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Whose Job is it Anyway? An Exploratory Study of the
Relationship Between the Military Organization and
the Military Wife

Judy L. MacBride-King

A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Sociology and Anthropology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

July 1986

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ABSTRACT

Whose Job is it Anyway? An Exploratory Study of the Relationship Between the Military Organization and the Military Wife

Judy L. MacBride-King

Sociologists have paid little attention to the situation of women as wives and their relationship to their husbands' work or work organizations. This thesis is an exploration of that relationship within the Canadian Armed Forces community.

The military organization is defined as a "greedy institution" whose boundaries reach out to include the wives of military members. It is argued that all women married to men in the C.A.F. are "drawn in" or incorporated within those boundaries and that the military holds certain expectations of all wives. Within this framework it was hypothesized that women married to men of officer rank and women married to men whose occupations are more directly related to combat would be further drawn in or incorporated.

In this research being "drawn in" generally refers to the two main dependent variables of wives' "involvement" in their husbands' careers and their "identification" with the military.

A survey of 500 women, stationed with their husbands at C.F.B. Gagetown in New Brunswick, was carried out. The data

was collected by means of a mailed, self-administered questionnaire (N=239). A cross-tabular analysis was carried out. Various control variables were introduced.

Data is presented which illustrates the extent to which women are affected by their marriage to military men and which illustrates what being drawn in means to many of the women in the sample. At the same time the data offers support for the specific hypotheses. Officers' wives and women married to men in the more combat-oriented trades tended to be more involved and to have a higher degree of identification with the military than did women whose husbands were of non-officer rank or whose husbands were employed in occupations which were less combat-oriented.

It is concluded that the Canadian military in "drawing in" wives has a great deal of power over women's/wives' lives. Recommendations are made as to how the military can improve the life situation of "military wives".

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No research report is the product of one person's work. This thesis is the result of the efforts of many individuals, all of whom I owe a special debt of gratitude.

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The co-coordinators of The Oromocto Information Service Centre were very cooperative in acting as my representatives in Oromocto.

The women who took part in a pretest of the questionnaire not only offered good, sound advice but also gave me the opportunity to discuss with women in a friendly

atmosphere some of the issues addressed in this research. For that especially, I am grateful.

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Last, but certainly not least, I wish to thank Terry who, I suspect, on many occasions wanted to ask me, "Whose job is it anyway?", but did not. His support and patience, as well as his listening and debating skills, have been invaluable in this and other projects. For all of this and more, I am grateful.

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction to the Research

In March, 1984, the Canadian Armed Forces (C.A.F.) consisted of 81,675 regular force members. Over 90 percent of them were male and most of these men (59.8 percent) were married to civilian women.

Though in recent years there has been an increase in the number of interservice marriages (i.e., a couple relationship where both spouses are military members), as well as an increase in the divorce rate, the predominant family type found in the C.A.F. community is the nuclear family which consists of the male military member, a "civilian" wife, and at least one child.

In March, 1984, Canadian "military wives" (women not in the military themselves but married to military members) were 44,485 in number. They and their children outnumber the entire military force by 1.4 to 1. This means that almost 45,000 women and slightly over 73,000 children, while not employed by the military, are nonetheless affected by policy

changes, housing arrangements, transfers, etc.¹ Until very recently, we had heard very little about them. Few people in Canada today are aware of their lifestyle and the problems associated with it. The military, itself, as evidenced by the sad lack of research on military wives, knows very little more.

Though a number of articles, books, and reports about military wives and families in the United States have appeared in recent years, literature on the Canadian "military family" or "military wife" is difficult to find. It is hoped that this project will provide some insight into the lives of women married to Canadian Armed Forces personnel.

Though very little is known about how marriage to a man in the military affects women's lives, even less is known about how these women contribute to their husbands' work and work organization. This project is an exploration of the relationship between the military organization and the military wife. More specifically, it is an exploration of the extent to which the husband's work and work organization

¹ This number may, in fact, be underestimating the situation. Deveau (1977) indicates that since 1966 there has been an increase in the number of "common-law" relationships within the C.A.F. community. Unfortunately he cites no empirical evidence to support this claim and data obtained from the Directorate of Personnel Information Services (D.P.I.S.) and from the Directorate Scientific Information Services (D.S.I.S.) of the Department of National Defence does not include figures on the numbers of common-law relationships.

can "draw in" or incorporate the wives of its members, as well as an exploration of the structural conditions having to do with the husband's place in the organization which increase the likelihood that this will occur or which may change the degree to which women become incorporated. The basic question from which this exploratory study arose is:

"To what extent does the military organization reach into the home and influence the roles and structure the lives of women who are married to Canadian Armed Forces personnel?"

In responding to this question and in exploring the relationship between the military wife and the military organization, a number of issues which have been relegated to specific areas of study in sociology are touched upon. In the following pages issues relating to women's studies, the sociology of the family, organizational/occupational sociology, as well as, military sociology will be discussed. I attempt to bring some of the literature from these various areas of study together within a discussion which takes into account the relationship between a husband's work and work organization and his wife: something which has been relatively ignored by sociologists in the past.

The data for this project consist of the responses of 239 women to a mailed, self-administered questionnaire. At the time of this research, the respondents were stationed with their husbands at Canadian Armed Forces Base (C.F.B.) Gagetown, New Brunswick.

In the following chapter some of the literature which discusses women's/wives' relationship to their husbands' work and work organization in a variety of settings, as well as some of that literature which discusses the particular case of "military wives", is reviewed. In this chapter the military organization is defined as it is conceptualized in this research and based on the literature discussed an attempt is made to conceptualize women's/wives' relationship to it.

In Chapter 3, the specific hypotheses formulated and explored in this project are revealed. In Chapter 4 the research design is discussed. This chapter contains information about how the study was carried out, and outlines some of the pragmatic methodological decisions made. The various concepts and variables utilized in this study are defined and the process by which they were operationalized is explained.

In Chapter 5 the data gathered from the 239 women who took part in this survey are presented. In Chapter 6 these findings are discussed within the context of the theoretical framework outlined, some conclusions are drawn, and some recommendations are made.

Before moving on to this discussion, it is important to discuss the role of the "personal" in this research project. I have often been asked why I am studying the situation of military wives. On the face of it my response to that

question seems very simple. In fact, the issue of personal experience is rather complex.

✓ The "Personal" Side of the Research Topic

I am not unfamiliar with the experience of living within the military community or the experience of being a wife. I have a history of involvement in the military community - for a short time as a daughter, and more recently (and for a longer period of time) as a wife. These experiences (positive, negative and neutral) have undoubtedly contributed to my interest in carrying out an exploration of the relationship between the military organization and wives. They have undoubtedly contributed to the types of questions I ask.

Married women in our society face many assumptions about them - about the work they will do, about their very personhood. Coming face to face with these assumptions is a difficult task. My decision to carry out research of this type was no doubt partially a response to my recognition of those assumptions, my reaction to them and, then, my interest in exploring the roots of those assumptions.

* Callan (1984) addresses the issue of personal experience in the research process. Basically the question to which she responds is that of the question of objectivity in research. Can those who are involved with a particular

group properly analyze the group or the situation? Callan (1984: 11) writes:

"there are structures within the social order that reveal themselves most clearly through the disciplined monitoring of personal and common life. In seeking to understand these by reflexive inquiry and to communicate understanding, each of us is necessarily her/his own recording instrument and record. To acknowledge this is not to offer any excuse for amateurism or for loss of rigour. It is rather to make a case for the exploration of forms of rigour which both include the personal and recognize its intervention as analytically necessary."

I agree with Callan (1984) but would add that part of the "rigour" of research involves informing those who read our reports of the particular framework within which we, as researchers, have conceptualized the issues. By doing so, we provide others with a better position or vantage point from which to judge our work.

It is within this backdrop of the personal that I began this research. My own experiences have not caused me to be any less "rigorous" in planning and carrying out this research, and in reporting the findings. In fact, they have probably contributed to my being even more so.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION AND SUGGESTIONS FROM THE LITERATURE

A QUESTION OF BOUNDARIES

In this section I outline some of the literature which has guided my thought in this research project. Until very recently one could find very little in the sociological literature which examined and analyzed the relationship of women as wives to their husbands' work and work organizations. Fowlkes (1980), Finch (1983) and others have argued that there is no adequate theory in the literature on organizations or on marriage which accounts for this relationship. Fowlkes (1980:5) argues in fact that, "Sociological theory has emphasized the segregation rather than the interconnectedness of family and work..." Indeed, it is important to frame this research, which explores the relationship between the military organization and the wives of military members, within the wider discussion concerning the utility of and the effect of viewing the world from a perspective which presupposes the existence of two distinct spheres of life.

I would argue that the ideological constructs of the "public" and "private" spheres of life are inadequate in describing the reality of very many women. The problem, stated simply, is that once these concepts were adopted as

tools to conceptualize the world and to describe women's work as non-productive (i.e., outside the sphere of the public), sociologists acted towards them as though they were "real". Women, when they were studied, were more often than not studied in the context of the housewife role -- as those who live in a domestic or "private" sphere and who through their labour (defined as peripheral or "domestic") support and perpetuate the capitalist system. Men, in this literature, were placed in the "public" sphere of productive work and action. Voydanoff (1984) tells us that Kanter refers to such a distinction as the "myth of separate worlds".¹ Janet Finch (1983:6) clearly illustrates the problem with this conceptualization,

"the view that the productive sphere of men is quite separate from the domestic sphere of women would imply that wives as wives are peripheral to economic production, although they do service male wage labourers. Capital may be interested in wives as potential wage labourers themselves, especially if this means that they can be kept as a reserve army of labour, to be drawn in and out of the labour force as needs dictate ... but as wives they are consigned to the apparently non-productive domestic sphere."

At the very least, "The myth of separate worlds ignores the fact that family functioning depends on the pay, hours, and other demands of work as well as on interactions with other institutions that provide services to families, such as schools and governments" (Voydanoff, 1984:2). More

¹ This argument is outside of the discussion which sees women and men as occupying different gender "worlds".

importantly, such a distinction may hide from view the very real input that women have into their husbands' jobs/careers and into their husbands' employing organizations.

Conversely, such a view may hide from scrutiny the impact such organizations may have in influencing behavior and affecting the lives of employees' wives. Further, by denying an overlap of "boundaries", organizations can refuse (and have refused) to acknowledge in a more concrete way the very real work which wives do.

Given the fact that more and more married Canadian women are entering the labour force and are taking up positions in what have traditionally been defined as male occupational bastions, many of the efforts of sociologists have been directed toward studying the movement of women into those areas and exploring the difficulties that they are experiencing. This is, of course, an important area of study and probably explains, in part, why the exploration of wives and their relationship to their husbands' work and work organizations has been neglected. At the same time, it is important to pay heed to the fact that women, whether they are employed outside the home or not, are affected in very many ways by the organization of their husbands' work and by their husbands' work organizations. Finch (1983:1) goes so far as to write that, "when a woman marries, she marries not only a man but also she marries his job, and from that point onwards will live out her life in the context of the job

which she has married." She is suggesting that the boundaries between the "public" and the "private" are not as distinct as one might think.

