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**Quality of Life and Shelter:
An Overview of the History of Military Housing
Policy and Initiatives
Since the Adoption of the All-Volunteer Force Concept
(1973-1996)**

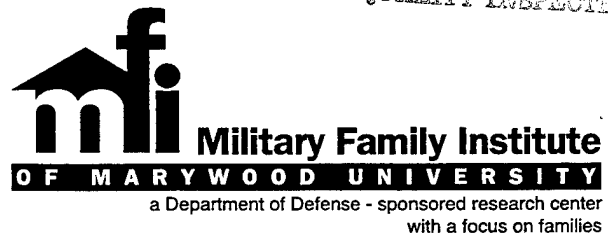
Pamela C. Twiss
James A. Martin

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Military Family Institute
Marywood University
2300 Adams Avenue
Scranton, PA 18509
[HTTP://MFI.MARYWOOD.EDU](http://MFI.MARYWOOD.EDU)
PHONE: (717) 961-4716

Michael D. Shaler, M.B.A.
Director

Alan M. Levine, Ph.D., R.D.
Deputy Director for Research

Joseph G. Giacofci, M.B.A.
Deputy Director for Administration

NOTICES

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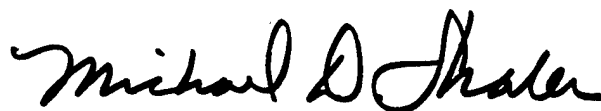
Foreword

In this report, Dr. Pamela C. Twiss and Dr. James A. Martin examine in detail one of the fundamental components of quality of life in the military services—housing. The authors provide an in-depth look at housing issues as they have developed since the inception of the All-Volunteer Force.

Military housing policy began its evolutionary history in conjunction with the establishment of frontier posts in the 19th century. Fundamental to this policy development is the unique precept, retained in today's Department of Defense policy, that the military services provide in-kind housing (quarters) to their members. Additionally, the policies of today continue to include the two historic differential entitlements based on the size of the family and the rank of the service member.

One of the prime benefits of this policy review by Drs. Twiss and Martin is the notion that many of today's initiatives have a historical basis, and this report provides the contextual background for the policy decisions of tomorrow. Privatization, for example, was the driving force behind the two large-scale expansions of military housing in the 1950s—the Wherry and Capehart initiatives. Today privatization of military housing is again being explored in the context of current budget pressures and mounting maintenance backlogs for the existing inventory.

This study provides insight into both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of military housing policy which will inform the discussion and debate surrounding contemporary quality-of-life issues for our military services.



Michael D. Shaler
Director

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About the Authors

Pamela C. Twiss, Ph.D., MSW, is Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, West Chester University, West Chester, Pennsylvania. While serving as Principal Investigator for the Quality of Life Housing History project Dr. Twiss was Assistant Professor, School of Social Work at Marywood University, where she taught research and social policy. Dr. Twiss has served as a consultant to local government on social service program evaluations. She also has served as coordinator for a series of research projects focused upon economically distressed communities and has worked with non-profit housing and community development organizations.

James A. Martin, Ph.D., BCD, is Associate Professor, Graduate School of Social Work and Social Research, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. Dr. Martin is the Editor of the Military Family Institute's publication Military Family Issues: The Research Digest and he has provided consultation to a number of Institute research efforts. Dr. Martin is a retired Army Colonel. He served for twenty-six years in the Medical Service Corps in a number of mental health and community support positions, various research and research management assignments, and as the Executive Assistant to the Army's Deputy Surgeon General for Medical Research and Development. Colonel Martin commanded the European Unit of Walter Reed Army Institute of Research and he served as a member of the mental health team deployed with the 2nd Armored Cavalry Regiment during the Gulf War. Dr. Martin is a member of a National Research Council/Navy Studies Board Human Resource Panel examining quality-of-life issues for the future Navy and Marine Corps.

Overview of Quality of Life Housing History Project

Investigators

- Pamela C. Twiss, Ph.D., MSW served as the Principal Investigator of this project.
- James A. Martin, Ph.D., BCD served as consultant to the project.

Purpose

- To examine military housing in relationship to the varied force characteristics and unique missions of the separate branches of the United States Military Services.
- To further understanding of the development and implementation of military housing polices across and within the services.

Objectives

- To develop a history of quality-of-life policies and initiatives, across the services, in one key quality-of-life domain: housing.
- To review housing policies and initiatives following the inception of the All-Volunteer Force concept, 1973-1996, for military members within the United States.

Methodology

- Historical research using primary documents, secondary sources and key informant interviews.
- The study focuses on the
 - history of housing policies and initiatives, across the services, from 1973-1996;
 - theories or conceptual frameworks which supported these initiatives;
 - social, economic, and political factors which have appeared to affect the development of these efforts;
 - efficacy of these efforts; and,
 - implications for present and future quality-of-life initiatives.

Findings

The findings are presented in two parts that are the joint work of the authors.

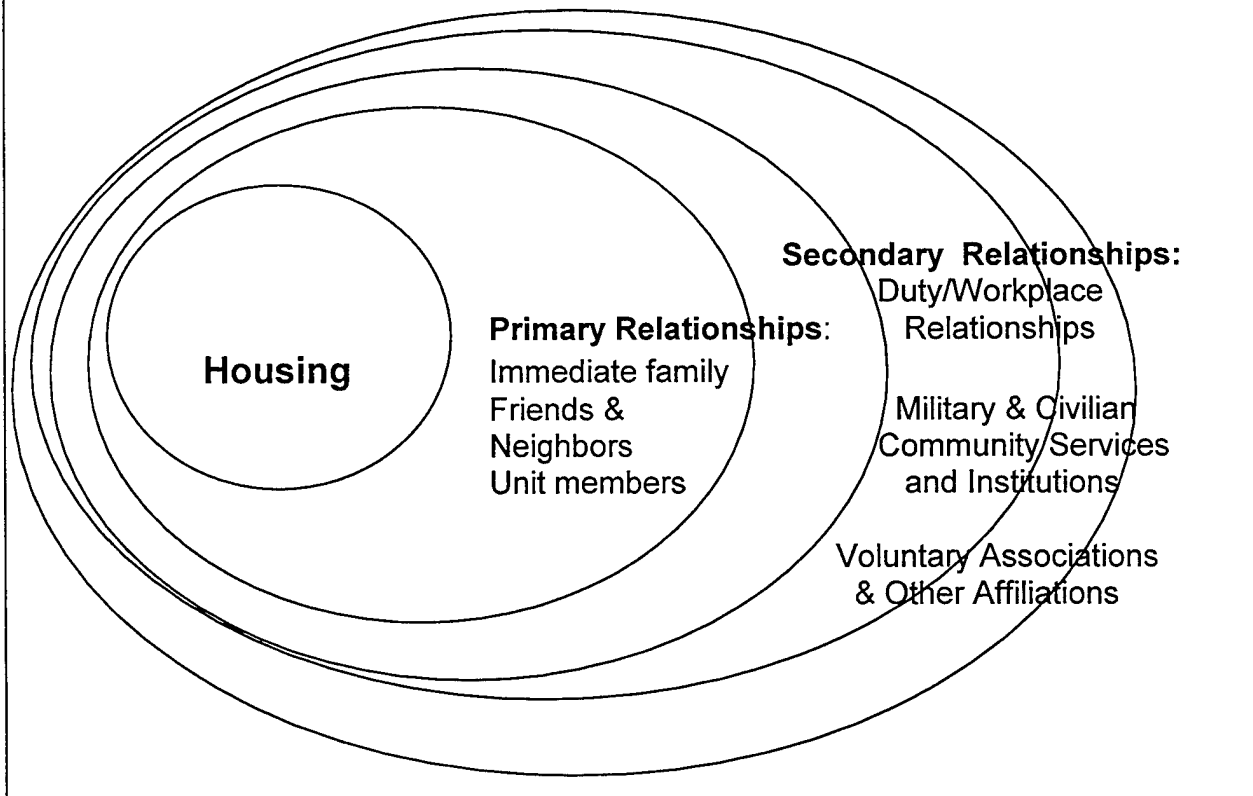
- The Executive Summary highlights major findings of the study in brief.
- The Technical Report presents an elaboration of the major findings and considerations for future quality-of-life initiatives.

Executive Summary

The presence and adequacy of absolute necessities, such as food, shelter, and other important material goods, are fundamental components of life quality. The housing that provides our shelter is more than just “bricks and mortar” (Ford Foundation, 1989). *Many other quality-of-life issues revolve around and relate to it (Kemeny, 1992; Twiss, 1996), making housing a core quality-of-life issue (Campbell, 1981; Campbell, Converse & Rodgers, 1976; Defense Science Board, 1995; Kerce, 1994).* Figure 1 illustrates the role housing may play in situating military members in relationship to their primary and secondary social networks. This model is rooted in the notion that housing places military members and their families within a specific geographical context. This includes “nested” environments that are interrelated, the neighborhood and larger community surrounding the housing unit (Campbell et al.). Within this context, personal aspects of life and work relationships may be developed and sustained, and basic material and social supports and services are accessed (Twiss).

Figure 1

Housing: a Core Determinant of Military Quality of Life Where we live helps determine our social networks

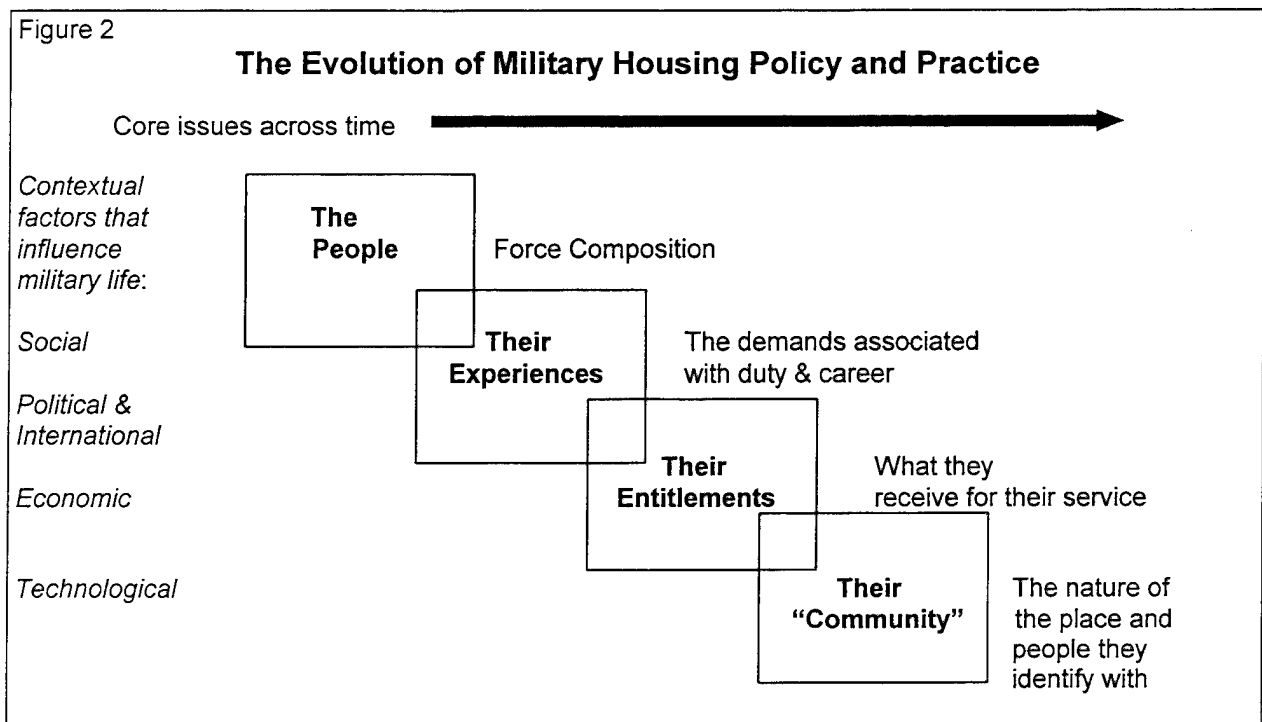


This study examines the history of military housing policy, within a military quality-of-life context. It focuses especially on the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) period (1973-1996) and explores the trends and themes that have influenced the course of military housing policy. The study offers a discussion of the social, economic and political contexts within which military housing policies developed. The implications of this history for present and future military quality-of-life initiatives are explored.

Key Developments

Policy analysis frequently focuses upon those included in any policy's target population, what they have received in the form of goods, services, or changes in status, and what effects result as policies are implemented. Examining changes in these interrelated areas across time aids in understanding the development of military housing policy and military quality of life. The findings from this study address several key questions. How have the people in the Armed Forces changed during this period? How has the nature of military duties and career demands changed? How has the nature of military housing entitlements and differential housing benefits changed over time? What is the nature of the military community, and how has it changed?

Figure 2 depicts the focus of this paper and illustrates the organization of key developments in military housing policy across time.



Military Demographics: The People

From the beginning of the Republic to the present, the composition of the Armed Forces has changed dramatically. The military once relied upon a force of "single" men, including enlisted men with families who were treated as if "single" (Albano, 1994; Baldwin, 1993; Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense [Personnel and Readiness] [OASDP&R], 1993). Today, the military is a heterogeneous force of men and women (Segal, 1986; Westat, 1994). Better than half of all military members are in traditional married couple households, many of these with children (Westat) and are likely to continue to be as the services emphasize retention to career status (Segal & Harris, 1993). However, dual career marriages and single head-of-household families are becoming more common (Segal; Westat). Increasingly, military members married to civilian spouses are in dual-earner marriages.

The services are more heterogeneous racially and ethnically, and contain more women (Segal, 1986; Segal & Harris, 1993) although there are differences among the services. For example, African-Americans make up a larger proportion of the force in the Army (Congressional Budget Office [CBO], 1989; Defense Manpower Data Center [DMDC], East, 1997). Across the Armed Forces, the percentage of women serving has reached 15% (Military Family Resource Center, 1996). In the Army alone, the percentage of women soldiers grew from less than 2% in 1972 to some 12% in 1992 (Segal & Harris).

Concomitant with increasing emphasis upon maintaining a career military force, and an ever more technologically-skilled force (Segal & Harris, 1993), rank structure has changed. However, differences in rank structure among the services are apparent, related to their unique missions and retention goals. For example, the overall proportion of the Armed Forces in the most junior enlisted pay grades is smaller today. Yet, over 40% of active duty Marine Corps members are in pay grades E-1 through E-3, while less than 20% of active duty Air Force members are in these pay grades (DMDC, East, 1997).

Duties and Career Experiences

While there has been little change in the fundamental nature of military service, aspects of day-to-day military duties have become qualitatively different since the inception of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) concept. Probably the most important change relates to the overarching concepts of being "trained and ready" (Shannon & Sullivan, 1993). For soldiers, sailors, marines, and airmen this focus on readiness means additional emphasis on technical

and personal skill development and more time spent in unit-level training. All of this translates into more and more time away from home at military schools, in combat training centers, and on training exercises in locations around the globe (Defense Science Board, 1995).

During the last ten years military personnel have found their training and readiness tested in a variety of "other than war" military operations, involving peacekeeping and humanitarian activities in Central America, the Middle East, Africa, and Eastern Europe. In 1990 and 1991, approximately 700,000 American military personnel participated in the Gulf War, a deployment to Southwest Asia that led to a brief period of intense combat operations (Institute of Medicine, 1996). This was followed by a defensive role that continues today, a role that currently involves successive waves of personnel on unaccompanied operational deployments typically lasting six months.

The Soviet Union, the so-called "evil empire," died in 1991 after a period of turbulent change (Shoffner, 1991). America's role as a protector of Europe had lasted more than 40 years and hundreds of thousands of Americans prepared for and served tours of duty as part of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) force protecting Western Europe from the Soviets. Many military careers were dominated by service in Europe and major military communities were established and maintained to support thousands of accompanying family members in this forward deployed theater of operation. At the same time, the United States maintained a major military presence in the Pacific and the Far East. Many military members and their families spent a substantial part of their military careers in this part of the world. Today, America's presence in both Europe and Asia has been substantially reduced. While some military personnel and their families will undoubtedly serve tours of duty in these locations, most current and future service members will mark their careers by the number of times that they are deployed (for six months or less) rather than by the number of overseas tours completed. Time away from home, away from family and other loved ones, will be the dominant factor marking future military careers.

Military service has become more and more professionally focused and organized around joint service training and operations (Holder & Dessert, 1996). The technologies associated with modern military equipment and military operations demand increased training and corresponding technical skills (Shannon, & Sullivan, 1993). The nature of military service has also been affected by various psychosocial factors. These include the expanding racial, ethnic, and gender diversity of the force, operational activities that place increasing leadership responsibilities on more junior officers and enlisted personnel, and a world where communication technologies seemingly make all

behaviors immediately accessible to the press and therefore to the general public. Military service has truly become a very public service.

Together, these factors present current and future military members and their families with enormous life and career challenges. At the same time, many military members and their families perceive the rewards of military service and a military career being eroded. Perceptions help create realities. In the context of the changing nature of military service and military careers, quality-of-life issues, like housing, take on enormous importance for members and their families. These quality-of-life factors are part of the fabric that truly shelters these individuals from some of the stressors inherent in military duties and military life. Most believe that these factors represent an important component of establishing and maintaining a truly trained and ready force.

The Nature of the Housing Entitlement

Officers and select senior enlisted members of the Armed Forces have always been eligible for on-base housing (Baldwin, 1993; Defense Science Board, 1995; OASDP&R, 1993). Officers have typically lived in government rented or acquired housing or received payments to reimburse them when quarters were unavailable. The government also typically provided living space or a cash substitute to enlisted personnel. Officers, however, were expected to have families while enlisted members were expected to be single. The military has gradually changed the nature of its housing benefits and entitlements. Over time, special provisions for officers and the most senior enlisted members of the services that recognized the needs of families were broadened to include larger portions of the enlisted force. Entitlements increasingly went with "career" status, that is, having made a commitment to a military career.

Traditionally, military members had to accept quarters assigned to them and could not opt out of available and adequate military housing. Over time, unaccompanied officers won the right to choose to live off base. More recently, this privilege was extended to select career unaccompanied enlisted personnel (USCA Title 37 Sec. 403 [b][a][3], [c][2]).

Today, the Department of Defense (DoD) and the services place greater emphasis upon "equality of benefit" across and within the services. The most junior enlisted personnel are now "eligible" for military family housing if they have a family. Efforts have been made to equalize waiting periods for on-base family housing, across pay grades. However, junior enlisted access to military family housing still varies base-to-base, even within the same service.

The Nature of the Military Community

In the early days of the Republic, military housing was developed in conjunction with the establishment of frontier posts (Baldwin, 1993). Protecting the country's vulnerable coastline and shifting western frontiers placed military men and their families in isolated areas of a developing country. By the end of the 1800s, the nation was industrializing and the Army was centralizing its forces (Baldwin). The terrible living and working conditions of civilians in the emerging industrial centers were studied (Bremner, 1972; Byington, 1974; Ford Foundation, 1989; Trattner, 1994) and exposed by journalists and photographers (see Riis, 1957, for example). The frequently abysmal living and working conditions of Army families were also investigated (Albano, 1994). Company towns designed by leading industrialists included company-owned housing for civilian workers (Katz, 1986; Martin & Orthner, 1989). The Army began developing standardized plans for construction of base facilities that, like civilian industrial villages and company towns, offered all of the amenities associated with a real community, including gymnasiums, libraries and improved housing (Baldwin; Defense Science Board, 1995; Martin & Orthner). This burst of Army community construction was overtaken by the demands of World War I. Living conditions for military members and their families after the war continued to be very difficult (Baldwin).

