Although adult-child comparisons may show similarities, the authors cautioned against misconstruing them as identical and assuming the existence of identical metaphysical processes. Smilansky (1975), Lifshitz (1975), and Teichman (1975), in their studies of bereaved families in Israel, attempted to evaluate the children's levels of adjustment in order to assess the need for professional intervention. Teichman (1975) pointed out that the children, especially the young ones, reacted to the general stress atmosphere at home rather than to the specific loss. She also observed that a potential source of conflict between adults and children was the fact that the children did not express grief continuously. Parental resentment and even hostility emerged and were directed toward the "unfeeling" children. Sanua (1975) found that often the bereaved mother would isolate herself, not sharing her grief with her children; and in such instances the children lost not one but both parents.

FAMILIES IN TRANSITION

Life's changes, such as marriage, divorce, or retirement, are family stresses which may have a profound impact upon the individual members of the family. How the family system adapts to these life stresses has been a subject of great interest to the military community, but has received little attention in the research literature.

Research on marriage in the military has been, for the most part, limited to the complex problems associated with the marriage of servicemen to wives of foreign origin. Druss (1965), in his study of 56 foreign-born wives, noted the common symptoms and problems presented by these wives in their adjustment to their marriages. Although the marriages may have been functional overseas, upon coming to America, these wives became depressed, homesick, and overwhelmed by the problems of adjustment to the customs of a new culture. The wives often found themselves isolated, if not rejected, by the husbands' parents, friends, or neighbors. In addition, support from their own families was unavailable. Montalvo (1968), in his study of families experiencing separation, also noted the significantly greater amount of difficulties exhibited by wives of foreign origin and their general isolation from the mainstream of life in the community. Although these wives were found to be more dependent upon the military community for assistance, they were relatively unknowledgeable of services in the community to assist them in time of need. Kimura (1957) compared 324 war brides of Japanese husbands with three other mixed cultural groups: Japanese brides of non-Japanese husbands, European brides of Japanese

husbands, and European brides of non-Japanese husbands. This study emphasized the importance of the husband's cultural background and his family's background in determining the outcome of the marriage. A significant relationship was found between good in-law relationships and satisfactory marital adjustment; an unexpected finding was the larger proportion of the European wives of Japanese husbands with positive in-law relationships compared with those of Japanese brides of Japanese men.

Divorce in the military has also been a subject of considerable concern to the military but has received only one reference in the literature. Williams (1971) compared divorce statistics of one segment of the Armed Services, officers in the United States Air Force, with divorce trends in the United States in general. He used his findings to support or explain a number of factors which have been associated with lower or higher divorce rates in the literature. In general, he found the divorce rates for the military sample to be substantially lower than rates for the general population. The investigator attributed the lower divorce rates to the style of life in the military community, a style of life which emphasizes commitment to the military, offers extensive services to the families, and stigmatizes divorce in the military setting.

A life change receiving greater emphasis in the literature has been retirement from the military. In 1969 Bellino pointed out that only recently have military physicians recognized that many of the somatic complaints presented to them by servicemen shortly prior to or subsequent to leaving the military are closely associated with the patient's social and interpersonal adjustment to retirement. He found that free-floating anxiety and depression are often the first signs of the military retiree's predischarge emotional conflict, and emphasized that if these problems are recognized early they can usually be handled effectively through brief counseling. However, if neglected, the initial demands of retirement can lead to prolonged anxiety.

The symptoms of adjustment to retirement follow a predictable pattern, according to McNeil and Giffen (1965a), which allows it to be described as a syndrome. The most common symptoms of the retirement syndrome are anxiety and/or depression, and manifestations of these symptoms include irritability, loss of interest, lack of energy, increased alcoholic intake, and reduced efficiency (McNeil and Giffen, 1967). The retirement syndrome is likely to be evident at three rather distinct points in time: (1) the two- or three-year period prior to actual retirement, (2) the period of "role confusion" immediately subsequent to retirement, and (3) the period when the retiree has difficulty negotiating and clarifying his role following retirement.