CONCEPTUALIZING WIVES' RELATIONSHIPS TO THEIR HUSBANDS' WORK-CAREERS, ROLES, CONTRACTS AND BARGAINS

In more recent years articles and books have been written about wives' roles vis a vis their husbands' work and work organizations. Those which have influenced this research are presented below. These include articles which apply more generally to the broader issue, and also those which are directed specifically at the target population -- the military organization and the "military wife".² The writers presented below have conceptualized the wife's relationship to her husband's work and employer in various ways. Most of them have examined this relationship with respect to wives of corporate men, professionals, and men of other middle-class occupations. Smith (1977) and Gowler and Legge (1978) conceptualize the relationship between wives and organizations in contractual terms. Others write about this relationship in terms of wives' specific "roles", i.e. the role of an ambassador's wife (Hochschild, 1969) or of the military officer's wife (Stoddard and Cabanillas, 1976). Papanek (1973), Kanter (1977), and Finch (1983) speak about

² Merely the term "military wife" denotes a relationship to the organization which suggests the boundaries between the "public" and "private" (i.e., between the organization and the wife) are nondescript.

wives' involvement in their husbands' work in terms of a "career".³

Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977), in her book, Men and Women of the Corporation, offers a detailed look at a large, bureaucratic corporation in the United States, which she calls Indsco. Kanter (1977) included in her study a complete section on the wives of the male employees and she provides us with a detailed account of their input into that organization.

In exploring the relationship of wives to the corporation, Kanter (1977) argues that much of what had been written did little to increase our "intellectual understanding" about the corporate wife role and she classifies this literature under the heading of the "wife-as-victim" approach.⁴

Writers using what she calls the "wife as victim" approach generally discussed the issue from two angles. First, many concentrated on revealing the constraints which women married to "successful" men faced, as well as the consequence of those constraints. Kanter (1977:110), when summarizing the first aspect of the wives as victims

³ Finch's (1983) concept of the "career" of the wife differs in some important respects from that of Kanter and Papanek. These differences will be discussed at a later point in this chapter.

⁴ I would argue that Kanter (1977) was a bit, too critical of these writers since they offer us a base to consider similar issues in a community which has been ignored by researchers in the past, e.g., the Canadian Armed Forces community.

approach, writes, "no one disagreed that marriage to successful men was constraining, shaped role demands for wives, and often put the family last in the men's priorities."

The second theme in the earlier writings focused on the exploitation of women by their husbands and by their husbands' employers. Kanter (1977) focuses on four aspects of wives' exploitation in terms of the contributions they made to their husbands' work/work organization. First, wives contribute to their husbands' work/work organization in the form of "direct substitution". This includes such tasks as typing, keeping books, filing, answering the phones, etc. This is work which could be done at home or in the office and which could also be done by a paid employee.

Secondly, wives can give "indirect support" in the form of being the "good" hostess, the entertainer, the "relationship builder" on their husbands' behalf. If there is no wife to carry out this role for the corporate man, this work could also be done by a paid employee.

Thirdly, wives often contribute to their husbands' work in a "consulting" role. That is, wives offer advice on business matters and discuss their husbands' business problems. "The wife acted as a business adviser, a psychotherapist, a listener, or even an "expert" on some part of her husband's work, helping him make decisions or choose between options" (Kanter, 1977:111).

Lastly, wives offer their spouses "emotional aid" which is seen as part of the conventional housewife role and involves "such services as 'sending him off in a good frame of mind' and keeping him satisfied with his work" (Kanter, 1977:111). In these four ways wives were seen, by earlier writers, as important but directly unpaid and unrewarded adjuncts "to the company's motivational apparatus" (Kanter, 1977:111).

Kanter (1977), as mentioned, found this type of analysis of wives' roles to be an inadequate or, at least an incomplete, view of the wife's relationship to her husband's work organization. What was needed, Kanter argued, was a theory to explain the phenomenon. Following Hanna Papanek's (1973) lead, Kanter sees the wife's relationship to the husband's work organization as a "career" which parallels that of her husband's career within the organization.

Papanek (1973) is, indeed, important to this discussion because it was her concept of the "two-person single career" which focused attention to the error in the assumption that work (the public sphere) and family (the private sphere) are distinct areas operating independently of each other.

Papanek (1973:852) shattered the "myth" of separate worlds with her concept of the two-person single career which she defined as a "combination of formal and informal institutional demands which is placed on both members of a married couple of whom only the man is employed by the

institution..." Papanek (1973) argues that this type of arrangement is prevalent amongst middle-class couples in the United States, but that it is not confined to that group or that country. The best known example of the two-person career pattern is the corporate case (i.e., the corporate executive's wife),⁵ but this pattern can be found in many large complex organizations, all of which "develop their own version of the two-person career pattern among their employees. They all communicate certain expectations to the wives of their employees" (Papanek, 1973:858).. Further, "These expectations serve the dual function of reinforcing the husband's commitment to the institution and of demanding certain types of role performance from the wife which benefit the institution in a number of ways" (Papanek, 1973:858)..

Dorothy Smith (1977), though she tends to view the working-class and the middle-class wife's labour as a personal service⁶, does provide further insight into wives'

⁵ William H. Whyte, Jr.'s work studying the situation of women married to executives is probably the best known. See Whyte's, "The wife problem", in The Other Half: Roads to Women's Equality, edited by Fuchs Epstein and Goode, 1971. See also Whyte's book, The Organization Man, 1956. In more recent years a variety of books and articles have been published about "corporate wives" or "managers' wives" (c.f. Seidenberg, 1973; Pahl and Pahl, 1973; Kanter, 1977).

⁶ The reader is referred to the remarks and discussion located at the beginning of this chapter. It has been argued that by focusing on women's labour in the home as a "personal service" -- something done for the family -- we contribute to a definition of women's contributions as peripheral and, hence, then, as non-productive. For further discussion on this topic see Finch (1983) pages 3-4, as well as Chapter 11, and Callan (1984) pages 8 - 10.

relationships to their husbands' organizations. Though wives from both socioeconomic classes are conceptualized as providing a personal service, Smith (1977) argues that the middle-class wife's labour in a corporate capitalist system is transformed from a personal service to a service to and for corporate capitalism. In Smith's (1977) terminology the wives (and families) of middle class men in a corporate capitalist system "subcontract" to the organization or corporation. The middle class family (especially the wife) carries out, "work which must be done to and for the members of the corporation to keep it going, but which is not provided for within the corporation itself" (Smith, 1977:33).

Smith (1977) argues that the "person" of the middle-class manager-husband becomes important in corporate capitalism.⁷ He must sublimate himself and his personal interests to the corporation's goals and to the particular ethic of the corporation. Hence, "non-functionally specific criteria -- off-the-job criteria and information -- become relevant" (Smith, 1977:32). It is especially here where the wife becomes particularly relevant as the manager of images. She must sustain his "moral status".

The middle-class family, then, is seen as being "created in the image of the corporation." The particular type of

⁷ Kanter (1977) argues that it is only at the middle and upper levels of the management ladder (the "managerial phase") that the manager's image becomes important.

family, home, lifestyle, etc., Smith (1977) argues is dictated by and through the corporation.⁸ "Because the image originates with the corporation, it becomes thus an object separable from the woman who performs the service" (Smith, 1977:33). She is defined externally -- her family is defined externally -- and in order to be a success (in accordance with the definition of success handed to her), she sustains and lives according to that definition. In this way she "subcontracts" to the corporation. Smith (1977:37) writes,

"In appropriating the home by legislating its moral and concrete order, the corporate enterprise establishes women as its 'executives', analogous to their husbands' positions as managers. Nothing is left to women but the execution of an order whose definition is not hers."

In Gowler and Legge's (1978) terminology there are "hidden" and "open" contracts in a marriage -- a contract between husband and wife, a contract between the husband and his employer, and a contract between the wife and the husband's employer. The contract between the wife and the employer, they argue, is especially likely if the husband is employed in a "career" or within an organization where his commitment is demanded (or, I would add, where his commitment is assumed).

⁸ Similarly, Callan (1984) argues that during the 1960's, advertisers and large corporations joined forces in presenting an image of what the "good" wife was to look like. "At that moment of history at least, the interests of advertisers and of organizations in moulding an appropriate culture for wives could well coincide" (Callan, 1984:18).

"Not only do organizations tend to assume that wives of their career-committed employees will provide a flexible and supportive domestic environment (the converse, in the organization's terminology, being referred to as an employee's 'domestic problems') but frequently also assume that they will give explicitly work-related services, such as the entertaining of the organization's customers or guests; appearance at the appropriate range of social functions and so on" (Gowler and Legge, 1978:51).

This, then, is the "hidden" or implicit contract between the wife and the organization. There are occasions, however, when the contract becomes more explicit (Gowler and Legge, 1978). For example, when wives of men transferred overseas on business are given orientation programs (Gowler and Legge, 1978; Papanek, 1973) or when ambassadors or diplomats are assigned a post and their wives are briefed (Hochschild, 1969) or when military officers' wives are given reading material relating to military and social etiquette (Stoddard and Cabanillas, 1976).

Hilary Callan (1984) writes that women are "incorporated" into their husbands' work organizations. "Incorporation", though Callan (1984:1) does not define it specifically, is that term she uses to denote a "condition of wifehood in a range of settings where the social character ascribed to women is an intimate function of her husband's occupational identity and culture." Callan (1984), not unlike Gowler and Legge (1978), sees the wife's relationship to her husband and to her husband's organization as a "bargain" and like Smith (1977) recognizes the "person-

defining power" (i.e., wife and couple defining power) of organizations. She writes (1984:23):

"The exact bargain struck between the organization and the wife will naturally depend on the personal contract in force between her and her husband (which he may effectively control through his willingness to trust and include her, and to sub-contract to the organization his moral claim on her services). But not only is the personal contract in large measure itself a social product but forces outside the control of either husband or wife as individuals strongly influence the form that incorporation takes and the way it is experienced. In the 'negotiation of reality' ... the world-view that comes to be taken for granted in the marriage is likely to be the one shared by the husband and the organization ... While this is true for all wives whose access to the world is through their husbands, it is intensely true for incorporated wives. ... the reality that is experienced comes to be the only reality that can be imagined."

In the military situation, Stoddard and Cabanillas (1976), Derr (1979) and others focus primarily on the United States military officer's wife.⁹ All clearly indicate their belief that the officer's wife plays an important part in her husband's career. [Stoddard and Cabanillas (1976:158) go so far as to argue that even having a wife is important and that she "is a requisite for the success of an Army officer..."]

⁹ At this juncture, it is of importance to note that Janice Rienerth (1978) did frame her research on U.S. Air Force officers' wives within a theoretical perspective that relied heavily on Papanek's (1973) concept of the "two-person single career". However, the subject of her study focused on the differences between wives' abilities to cope with husband absences in the military community and the explanation for those differences. In short, she introduced the concept of a career for wives but did not develop it. Further, in applying the concept only to officers' wives she failed to recognize the expectations the military has of all wives.