Following World War II, the nation confronted a wholly new development: a large standing force, and increasingly married force, returning to a country with a housing shortage (Baldwin, 1993; Ford Foundation, 1989). Emerging housing technologies (*mass housing production*), coupled with federal housing policies (*federally backed long-term mortgages*) and rapid expansion of the highway system brought a suburban housing boom (Checkoway, 1986; Bratt, 1989c; Mortgage Banking, 1994). Some returning World War II veterans initially moved into new public housing and later made use of Veteran's Administration (VA) loans to move into new suburban housing developments (Achtenberg & Marcuse, 1986; Bratt, 1989a; Mortgage Banking).

Congressional appropriations have always been insufficient to fund housing for all military members who needed it, particularly for members with families.* During this post-World War II period, this was especially the case. In search of an alternative to the appropriation process for family housing, the military turned to privatization (Baldwin, 1993, 1996). The Wherry and Capehart housing programs, initiated in 1949 and 1955, respectively, engaged private

* The Marsh Report Appendix on the history of military housing notes that by 1939 there were only some 25,000 quarters for military families across the Armed Forces. These units provided housing sufficient for less than 10% of all troops (Defense Science Board, 1995).

developers in the construction of housing for military families on a large scale. *Approximately two-thirds of today's military family housing stock originated with these two programs.* Both programs helped sustain the garrison community model or military company town, as almost all of the Wherry housing was eventually purchased, maintained and operated by the military services under the Capehart program.

The large standing force common to post-World War II America, however, also required tremendous reliance upon the private sector for housing. Military housing policy shifted to acknowledge this de facto state of affairs (Baldwin, 1993; CBO, 1993). Increasingly, the DoD focused on enhancing monetary housing allowances to ensure that military families could get private sector housing. The military services and the DoD also continued to experiment with various housing initiatives to include privatization (for example, Sec. 801 and 802 in the eighties). They also sought ways in which to use existing civilian housing programs (for example, Department of Housing and Urban Development's [DHUD] Sec. 236 program in the early seventies). Military family housing construction did not cease. Rather, it received significant support during the AVF period. Off-base housing was the norm for members with families, however. *Today, approximately 70% are so housed (DMDC, East, 1997).*

In the wake of defense downsizing, associated base closures and realignments, calls are now being made for the complete privatization of all military family housing (Defense Science Board, 1996) and for a better housing allowance system. The *garrison community* or *military company town* may eventually exist only in areas of the country and overseas, where the private sector cannot or will not produce enough adequate, safe, and affordable housing. Garrison communities are also likely to continue at *mega-bases* like the Army's Fort Hood in Texas.

Constants Over Time

While the military has experienced shifting force composition, changes in the nature of entitlements and benefits, and the gradual transformation of the military community, some things have remained fairly constant. *The military is unique among contemporary American employers in its long-term provision of in-kind housing (quarters) and explicit recognition of differential housing needs based upon family or "dependency" status.* For example, assignments to military quarters have long taken into consideration family size. Military housing allowances are more generous for service members with families than those without families. These dependency differentials have a long history in the military and are likely to continue (OASDP&R, 1993). Civilian employers in

the United States rarely provide in-kind housing today. The tendency in the civilian sector has been the elimination of company-owned services and supports in favor of direct compensation and contracted services (Martin & Orthner, 1989).

Differential benefits and entitlements associated with rank are also a constant for the military, and likely to remain so. "Rank has its privilege" (RHIP) is a familiar concept and not unlike notions in the civilian community that attach status to increased responsibility and tenure in the workplace.

Other critical constants for military housing policy include (1) reliance upon variable annual Congressional appropriations, (2) competition for priority funding within the services, and (3) the realities of enormous maintenance and replacement costs for an aging housing stock. Military construction is financed through separate Congressional appropriations. Typically, the military construction bill is a favorite among legislators in both political parties in the House and the Senate. Military construction appropriations are approved speedily and with little debate. These appropriations have traditionally offered significant opportunities to funnel public works moneys to home districts (Cassata, June 1995, July 1995; Felton, 1982; Palmer, September, 1991). While Congressional leaders are usually friendly toward the DoD in this process, the requirements of the annual appropriation process and its variability, year-to-year, offer opportunities (Hartman & Drayer, 1990) and present problems for military housing development that are unique to the public process.

Before funding requests leave the DoD and go to Congressional leaders, housing requests compete with other military priorities for defense dollars. It is within the DoD and the services that key decisions occur about funding housing and other quality-of-life initiatives. These decisions always involve keen competition with operational activities, other personnel related costs, research and development, and equipment modernization.

Finally, as much of the existing military housing stock is quite old, the high costs of replacement and repair are a significant burden on the DoD and the services (Defense Science Board, 1995). Mounting maintenance backlogs in the context of other budget deficit pressures make privatization increasingly attractive.

Key Policy & Research Issues for the Future

Throughout the AVF period, a variety of quality-of-life arguments have been issued in support of continuing the practice of housing military members and their families on military bases. Military leaders, members, and their families have argued that military housing serves a variety of important functions that meet both objective and subjective quality-of-life needs. Specifically, it has been argued that military housing provides an important financial benefit, a safe and secure environment, and ready access to on-base services and supports (cf. CBO, 1993; House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1983a; House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1984a; Jowers, 1996; Segal, 1986; Smythe, 1994)—all reasons to see base housing as meeting objective quality-of-life needs. From a subjective quality-of-life perspective, it is argued that living in on-base military housing helps socialize people into the military culture, provides a means for social control, reinforces organizational norms (rank structure) and identification with the military as an institution (Segal), and provides a heterogeneous community of support attuned to the special needs and stresses of a military career and military family life (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1984a).

Figure 3 illustrates these quality-of-life benefits and deficits commonly associated with military and private sector housing for military members. As the DoD and the services develop housing policy in the future, these will likely present the challenges to be addressed in policy formulation and implementation.

Figure 3		
Challenges for DoD Housing Policy and Practice		
	Typically Provides	Selectively Lacks
Military Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Affordability Safety & security Access to military services Mechanisms for military socialization & identification Peer social supports Social controls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Privacy Personal life style choice Diverse social networks Spouse employment opportunity Civilian community services Investment opportunity
Civilian Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Privacy Personal life style choice Diverse social network Spouse employment opportunity Civilian community services Investment opportunity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Affordability Safety & security Access to military services Mechanisms for military socialization & identification Peer social networks Social controls

Unfortunately, little available empirical study addresses the validity of these arguments or the relative efficacy of on-base versus off-base housing in meeting the varying quality-of-life needs of military members and their families or in predicting important military outcomes such as retention. A variety of concerns and questions are not sufficiently addressed by historical or existing survey data. Only recently have systematic empirical efforts begun to identify what aspects of military quality of life (and housing) affect readiness and retention (Kerce, 1994; Segal & Harris, 1993). Existing data indicate that on-base housing is a source of dissatisfaction for some and satisfaction for others (Army Personnel Survey Office, 1996; Kerce; Segal & Harris) and may be related to career retention for enlisted personnel but not officers (Segal & Harris). The CBO (1993) and the General Accounting Office [GAO] (1996) have noted that military housing appears to be most desirable to members with families who cannot afford to buy housing on the economy. *Specific quality-of-life questions related to housing that need to be studied include:*

- Is military housing important in the acculturation/socialization of junior enlisted members to military life? If so, what aspects of the military community provide and support this acculturation and socialization?
- How important is on-base housing to the support and security of families of deployed members?
- How important is the desegregated nature of the on-base military community to the effective functioning of an integrated force? In this same context, what are the corresponding self-selected racial-ethnic housing choices made by those residing off base? What are the consequences of these private sector housing choices for unit functioning?
- Are housing policies perceived to be fair by military members?

Significant changes have occurred in military housing policy over the decades. The nature of the force, their duties and career experiences, their military housing entitlements and the nature and form of the military community have all changed. These developments paralleled shifting military and civilian priorities, the availability of resources, the demands and interests of a changing military force with different backgrounds and expectations, the pace of technology, and other historical currents. A constant since the inception of the All-Volunteer Force concept has been increasing emphasis upon quality-of-life initiatives that may enhance recruitment, retention and readiness among military members and increased formal support for and attention to the concerns of military families. Unfortunately, most government studies of military housing focus upon its costs and alternative financing and delivery mechanisms. As Smythe (1994) notes, the quantitative aspects of housing receive more attention than the qualitative aspects. The role of housing in

military quality of life (objectively and subjectively), and the broader role of the military community in military quality of life, is well worth investigating now and in the future.

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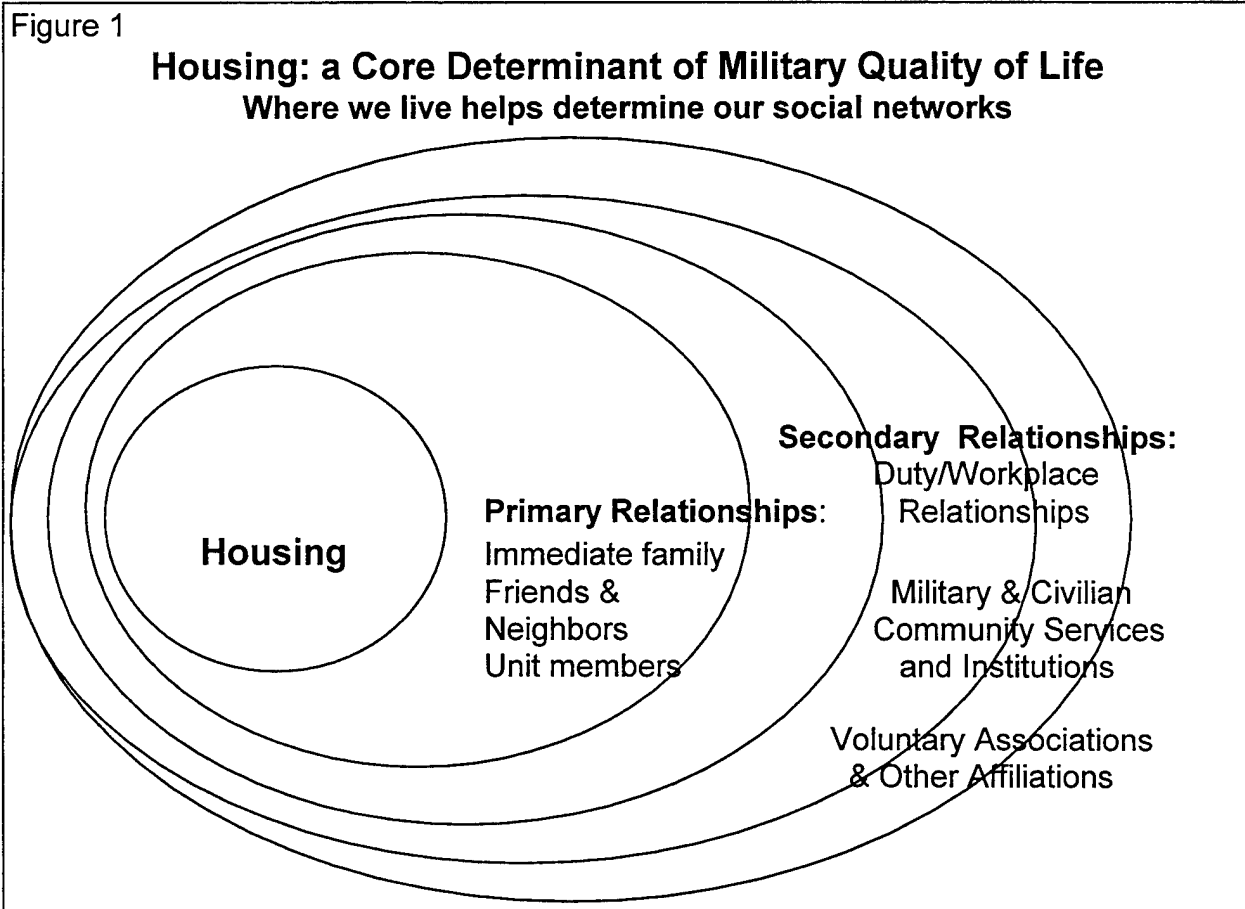
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Introduction

The presence and adequacy of absolute necessities, such as food, shelter, and other important material goods, are fundamental components of life quality. The housing that provides our shelter represents more than just “bricks and mortar” (Ford Foundation, 1989). Many important quality-of-life issues revolve around and relate to housing (Kemeny, 1992; Twiss, 1996), making it a core quality-of-life issue (Campbell, 1981; Campbell, Converse & Rodgers, 1976; Defense Science Board, 1995).

Figure 1 illustrates the role housing may play in situating military members in relationship to their primary and secondary social networks. This model is rooted in the notion that housing places military members and their families within a specific interrelated geographic context. Housing, neighborhood and the surrounding community are “nested” environments; satisfaction with each is related to satisfaction with all of these environments (Campbell et al.). Within this geographic and environmental context, personal and work relationships develop and are sustained, and military member access basic material and social supports and services (Twiss, 1996).

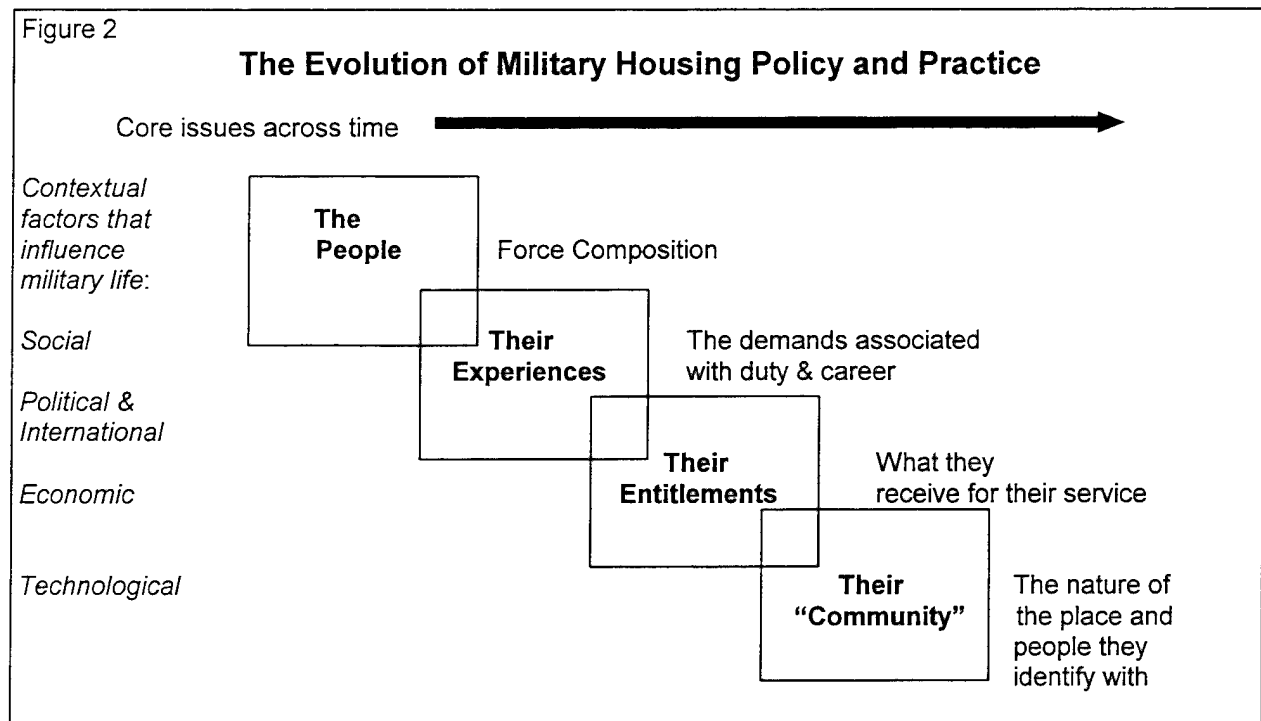


This study examines the history of military housing, within the military quality-of-life context. It focuses on the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) period (1973-1996) and explores the trends and themes that appear central to understanding the changing nature of military housing benefits and the military community. The study offers a discussion of the social, economic and political contexts within which military housing policies and programs were developed, and discusses the implications of this history for present and future military quality-of-life initiatives.

Key Developments

Policy analysis typically focuses upon who is included in any policy's target population, what they have received in the form of goods, services, or changes in status, and the apparent effects of policy. Examining changes in these interrelated areas aids in understanding the development of military housing policy and military quality of life. The findings from this study are organized to address several key questions.

Figure 2 depicts the focus of this paper and illustrates the organization of key developments in military housing policy across time.



- *How have the people in the Armed Forces changed during this period?* (What are the demographic shifts and trends? Who comprised the target population to be served, across time?)
- *How has the nature of military duties and career demands changed?*
- *How has the nature of military housing entitlements and differential housing benefits changed over time?* (Who has actually been served, and who has received what? What *form* of benefit (e.g., housing in-kind or housing allowances) was emphasized? What were the underlying assumptions guiding housing policy?)
- *What is the nature of the military community, and how has it changed?* (What were the effects of housing policy in relationship to what the resulting on-base military community looked like and how it functioned?)

These areas are examined for each of the decades of interest: the seventies, eighties, and early to mid-nineties. Key shifts and themes relating to military housing and the concept of quality of life are highlighted. A summary section discusses the implications of these developments for present and future quality-of-life initiatives.

The Seventies

The seventies brought significant change and uncertainty to both the Department of Defense (DoD) and the nation as a whole. Changing political leadership yielded changes in the administration of the DoD. There were three Defense Secretaries in 1973 (Cohn, 1974) and yet another Secretary in 1975. These rapid shifts in leadership occurred even as the DoD was faced with a series of national and international challenges: force drawdowns, base closures and realignments, the inception of the All-Volunteer Force Concept, altered Soviet relations, and a faltering national economy.

Base Closure & The Civilian Economy

In the seventies the DoD began a protracted process of base realignments and closures that continues to the present (Cohn, 1974, p. 918). Congressional leaders, concerned about the economic impact of these closures in their districts, complained about the process and the factors determining these decisions (cf. Towell, 1976, p. 1161). The tensions surrounding base closure decisions resulted from the direct and indirect economic contributions that bases make to local and regional economies within the United States, as well as the opportunities that military bases offer politicians to funnel moneys to their home districts (cf. Towell, 1978, p. 1630). *The local military base as a significant public works site is a recurring theme in political decision-making in the seventies, a theme that continued through the eighties and into the nineties. The public works aspect of local bases has influenced Congressional support for both military housing construction in the United States and the bricks and mortar quality-of-life projects (e.g., medical facilities, morale, welfare and recreation facilities, family service facilities, etc.).* Because the military construction budget offers opportunities for legislators to initiate and support significant building projects in their local communities, legislators have tended to advocate for enhanced and expanded military housing within the United States. If bases had to be closed, legislators preferred that overseas bases be targeted.

The Force Drawdown & The All-Volunteer Force (AVF)

The cease-fire in Vietnam brought opportunities to draw down force strength. Between 1970 and 1975, the number of active duty military personnel declined by approximately 30%, dropping from 3,065,000 to 2,128,000 (Department of Commerce, 1995). In the second half of the decade, active duty force strength dropped another 3.6%, falling to 2,051,000 (Department of Commerce).

