The focus of this study is the American military family. The primary purpose is to examine the family from the paradigm of a distinct occupational subculture and, substantiating that existence, to understand the implications of work-family role conflict of the military family. The objectives are to substantiate the military as an occupational subculture and explore military work and family conflict through participative observation techniques and, to a lesser extent, thematic analysis. The research questions are "Is the military an occupational subculture?", and "How does the work-role of the service member affect the family?"
A pilot survey instrument based on the seven tenets of an occupational subculture (Trice, 1993) was developed to ascertain the level of subcultural affiliation of the respondents. In total, 78 members of the military (Army) were interviewed using the instrument. Examination of thematic responses from spousal surveys complement the overall analysis.

The findings indicate a strong affiliation within the Army that would support the supposition that the Army is an occupational subculture. Respondents exhibited affiliation with all seven tenets above the 75% level that had been established as a benchmark. Taken together, thematic analysis of spouse perceptions viewed through a subcultural paradigm, and service members interviews, converged to demonstrate the probability of the military as a distinct occupational subculture. As such, the military has the capability to influence members and their families through infrastructure (both formal and informal), social, and perceptive requirements. Subcultural forces may provide powerful conformance tools for the membership. Obvious implications for acknowledging the uniqueness of the military family as a distinct subculture within American society are important.
To retain a viable fighting force, Army family policy must be responsive and understanding of the military family entity. Preliminary results indicate that further exploration of the military with a subcultural perspective could enhance soldier readiness. Further studies should focus on the military family as the primary support mechanism for soldiers serving in the modern military. Additional study on families leaving the military to a civilian environment would provide insight into the mechanics of subcultural transitions.
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THE MILITARY OCCUPATIONAL SUBCULTURE: WORK AND FAMILY ROLE CONFLICT FOR FAMILIES OF MILITARY PERSONNEL

by

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A THESIS submitted to Oregon State University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Completed April 17, 1995 Commencement June 1997

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Thomas B. Gilbert, author
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This dissertation is dedicated to my loving family. Thanks for your support and patience.
As a professional soldier, my career has been dedicated to preparing and leading soldiers to fight in America's wars and achieve victory on the battlefield. However, as I became more experienced, I realized the importance of the family as a bastion of support for my soldiers. I wanted to learn more about how the soldiers perceived their place in the military and the affiliation of their families.

This dissertation is the culmination of my efforts. It is my fervent desire that policy-makers will grasp a better understanding of the paramount importance the military family plays in our national defense.
The Military Occupational Subculture: Work and Family Role Conflict for Families of Military Personnel

I. INTRODUCTION

I.1 Overview.

The work role characteristics, career expectations, and family orientation of personnel serving in the American military are rapidly changing. New world realities signaled the demise of the Cold War and heralded the unprecedented reduction of American military power. This reduction was being conducted while the remaining military force was "tasked" to respond to an increasing crescendo of nontraditional missions. The focus of this study is the military work-role and family. Examining the family role in the military during an increased operational tempo provides a glimpse into this unique segment of American society.

The primary purpose of this study is to examine the military service member and family from the paradigm of a distinct occupational subculture and, substantiating that existence, to understand the implications of work and family conflict of the military family member. By viewing the military
family from the paradigm of a distinct subculture versus a generic subset of American society, policy and family support mechanisms for the military family may be improved.

This study seeks justification by citing the increased importance of the family in today's armed forces. Recent efforts have been made by the Department of Defense and subordinate services to find out more about the military family. However, the vast majority of these efforts have focused on determining answers to questions devised from the policy-maker's perspective which, in fact, may only have addressed the symptoms of a larger issue. The question for this study, however, is to determine how the respondents perceive their profession beyond the scope of neatly constructed, politically sterilized, and comparatively "safe" survey instruments. It is important to assess the military family from both service member and spouse that, together, comprise the core military family. That assessment is what drives this study. Analyzing subcultural categorization of unstructured observations relative to military service life provides an opportunity to view the family entity in the context of work and
family role conflict from the family member's perspective.

No topic, no matter how sensitive, was outside the purview of this effort. The thoughts, concerns, worries, and observations of the members of this unique segment of American culture provide a glimpse into what is now commonly called the "military family".

The objectives of this study are threefold: to (1) substantiate the military as an occupational subculture, (2) explore military work and family conflict from the service member's perspective through participative observation techniques, and (3) correlate general spousal affiliation with the tenets of an occupational subculture through analysis of thematic responses from recent survey instruments. Particular emphasis will be on the formal structure of military family support, and identifying parameters that alleviate some of the problems encountered by family members.

Until recent policy changes within the Department of Defense that encouraged information and research on families, relatively little was known about military families and how they adapt to this unique lifestyle. At the end of the fiscal year
1992, the Army had 625,659 active duty service members who were responsible for 978,518 active duty dependent family members. There were an additional 553,903 family members represented in the Army Reserves (DA, 1992). A striking difference from earlier years was the increased presence of females in the armed services.

In the Army alone, there were 81,104 women (11.2% of the active force) and, in total, 45,000 soldiers (both male and female) identified themselves as single parents (DA, 1992). Despite the apparent large size of the Army, it was continuing a 30% reduction from the high levels prior to the Persian Gulf War. The Army was permitted to retain a base force of 495,000 service members by the end of 1997. To accentuate the implications of this reduced force, as of December 31, 1994, there were fewer active duty soldiers in the entire U.S. Army (533,074) than there were U.S. service members (from all branches) "in country" in the Republic of Vietnam in 1968 (approximately 543,000) (DA, 1995). The Army alone planned to lose 4,000-5,000 soldiers each month (e.g. one month loses between November/December 1994 was 4,779). The combined Department of Defense losses
totaled over 700,000 uniformed service members from 1988 through 1997.

As late as the mid-1980's, several civilian studies had explored the relationships between work and family in the American civilian population. However, little was known of the effect of military employment on the military family. Previous military sponsored studies focused on the individual service member with the family factor usually ignored.

As the military reduces in size and capability while the overall mission of national defense remains the same, the burden for increased work demands is likely to be shifted to the individual service member. The individual service member can reasonably expect to perform a greater variety of tasks and to accept additional expectations for flexibility. In addition, unless American commitments overseas are correspondingly curtailed (which is politically unlikely), an individual's military service may be expected to demand more total time committed to serving the numerous overseas assignments and missions. Thus, the commitment required from the soldier and his/her family members will inherently necessitate additional duties/tasks to be performed, a higher incidence of travel, and longer and more
frequent family separation. These additional work requirements will coincide with a loss of real income, the curtailment and reduction of infrastructure and services, and increased family expenses to compensate for lost benefits (Becraft, 1993).

The household structure of personnel within the American military consists largely of a married family orientation. The Persian Gulf War was fought by an Army comprised primarily of career-oriented soldiers who were married (57%) (DoD, 1991). These career soldiers are all volunteers who have chosen the military as a way of life - for themselves and, de facto, for their families.

I.2 Objectives.

I.2.1 Statement of Purpose.

The principal purpose of this study is to substantiate the military as an occupational subculture and explore military work-role versus family conflict from the service member's perspective. Particular emphasis will be on the formal structure of family support, and identifying
parameters that may alleviate some of the problems encountered by family members.

The research questions are "Is the military an occupational subculture?", and "How does the work-role of the service member affect the family?". Determining the perceived support mechanisms that promote adaptation of the family to the military is of secondary importance. The specific research objectives are to:

a. Identify factors that define and support the existence of the military occupational subculture and the degree to which service members affiliate to the subculture tenets.

b. Explore service member's thoughts on the work-role and it's relationship to the family.

c. Explore spousal affiliation with the subcultural tenets.

d. Identify family support mechanisms that may provide the perception of successful adaptation of service and family members.

I.2.2 Process.

a. The existence of a military occupational subculture will be confirmed by delineation of established parameters through the literature review
process (Chapter II) and substantiated through a pilot perception survey. This will be conducted through researcher subculture immersion and participative observation.

b. Concurrently, an analysis will be conducted using the correlation of subcultural tenets to categorizations from the Survey of Army Family II (1991-92). These responses are based on open-ended questions from a completely random sample of respondents. This analysis will permit the assessment of subcultural perceptions by the spouses of persons employed in the military.

c. The methodology for the subculture analysis will be established (Chapter III) and procedures will derive the results reported in this study (Chapter IV).

d. The composite data set will be synthesized to provide a generalization of service member and family challenges and opportunities with possible policy implications (Chapter V).
I.3 Definitions.

For ease of review, the definitions are divided into the categories of "General" and "Military Specific".

1.3.1 General Definitions:

Adaptation - The behavioral change of an individual or group in adjustment to new or modified cultural surroundings (Webster, 1994).

Culture - A communicated set of values, behavior, and beliefs within a society. A culture consists of emotionally based ideology and the mechanisms for acknowledging and expressing those beliefs. Cultural forms include myths, legends, symbols, language, gestures, rituals, prohibitions, dietary preferences, and manner of dress (Geertz, 1970; Leach, 1976).

Military Occupational Subculture - The members of the uniformed military organization, and their dependent families, who may be subject to the distinct subcultural forms, behavior, regulatory and belief patterns associated with the military.
Motivation - the aspect of personality that energizes, directs or sustains an individual to perform goal-directed behaviors (Randolph, 1988).

Occupational Subculture - A subculture derived from a specific occupational skill or a functional grouping of members possessing related skills. This subculture is formed and organized around grouping of functional responsibilities and goal oriented behavior. Individuals within any occupational subculture consider fellow workers and peers as a significant reference group. The duality of perceived loyalties to the occupation as well as the employer plays a key role in the definition of the specific occupational subculture (Hughes, 1958; Child & Faulk, 1982; Trice, 1993).

Perception - the process through which individuals attach personal meaning to their experiences (Hamachek, 1978, Combs, 1965).

Personal Perception Factors - an individual's perception of self-esteem and motivation (Hawkins, 1983).

Subculture - A subset of a defined core culture. The subculture differs from the core culture through the incorporation of additional beliefs and behavior.
Members have the opportunity for frequent interaction on an individual/personal level. The subculture possesses a collective understanding of behavior and cultural forms that are in addition to or modified from those of the root culture. The subculture is not to be confused with countercultures that reject all or a portion of the core culture's beliefs or behavior patterns (Warner, 1937; Sapir, 1966; Geertz, 1983; Goodenough, 1978).

Self-esteem - an overall positive or negative evaluation of the self; an individual's general sense of well-being and self-worth (Rosenberg, 1965).

Successful (military occupational subculture family) Adaptation - in this context, a family lifestyle that is constructive, mutually supporting, positive, and is conducive to the continued military service of the service member.

Unsatisfactory (military occupational subculture family) Adaptation - in this context, a family lifestyle that is not conducive to continued participation in the subculture.

War - Rather than adhere to the politically charged and sensitive terminology that this term now evokes, for this study, war will denote any engagement of hostile forces by an American fighting force.
Webster's definition will be used, that defines war as "a state of open, armed, often prolonged conflict carried on between nations, states, or parties" (Webster, 1994).

Work-role - As defined by Voydanoff (1987). Consists of three categories of work-role characteristics: (1) structural - includes time and location of work; (2) psychological - includes stress, work demands, orientation toward work, and job characteristics; and (3) the combined work-roles within the family (includes paid employment outside the family, unpaid work at home, and role as parent/spouse).

1.3.2 Military Specific Definitions.

The following definitions will be used in this study. Unless cited otherwise, they are from common terminology used in the Department of the Army (DA) branch of the military.

Active military - All full time members of the military services.

Allowance - Additional funds provided to the service member above base pay. This includes additional
payment for housing, food, family separation, combat or hostile fire pay, or variable housing expenses for high costs areas.

**Armed Forces** - The U.S. military organization consisting of the Army, Navy, Marines, Air Force, Coast Guard, and support forces. The Armed Forces labor pool consists of both military members and civilian employees (support roles).

**Career Military** - The individual service member who has taken actions to commit to the military as a career or who has accumulated in excess of fifteen years of service time. This individual has the expectation of eligibility for retirement.

**CONUS** - Continental United States; usually used when referring to the lower 48 states. For the thematic portion of the study, and to facilitate comparisons to previous studies, U.S. Army in Europe (USAREUR) respondents are termed Other Than CONUS (OCONUS).

**DA** - Department of the Army; subdivision of the Department of Defense (DoD).

**Dependent** - Usually a spouse and/or child but may also include an elder parent for whom financial support is provided by a service member through an official guardianship.
**Deployment** - The action of relocating from a permanent place of duty to another location for the purpose of preparation for or conduct of military operations.

**DoD** - Department of Defense; cabinet level post within the U.S. Federal government.

**Family Member** - The individual, whether male or female, married to, instrumentally or financially dependent on a service member.

**OCONUS** - Overseas locations outside of the United States. See CONUS for further explanation.

**Off Post/Base** - Not located on or within jurisdiction or control of a military installation.

**On Post/Base** - The geographic location of facilities or activities on a military installation. All individuals within this area are subject to rights, limitations and curtailments as outlined under military law.

**Pay Grade** - All military members are paid salaries which depend on their rank ("E" grades for enlisted and "O" grades for officers) and time in service. Excluding special pay situations, all members at a given rank with the same years of service are paid an identical sum.
PCS - Permanent Change of Station. This is the routine reassignment of personnel, and usually their families, to the next location. However, this may be an "unaccompanied" PCS and then the service member must leave his/her family behind usually for 1-2 years.

Post - Any Army garrison duty location (e.g. Fort Bragg, North Carolina or Fort Lewis, Washington). The term "Base" is used for the Navy and Air Force, the term "Camp" is used for the Marines, and the term "Station" is used for the Coast Guard.

Reduction-in-Force (RIF) - The umbrella phrase used to classify all programs authorized by Congress to reduce the size of the armed forces. The RIF affects both military and civilian personnel.

Reserve Forces - Part time forces that serve periodic military training. They are comprised of the Reserves, under control of the federal government, and the National Guard, under the nominal control of the state governors but funded by and accountable to the Federal Government.

Service Member - A general term to describe the individual, whether male or female, serving in the military. This individual may or may not have chosen
the military as a career and may be a first term volunteer with no intention of a military career.

**Sponsor** - The military service member who is responsible for officially assigned dependents, whether a spouse or dependent children. The sponsor's social security account number is used as the basis for all services, authorizations, and support provided to the dependents.

**TDY** - Temporary Duty. A routine, short term deployment or business trip to conduct a specific mission and return to the point of origin. Each separate TDY must not exceed 179 days per trip.

**USAREUR** - The U.S. Army in Europe; usually refers to the NATO contingent of U.S. forces.

I.4 Assumptions.

I.4.1 Composite Assumptions.

1. Derived data will not be classified or restricted by higher authorities and will be open for public dissemination.
2. Official command support for the study will be given.
(3) Official data sets from previous and ongoing official research and studies will be made available for this study and included in the analysis.
(4) The Army data set, within reasonable limits, may be used as a representative baseline for the military in force.