Little (1971:253) writes, "The role of the officer's wife is subjected to more specific normative regulation ... but no such norm affects the wife of the enlisted man." Stoddard and Cabanillas (1976) focus on the "role" of the Army officer's wife and write that this role, which they call the "complementary role", is one within which the wife actively participates in her husband's career management in much the same way as the diplomat's or the ambassador's wife.¹⁰ This role, "prescribes that the wife fully participate in the duties and activities surrounding the husband's formal appointment or occupation as a partner or complement to his career success" (Stoddard and Cabanillas, 1976:153) and differs from the "housewife role" (where the wife is totally uninvolved in her husband's work) and the "executive's companion role" (where the wife works for her husband's successful advancement while not directly influencing the work of the corporate structure.)

Janet Finch (1983:158) argues that all women are "incorporated" into their husbands' work. Her usage of the term "incorporation" is not to be confused with Callan's (1984). Finch (1983) is much clearer in her discussion of

¹⁰ In many ways, the "role" of "ambassador's wife", Arlie Hochschild (1969) argues, is independent of the woman as a person. The difficulty with role theory in explaining social phenomena is that it leaves little room for the individual actor. That is, the suggestion that there are set roles within society (or within groups, or organizations), which individuals merely step into, does not adequately account for the interpretative aspect of human beings.

this concept. She sees "incorporation" as a two-sided phenomenon and uses this term to denote the double-sided relationship of wives to their husbands' work. That is, "a man's work imposes a set of structures upon his wife's life, which consequently constrain her choices about the living of her own life, and set limits upon what is possible for her... [and] wives contribute to the work men do" (Finch, 1983:2). Beginning with "incorporation" as a place to start her analysis, she, as mentioned, also envisages the wife's relationship to her husband's work and work organization as a "career" in itself. Her definition, however, broadens the scope of the concept of "career" and she argues that,

"within this overall career of being a woman, one can identify the specific strand of a 'wife of' career, that is, of vicarious incorporation into one's husband's occupation ... My usage of the term 'career' denotes a woman's incorporation into her husband's work in a patterned way, which parallels his own experience of that work, within the over-all context of her career as a woman ... The form of 'wife of' careers will vary, but in so far as any man's work provides him with some kind of organizing theme for his wife ..., his wife can make sense and order of her life in relation to that theme" (Finch, 1983:158 - 159).

Finch (1983) is important, as well, because she places the idea of incorporation in a framework which takes into account the wife as an actor and not merely a passive victim. That is, she, unlike many of the writers mentioned to this point, makes it quite clear that women do not merely step into roles awaiting them. She writes (1983:150), "the patterns of incorporation by and into one's husband's work

make sense to many wives. . . . wives are seen as active participants in shaping their own lives in meaningful ways within particular structural and cultural contexts." Women opt into incorporation (i.e., they participate in their own incorporation) because it makes sense to do so. That is, there are few alternatives for women in seeking a similar degree of status and material security alone as the independent single woman. Further women opt in because they can be rewarded (albeit, vicariously) for doing so. (This isn't to say that women are necessarily cognisant of these things, but it is to say that there are structural and cultural supports which encourage a particular marriage relationship and which discourage women from entering the labour force in great droves.) What Finch (1983) is really saying is that women have a choice, but it is not an entirely free one. Once opted into marriage women have little choice but to take account of their husbands' work in their own personal "projects" and having staked so much in their husbands' work/careers, it becomes difficult for them to withdraw their support. It is marriage, first, Finch (1983) tells us that makes incorporation possible at all.

Within this broad discussion we can point to certain factors which increase the likelihood that women will be drawn into their husbands' work and work organizations.

FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCE THE DEGREE TO WHICH WIVES ARE DRAWN
INTO THEIR HUSBANDS' CAREERS

Most of the writers who have explored the relationship between a husband's employer and his wife have focused on those women whose husbands' occupational categories are located in the middle or upper-middle class. Indeed, the emphasis in the past has been to explore women's input into their husbands' careers as diplomats (Callan, 1975), ambassadors (Hochschild, 1969), corporate executives/managers (Kanter, 1977; Smith, 1977; Pahl and Pahl, 1973; Seidenberg, 1973; Whyte, 1956, 1971; Gowler and Legge, 1978; Handy, 1978, and others), as well as academics and physicians (Fowlkes, 1980).

Indeed, from a broader theoretical discussion, Dorothy Smith (1977) argued that the middle-class wife subcontracts to the corporation in corporate capitalism. In doing so, Smith (1977) downplays the importance of working-class wives to corporate capitalism. Luxton (1980), as well as Armstrong and Armstrong (1978) and many others, have pointed out that women through their domestic labour reproduce the labour force primarily in two ways. That is, through their labour in caring for their husbands' needs (sexual, emotional, and everyday needs), they reproduce the male breadwinner's labour power and by having children women

reproduce the next generation of workers.¹¹ Farther, Smith (1977) has failed to recognize that working-class wives may in many ways subscribe to an image which is created for them by the corporation, i.e., of what constitutes a "good" wife and family.¹²

Yet despite the criticism that many writers have viewed women's involvement in a somewhat narrow sense [i.e., have focused on women married to "successful" men (e.g., Kanter, 1977)], within their own frameworks they do offer some insight into what other factors may come together to elicit women's contributions.

The Work Organization: Its Business Environment, Its History/Culture, and Its Type

Important to our discussion is Kanter's (1977) assertion that the degree to which wives become implicated in their husbands' careers and organizations depends upon (1) whether or not the organization is located in a small town or city; (2) whether or not the husband's job is of a political nature; (3) whether or not the husband's employing institution can be defined as a "total institution";

¹¹ I would stress again, however, that this view of wives as reproducers of labour power must be seen as only one part of the whole. Wives' labour can and must also be seen as productive labour. To forget this or not to include it in a discussion is to negate or downplay their importance.

¹² The whole issue of class is a difficult one when we discuss the military organization. Military members constitute a separate category in the class-based classification scheme in Canada.

(4) whether or not the organization is surrounded by controversy; and, (5) whether or not the organization is embedded in an entrepreneurial climate (e.g. expanding), or in the midst of change. Most important for our discussion is her assertion that women who are married to men who are employed in a total institution are drawn in. In a total institution, Kanter (1977:124) tells us, wives are drawn in because the boundaries between work and non-work become "fuzzy" as a result of the organization "encompassing much of the members' lives; and the greater legitimacy needs of such demanding organizations make it more important to secure the support of families".

Though Hanna Papanek (1973) saw the two-person single career as particularly prevalent in the middle classes and in her own discussion she concentrated mainly on women within this class, she does suggest that (1) there do seem to be class differences, as well as differences between ethnic groups, and, (2) within the middle classes there are differences in the degree to which wives were drawn into their husbands' careers depending on the nature of those occupations -- i.e., how "greedy" the occupations are. Further, Papanek (1973) posited that those organizations which operate in a "social enclave" would be more likely to apply certain "pressures" on the wives of its employees.

Clearly, though both Papanek (1973) and Kanter (1977) focus their own discussions around women whose husbands are

in relatively high status careers, both have pointed out that some occupations and some organizations may make excessive demands upon wives. This is true especially of those which operate in a "social enclave" or a "total institution". When they discuss social enclaves and total institutions, however, they are focusing primarily on a situation where wives are housed in an area owned and controlled by an organization.

Callan (1984) admits, as well, to focusing mainly on the "incorporation" of women who are "materially" well off. She agrees as well with the argument presented earlier that there are cultural supports in society generally which encourage wives' incorporation into their husbands' work and work organizations. But she adds an interesting element to the process of incorporation when she introduces the concept of an organizational "culture". Callan (1984:3) posits that wives are more likely to be "incorporated" into their husbands' work if the men are "in occupations which are historically and predominantly male, and whose cultures have evolved alongside parallel conceptions of what constitutes a proper wife for their members." The point here is that an organization (particularly one within which women have been historically absent as workers) may over a period of time develop a definition of what the "proper" wife is to look like -- to be like. This would suggest then that the image of the "good" wife becomes part of the "culture", and as such the definition is passed down. Of interest in this

discussion is that many of those who study "organizational culture" argue that once developed, an organization's culture is difficult to change. This isn't to say that the organization's definition or the image cannot be modified or changed to some extent. It is to say, however, that the organization still ultimately holds the power to define the "good" wife. Callan (1984:5) puts it quite well when she writes, "I suggest that what has often not changed is the person-defining power of organizations. Their ability to gain acceptance for their own assumptions about the essential and inward character of wives and women is remarkably resistant to change."

Husband's Place in the Hierarchical Ordering of His Work Organization

Kanter (1977:112), in envisaging a "career" for the wives of corporate men of the management and pre-management levels argues that, "What the wife does, what she must contend with, is a function of the husband's career stage and the nature of managerial work in the large corporate bureaucracy." She argues that wives become progressively more involved in their husbands' work as their husbands climb the management ladder. In other words, the wife's "career" parallels that of her husband's career progression. Based on her study, Kanter (1977) identifies three phases in the career of the corporate wife -- the technical phase, the managerial phase, and the institutional phase. In each phase

the wife not only becomes more directly involved in her husband's work and work organization, but she also faces certain dilemmas specific to the particular stage of her husband's career.¹³ For Kanter (1977), then, the husband's career stage in the corporation and those "special" circumstances above influence the degree to which a wife is drawn into her husband's career.

In the literature relating to the military, one finds a similar theme (Little, 1971; Derr, 1979; Stoddard and Cabanillas, 1976; Hunter and Pope, 1981). Little (1971) makes the broad distinction between officers' wives and enlisted men's wives, arguing that the organization makes more demands of the officer's wife than the enlisted man's wife.¹⁴ Stoddard and Cabanillas (1976) and Derr (1979) focus their discussion on women who are married to men within the officer ranks. Stoddard and Cabanillas (1976) focus on the Army officer's wife, and Derr (1979) on the wives of Navy

¹³ I will not here describe each stage in Kanter's (1977) conceptual scheme nor the dilemmas she claims are faced by wives at each stage. The reader is referred to Kanter's description on pages 112 through 122 of her book, Men and Women of the Corporation.

¹⁴ In the American military, as well as in the Canadian Armed Forces, there are two distinct rank categories for their members -- officers and enlisted or "other" ranks. Within these two broad categories, rank is further broken down into various other rankings. The reader is referred to page 2 of the questionnaire found in the appendix for the rank levels found in the Canadian Armed Forces. In the format of the questionnaire, numbers 1 through 11 are the officer ranks, and numbers 12 through 20, the enlisted ranks. See also below page 101.

officers. Both posit that within the officer ranks, there will be differences in the involvement of wives based on the husband/officer's rank level. Derr (1979) relies heavily on Kanter's work in his conceptualization of the Navy officer's wife's involvement in her husband's career, and though his approach is somewhat different, he sees the wife's involvement in her husband's career as increasing as the husband's rank level increases. Stoddard and Cabanillas (1976), though they hypothesized a similar pattern, actually found that amongst the army officers' wives in their study, wives' involvement was less during their husbands' early and late career stages, and highest when the husbands were in the middle-career stage.¹⁵

Finch (1983) stands almost alone in arguing that all wives are incorporated into their husbands' work and in order to support her thesis, she includes in her discussion/analysis the situation of women married to clergymen, plumbers, military men, policemen, and others. For Finch (1983) all women contribute to their husbands' work and all are constrained in some ways by their involvement. The particular context of the situation may be different but the work is the same. Finch (1983:125) writes:

¹⁵ This finding is in line with Moore and Trout's (1978) "visibility theory of promotion", wherein they argue that for those in the middle ranks of officership, visibility and sponsorship become especially important. They argue that it is during this stage of the officer's military career where his/her future is decided.