Simultaneously, the United States began to implement the new AVF. The end of conscription and the initiation of the AVF made recruitment and retention of military members a market issue. That is, the DoD now had to recruit and retain volunteers in direct competition with the civilian marketplace (Albano, 1994; Baldwin, 1993; Shields, 1993).

Complicating this transition to market-oriented recruitment and retention, the DoD faced serious morale problems. This was evidenced in testimony before Congress (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1981a, p. 433). Among a number of morale issues, the DoD and its service representatives were concerned over the civilian community's hostile treatment of returning Vietnam War veterans and the military members stationed within the United States.

The Army, Navy and Marine Corps encountered difficulties meeting recruiting goals and all of the services experienced the loss of many experienced military members (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1981a, p. 422). *Congressional leaders accepted that the quality of life of military members had to be enhanced in order to sustain the All-Volunteer Force concept and to attract and retain a high-quality force in competition with the private sector (Cohn, 1974, p. 875). The linkage of quality-of-life initiatives with key military objectives, particularly recruitment and retention of a quality force, is an enduring theme in the AVF period.*

Economic and Social Developments

The tremendous economic growth that the United States enjoyed in the post-World War II years faltered in the mid- and late sixties (Feldman & Florida, 1990). In the AVF age, the country entered into a period of unparalleled inflation combined with slow growth and high unemployment. Utility and fuel prices soared, affecting all private households and all development, construction, operation and maintenance expenditures associated with housing (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1975). Sale prices for new and existing housing increased dramatically. Feldman & Florida (1990) noted that between 1971 and 1977 "mortgage debt on one- to four-family houses rose by over 350%, from \$27 billion to over \$95 billion" (p.38).

The rising prices, unemployment and high interest rates of the mid-seventies were associated with severe depression of the housing industry. Bowman (1976) in the Congressional Quarterly Almanac for 1975 noted that "an

apartment rental crunch in some urban areas was expected to continue” as multi-family home and apartment construction was especially depressed (p. 419).

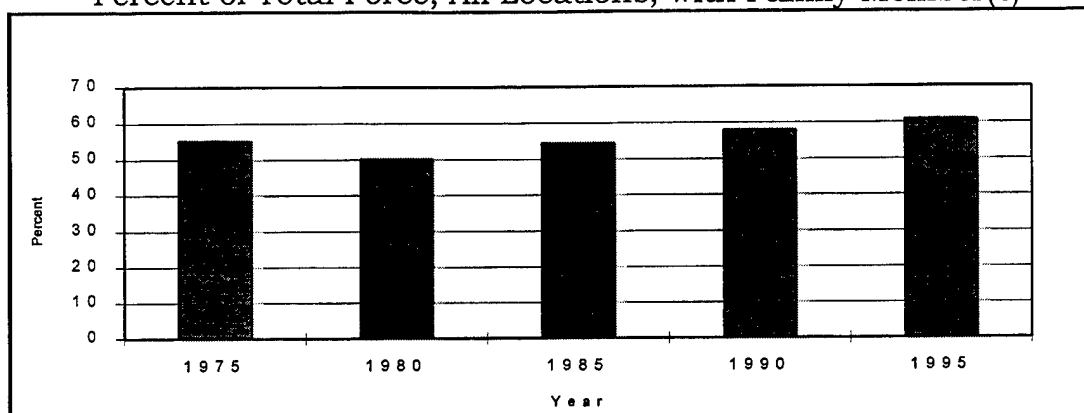
Simultaneously, the United States experienced dramatic social change. Large numbers of married women (and women with young children) continued to enter the workforce. Segal (1986) noted that while women military members accounted for less than 2% of the active duty military force at the close of fiscal year 1971, by the close of 1980 they made up 8.5% of the total active duty force. Family forms changed, with increased numbers of divorces and remarriages. During the seventies, the United States experienced growth in the total number of households related to both total population growth and housing choice. Burt (1992, p. 35) noted that, “more households formed in the seventies than would be expected merely on the basis of population growth. Both owners and renters shifted to smaller households, with renters moving further in this direction.” In essence, more and more people chose, or were forced as a result of divorce or involuntary separation, to live alone or with fewer people. These smaller households provided the new market for builders in the civilian community.

Where military members were concerned, a different demographic shift was occurring. Within the military, there was increased demand for units for nuclear families with children. Finding affordable housing with adequate space for growing young families was a difficult problem in high cost areas for junior and mid-grade enlisted personnel, as well as some junior officers.

Military Demographics: The People

Concomitant with the shift to an all-volunteer force, there was a continuation of the post-World War II trend toward an increasingly married military force (Segal, 1986; Westat, 1994). More young, nuclear families remained in the military. As Figure 3 demonstrates, the portion of military members with families was over 50% in 1975. Following World War II, in 1955, less than half (42%) of the members of the Armed Forces were married (Defense Science Board, 1995).

Figure 3
Percent of Total Force, All Locations, with Family Member(s)



Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East., Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995.

The increasing proportion of junior enlisted personnel with families represented the most significant military quality-of-life policy issue in terms of existing military policies in the seventies. These military members received the lowest pay and allowances and were not eligible for on-base family housing.

The new AVF also brought greater reliance upon racial and ethnic minorities and women (Segal, 1986; Segal, 1989). Among active duty enlisted personnel, the percent of African-American members climbed from 12.6% in 1972 to 16.6% in 1976 (Brown, 1981). Historic racial differences among the services continued, with the Army having the largest percentage of minority group members. Segal (1989, p. 112) reported that concomitant with high rates of African-American youth unemployment in the early years of the AVF, "as many as one third of new recruits in the army have been black." While women comprised less than 2% of all enlisted members of the Armed Forces prior to the AVF, their proportion among enlisted members rose to 6% by fiscal year 1977 (Brown, 1978).

In the seventies, new recruits were less likely to have graduated from high school than their civilian counterparts. In 1979, only 64% of the Army's recruits were high school graduates. This reflects the Army's serious difficulties meeting recruiting targets during the seventies (Congressional Budget Office [CBO], 1989). Across the services, fewer than 70% of active duty recruits had high school degrees in 1980 (CBO).

This demographic profile of new recruits, coupled with higher rates of marriage, brought pressures for enhanced quality-of-life supports and services for at least two reasons. There were increased demands for supports and services associated with young family formation among new recruits (McCubbin, Dahl,

& Hunter, 1976). The DoD and the Armed Forces needed to provide for and care for those coming into the service. Secondly, military leaders desiring to enhance the quality of the recruit pool, recognized that improved pay and quality-of-life policies and programs would be needed to attract well-educated youth (Baldwin, 1993).

Duties and Career Experiences

The early seventies were marked by the military's preoccupation with the final stages of the Vietnam War, including public opposition to the war that was often manifested by public opposition to military conscription (Segal, Burns, Silver, Falk & Sharda, unpublished manuscript). Military morale was at a low point (Shannon & Sullivan, 1993) and post-war downsizing meant the end of military career opportunities for many already in the service. The DoD's adoption of the AFV concept provided an alternative thrust toward a professional military, one where conscription was replaced by true volunteers, those planning a career and choosing among employment alternatives (Segal et al., unpublished manuscript).

The Soviet Union re-emerged as America's primary threat. As many as one-third of America's Army, and a large part of the Navy and the Air Force, were engaged preparing for a battle on and near the European Continent. The hallmark of military service was an overseas tour of duty, often accompanied by family members. Many career military members serving in the seventies experienced more than one overseas tour. Despite limited training budgets, individual and small unit collective training was an important leadership priority. During the seventies, senior military leaders became increasingly concerned about the impact of family issues on military members' readiness. This was a period of the initial development for many (often volunteer based) family support programs and services on American military bases around the world (Albano, 1994; McNelis, 1987).

The Nature of Housing Benefits

In the seventies most unaccompanied enlisted personnel were expected to live on base in barracks-style housing or aboard ship when space was available. They were not free to choose to live off base and receive allowances to offset housing costs. Although the DoD was aware that the space and privacy afforded unaccompanied personnel yielded dissatisfaction with military life, enlisted personnel continued to be required to accept adequate quarters when available. Select officer pay grades (not assigned to sea duty) had been able to

opt out of military housing since 1963 (General Accounting Office [GAO], 1989). The DoD recognized that the open-bay design of barracks housing would be a problem in an all-volunteer context. New construction standards were developed to afford greater space and privacy, but they did not offer real privacy for new recruits (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1981a, p. 436).

Housing benefits differed dramatically for those with family members. Increased numbers of young families strained DoD housing programs, which were unable to provide adequate housing (on base or in the civilian community) for many. Service members in the lower pay grades were especially disadvantaged. In 1975, 21.5% of DoD personnel in pay grades E-1 through E-3, had family members; yet, these pay grades were ineligible for on-base family housing. While this proportion with families had dropped by 1980 to 15.1%, thereafter it rose, reaching 22.3% by 1995 (Defense Manpower Data Center [DMDC], East, 1997).

DoD and the services chose not to alter existing housing assignment policies and continued to deny on-base housing to junior enlisted families. As late as 1979, the Comptroller General reported that the GAO had called upon the Navy to give priority for base housing to "lower graded" eligible personnel at the Trident Submarine Base in Bangor, Washington. The DoD disagreed with the recommendation.

DoD did redefine career status, based on years of service, to include more of those in pay grade E-4, and continued to build and improve on-base housing for unaccompanied personnel, for mid-grade and senior enlisted members with families, and for officers with family members. Among enlisted members, a career commitment brought greater likelihood of on-base family housing. Officer status continued to bring enhanced access to such housing.

It was clear at the very beginning of the AVF that efforts would be made to move more mid-grade personnel with dependents into military family housing and to expand the definition of "mid-grade." In the early seventies, DoD housing officials included all members in pay grade E-4 when calculating family housing needs and determining housing deficits. In 1973, DoD requested congressional support for entitlements for the movement of household goods and dependent travel for E-4s with two years of service (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1973).

The same year, DoD officials requested enhanced housing standards for senior enlisted members. Specifically, they asked that maximum space limits for senior enlisted members become comparable to those for junior officers. It was

noted in a House Congressional hearing that this recognized the years of service given by senior enlisted members and simultaneously enhanced flexibility in housing assignments on base (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1973).

The DoD recognized that junior enlisted personnel with families were hard-pressed to find affordable housing. The stated policy of the DoD in the early seventies was to rely upon uncommitted and substandard DoD housing and programs available through the Department of Housing and Urban Development (DHUD) to ease the housing problems of married junior enlisted personnel and some married mid-grade personnel (Comptroller General, 1979).

While the DoD and the services provided enhanced benefits to officers and senior enlisted personnel in the early history of the country ("rank has its privilege"), in the seventies, they concentrated on meeting the needs of those defined as "career" military. Family formation by junior enlisted personnel continued to be viewed as a social problem and was generally discouraged by housing policies and practices. Those in the most junior of the enlisted pay grades continued to be ineligible for on-base family housing, reinforcing two themes central to quality-of-life initiatives at this time: (1) benefits provide an incentive system to reward commitment to a career, and (2) desired social ends (e.g., reduced marriage/divorce rates among junior enlisted personnel) are reflected in the assumptions underlying these policy decisions.

The Nature of the Military Community

On-base Housing

The military community provided on-base barracks (or shipboard) housing to unaccompanied personnel, particularly enlisted personnel. Married senior enlisted personnel and officers enjoyed disproportionate access to on-base family housing (CBO, 1993). That is, a greater proportion of members in these pay grades could obtain on-base family housing. New housing construction frequently provided units for mid-grade members with families.

In the seventies a number of quality-of-life initiatives and policies focused upon expanding and improving on-base facilities and services (Baldwin, 1993). The garrison community, or military company town (Martin & Orthner, 1989) continued to represent the ideal military community and the services emphasized the expansion of on-base housing stock (new construction), as well as replacement and repair of the existing stock, especially for unaccompanied

personnel (Baldwin; House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1981a, pp. 418-419).

This on-base focus continued despite the DoD's already significant reliance upon the private community to meet married members' housing needs. Post-World War II dependence upon a large standing force had required extensive reliance upon the private sector. In the early sixties, Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara acknowledged this de facto reliance upon the private community by making it the official goal of DoD housing policy (Baldwin, 1993). From then on, DoD's stated objective was to build new housing only where the private market could not or would not meet military needs.

Housing on the Economy

In 1975, congressional testimony on military construction appropriations for 1976 included discussion of the inequities experienced by families living off post. Rampant inflation in the seventies drove up housing and utility costs and exacerbated these inequities. A variable housing allowance was under study, intended to help offset housing costs on the economy. Equity issues were also behind preliminary DoD and service discussions of a fair market rental strategy for both unaccompanied and accompanied military members (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1975).

Housing cost and quality inequities continued for military members throughout the decade. Younger, junior enlisted members with families, as well as some mid-grade personnel, experienced severe rent burdens in high cost areas. Housing purchases were out of reach, even for many senior enlisted members. Involuntary family separation or poor living standards were the only options in some high cost locations.

By the close of the seventies, there were neither variable housing allowances, nor a fair market rental housing strategy. DoD, with congressional support, pursued expansion of the stock of affordable housing on the economy (through DHUD programs). DoD representatives continued to argue that DHUD programs could solve the housing problems of many junior enlisted families, and some mid-grade enlisted families. Specific policy efforts included

- extending Federal Housing Authority (FHA) insurance to subsidized housing projects in "high-risk" non-metropolitan areas affected by military bases; and
- permitting DoD to purchase housing already in existence if needed by the military.

None of these efforts individually or collectively solved the housing deficits of the military services.

The Eighties

The shift in government philosophy begun while President Carter was still in office accelerated and gained new emphasis in the eighties, specifically tax relief, particularly for more affluent Americans, deregulation and a stronger defense posture. Defense outlays increased over prior year spending by 11.3% in 1979 and by another 15.2% in 1980, rising from \$116.3 billion in 1979 to \$134.0 billion in 1980 (Department of Commerce, 1995). While the early and middle years of the decade—under President Reagan—brought significant budget increases to the Defense Department, by the close of the decade concerns over the federal deficit and international developments supported a decision to downsize the military and reexamine opportunities for base realignment and closure.

The eighties also brought efforts to reorganize the DoD to focus more upon joint services operations. Congress sought to give the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff more power (and those within specific service departments less power). Towell (1987) in the *Congressional Quarterly Almanac* noted that the purpose of these changes was “to weaken the parochial perspectives of the separate services, thus giving more weight to professional military advice framed in a multi-service, or ‘joint’ perspective” (p. 453).

In relationship to quality-of-life policies and programs, this shift to a “joint perspective” and joint operations meant that military members would gain greater exposure to inter-service differences in benefits. This offered the potential to aggravate or initiate dissatisfactions with quality-of-life policies and programs.

From Real Budget Growth to Budget Cuts

The early years of the eighties brought defense budget increases. For example, between 1980 and 1985, the Army received real budget increases averaging 10% annually. This decade also brought support for new military developments and altered priorities, among these a 600-Ship Navy, and the development of Light Infantry divisions in the Army (CBO, 1979, 1983).

Federal outlays for military construction increased 108% between 1975 and 1980, from \$1.2 billion to \$2.5 billion. They then increased 72% between 1980 and 1985, reaching \$4.3 billion. Federal outlays for military family housing increased 183% between 1975 and 1980, from \$0.6 billion to \$1.7 billion. Between 1980 and 1985, outlays for military family housing increased

approximately 53% reaching \$2.6 billion. Military construction outlays reached \$5.9 billion in fiscal years 1987 and 1988, while family housing dollars climbed to \$2.9 and \$3.1 billion respectively. As the decade closed, spending on military family housing remained approximately \$3 billion annually and military construction outlays began dropping (Department of Commerce, 1995).

Concerns over the mounting budget deficit, international developments, and a decade of cuts in social spending brought support for a reduction in the defense budget. By the mid-eighties it was clear that tax cuts that were to launch trickle-down prosperity, coupled with increased defense spending and continued growth in entitlements (particularly Social Security and Medicare spending), yielded unprecedented growth of the federal deficit. It also appeared that the administration's budgets linked defense hikes and domestic spending cuts (Towell, 1987, 1988).

Support for diminished defense budgets forced new and enhanced quality-of-life benefits and programs to compete more within the individual services and DoD for priority funding. They were in direct competition with modernization efforts and new programs and initiatives such as the Army's Light Infantry Divisions and the 600-Ship Navy.

International Developments

Concerns over perceived Soviet military strength brought support for defense increases in the early and middle years of the decade. Force strength grew with the number of active duty military members climbing 4.9% between 1980 and 1985, from 2,051,000 to 2,151,000 (Department of Commerce, 1995). By the end of the eighties, increasingly friendly relations with the Soviet Union greatly reduced fears over possible Soviet military aggression. By 1989, the Soviet Union and many of the former Warsaw Pact nations, struggling with broad political reforms, broke away from prior international alignments. Energies were focused upon internal economic, social, and political strife. The Berlin Wall fell. The make-up and future role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) emerged as an open question, as did the role of the U.S. military in what then-President Bush would term "the New World Order."

These changes brought new efforts to downsize the U.S. military and to realign and close military bases. Between 1985 and 1990, the gains in active duty force strength experienced in the first five years of the decade were wiped out. Total active duty forces dropped 4.97%, falling from 2,151,000 to 2,044,000 (Department of Commerce, 1995). These changes also forced careful

examination of where defense dollars would be targeted and the relative priorities of weaponry, training, and quality-of-life initiatives.

In the realm of quality-of-life initiatives and housing policy, these developments brought increased support among congressional leaders for domestic spending. Repeatedly, dollars targeted for overseas projects were cut in favor of U.S. based projects. Congressional leaders argued that "burden-sharing" arrangements should bring increased support from NATO powers to meet overseas needs, or overseas bases should be closed altogether.

Base Realignment and Closure

The process of base closure and realignment that began in the seventies continued in the late eighties (Towell, 1985; House Committee on Appropriations, 1985; Committee of the Conference, 1985). However, increased force strength and modernization received more attention than downsizing during the early and middle years of the decade (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1984a). Base realignment and closure, as well as downsizing, re-emerged as larger issues at the end of this period. A fund was established through the Military Construction Appropriation to finance the base closures and consolidations recommended by the Secretary of Defense's Commission on Base Realignment and Closure (the BRAC Commission).

Military Quality of Life

But we owe our military personnel something more. Not only because we care for our people—we try to take care of our own—but because we cannot fulfill our mission unless we can recruit and retain qualified and skilled personnel. Further, we must demonstrate to our men and women in service that their quality-of-life needs will be taken care of so that they can dedicate their full attention to the mission. When military members worry unduly about personal finances and whether their families are properly cared for, morale and efficiency decline with corresponding effects on retention and readiness.

Major General R. Dean Tice,
House Subcommittee on
Military Construction Appropriations, 1981b, p.421

With the support of Congress, and in the context of continued concerns about the military's ability to attract quality youth to an all-volunteer force, DoD won pay raises (Towell, 1980), enhanced benefits, and made important improvements in a variety of quality-of-life areas (such as child care and

recreational facilities). The term "quality of life" began appearing as an indexed subheading in the hearings of the House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations. Senior enlisted personnel and family members were invited to provide testimony on their concerns before Congressional Committees (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1981a, 1984a).

The role of the family in retention decisions and the stresses associated with military life attracted increased attention among military leaders (Albano, 1994; Wickham, 1983). Discussion began over the possibility of "home-basing" and "homeporting" military members, that is, allowing members to be stationed for longer periods at a single location (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1983a).