Garber's 1971 survey of 666 recently retired military personnel showed that those men who perceived no change in occupational prestige following retirement reported higher levels of well-being than those who experienced a loss or

gain in prestige. This finding was corroborated by Platte (1974) in his study of 583 retirees and their patterns of adjustment in moving from first careers (military) to second careers (civilian). Platte (1974), in his comparison of four subsamples of retirees (retired officers, wives of retired officers, retired enlisted men, wives of retired enlisted men), found that those who perceived retirement as a step down in mobility were lowest in levels of psychological well-being. Moreover, the transition from military status to retired status may have a differential effect upon the marital relationship. Platte (1974) reported that unemployed officers fully retired and not interested in second careers reported significantly higher levels of marital adjustment than the employed officers who perceived themselves downwardly mobile following retirement. In essence, families of retirees experience difficulties similar to those of the servicemen in adjusting to the pre- and postretirement periods (McNeil, 1964). As retirement approaches, the family feels the impending loss of a way of life which has proved secure and satisfying (Giffen and McNeil, 1967). As added complications to the normal stresses of transition, it is highly probable that at about the same time as the man's retirement, the wife may face menopause and there may be intra-family conflicts resulting from the children's reaching adolescence (Greenberg, 1973). Milowe (1964) also approached retirement as a crucial stress which could affect family stability, cautioning that the return of the military man to normal society may trigger off tenuously compensated husband-wife or parent-child relationships, as well as conflicting, unresolved developmental problems of the family members.

Factors which contribute to adjustment problems of retirees and their families have been examined to some degree as comparisons between military and civilian retirees. Bellino (1970) compared military and civilian retirement populations and found some similarities, as well as substantial differences, between the groups. For example, community acceptance, social status, and residences are areas of conflict for the military retiree immediately upon retirement, whereas his civilian counterpart, who has roots in the community and retains the same friends and social ties, does not experience such a disruptive change. In a series of studies, Biderman (1959, 1964, 1971, 1972) has examined the characteristics and adjustments of military retirees and has emphasized the impact of military retirement upon the community and stressed the importance of job competition and group identification to the retiree. In another recent paper, Biderman and Sharp (1968) pointed out the remarkable similarity between civilian and military retirees. The overwhelming majority (83%) of military retirees plan to enter the labor market immediately upon retirement; the large-scale Michigan survey (1960-61) indicated that slightly over half of the officers on the retired list at the time had an easy transition to civilian employment (Biderman and Sharp, 1968).

SERVICES TO FAMILIES UNDER STRESS

The vulnerability of families to the exigencies of life in the military during routine or wartime assignment has been partially offset by the availability of medical, legal, social, psychological, and outreach services and the support of the military community in which the family is situated. Frances and Gale (1973: 172), in their examination of the special stresses that families undergo as part of military life, i.e., periodic separation, rigid social hierarchy, and frequent moves, indicated that the military is aware of these stresses and attempts to provide a total environment and "to take care of its own." "There are few subcultures that so dramatically influence the course of its members' lives as does the military in which families are called upon to meet many unique stresses and, in return, are offered supports that are not generally available to others." Hartog (1966) was also concerned with the military's ability to assist families in their adjustment to the stresses of military life. In his study of 29 psychotic and borderline psychotic military wives, he observed that the relatively closed military community was compelled to provide some form of help for these women.