"The publican's wife who chats to the clientele while she serves them or the wife of the self-employed plumber who makes coffee for potential customers while they wait for her husband to return, are making the same form of contribution as the business executive's wife who cooks dinner for overseas customers. They are all attempting to create a socially congenial atmosphere which will be good for business; although certainly the detailed content of their activities reflects cultural designations of behavior appropriate to different settings."

However, though she conceptualizes that all wives are incorporated into their husbands' work and work organizations, Finch (1983) does specify certain factors relating to the husband's occupation (i.e., in the organization of his work) which have special significance for structuring the wife's life and eliciting her contributions. She posits that (1) the type of work the husband does (whether or not the work is "socially contaminating",¹⁶ the flexibility of his work hours, whether or not he is self-employed); (2) the place where his work is carried out (i.e., whether or not the work is home-based); and, (3) the location of the couple's residence (whether or not the couple live in institutional settings or in "tied" accommodation), have special significance for structuring the wife's life and

¹⁶ Finch (1983) conceives of "socially contaminating" work as that type of work which carries over or "contaminates" social interactions. For example, the police officer's work may affect his/her relationships off the job. This type of work also affects the wife's life in a variety of ways. That is, wives may experience "vicarious contamination" (c.f. Finch, 1980, 1983; Young, 1984; Niederhoffer and Niederhoffer, 1978).

eliciting her contributions. In addition, "work which entails frequent moves ... has special significance for structuring wives' lives" (Finch, 1983:131). She does emphasize, as well, the importance of the type of organization employing the husband. That is, those organizations or jobs which are "greedy" will demand more of wives.

Finch (1983) focuses on what she calls the "occupational dimension" as a factor in examining the degree to which women become incorporated into their husbands' work and work organizations. That is, she argues that it is most important to focus on the content of the work the husband does and the way it is organized. However, within this framework she seems to emphasize the organization of the husband's work as opposed to its content.

One could ask, "Are there particular functional groups within a particular organization which have a greater effect on structuring wives' lives and eliciting their contributions?" In other words, within a particular organization, can some groupings be more "omnivorous" in drawing in the wives of their members within their boundaries?

In the military case, for example, some occupations are more directly related to the battlefield and have no civilian counterpart. It has been argued that, as a result of this, it becomes difficult for individuals in those types of

occupations to identify with people in the civilian community. Their main point of reference (their friends, their workmates) are located primarily in the military community. Stanton (1976) suggests that this may affect the entire family of those members and that they, too, become isolated from the civilian community.¹⁷ Indeed, if the training required encourages men to see their work and their work mates in a particular way (i.e., as a "family"), we might expect this to be reverberated amongst the wives and may, in fact, function to draw them in further.

Clearly occupational characteristics, as well as the type of husband's work organization (influenced by its goals, "culture", and history), as well as his place within it are obvious factors to be considered. If one accepts that what the husband does, what type of work organization employs him has a determining influence in women's lives (i.e., in their behavior), then we come to a point where we must ask how we can define or conceptualize the military organization on a theoretical level. Having done so, relying on the discussion

¹⁷ This particular aspect or factor will be discussed further at a later point in this thesis. For the time being it is important to note that not only is the type of the husband's employing organization an important factor to consider when we talk about the degree to which a wife may be drawn into her husband's work and work organization, it is also important to ask if there can be differences based on what type of functional grouping the husband is employed in within the organization.

above, we can move to a point where we can define women's relationship to it.

THE SPECIFIC CASE: THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND THE "MILITARY WIFE"

Though the relationship between a man's work organization and his wife can be explained or discussed in general terms, the military organization as organization does differ in important ways from the corporate enterprise discussed by Kanter (1977) or the type of corporation discussed by Dorothy Smith (1977). Since I am arguing that the conditions of the husband's employment -- the type of his work organization, and his place in it -- affect his wife's life in important ways (i.e., in terms of demands, constraints and consequences), it is important to examine what those conditions are. In this section, I attempt to do that and to define the military organization as it is conceptualized in this research.

Differences Between the Military Organization and a Corporate Enterprise

In some ways the differences between civilian corporations and the military are a matter only of degree. In other ways, however, the differences are fundamental. The first and the most obvious of these differences is fundamental.

The primary raison d'etre of the military organization has nothing to do with profit-making, and everything to do

with defences and war. Loomis and Lightburn (1980:16-17), two Canadian military officers, write that the "techniques, values and organizations that are the sum of the military system have been forged in war and are maintained for that ultimate situation." The two "vital" roles of the Canadian military organization are (1) To maintain the country's military knowledge which has been gained by study and experience -- "the military represents a considerable body of knowledge about the organization, uses, and limitations of military force." (Loomis and Lightburn, 1980:16); and, (2) "to conduct military operations in the name of the state. ... military men are ... 'the managers of violence'" (Loomis and Lightburn, 1980:16). The military organization requires that its members train for war. Given this, it is clear that another difference between corporate profit-making enterprises and the military is the inherent risks involved in training for that event or in actually participating in a dispute between nations.

Though the military, like many large-scale corporations, have their own operational divisions, the military case is special. That is, some elements and occupations within those elements are more closely aligned with the primary function of the military (i.e., the preparation for battle). The broadest distinction is between the land, sea, and air elements (traditionally known as Army, Navy and Air Force). Within each of these categories fall the operational and

support groups and within each of these there are various branches and occupations which differ in terms of their training requirements as it pertains to the battlefield.

Members of the Canadian Armed Forces are required to legally sign over their rights to the organization. No other corporation in Canada or in the United States makes this demand of its members, the purpose of which is to guarantee complete sublimation of the individual (at least legally) to the organization. In return for this, members are assured that all of their needs will be met within the folds of the organization. The paternalistic theme underlying the relationship is embodied in the phrase "join up and we'll take care of you". However, members are asked not only to sublimate their legal rights as citizens, but also their very personhood. There is, then, a moral as well as a legal element. During the socialization process, members are encouraged to see their military participation as "a way of life" and family imagery is often used to buttress the member's commitment or allegiance to the military or to his particular element and unit. Of the British army, Trustram (1984:10) writes, "The use of home and family based imagery to describe the peculiar set of social relations within the army was and is commonplace." This approach can be found in the Canadian case as well. Loomis and Lightburn (1980:17) write, "we are dealing more with a secular "religion" or calling than with a business, more with a family than with a

corporation or union, and more with a way of life than with a contracted set of obligations." In the military, then, all members are asked to sublimate themselves and their personal interests to the goals of the organization and its ethic.¹⁸

Though all are expected to at least appear committed or value homogeneous and, therefore, to accept ~~the~~ "military ethos", it is of importance to note that there may be differences in the degree to which members may actually "feel" this commitment. Cotton (1979), a Canadian military sociologist, found that there were differences in the way Canadian Armed Forces personnel perceived their participation in the military (i.e., differences in the degree to which members accepted the military ethos which has embodied in it a vocational model of military participation). Cotton (1979), basing his work on Moskos' discussion, found that those who were in a supportive (versus combatant) military role, were more likely to support an occupational model of the military (i.e., to see their involvement in the military

¹⁸ Understandably, given the focus of Dorothy Smith's (1977) analysis of corporate capitalism, these are circumstances which she did not take account of in her discussion. Interesting, though, is the military's desire to have all of their members sublimate themselves and their personal interests to the organization's goals and to a particular ethos -- the military ethos. But, Smith (1977) does fail to recognize or to explore the possibility that even civilian organizations have asked (and possibly even succeeded) in gaining the same sort of support from a lower level worker. Certainly Peters and Waterman (1984) in their book, In Search of Excellence, suggest that this has been attempted by various organizations and has been met with some success. They especially point to the Japanese case.

as a contractual one). Those who were involved in the combatant fields tended to support the vocational model (i.e., to see their involvement in the military as more of a "calling" and "a way of life".) Further, Cotton (1979) found that there were differences between those in the officer ranks and those in the enlisted ranks, with a greater percentage of the officers in his sample supporting a vocational model, and a greater percentage of the enlisted ranks supporting an occupational model. Cotton (1979:63) writes,

"Military Ethos scale values are one possible indicator of adherence to basic norms of military professionalism and the higher values for officers support the arguments in military sociology that officers are more committed to professional values. The definite effect from operational status on response values is noteworthy. In each case, except for Junior Ranks, respondents from the Combat Arms have higher ethos values than their support counterparts, bearing out Margiotta's argument that the closer one gets to the actual operational context, the greater the support for a vocational model of military life."

Though a hierarchical scheme of some form or another can be found in every organization, it is only in the military where the member's rank is publically displayed. This display occurs not only on the shoulders, sleeves, and hats of military members, but is also a chief organizing element in the allocation of housing on military bases or in determining what military messes (social clubs) members may frequent. Military barracks are allocated according the member's rank and all housing on most Canadian Armed Forces

bases is allocated in blocks according to the rank of the military member. Where one lives on a military base advertises where one fits in the social structure.

Operational requirements also differ in the military case as opposed to the civilian corporate case. No other corporation, as far as I am aware, requires that even its lower-level employees move to a new geographical area every two to four years (Beattie, 1981).¹⁹

Travelling on business is common in many occupations and in that the military is no different. But it may be that the average Canadian worker is not away from home as often as his/her military counterpart.

Given the requirements and expectations built into employment in the military organization, we can only assume that the reverberations of these demands/events will be felt by the woman who marries a military man, despite his place in the hierarchy. Indeed, the literature on the "military family" which focuses on stress and coping with the life events such as husband/father absences, frequent geographic mobility, etc. common to military life, is testimony of women's/wives' contributions and of the constraints.

¹⁹ Based on his study of the Canadian military family, Deveau (1977) posited that the average time between postings for Canadian Armed Forces personnel was 2.43 years.

associated with membership within the military community.²⁰

In light of this and in support of Janet Finch's (1983) thesis, the argument that only women married to middle-class men (corporate executives/managers, clergymen, doctors, lawyers, diplomats, ambassadors, etc.) are those who are directly affected by or who contribute to their husbands' work organizations, is an inappropriate one especially when we examine the military case.²¹

The Military as "Greedy Institution"

Kanter (1977) indicated that women who were married to men in a "total institution" were more likely to be drawn into their husbands' work and work organization. Indeed, Goffman (1961) cited a military barracks as being a total institution and some defining characteristics of a total institution can be identified within a military base,

20 Women (wives) have been identified in the literature on the military family as the "mediators of stress" during times when the husband/father is absent from the family unit and during events such as postings. Writers such as Hill (1949), MacIntosh and Belt and Sweeney as cited in McCubbin et al (1976), Decker (1978), Baker (1980), Pederson and Sullivan (1964), as well as McKain (1973) suggest that the family's ability to cope is dependent in various ways on the wife/mother's perception of the situation and on her ability to cope.