I.4.2 Subculture Analysis Assumptions.

(1) Respondents will understand the questions and respond in an honest and accurate manner.
(2) Questions asked are consistent with the relevant subculture tenets.
(3) The researcher can obscure rank and hierarchy position and gain rapport during the subcultural assessment.
(4) During the course of the study, information will be obtained that, based on hindsight, would have made an excellent contribution to this study on a new research topic had it been known previously.
(5) The analyst's coding provides an acceptably accurate representation of the respondent's intent.
1.5 Limitations.

(1) Since the survey was conducted during a climate of organizational change, attitudinal responses, especially negative responses, may be derived from stimuli of a temporary or relative short term nature.

(2) Prior to their use, specific research instruments were scrutinized at multiple levels of authority in several organizations. These instruments have been the subject of adjustment (and possible compromise). Therefore, the preponderance of data for this study will be gleaned from unstructured responses.

(3) The nature of the occupation indicates that the collected sample population remains a highly mobile group. Although not intended, this would increase the difficulty of replication and follow-up analysis of the same population set.

(4) Responses cannot be construed as representative of the total population set. They do, however, provide a glimpse into unique, personal issues of the respondents.

(5) Respondents to the subcultural assessment may have guarded their responses and provided inaccurate
or inconclusive information which would reasonably be expected to contribute to inaccurate or inconclusive generalizations.
II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This literature review will serve as the point of departure for the current study. The review will: (1) provide a background on the changing military, (2) review the history of military family policy, (3) identify potential areas of work-role and family conflict, (4) assess prior work on subculture and the military as an occupational subculture, (5) outline the framework for systems analysis, (6) examine participative observation techniques, and (7) review emerging information from the 1991-1992 Survey of Army Families (SAF II).

II.1 Background: The Shrinking Military.

The combined effects of the end of the Cold War and the victory in the Persian Gulf have reduced the need for a large U.S. military force. Historically, such as after the Vietnam War, American administrations have been inclined to reduce the force structure to prewar levels while still maintaining forces to meet the Soviet threat (Hart, 1975). The conclusion of the 1990-91 Persian Gulf
war and concurrent demise of the Soviet Bloc threat provided new opportunities for the United States. Shifting expenditures away from the military and into domestic programs resulted in a dramatic reduction in military forces (Nunn, 1991).

The U.S. military is entering the second stage of a sizable contraction in force levels. The Army will enter the new century at its smallest size (in both manpower and percent of GNP) since the early 1930's. This Reduction in Force (RIF) will have a significant impact on career military personnel and their families. From the macro perspective, the U.S. economy is currently unable to provide employment for all who want to work (Blakely & Shapira, 1984; Petras, 1992). Yet in this near recessionary economic environment the military must downsize the uniformed personnel roster by 30% (or more) by 1997 (DOD, 1991; CBO, 1992). In Fiscal Year 1992 alone, the combined RIF in all of the services was 172,071 personnel - 8.6% of the total force (DOD, 1992).

The combination of high national unemployment in the early 1990's and the impending RIF of 700,000+ career service members had the cumulative effect of heightening civilian job demand at the national level. This situation creates anxiety and economic
distress within the work force as the RIF process continues. Economic distress, in this context, can be identified as a situation in which employment uncertainty or economic strain develops that adds additional stressors into the family life (Voydanoff, 1984). The cumulative effect of these stressors creates an environment that requires substantial adaptation.

This ongoing reduction of force, combined with the steady erosion of service benefits, may have a profound affect on the surviving force structure and the dependent families. U.S. national security hinges upon the military force being ready and capable of engaging hostile forces with little notice. This study will provide a better understanding of the people who comprise the military community. Throughout history, other nation-states have either permitted their military culture to be noncompetitive with their potential adversaries and thus subjugated, or they themselves have fallen prey to their own military. By better understanding the fabric that binds this unique work force, key indicators may be identified that preclude the U.S. from suffering a similar national fate.
II.2 History of Military Family Policy.

II.2.1 Early Days.

Since the inception of America's Armed Forces, military service was seen as the domain of the unmarried male service member. This restriction was predominant for nearly 170 years of (relative) "peacetime". It was only during major armed conflicts that this restriction was curtailed and married soldiers were allowed or inducted into service to expand the manpower pool.

The rationale to restrict married men was that military service was too difficult for families and the requirements of military service favored the bachelor lifestyle. Families were viewed as a distraction and an encumbrance on military efficiency. Coupled with this cultural bias was the financial reality of exceptionally low wages for enlisted soldiers which resulted in the outright prohibition of enlisted soldiers from marrying.

During the American Revolution, virtually all able bodied men were required to serve in the military. With a war being waged within close
proximity to their homes, it was believed that married men with families were more likely to fight and defend their homes. General George Washington provided incentives to encourage soldiers with families to serve in his army (MFRC, 1983).

In the years after the Revolution, little notice of soldier's marital status was documented, perhaps due to the limited likelihood of married men being attracted to the hardship and low pay of military service. One of the few notable exceptions was where soldiers were stationed in remote posts and it became common for family members to join them. Even then, the spouse had to meet certain criteria in order to be acceptable (Coffman, 1986). By 1811, some commanders (notably the Sixth Infantry) believed that the increased rate of marriages among soldiers was negatively affecting the Army's war-fighting ability (Coffman, 1986).

In the decades prior to the Civil War, regulations did not specifically bar married men from enlisting; however, special permission and waivers were required (Hayes, 1982). In this period of relative peace, the Army had a small manpower requirement and a large pool of unmarried men.
Therefore, the need to induct married men was minimal.

II.2.2 Civil War.

The advent of the Civil War (1860-1865) created the need for a substantial increase in the size of the force. The North did not require conscription until 1863, and then exceptions were allowed for married men. By 1864, however, the need for manpower required Enrollment Act modification to curtail exemptions of married men with families (Selective Service System, 1947). By war's end, fewer than 3% of the union force consisted of draftees and another 6% of the Army was derived from paid "substitutes" (Lacy, 1982).

On the other hand, the Confederate force was forced to resort to wholesale conscription. No provisions or exclusions were provided for married men (War Department, 1900). As the war progressed, the age range of inductees was expanded to encompass all men between the ages of 17 to 50 years old (Goldman, 1976).
After the war, the military settled in to a period of relative peace with the exceptions of sporadic international military adventures and the westward expansion and continental projection of military force. During this time, service life was fairly unpopular with enlisted soldiers. In 1871, desertions decimated the force by 33%. However, by 1891, the desertion rate had dropped to approximately 10% (Hayes, 1982). Researchers have theorized that the restrictions on marriage were a significant factor in the high desertion rate (Goldman, 1976; MFRC, 1983). In 1892, Congress reaffirmed the preference for non-married service members (Goldman, 1976). In 1913, Army regulations reduced some restrictions by authorizing the regimental commander to approve enlistment or reenlistment of married soldiers (U.S. Army, 1913).

With the outbreak of World War I, the regulations were further amended to permit induction of married men "in time of war" (Lacy, 1982). After the war, the Army retracted the provision for the enlistment of married men and further discouraged reenlistment of married soldiers (Army Regulation No. 600-750, 1925).
II.2.3 Modern Era.

In preparation for America's entry into World War II, the War Department revised the regulations to effectively ban enlistment of any married man (Army Circular No. 65, 1939). Although the "peacetime" draft began in 1940, deferments were originally provided for married men or men with dependents. In 1942, Public Law 490 provided dependent benefits for married soldiers. This was the first time that provisions for military families had been addressed (PL490, 1942). During the war, research was conducted on adjustment of soldiers to military life and the implications of marital status on military service (Stouffer, 1965).

At the conclusion of World War II, America settled into 44 years of what became known as the "Cold War" with the communist threat. In recognition of the need for a stable, long-term, highly skilled enlisted force, the services eased restrictions on marriage and used dependent status (number of dependent individuals supported by the service member) as an indicator of eligibility for service (Army Enlistment Regulation, 1949; Army regulation 615-105-1, 1952).
By 1953, 31% of the enlisted force in the Army was married. This figure rose to an average of 48% by 1960 (Goldman, 1976). When "peace" returned after both World War II and the Korean War, the military consisted of a sizable number of married individuals. The military was forced to acknowledge marriage and family as a corollary to retaining a highly skilled and technically oriented career force (Schum, 1993).

At the beginning of the Vietnam conflict, the United States could call on a large manpower pool with the influx of the "baby boom" generation coming of induction age. The Selective Service System reduced the potential inductee pool by increasing marriage restrictions for first-term enlistments (Selective Service System, 1966). As the war progressed and became increasingly unpopular, the manpower pool susceptible to the draft had to be expanded to accommodate the need for a larger force, thereby easing restrictions on married men (Selective Service System, 1966).

With the conclusion of the Vietnam conflict and the advent of the All-Volunteer Force in 1973, service members experienced (proportionately) large pay increases. These increases brought them to near-
parity with the lower levels of civilian pay scales. In 1973, and for the first time, the Army lifted the ban on enlistment of married women (Thomas, 1978).

With the development of present policies, the changing demographics of American families, as a nation, were considered. To a large degree, marriage and family are no longer a stigma to successful military service. In the Army, first-time enlistments have few family restrictions. Notable restrictions that bar enlistment are (1) single, with custody of a dependent child or paying child support or (2) married, with three or more dependents or married to another service member with dependents (Army Regulation 601-210, 1994).

II.3 Work-role and Family Conflict

II.3.1 Economics of Military Service.

Military service, once seen as a low paying social responsibility, has evolved into a multifaceted industry. For young or unskilled members of the society, the military provides a means of obtaining the first job or earning a scholarship for higher education. Many remain in service
after their initial tour of duty and follow a career path, along with family demands unparalleled in American society (Boss, et al., 1979).

In general, the worker role is one of providing current and anticipated economic means to maintain a stable family unit (Furstenberg, 1974). As a source of employment, the military provides a means of economic support to the service member. The interdependence of military duty and family includes the relationship of economic support to the family by the service member functioning in a worker-earner role (Rodman & Rothschild, 1983). In this respect, the worker-earner role contributes to the maintenance or elevation of the quality of family life and is significant factor in family economic planning (Aldous, Osmond, & Hicks, 1979).

Generally a service member chooses when to form a family. The family is created through a combination of marriage, childbirth, adoption, or parents becoming dependent. As the service member advances to each subsequent level in pay grade and rank, a higher salary is generated commensurate with added responsibility. Once a level of living that meets basic needs is attained, economic and lifestyle
success become subjectively based on the individual's perception of stability and happiness (Scanzoni, 1970). When a family no longer has the requirement to struggle to attain survival needs, increments of success (other than monetary and income level) become more difficult to measure (Oppenheimer, 1982).

Research indicates that males with a family have more apparent motivation to achieve higher income to match resources with increased demands and needs (Bartlett & Callahan, 1984). Despite the fact that some studies have shown that, in general, men who support families work longer or have second jobs (Smith, 1983), service members will not receive overtime nor can they expend much time on additional employment. The ability to enhance the military paycheck is nonexistent short of volunteering for hazardous duty (i.e. parachute operations, diving, etc.), combat duty (if available), or off-duty employment. If available, Combat or Hostile Fire pay is restricted to an additional $110 a month (DA, 1992) and is more than offset by the additional expenses of geographic isolation from the family (Becraft, 1992).

Except as noted, the only option a service member has to enhance higher income is to seek part
time work outside of the military. The service member must seek formal permission to work during off-duty hours. The military has retained the right to deny permission, monitor the off-duty employment, and rescind permission at any time and for any reason. In most cases, the nonmilitary spouse must engage in paid work to supplement family income.

The monthly salary for military members (based on 1995 pay rates) starts at $790.20 (Private, E-1 with less than four months service). Approximately 10% of the uniformed work force is in the officer ranks and the highest pay range of $1636.20 (Second Lieutenant with less than 2 years service) to $9614.70 (General (4 star) with 26+ years of service (DoD, 1995). The overall social and economic status of the military, as an industry, is low relative to the civilian labor force (U.S. Census, 1990).

In society, the worker exchanges his labor for economic renumeration in the form of wages or salary and benefits. The military member receives compensation in the form of a fixed salary based on pay grade (rank) and years of service. Allowances are paid to offset housing expenses and the service member's meals. Historically, for security and
availability issues, service members and families were required to live in government provided housing. Although the service member may recognize some cost savings, government housing on a military installation is generally substandard in size, amenities, and overall quality relative to comparably priced civilian housing. To live on-post, the service member forfeits part of his salary (housing allowance provided in lieu of government housing) in exchange for slightly reduced household expenses. In some locations, the service member may not have a choice in housing and may be required to occupy government housing.

Until recent times, non-salary benefits were a real aspect of the compensation package. However, since the Vietnam War, they have steadily eroded. The predominate benefit, other than pay and allowances, is in the form of semi-subsidized medical care. Current benefits of military service, such as shopping, recreational facilities, and community activities are offered at or near commercially competitive prices. While many of the recreational and community activities charge fees, the notable exception is exercise facilities, primarily since a
high degree of physical fitness is a mandated job requirement.

If an individual has the opportunity to achieve retirement pay eligibility, a substantial benefit in the form of a noncontributory pension is realized. However, if a service member separates prior to retirement eligibility (such as during a RIF), the individual will receive a one-time severance payment based on years served. Unlike regulations applicable to civilian employers, the soldier does not have vesting in a retirement plan after five years of service.

In a traditional family, both spouses agree that the worker role is critical to economic continuance and is a male's central responsibility to the family (Hiller & Philliber, 1986). In the Army in 1992, males represented 88.8% of the uniformed work-force and 52% of all males were married (DA, 1992). The male's acceptance as the primary family provider is reinforced through societal, legal, and military policies and constraints (Hood, 1986).

Consumption patterns may be tied to anticipated income and changes in family expenditure patterns (Trehan, 1991). Trehan explores the correlation
between consumer expenditures and consumer confidence in his/her own personal forecasted future income. While by no means limited to the military family, there is evidence that consumers will apparently base their buying decisions on their anticipated income.

If the assumption is made that families can predict their future income and spend accordingly, then military families would reflect altered consumption patterns during the time of war or conflict, since none of them know what expenses will be incurred. When an individual anticipates potential financial inadequacy, discouragement and reduced life satisfaction is the result (Kaufman, 1982). Anticipating future income reduction is a rationale for continuous economic strain. The perception of financial inadequacy also affects current consumption patterns (Voydanoff & Donnelly, 1986). These patterns may become increasingly noticeable as the reduction continues over the next few years and soldiers face increasing deployments.