Positive improvements in quality of life were associated with significant improvements in both the quality of new recruits and equipment (CBO, 1986; House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1985a). Another positive factor was a perceived shift in popular sentiment toward the military, which, from the perspective of military members, eased relations with the civilian community. General Chavarrie, testifying before Congress in 1984 stated that he believed that the "Vietnam syndrome" was over, and: "I think there is more respect for people in uniform, and I think we have begun to feel that. It takes a little while to come out from under the cloud" (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1984a, pp. 125-126). Senior enlisted representatives concurred.

The eighties were a time in which military members and their families began to experience hope that the quality of their lives would improve, that unnecessary hardships associated with military life would begin to be addressed, and that they and their children would be respected and welcomed in civilian communities. For many of those in the civilian community, however, the eighties represented a period of diminishing expectations, as an otherwise weak economy brought job insecurity (Bluestone & Harrison, 1982; Flaim & Sehgal, 1985; Office of Technology Assessment, 1986).

The Economy: Recession and a Reduced Safety Net

Two back-to-back recessions and structural changes in the United States and global economies brought record-level post-war unemployment to some regions of the country. According to Flaim and Sehgal (1985, p. 3) between January of 1979 and January 1984, 11.5 million people over 20 years of age lost their jobs due to "plant closings or employment cutbacks." Among these, 5.1 million had

been in the job they lost at least 3 years. Master Chief Petty Officer Billy Sanders of the Navy, when testifying before Congress in 1985, noted that this may have benefited the services, drawing more young people to the Armed Forces as a source of employment (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1985a).

Young people looking for jobs in the early eighties had cause for concern. Many middle class blue-collar workers, as well as middle managers in white-collar jobs, found themselves displaced by plant closings, mergers, and corporate downsizing (Bluestone & Harrison, 1982). Average wages, after accounting for inflation, declined for many workers and families. Poverty rates increased and homelessness became more visible.

There was little assistance available to those entering or remaining in poverty in the eighties as cuts in social spending for programs serving poor, non-elderly civilians diminished the ability of America's "safety net" to respond to need. A deficit-conscious Congress agreed to substantial cuts in some programs. In the realm of housing, for example, DHUD experienced severe cuts (Bratt, 1989b).

Military Demographics: The People

As military demographics and the nature of military benefits changed, some military leaders began to speculate that the poor condition of barracks housing and shipboard living arrangements, the lack of privacy afforded members in barracks and aboard ship, and the susceptibility of these service members to frequent "hey you" assignments during normal off-duty times, combined with the availability of housing allowances to those with dependents, encouraged early marriage among those in the junior enlisted ranks. Whether or not these policies and entitlements actually encouraged early marriage and family formation, the trend toward increasing numbers of nuclear families continued in the eighties. New military family forms also emerged, paralleling social developments in the nation; for example, there were more single head of household families.

The emerging force of the eighties was better educated. By the late eighties, the high school graduation rate of new recruits, then at 90%, surpassed the rate of the civilian recruit pool (CBO, 1989).

The proportion of women in the Armed Forces continued to climb. In the early eighties, women accounted for approximately 9% of the active duty force.

Future force projections anticipated continued growth (Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense Manpower Reserve Affairs & Logistics [OASD MRA&L], 1983).

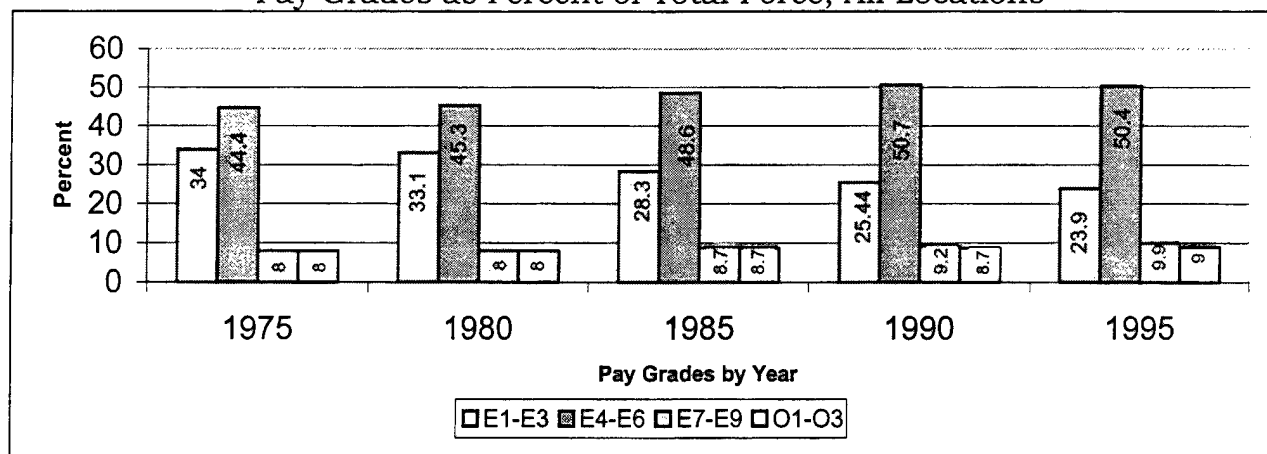
The racial composition of new recruits shifted somewhat in the eighties. The services continued to be more racially diverse than the comparably aged civilian population and the Army continued to be the most racially diverse force. However, the percentage of African-American members among new recruits declined in the eighties. This was accounted for principally by shifts within the Army and among male recruits; the percentage of African-Americans among female recruits, in every service except the Army, increased during these years (CBO, 1989).

With respect to socioeconomic background, it should be noted that African-Americans and Whites who enlisted during the eighties varied quite a bit. Again, the CBO report found that "Black and white recruits tend to come from different socioeconomic strata within their respective populations," with African-Americans more likely to represent higher income, better educated strata within the African-American population and Whites more likely to come from lower income White strata (CBO, 1989, p. xiii).

In general, recruits tended to come from lower and middle income regions of the United States during the eighties, and not from the poorest or the wealthiest (CBO, 1989). There were differences among the services. For example, the Army and the Air Force were described by the CBO in 1989 as representing the two extremes among the services on measures of recruit "quality" which was defined in terms of educational background and general aptitude test scores. The Air Force was more likely to recruit members from higher socioeconomic areas.

The rank structure of the services also changed in the eighties. Specifically, the proportion of the services comprised of the most junior enlisted members (those in pay grades E-1 through E-3) began to decline (DMDC, East, 1997). The overall force structure still resembled a pyramid, with a broad base and narrow apex. Increasingly, mid-grade personnel comprised the largest portion of the total force.

Figure 4
Pay Grades as Percent of Total Force, All Locations



Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995.

Duties and Career Experiences

The early eighties was a period of continued emphasis on the development of the AVF and support for the well-being of military personnel and their families (Albano, 1994). Efforts were made to improve the quality of military training beginning with entry-level experiences. The Army implemented a number of structural and organizational changes, including the development of the "light infantry division" concept and the creation of COHORT (Cohesion, Organization, and Training) units in the Army's combat arms. In these units first-term soldiers entered basic training together and subsequently transitioned into operational company-sized units with leaders who were scheduled to remain with these same soldiers through 18 to 24 months of service. These stable units were thought to provide the type of cohesive fighting force required on the modern high intensity battlefield (Walter Reed Army Institute of Research [WRAIR], 1985).

Europe and Asia continued to demand rotations of large numbers of military personnel, but by the end of the decade the reality of a changing threat and a corresponding move toward a much smaller professional military was clear (Martin & Orthner, 1989). Each of the services was becoming increasingly involved in applying emerging technologies and major combat training centers were providing opportunities for both individual service and joint service unit training. By the end of the eighties, world events were setting the stage for the benefits of this decade of military investment in people, equipment, and training.

The Nature of Housing Benefits

To attract and retain high quality recruits, the services enhanced space and privacy standards for unaccompanied personnel. New construction initiatives also targeted unaccompanied enlisted personnel in the lower pay grades (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1980a). In 1980, legislation gave those in pay grades E-7 and above the statutory right to receive a housing allowance and to live off base (United States Code Annotated [USCA], Title 37, Sec. 403). Further, those assigned to sea duty less than 90 days gained the right to receive the BAQ (Basic Allowance for Quarters). In 1986, the 90 day limit was eliminated (USCA, Title 37, Sec. 403; GAO, 1989), unless the sea duty assignment represented a permanent change of station.

In 1983 the DoD noted that standards for unaccompanied housing were under review. The DoD anticipated using new standards for all fiscal year 1985 housing requests. The new standards would call for "two men per room" (Defense Science Board, 1995; House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1983b). The "two men per room" standard went beyond the quality-of-life improvement afforded by the improved construction standard of 1972, established for the new AVF. Early in the eighties Congressional testimony noted the following:

At least we have been putting in partitions in order to give more privacy and have a room configuration as opposed to an open bay. In many cases we still have the central latrines, but the new construction criteria does provide 90-square-feet per enlisted man, three men to a room, and a shared bath.

House Subcommittee on
Military Construction Appropriations, 1981a, p. 436

Concomitant with the growing emphasis upon the quality-of-life needs of military families, gains were also made in funding for military family housing and in the housing allowances offered to military members (House Committee on Appropriations, 1985, p. 2; House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1987; Department of Commerce, 1995). However, DoD's policy in this decade was to pursue new construction of family housing only where the private sector was not meeting the need, and only for married career force members.

Much of the new construction was focused on the more junior of those defined as careerists yet considered *eligible* for military family housing. In 1980, those in pay grades E-4 with two or more years of service and above were considered

eligible for on-base military family housing. E-1 through E-3 and those in pay grade E-4 with less than two years of service continued to be *ineligible* despite the common awareness of their housing (and general economic) needs (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1980c).

In the early eighties, when congressional members asked why DoD was not providing military family housing on base to these junior enlisted personnel, Mr. Perry Fliakas of DoD responded: "My very candid answer, Sir, is acceptance. A lack of service acceptance" (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1981b, p. 530). Mr. Fliakas was referring to the traditions and cultures of the individual services, and the notion that housing on base was a reward for commitment to a career in the military. *The view that on-base housing should require a career commitment continued to endure as a central theme in military housing policy debates. Service representatives, particularly the most senior enlisted representatives, argued that giving junior enlisted members priority access to scarce on-base housing resources would reduce retention among the more senior, better trained (and more costly to replace) enlisted personnel and erode their morale* (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1985a).

During the early years of this decade, DoD acknowledged that including the housing needs of junior enlisted members with families would add "tens of thousands" of units to the military housing deficits. DoD also concurred that having junior enlisted members with families seeking housing on the economy resulted in "sociological problems of major impact on the private communities, morale problems, and of course impact on mission effectiveness" (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1981b, p. 531).

Where junior enlisted personnel were concerned, at the discretion of base commanders, substandard on-base units could be made available, when not needed by more senior personnel. The Marine Corps reportedly made significant progress in moving some otherwise ineligible junior enlisted members on base using this approach (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1981b).

Further progress was made in the mid-eighties when the DoD stopped referring to those in the junior enlisted ranks as *ineligibles*. This seemed to herald a major reorientation in housing policies. A DoD representative made it clear in testimony before Congress that this shift would not give junior enlisted members with families any higher priority for existing on-base housing. The real meaning of the shift was that the DoD would now be able to include the housing needs of these groups in planning for future housing development: ". . . they have a better shot at tomorrow's housing" (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1985b, p. 582).

Particularly important to military families living on the economy, were efforts to enhance compensation and allowances to offset the costs of existing civilian housing. New initiatives also emerged to increase the supply of housing through privatization. DoD also continued to pursue use of DHUD programs to meet the needs of junior enlisted members in some areas (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1980c, p. 570). Legislative initiatives included

- enactment of the Variable Housing Allowance (VHA) in 1980, and
- enactment of the Sec. 801 (build-to-lease) and Sec. 802 (rental guarantee) military housing programs in 1983.

The VHA limited housing costs paid out-of-pocket by members within the same pay grades. DoD hoped the new allowance would decrease demand for on-base housing (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1981b, p. 530). In 1982, waiting lists for on-base housing reportedly decreased by 13% (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1982, p. 521).

Most military members living on the economy received both BAQ and VHA once VHA was available (CBO, 1993; Hartman & Drayer, 1990). In 1985, Congress authorized VHA differential rates based upon whether or not a military member had dependents (however the number of dependents was irrelevant), and this policy has continued to the present.

Overall, military housing policy continued to be exceedingly slow to change. Resistance to change continued to emerge from organizational cultures and traditions. Paying one's dues and RHIP (Rank has its privilege) maintained as important themes influencing housing policy. In an all-volunteer force, where higher percentages of first term personnel continued to be married, the services were confronted with a choice where housing was concerned. They had to either build new family housing to accommodate these lower ranking members or adopt policies that (1) discouraged family formation among enlisted members; (2) altered the priorities for extant DoD housing, most of it built to accommodate higher ranking members, at a time when junior enlisted members had no access to military family housing; or, (3) continued to make DoD family housing largely a privilege of rank. *For the most part, the latter path was chosen, reinforcing the philosophy that benefits were earned through commitment to a career or tied to rank. As noted earlier, this path was also thought to discourage early marriage (Hartman & Drayer, 1990; Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Personnel and Readiness [OASDP&R], 1993).*

Congress and DoD were aware of, and continued to express concern over the obvious inequities in housing benefits for military members. It was clear to all that those who lived on the economy continued losing income relative to

members of comparable rank who lived on base and received housing free of rental charges and utility expenses

The Nature of the Military Community

On-Base Housing

Barracks or shipboard living continued to be the norm for single junior and mid-grade enlisted personnel. More on-base housing was targeted for mid-grade military members with families. However, a disproportionate share of military family housing on base continued to be held for senior enlisted personnel and officers.

Our average on-base households are the families of junior sergeants and captains. These young service members are the skilled aircraft technicians or highly trained aircrew members. Our investment in these individuals is significant and the taxpayers money has been well spent on their housing requirements. Many are at the point in their careers where they will decide to leave or to continue with the Air Force.

Testimony from an Air Force representative
House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1987

Housing on the Economy

Most military members with families continued to live on the economy, where housing costs were rising, consuming larger shares of family income. Bratt, Hartman and Meyerson (1986, p. xiv) citing census data, note that "median gross rent as a percentage of median income rose from 22 to 29 percent from 1973 to 1983." During the eighties, contract rents increased "16 percent faster than the rate of inflation," reaching their highest levels in over twenty years; at the same time, home ownership rates declined, particularly for younger households (Bratt citing Apgar, 1989b, p. 4). Many military members preferred to live off base, however. Among those in the senior enlisted ranks and officer ranks, this offered enhanced housing choice. For some, this meant that equity might be built through home ownership, provided that they could remain in one place long enough.

Among the junior and mid-grade enlisted personnel, as well as junior officers, a lack of affordable housing in some geographic areas continued to pose

problems. Throughout the eighties, many housing analysts commented on the nation's affordable housing problem. Some called the situation a crisis. A representative of DHUD noted at the beginning of the decade that the "present economy is disastrous to the production of rental housing" (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1980c, p. 574).

DoD representatives speaking at hearings throughout the eighties noted that military members assigned to high cost areas experienced serious difficulties finding affordable housing, and that the private sector was not supplying housing affordable to the junior enlisted pay grades in these high cost areas. The cost of housing even affected senior personnel in areas such as San Diego, California. A senior enlisted member who testified before Congress noted that involuntary family separations sometimes occurred among senior enlisted pay grades due to the economics of housing (House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1983a, pp. 196-197).

Not surprisingly, in a period in which the administration was promising a smaller role for the federal government, yet simultaneously seeking an enhanced quality of life for military members, privatization initiatives re-emerged. On October 11, 1983, President Ronald Reagan signed into law the Military Construction Act of 1984. This authorized the two pilot privatization initiatives, Sec. 801 build-to-lease and Sec. 802 rental guarantee, mentioned earlier. Baldwin (1996) has noted that the two programs bore much in common with the Wherry and Capehart programs of the fifties. While problems emerged with the build-to-lease program (particularly high costs and maintenance issues), it successfully produced 11,000 homes across the services between 1985 and 1995 (Baldwin; Defense Science Board, 1995). The DoD viewed the program as promising and hoped to make the 801 program permanent. The rental guarantee program produced little housing; Congressional leaders and DoD came to agree that rental guarantees and military housing allowances were relatively meaningless as inducements to developers in high cost, low vacancy areas (Baldwin; Defense Science Board, 1995; House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1985b, p. 583-590).

The VHA may have been more beneficial if additional affordable housing had been built during the eighties. However, the construction of publicly subsidized, new, low-income housing all but came to a halt by the end of the decade. Beneficial tax treatment (shelters) that previously encouraged the construction of low-income housing was eliminated and the private sector contributed little to the stock of affordable housing. DHUD's budget was slashed dramatically, and the mission of the agency was clearly oriented toward securing housing through the private sector. Though the incredible

inflation of the seventies was no more, housing affordability actually worsened in some areas of the country during the eighties (Burt, 1992).

Late in the eighties, Congress approved a pilot program to develop cooperative housing and community development strategies with local governments and other Federal agencies. The goal was to increase the availability of affordable housing in militarily affected areas by working closely at the local level with government and other agencies. The rationale for the new effort acknowledged what had been known for some time: junior enlisted members were hard pressed to find affordable housing in high cost areas, and the services were hard pressed to find any land for building new housing in high cost areas.

The Nineties

The nineties brought continued tumultuous political change both abroad and at home. President Bush focused much of his administration's energy upon international affairs. Early in the decade, the United States engaged its Armed Forces abroad in the United Nations' sanctioned Gulf War. While public support for President Bush and the Armed Forces seemed enhanced in the wake of the Gulf War, the economic uncertainties of the eighties lingered. In 1992, American concerns associated with global economic change, rapid technological advancements, and continued transformation of the national economy—embodied in the movement away from heavy industry and manufacturing—brought a Democrat to the White House who promised renewed support for domestic programs.

Support for the new President—William J. Clinton—did not seem linked to support for *increased* domestic spending. During President Clinton's first term in office, Republican legislative leaders and hopefuls campaigned on a platform titled the "Contract with America" and won control of the House of Representatives. One of the tenets of the "Contract"—balancing the federal budget—required a continued focus upon reducing the deficit.

Base Realignment and Closure

Concerns over the deficit exerted significant pressures upon the DoD which was committed to supporting its missions and people, while at the same time, maintaining an equipment modernization schedule—all with reduced sums of money. Deficit concerns coupled with dramatic changes in international relations led to a Secretary of Defense ordered moratorium on new military construction in 1990. During this temporary moratorium, the United States would reassess defense commitments and needs (Towell 1990; House Committee on Appropriations, 1990; Senate Committee on Appropriations, 1990).

In 1989, Congress approved an extensive list of base closures and realignments (CBO, 1992; Doherty, 1992). Rounds of base realignments and closings in 1988, 1991 and 1993 included decisions to close (in full or in part) 70 significant U.S. bases (GAO, February 1997). Individual states and localities lobbied to keep their bases off the BRAC list (GAO). The services and Congress increasingly envisioned a much smaller military, more dependent upon its reserve force structure (Towell, 1990, May 4, 1991).