21 This isn't to say that writers such as Papanek (1973), Kanter (1977) and others did not recognize that the circumstances surrounding the husband's employment in hierarchical institutions, "total institutions", or occupations that operate in a "social enclave" have special significance in drawing women into their husbands' work. It is to say, however, that most passed by this issue giving it only brief mention.

especially a base located on foreign soil. Goffman's (1961) concept of a total institution, however, is seen by this researcher as an inadequate way to define the military organization. The concept of the "total institution" does not take into account the fact that the "long arm of the job", to use Martin Meissner's (1971) term, may in fact reach past the physical barriers of the institution. In short, the concept really does not account for the fact that work and work related issues can reach into the home. We need to look further for an explanation that takes into account the social-psychological sense of "community"²² which may develop amongst the members of the institution (including their spouses) which transcends the physical boundaries of a base, and the means by which it is fostered by the organization.

The military organization in Lewis Coser's (1974) terms is a "greedy institution". This concept, slightly modified, provides us with a starting point from which we might envisage women's (wives') "place" within the Canadian Armed Forces community. Wives of military members are in a unique position. They are not employed by the organization, but neither are they excluded from it. In this sense, then, their situation will serve to demonstrate that the

²² Blochberger (1971) found that place of residence did not determine "commitment" to an organization. He reports that the two groups of U.S. Air Force families in his study (one living on base and the other living off) shared a "common culture", indicated "commitment" to the organization, and were not "incompatible" to it.

public/private distinctions may, indeed, be termed a "myth of separate worlds".

Coser (1974:4) argues that within non-totalitarian societies, we may point to certain organizations (the military among them) which,

"make total claims on their membership and which attempt to encompass within their circle the whole personality. . . . they seek exclusive and undivided loyalty and they attempt to reduce the claims of competing roles and status positions on those they wish to encompass within their boundaries."

A "greedy institution", Coser (1974) argues, differs from Goffman's (1961) "total institution" in that it requires no physical boundaries to separate insiders from outsiders. Greedy institutions, "though they may in some cases utilize the device of physical isolation, tend to rely mainly on non-physical mechanisms to separate the insider from the outsider and to erect symbolic boundaries between them". (Coser, 1974:6).²³ Coser, using his own examples of the "celibate servants of the Church" and "the Court Jew serving a German prince...", writes that they are not "physically separated from the rest of the population . . . (but) are nevertheless socially distant from the ordinary run of citizens because of the nature of their statuses and prerogatives" (Coser, 1974:6).

²³ Italics are my own. In the military case uniforms, rank indicators, unit badges, rituals, myth, and even the language used in everyday discourse (i.e. specialized and abbreviated terms) serve to separate insiders from outsiders.

Further, greedy institutions "typically" do not rely on external coercion in an attempt to win the loyalty of their members and to encourage conformity to its rules. "On the contrary, they tend to rely on voluntary compliance and to evolve means of activating loyalty and commitment" (Coser, 1974:6). The first technique used by the institution is aimed at winning the new recruit. Greedy institutions must appear "highly desirable to the participants" (Coser, 1974:6) in order first to win potential recruits, then in order to keep them.

Secondly, once recruited, the neophyte is told that he/she is unique and is part of an "elect" group which is "in the know". Coser (1974) points to utopian sects as utilizing this technique.

Thirdly, greedy institutions, Coser writes (1974:6), "exercise pressures on component individuals to weaken their ties, or not to form any ties, with other institutions or persons that might make claims that conflict with their own demands." As an example of how this might be accomplished, Coser (1974) points to the cases of the Catholic church and to various utopian sects which discouraged family and kinship ties and stable, dyadic relationships between members of the opposite sex, especially with individuals from the "outside" community. While discouraging these links to the outside community, these groups encouraged the members to consider the group as their only family. "The family attachment which

is denied to the members of the community is symbolically transferred in such a way that the community at large becomes an extended family" (Coser, 1974:143). Coser (1974) gives specific examples from history where representatives of different nationalities than those they would oversee were sent by their "masters" to distant areas to administer it. This functioned to further isolate members and encouraged them to identify with the "ruler", not the local population. "As aliens who are distant from the population at large and hence unable to build enduring ties to it, they can serve as ideal servants to rulers who wish to minimize their dependence on other power centers..." (Coser, 1974:8-9).

Clearly Coser's (1974) analysis fits in well with what has already been discussed with respect to the military case. However, though he does indicate that the military is a modern-day example of a greedy institution, Coser (1974) fails to recognize that the boundaries of the institution may reach out to include the families of military members. In fact, he argues that organizations may discourage dyadic relationships because such ties may undermine the total commitment the member is asked to give.

I would argue, however, just as an organization may frown upon or discourage dyadic relationships so, too, the organization may permit dyadic relationships when there are

benefits to be had in doing so.²⁴ The view, so often found in the literature on the military family, that the married man is the happy, stable, and responsible worker²⁵ is translated by the organization into the view that the worker who is content and who has a wife to care for his needs and those of his family will be more devoted to his job. At the same time, researchers and commentators on the military family have suggested that if the wife does not identify with the community or come to accept the lifestyle (Derr, 1979; Grace and Steiner, 1978), she may apply pressure on the husband to leave the organization. It becomes the organization's task, then, (and it is to its benefit) to

²⁴ Indeed, the military has had and has a great deal of power in determining the sexual and marital conditions of their members. Trustram (1984) provides ample historic evidence for this in her discussion of the army of Victorian England. Segal et. al. (1976: 137) have shown how the benefit structure, as determined by the American army, has regulated to some extent even family planning. "One may draw a parallel in the Canadian case. The Canadian Armed Forces does not recognize "common-law" relationships (OSSOM, 1985). Consequently, the military member who lives in such a relationship, is classified as single. When individuals are transferred they are entitled to receive a "posting allowance" to help offset the cost of a move. A single person is entitled to half of one month's pay, while a married person is entitled to a full month's pay (C.F.A.O., 205-31, D.N.D.). It can be argued, then, that the benefit structure of the C.A.F. also functions to encourage members to accept its definition of what constitutes a "proper" couple relationship.

²⁵ Goldman (1973:907) writes that in the American forces there is "a widespread assumption (not necessarily based on fact) that promotion into higher ranks and responsible assignments go to the family man. ... married men are thought of as being more safe and sane and having a sense of responsibility." Ryan and Bevilacqua (1964) agreed with this notion as did Segal et. al. (1976).

encourage the wives' identification with the organization, and, perhaps, to encourage a traditional view that would see women in the home as the primary homemakers, or to demand a lifestyle which almost ensures that if women do work outside the home, their jobs are low status and/or low paying. As a consequence of women's employment problems (i.e., no or low status jobs), the benefits (the "real" material benefits) can become located almost exclusively within the organization's sphere of control. Benefits, to use Janet Finch's (1983) term, accrue to those who "opt in".

Within the institution, then, there is the assumption that it has or can win the support of spouses. Kohen (1984:409), in agreement with this assessment, writes, "The military directly encourages the wife's support of the military and her husband's military career . . ." As the following quote indicates, Janet Finch (1983) would also be in agreement with this view. (At the same time she indicates support for the criticism made earlier that Coser (1974) might have developed his concept further.)

"Although the point remains relatively unexplored in Coser's own analysis, it would be hardly surprising to find that institutions with omnivorous tendencies seek also to extend their operations to wives; if only, on Coser's own analysis, to reduce the possibility that other relationships will make claims which conflict with their own demands. Thus the incorporation of wives into the employing organisation, and the encouragement of their identification with it, serves to strengthen the male employees' ties to that organisation" (Finch, 1983:110).

In support of this view, I am arguing that the Canadian military organization can be defined as a "greedy institution" and that the boundaries of that institution reach out to include the spouses²⁶ of Canadian Armed Forces personnel. Based on the discussion earlier, one could argue that within the greedy institution all wives may be considered to have a "career", i.e., a "wife of" career. This is a vicarious career and all benefits (status, income, etc.) accrue to the women through their husbands. Based on the conceptualization of the military organization as a greedy institution, it will be argued that the organization holds certain assumptions about all wives and certain expectations as to their behavior. The extent to which a wife's career becomes a "two-person single career" in the full sense that Papanek (1973) meant it, however, will be dependent most importantly on the husband's location in the hierarchy of the organization. The issue is really one of degree. Before exploring what the organization may expect from wives, however, it is important to fill out the discussion as to how the military may implement certain

²⁶ In this context the word "spouse" refers to the wife of the military member. One can only speculate if the issues/expectations are the same for the civilian man married to a woman in the Canadian Armed Forces. This would be an interesting topic for researchers to pursue as 7.4 percent of Canadian service women are married to non-service men. (This statistic is valid as of March 31, 1984, and was computed on the basis of data obtained through the Directorate of Personnel Information Services, Department of National Defence, Ottawa.)

techniques to encourage the wives' identification with the organization.

Drawing in the Wives: How is it Accomplished?

Having defined the military as a greedy institution, we can assume that many of those techniques already mentioned will be utilized by the organization in an attempt to draw in women who are married to Canadian Armed Forces personnel. These and other points will be discussed with a specific focus on those women and the organization.

Although there is no question that the various services provided by the military are necessary for the well-being of the family, it can and has been argued that the family programs, housing units, recreation facilities, churches, schools, shopping centres (in Canada, CANEX), etc., provided by the military for its members (and their families), have the implicit function of encouraging those individuals' dependence on and commitment to the organization. Arkin and Dobrofsky (1978:166), in support of this notion, have written,

"By creating an elaborate network of social, psychological, recreational, religious, economic, and educational services the military has managed to isolate wives and children from civilian influences while using them to free the man to maintain a relatively uninterrupted relationship with his work and with the military."

Similarly, Whyte wrote in 1956 that the "organization man" and his family were tied to the organization by its very

benefice. More recently Kohen (1984:408) writes that the military wife "is tied to her husband's career first for the family income and then, again, for the benefits her dependent status provides."

As was indicated earlier, individuals located within the boundaries of the "greedy institution" are encouraged not to form ties with outsiders. This provides us a way to think about geographic mobility (i.e., postings). In keeping with Coser's (1974) discussion, one could argue that one way the military organization can effectively win the members' loyalty is by transferring or posting them every few years. Little (1971) wrote that postings are a "condition of life" for the military member. The literature on the military family indicates that those who are posted often (or who experience frequent periods of husband absences) may turn inward seeking support and security from within the military family (Hunter and Pope, 1981; Dickerson and Arthur, 1965; Rienarth, 1978) and/or they may turn to like others within the military community (Little, 1971; Montalvo, 1976). In either case, they are less likely to develop strong ties or "roots" within the civilian community and more likely to develop friendships, etc., amongst those within the military community. Further, Finlayson (1976) and Grossman (1981) have indicated that because of frequent mobility, wives are often unable to obtain employment or moves may negate the wife's chances for developing a career of her own or for

continuing her education.²⁷ When women do find employment outside the home, their jobs last only as long as the institution requires their husbands in the particular geographic location. When the husband is posted, most often the wife follows.²⁸ Hence, with this knowledge, she may not develop close ties or loyalties with those whom she works or with her employer.