In the lower ranks (approximately 80% of the military work force), the opportunity for additional income is realistically limited to the spouse's paid employment (except part time employment of the military member as previously noted). These earnings
serve as an alternative to the limited ability of the service member to provide upward mobility compared to higher paying civilian positions (Oppenheimer, 1982). It has been found that the income of women married to low earning men is often used to maintain the level of living of the family rather than advance the level of living.

An issue common to all families and relevant to the military family is the phenomenon known as the life cycle squeeze (Oppenheimer, 1982). This is a situation where a family's resources are not adequate for the perceived needs of the moment. Military families face this squeeze at the beginning of their careers (low salary with family formation and childbirth) and at the end of their careers (retirement with reduced pay, fundamental career change, children in late adolescence or college, and aging parents). Identifying these family stages, within the family life cycle, is important when considering the participation responsibilities of spouses in both the work and family roles (Scanzoni & Scanzoni, 1981). Unfortunately, the frequent relocation of the military family prevents the spouse from having a viable career or retirement eligibility
and places the family at a further economic disadvantage in its effort to compensate for the life cycle squeeze.

The female service member has a relative economic advantage when compared to civilian female workers. She receives a salary identical to her male counterpart and commands equal status among peers. In contrast, studies of females in civilian careers indicate a limited potential for personal and economic growth over the life course (Rosenfeld, 1979). All skills within the Army are open to females except those that require direct combat operations. As of 1992, 86% of enlisted and 96% of officer positions were open to females (DA, 1992). Economically, it would appear that the military is an egalitarian employer with equal access to promotion and career advancement (DOD, 1992). It can also be deduced that male spouses are subject to the same career limitations as their counterparts.

II.3.2 Time Conflicts.

The amount of time spent on work has been cited as a major influence on family life since it determines, to a great extent, how the remaining time
in the day will be expended (Mooney, 1981). As this century has progressed, Americans have had the opportunity to work fewer hours. In 1901, the average nonagricultural worker worked 58.4 hours per week. In recent years, the hours have vacillated between 40.9 to 38.5 hours per week (Hedges & Taylor, 1980; US Census, 1990). On the high end of the scale, a survey conducted on highly paid Chief Executive Officers (CEO) of civilian firms revealed that they worked an average of 62.5 hours a week in 1992 (WSJ, 1992).

Studies have shown that individuals who work long hours show an increase in marital strife, marital discord, family stress, and interpersonal strain within the family (Burke, et al. 1980; Kelly & Voydanoff, 1984). A negative affect on the nonworking spouse has been shown to be attributed to excessive hours by the working spouse (Keith & Schafer, 1980). The timing of work can be critical to the family. Routine activities, such as school arrangements for children, transportation considerations, and meals can become difficult when a spouse works long hours.
Although 25% of the federal public administration workers use flexible schedules (FlexTime) for work (Nollen, 1982), the military services have been reluctant to use flexible scheduling for uniformed members. Overall, studies have shown that excessive work hours and poor scheduling have had a negative impact on families culminating in high levels of strain and conflict (Lee, 1983; Winett & Neal, 1980; Pleck & Staines, 1985; Mott, et al., 1965; Voydanoff, 1984). It can be deduced that increased work hours are inversely related to family life satisfaction and have a direct relationship to family stress.

II.3.3 Temporary Travel.

As mentioned previously, the service member is expected to travel frequently and at great distances with little notice. These excursions require adjustment by the family as well as the service member. When service members are absent, they can no longer participate in the family role/responsibility mechanism. When the service member returns, he may have to work long hours to effect the recovery of his military unit (to bring his unit back to 100%
readiness). Both the absence and the incomplete return hamper household role accomplishment (McCubbin et al., 1980; Boss et al. 1979).

II.3.4 Transfers.

The military is not the only organization to move its employees, but it is one of the most frequent movers to the most locations. While approximately 18% of the U.S. population changed place of residence, usually within the same geographic region, in 1988 (U.S. Census, 1990), 31% of the Army families relocated (DA, 1989). In the military, a movement involving long term duty reassignment is called a "Permanent Change of Station" or "PCS". Although some civilian employers will permit refusals to move (Costello, 1976), it is not possible to turn down an order to move in the military. Evidence that moves are stressful to most family members has been revealed in numerous studies (Tiger, 1974; Packard, 1972; Brett, 1983), but the effectiveness of coping strategies has been mixed. Two salient factors appear to be the composition of the family unit and how the family emotionally adapts
II.4 The Military as an Occupational Subculture.

Occupational subcultures have distinct characteristics that set them apart from others. The group dimension of culture has been consistently found within and between cultural forms (Trice, 1993). Military work-role relationships would seem to adhere to these characteristics to a high degree. According to Morris Janowitz (1960), "The military profession is more than an occupation: it is a complete style of life. The officer is a member of the community whose claims over his daily existence extend well beyond his official duties."

The military adheres to a rigid pattern wherein members interact and interreact to specific standards and protocol. This pattern is referred to as the grid dimension of occupational culture (Trice, 1993). The grid dimension emphasizes the purpose and position of an individual with a set point of reference. Actions and reactions are limited to specific permissible responses allowed by the position within the grid (Mars, 1982). As a foundation for the confirmation of the military as an occupational subculture, the
Group Dimension of Subculture Model may be used to evaluate, through negative case analysis, whether a subculture exists. Each tenet that comprises the model must be present for the subculture to exist. The seven tenets comprising the Group Dimension of Subculture (Trice, 1993) are:

(a) Esoteric Knowledge and Expertise.
(b) Extreme or Unusual Demands.
(c) Like Consciousness.
(d) Pervasiveness - Work-Role Permeates Non-Working Life.
(e) Self-fulfilling Ideology.
(f) Inclusive Primary Reference Group.
(g) Abundance of Consistent Cultural Forms

Each tenet of the Group Dimension of Subculture Model will be analyzed for applicability.

II.4.1 Esoteric Knowledge and Expertise.

The esoteric knowledge and expertise category is stated succinctly by Trice (1993), "When members of occupations believe that they possess esoteric knowledge, skills and abilities, the occupation is likely to arouse workers' involvement and to foster a
feeling of specialness”. Serving a function that can be construed unique among occupations, the military mission, when deterrence fails, is to seek out and destroy the enemy in the defense of national political objectives. The Army, specifically, is charged with the additional task of dominating the terrestrial battlefield, seizing terrain, and holding territory.

In pursuit of these objectives, military personnel are trained with a variety of skills in order to inflict maximum destruction of enemy personnel, equipment, facilities, and structures. Service members are trained to accomplish their mission using hundreds of skills distinctly inherent to the military profession. Although some skills may have civilian application, the composite effect of these skills, when applied within the battlefield context and with complementary military training, bear limited resemblance to any civilian counterpart.

The inherent rigorous socialization within the military environment accentuates the belief of specialness. Furthermore, the individual is classified with a certain skill (Military Occupational Skill (MOS), such as 11B10 - Light Weapons Infantryman, lower enlisted). This is a
right of passage into the subculture that has been documented among other industries (Becker & Carper, 1956; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979; Pettigrew, 1973).

II.4.2 Extreme or Unusual Demands.

The military life experience has a range of intensity from exceptionally routine and boring to optimum thrill and exhilaration. Many tasks involve high degrees of danger and risk to personal safety while others are relatively safe and mundane (Fine, 1987). Regardless of the task, the service member must continually adjust to the operational tempo and the mission at hand (Blake, 1974). There are few other occupations that offer the opportunity to combine extreme danger, adverse climatic conditions, extended deprivation of basic needs (sustenance, sleep, hygiene, shelter, etc.), and arduous physical requirements, for long periods of time.

During stressful times, the demeanor of the soldier is controlled by subcultural expectations. One of the most difficult emotions to control is fear. Soldiers are indoctrinated to avoid expressions or admissions of fear. General S.L.A.
Marshal stated that service members are required to maintain self-control of emotions because success "depends upon maintaining an appearance of discipline within a unit". He further stated that, "When other men flee, the social pressure is lifted and the average soldier will respond as if he had been given a release from duty" (Dyer, 1985).

Many individuals choose military service out of a sense of patriotism, family expectations, or lust for adventure. In American society, it is generally accepted that individuals who choose military service are perceived as patriotic. This perception of a patriotic duty may carry over to the self image of the individual (Blake, 1974).

II.4.3 Like Consciousness.

Consciousness of kind can be construed as the membership defining who shall be an "insider" and who shall be an "outsider". This perception establishes the boundaries of the occupational community (Gusfield, 1975; Van Maanen & Barley, 1984). After successful indoctrination, the individual should view himself as a skill category (such as an 11B - light weapons infantryman) (Salaman, 1974). Further, over
time, the crew, team, or unit he works with will further define who is in or out of the group. Any civilian, by definition, is an outsider.

II.4.4 Pervasiveness - Work-Role Permeates Non-Working Life.

By the nature of the occupation, the military environment has a significant impact in the military family's life. While stationed overseas, the family is instrumentally dependent on the military structure for their livelihood. The most prominent aspects of family dependence on the military can be attributed as: shelter (military housing), sustenance (commissary), education (DoD schools), shopping (Post or Base Exchange), mail (Army/Fleet Post Office)(APO/FPO), fuel (exchange gas station), legal issues (family subject to the Uniform Code of Military Justice and federal installation law/rules), social activities (sponsored clubs and functions), and recreation (military camps and recreation centers).

The psychological and emotional ties to the working life permeate the family psyche. The service member is quartered (housed) according to rank (even
by time of promotion, called "date of rank"). The circle of friends are restricted to those within the designated peer group (by regulation). Social contact outside one's own peer group is limited to "official functions", hence the creation of an artificial caste system. The family's actions or omissions are a direct reflection on the service member's evaluated job performance and career prospects (Janowitz, 1960). Although the soldier is granted free time, he/she is never considered truly "off duty" as all actions are subject to evaluation. Furthermore, the soldier may be recalled to work at will or have his/her movements restricted (as well as those of his family).

There is a relationship between the perception of work/family balance, time equity, competing demands, and high levels of job satisfaction (Kelly & Voydanoff, 1985). This can be attributed in part to the effects of positive "spillover" (Piotrkowski, 1979). Positive spillover occurs when job satisfaction is high and the individual has good feelings about his duties, work-place, and working relationships. Negative spillover, on the other hand, occurs when the worker has negative feeling about his work environment, duties, or relationships.
Consequently, the formation of positive spillover reduces family stressors and enhances family satisfaction as well as job satisfaction (Piotrkowski, 1979). It is apparent that job/family satisfaction is directly correlated with job autonomy (Voydanoff, 1984). On the other hand, job demands such as pressure, role conflict, and ambiguity, directly contribute to family conflict (Katz & Piotrkowski, 1983).

Excessive job involvement, where the individual's work role may intrude in the home environment and interfere with the family life, is highest among professionals and higher paid employees (Willmot & Young, 1973). In many occupations excessive job involvement may actually be an expectation of employment (Peters, 1989). It has been shown that a high degree of spousal support, both instrumental and emotional, is a factor in the reduction of family stress caused by high job involvement (Mortimer, 1980).

The military is often referred to as a closed and rigid system, dedicated to the mission at hand. Military families, as a group, may be viewed as distinctly different from their civilian
counterparts. Multiple coping strategies are needed to compensate for this lifestyle that requires frequent and prolonged family separations, multiple restrictions, numerous constraints, and the performance of arduous and often dangerous duties (McCubbin et al., 1980).

Sociological theory has examined the concepts of work and family life as independent activities or separate spheres (Kanter, 1977) in which the worker separates his/her work activity from the home life and may, in effect, subordinate family life to the work environment (Piotrkowski, 1979). In the past, most marriages and/or family formations took place after a service member entered the military, perhaps because the military appeared to provide a degree of employment stability and career expectation (Babbitt, 1992).

The spouse of the service member has the opportunity and faces the military system's subcultural expectation to contribute to the service member's military career. This situation has been called a two-person career, where the spouse has specific, but unpaid duties and responsibilities (Papanek, 1973). In this regard, the spousal duties become part of the service member's career and
expectations of performance are derived from that relationship (Finch, 1983). This participation is seen as assisting the spouse in his/her career while creating social benefits for the family (Coser, 1985). Despite regulations (DOD Directive 1400.33 of 10 Feb 1988) to the contrary, many spouses perceive that they must perform specific duties within the military subculture or their sponsor (the service member) will be affected professionally in a negative manner (Babbitt, 1992).

The service member has multiple roles just as individuals accumulate many roles in a family setting. These roles may conflict, in practice, and create additional strain and role conflict. (Burr et al., 1979). Studies have shown that while men are frequently over-committed to the work environment and cite scarcity of time to reduce their participation in family roles (Marks, 1977), women who work develop compensation mechanisms to overcome the scarcity of time to their families (Voydanoff, 1984). In a military subculture dominated by males, it may be anticipated that compensation mechanisms are routinely used to reduce role conflict. Regardless, job demands compete with family role duties for the
service member and influence the division of labor within the household (Voydanoff, 1987).

The two factors that impede role conflict resolution are overload and interference. Overload is when the individual cannot adequately respond to all of the role demands and consequently role functions are not performed to standard. Interference is when role demands directly conflict (such as inflexible schedules) and one or more roles cannot be accomplished (Voydanoff, 1987). The primary coping strategies that apply to the military family are role manipulation (change parameters or requirements of the role) and relationship negotiation (role shifting [bargaining] between family members) (Goode, 1960; Sieber, 1974).

II.4.5 Self-fulfilling Ideology.

The service members, collectively, provide for the defense of the nation "against all enemies, foreign and domestic" (DoD, Oath of Enlistment, 1995). From this, members may derive a social identity as guardians of the national defense (Van Maanen & Barley, 1984; Goffman, 1961). The member believes that, through participation in the
occupational subculture, that a favorable self-image may be derived from positive referral to performing a task of significant social value. This premise is illustrated by studies conducted on multiple occupations (Becker, 1963; Cameron, 1954; Walsh & Taylor, 1980; Lassen, 1971; Trice, 1964; Gold, 1964; Charles, 1982; Terkel, 1972).

II.4.6 Inclusive Primary Reference Group.

Members of an occupational subculture must derive their social identity, confirmation, and support from others and take other members as their primary reference group (Goffman, 1959; Mead, 1934). The members share a common paradigm and value system. Further, members feel that only those within the occupational subculture are capable of understanding and evaluating their work, due to the unique requirements of service members and the environment in which they work. The premise is substantiated by studies of other occupations with less stringent membership requirements (Hebden, 1975; Carp & Wheeler, 1972; Douglas, 1975; Becker, 1966; Mack & Merriman, 1960).
II.4.7 Abundance of Consistent Cultural Forms.

The military has a large number of cultural forms, beliefs, language, symbols, heroes, myths, and stories. The military reinforces the meanings of these forms and encourages the membership to conform to the accepted beliefs of the subcultures ideology (Douglas, 1975). A review of American history can easily identify the magnitude of military heroes, myths, and stories. Military symbology is pervasive throughout the occupation. The military uses a form of abbreviated and "enhanced" English consisting of technical terminology, acronyms, and operational jargon that is rarely understood by an "outsider" without explanation or elaboration.