Military Quality-of-Life Initiatives

Perhaps unexpectedly in the context of budget deficits, a new Secretary of Defense, Dr. William (Bill) Perry, pushed quality-of-life initiatives, including increased pay and housing allowances. In 1995, the Defense Science Board Task Force on Quality of Life issued its report, frequently referred to as the Marsh Report, which prominently featured a section on housing. It highlighted the poor state of both unaccompanied personnel housing and the military family housing stock. It made extensive recommendations to improve both barracks and family housing.

DoD budgets were cut in the nineties, including new construction moneys (Bowens, 1993). However, Congress continued to demonstrate a clear preference for eliminating overseas projects and spending military construction dollars within the United States, particularly in Committee Members' home districts (Cassata, June 1995, July 1995; House Committee on Appropriations, 1990; Palmer, September 1991, October 1991; Senate Committee on Appropriations, 1990; Towell, May 25, 1991).

Military Demographics: The People

The composition of the forces continued to change somewhat in the nineties. As anticipated in the eighties, the proportion of women in the active duty force continued climbing slightly, reaching approximately 15% (Military Family Resource Center, 1996). The forces continued to be racially and ethnically diverse. As of September 1995, approximately 19% of the total force was African-American (Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute [DEOMI], 1995).

Rank structure also continued to change across and within the services. In general, concomitant with a transition to a career force, those in the lowest pay grades accounted for yet less of the total force. Disparities among the services became more pronounced, however, related to their differing missions. For example, by 1995, 44.23% of the Marine Corps was comprised of those in pay grades E-1 through E-3, compared to 18.5% in the Air Force. Junior officers in pay grades O-1 through O-3 made up 6% of the Marine Corps' total force in 1995, while these same pay grades accounted for 12% of Air Force members (DMDC, East, 1997).

Duties and Career Experiences

The nineties began with the United States' participation in the Gulf War. This was, in some ways, the grand war that America had planned to fight on the plains of Central Europe. In fact, among the major participants were the same Army and Air Force units that were already deployed to Europe as part of NATO. The success of this brief war served to validate the military's emphasis on a professional force and realistic individual and collective training (GAO, 1992). This war provided added stimulus to the previous debate on the role of women in the military (The Presidential Commission on Assignment of Women in the Armed Forces, 1993). Even before the start of the Gulf War, the United States had begun to dramatically reduce its force levels in Europe. Mandatory early retirements and a range of other personnel incentives were used to reduce the size of the active duty military to its lowest numbers since the pre-Vietnam War era. The nineties have been a time of continuous military deployments for peace making, peace keeping, and various humanitarian missions around the globe. The Army and Air Force have experienced the greatest increase in the percentage of those deployed, although the Navy continues to be the most deployed service with almost 15% of its sailors deployed at any point in time (Bogdanowicz, 1996).

The Nature of the Housing Benefits

The major quality-of-life theme related to housing in the nineties is a shift toward increasing equality of benefit. While differentials based upon rank and the presence or absence of family members continue, significant changes yielded greater choice and flexibility for unaccompanied personnel and greater access to on-base housing for junior enlisted personnel with families.

More unaccompanied enlisted members won the statutory right to refuse substandard barracks housing, to move off base and receive a housing allowance (USCA, Title 37, Sec. 403[b][3]). More sailors at sea won the right to receive housing allowances to maintain housing on the economy (USCA, Title 37, Sec. 403[c][2]). Unaccompanied members choosing to stay on base may benefit from enhanced privacy and space construction standards, as the services moved to planned implementation of a new "1+1" construction standard. This will vary service to service. A greater proportion of financially hard-pressed junior enlisted members with families enjoyed the benefits associated with living on base (DMDC, East, 1997; Willis, November 1996).

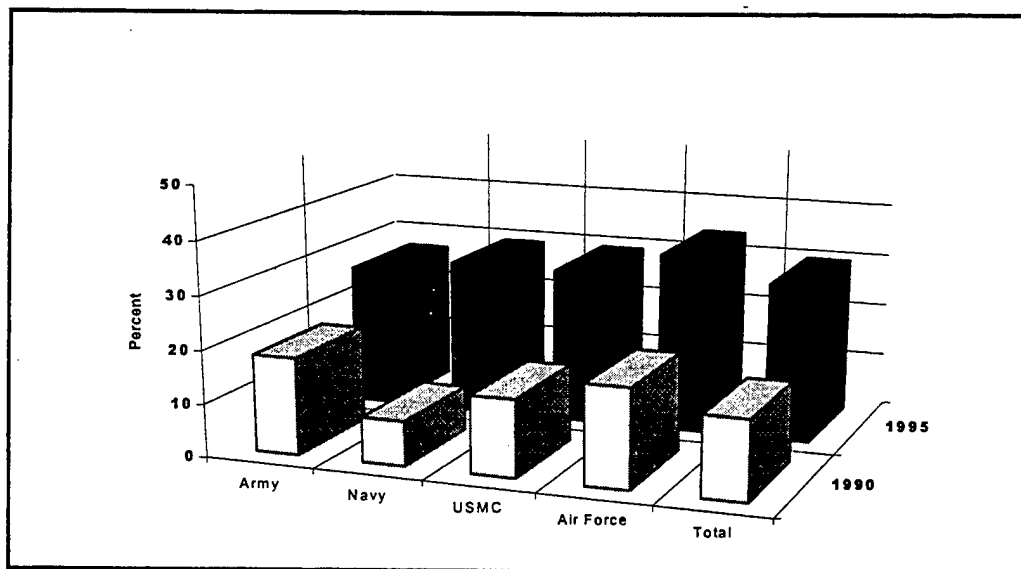
Significant improvements to the housing allowance system may offer help to many families. A floor was established for the VHA (USCA, Title 37, Sec. 403a[c][7][A]). Efforts are now underway to further improve the allowance system. At the time this report was written, the DoD was preparing to propose an alternative housing allowance system. The new system, if signed into law, would create one housing allowance (a Basic Allowance for Housing or BAH). The amount of the new housing allowance would still vary by pay grade and the presence or absence of dependents. However, the new allowance would be based upon private sector U.S. housing cost data, rather than upon what military members pay for housing. This allowance would be structured so that those in the lower pay grades pay less out-of-pocket than those in higher pay grades. The allowance seeks as a goal capping and maintaining an absorption rate of 15%, based upon average national housing costs. Of critical importance to members in high cost areas, out-of-pocket costs within pay grades should be the same regardless of members' locations.

The Nature of the Military Community

On-base Housing

Today's on-base community includes proportionally more very junior, unaccompanied personnel and more junior and mid-grade enlisted personnel with families than in prior decades (DMDC, East, 1997). In 1990 approximately 36% of unaccompanied members in grades E-4 through E-6 lived off base. By 1995, 41.3% of these members were living off base. Higher proportions of unaccompanied members in grades E-7 through E-9 and O-1 through O-3 also were living on the economy in 1995, compared to 1990 (DMDC, East). A slightly larger proportion of senior enlisted personnel (E-7 to E-9) with families in the Army, Navy, and Air Force lived off base in 1995 compared to 1990. A correspondingly smaller share of on-base family housing was held for officers. As Figure 5 illustrates, considerable change occurred within the first five years of this decade. These changes represent significant accomplishments in the quality-of-life arena.

Figure 5
 Percent of Members in Pay Grades E-1 through E-3
 with Families Living on-Base in the United States, 1990 and 1995



Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1995 and September 30, 1990. Of note, data displayed include only those whose location (e.g., State in United States) and on-/off-base status was known. Location or base status was unknown for 4.4% of those in grades E-1 through E-3 in 1990. Among the services, the percent unknown was 7% for the Army, 5.2% for the Marine Corps, 4.1% for the Air Force, and 1.2% for the Navy in 1990. Percent unknown decreased to 5% for the Army, to 2.5% for the Marines and to 3% for the Air Force in 1995. The Navy percent unknown was 1.3% in 1995.

For eligible unaccompanied members, the ability to opt out of base housing offers greater privacy during off-duty hours. It also offers greater choice, in housing type, living companions, and whether to live alone or with others. Enhanced space and privacy standards for on-base housing could afford those living on base a higher quality of life.

Increased access to on-base housing for junior enlisted members with families is financially rewarding. This change offered young families with small children improved access to needed on-base supports and services. Further, because the value of on-base housing is not counted as income, some members' families may gain access to important national health, education and human service programs (such as Head Start, WIC, and the Food Stamp program).

In the early nineties, approximately two thirds of DoD family housing was occupied by mid-grade personnel and their families. In 1991, of 522,000

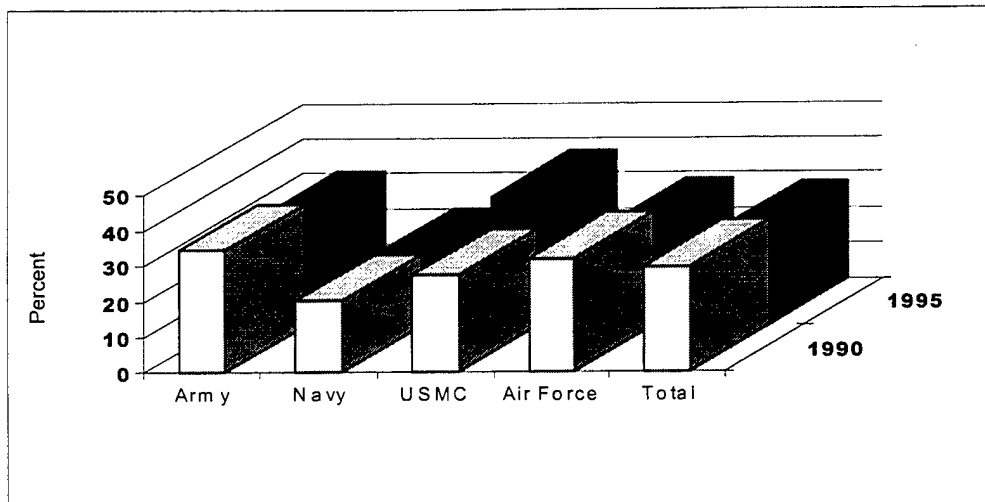
families tied to pay grades E-4 through E-6, 35% (or 182,700 families) were in DoD family housing (CBO, 1993). This is significant when it is viewed within the context of the entire pool of families housed in DoD housing. Nation-wide, approximately 284,000 families lived in DoD housing in 1991; those tied to pay grades E-4 through E-6 represented about 64% of all families (CBO).

For those living in extremely high cost areas, the availability of DoD housing represents a significant benefit. It essentially eliminates out-of-pocket housing costs for military members. Further, these families gain easier access to the host of other community and family support services available on base. Often included are low cost child care, post exchange and commissary facilities, recreational facilities, and medical care.

A smaller proportion of senior enlisted military members lived in DoD housing in 1995 compared to 1990. Only the Marine Corps experienced an increase in the proportion of senior enlisted members living on base. These senior military members are more likely to have older or grown children, to be in marriages of some duration, and to have a combination of benefits that makes living on the economy more feasible and home ownership more attractive. While many prefer to live in the civilian community, some still prefer to live on base. As noted earlier, some view government housing on base as a perquisite merited by rank. For those who still move frequently, building equity through home ownership is unrealistic.

By 1991, only 18% of DoD housing was held for officers as compared with 29% in 1974 (CBO, 1993). Even with this shift to a lower proportion of set-asides for officers, junior officers as a group continued to enjoy access to military housing across the services. There are differences within the services as shown in Figure 6. A greater share of junior officer personnel with families in the Marine Corps lived on base in 1995, compared to 1990. The Army still housed a larger share of its junior officers on base compared to the Navy.

Figure 6
 Percent of Members in Pay Grades 0-1 through 0-3
 with Families Living on Base in the United States, 1990 and 1995



Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995. Of note, data displayed include only those whose location (e.g., State in United States) and on-/off-base status was known. Location or base status was unknown for 2% of those in grades 0-1 through 0-3 in 1990 and 4.3% in 1995. Among the services all percents unknown were less than 5% in 1990. All were well below 5% in 1995, except the Air Force. The percent unknown was 9% for Air Force officers in grades 0-1 through 0-3 in 1995.

As force strength continues to be drawn down, the DoD may have a greater opportunity to provide on-base military family housing in select areas (CBO, 1993; Smythe, 1994). These opportunities are likely to vary a great deal by location and they will hinge on other developments (base closure and realignment within and outside of the continental United States) and will occur in some areas of the country and not in others. As additional forces are redeployed back to the States, due to closed and downsized overseas installations, there will be some counterbalancing forces at work that may increase demand and competition for military housing at selected installations. In areas where there are long waiting lists for military housing, the military views increased access to existing on-base housing as an opportunity to further support its members.

Lack of consistent, reliable funding for the operations and maintenance of housing, coupled with the difficulties associated with seeking annual congressional appropriations for military housing (and the death of Sec. 801 due to budget scoring which required up-front funding of the total debt of a

long-term lease [Baldwin, 1996; Defense Science Board, 1995]) pushed the services and DoD to seek new legislative instruments through which to develop and maintain housing for military members, with and without families. Although the military housing authority that was recommended in the Marsh Report was not developed as new legislation, a variety of new authorities were approved in 1996. These included allowing DoD to

- guarantee loans;
- purchase interest/stock in a development; and,
- lease or transfer government-owned land to private developers (Housing Revitalization Support Office [HRSO], 1996a, 1996b).

Essentially, the services were given the tools necessary to privatize much of the funding and development of military housing construction. The services hoped to leverage private dollars from DoD assets at a ratio of 3:1, and simultaneously reduce the costs associated with building and making contract awards under both the appropriations process and military standards for construction. Progress in implementing the new initiatives has been slow. By mid-1997 only a handful of these projects were awarded (HRSO, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1997).

Housing on the Economy

Over two thirds of military members with dependents (some 70%) still live on the economy. In the nineties, junior enlisted members continued to face the most serious difficulties in securing affordable, safe housing on the economy. As noted earlier, those living in civilian communities were disadvantaged in their access to federally subsidized health, education and human service programs, compared to peers in comparable circumstances living on base.

As new military privatization initiatives may not meet the needs of junior enlisted members with families (Baldwin, 1996; Defense Science Board, 1995), legislation offering tax credits to developers may be important to these families. The Low-Income Housing Tax Credit program passed in the mid-eighties produced some much needed affordable housing in the nineties. The GAO (March 1997) reported that the average monthly rent on units developed under this program was \$435.

Summary and Future Policy Consideration

Housing and Objective Well-being

The history of military housing policy makes it clear that housing is a quality-of-life issue of importance to the DoD and the services. Military leaders accept that housing affects the quality of life of service members and their families both objectively and subjectively. Leaders also recognize that quality of life has an important impact on military relevant variables such as retention and readiness.

Objectively, shelter qualifies as a basic necessity (Campbell, 1981; Campbell et al., 1976). Military housing initially accommodated service members and their families in remote outposts in the United States, specifically along the nation's land and coastal frontiers (Baldwin, 1993). While some military housing built in the United States was of poor quality, the services clearly perceived that they had an obligation to provide housing (however rudimentary) as a means of meeting basic human needs.

Beyond meeting the most basic need for shelter, the services increasingly viewed housing as part of a broader social context, situating people in relationship to other basic supports and services (i.e., health care). Thus, military bases developed as total communities, with an infrastructure that included housing, religious institutions, shopping, education, recreational facilities, health care, and child care services. The military community as an independent, self-supporting and complete community exemplified the slogan "We take care of our own" (Martin & Orthner, 1989). In more recent years, the DoD looked at ways to meet some of the needs of military members through civilian institutions, social service providers, and private housing on the economy. The philosophy of *taking care of our own* is still prevalent. However, today this involves ensuring that someone or something—not necessarily an agent of government or the DoD—delivers these services.

There are a number of issues related to housing and quality of life that merit consideration as the DoD develops future quality-of-life plans and policies, particularly in the housing arena. These issues are discussed in the context of what we understand about the history of military housing as quality-of-life policy.

Figure 7 illustrates the quality-of-life benefits and deficits commonly associated with military and private sector housing for military members. As the

DoD and the services develop housing policy in the future, these will likely present the challenges to be addressed in policy formulation and implementation.

Figure 7

Challenges for DoD Housing Policy and Practice

	Typically Provides	Selectively Lacks
Military Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Affordability Safety & security Access to military services Mechanisms for military socialization & identification Peer social supports Social controls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Privacy Personal life style choice Diverse social networks Spouse employment opportunity Civilian community services Investment opportunity
Civilian Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Privacy Personal life style choice Diverse social network Spouse employment opportunity Civilian community services Investment opportunity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Affordability Safety & security Access to military services Mechanisms for military socialization & identification Peer social networks Social controls

Finance (Equality and Equity in Benefit Received)

The costs associated with housing in the private sector profoundly influence the quality of life of military members and civilians alike. Because housing costs represent a *fixed* portion of the household budget, shelter costs are a prominent aspect of one's financial well-being and one's ability to purchase other necessities of life, such as food and clothing (Bratt, Hartman & Meyerson, 1986). The term "shelter poverty" recognizes that individuals and families may be made poor by the high costs of their housing (Stone cited in Burt, 1992) and, the lower their income and larger their family, the greater the burden for civilians and military members alike (Bratt et al.; House Subcommittee on Military Construction Appropriations, 1985a).

The services recognized early in their histories that the compensation offered to some of their members was insufficient. Many military members were unable to purchase or rent adequate housing (based upon family needs), or housing commensurate with the expectations associated with advanced rank and

stature in the services. The development of cash allowances to offset the costs of private housing began early and has continued, in various forms, to the present.

The history of these allowances involves arguments over equality and equity of benefit. These debates focus upon the economic or financial benefits associated with housing in-kind (government housing) and housing allowances (CBO, 1993; GAO, 1996). They also focus upon the relative quality of housing available to members of the military. Concerns about the extent to which policies should and do acknowledge differential needs among military members with and without families have also been a focal point.

For unaccompanied personnel, the central equality of benefit issue is receiving housing "in-kind," as barracks or shipboard space, while personnel in the same pay grade with family members get cash allowances and the opportunity for a very different lifestyle. Existing "socialization or social control" arguments that favor housing unaccompanied personnel on base do not adequately address this issue. It is difficult to argue, for example, that 20-year-olds *without* dependents require supervision on base while 20-year-olds *with* dependents are allowed to live on the economy. However, equity arguments that support policies that meet differential needs do address the issue. The housing needs of members with families are different from those of members without families, if for no other reason than the need for more space.

Equity and equality of benefit issues are common to discussions of housing for military families (CBO, 1993; OASDP&R, 1993; Comptroller General, 1979). Both the services and DoD have struggled, over time, to come to terms with a force comprised of more married than non-married members. Throughout the AVF period, the number of family members identified as "dependents" outnumbered active duty force strength. To address these changes, the DoD and the services developed policies with multiple and competing goals, among these:

- recognition of differential need as a basis for receiving more or less in program benefits (OASDP&R), what some scholars refer to as "*equity*,"
- the desire to maintain *equality* of benefit within pay grades; and,
- the desire to maintain inequalities among pay grades (Hartman & Drayer, 1990) or RHIP commensurate with the rewards and responsibilities of comparable responsibility and status in the civilian sector and the notion of an earned benefit based on a career commitment and tenure of service.