Coser (1974:8) further writes with respect to members of the greedy institution that, "Being insulated from competing relationships, and from competing anchors for their social identity, these selected status-occupants find their identity anchored in the symbolic universe of the restricted role-set of the greedy institution." One could argue that as a consequence of moving frequently and of other factors which may serve to separate the insiders (members of the military community) from the outsiders (members of the civilian community), wives' identities become "anchored in the symbolic universe ... of the greedy institution." As rank is

²⁷ Grossman (1981) found that though women married to American military men were as equally likely as women in the population generally to have paid work outside the home, the unemployment rate amongst military wives was over double that of women generally. As far as I am aware there are no statistics regarding the employment or unemployment rates amongst Canadian military wives.

²⁸ Though there has been an increase in the number of women who do not accompany their husbands on postings, this still remains a relatively rare occurrence and it is implicitly suggested that "commuter" couples are not prevalent (Black, 1982; Blanchard, 1982; Hunter, 1982).

so salient in the military community (many benefits²⁹, location and type of housing, as well as some of the social organizations (military messes) wives are entitled to use are dependent on the husband's rank), we should not be surprised to find that within the boundaries of the institution wives' identities may be tied to their husbands' rank level. Indeed, it is suggested frequently in the literature on the military family that the husband's rank defines who the family is (i.e., where the family fits in the social structure) (Butler, 1981; Little, 1971; Dobrofsky and Batterson, 1977; Ladycom, 1977; Hunter and Pope, 1981; Janowitz, 1960; Hunter, 1982; Hunter and Hickman, 1981; Pinch and Fournier, 1977). Dobrofsky (1977:31) writes that, "Military status (rank) defines the social structure and

²⁹ Though military members are rarely required to use sea-going vessels when being posted overseas, when a Canadian military member is transferred with his/her family and is required to travel by ship (i.e., a transoceanic voyage), the type and quality of accomodation on board ship for which the military will reimburse the member differs on the basis of the rank of the member (C.F.A.O., 209 - 26, April 8, 1983). Another example of a rank-based benefit is the "posting allowance". When a married military member is required to relocate he/she receives one month's pay to help offset the cost of the move. (Single people receive one half of one month's pay.) Because salaries rise with rank, a corporal, for example, would receive less to help offset the cost of a move than would a captain in the C.A.F. (C.F.A.O., 205 - 31, May 31, 1985).

determines the identity and consciousness of military members and their families."³⁰

Coser (1974) states that a greedy institution does not "typically" use coercive means to nurture the members' commitment to it nor to encourage conformity to rules within it. Similarly, Callan (1984:5) argues that,

"to the extent that incorporation does involve the 'subordination' of wives, openly coercive techniques of control (although they exist) are hardly needed. Control can be as effectively gained, and discipline exercised, through a system of definitions which sustains an intact and unchallengeable world-view."

Indeed, the above discussion suggested ways in which the military organization has the power and the tools to encourage that commitment by utilizing such non-coercive techniques. At the same time it is important to clearly state what coercive techniques can be used. Neither Coser (1974) nor Callan (1984) made it clear or stressed the fact

³⁰ The allocation of base housing according to military rank, the rank-based "mess" system, and the existence of wives' clubs, membership to which is determined by husband's rank, may serve to separate officers' wives from the wives of enlisted men. That is, the boundary which divides people of various ranks at work may be extended to include their wives. The existence of a "shadow hierarchy" (evidenced in other settings by Hochschild (1969), Finch (1983), Fowlkes (1980) and others) means that women may vicariously assume a position of authority amongst other "subordinate" wives. Pinch and Fournier (1977), though they have no empirical evidence to support their claim, suggest this may occur in the Canadian military community. The American magazine, Ladycom (1977: 23) found that of the military spouses in their survey almost 50 percent indicated that "they had been in a situation where another military wife 'pulled rank' on them."

that the greedy institution, if it meets with some resistance to conformity, will implement coercive techniques.

In the military situation we can look to Myna Trustram's book on British Victorian "army wives" for evidence historically. Trustram (1984) writes that permission to marry was granted only occasionally to men in the early Victorian army. When permission was granted and couples married, the wife became "on the strength" and certain benefits accrued to her through her husband as long as she followed certain rules. If, however, the Victorian army wife did not comply/conform, she could be and often was "knocked off the strength". This meant that all benefits, including housing for herself and their children, were removed. This was a powerful tool of social control.

A more recent example comes from Canadian Armed Forces social workers. In writing of the situation at Canadian Armed Forces Base Lahr in West Germany, Canadian Forces social workers noted, "compliance with community standards is rewarding to a family and non-compliance affect the whole family's place in the community and the member's career" (Canadian Forces Social Services Workshop, 1978:26).³¹

³¹ Though the authors of this report were writing of a particular situation (i.e., of a base on foreign soil where individuals are isolated from the civilian community by language and culture), the fear of sanctions, of damaging one's husband's career, can be found in other situations.

Even more recently a group of Canadian military wives organized what they hoped would grow into a national support group to represent Canadian military wives and families. This group, known as OSSOMM or the Organizational Society of Spouses of Military Members, was initially formed in C.F.B. Penhold, Alberta, in 1984. Its main purpose was to seek the improvement of the quality of life of military wives and families. OSSOMM addressed such issues as school closures on military bases, the lack of a dental plan for spouses and children, etc. However, their attempts to organize have been thwarted by the Department of National Defence which claims the group is a "political" one and, therefore, cannot meet on Canadian Armed Forces bases.

According to OSSOMM's (1985) brief submitted to The Commission on Equality Rights, Canadian Forces regulations give any base commander the right to order the removal of any individual from a military base and, consequently, out of base housing. In a contemporary sense, then, the possibility exists where women can be knocked off the strength and some women may be experiencing the fear of sanctions. Indeed, the President of this group has publically stated that some women have not joined OSSOMM because of fear that if they joined their husbands' careers would suffer. The following quote not only indicates this fear but also indicates that some women perceive that they can be "knocked off the strength".

"They're [military wives] fearful for their husbands' careers

and ... [women in the Kingston area] they're afraid that a group like ours might cause them to lose swimming pool rights for their children or access to the libraries on the base" (Interview with Lucie Richardson, CBC (Ottawa), "Newsday", October 3, 1985).

In the literature on the military family one finds example upon example suggestive of a situation where the wife of the military member may be constrained in her behavior because of a fear of damaging her husband's career (Blanchard, 1982; Jacobs, 1977; Hunter and Pope, 1981).³² This theme is found both in the Canadian and the American literature. The exploitation of this fear on the part of the organization (i.e. the fear of sanctions) is seen as a coercive technique which functions as a powerful tool of social control and is one way an employer can gain the wife's commitment to her husband's work and, therefore, to the husband's employer (Finch, 1983). Dobrofsky (1977:35) similarly recognized this and writes, "Through effectively using guilt as a means of controlling the wife, the military is able to use the wife to promote, preserve, and serve its own needs in a variety of ways." The guilt Dobrofsky is referring to is that which is associated with the view (as

³² The Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1971: 286) includes in its definition of the verb to "coerce" the following: "to dominate or control, esp. by exploiting fear, anxiety, etc..."

presented to the women by the organization) that they are somehow responsible for their husbands' career successes.

Related to this, of course, is the issue of wife "vetting" or rating of the wives by the organization when the husband's future career is being planned. Finch (1983), Kanter (1977), Gowler and Legge (1978), Papanek (1973) and others have noted that this process is carried out in a variety of occupations. Though the rating of wives has been officially denied in the American forces, (Ladycom, 1977), Stoddard and Cabanillas (1976) and Derr (1979), for example, have indicated that this process is a reality with respect to the military officer. In fact in both cases, the authors start with this assumption. Dobrofsky (1977), writing of the American case and Butler (1981) of the Canadian case suggest that all wives are given a similar message.

What Does the Military Expect From Wives? -- Definitions of the "Good" Military Wife

Wife vetting is a good place to start a discussion of the ways in which the husband's work becomes his wife's. It presupposes that there is a particular image that the wife must maintain. It has been argued that the military holds a particular set of assumptions about the military wife and the military family (Butler, 1981). Underlying any set of assumptions is a particular image or definition of what constitutes a "good" military wife, a "good" military family, and a "good" military member. Once the image is

created by the organization and is passed along to the military members and the family members³³, it is up to the wife to sustain it. Hence, as was argued earlier, all military wives (not merely those married to men in the officer ranks), have the job of image sustaining. That is, the military holds certain expectations of all wives.

Butler (1981) suggests that the Canadian military holds a number of assumptions about the military family. First, it assumes that the military family is nuclear and patriarchal. Embodied within the assumption of patriarchy is "the further assumption that the man will speak and act for his entire family" (Butler, 1981:26) and conversely that servicemen are responsible for the behavior of their wives and children (Butler, 1981).

The assumption of patriarchy is clearly demonstrated in the language used within the organization to define wives of military members. Women/wives in both the Canadian and American forces are defined as "dependents" by the military organization (OSSOMM, 1985; Kohen, 1984; Hunter, 1982).

³³ In the recent literature on "organizational cultures", it is suggested that a particular organization's culture has embedded within it images of what constitutes a good worker, etc. These images get passed along through organizational stories, myths, rites, ritual, and language. Schwartz and Davis (1981) indicate that a particular organization's culture reflects to a large extent "what has worked in the past". Examples of the organization's image of what constitutes a "good" military wife can be found in the two poems which are attached in Appendix B.

As was mentioned earlier, the military frequently requires its members to be away from home for varying periods of time and to relocate. Because of the military's unlimited contract with the service person these events can occur at any time with little or no notice given to those affected (Kohen, 1984; Butler, 1981). Military personnel and their wives have little control over these events, but because these events (especially husband absences) can happen at any time, there is the further assumption on the part of the organization that wives will accept them and that they will handle the majority of household tasks alone. Clearly, then, wives are seen as those who will provide domestic and/or emotional support.

Not only it seems does the military expect that wives will handle the majority of household tasks alone when necessary, but also it expects the women will do so without burdening the system. This brings us again to the image-sustaining aspect of their work.

In fact, the first element in the image sustaining duties of the wife has to do directly with the wife's ability to cope with the demands of the lifestyle. The good wife is an "independent dependent" (Hunter, Gelb and Hickman, 1981). She must be flexible and adaptive to any situation. The good wife is the one who can cope. "Implicitly conveyed by the military structure is the expectation that the military

wife's duty is to be "brave", and to keep a stiff upper lip" (Hunter, Gelb and Hickman, 1981:11).

It has been suggested that those military members or wives who present themselves to military helping agents for assistance may be seen as problematic. Fournier (1977), an officer in the Canadian Armed Forces, suggests that this is often the view found in society generally, but in the military particularly. "There are often negative connotations attached to "seeking help." Society, and often the Forces in particular, holds the idea that if you cannot solve your own problems, you are weak or deficient in some way" (Fournier, 1977:55).