Yet, to what extent are families living on a military base aware of these resources located in the military community, and what is their perception of the social cost of using such facilities? Spellman (1965) addressed these questions in his study of 655 career army families and found a definite relationship between rank and knowledge of available resources as well as perception of social cost—as rank status increased, so did knowledge of what was available in the community for resolving family conflict, and the perceived social cost attributed to the use of military community resources tended to decrease. In general, however, Spellman observed considerable anxiety, particularly among the lower-ranking enlisted group, attending the use of help resources within the military community. He concluded that this anxiety apparently related to a rather widespread belief that family conflict, either marital or parent-child, which comes to official attention will be dealt with in a punitive way by the commanding officer and by lack of interest by the professional consulted. Allen (1972), in his survey of 430 father-absent army families living at Schilling Manor, a single-parent military community, also described residents, responding to perceived crisis situations affecting the family or community, most consistently and frequently selecting a close neighbor or chaplain to assist in the situation—generally, the residents used the informal community structure before contacting representatives of the formal community services. Bevilacqua (1967), in his survey of 1,706 army families, was concerned with the question of whether health and welfare resource participation could be predicted on the basis of commitment to the military. He found that demographic factors such as age, education, length of service, and rank were predictive—increased age, education level, length of

service, and rank were associated with increased participation. Contrary to these findings, Myles (1970), in his program evaluation survey of 50 Army Community Services (ACS) centers, found that of four ACS client types, active-duty army enlisted men and their dependents most often experienced each of 21 social welfare problems, and their dependents most often utilized the services provided by the centers. Furthermore, he found that professional service deliverers were generally selected as first choice to provide services encompassing conflict resolution and system reconstitution.

Other investigators, like Saunders (1969) in his study of poverty among army families, stress the importance of going beyond the military community to provide the range of services now necessary to cope with all the social welfare problems of families in the military. Another proponent of better utilization of civilian welfare resources by the overtaxed military services was Marsh (1970) who, in his study of 205 army enlisted families undergoing the strains of the moving process, described the insufficiency of existing resources such as the ACS, the Red Cross, and the Army Emergency Relief to provide such resources. Montalvo's (1968) study focused on problem-solving experiences of career military families experiencing husband absence owing to unaccompanied 12-month military assignments overseas. He observed the importance of the informal problem-solving resources (friends, relatives) and found that families who were able to make fuller use of civilian resources encountered fewer problems and adapted better to the separation experience.

Studies dealing with the prolonged separation undergone by families of PWs and MIAs of the Vietnam War have also emphasized issues such as a lack of availability of services designed specifically to assist with this unique situation, as well as a reluctance on the part of the military family members to use existing services. Powers (1974) described the evolution of a strong and determined National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia as a key group in the awakening of the public conscience to the unique needs of these families and in spurring the eventual development of improved and essential family services to them. Hunter and Plag (1973), on the basis of a study of a select group of Navy PW/MIA families, suggested the need for an aggressive program and proposed the development of a more flexible, coordinated, and professionally based "Family Assistance Program" for PW/MIA families. McCubbin and Dahl (1974a, 1974b), in their discussion of a program to provide comprehensive services with a preventative aim to families of returned prisoners of war (RPW) and families of the missing in action, emphasized the applicability and potential of outreach services, since, in spite of availability of mental health services in the military, there remains a discrepancy between the numbers who could benefit from professional counseling and those who step forward to obtain it. In studying the impact of outreach services, McCubbin and Dahl (1974c)

found that 42.4 percent of the RPW families took advantage of outreach services. Hall and Malone (1974), in their clinical assessments of six PW families, found that unsatisfactory experiences with uninformed civilian and military professionals, together with a natural reluctance to seek counseling, were critical factors mitigating the families' involvement in mental health services. McCubbin, Hunter, and Metres (1974) and McCubbin, Hunter, and Dahl (1975) also observed, in their interviews with 215 PW/MIA families, that families tended to avoid seeking help for reasons ranging from denial to abortive and unsatisfactory experiences with health professionals. Westling (1973), in a manual designed to provide concrete assistance to Navy chaplains in their ministry to the PW returnee and his family, emphasizes the need for counseling procedures within the pastoral role because of the reluctance on the part of the family to seek professional assistance.