As a result, policies offer differing levels of benefit to members of the same pay grades and to those with and without families. This leads to scenarios such as:

- An E-5 with a spouse and three children (a family of five), in a particular location, will receive the same BAQ and VHA as an E-5 with a spouse and one child in the same location.
- The E-5 with three children is likely to need to spend more money on housing than the E-5 with one child, but is in a situation no different from the average American citizen. Wage rates for jobs do not take account of the *presence*, or the *number* of dependents.
- The E-5 with three children, if made eligible for family housing on base, receives housing that represents almost no cost out-of-pocket, is more likely to have a sufficient number of bedrooms, and is close to a host of community and family supports (e.g., low cost child care, recreation facilities, post exchange and commissary, and, in some cases, hospital care and/or a Department of Defense Dependents School [DoDDS]).

Additional issues emerge in relationship to what is and is not considered income and for what purposes, under other programs. A very small proportion of military families qualify for and receive food stamps (OASDP&R, 1993). A DoD study of a sample of these recipients revealed that for those who actually met the criteria for eligibility for food stamps ($n = 2397$), 77% or 1,848 were living on base. The report noted that the *only* reason these members were receiving food stamps was because the Department of Agriculture did not count the value of the on-base housing in forfeited BAQ nor the value of the Basic Allowance for Subsistence (BAS). Of note, the analysis also found that some two-thirds of all of those who received food stamps were E-4s or above with large families, not first-termers (OASDP&R). This clearly raises questions of equity and equality of benefit with respect to those enlisted members with growing families, paying out-of-pocket expenses beyond their housing allowances for their off-base housing. It also raises equity issues related to civilian families who do not qualify for these benefits, yet have similar actual income levels.

When military families are considered as a whole, a clear disparity also arises in DoD resources spent on military housing in comparison with housing allowances. The long-term costs for military family housing, per family, have been estimated to exceed the costs of providing allowances to those living on the economy (CBO, 1993; GAO, 1996). Approximately a third of all military families in the United States live on base. Thus, a disproportionate share of the DoD's budget goes to a third of its members and their families. It has been argued that providing allowances to all military members with families (and not

DoD housing) would free resources and allow DoD to target resources to those living in extremely high cost areas, those who are experiencing the greatest housing difficulties as a result of their military service assignment.

Developing and articulating a clear vision for military housing policy—one that consciously acknowledges DoD and Armed Forces preferences with regard to the equity and equality of housing benefits—would seem to be a prerequisite to future housing development and a first step to resolving some of the perceived problems in current housing policy.

Safety and Security

The military services have a long tradition of providing for the security of military members and their families. The services have invested in the training of their members and want them to be readily available for deployment.

Care for military families, to include housing in safe and secure areas, ensures that members (especially those deployed) are not distracted by concern for their families. Safety and security continue to be important issues for military families (Army Personnel Survey Office, 1996; House Subcommittee on Military Construction, 1984a, testimony of Mrs. Henry & Mrs. Black; OASDP&R, 1993). New recruits with young families may only be able to afford housing in low cost but relatively unsafe and insecure environments. Most recently, due to escalating gang-associated violence in neighborhoods and schools and with concerns about drug use among young people, the perceived safety and security of on-base military housing may have become even more attractive to many junior and mid-grade enlisted members, as well as junior officers.

Services and Supports

The military services have long sought to develop completely independent, self-sufficient on-base communities. The communities “within the gates” needed to include services to meet common human needs. For this reason, Martin and Orthner (1989) pointed out that some military communities are like the company towns of the turn of the century. They also noted that the original justification for a comprehensive community infrastructure—remote and isolated locations—is no longer an issue in most areas of the country. Many military communities are now surrounded by substantial civilian community development or have become an island within an urban civilian community.

Some time ago, a member of Congress noted that the services were enhancing the ability of members to live on the economy and simultaneously developing more adequate community supports on base. The question posed of DoD representatives was whether this represented policy movement in two divergent, if not opposite directions. Is integration of civilian and military housing compatible with segregation of civilian and military community supports?

As the DoD and the individual services consider housing policy options in the future, careful attention must be given to the services and supports existing on and off of military bases. If current and future policy options result in a different mix of pay grades living in government housing, this has implications for community facilities and service programs on base. Stages of career development frequently coincide with stages of family formation and development (Segal, 1986). That is, those in the junior and mid-grade pay grades are likely to be in younger marriages with younger children, and their resources are more limited (OASDP&R, 1993; Westat, 1994).

In summary, current and future military housing policies will likely affect the objective quality of life of military members in at least three important areas: financial well-being, safety and security, and access to supports and services on base. The impact of military policies is likely to continue to differentially affect members at various stages of career development (associated with pay grade) and in various stages of family formation and development (Segal, 1986). As current policies are implemented, and new policy directions develop, effects in these areas should be studied. In addition to examining these "objective" areas, the DoD and the services could gain from continued attention to the subjective aspects of quality of life and the potential influences of housing upon these.

Housing and Subjective Well-being

Researchers have long noted that satisfaction with housing may be independent of the objective quality of housing. Satisfactions or dissatisfactions may be influenced by comparisons made between one's living conditions and those of peers, for example, military and civilian colleagues with similar incomes (Kerce, 1994). Satisfaction or dissatisfaction with housing may also affect morale, attachment to employment, and even job performance. A recent study of members of the Marine Corps by Kerce included the subjective assessment of quality-of-life domains for these reasons.

The history of military housing policy indicates that shifts have occurred in subjective assessments of the nature of the military housing entitlement, as well as perceptions regarding the fairness of military housing policies. There has also been a shift in how members of the military services are perceived, across and within the services, commensurate with a shift toward what has been termed an occupational model of organization (Moskos, 1988). Perceptions are important in the subjective appraisal of quality of life (Campbell et al., 1976) and should not be overlooked when current and future policies are considered.

Nature of the Entitlement

*The tensions that exist among housing policy objectives continue, in part, because there is no consensus upon policy issues as fundamental as the exact nature of the military housing entitlement (GAO, 1989). That is, some appear to believe that the entitlement is to some form of DoD supplied shelter and when that is not available, to an allowance in place of shelter. Others appear to believe that the entitlement is actually to the allowance, not the housing (CBO, 1993).**

Additional tensions may be related to what military members perceive to be the basis for their housing benefits. For example, some may see housing and/or the existing allowance system as due them, in recognition of their service, that is, a right based in sacrifice. The term *entitlement* most appropriately fits this view. Others may see military housing and/or allowances as means by which the DoD and the services try to help them deal with housing hardships associated with regional assignment. The term *benefit* may be more appropriate to this view. Yet others may see military housing and allowances as compensation in-kind, offered in lieu of adequate pay or salary. The term *compensation* may be more appropriate to this view as the housing or allowances are seen as part of a compensation package. (Of note, we are speaking here of perception. The courts have ruled that housing allowances are not, strictly speaking, a form of compensation, thus not taxable and not considered earnings when retirement pay is calculated [Jones vs. U.S., 1925 cited in USCA, Title 37, Sec. 403]). These categories and views are by no means exclusive. Yet, there are important distinctions among these that may influence reactions to changing military housing policies and programs.

* See for example, Robert D. Reischauer's preface to the Congressional Budget Office's 1993 study entitled *Military Family Housing in the United States*, which states, "One element of that infrastructure is DoD family housing in the United States: the government-owned or government-leased housing that DoD provides to the families of many military personnel in lieu of cash housing allowances."

Further, military families living in government housing clearly believe that they pay for their housing through the forfeiture of their allowances when in government housing. Their printed reactions to recent CBO and GAO reports that termed military housing "free housing," were uniformly negative, in part, because military families associate the forfeiture of their allowances with payment of "rent." Unfortunately, forfeited allowances do not represent "cash" that can be used by the services to build, operate, or maintain military housing. They do not represent "real" moneys in the sense that rent payments represent real money. If the entitlement were truly to an allowance, Congress could allocate allowances to all. Those living in government housing (unaccompanied and with families) could turn the allowances over to support and maintain government housing, or live elsewhere and pay rent on the economy. One model currently being tested is the Army's Business Occupancy Program (BOP) initiative. Under this program, the housing allowances that would typically be received by an accompanied military member living off base are allocated as housing operation and maintenance funds to the installation when a member and his or her family live on base (Miller, 1997). This may move the Army closer to a fair market rental strategy for military housing. As both the services and DoD develop new housing and compensation policies, it will be important to educate recruiters and military members on the exact nature of military pay, other allowances, and benefits. This education should include the rationale for varying levels of benefit.

Sense of Fairness

Military members may judge the adequacy of their housing in relationship to those they see as "like" them, within and outside the military. However, the cohort with whom they have the most contact, their colleagues at work, may have the greatest influence on their perceptions. Military members involved in joint missions or assignments at bases operated by one of the other services, may, in similar fashion, experience satisfaction or dissatisfaction in relationship to the comparability of housing benefit among members of comparable rank across services (Defense Science Board, 1995).

Comparisons with civilian counterparts with similar education and training may also influence satisfactions and dissatisfactions. It is clear that military members have traditionally viewed themselves as meriting different benefits from civilians due to the unique nature of military service and the demands it makes of them. Frequency of reassignments and operational deployments are typically cited as experiences that set apart military members and the civilian community (McNelis, 1987).

As early as the 1920s, it was noted that the demands of military life make it difficult to establish and enjoy the benefits associated with having a "home" (OASDP&R, 1993). For all of these reasons, military members and their families may be more likely to compare their housing benefits to military members of the same rank. Attention to these perceptions and examination of changing sentiments (particularly their association with morale and attachment to military service) are warranted.

What is the Purpose of the "Military Community"?

The DoD and the services may also benefit from further assessment of the purpose of the military community (and housing as a part of this community). The history of military housing policy supports the need for empirical examination of the social objectives embedded in (or underlying) housing policies. Clearly, providing government housing on base is tied to at least anecdotal concerns about acculturation to military service and social control. However, whether these social objectives are actually achieved through on-base housing remains essentially untested.

Housing, Acculturation, and Social Control

Some view the housing of unaccompanied personnel, in particular, as a command and control issue. They argue that it is necessary and advisable to house junior and mid-grade unaccompanied personnel on base (Defense Science Board, 1996). Others believe that retention of young recruits is more likely if they are acculturated to their service by living on base (Defense Science Board; OASDP&R, 1993). Regardless of the rationale, where unaccompanied personnel are concerned, there exists consensus opinion in favor of government quarters on base. Concerns among military leaders are not focused on *whether* housing should be provided on base. Rather, they are focused upon enhancing the quality of this housing and improving space and privacy for individuals.

The social control argument contains some contradictions in practice, particularly in light of current policy. Unaccompanied personnel are viewed by some as requiring support, guidance and control, by virtue of their age and related maturity. Ironically, junior enlisted personnel who are married or have families, may live off base, regardless of their age or maturity. The acculturation argument is also problematic in this regard, as under current policy, even relatively new military members with families live in off-base housing. Data indicate that, in general, military members with families exhibit

higher re-enlistment rates (OASDP&R, 1993). Because most members with families live off base, questions may be raised about whether on-base housing supports attachment to the military.

Assessing the impact of the military community upon quality of life and job performance and retention requires careful empirical study. Is the traditional military community important to acculturation to military service, retention and job performance? The cross-sectional data available to date does not provide an answer to these questions.

Housing as Rank-specific Privilege

Both military and civilian employment provide cash and non-cash rewards. In the military, an array of non-cash benefits have been developed to reward service and sacrifice. As rank increases, these benefits support a more attractive quality of life for senior enlisted personnel and officers. With respect to enlisted personnel, housing policy has tended to be rooted in two related but separate notions. Enhanced housing benefits are earned through commitment to a career (paying one's dues): viewed or perceived as merited on the basis of sacrifice. Superior benefits also are commensurate with the responsibilities and demands of leadership positions (much as civilians receive enhanced compensation when in positions of leadership). Where officers are concerned, housing policy clearly offers enhanced benefits associated with increasing years of service and movement up through the officer ranks (commensurate with increased leadership). However, even the most junior officers are eligible for better housing benefits than the most junior enlisted personnel (and most mid-grade enlisted personnel). Officers are accorded greater privilege even while in training, prior to making a career commitment. This is rooted, of course, in the rank system, historic social class distinctions and expectations that separated officers and enlisted personnel, and the authorities and responsibilities associated with even the most junior officer positions.

It is unlikely that the services will abandon their system of rewards for career commitment and advanced rank, authority and responsibility. In the AVF period, military service became increasingly professionalized. Employment in the Armed Forces became an occupational choice. The DoD and the services focused more on how continued service might become at least as attractive as civilian sector employment.

This created a tension in military housing policy. The DoD and the services strived to reinforce inequalities of benefit across pay grades, yet they attempted to recognize differential needs (an equity issue). Numerous reports make the

point that those most in need of low or no cost family housing—the junior enlisted pay grades—traditionally had the lowest (or no) priority for military family housing. The DoD and the services have made great strides in addressing the needs of the junior enlisted personnel with families. Yet, senior enlisted members caution that increased attention to the needs of junior enlisted personnel, coupled with a perceived loss of benefits among more senior personnel, will lead to morale, if not retention problems, among careerists. This is an area that requires empirical study. Projections have been made about the likely retention effects of housing policy options that provide more government housing to junior enlisted members and less to senior enlisted members and officers. It is unclear whether these projections accurately reflect (or include attention to) the morale and subjective perceptions of military members. Further, the services differ in their approach to retention issues. The Marine Corps hopes to retain only a small percentage of its junior enlisted members. The Corps may thus prefer to focus upon retaining its more senior enlisted personnel. At the other end of the continuum, the Air Force wants to retain far more of its junior enlisted personnel and may have a greater stake in offering its more junior personnel improved living environments.

Military Community as Family Support System

Frequently, the military community is cited as an aid to the families of deployed military members. It is also indirectly seen as a source of comfort to those deployed to know that their families are safe and secure. There is no question that military members and their families find deployment stressful. Congressional testimony of military members and their families evidence tremendous support for the military community, on base, as an aid to families of deployed members and a comfort to members deployed. To the extent that the military community provides needed support to families, and enhanced capacity to perform for members who are deployed, its availability is clearly a quality-of-life issue *and* a critical mission support issue. As the DoD and the services consider current and future housing policy, careful consideration of what constitutes the military community is imperative. This involves developing a better understanding of how dependent the concept of “the military community” is upon a specific, geographically defined setting, such as a base structure.

If the on-base community offers superior support and comfort to families of deployed members, the DoD and the services may want to consider prioritizing access to on-base housing on the basis of mission requirements and likelihood of deployment. These considerations may also extend to those civilians employed by the military (or military contractors). During the recent Gulf War, for

example, civilians providing technical support functions were required to deploy and operate with troops in overseas operational environments.

Heterogeneity versus Homogeneity

Rank-based housing segregation may be less rigid on the economy. However, racial segregation is much more likely to be encountered there (Clark, 1985; Ford Foundation, 1989). This could certainly limit housing choices for military members in some regions of the country. The military, perhaps more than any other large institution, has successfully pursued a course of racial integration.

Housing on base, within ranks, is not segregated. Hartman and Drayer (1990) note that only within the military community has racial discrimination been eliminated by fiat. The important contribution that the DoD has made to the successful desegregation of civilian housing in areas where the military has significant economic clout (Hershfield, 1985), and to the successful integration of military housing communities (Hartman & Drayer), has been largely ignored by policy analysts. In areas where the military does not have significant economic power, it has not been as successful in desegregating civilian communities (Hershfield). If prior experiences are good predictors of future events, the elimination of DoD housing on base may result in military members living in less racially integrated communities in regions of the country in which the military has very limited economic power (little influence upon the local economy and civilian employment). Strict enforcement of Fair Housing laws could, of course, lead to greater integration in civilian communities. This merits examination as a quality-of-life issue.

Conclusion

Military housing policy, like all social welfare policy, has been influenced by political, economic, and social developments. Today, economic and political considerations appear to be all-important. The budget deficit continues to focus congressional attention upon cutting government costs. The current popularity of privatization and devolution of authority further encourages efforts to eliminate programs that involve government control and management. Housing for military members and civilians alike is an obvious target for cost-saving or cost-shifting initiatives because housing is costly to build and becomes increasingly expensive to maintain as it ages. Yet, housing is, as Kemeny (1992) notes, much more than merely shelter, or bricks and mortar and the dollars they consume. Housing is a fundamental component of any community's social and economic development.

The new authorities available to the DoD and the services to privatize housing offer new opportunities to examine the role of housing in the quality of military life. Because they are oriented to developing housing off base, they offer opportunities to examine the role DoD housing policy may play in creating viable, supportive, and integrated communities "outside the gate."

Increased attention to the relationship between DoD housing initiatives and U.S. housing and community development policy seems warranted at a time in which the United States faces serious housing affordability problems, diminishing housing quality for some, and continued problems with neighborhood blight and neglect (particularly in more urban areas). The DoD and DHUD share much in common in their current housing policy directions, particularly their reliance upon the private sector and elimination of direct federal production of housing. Increasingly, both seem concerned with promoting meaningful local involvement in the planning and production of housing and community support services. In particular, DHUD has become increasingly interested in non-profit sponsorship of housing and community development initiatives, as well as the promotion of supportive services within residential settings. In this regard, it is important to remember that DHUD is not a "poverty program." DHUD sponsors housing initiatives that benefit a broad spectrum of income groups.

As each Department—DoD and DHUD—experiments with new forms of housing delivery, it may uncover lessons valuable to the other and worthy of transfer. Initiatives that bring together local military installations and community planners, to expand the stock of affordable housing and enhance community development, could realize benefits for both the military and civilian communities (President's Economic Adjustment Committee, 1989).

Finally, in an environment in which financial decisions require solid evidence and defensible arguments, both the DoD and the services need to be clear about their housing objectives in relationship to specific military-relevant outcomes. Housing and other quality-of-life investment decisions require empirical data that take into full consideration both objective and subjective quality-of-life factors. In the final analysis, the success of these efforts will require policies and programs that are comprehensible and acceptable to those who are the object of their focus. Military members need to know what to expect and they must feel that they are being treated fairly. Without these ingredients, no program can expect to be successful.

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Glossary

AVF	All-volunteer force
BAH	Basic Allowance for Housing
BAS	Basic Allowance for Subsistence
BAQ	Basic allowance for quarters. A tax exempt cash allowance available to those military members who live on the economy.
Barracks	In this report this term is used as a synonym for unaccompanied personnel housing; other terms used interchangeably include "dormitories" and "troop" housing.
BOP	Business Occupancy Program. An Army housing finance initiative. Family housing allowances forfeited by members living on base are allocated to the installation for operation & maintenance funds.
BRAC	Base Realignment and Closure Commission
DHUD	Department of Housing and Urban Development
DoD	Department of Defense
DoDDS	Department of Defense Dependents School
FHA	Federal Housing Administration
PCS	Permanent Change of Station
RHIP	"Rank has its privilege" - a slogan
Sec. 236	A DHUD program that included set-asides for military members & their families. The program provided FHA insurance for rental developments for low-income level households.
Sec. 801	DoD build-to-lease housing program established in 1983
Sec. 802	DoD rental guarantee program established in 1983
VA	Veteran's Administration
VHA	Variable Housing Allowance. A tax exempt cash allowance available to military members living on the economy who are living in areas classified as high cost housing areas.

Appendix

The tables of data and figures which appear in this appendix are offered to provide additional data to support the analysis presented in this report, and to provide potentially useful data displays for use in briefings or discussions on military housing.

We offer the following cautions in the use of these data:

- Some tables and figures present data for the United States, only. Others include data for all locations. This distinction is made within the title of each table/figure.
- Data files from other sources may yield slightly different data points. Please note that for all data from the Defense Manpower Data Center, (DMDC), East, the effective date is the close of that fiscal year (September 30). For example, data labeled 1975 from DMDC, East are for September 30, 1975.