If women fail to cope with the organization's demands on them, their failure may be taken as a reflection of the husband's capacity as a stable worker. "Neither husbands nor wives, whether officer or enlisted, are willing to bring such problems to military service professionals during their early career years because they believe it will come to the attention of the commanding officer and harm their careers" (Kohen, 1984:410). Stanton (1976:142) reports that women who do seek assistance when they need it will almost as a "last resort" seek it from the formal resources in the military community.

Image-sustaining, as a form of wives' work, the literature suggests, takes on a more social/public aspect for military officers' wives. Stoddard and Cabanillas (1976),

Derr (1979), Little (1971) and others suggest American officers' wives are expected to play a visible part in their husbands' careers. They are expected to entertain, to act as volunteers in the military community, to attend military functions, etc. This suggests that the officer's wife's visibility and involvement in the community may be taken by her husband's superiors as an indicator of her husband's commitment, just as the non-coping wife may be seen as an indicator of the husband's stability.

In the literature which focuses on the military family we have seen suggestions made that the military organization assumes (therefore, expects) that women/wives will do certain tasks. In saying this, to the extent that women do those things, we are at the same time talking about the work which women actually do but work for which they are not paid.

The literature on the military family suggests that the military assumes that wives will be the primary "home" person. Indeed, women's work in the home (in the form of their domestic labour and, in their emotional support to family members) is identified as that most obvious way all women as wives contribute to their husbands' work and work organizations.

Women's work in the home is especially important in the military community -- to the husband, to the children, and to the organization. The military requires that husbands be away from home quite frequently. When this occurs, military

wives are the primary source of security for their children. Often they must act alone as parents. They maintain the household and finances. Any tasks which may have been shared or taken care of by the husband prior to his leaving are assumed by the wife. The husband is thus freed up to give his full attention to the demands of the organization. He and the organization benefit from the wife's labour.

Women/wives may also act as "advisors" to other wives. (Kanter, 1977). They may instruct neophytes as to the norms of an organization or assist other wives in making a transition to a new lifestyle. In doing these things, and in re-creating or sustaining the image of the "proper" wife, women also maintain the status quo. The transition of newcomer wives could be carried out with little or no disruption to the organization.

In their capacity as volunteers, hostesses, etc., women are in a position to be involved in active public relations on their husbands' behalf. Further, they are a source of information for their husbands.³⁴

Kanter (1977), Finch (1983), Fowlkes (1980) and others suggest various other ways women contribute to their husbands' work, and hence to their husbands' work

³⁴ Finch (1983:89) includes this type of contribution by wives under the heading of "peripheral activities" which, she tells us, "can entail a wife's being a channel of information from the clientele to her husband; conversely, she can act as her husband's advocate or representative to his clientele, actual or potential."

organizations (e.g., women often are involved in work helping to research, prepare, edit or type various reports for their husbands; in answering telephones and taking work-related messages; filing, etc.). The majority of these tasks are hidden aspects of women's work most frequently done at home.

In this thesis I will explore the contributions women married to Canadian Armed Forces personnel make to their husbands' careers and to the military organization and will explore what factors increase the likelihood that women will be "drawn in" further within the boundaries of the "greedy institution".

CONCLUSION

The literature reviewed and the discussion around it has served to "set the stage" for this research.³⁵

We have seen how various writers have conceptualized wives' relationships to their husbands' work and work organizations. Based on that literature [especially

³⁵ Generally, the literature presented on the military family comes from American sources. Sweeping generalizations about the situation of American military wives should not automatically be made to the situation of Canadian military wives. The armed forces of the two countries are different in many respects. They differ in their organizational structures, their size, their benefit structures, their histories, their involvement in conflicts, etc. At the same time, given their ultimate *raison d'être*, the differences may be one of degree rather than kind. Further, that body of literature is useful in terms of a guide as to what questions one might ask with regards the Canadian military community.

Papanek (1973), Kanter (1977) and Finch (1983)], I argue that all women married to men in the Canadian Armed Forces may be conceptualized as having a career -- a "wife of" career -- which parallels their husbands' experiences of their careers. This is viewed more as a process than as a strict "role".

I have discussed those factors identified in the literature as factors which increase the likelihood that women as wives will be drawn in or incorporated into their husbands' work.

The literature suggests that the type of organization which employs the husbands will have an effect on the degree to which women are "drawn into" their husbands' work and work organizations.

I have conceptualized the military as a "greedy institution" but have extended Coser's (1974) use of the concept to include the wives of military members. I have brought together certain topics in the literature on the military family which suggests the ways in which women are incorporated and what incorporation might mean to them in terms of the everyday living of their lives.

Within this framework, I have explored what other factors are identified in the literature as factors which can draw women in even further. These are, the husband's place in the hierarchy, the type or nature of work he does and the type of work group within which he carries out his work.

In the next chapter, I reiterate these factors and outline the specific hypotheses developed from them.

THE RESEARCH QUESTION AND THE HYPOTHESES

This research began with the question, "To what extent does the military organization reach into the home and influence the roles and structure the lives of women who are married to Canadian Armed Forces personnel?" To answer that question it was necessary first to determine how to define the organization and then to conceptualize women's/wives' place within it. I have defined the military as a greedy institution which incorporates the homes and wives of male military members. Incorporation in this sense refers to being "drawn in". The term being "drawn in" is a broad one. As we have seen, women can be drawn in in a number of ways. In this research for the most part, "being drawn in" will refer to the two main dependent variables -- "involvement" in and "identification" with the military.¹

Within the organization women are viewed as having a "career" which parallels their husbands' careers within the organization. It has been argued that all wives contribute to their husbands' work and work organization and that the military holds certain expectations as to the behavior of all

¹ See below pages 88 - 100 for the definitions of these concepts and for an explanation of the process involved in operationalizing them.

wives (i.e., over time it has created an image of what the "good" military wife will be like).

Type of Employing Organization

Kanter (1977), Papanek (1973), Finch (1983), and Callan (1984) have all argued that we can identify certain organizations which are more demanding of wives. I have defined the military organization as a "greedy institution", and have argued that its boundaries can be conceptually extended to include the wives of Canadian Armed Forces personnel.

The literature relating specifically to the military family presented in the previous section seems to support such a view. That literature suggests that the military holds certain expectations of and assumptions about all military wives. Based on the literature review and a close examination of Coser's (1974) notion of a "greedy institution", the following abstract claims or theoretical propositions were developed.

1. The military is a "greedy institution". Organizations within society generally are limited in their demands. A greedy institution goes beyond those normal limits.

2. As a "greedy institution" the military incorporates the homes and wives of its members. This is accomplished in two ways: A. Coercively by utilizing the fear of sanctions including the fear of damaging one's husband's career.

B. Noncoercively by providing a variety of services and benefits; by requiring that the military member (and family) move frequently thus encouraging members and families to identify primarily with the military community; by creating and encouraging the maintenance of a particular image of what constitutes the "good" serviceman, family, and wife.

3. The military is more "greedy" with respect to some roles than others.

Generally the first task of this research is to illustrate what being included within the boundaries of the greedy institution means to the majority of military wives in this sample. This is the descriptive side of the research. Data is presented to establish the extent to which women are drawn into the military organization in terms of the work they do, and in terms of the constraints placed upon them.

Within this framework, based on the literature reviewed, I have argued that there will be two main factors which increase the likelihood that women will be "drawn in" further within the boundaries of the greedy institution. These factors are:

1. The husband's place within the hierarchy of the organization
2. The husband's type of occupation (i.e., combat-oriented versus noncombat-oriented)

The Husband's Place in the Hierarchy (His Military "Rank")

Kanter (1977) and others suggested that as husbands progress in the hierarchy of an organization (i.e., as they move up in the management levels), their wives become more directly involved in their work and in their work organization.

Focusing on the husband's place in the hierarchy of the organization is important for two reasons. First, I would argue that the military organization expects more of the officer and the officer's wife than the enlisted man or his wife. That is, officers in the Canadian Armed Forces are expected to demonstrate their commitment to the organization in more salient ways than are enlisted men. In the American military Moore and Trout (1978) have argued [as did Kanter (1977) in the corporate case] that those members of the organization who are perceived to be value homogeneous will be selected out for promotion. Visibility, as a strategy for promotion, Moore and Trout (1978) hypothesize, becomes important especially at a certain point in the officer-husband's military career. It is here that the officer's wife becomes important as visible supporter. Her participation can be taken by her husband's superiors that she has accepted the lifestyle and her part in it.

Secondly, though I do suggest that all women are drawn in (i.e., the organization expects certain things from all military wives) and one could think of the wives' involvement

as a "vicarious career", social status and material benefits do increase with the husband's rank. Officers' wives gain more (vicariously) in terms of rewards than do wives of enlisted men. If one were to think of involvement as investment, because officers' wives receive more in terms of the benefits received, we would expect them to be more involved than the wives of enlisted men. They have more to gain.

Related to this, we would expect that as a consequence of their increased involvement, officers' wives would be more likely to indicate that they experience some conflict amongst their various "roles" (for lack of a better term) than would the wives of enlisted men.

"Identification" is the second aspect of being drawn in explored in this research. That is, women may be incorporated within the boundaries of the greedy institution in terms of the extent to which they come to "identify" with the military and their husbands' particular unit/squadron/regiment. Because officers' wives receive more in terms of status, rewards, benefits, etc. (and because it is assumed that status and rewards are associated with the degree of identification), I would expect that officers' wives have a higher degree of identification than do women married to enlisted men.

These points in hypothetical form are:

1. Officers' wives will be more involved and visible in the military community and more directly involved with their husbands' military careers than will enlisted men's wives.

2. A greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives will indicate that they experience greater conflict amongst their various roles.

3. A greater percentage of officers' wives than wives of enlisted men will identify with the military and with their husbands' particular work unit.

The Husband's Occupational Type or Work Environment

Basing his work on the findings of Moskos, an American military sociologist, Cotton (1979) found that those members of the Canadian Armed Forces whose occupations have more to do with the "operational" side of the forces see their work in the military in a different light than do those whose work is related to the "support" side. That is, Cotton (1979) found that those in the more combat-oriented side of the forces seemed to adopt a "vocational" model. Those in the less combat-oriented side seemed to adopt an "occupational" model.

As was discussed above (page 31), Stanton (1976) suggests that the type of work and work group within which the husband is involved would also affect the family in terms of its contact with or involvement in the civilian community. This suggests then that the family members (in this case, the wife) will be more involved in the military community if her husband is involved in a work group whose training involved

combat-oriented tasks as opposed to an emphasis on technical skills.

In the Canadian Armed Forces one can be a part of a particular element of service (traditionally these are "land" (Army), "air" (Air Force), and "sea" (Navy). Within these elements one can be employed in occupations which range from the most combat-oriented in training/practice (i.e., an infantryman) to the least combat-oriented (i.e., a cook, a physician, etc.).

Whether or not it is the husband's training (i.e., the need to develop a tight-knit group whose members will "hang tough" in times of battle) or the organization's expectation that men in these units will at least appear to adopt a vocational model which contributes to wives' incorporation, it will be argued that the result will be the same. Women who are married to men who are employed within the more combat-oriented trades or occupations will differ in the degree to which they become involved in their husbands' careers and the degree to which they will come to identify with the military and with the husband's work group.