Perhaps the most easily seen cultural form is the member's appearance. The Army member wears a duty uniform that has distinctive insignia that identify his/her name, rank, organization (U.S. Army), unit assignment, warfighting skills (parachutist, diver, Expert Infantry, etc.), and unit assigned during past combat tours. The member's dress uniforms tell a more detailed story of the soldier's personal history, accomplishments and affiliations. Further, the member has certain
mannerisms that are inherent to the subculture. Hair must be short and not touching the ears or collar. Male haircuts must be short and tapered, not blocked. Male soldiers may not carry an umbrella. All soldiers must walk with the right hand free in the event a salute is required. Cultural icons, such as the identification cards (Geneva Convention Card) and the issue identification tags - "dog tags", must always be on or worn by the soldier at all times.

II.4.8 Summary of the Seven Tenets.

The seven tenets of an occupational subculture are the basis for this exploration of the military occupational subculture. They provide a structured framework upon which to build and compare this study.

II.5 Family Systems Models and Theoretical Framework.

II.5.1 Conceptual Basis.

A conceptual framework is a set of ideas, situations, or subsystems that have identifiable qualities in common and permit categorization to
distinguish the set from other phenomena. To discern
the root for the research questions in this study, it
is necessary to establish a conceptual framework that
encompasses the interrelationships of the individual
worker, the subculture, and the family.

The foundation of family management studies is
based in management of the individual household's
resources. With the passage of the Morrill, Hatch,
and Purnell Acts, home management research gained the
resources and the procedures to favorably impact the
lives of the family (Berger, 1983). The
establishment of the land grant colleges gave home
economics an academic base.

The three primary stages of home economics
development as a profession were: (1) the Resource
(Berger, 1983) or work centered (Vickers, 1984) stage
(late 19th century through the depression era in
1930's), (2) the Person (Vickers, 1984) or
performance centered (Berger, 1983) stage (from after
the depression era through the 1960's), and (3) the
Systems (Vickers, 1984) or holistic (Berger, 1983)
approach stage. The systems approach takes home
management (in general) beyond the analysis of linear
and mechanical processes (Buckley, 1967).
The conceptual use of the mechanistic process began from industrial studies in the late 1800s (Buckley, 1967). Efficiency studies were developed to increase household production based upon studies conducted in the work-place (Gilbreth, 1912). Systems theory recognizes the interdependence of multiple factors and that any action may require a subsequent change or response from other factors within the environment (Paolucci, et. al., 1977). These theories all focus on the process of acquisition, control, and allocation of resources and the decisions required throughout this process.

II.5.2 Systems Theory.

The initial basis for this study rests with the structural tenets found in systems theory. Systems theory can be distinguished from process theory in that the provision is made for a feedback loop as output back into the input to effect subsequent output. The objective is to provide synergy (Gross, Crandall, & Knoll, 1980) where the whole, integrated system provides greater capability than the sum of the parts.
Systems theory provides an established framework for analysis of family processes, decision making and behavior. It provides a theoretical construct suitable for empirical application and is further adaptable to process orientation and statistical analysis. The strength of the systems approach is that it provides a ready framework for procedural analysis and study. The systems approach recognizes the interrelationship of individuals, activities, and their cyclic interdependence.

An acknowledged drawback to the framework is that it is often difficult to simplify and categorize family interactions and processes within the framework models. Individual environmental interactions are noted in these models and are attributed to the family behavior patterns. Some family systems models do not consider outside influences and the impact of them on the internal family environment (Voydanoff, 1984).

Family systems theory adopts many constants and processes from management theory and human development theory. It is this synthesis of proven theoretical approaches that provides a congruent process for understanding the family as a managerial unit. Systems theory acknowledges that both the
individual and family management are subsystems and, as such, are critical elements in the family management cycle. This systems perspective underscores the cyclic nature of the interpersonal dynamics and organizational functioning of the family.

Gross, Crandall, and Knoll (1980) describe a system of concentric circles with the family at the core surrounded by the household, the near environment, and the larger environment. The core family is composed of the psycho-social and managerial subsystems. The external environments that affect the outer boundaries are the political, economic, natural, technological and socio-cultural. By using the systems models, the family internal dynamics (communication, cohesion, adaptability, and functionality) and interaction can be hypothesized, observed, and measured (Gross et al., 1980).

Using a social systems approach, Deacon and Firebaugh (1981, 1988) define the management system components of families. Their systems model approach is social systems based, using input, throughput, output, and feedback to describe the interaction between personal and managerial subsystems and the
effects on subsequent management processes.

In this model, input is composed of demands (events and goals) and resources (human and material). The personal subsystem is composed of responses, decisions, and actions appropriate to the developmental (cognitive, effective, and psychomotor) and value attributes of the family (individual) units response to inputs. From the personal subsystem, the goal orientations flow to the managerial subsystem. This subsystem processes input (1) goal clarification, (2) resource assessment, (3) goal/resource reconciliation, (4) standard setting, (5) action sequencing, (6) implementing (actuating the plan), and (7) controlling (checking and adjusting) the output. Output leaves the system as resource changes (consumed, exchanged, transferred, saved, or produced) and demand responses. Some output may then reenter the system as input to affect subsequent processes and output.

Research into environmental issues and their impact on social and human development by Bronfenbrenner (1977) depicts the interaction of the human element within the ecological context of the micro-environment (individual), the meso-environment (the immediate proximity), exo-environment (the
aggregate of social institutions), and the macro-environment (society and the culture as a whole). Paolucci, Hall, and Axinn (1977) prefer to use an ecological framework to describe the family system. They cite interaction with the environment by the individuals as a central process. However, all these family theorists depend on the application of social systems theory to the family in order to better understand the ways in which social factors influence behavior and well-being of individuals in social units we define as families.

Alfred Kuhn (1974) illustrated the interaction of the human within the social system. He used the terms "detector, selector, and effector (DSE)" to describe the process of "information + values = action". Explained simplistically, a stimulus is detected by an organism (man), a value judgment is placed on the stimulus, and action takes place in relation to the desired outcome. The action provides a feedback mechanism back to the detector. Through this model, Kuhn surmises that man's behavior is inherently random and, through learning, his behavior becomes more ordered. The DSE concept has been presented as a methodology for understanding social
science through deductive modeling. The work-role relationship and the interaction of the family has been explored by Kanter (1977) where she clarifies the misconception of the separation of the family and work as two independent spheres devoid of collusion.

In summary, the paradigm of family systems models, coupled with the structural features of the seven tenets of the occupational subculture, will be used to conduct this study. This research will examine family management within the construct of an occupational subculture.

II.6 Participative Observation.

Applied research, unlike basic research, is conducted for practical application to specific circumstances that provide an immediate benefit (Kidder, 1981). In this regard, evaluation research (also called formative research) can help the researcher evaluate the dynamics of social institutions, group interaction, and policy. Participant observation, using a process evaluation methodology, can provide a series of definition realignments during development of the final hypotheses.
Experimental research, also called the hypothetico-deductive method, progresses through several steps. The researcher first establishes a theoretical framework, creates a hypothesis definition, and derives anticipated results of the experiment. Conversely, inductive research methods, such as participant observation, proceed in the exact opposite manner. In inductive research, the researcher starts with a preliminary hypothesis, collects data, refines the hypothesis, and generates a theory. The key difference is that participant observers may undergo continual revision of the hypothesis using negative case analysis in lieu of, or to complement, statistical analysis (Haberstein, 1970).

Participant observation is useful for generating or confirming theory and learning how groups form and function and how members of a group learn to play roles (Filstead, 1970). It is ideally suited as an approach to the research questions of this particular study. One of the more interesting features of participant observation techniques is the lack of standardized procedures (Williamson & Karp, 1977). Participant observation often requires the data
collection and recording to be conducted simultaneously (Lofland, 1971).

In this context, participant observation may be scientifically appropriate when it performs a formal research purpose, is subject to deliberate planning, has systematic records, and is accountable for validity and reliability checks (McCall & Simmons, 1969). Participant observation stresses the importance of the natural setting as well as unobtrusive data collection. The data collector, devoid of the need to intervene outside of the natural setting, should ideally be unnoticed or, when active with the subject, pose a limited or nonexistent perceived threat. By observing the subjects in their natural environment, devoid of scrutiny, the observer will identify spontaneous activity and statements that are indicative of the natural behavior (Kidder, 1981). This approach allows the opportunity for one to discover unknown empirical relationships and finding previously unrecognized behavior.

In negative case analysis, the researcher must seek data that would disconfirm the original hypothesis. In the event that a negative case is found, the hypothesis is revised so that it accounts
for the variance. Numerous iterations of hypothesis revision is possible. When the hypothesis is revised, it is done to incorporate the new evidence and all previously collected data.

The systematic search for new evidence to disconfirm the hypothesis is the strength of the participant observer process. In many ways the process may be more stringent than statistical analysis because it tolerates zero deviation from the rule. In statistical analysis, deviation from the rule is expected and measurable. The primary test of participant observation is not from statistical variance, but from the degree that replication of the research yields the same result (Kidder, 1981).

The alternative to participant observation, experimentation, has distinct limitations when applied to social interaction within the group context. Unlike a true experiment, where the experimenter has complete control over participants and all affective variables, participant observation seeks to observe behavior with minimal intrusion. The rationale for choosing participant observation may be found by outlining the three principle disadvantages of true experiments: (1) they provide
an artificial test of the hypothesis; (2) they may not be generalizable to other segments of the population; and (3) experiments provide limited useful descriptive data, and that with a narrow scope. A true experiment is established with specific limitations and restricted parameters. This study will combine derived survey data with unintrusive field observations that are less likely than overt experimentation to be deemed artificial to the participants and environment.

For the participant observation method to be valid, the researcher must be immersed in the setting where he is a fully participating member of the group. The people and groups observed are anticipated to operate in a normal environment, devoid of intrusive and subjective sampling. In an experiment outside of the natural environment, anonymous respondents are not accountable for their actions or answers and may, for a variety of reasons or causes, actually distort the facts. Participant observation permits the observer to witness events or relationships as they are and not as the respondent or researcher wishes they were. Although researcher bias provides a potential source of data distortion, statistical analysis does not deflect the potential
for bias. As in all samples, the larger the sample size, the less likely an additional observation will change the outcome.

Although not intrinsically intended as such, the available literature may be applied to defining family and work role characteristics within the military environment from a qualitative perspective. Hypotheses relative to the relationships may be derived from similar research and subcultural studies.

II.7 Army Family Surveys.

One of the best methods to obtain random and unstructured thoughts from Army families is to ask them. This is was done through an anonymous, nonthreatening instrument called the Survey of Army Families (SAF-II). The survey provided a rare glimpse into the concerns of military families. This survey, in addition to establishing demographics of the target population, provided a baseline to better understand the participative observation to be conducted later. This section will outline information derived from the survey questions of the
Survey of Army Families (SAF-II). The last page of the SAF-II survey contained an optional, open-ended question for the respondent to write comments. Major findings from the SAF II instrument are reviewed here.

The U.S. Army Community and Family Support Center (CFSC) sponsored SAF-II and remains the Army's proponent for the continuing Survey of Army Families. SAF-II was planned as direct follow-up to the first Survey of Army Families conducted in 1987 (now called SAF-I). In both SAF-I and SAF-II the Army surveyed a representative sample of spouses of active duty soldiers throughout the world, consisting of civilian women or men married to a soldier who was currently on active duty.

In 1987, the first Survey of Army Families (SAF-I) was sent to 20,000 spouses and achieved a composite response rate of 61%. The sample size reflected approximately 4% of Army families then in service. SAF-I was primarily intended to assess the effectiveness of Army family policy and other efforts to improve the quality of life for military families. Based on SAF-I responses, many Army support programs were modified, expanded, or further developed to meet family needs. SAF II was authorized to assess family
issues at a time of stress and significant change in
the military organization, size, and funding levels.
Approximately 40% of the respondents made random
comments on the comment sheet at the end of the SAF
II instrument.

Between SAF-I in 1987 and SAF-II in 1991-92,
several notable events occurred world-wide that
affected all soldiers and their families. First came
the demise of the Warsaw Pact followed by the
dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1989. With the
collapse of the Soviet threat, the Cold War rationale
for a large, forward-deployed, active duty Army
became invalid. Congress passed legislation for
drastic military downsizing in the post-Cold War
period, but Army downsizing was suspended during the
1990-91 buildup and combat operations against Iraq in
the Persian Gulf with the advent of Operations Desert
Shield and Desert Storm (ODS). After the war,
withdrawal of Army forces from Europe, large scale
organizational downsizing, and wholesale Army
personnel reductions resumed in 1991. The SAF-II was
scheduled to be implemented by the U.S. Army
Community and Family Support Center (CFSC)
approximately six months after the last troops
returned home from the Persian Gulf. By then, soldiers and families had been reunited long enough for spouses to respond to post war questions.

II.7.1 Respondent's Background.

Diverse Army families are included within the broad category of soldiers with civilian spouses. They may include spouses at different stages of a soldier's Army career and family development cycle; spouses with and without children (including female and male civilian spouses); and families in which the spouse works.

Reported SAF-II demographic data for both soldier (also known as the sponsor for official dependents) and their spouses will be summarized. The 3-4% of respondents who were male spouses were insufficient to allow meaningful analysis and are excluded from this analysis.

Comparison of racial backgrounds of spouses show no appreciable differences in responses made. Approximately three quarters (75%) of all spouses were white, and almost 20% were black. The remaining spouses identified themselves as possessing other ethnic backgrounds (e.g. American Indian, Alaskan
Native, Asian or Pacific Islander). Additionally, cultural backgrounds of white spouses included 8-9% identifying themselves as Hispanic or Spanish origin and ancestry. Overall, over half (56%) of all spouses had attended college. However, CONUS spouses, on average, attended a little longer and more of them had earned degrees.

II.7.2 Effects of the War.

Spouses were asked to indicate all places in which they lived during Desert Storm. Since Permanent Change of Station (PCS) moves out of USAREUR had been halted, those reporting more than one location were most likely to have moved to Europe (USAREUR) or between CONUS and other OCONUS locations. Four months after the invasion of Kuwait, an involuntary foreign tour extension was required of most OCONUS soldiers: hence, they could not return to the CONUS when their tour ended. Because of the reduced tensions within the former Warsaw Pact, the decision had been made to deploy troops from units throughout USAREUR to the Persian Gulf. Although PCS moves out of the European theater were stopped, PCS
moves into the Europe continued. The intent was to raise the operating strengths for OCONUS areas during the war. Family members overseas, however, were free to travel home prior to and during the war.