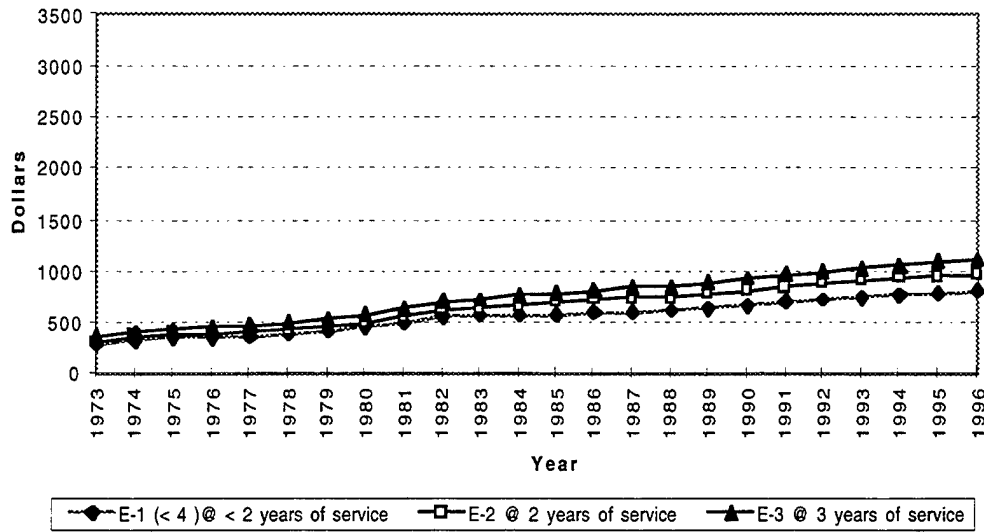
E-1 - E-3 as a Percent of Force by Service, All Locations, 1975-1995					
Service	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Army	34.6%	32.3%	25.4%	24.5%	19.9%
Navy	34.4	33.0	29.3	27.5	25.4
USMC	51.3	51.3	45.8	44.1	44.2
Air Force	27.3	27.9	25.4	17.5	18.5
Total	34.0%	33.1%	28.3%	25.4%	23.9%

Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995.

Junior Enlisted Personnel, Percent with Families by Service, All Locations, 1975-1995					
Service & Pay grade	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Army E1-E3	21.1%	15.7%	17.5%	20.8%	21.6%
Navy E1-E3	16.6	11.5	16.2	18.2	21.8
MC E1-E3	15.0	11.0	18.7	20.7	21.3
AF E1-E3	31.5	20.7	26.1	24.5	25.3
All E1-E3	21.5%	15.1%	19.5%	20.7%	22.3%
All pay grades, All services	55.2%	50.2%	54.4%	58.0%	60.8%

Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, and 1995.

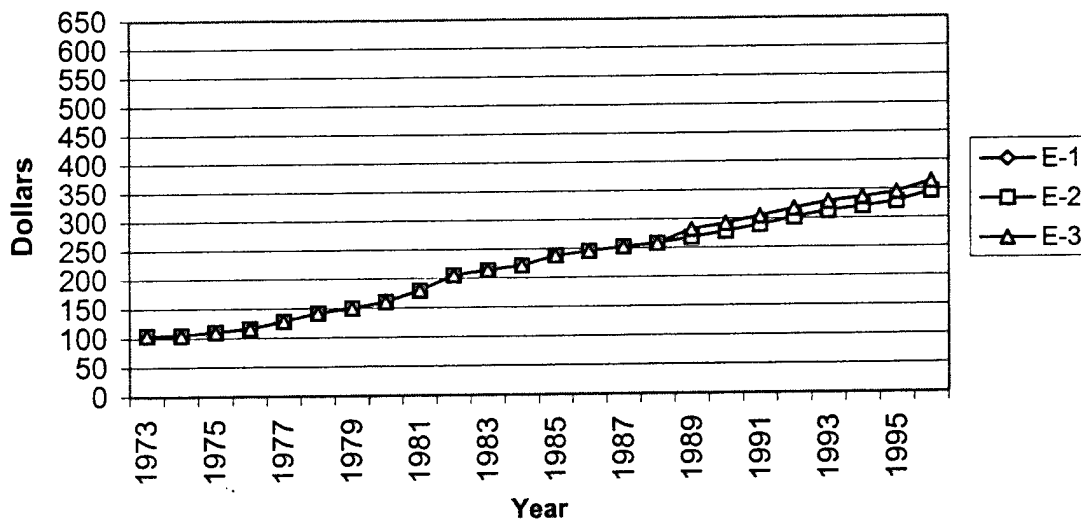
Basic Monthly Pay (E1-E3) for "typical" years of service



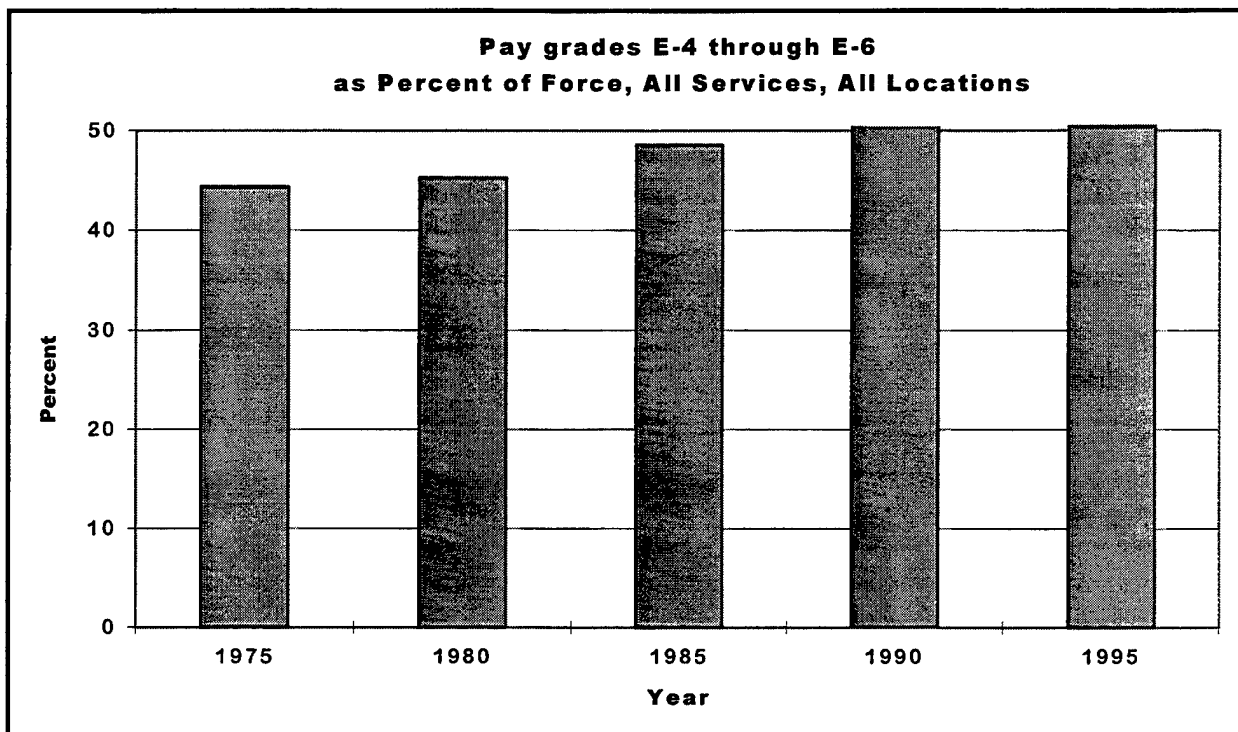
Source: *Monthly Basic Pay Tables, The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness), Washington, DC.* The "Year" displayed represents the fiscal year to which the monthly pay applies.

Note: "Typical" years of service are based on the average (mean) years of service for these pay grades as of December 30, 1996. The Defense Manpower Data Center computed average years of service (as well as the standard deviation) for each pay grade based upon data available in the Active Duty Master Edit File. The most proximate year of service included in the Monthly Basic Pay Table was then selected for inclusion in the figure.

**Basic Allowance for Quarters
(Married Service Members, E-1 through E-3)**



Source: Basic Allowance for Quarters, Detailed RMC Tables, Monthly BAQ Rates for Married (Cash) by Pay Grade, The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness), Washington, DC. The "Year" displayed represents the fiscal year to which the monthly allowance applies.



Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995.

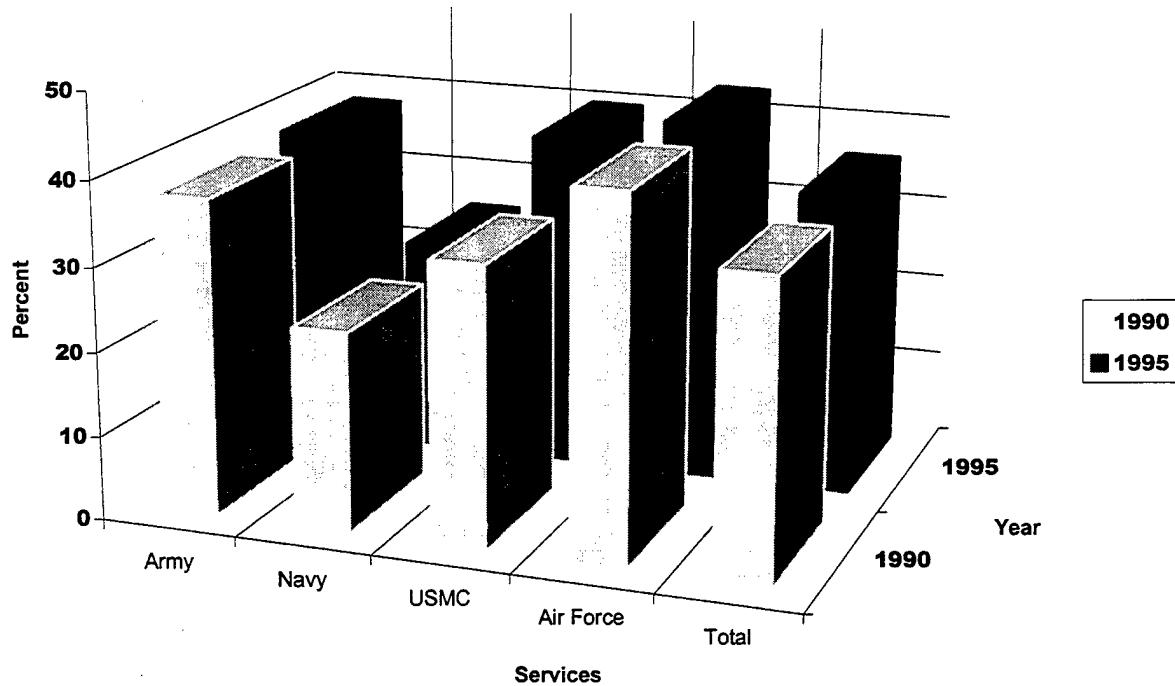
Mid-grade Personnel as Percent of Service and Total Force All Locations, 1975-1995					
Service	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Army	44.6%	46.9%	51.2%	51.4%	52.9%
Navy	45.1	47.0	50.0	51.2	51.9
USMC	32.7	32.4	36.8	38.3	37.8
Air Force	47.3	45.9	47.7	53.8	51.0
Total	44.4%	45.3%	48.6%	50.7%	50.4%

Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, and 1995.

Mid-grade Personnel, Percent with Families All Services, All Locations, 1975-1995					
Service & Pay grade	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Army E4-E6	61.8%	59.1%	60.4%	66.2%	67.0%
Navy E4-E6	60.8	55.1	58.2	60.8	69.7
MC E4-E6	56.9	53.7	64.2	68.6	66.4
AF E4-E6	79.6	70.0	69.8	71.3	73.0
All E4-E6	66.6%	60.7%	62.6%	66.3%	69.2%
All pay grades, All services	55.2%	50.2%	54.4%	58.0%	60.8%

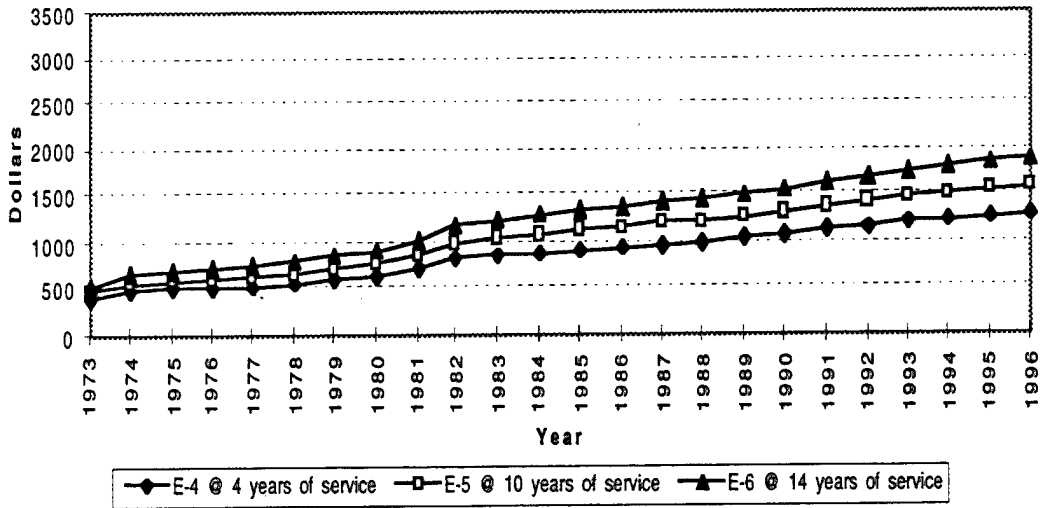
Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, and 1995.

**Percent of Members in Pay Grades E-4 through E-6
with Families,
Living On Base in the United States, 1990 and 1995**



Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1995 and September 30, 1990. Of note, data displayed include only those whose location (e.g. State in United States) and on-/off-base status was known. Percent unknown in grades E-4 through E-6 was 1.7% in 1990 and 1.5% in 1995. Among the services, percent unknown ranged from a low of less than 1% for the Army and Navy to 5% for the Marine Corps in 1990. Percent unknown was no more than 3% for all services in 1995.

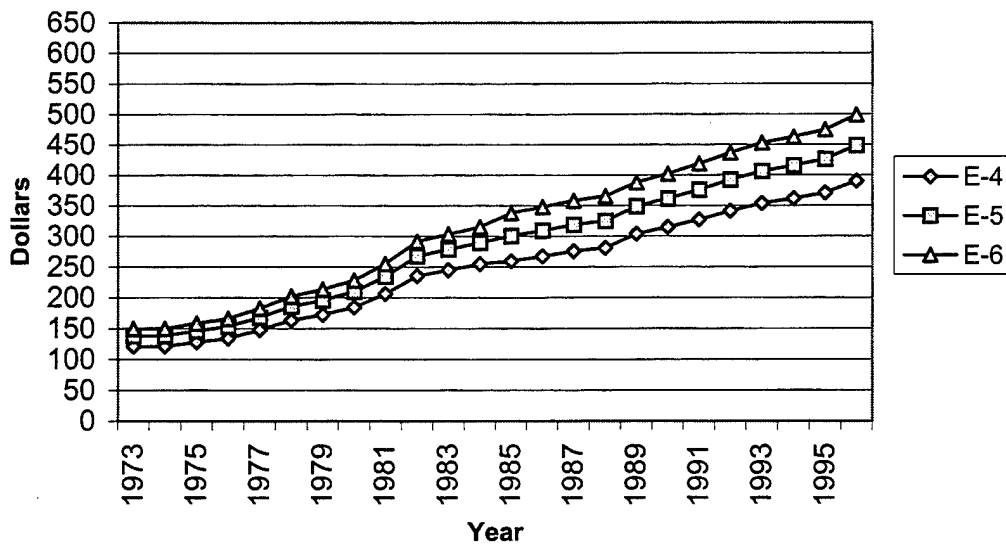
Basic Monthly Pay (E4-E6) for "typical" years of service



Source: Monthly Basic Pay Tables, The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness), Washington, DC. The "Year" displayed represents the fiscal year to which the monthly pay applies.

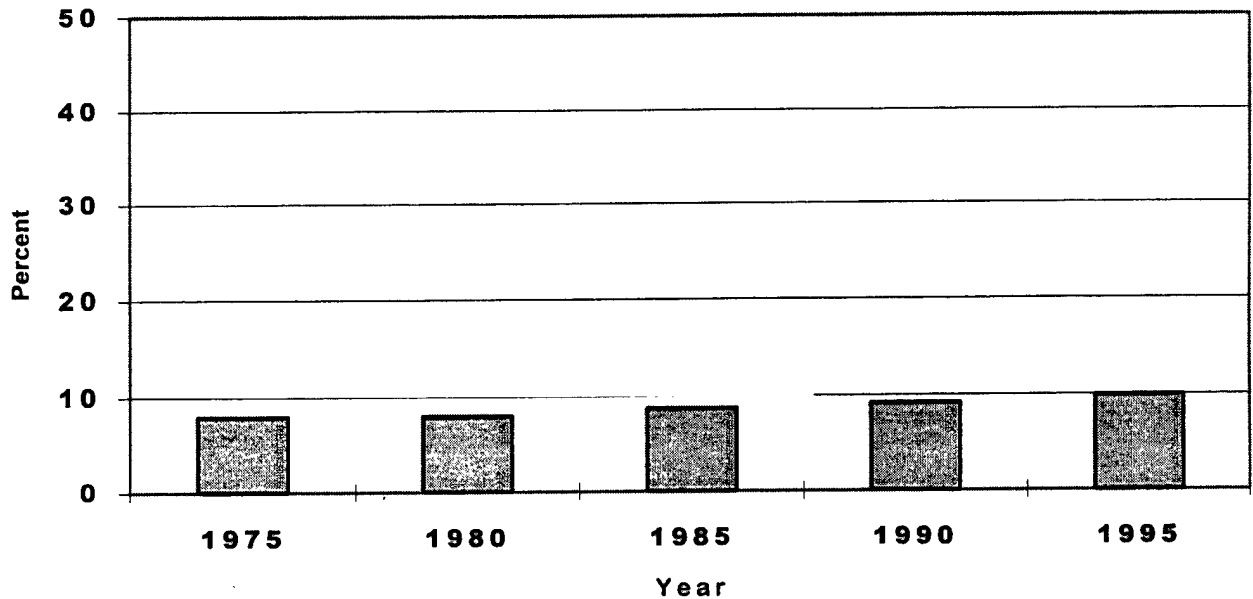
Note: "Typical" years of service are based on the average (mean) years of service for these pay grades as of December 30, 1996. The Defense Manpower Data Center computed average years of service (as well as the standard deviation) for each pay grade based upon data available in the Active Duty Master Edit File. The most proximate year of service included in the Monthly Basic Pay Table was then selected for inclusion in the figure.

**Basic Allowance for Quarters
(Married Service Members, E-4 through E-6)**



Source: Basic Allowance for Quarters, Detailed RMC Tables, Monthly BAQ Rates for Married (Cash) by Pay Grade, The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness), Washington, DC. The "Year" displayed represents the fiscal year to which the monthly allowance applies.