A number of investigators have pointed out the beneficial aspects of self-help and volunteer programs with families of men experiencing wartime disasters. Duncan (1969), Zunin (1974), and Zunin and Barr (1969) described a program, "Operation Second Life," that was set up in an effort to help Vietnam War widows and uses their common tragedy to turn them toward the future; the program was launched with the idea that the best help for widows can come from other widows. Eloul (1975) and Kirschner (1975), in their work with Israeli widows of the Six-Day and Yom Kippur Wars, also found that self-help groups were efficient in helping these women to overcome their grief and start on the road to rehabilitation. Halpern (1975), Levy (1975), Teichman, Spiegel, and Teichman (1975), Sternberg (1975), and Caplan (1975) encouraged the use of volunteers to help bereaved families. Halpern (1975: 243), in her work with MIA families during the Yom Kippur War, viewed volunteering as a way in which communities hit by a disaster could successfully cope with the crisis situation; furthermore, volunteering was seen as indigenous and as having that "human ingredient that tries to alleviate the pain which is experienced by both helper and helped in times of disaster." Halpern, Levy, Teichman et al., and Sternberg noted that the volunteers who worked with bereaved MIA families in Israel identified with their charges' life difficulties—they did not treat them as patients and, foremost, did not maintain a professional distance. Caplan encouraged the use of volunteers as intermediaries between the professionals and the families.

CRITIQUE OF RESEARCH

In contrast to the long cresive histories of family research, particularly in the realm of theory building (Burr, 1973; Hill and Rodgers, 1964; Pitts, 1964; Sirjamaki, 1964; Stryker, 1964), measurement (Straus, 1964, 1969), and pre-

diction (Bowerman, 1964), research on the military family has been somewhat sporadic, beginning with Hill's (1949) classic study of family separation and reunion. The result has been a theoretical eclecticism leading toward research in breadth rather than depth: an index of its conceptual adolescence.

Most of the studies dealing with families in the military system are subject to the same general criticisms. First, not only are the studies that set out to test specific hypotheses few in number, but also many start and end as broad clinical observations, studies with untested, common-sense assumptions. Second, for most studies, researchers employed samples from available local populations, samples that were not necessarily representative. Readers have thus been forced to establish generalizations based on conclusions drawn from varying types of samples. Third, many of the studies were ex post facto and, therefore, dependent upon data collected retrospectively.

Despite these general criticisms, however, the studies of the family in the military system unquestionably contribute to our understanding of the military families under stress by offering general data upon which hypotheses can be formulated for more rigorous research and for a more differentiated approach to the study of the military family. The most provocative sources for hypotheses appear to be post facto explorations of discussions which are mixed in with the findings of both clinical and survey reports.

One significant aspect of many of the existing studies is that the behavioral scientists who interested themselves in services to families viewed family research in terms of its influence upon policy. Our concern with narrowly focused and policy-oriented research is that it may often set aside well-defined and theory-based variables for more unobtrusive or obvious variables which policy makers define as acceptable and influential. Appropriately, Coates and Pellegrin (1965) have suggested this shortcoming in their critique of research in the military; they stress the inability of researchers to build upon past research and therefore contribute to a body of knowledge. Although the degree to which family research is designed and implemented to influence policies regarding families is self-evident, this does not appear to have been a futile exercise, since the accumulated topics such as separation, father absence, child abuse, and mobility have sensitized the policy makers to the immediate and long-term implications of their decisions affecting the military family.

THE POTENTIAL FOR FAMILY RESEARCH IN THE MILITARY

The state of research on the military family, based on work completed, would appear to be indeterminate, with more issues raised than answered. It has been

concluded here that the climate for family research in the military has, over the years, been less than optimum, that research on the military family has not been accretive, with minimum evidence of cumulating generalizations and theory, and that existing research has revealed little about the dynamic, interactional, and developmental aspects of the family in the military community. Only touched upon, and as yet unresolved, are such questions as follow:

A. SOCIALIZATION IN THE MILITARY COMMUNITY
   1. How are families socialized into the military community?
   2. What are the effects of socialization in the military community upon the family, its stability, and its development?
   3. With the increase in females entering the military system, what will be the socialization process for the husband/spouse and the family in the military community?