Over a third (37%) of OCONUS and CONUS (36%) spouses reported that their sponsor deployed or relocated because of the war. Almost two-thirds of deployed (or relocated) OCONUS soldiers were away from home for less than 179 days (approximately five months), while over two-thirds of the CONUS soldiers who were deployed were away for more than five months. This generally indicates that soldiers stationed in the U.S. spent more time away from their families than those stationed overseas with their families (accompanied tour).

II.7.3 Family Support During the War.

Family impacts of the war were different for spouses of deployed and non-deployed soldiers. Many waiting spouses reported serious life event stressors. Most obtained some social support from personal social networks, Army support from unit Family Support Groups (FSGs), and Rear Detachment Commands (RDCs). Many spouses experienced stress
from rumors about the war and from their loneliness due to the absence of their deployed spouse. A small number of spouses depended heavily on Army services and volunteers. However, most spouses handled their household and family needs on their own without assistance. Many spouses experienced turmoil surrounding ODS departure dates and more than half said good-bye to their spouses several times (more frequent in CONUS). Most stress reportedly came from the soldier's absence, the anxiety of war, and rumors. One-fifth of spouses with soldiers deployed to the Persian Gulf moved away from an assigned Army post for part or all of the separation period. Most spouses wanted to be near relatives while the soldier was deployed.

Family Support Groups (FSGs) hosted by units were the preferred source of social and emotional support. Waiting spouse participation in FSGs doubled during the war. Spouses who participated in FSG activities felt better and apparently had less deployment stress.

One third of the spouses reported financial problems that were caused by spousal deployment and the war. Spouses in CONUS reported higher loss of
income and large long distance phone bills. Financial problems also caused more CONUS than OCONUS spouses to move away from their assigned post during the war. The large majority of waiting spouses, however, reported they did well during the war. The largest apparent problem was personal loneliness and handling children's after school activities.

When the soldiers returned home, dissatisfaction with military marriages was reported at 13%, although a clear majority (80%) reported being as satisfied with their marriages as before the war. Army divorce rates actually fell during the war although they rose for a few months immediately after the war.

Spouses overwhelmingly perceived a need for better Army communication to families and timely information for families of deployed soldiers. A majority (65%) of spouses felt content with the kind of family life they could have in the Army. Over two-thirds wanted their spouse to stay in the Army as a career. Spouses representing higher ranking and longer tenured soldiers were especially inclined to want to stay.

Compared to previous decades, Army families are becoming older, with longer time in marriage, fewer children per family, and a greater gender mix, with
more female soldiers. Based on survey data (SAF I, SAF II, and recent DoD studies), Army demographics data, and substantiated by both the subcultural analysis and the SAF-II thematic responses, the Army, overall, remains a population segment of stable marriages, despite a mobile style of life and serious stressors from increased frequency and intensity of contingency combat deployment separations.

II.8 Summary.

This literature review has established background on the changing military, reviewed the history of military family policy, identified potential areas of work-role and family conflict, supported the assumption that the military is an occupational subculture, outlined the framework for systems analysis, examined participative observation techniques, and reviewed emerging demographic data from the 1991-1992 Survey of Army Families (SAF II). Within this context, it is now possible to establish a framework for using the seven tenets for an occupational subculture via participant observation techniques.
In light of the established criteria, the case for the existence of a military occupational subculture can be construed through the application of empirical data to the subcultural tenets. The foundation for exploration of the subculture, through use of emerging data bases from the SAF survey series as well as original research, has been established. This study will combine knowledge obtained during the literature review, build upon what is now known about the military family, and apply subcultural tenets through participative observation to assess and/or refine the hypotheses.
III. METHODOLOGY

III.1 Introduction.

The primary goal of this study is to develop a better understanding of service members and families who serve in America's military. This section contains an outline of the conceptual structure for obtaining this information. The study consists of two distinct phases. The first phase was a subcultural analysis, using participative observation, subcultural immersion, and passive interviewing techniques. The second phase was review an analysis of comments and data from the Survey of Army Families II (SAF II) for similarities and contrasts. For clarity, Chapter III will be outlined, first by subculture analysis, then by thematic analysis to avoid confusion.

This study will progress from a test of the military as an occupational subculture through a comparison of written comments derived from the SAF II survey instrument. In the Review of Literature, evidence was presented that the military conceptually meets all of the criteria of an occupational subculture. The emphasis now shifts to determining
the degree of affiliation, that is, to what degree the employees subscribe to these characteristics. The participative observation phase attempts to add the "human evidence" to confirm the hypotheses. It is important to note that qualitative measures were the primary method used to support the existence of the military occupational subculture.

Although presented sequentially, the subcultural analysis was conducted in parallel with ongoing analysis by the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research (WRAIR), Department of Military Psychology using responses from the SAF II instrument. A thematic analysis of the relevant SAF II written responses, coded by WRAIR, is balanced within the scope of the subcultural paradigm to draw implications and evaluate options for policy.

III.2 Subcultural Evaluation.

This section details the research methodology used for analysis of the occupational subculture in this study. The research questions are "Is the military an occupational subculture?", and "How does the work-role of the service member affect the family?".
III.2.1 Overview.

From an anthropological perspective, substantiation of a subculture is most effective when viewed from the inside (i.e., from the perspective of its members). This phase of the study was developed as original research to supplement the findings from the larger studies and, to a degree, better understand an anticipated high degree of negative responses to the written comments on the SAF II survey instrument. Although data were becoming available from the SAF II instrument during this phase of the study and is often referenced, the subcultural evaluation was not a part of the SAF effort but was conducted during the same time frame.

III.2.2 Sample.

The sample for the subcultural analysis was selected by the interviewer from diverse groups of service members at six locations in the continental United States. These locations coincided with the interviewer's assignments during the course of the study. Individuals selected for this sample were
married service members with dependent families. Members were selected to represent, as closely as practicable, the demographics of the general Army population. It should be noted, however, that no respondent was disallowed on the basis of a disproportionate demographic mix of the overall sample. Ethnic backgrounds representing white, black, Asiatic, and Hispanic were included as were both male and female members, representing similar Military Occupational Specialties (MOS).

A broad range of ranks (from private, E-1 to Colonel, O-6) were used. By using rank as a stratification, many factors can be derived without intrusive questioning. By noting a soldier's rank, an assessment may easily yield approximate age, probable years in service, level of experience in the military, and probable number of assignments. Unlike a civilian counterpart, the military rank structure provides a fairly accurate "cookie cutter" assessment of an individual in relation to the respondent's military background.

Conducted over a 14 month period in 1994 and 1995, a total of 78 eligible respondents were queried. Respondents were screened based upon a structured, social conversation during "off duty"
hours. All respondents were interviewed on post. Most were located in waiting rooms, libraries, food service facilities, or service clubs. The researcher wore casual civilian attire and represented himself as "just another soldier". This affiliation assisted conversation development with lead-ins such as exchanging information on units, past assignments, etc. in an effort to find a commonality for rapport. In a rank conscious society, it was imperative to discard any semblance of hierarchical status or the responses would be considered compromised.

The selection of individual respondents for the sample required inclusion of the following: all ranks (thus all ages, time in service, etc.), diverse ethnic backgrounds, both genders, married soldiers with at least one dependent child, currently be co-habitating with spouse and child, and be stationed in the continental United States. Criteria for exclusion of potential respondents include any of the following: single, married but separated, divorced or pending divorce, married without children, married not co-habitating, or married co-habitating with dependent child not in household. These criteria for screening were used since the objective was to assess
the subcultural perceptions of the service member and perceived affect on the military family. Thus, the presence of both a spouse and at least one child were deemed important for this preliminary analysis. It also restricted the number of variables to be considered within a relatively small sample size. Precise records were not maintained to indicate the number of attempted contacts with ineligible respondents. However, based on the eligible respondents, it is estimated that approximately 300 total contacts were initiated.

Once a contact was deemed eligible through casual conversation, further rapport was established through affiliation with a past assignment, MOS, etc. The researcher shifted the conversation toward a curiosity of the people and families within military. The researcher stated that he was conducting research on cultures and wanted the respondent's "advice" on the military environment for families. Although the respondents were aware that they were being queried as part of the researcher's interest on cultural analysis, most (subjectively defined as "vast majority", perhaps 90-95%) readily participated in often lively discussions. Those that did not
actively participate were either shy, withdrawn, or otherwise uninterested in the conversation.

Since these conversations took place in informal settings and after rapport was established between the researcher and respondent, in most cases the respondent appeared to feel free to provide candid comments. However, seven respondents guarded their responses, as will be reported and discussed in Chapter IV.

All respondents were members of the Army stationed at several locations (Fort Gordon (Georgia), Fort Jackson (South Carolina), Fort Belvoir (Virginia), Fort McClellan (Alabama), assigned to the Washington D.C. area (Virginia and Maryland), and the Pentagon. No subcultural research conducted outside the United States will be included in this analysis.

III.2.3 Time Frame.

The time frame for the subcultural study coincided with researcher travels on other official business for the military. Research using the subcultural assessment instrument began in February,
1994 and concluded in March, 1995. Only assessments conducted within the continental United States are included to correlate with the written responses from CONUS respondents on the SAF II instrument.

III.2.4 Reliability.

Observations made in this study must be replicable and shown to be stable over time to be considered reliable. The process under analysis should be considered a pilot. Case analysis was conducted using test-retest comparisons to confirm that reliable observations were being recorded. In the event that an observation was highly variable and deviated from the data collection pattern, further analysis was conducted to either rule out the observation as an anomaly or revise the hypothesis to account for the deviation.

III.2.5 Validity.

Unlike a true experiment, where the experimenter has complete control over participants and all affective variables, participant observation seeks to observe behavior without intrusion and devoid of
contrived circumstances. This research will have internal validity when it is deemed to have accurately identified causal relationships in order to rule out rival explanations and to demonstrate a valid conclusion.

Construct validity confirms the variable under study is appropriate. External validity demonstrates that the findings are true beyond the narrow limits of the study and are applicable to other military groups, at various locations, and at different times.

The review of literature contributes to construct validity. Internal validity will result when the study is replicated in additional locations and with different family types, and the results are consistent.

III.2.6 Instrument Development.

The survey instrument was derived from the seven tenets of an occupational subculture (Trice, 1993). Each of these tenets were assessed by responses to one generalized question while four tenets required a second question for clarification. Overall, eleven responses were recorded from each respondent.
The survey was tested at Fort Gordon, Georgia in January 1994 using 15 subjects and with assistance from the Human Engineering Laboratory (HEL) and the Army Research Laboratory (ARL). The questions were modified for classification using the test-retest process on sequential sample populations of five subject groups. The first group was administered a written version of the survey and significant misinterpretation was noted. The instrument was modified for the second group which assisted by further clarifying rationale for responses. The third group was surveyed and their responses were consistent with the intent of the survey questions. During the course of the conversations, an innocuous seven point, eleven question, oral survey was developed to verify the degree to which random respondents report positive, neutral or negative affiliation to the tenets of a military occupational subculture. From this process, the final form of questions to be used in the unstructured interview was derived.

In the final interviews used for the research, a total of eleven perception questions were asked in the process of conversation with each respondent, while assessment of the respondent's rank, ethnic
background, and gender was done visually or through casual conversation. Once a response was generated on a given question, the researcher restated the response. Occasionally the question was asked in the reverse, for correction and clarification to prevent biased responses. The observation noted was a positive, neutral, or negative affiliation with each question. The conversation and interview with each eligible respondent lasted from 30 minutes to one hour. Many respondents provided tangible examples from their own lives to highlight their responses. Once the conversation terminated, the interviewer left the area and entered results onto the seven point, eleven question survey matrix to record the interview data.

Coded responses were entered on the data record indicating a positive affiliation for each question if the respondent indicated a preponderance of positive perceptions. The question was coded neutral/ambivalent if the respondent either had no opinion, didn't know, or a valence could not be determined on the given question. The question was coded negative if the respondent demonstrated perceptions of disassociation with the question.
Each question was coded with a positive, neutral, or negative response. Each cell in the matrix was scored with an input, with no missing data.

For a subculture to exist, all seven tenets have to be present. However, not all members must exhibit all tenets for a subculture to be established (Trice, 1993). For this instrument, the researcher deemed it acceptable to have a composite affiliation rate of at least 75% in order to establish that a preponderance of the membership perceives the existence of a military occupational subculture. Therefore, each tenet must have the minimum 75% subscription rate for the hypothesis to be assessed as valid. See Appendix A for the instrument, coding legend, and matrix. The instrument questions are aligned with the supported tenet and are shown as follows.

(1) **Esoteric Knowledge and Expertise.**

a. "Do you feel that you have learned valuable special skills that you would not need as a civilian?"

b. "Do you feel that you have expertise in your military job?"
(2) Extreme or Unusual Demands.

"Do you know of any extreme or unusual demands of military service, and, if so, would you say that they are part of the job?"

(3) Like Consciousness.

a. "Do you see military people as having similar outlooks on life, such as liberal/conservative viewpoints, a similarity of beliefs?"

b. "Do you see military families as having similar outlooks on life and a similarity of beliefs?"


a. "When off-duty, does your military career affect you or your family?"

b. "Although your family is not serving in the military, do you believe they see themselves as a "military family"?"

(5) Self-fulfilling Ideology.

a. "Do you feel, as a soldier, that you are serving a function valuable to society?"

b. "If so, do you feel a personal bond or enhanced self-worth to service?"
Inclusive Primary Reference Group.
"Are your best friends military?"

Abundance of Consistent Cultural Forms.
"Are you well aware of the customs, symbols, language, myths and heroes of the military?"

III.2.7 Statistical Analysis of Subculture Assessment.

The research questions are "Is the military an occupational subculture?", and "How does the work-role of the service member affect the family?". Of secondary importance are determining the perceived support mechanisms that promote adaptation of the family to the military.

In order to substantiate the existence of a military occupational subculture, each of the following hypotheses should demonstrate a positive response rate of at least 75% affiliation. The research hypotheses are as follows:

H1 - A positive perception of subculture affiliation based upon esoteric knowledge and expertise will exist within the military sample population for during this study.
H2 - A positive perception of subculture affiliation based upon extreme or unusual demands will exist.

H3 - A positive perception of subculture affiliation based upon like consciousness will exist.

H4 - A positive perception of subculture affiliation based upon Pervasiveness (work-role permeates non-working life) will exist.

H5 - A positive perception of subculture affiliation based upon a self-fulfilling ideology will exist.

H6 - A positive perception of subculture affiliation based upon an inclusive primary group will exist.

H7 - A positive perception of subculture affiliation based upon an abundance of consistent cultural forms will exist.