**Pay Grades E-7 through E-9
as a Percent of Force, All Services,
All Locations**



Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, and 1995.

Senior Enlisted Personnel as a Percent of Service and Total Force All Locations, 1975-1995					
Service	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Army	7.8%	8.0%	9.3%	9.7%	10.7%
Navy	8.4	7.8	8.3	8.7	9.1
USMC	6.8	6.6	7.2	7.5	7.8
Air Force	8.2	8.5	8.8	9.9	10.7
Total	8.0%	8.0%	8.7%	9.2%	9.9%

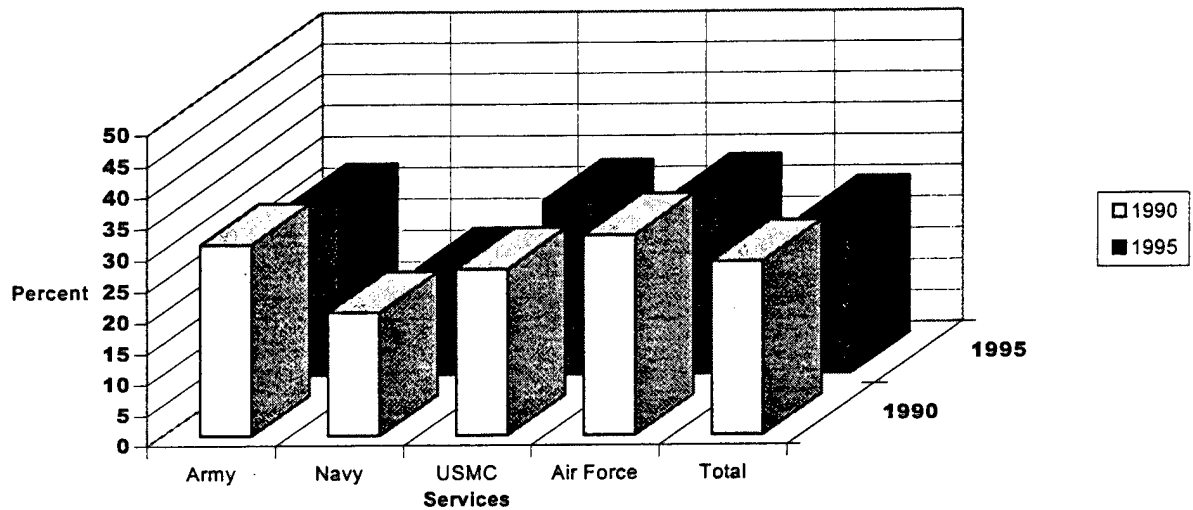
Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995.

**Senior Enlisted Personnel, Percent with Families
All Services, All Locations, 1975-1995**

Service & Pay grade	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Army E7-E9	95.5%	95.4%	94.0%	94.6%	93.4%
Navy E7-E9	90.1	95.3	93.9	92.1	91.7
MC E7-E9	93.2	95.1	95.8	95.3	94.5
AF E7-E9	98.0	97.0	95.2	92.8	91.5
All E7-E9	94.6%	95.8%	94.5%	93.5%	92.5%
All pay grades, All services	55.2%	50.2%	54.4%	58.0%	60.8%

Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, East, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995.

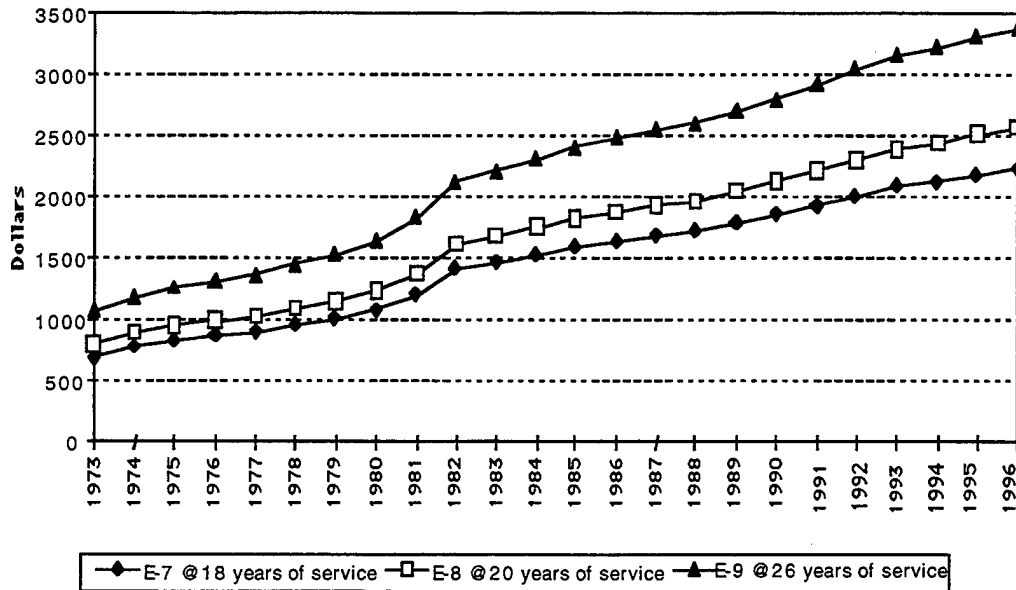
**Percent of Members in Pay Grades E-7 through E-9
with Families
Living On Base in the United States, 1990 and 1995**



Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1995 and September 30, 1990. Of note, data displayed include only those whose location (e.g. State in United States) and on/off base status was known.

Note: Overall, percent unknown in grades E-7 through E-9 was 2.3% in 1990 and 1995. Among the services, in 1990, percent unknown ranged from a high of 4.2% for the Air Force to a low of 1.4% for the Navy. In 1995, percent unknown ranged from a high of 4.1% for the Air Force to a low of 1.4% for both the Army and the Navy. In all cases, in both years, the percent unknown was less than 5%.

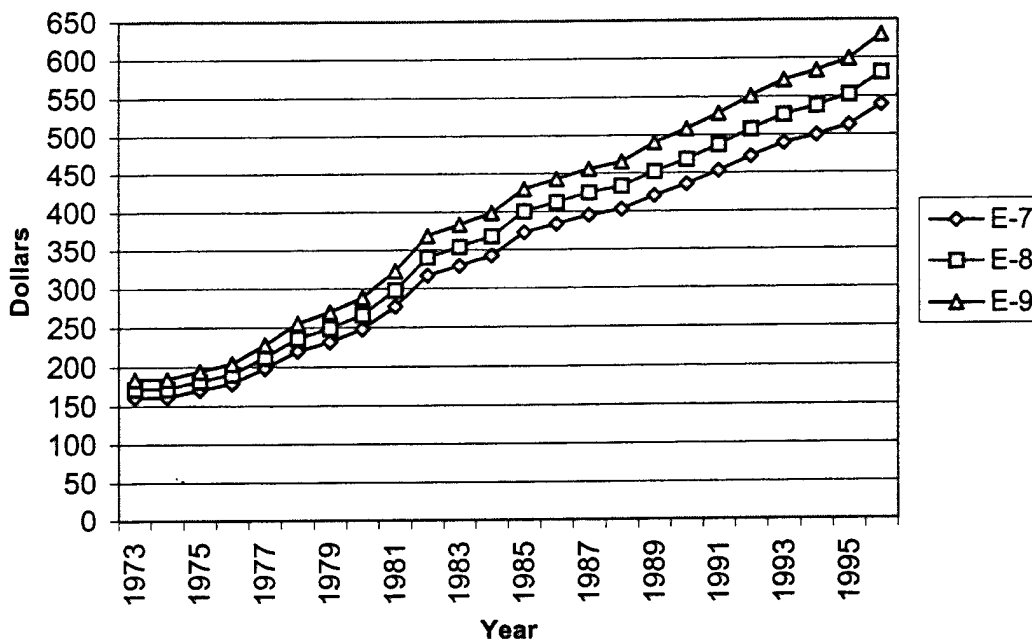
Basic Monthly Pay (E-7 - E-9) for "typical" years of service



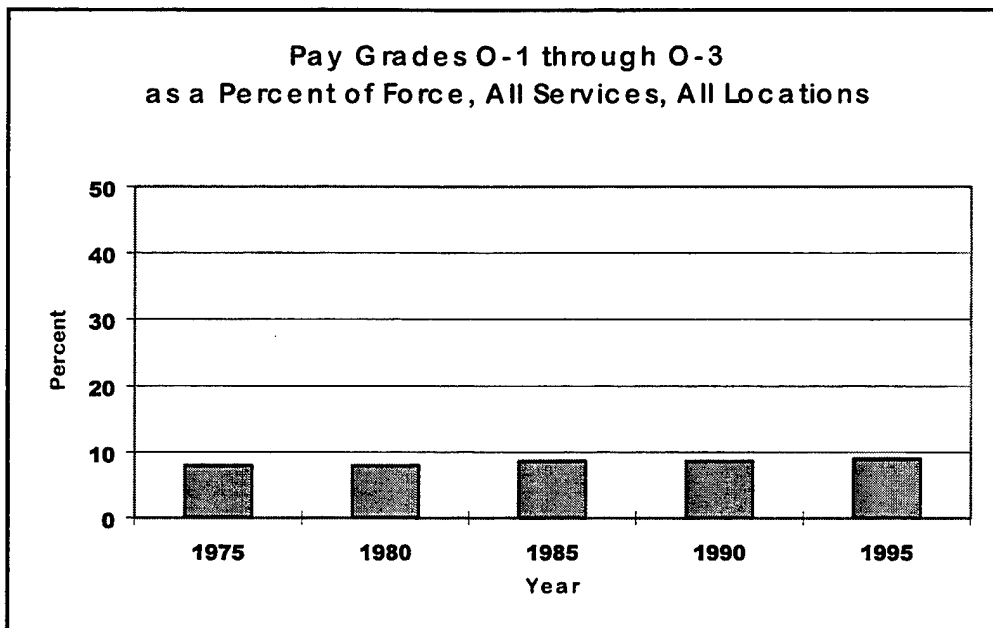
Source: *Monthly Basic Pay Tables, The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness), Washington, DC.* The "Year" displayed represents the fiscal year to which the monthly pay applies.

Note: "Typical" years of service are based on the average (mean) years of service for these pay grades as of December 30, 1996. The Defense Manpower Data Center computed average years of service (as well as the standard deviation) for each pay grade based upon data available in the Active Duty Master Edit File. The most proximate year of service included in the Monthly Basic Pay Table was then selected for inclusion in the figure.

**Basic Allowance for Quarters
(Married Service Members, E-7 through E-9)**



Source: Basic allowance for Quarters, Detailed RMC Tables, Monthly BAQ Rates for Married (Cash) by Pay Grade, The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness), Washington, DC. The "Year" displayed represents the fiscal year to which the monthly allowance applies.



Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995.

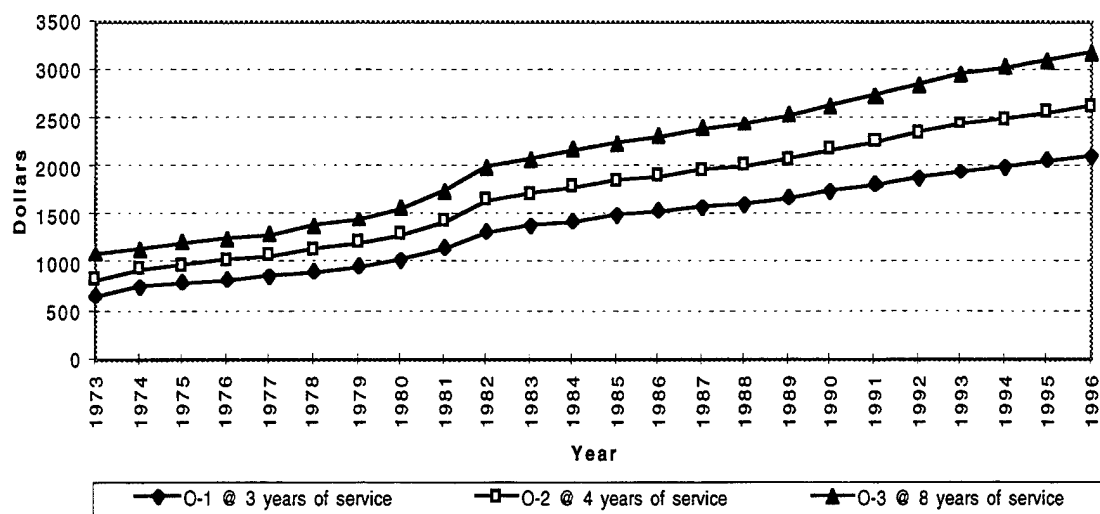
Junior Officers as a Percent of each Service and Total Force All Locations, 1975-1995					
Service	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Army	7.1%	6.9%	7.9%	7.9%	8.5%
Navy	6.8	7.0	7.5	7.7	8.1
USMC	6.2	6.4	6.6	6.4	6.0
Air Force	10.9	11.1	11.7	11.9	12.1
Total	8.0%	8.0%	8.7%	8.7%	9.0%

Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995

Junior Officers, Percent with Families All Services, All Locations, 1975-1995					
Service & Pay grade	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995
Army 01-03	67.1%	55.6%	56.2%	59.6%	56.9%
Navy 01-03	62.9	54.6	52.0	53.0	58.4
MC 01-03	69.0	62.5	63.3	63.0	61.3
AF 01-03	76.4	66.7	62.0	63.1	63.7
All 01-03	69.9%	60.1%	57.9%	59.5%	60.0%
All pay grades, All services	55.2%	50.2%	54.4%	58.0%	60.8%

Source: Defense Manpower Data Center, Active Duty Family Files for September 30, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990 and 1995.

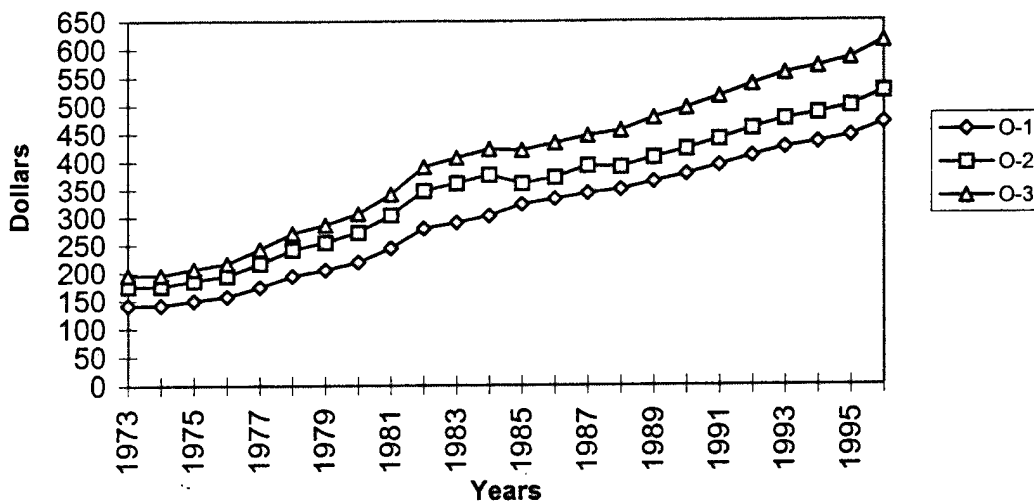
Basic Monthly Pay (O1-O3) for "typical" years of service



Source: Monthly Basic Pay Tables, The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness), Washington, DC. The "Year" displayed represents the fiscal year to which the monthly pay applies.

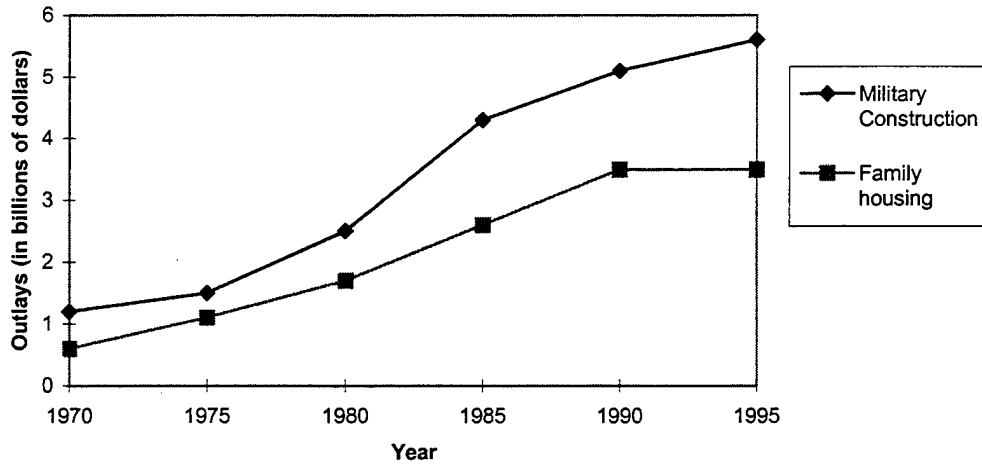
Note: "Typical" years of service are based on the average (mean) years of service for these paygrades as of December 30, 1996. The Defense Manpower Data Center computed average years of service (as well as the standard deviation) for each pay grade based upon data available in the Active Duty Master Edit File. The most proximate year of service included in the Monthly Basic Pay Tables was then selected for inclusion in the figure.

**Basic Allowance for Quarters
(Married Service Members, O-1 through O-3)**



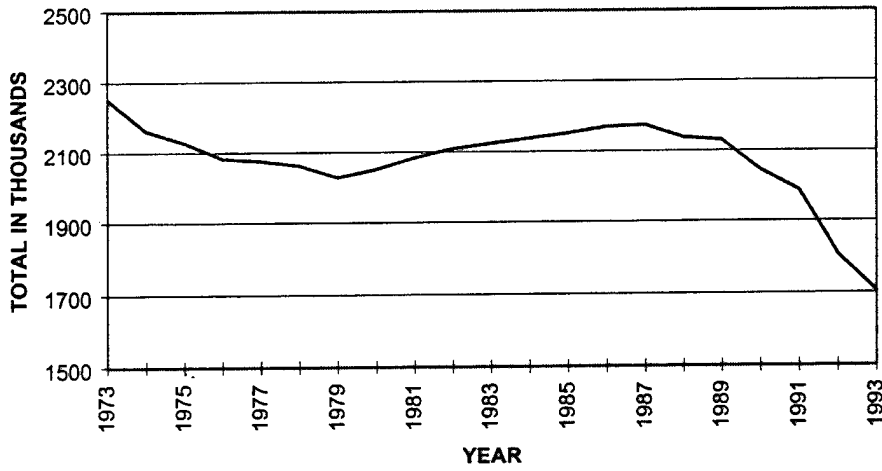
Source: Basic Allowance for Quarters, Detailed RMC Tables, Monthly BAQ Rates for Married (Cash) by Pay Grade, The Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Personnel and Readiness), Washington, DC. The "Year" displayed represents the fiscal year to which the monthly allowance applies.

**Federal Budget Outlays for National Defense Functions:
1970 to 1995**



Source: U.S. Office of Management and Budget, Historical Tables, Budget of the United States Government, 1987

Department of Defense Manpower: 1973 to 1993



*Source: 1995 Statistical Abstract of the United States, U.S. Department of Commerce.
Note: As of end of fiscal year, includes National Guard, Reserve, and retired regular personnel on extended or continuous active duty; excludes Coast Guard. Other officer candidates are included under enlisted personnel.*

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