B. FAMILY DEVELOPMENT AND FUNCTIONING IN THE MILITARY COMMUNITY
   1. What types of family patterns are necessary to function within the military community?
   2. What effect does life in the military have upon the family development cycle, and developmentally, how do military families differ from their civilian counterparts?

C. FAMILIES UNDER STRESS IN THE MILITARY COMMUNITY
   1. What types of families are better able to endure and develop within the military community?
   2. Why are some families more vulnerable to the stresses of life in the military and under what conditions?
   3. In what ways has life in the military community positively influenced or, possibly, undermined the stability of married military personnel and their families?

D. THE FAMILY AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE MILITARY SYSTEM
   1. What are the roles and potential influences of the military family in the career patterns of military personnel?
   2. What are the major family factors which weigh heavily upon retention of the military member, and under what conditions are these factors critical in determining the outcome?
   3. How much of the variance in the performance of military personnel can be explained by the family and its functioning?

Although this chapter can only begin to deal with and respond to these critical illuminating questions, it is hoped that, at the very least, some of the more important and pertinent areas have been identified and introduced. The question, however, still remains as to what the future holds for family research in the military.

At first glance, there is reason to believe that the prevailing attitude toward the family and family research has not changed. An index of the importance of the family in the military should be evident in the reports on the Volunteer Army [VOLAR] and the factors policy makers see as critical to recruitment, development, and retention of career soldiers. However, in reviewing recent

documents related to VOLAR, a special study group of the Army War College concluded:

> It is interesting to note that in the report, *The Volunteer Army–One Year Later*, dated February, 1974 little attention is paid to reporting improvements in the quality of family life . . . in the body of the document little more than a paragraph is devoted to Army families (Bennett et al., 1974: 6).

Even in those areas of military life in which the family should be considered, policy makers have chosen to give less priority to family considerations. The same special study group of the Army War College concluded:

> Policy, born of operational necessity, concentrates on the movement and assignment of the member. There is little, if any, focus on the impact of the separation upon the family (Bennett et al., 1974: 119).

In spite of the absence of more obvious indices of changing attitudes towards *the military family and family research*, there are developments within the military community which suggest that the Armed Services realize the need for something more than the allocation of funds to support new housing construction, commissary and exchange services, and medical services if its requirements for a motivated volunteer program are to be met (Doodeman, 1974; Finlayson, 1969; Ryan and Bevilacqua, 1964). The necessity for a greater understanding of the role and influence of the military family has been fostered by the developments in the field of family research which document the impact of the family upon individual behavior and health (Grolnick, 1972; Jackson, 1965; Lewis, Beavers, Gossett, and Phillips, 1974; Livsey, 1972; Schmale, 1958). Furthermore, the development of a Family Studies Branch within the Center for POW Studies and the research being conducted by this branch with families of prisoners of war and families of servicemen missing in action strongly indicate the value of such research and the importance of longitudinal studies of the military family (Plag, 1974).

The emergence of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia as a politically powerful and influential organization, supported by parallel developments in the women's liberation movement, signaled an increasingly active role for military families (Powers, 1974). This organization not only brought into focus the critical issue of family needs but also exposed the classic struggle between two social institutions: the military and the family. Out of frustration families sought answers to their questions: what was the status of their men? They sought help and understanding of the dilemma they faced after the many years of waiting. The military's traditional modes of handling routine disputes with families were inept in calming the discontent. The

families were unwilling to accept the military's usual approach to family problems the "classified information" approach, the "we are checking into it" approach, or the subtle but ever present "buck-passing" tactics which the families felt were so characteristic of the military system. Even placement of key family members into strategic advisory positions to assist the military in planning for family needs was not viewed as sufficient. Families inadvertently used these invitations to obtain more information about the mechanics and functioning of the military system and sometimes proceeded to expose the tenuous and often inconsistent logic and assumptions upon which many family-related decisions were based.