Without a completely random sample, statistical procedures have only marginal added value, however, tests that were done may raise questions that may warrant more rigorous tests in follow-up studies. Statistical significance means the probability that the results could have occurred by chance is estimated; thus a statistical probability (p) of .05
indicates that differences of this magnitude would occur by chance only one in 20 times. Usually, $p = .05$ or less indicates statistical significance. Given the small sample size and lack of randomness, coupled with the relative subjectivity of the response interpretations, substantive significance cannot be assessed through more restrictive statistical analysis other than analysis of the subculture by demographic variables.

III.3 Analysis of Subculture by Output, Input, and Demographic Variables.

This part of the study is oriented toward understanding the nature of the occupational subculture, especially during wartime. The principal variable categories follow.

III.3.1 Perception (Output) Variables.

These are as reported by the respondents. In the systems framework, these are the output variables. The measurements are the degree to which subjects ascribe inclusion, exclusion, or neutrality/ambivalence to a subcultural tenet. They indicate the acceptance of the subculture of the
sample population as applied to the work role and family relationships. The perception variables determine positive, neutral, or negative affiliation.

III.3.2 Input Variables.

These are the extrinsic motivators or environmental factors that impact the subject population and their families. These are to be derived from the open-ended questions, both through the thematic responses to SAF II and the exploratory subculture analysis. These variables are ones that emerge as potentially significant factors influencing individual perception of ascription to the subcultural tenets.

III.3.3 Demographic Variables.

These variables include the demographics of the sample population in terms of rank, gender, and ethnic background.

Hol - There will be no significant difference in perception of subculture affiliation based upon gender.
Ho2 - There will be no significant difference on perception of subculture affiliation based upon ethnicity.

Ho3 - There will be a difference on perception of subculture affiliation based upon rank.

III.4 Spouse Extrapolation from SAF

This analysis draws on data derived from thematic responses from the Survey of Army Families II (SAF-II) instrument. This is the same survey examined in the literature review, but only the thematic comments or responses (not the multiple choice, structured survey responses) will be used here as a corollary to the subcultural interviews. The sample was randomly drawn and accurately represented the demographics of the Army population set. The intent is to correlate completely voluntary comments by military spouses to the subcultural analysis of the military members. It is hoped that the tie-in of these two separate studies will provide additional information to confirm the military as a occupational subculture for the full range of personnel and their families.
When a survey respondent is provided the option of additional comments, these comments can become a valuable adjunct to quantitative findings. They give an individual perception of the personal realities of the respondents, as they illustrate and elaborate the respondent’s concerns. The Comments question gives each respondent an opportunity to raise issues that are important to them but may be omitted in the questionnaire. They also have the ability to raise new issues not addressed by the structured survey. However, these comments can not be considered statistically valid in terms of frequency of report as would the fixed questions since not every participant was specifically given the opportunity to consider the issues raised by others.

The comments were categorized by valence (negative, positive, or neutral feelings about the issue) in the same manner as the subcultural interviews. Overall, quantitative results from the survey and from thematic comments are not directly comparable. Comments cannot be considered representative of spouses throughout the Army. Generally, voluntary comments tend to be negative when attached to surveys and normally dwell on
dissatisfaction. This must be taken into account when conducting further analysis.

III.5 Statement of Research Questions.

This process is inductive by nature as the progression is made from the accumulation of data toward the development of a plausible explanation of the questions. Participant observers begin the process with a tentative hypothesis which evolves as information is accumulated. Therefore, it is permissible for the scope of the study to shift as the data collection and analysis progresses (McCleary, 1977).

The following restated objectives and complementary directional hypothesis are:

a. Substantiate, through a combination of literature review, participant observation, and subculture immersion, the existence of personnel ascription to a military occupational subculture.

   (1) There will be a preponderance of evidence to support the allegation that the service member sees him or herself as a part of a distinct occupational subculture within American society.
(2) Service members will support the perception that the service member's family is part of a distinct subculture within American society.

b. Explore the job related factors that affect the role perceptions of military families within the subculture relative to:

(1) stress perceptions of military families.

(2) work-role strain in marriage and/or family relationships.

(3) perceived satisfaction or dissatisfaction with military life.

(4) the military family lifestyle.
IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

IV.1 Military Occupational Subculture.

Overall, the respondents reported positive affiliation with the seven tenets of an occupational subculture (as shown in the following tables). The seven point, eleven question oral survey was conducted to verify the degree to which selected respondents subscribe in a positive, neutral or negative way to affiliation with the tenets of a military occupational subculture. It is important to note that no attempt was made to provide a finite breakdown of individual responses other than category affiliation with the tenets of an occupational subculture. Many respondent-provided comments were received after the survey was well under way, thereby preventing attribution across the sample set. Using the cultural paradigm, the emerging results from the SAF II thematic analysis will be examined in section IV.2.

Of the 78 respondents which were eligible for inclusion into the data set and were queried during the course of the subcultural analysis, seven (9%) either stated that they were suspicious of the
interviewer or failed to establish candor with the interviewer. Their responses are reported as a neutral response. Even though the respondents were aware that they were being queried as part of a cultural analysis, many members view suspicion as an occupational requirement (especially those working in military intelligence). All members (especially officers and communications specialists) must guard themselves from divulging information and exposure to possible compromise. Thus, occupational paranoia may be partially responsible for some of the lack of candor.

The majority of the respondents were members of the Army stationed at Fort Gordon, Georgia (48), with the remainder assigned to Fort Jackson, South Carolina (8), Fort Belvoir, Virginia (4), Fort McClellan, Alabama (5), the greater Washington D.C. area (7), and the Pentagon (6). The respondents were from diverse backgrounds and years of service. Demographically, 67 soldiers (86%) were male and 11 soldiers (14%) were female. Ethnic backgrounds representing (non-Hispanic) white (72%), Black (14%), Hispanic (10%), and Asian (4%) are included in the study. It is noted that, due either to the
unavailability or screening criteria ineligibility, no American Indian or "other" ethnic respondents were interviewed. It is also noted that, with the exception of a slightly larger female and Hispanic representation in this sample, the other respondents are close approximations to the overall gender and ethnic representation in the Army population set.

Since the study took place in an informal setting and after rapport was established between the researcher and respondent, most respondents felt free to provide candid comments. For each question, the respondents were asked for a positive (yes), negative (no), or neutral indication for each response. In the event the respondent either did not know, wouldn't say, or voiced no opinion, that response was coded as neutral. After each tenet is examined, the response tables will be discussed. It is important to note that only one question achieved a chi-square probability of less than .05 (see Appendix D).

IV.1.1 Esoteric Knowledge and Expertise.

Overall, 87% of the respondents responded positively to the question, "Do you feel that you
have learned valuable special skills that you would not need as a civilian?"

Many members stated that they had learned unique military skills. However, many of the intangible skills, such as leadership, working with people, working under stress, etc., were cited as skills they will use anywhere. Interestingly, 78% of the males and 100% of the females subscribed positive affiliation to this tenet. Further, positive affiliation increased with time in service (as indicated by rank) as well as officer versus enlisted status.

When asked, "Do you feel that you have expertise in your military job?", many respondents felt the question was targeting their personal competency level. This may explain the lower rate of 83% who responded in a positive manner to this question. More males than females indicated a positive response (84% versus 73%) with the females reporting a 27% negative response rate. There was no difference based on ethnicity (84%).

In the military, skill competency is a critical feature of objective evaluation. Annual tests are administered each year to assess the service member's
expertise. In the conversations, most respondents felt very skilled at their jobs. Most respondents were amused when asked if a civilian, with similar technical skills (if appropriate) could do their job without specialized military training. However, one negative respondent, who had worked as a telephone company employee prior to military service, stated that his skills as a telephone switching system (PBX) installer required more skill than he needed as a military switch operator/repairer.

It is important to note that many of the respondents saw no differentiation between the need for their skill and their employer (the Army). That is, few respondents perceived that they would use their skill for another employer (i.e. civilian employer other than the federal government). Another common theme was the overall confidence level of the individuals when talking about their jobs. Many of the respondents had served during wartime and felt they handled themselves well. When talking about changes in the military and the impact on their work-roles, many acknowledged that they expected to learn new skills and then be assigned multiple tasks more often in the future.
IV.1.2 Extreme or Unusual Demands.

For this question, "Do you know of any extreme or unusual demands of military service, and, if so, would you say that they are part of the job?", 88.5% of the respondents indicated a positive affiliation with the perception of high demands (males 3% less than females). New soldiers (less than six months of total military service) reported slightly more affiliation than mid or senior level soldiers. Enlisted reported affiliation 5% less than officers.

Of those who indicated a neutral response, they stated that all jobs have demands, and the military is no exception. Some stated the demands were what made "life more interesting". Generally, these respondents fell into the junior enlisted and officer ranks of E-1 to E-4 and O-1 to O-3 category, respectively, reflecting a younger population.

Those that perceived heavy demands volunteered that work and family demands and expectations were rising as the military reduction continues. Generally, these respondents were in the mid to upper range enlisted and officer categories with more time in service and, consequently, a personal point of
IV.1.3 Like Consciousness.

To assess the similarity of like consciousness, the question, "Do you see military people as having similar outlooks on life, such as liberal/conservative viewpoints, a similarity of beliefs?" was asked the respondents. A positive response rate was obtained, as 82% agreed with this statement.

Eight respondents disagreed, citing that their peer group had divergent ideas, likes, dislikes, music, and politics. Surprisingly, music was the dominant theme (as opposed to politics) that segregated the membership. The remaining six respondents were neutral in this assessment, primarily citing the lack of observation or knowledge of others. Females more than males affiliated with this factor (91% versus 84%). Interestingly, mid career, more so than new or older soldiers, affiliated (88% versus 83% and 81%, respectively). Ethnicity accounted for a difference of 9% between white and other with whites affiliating most strongly than other races or ethnic groups (82% versus 91%).
To assess the service member's perception of like consciousness of the family, the question, "Do you see military families as having similar outlooks on life and a similarity of beliefs?" was asked. Overall, 74% rated positive with this concept. Note that this was the only incidence that any response rated less than the threshold requirement of 75%. As one of two questions under this tenet, the 1% decrement does not adversely affect affiliation value of this tenet. However, a higher margin could have altered the finding, thereby making this tenet ineligible for inclusion and disproving the hypothesis.

The second ranked response was neutral (10.3%), apparently (as hypothesized by some respondents), because at the time of questioning many military families were living off-post and thereby removed from the family peer groups on post. This brings into question the concept of the garrison mentality espoused by a few respondents.

By category, females more than males (82% versus 73%) believed that military families had similar beliefs as did the more senior than junior soldiers. Ethnic categories reported 79% for white and 64% for
other. New soldiers reported less affiliation (67%) than all others (81%).

IV.1.4 Pervasiveness - Permeates Non-Working Life.

This question could be expected to have a high response rate. As studies involving police, ministers, and health care workers have shown, the work-role can be pervasive. When asked the question, "When off-duty, does your military career affect you or your family?, 86% of respondents replied positively, with somewhat more females than males (91% to 88%, respectively).

The remainder were almost evenly split (7.6% negative and 6.4% neutral). Most respondents felt subject to recall (requirement to report to duty stations within a specified short time) at any time and some cited that they were, by regulation, on duty 24 hours a day. A surprising number of respondents complained of excessive duty requirements, travel restrictions, lack of off-duty employment opportunities due to their military status, and distance to their unit from their residence as a problem during recalls.
Many stated that their military dictated haircut was like a "badge" in the civilian community and made them stand out. One young respondent remarked that his short haircut made him feel as if he were wearing a "Star of David" in Nazi Germany. When asked for clarification, the same respondent added that after basic training, he had gone home and was "bar hopping" with some old school friends. Others in the bar mistook him for a right wing "skinhead" and started a fight. Since that experience, he stated that he always wears a hat (but admitted that "it didn't do much good").

When compared by seniority, a large difference in perceptions was reported. Although new and mid career soldiers reported affiliation (89% and 92%), the positive response rate dropped to 81% with older soldiers. Surprisingly, all officers (100%) reported positive perception versus 83% of enlisted. It is important to note that age is a correlation of rank and time in service within either the enlisted or officer ranks. That is, officers begin their career at approximately 22 years of age while enlisted may begin as early as 17 years of age. They have parallel career tracks and age as they rise in rank.
The service member's perception of how the family views the military was examined with the question, "Although your family is not serving in the military, do they see themselves as a "military family?". The majority of respondents (84.6%) agreed that their families perceived themselves as military. Again, females reported a higher affiliation rate than males (91% versus 84%). All other responses by category had only minor differences.

Some commented that the term "military brat" still applies to their children and, in fact, some of the respondents were themselves "military brats" before coming into the Army. Two respondents indicated that their spouses saw themselves as "officer's wives" and derived a measure of satisfaction from the title and perceived status.

Two respondents volunteered that their spouses had difficulty getting employment due to her military family status. They both cited employer bias against "short term help", i.e. transient military spouses that may not reach optimum productivity before transferring. One of the respondents cited problems his children faced in school because of the military affiliation.
IV.1.5 Self-fulfilling Ideology.

This category resulted in the second highest affiliation rate of 95%. By far, most respondents answered positively to the question, "Do you feel, as a soldier, that you are serving a function valuable to society?". Most expressed a feeling of pride, tradition, and history. Many cited family members that had served in the military as role models. Most respondents indicated that they were serving their country.

Those that indicated neutrality in two cases (4%), attributed their specific job (one was a supply clerk) into this question and answered accordingly. All females affiliated positively versus 94% of the males, as did all officers (100%) versus 92% of the enlisted. There was no difference by ethnicity.

A second question in this category followed the first, "If so, do you feel a personal bond or enhanced self-worth to service?" Again, a high rate of affiliation was indicated with 91% citing a positive response.

The remainder (5% neutral and 4% negative) reflected interpretations pertaining to their
specific function or lack of a vested interest in their service. Those that indicated a negative response tended to cite their unit or organization as the rationale for disassociation.

Here again, the females rated a 100% positive response versus 85% for the males. Interestingly, new and mid career soldiers reported a higher affiliation than older soldiers (86%, 92%, and 81% respectively) with older soldiers indicating a sizable neutral response rate (13%).

IV.1.6 Inclusive Primary Reference Group.

Overall, 90% of respondents gave positive responses to the question, "Are your best friends military?". As a portable work force, it is not surprising that military members seek and retain friendships within the work-force. Few service members stay in any one location long enough to secure long-term civilian friendships.

Those with best friends that were both military and civilian (coded as neutral) reflect 2.5% of respondents. Both respondents stated that they consciously kept in touch with old friends and thus helped maintain the friendships.
Those that indicated their best friends were predominantly civilian (7.6%) were in the lower ranks of the enlisted force. Two of them indicated that they had less than four months of service (new enlistees). When taken together, the mid and senior soldiers reported 95% positive affiliation versus 83% for junior officer and enlisted.

IV.1.7 Abundance of Consistent Cultural Forms.

Perhaps the most pervasive aspects of military service are the cultural forms. This category garnered the highest positive response rate of 97.4%.

The respondents were asked, "Are you well aware of the customs, symbols, language, myths and heroes of the military?". For the first and only time, there were no negative respondents. The two respondents that indicated neutrality hedged on the term "well aware". Here again, these respondents were junior enlisted soldiers, new to the Army.

Male respondents more than female reported positive affiliation (97% versus 91%). Mid and older soldiers reported 100% versus 92% for new soldiers. White versus Other reported a difference of 7% (98%
versus 91%). As a group, all mid and older soldiers reported a 100% affiliation versus 92% for new enlisted and officer groups.

IV.1.8 Discussion of Subcultural Affiliation.

Table IV-1 summarizes the affiliation propensity of the population sample. Ten of the eleven questions scored a higher rating than the threshold of 75% with the one exception rating at 74%. Collectively, all seven tenets exceeded the threshold requirement of 75% affiliation. The relatively high affiliation level demonstrates significant support that the respondents, by inference, perceive that the military distinct occupational subculture.

All together, if weighted equally, the eleven tenet questions derive a composite affiliation score of 87.14% which is 12.14% above the threshold value of 75%. These figures have no intrinsic value and only indicate a proportional value to subjective measurement. Regardless, sufficient evidence has been produced to further validate that the service member perceives the military as a distinct occupational subculture.
Table IV-1. Subcultural Tenets Summary Table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERCENTILE RANK</th>
<th>POSITIVE AFFILIATION</th>
<th>SUBCULTURAL TENETS</th>
<th>QUESTION SYNOPSIS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>97.4%</td>
<td>Abundant cultural forms</td>
<td>Are you aware of stories, legends, myths, &amp; heroes?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>95%</td>
<td>Self-fulfilling ideology</td>
<td>Are you serving valuable function in society?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>Self-fulfilling ideology</td>
<td>Do you feel a bond or self worth to your service?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>90%</td>
<td>Primary reference group</td>
<td>Are your best friends military?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>88.5%</td>
<td>Extreme or unusual demands</td>
<td>Do you know of extreme demands; are they part of the job?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>87%</td>
<td>Esoteric knowledge and expertise</td>
<td>Have you learned valuable, special skills that you would not need as a civilian?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>Pervasiveness; work-role &amp; family</td>
<td>Does your military career affect your off-duty time?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>84.6</td>
<td>Pervasiveness; work-role &amp; family</td>
<td>Does your family see themselves as a military family?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>Esoteric knowledge and expertise</td>
<td>Do you feel that you have expertise in your military job?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>Like consciousness</td>
<td>Do military people have similar outlooks &amp; beliefs?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>Like consciousness</td>
<td>Do military families have similar outlooks &amp; beliefs?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

IV.2 Army Family Survey.

The previous analysis dealt with perceptions from the service member’s perspective. This analysis will deal with the perceptions from the military spouse’s perspective. Though not intended as such, further support for the assertion that a military occupational subculture exists can be derived from
tabulated spousal thematic (open ended) responses of the Survey of Army families (SAF-II).

The spouses provided voluntary written comments on issues or problems that were important to Army families. The comments themselves will not be used nor will the significance of their comments. However, the coded categories of comments can be used to identify themes and trend analysis to assess the seven tenets of an occupational subculture from the spouses perspective. Of interest is the similarity between rank and time in service of the respondents in the subcultural analysis and the SAF-II survey thematic responses from military spouses.

IV.2.1 Process.

The SAF-II questionnaire was mailed to a stratified sample of 14,538 spouses in late 1991-early 1992. The SAF-II was completed by civilian spouses (96% female) of active duty soldiers. In total, 4,897 spouses returned the survey instrument (33.68%). Of these, 1,818 (40%) responded to the request for additional write-in comments on the last page of the SAF-II instrument. Of the 1,818 comments sheets, one-half (909) were randomly selected through
a systematic process for thematic analysis. Of these, 107 were not used due to problems associated with the manner in which the respondent completed the instrument (illegible, ink used, or other coding problems), used in prototype coding, or used in reliability testing. The findings from the thematic analysis are presented in terms of the number of comments and not the number of respondents, except where noted.

The Walter Reed Army Institute of Research (WRAIR) performed the thematic coding and tabulation. They were looking for social-psychological outcomes and information on overall family quality of Army life. The open-ended question asked, "We are interested in any comments you may have about Army families, whether or not the topic was covered in this survey. Do you have any comments?". The Comment Sheet was detached from each questionnaire and written themes were analyzed by WRAIR independent of the survey responses. The sample size of 802 respondents was used as the sample set, and included a total of 2,756 comments. It is important to take note of the distinction between the number of comments and the number of respondents, since one
respondent may have offered one or more comments.

A review of these comment categories identified the issues which were important to the spousal subset and provided an indication of their perceptions about those issues and Army life in general. Remember that it is not the intent to review the categories themselves, but only to attribute the categories among the seven tenets of an occupational subculture. Thematic analysis of the specific comments and their meaning are to be left to other studies. It is important to note that all subcultural analysis respondents and four-fifths of SAF-II married soldiers had children at home.

Of the total comments, the overwhelming majority were negative. This is to be expected. Research has shown that when people are given the opportunity to volunteer comments, they discuss problems or issues that bother them rather than things with which they are satisfied. As an example, in the 1987 SAF-I survey, 81% of the comments were negative, 18% positive, and 1 percent neutral. Thus, in 1991 there was a small increase in the proportion of negative comments. However, considering that the population set had just emerged from a wartime environment, that, too, is expected.
As a measure of spouse issues, the following tables, generously provided by (and subsequently modified and/or adapted from) the Walter Reed Army Institute for Research (Department of Military Psychology), highlight salient concerns presented by the spouses both for the recent SAF-II and the previous SAF-I. The thematic analysis itself will not be assessed in this study. What will be correlated, however, will be the categorization of the thematic responses to the subcultural tenets. Table IV-2 illustrates the breadth of respondents from the population set and their relative representation in the SAF-II survey.

Table IV-3 demonstrates consistency of spousal issues and concerns over time. It represents the correlation between the SAF I and SAF II surveys and the consistency of responses between 1987 and 1991.

A factor to be considered in these responses is rank of the spouse’s service member. In the military hierarchy, higher rank is associated with time in service. Altogether, 5% of the respondents did not provide the rank and useable responses total 760. Knowing the respondents rank is important since rank is an indicator of overall experience (for
Table IV-2. Distribution of Respondents and Comments by Rank

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Percent of Respondents</th>
<th>Percent of Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E1-E3</td>
<td>9% (66)</td>
<td>8% (218)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>6 (48)</td>
<td>6 (169)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E5-E6</td>
<td>12 (89)</td>
<td>11 (310)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E7-E9,CSM</td>
<td>18 (140)</td>
<td>19 (521)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WO</td>
<td>12 (92)</td>
<td>11 (313)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O1-03</td>
<td>22 (164)</td>
<td>20 (541)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O4-GEN</td>
<td>21 (161)</td>
<td>20 (555)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Chart provided by Walter Reed Army Institute for Research (Department of Military Psychology)
Table IV-3: Major Issues (1987 (SAF-I) and 1991 (SAF-II)).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MEDICAL CARE</td>
<td>13% (363)</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESERT STORM</td>
<td>8% (217)</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SURVEY COMMENTS</td>
<td>6% (167)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>+1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNIT CLIMATE</td>
<td>6% (158)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>+2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MILITARY WAY OF LIFE</td>
<td>5% (140)</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUPPORT PROGRAMS</td>
<td>5% (136)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>+1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOLDIER'S WORK</td>
<td>5% (131)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>+1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION</td>
<td>5% (126)</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>-3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POST FACILITIES</td>
<td>4% (123)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOVING</td>
<td>4% (122)</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>-2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPOUSE'S ISSUES</td>
<td>4% (114)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FINANCES</td>
<td>4% (114)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTITUDES</td>
<td>4% (113)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOWNSIZING</td>
<td>4% (110)</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOUSING ON POST</td>
<td>4% (102)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EFFECTS BASED ON COMMUNITY</td>
<td>3% (91)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DENTAL CARE</td>
<td>3% (90)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OVERSEAS DUTY</td>
<td>3% (82)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAMILY SEPARATION ISSUES</td>
<td>2% (60)</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>-2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMUNICATION INFORMATION</td>
<td>2% (53)</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CIVILIAN ATTITUDES</td>
<td>1% (38)</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOUSING OFF-POST (IN CIVILIAN COMMUNITY)</td>
<td>1% (28)</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHOOLS</td>
<td>1% (25)</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PATRIOTISM</td>
<td>&lt;1% (19)</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHILDREN</td>
<td>&lt;1% (18)</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIAL PROBLEMS ON POST</td>
<td>&lt;1% (16)</td>
<td>2%</td>
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Note: Adapted from data provided by Walter Reed Army Institute for Research
In general, these charts indicate that the more senior spouses were over-represented and made the most written comments. However, the per cent of responses by rank are consistent. The survey was distributed to represent Army demographics, but thematic responses were optional. In an organization with the greatest numbers at the lower rank levels, the thematic response rate was inversely proportional to the target population. With the notable exception of the O-4 to General category and a decrease at the E-4 level, it appears that the higher rank (hence longer service) yielded more participation. This correlates with the subcultural analysis on military service where higher ranking individuals provided more depth and breadth of insight.

IV.2.2 Subcultural Tenets.

Using the Major issues table (table IV-2) as a basis, each issue was analyzed for relevance to subcultural determination from the spouse’s perspective. Appropriate background and plausible rationale for inclusion are provided in the following discussion followed by attribution criteria for table IV-4.
IV.2.2.1 Medical.

The spouse and Family is entitled to medical treatment at military hospitals and clinics. If approved in advance, the spouse may be authorized limited civilian medical care on a cost share basis. The spouse is subject to all rules, limitations, and regulations pertaining to government provided medical care. The spouse may have few choices in medical treatment and is subject to Army health regulations.

IV.2.2.2 Desert Storm

Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm were the culmination of the military buildup during the cold war. The impact on families was substantial and included the full spectrum of emotional, physical/instrumental, financial, and psychological deprivations.

IV.2.2.3 Unit

The unit is the service members assigned organization for duty. The service member has many
responsibilities for mission accomplishment and, if a leader, is fully responsible for the conduct, care, and well-being of assigned subordinates. The service member and spouse are expected to express and practice loyalty to the unit above self. The spouse is a member of the unit through clubs, support groups, or leadership position of service member. Spouses of senior leaders are expected to hold social functions as well as contribute time to unit activities and lead spouse support networks.

IV.2.2.4 SAF Survey

This category dealt with comments about the SAF survey. These respondents primarily mentioned being grateful for the chance to express their feelings to the Army.

IV.2.2.5 Military Way of Life.

The military is unique among employers in that it offers and requires adherence to a unique lifestyle. The military way of life is acceptable to many while others have difficulty adjusting to the subcultural environment.
IV.2.2.6 Support

The spouse has an array of support mechanisms available from the military. In addition to the spouse support networks mentioned previously, the spouse may call upon professional health providers, mental health specialists, financial and career counselors, substance and child abuse counselors, and may request financial or material assistance through a variety of sources - all provided by the military to the membership.

IV.2.2.7 Soldier’s Work

The spouse is married to a soldier. The spouse is required to maintain all finances and the household when the service member deploys, assist the service member maintain combat readiness, endure frequent and long term separation, move frequently, sacrifice personal career objectives for those of the service member, and tolerate frequent danger to the service member as a matter of employment.
IV.2.2.8 Military Organization

This category is differentiated from the category of "unit" by virtue of scope. The unit is a small part of the whole, whereas the "Military Organization" encompasses the entire Army. While a service member and spouse may experience several units, they are still a subset of the whole.

IV.2.2.9 Post Facilities

These are the facilities available on the military installation. They include the PX (Post Exchange - similar to a small department store), the commissary (grocery store), and various specialty shops (optical, video retail, food court, laundry, etc.). MRW (Morale, Recreation, and Welfare) facilities are open to the family. They include the post gym, bowling alley, track and field, ranges, arts and crafts shops, auto shop, etc.

IV.2.2.10 Moving

To sustain world-wide commitments, the military must relocate its work force at an increasingly
rapid pace. Overseas tours rotate more frequently to offset the hardship of deployment. This necessitates rapid turnaround of all forces to share the burden. The spouse and family usually relocate with the service member every two to three years. Lack of geographic stability is a fact of military service and diminishes spousal career opportunities as well as children's educational stability.

IV.2.2.11 Finances

The spouse must understand the nature of military pay and allowances and be capable of best configuring family finances. The unusual compensation system was explained in Chapter II, Literature Review, and problems can easily arise. In Operation Desert Storm, spouses received a significant pay cut due to the service member receiving "field rations" during deployment. This meant that the soldier's pay is reduced by the amount allocated for subsistence (food) normally paid during peacetime. Although this should be expected, it caused significant problems for spouses of low ranking (junior enlisted) service members.
IV.2.2.12 Spouse Issues

This category ran the gamut of issues that could not be easily defined in other categories. All were service related.

IV.2.2.13 Attitudes of the Family

This category was used to attribute comments on the feelings and perceptions of family members toward military service.

IV.2.2.14 Downsizing

The military was undergoing a sizable drawdown in structure and membership. This created many fears and much anguish among the survivors. Promotion boards dramatically cut the workforce. The service member either was promoted or was removed from service (derisively referred to as "up or out"). Those eligible for retirement were scrutinized for deficiencies and their numbers were culled through Selective Early Retirement Boards (SERB). Soldier’s that lacked stellar evaluations during their career were screened for early discharge through the
Qualitative Management Program (QMP). Only those with perfect records remained. Yet the numbers were required to be further reduced and more had to be selected to leave service.

IV.2.2.15 Dental Issues

The family member had been eligible for the full spectrum of military dental care, but that all changed in the early 1990's. Service members were then required to purchase dental insurance for their families. Families could no longer receive treatment at military facilities. This caused the perception of broken promises by the military to the family.

IV.2.2.16 Post Housing

Many families resided in government quarters. As reviewed in Chapter II, Literature Review, the military began the practice of providing family quarters for those assigned to outposts and overseas. Through the years of exceptionally low pay, this was one benefit that compensated the family for their service. While on post, the family became an
integral part of the military community. Spouses and children were expected to fully participate in post activities.

IV.2.2.17 Military Community

This category includes much of what is cited in the previous category. Added to this is the membership that may reside off post or may be retired from active duty. As an example, much of the volunteer work on Army installations is conducted by military retirees and their spouses. They still serve the military community long after separation or retirement.

IV.2.2.18 Overseas Service

Service overseas is a significant life event for most people. As a member of the military, the spouse and family have unique opportunities, significant challenges, and many restrictions. The spouse and family must accept living under a combination of military martial law and host nation jurisdiction for the duration of their tour.
IV.2.2.19 Separation

When a service member is called to accomplish a mission, whether it be a deployment or an exercise, it is usually far from home. For forces stationed in Germany, field duty and deployment constitute approximately eight months out of each year. The high operational tempo of the post cold war years accelerated family separation.