The methodical approach of the military and the complicated network of various governmental procedures were judged by many of the families as inefficient and ineffective. Through the National League of Families these military families had come of age as a politically viable social institution capable of demanding information, exposing inconsistencies and bureaucratic apathy, and pushing their way into the international sphere demanding what seemed to be impossible. They questioned the constitutionality of laws governing servicemen missing in action and prisoners of war laws which had gone unquestioned in previous wars (Nelson, 1974). Brash but influential, this collective group of families contributed significantly to the welfare of all military families by bringing to the surface the feelings, attitudes, sensitivities, and needs of families who experience the hardships of life in the military and the tragedies of war. They brought to the forefront the frustrations, the fears, doubts, and angry feelings which had raged from time to time but were seldom articulated to the point of demanding attention and action. More important, these families exposed a relative lack of knowledge of families in the military and made the public aware of the importance of family stability in the military system (Hunter and Plag, 1973; McCubbin, Dahl, Metres, Hunter, and Plag, 1974).

Obviously, the changing profile of the military community toward a "married man's" military (Bennett et al., 1974; Coates and Pellegrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1960; Little, 1971) has and will continue to have a profound impact upon policies regarding the military family. Coates and Pellegrin (1965) pointed out that the family is important because: first, it is very likely that a large percentage of men who leave the service do so because of an inability to arrive at a satisfactory family adjustment within the context of the military milieu which, of course, results in the loss of extremely valuable manpower, wasted training, and lowered military efficiency; and second, it is also likely that men who are experiencing family problems are unable to operate at their most effective level. The evolution of human relations, community services, medical programs (CHAMPUS), and social work services in the Navy are indices of this growth in sensitivity to family needs (Hunter and Plag, 1973; Little, 1971; McCubbin and

Dahl, 1974a, 1974d). Hill (1974) touched upon a critical point: two social institutions, the military and the family, compete for the same resource, the serviceman. In the long run the family wins. Certainly, the family has a profound impact upon the serviceman and his behavior, but to what degree this hypothesis is true and under what conditions remains to be investigated.

CONCLUSIONS

As family research moves through several stages of development, from observation and speculation to exploratory fact-finding research and hypothesis testing, so the study of the military family will probably have to undergo its own disquietudes of growth and maturity. We hope we shall witness a plethora of research inquiries with techniques, methods, and theories appropriated from the vast and ever increasing literature already available to assess the unique aspects of the family life in the military system. Out of parochialism, family research in the military should not go its own way; it is, however, expected that we will not witness the independent amassing of simplistic data and that we will avoid family research that does not take into account the wisdom of what has already been done.

The field of family research in the military must be divided into areas which have been more meaningfully and logically developed through intimate knowledge of the family rather than on the basis of administratively defined concepts or variables, e.g., "families of servicemen killed in action" or other definitions borrowed from the military community. As we move closer and closer to the mainstream of family research, we hope we will acknowledge the extreme complexity of family life and seek to understand not only the deviant but also the normal. Investigations dealing with the normal crises of life in the military and in symptom-free families are sorely needed.

It is important to point out, however, that our emphasis upon the urgency for greater knowledge of the military family is not without recognition of the fact that support of the military family is not the major mission of the Armed Forces. Yet, any mission which tends to view these families as "invisible" people cannot realistically assess their impact on the total military system. Our review of the literature has led us to appreciate the wisdom of Hill's (1949: 361) conclusion that what is needed is a policy designed to "help all families, not as a sentimental movement, but as a basic need for national stability and social order."

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Sociological and psychological studies involving military families during the past four decades are reviewed in depth and categorized according to sample size, sample type and sophistication of analyses conducted. The historical antecedents of family research in the military are critiqued and the limitations as well as importance of family research are addressed.

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