IV.2.2.20 Information Flow

This category was established to reflect complaints about command communication to families and spouses. When service members are deployed, with notable exceptions, they cannot communicate directly with their families or others. Personal communications are limited and during wartime are not existent. This, logically, is cause for concern and trepidation among families. Unfortunately, the military has been slow to provide accurate and reliable information on the status and welfare of service members.
IV.2.2.21 Civilian Attitudes

In a classic example of culture clash, many people affiliated with the military differentiate themselves from the civilian population. The thematic analysis cited examples of civilian employees and their attitudes toward military families.

IV.2.2.22 Off Post

As previously mentioned, when assigned to CONUS, the military family may have the opportunity to live off post in the civilian community. Limited housing on post requires the vast majority of families to reside off post, but to many service members and their families, this is not an affordable option. For those that do reside on post, many live in substandard housing.

IV.2.2.23 Schools

Children's education is a major concern for all parents. Military families which live overseas send their children to Department of Defense Dependent
Schools (DoDDS). Families that reside in CONUS either send their children to civilian community schools (if they reside off post or on a post without dependent schools) or to the post school if they reside on a post established with a dependent school.

IV.2.2.24 Pride in Military/Patriotism

The military is seen as the vanguard of patriotism in the United States. This statement is fundamentally valid to those who serve.

IV.2.2.25 Children

The well being of children is one of the premier concerns to parents. Military parents have the same concerns as civilian parents with the added burdens of a military lifestyle and deployment.

IV.2.2.26 Social Problems

This category could not be attributed to any specific tenet (as is reflected in table IV-4).
IV.2.3 Subcultural Tenet Affiliation Matrix.

Through attribution, the subcultural tenets may be allocated to the identified major categories from the SAF-II. Not all categories have been assigned due to lack of applicability and most categories have been applied to multiple tenets. Each tenet was reviewed (above) with an explanation of attribution to the SAF II categories. It is certain that these categories do not fit neatly into the seven tenets of an occupational subculture. However, most could readily be attributed to one or more categories. Considering that the majority of these comments were negative, this is an adversarial attribution that is still relevant.

The Criteria for subcultural tenet attribution to each SAF-II category was, to a degree, subjective in nature. Each category was reviewed for applicability among the seven tenets. Each SAF-II category (reviewed IV.2.2.1 through IV.2.2.26) was further refined using the following criteria.

1. Esoteric Knowledge and Expertise ("EKE" Column)

This column refers to the capacity of the individual work-role. The criteria for positive
attribute here is whether the category derived from spousal feedback is relative to the soldier’s work.

2. Extreme or Unusual Demands ("EUD"). This column refers to the unique demands on the service member or family derived from military service. The criteria for positive attribution is whether the category derived from spousal feedback is relative to family concerns of military service or the service member’s work.

3. Like Consciousness ("LC"). This column refers to the capacity of the individual and family perceptions of the world around them, specifically, the similarity between military families and service members thoughts and like perceptions. The criteria for positive attribution here is whether the category derived from spousal feedback is relative to the soldier’s work and family environment within the military community.

4. Pervasiveness ("P"). This column refers to the perception that military service permeates the lifestyle of the service member and family through the normal course of existence. The criteria for
positive attribution is whether the category derived from spousal feedback relates to a feature of military service that is interwoven with the fabric of both the family and service member lifestyle.

5. Self-fulfilling Ideology (“SFI”). This column refers to the subcultural indoctrination and self-identification of service members and their family to military service. The criteria for positive attribution is whether the category derived from spousal feedback pertains to the family belief system of military community, belonging, or communion.

6. Inclusive Primary Reference Group (“IPRG”). This column refers to the capacity of the individual and family to see themselves as apart from others not in the military system. The criteria for positive attribution here is whether the category derived from spousal feedback can be attributed to an area where civilians or “outsiders” would not have a requirement, need, or desire to trek.

7. Abundance of Consistent Cultural Forms (“ACCF”). This column refers to the reminders of military service that surround and encompass life in the armed forces from the individual and family
perspective. The criteria for positive attribution is whether the category derived from spousal feedback refers to or is associated with a cultural form attributed to the military subculture or support mechanism.

IV.2.4. Comparison of Service Member and Spouse Perceptions

When comparing the subcultural affiliation of the service member and the spouse, it is clear that both groups consider themselves a part of what could logically be deduced as a subculture. They both see themselves as members of a subset of American culture that has a unique position and role to play in society. Unlike other occupational subcultures identified by Trice, the military has a dynamic reinforcement mechanism to provide conformance and identification for members and their families.

The relative ranking, within the context of this study, has no particular significance. What is important, however, is to note that the categories determined by spousal responses indicate particular issues that, for the most part, have limited relevance to families outside of the military. These
responses, coupled with the service member interviews, demonstrate a similarity of content, perspective, and purpose.
Table IV-4. Occupational Subculture Tenets (listed in order 1-7) Applicable to Thematic Response Categories

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<th>CATEGORY</th>
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<th>EUD</th>
<th>LC</th>
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LEGEND:
1. Esoteric Knowledge and Expertise ("EKE" Column)
2. Extreme or Unusual Demands ("EUD")
3. Like Consciousness ("LC")
4. Pervasiveness ("P")
5. Self-fulfilling Ideology ("SFI")
6. Inclusive Primary Reference Group ("IPRG")
7. Abundance of Consistent Cultural Forms ("ACCF")
V. SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION.

V.1. Summary

Theoretically, the military occupational subculture was substantiated through a combination of literature review and subcultural immersion, and empirically through participant observation. Taken together, service member interviews and SAF thematic analysis of spouse perceptions, when viewed through a subcultural paradigm, converged to demonstrate the probability and character of the military as an occupational subculture with specific definitions and examples uncovered. A preponderance of evidence exists to support the perception that the military, specifically, for this study, the Army, is a distinct occupational subculture within the larger framework of American society.

Now that the military has been defined as an occupational subculture, sociological and anthropological tools may be used to further explore various aspects of the population. The key to future analysis is the recognition of the subcultural paradigm that exists in this population as a significant distinction from the general population.
The military mindset is different - and must be acknowledged as such before meaningful study can take place. In addition, the tenets identified by Trice lend specific meaning for further research (e.g. both the family and the individual are key components of this occupational subculture).

V.2 Discussion.

Obvious implications for acknowledging the uniqueness of the military family as a distinct subculture within American society necessitates Army policy to be responsive and understanding of the military family entity. The subculture must be recognized as such by both policy-makers and the people who inhabit the fortress.

For the military leadership, acknowledging that the military is a subculture presents opportunities as well as challenges. As a subculture, the military has the capability to influence members and their families through infrastructure (both formal and informal) and social requirements and opportunities. Subcultural forces may provide a more powerful conformance tool for the membership than formal
management motivators and demotivators, as well as incentives and disincentives. Although this is arguably not a new revelation, it can now be assessed using the framework of subcultural analysis.

The policy implications are more transparent than conformance pressure. The most significant aspect of viewing this subculture is by acknowledging the existence of a distinctive paradigm that exists among the membership. Using the subcultural paradigm, policy-makers will have the opportunity to address sensitive family issues. To the degree that the subculture identity is positive, policy-makers may choose to support or reinforce the tenets or, at a minimum, not contradict beneficial aspects. Policy-makers, in their efforts to accommodate the perceived needs of the military family, may mistakenly strive for "parity" with the civilian counterpart, when, in fact, that may not be what the military family needs. It is often politically correct, but functionally inadequate, to address the symptoms of a problem rather than the root cause.

An extrapolation on housing can be examined. Responding to substandard housing problems of military families, policy-makers are contemplating additional housing areas on military bases. They
cite various housing survey results that indicate families, especially in high cost areas, wanted government housing. However, during the interviews, most service members that advised that their families lived on-post cited reduced cost as the primary reason for living on-post. Most said they preferred to live off-post in the civilian community, but could not afford the expense. Hence, in this instance, the symptom is substandard housing that is in high demand. The disease, however, is the chronic low pay for enlisted personnel.

With an adequate salary and housing allowance, these soldiers, and their families, could join the community outside the garrison walls. The result, however, could be erosion of a common military subculture consciousness and affiliation. Solutions should take into account any effects on subculture affiliation and subsequent effects on military effectiveness. By integrating the military subculture further back into the mainstream of American society, policy makers could inadvertently reduce combat effectiveness and operational readiness - all a worthwhile subject for further study.
V.3 Recommendations for Army Family Policy.

V.3.1 Army Family Team Building Initiatives.

Recent initiatives by Army leadership has led to the formation of the Army Family Team Building (AFTB) program. This program was begun after research for this study was completed and is not referenced elsewhere. The concern is that military leaders at all levels must be educated on the significant role the family plays in combat readiness. Although it is too early to assess the value of the AFTB program, this is a step in the right direction. The unique subcultural conformance measures available to the military leadership can ensure compliance and participation, but consistent encouragement of family participation could further cultivate subcultural cohesion.

V.3.2 Family Support Groups (FSG).

Family Support Groups are important tools to support families during sponsor deployment. The process is valuable to assist the family and to relieve stress on the deployed service member. As an
occupational subculture, assistance from within would more likely be preferred over seeking help from outsiders.

V.3.3 Army Family Action Planning (AFAP).

In the past, the Army Family Action Plan was a considered (by the soldier and chain of command alike) to be a mandated requirement and paperwork drill. Results from both the participative observation and the thematic analysis point to the importance of the AFAP to be a dynamic, living tool to be used when the soldier deploys. Cultural forms and processes will reinforce execution of AFAP once command emphasis is applied. These plans need to be valid, fully resourced, and capable of rapid implementation.

V.3.4 The Army Career and Alumni Program (ACAP).

The Army Career and Alumni Program was established to assist service members during the drawdown in force structure. However, the concept of ACAP fosters and encourages the perception that
former service members, whether separated or retired, still belong to the subculture. The continuance of ACAP beyond the drawdown will provide a tangible link of former members to the current institution, thus perpetuating a soldier's sense of belonging and contribution far beyond the years in uniform.

V.3.5 Rear Detachment Commander (RDC).

The Rear Detachment Commander is responsible for sustaining the garrison elements when the unit is deployed. Past experience has shown that the RDC takes on the additional burden of family support as a "necessary evil" of the job. The RDC is not resourced to assist families nor does the RDC have family support as a primary mission. The RDC would need to be resourced and staffed to provide meaningful assistance to families of deployed soldiers consistent with strengthening subculture tenets.

V.3.6 Additional Study.

The sample size used in participative observation was relatively small. Furthermore, many
topics of interest were revealed after discussions with respondents had gotten underway. Participative observation and subculture immersion are valuable techniques to better understand and probe areas of interest to this subculture. When used in conjunction with ongoing survey instruments, correlation of findings may prove beneficial. Additional study is appropriate. Principle areas of interest should focus on the warfighting support families require during prolonged armed conflict or hostile fire “peace-keeping” missions. Additional areas of interest are the retention aspects for the families of high quality and highly educated soldiers.

Suggested steps for additional study would involve; (1) a more thorough, systematic Department of Defense subcultural analysis; (2) development of a standardized instrument; (3) training evaluators, who are currently members of the subculture, in participant observer techniques; and (4) identifying hidden sources of strength within the subculture as the United States Armed Forces are tasked to maintain the "new world order" (or, more likely, the new world disorder).
BIBLIOGRAPHY


APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

TENETS OF THE MILITARY OCCUPATIONAL SUBCULTURE

(1) **Esoteric Knowledge and Expertise.**
   a. "Do you feel that you have learned valuable special skills that you would not need as a civilian?"
   b. "Do you feel that you have expertise in your military job?"

(2) **Extreme or Unusual Demands.**
   "Do you know of any extreme or unusual demands of military service, and, if so, would you say that they are part of the job?"

(3) **Like Consciousness.**
   a. "Do you see military people as having similar outlooks on life, such as liberal/conservative viewpoints, a similarity of beliefs?"
   b. "Do you see military families as having similar outlooks on life and a similarity of beliefs?"

(4) **Pervasiveness - Work-Role Permeates Non-Working Life.**
   a. "When off-duty, does your military career affect you or your family?"
   b. "Although your family is not serving in the military, do you believe they see themselves as a "military family"?"

(5) **self-fulfilling Ideology.**
   a. "Do you feel, as a soldier, that you are serving a function valuable to society?"
   b. "If so, do you feel a personal bond or enhanced self-worth to service?"

(6) **Inclusive Primary Reference Group.**
   "Are your best friends military?"
(7). Abundance of Consistent Cultural Forms.
"Are you well aware of the customs, symbols, language, myths and heroes of the military?"
### APPENDIX B

**SUBCULTURE SURVEY RESPONSE MATRIX**

Note: Sex is male unless indicated. Responses subscribed positive affiliation with the question unless indicated. A negative response is indicated by "0", and neutral response is indicated by a "9". Ethnic indication corresponds with White, Hispanic, Black, or Asiatic. There were no American Indians in the sample. See legend following the matrix for rank explanation.

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</tbody>
</table>
MATRIX LEGENDS

Rank:
Category A: E-1 to E-4
Category B: E-5 and E-6
Category C: E-7 and up
Category D: 0-1 to 0-3
Category E: 0-4 and 0-5
Category F: 0-6 and up

Ethnicity:
W - White
B - Black
H - Hispanic
A - Asiatic

Respondent Representation:

Gender:
Male - 67 (86%)
Female - 11 (14%)

Ethnicity:
White - 56 (72%)
Black - 11 (14%)
Hispanic - 8 (10%)
Asiatic - 3 (4%)
American Indian - 0
Other - 0
APPENDIX D

SUBCULTURE SURVEY STATISTICS

The SAS System

TABLE OF SEX BY NDMD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>NDMD</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Expected</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Row Pct</th>
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STATISTICS FOR TABLE OF SEX BY NDMD

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<tr>
<td>Contingency Coefficient</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cramer’s V</td>
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<td>0.308</td>
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</table>

Sample Size = 78

WARNING: 50% of the cells have expected counts less than 5. Chi-Square may not be a valid test.
APPENDIX.D (Continued)

The SAS System

TABLE OF NEWGRP BY NFRM

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STATISTICS FOR TABLE OF NEWGRP BY NFRM

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<tr>
<td>Cramer's V</td>
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</table>

Sample Size = 78

WARNING: 50% of the cells have expected counts less than 5. Chi-Square may not be a valid test.
# APPENDIX D (Continued)

The SAS System

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## STATISTICS FOR TABLE OF ENLGRP BY NOFF

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Sample Size = 78

WARNING: 67% of the cells have expected counts less than 5. Chi-Square may not be a valid test.