As mentioned previously, this really takes Janet Finch's (1983) argument a little further. She argues that how the husband's work is organized (i.e., in terms of the time the husband does his work, where he does it, when and how he gets paid, etc.) has the greatest effect in structuring his wife's life and in eliciting her contributions. In a more

peripheral manner Finch (1983) also suggests that the content of the husband's work may have a role to play in incorporation. That is, she suggests that those whose husbands are in occupations which have a moral element (as in the clergy) will have a difficult time avoiding incorporation. This is one aspect of the "occupational dimension" of incorporation to which she refers.

Based on this literature the following hypotheses will be explored in this thesis:

4. Women married to men whose occupations are less like civilian occupations and more directly related to combat will be more involved in the military community and in their husbands' careers than will women who are married to men in occupations which are more like civilian occupations and less directly related to combat.

5. Women who are married to men whose occupations are less like civilian occupations and more directly related to combat will have a higher degree of identification with the military and with their husbands' particular unit than will women who are married to men in occupations which are more like civilian occupations and less directly related to combat.

A Brief Caveat

Before moving on to discuss the findings related to these hypotheses, a brief explanation or caveat is in order.

Earlier I argued that Finch (1983) was important because she emphasized the importance of taking into account the interpretative capacity of human beings. She cautioned her readers from being too deterministic in their conceptualization of wives' incorporation. She warns against reifying the organization or institution.

I agree with her critique. Yet, the methodology used and the factors explored as contributing to wives' incorporation are not conducive to the type of research or analysis Finch (1983) would recommend. The mailed, self-administered questionnaire, as a technique in data collection, is limited in gathering data of a more in-depth nature. Further, the main independent variables in this study (husband's rank category and husband's occupational type) are directly related only to the husband's work -- his place in the hierarchy and his type of work.

The decision to focus on these two factors did not come easily. In standing back and re-evaluating the central issue, it became clear these are central to an exploration of wives' incorporation within the boundaries of their husbands' work organization. I am exploring the interconnectedness between the husband's work, his work organization, and his wife. The literature suggests these factors are important ones in focusing in on that connection. At the same time, I am more than aware that this is only one side of the coin.

I, have, at the same time, focused on the organization and refer to it occasionally as though it has a life of its own. It does not. But the organization does have a history steeped in warfare, and the "profession of warfare" is seen by many of ~~these~~ those who occupy positions of power within it to be the domain of men. Traditionally women have been excluded

from its doorways. The battle for equality for women in the Canadian Armed Forces is one which continues today.

Military history books generally exclude women from their pages. War is a man's sport. If Moore and Trout (1978) are correct, and only those of like values are promoted in the military, it stands to reason that the views of women as "camp followers" as opposed to women as soldiers are carried on today. Women can be wives (and preferably should be "good" ones) but they cannot be combat soldiers. Therefore, although I discuss the military organization in broad "life-like" terms and come dangerously close to reifying it, it is done with the awareness that the organization -- what it stands for, the traditions and values carried on within it -- is controlled by the individuals within it. Those positions within the organization which carry with them the authority to make change are overwhelmingly occupied by men. Those men [if Moore and Trout (1978) and Kanter (1977) are correct] have been coached and sponsored by those before them.

This research is seen as a start. The Canadian military community has been neglected in the sociological literature. This may be the result of a general dislike developed overtime by Canadians for anything associated with the military. This may, then, be a sign that even researchers in Canada vicariously transmit this dislike to civilians, like themselves, whose only connection to the military is through

marriage. This may also be a sign that the "greedy institution" has been successful in separating "insiders" from "outsiders".

THE RESEARCH DESIGN

METHOD OF DATA COLLECTION

The data for this exploratory research into the lives of Canadian military wives was collected in April of 1985 by means of a mailed, self-administered questionnaire. The respondents were women stationed with their husbands at Canadian Armed Forces (C.A.F.) Base Gagetown in New Brunswick.

The ideal research design, from the researcher's point of view, would have involved in-depth interviewing. However, for a variety of reasons, some of which are outlined below, I elected to utilize a self-administered, mailed questionnaire.

One of the main reported disadvantages associated with using this type of method is that compared to personal interviewing the response rate is low (Oppenheim, 1966; Selltiz et. al., 1967; Williamson et. al., 1977; Eckhardt and Ermann, 1977). However, given the fact that in Canada there is a paucity of information about women married to military men (i.e., there has been little interest in their situation), I felt that the relative uniqueness of the situation would stimulate the respondents' interest and ensure a relatively high return rate.

Further, Oppenheim (1966) and others have noted that the response rate to mailed, self-administered questionnaires may be increased if the research is sponsored by an individual or organization perceived by the respondents as having some status. (Oppenheim (1966:35) writes of one British researcher who found that "government sponsorship of a survey improves response rates...") Though I have received no formal sponsorship to carry out the specific research plan, I am the recipient of a Department of National Defence Scholarship. Further, the base commander of C.F.B. Galetown approved my request to carry out this research. Both of these facts were outlined in the introductory letter sent the

respondents in the hopes that this would improve the response rate.¹

The self-administered questionnaire reduces the possibility of interviewer bias from entering into the research situation (Selltitz et. al., 1967; Eckhardt and Ermann, 1977). Further, this method may place "less pressure on the subject for immediate response" (Selltitz et. al., 1967:240). That is, respondents are free to take their time to think about and answer the questions and to do so at a time which is of convenience to them.

¹ Various other techniques were utilized in an attempt to encourage the respondents' cooperation in filling out the questionnaire. The questionnaire, itself, though lengthy, was planned and developed in such a way so as to appeal to those receiving it. The style of the questionnaire, as well as the colour and type of paper upon which the questions were printed, involved a well-thought out selection process. Questions were arranged so that they would continue to draw the interest of the reader. Instructions in filling out the questionnaire were clearly provided. Headings to sections of the questionnaire (and in some cases a brief introduction to particular sections) were provided. Many questions were closed-ended so as to make the questionnaire less tedious to fill out. A letter of introduction was included, as well as was a stamped, self-addressed envelope. In an attempt to personalize the process each letter was individually signed by me. Before sending out the questionnaires, notices addressed specifically to "military wives" and which explained briefly what I was planning were sent to the editors of two local newspapers. I requested and received their support in printing those notices. This gave many of the respondents some previous warning of what was to come. Lastly, I contacted and obtained the support of women in a local organization (The Oromocto Information Service Centre), who acted as my local representatives for the respondents. They agreed to answer questions on my behalf or to redirect any questions or queries to me.

Some of the literature on the military family suggests that women may feel some responsibility for their husbands' career successes (i.e., they may worry that their actions would affect their husbands' military careers.) The self-administered questionnaire allows respondents to express their concerns or their feelings about the military with the confidence of anonymity. Because of this greater assurance of anonymity, respondents may "thus feel freer to express views they fear might be disapproved of or might get them into trouble" (Selltitz, et. al., 1967:240).²

Lastly, this method of data collection permits researchers to gather more data and reach a greater number of people spread over a larger area than would personal interviews.

THE LOCATION -- SELECTING THE C.A.F. BASE ON WHICH TO CARRY OUT THE RESEARCH

As mentioned previously, the data for this research was obtained from women stationed with their husbands to Canadian Armed Forces Base Gagetown in New Brunswick.

² In the letter of introduction which accompanied the questionnaire sent to the respondents, I assured them anonymity and confidentiality. Because of this guarantee, I also decided not to number the questionnaires or place any identifying marks on them. This reduced my ability to trace non-returned questionnaires and to send follow-up letters urging those who did not respond to take the time to fill out the questionnaire. I did, however, send a follow-up letter to the editor of a local newspaper thanking those who did respond and asking those who did not, to do so. This technique did appear to work to some extent and I did receive other questionnaires after this letter appeared in the paper.

This particular base was chosen for both theoretical and pragmatic reasons. First, though C.F.B. Gagetown is primarily a combat-training centre and as a consequence those in the land element outnumber those in other elements, it also has within its boundaries a tactical aviation squadron (403 Helicopter Operational Training Squadron). Since this research explores the effect of the husband's particular occupation on the wife's degree of involvement and identification, this base offered a cross-representation of at least two of the main elements. (Only the "land" element has combat arms occupations within it.) Further, Gagetown, as does every base, has within it personnel who fulfill a support function.

Second, Base Gagetown is not an isolated base. Base housing units are situated within the boundaries of the town of Oromocto. Oromocto is located only (approximately) 12 miles from Fredericton, the capital city of New Brunswick. As a consequence of these factors, women have more choices about becoming involved in the civilian and military communities than do those women who reside in bases which are relatively isolated. This is an important point. Given that involvement in the military community (i.e., in specific events) is a main dependent variable, it was important to select a base which is not isolated in any way.

Thirdly, on a more pragmatic level, having lived in married quarters (PMQs) in C.F.B. Gagetown for a number of

years, I have knowledge of the base and know the area. . I have friends and family there with whom I stayed when it became necessary for me to travel there to seek the approval and the cooperation of the base commander, and to meet with the co-coordinator of the Oromocto Information Service Centre.

THE SAMPLE SIZE

The sampling procedure followed was that of drawing a stratified, disproportionate sample of 500 respondents. The decision to draw a sample of 500 was in part an arbitrary one. More importantly, however, the decision was based on the fact that this number represents over one-quarter of the "civilian" women married to Canadian Armed Forces personnel at C.F.B. Gaagetown. Underlying this decision was the realization that a possible response rate of 50 percent (an optimistic guess) would still be representative of this population. In fact, the return rate realized was relatively high and considered to be appropriate to represent the married women at C.F.B. Gaagetown and sufficient to answer the questions raised in the research.

Because of an assumption that women married to enlisted men would be less likely to fill out and return the questionnaires than those married to officers, I elected to send 300 of the 500 questionnaires to women married to men of

enlisted rank and 200 to women married to men of officer rank.

THE SAMPLING PROCEDURE

After receiving the approval to carry out my research at C.F.B. Gagetown, I was issued a "master locator" -- a population list of individuals administratively attached to that base.³ This list included the service person's name, marital status, his/her's spouses name if applicable, service person's rank level, status on the base (i.e., "attached" or temporary status), and his/her address and telephone number.

Since the sample was to include only those women (not in the military themselves) married to military men, the following groups of individuals were eliminated from the population list:

- Women members of the C.A.F.
- Single, separated or divorced men
- Men married to women in the C.A.F. (i.e., "interservice" marriages)
- All "attached" or temporary personnel (e.g., those in Gagetown on course)
- Married men living in ESQs (emergency shelter) or in barracks ⁴
- Married men with no traceable address

³ A few of those on the population list, though they are administratively connected to C.F.B. Gagetown, actually work in other centres in the province of New Brunswick.

⁴ According to one source in C.F.B. Gagetown those men living in emergency housing or in barracks were unlikely to be accompanied by their spouses.

As the following table illustrates this process of elimination narrowed down the population from which the sample would be drawn to 1,798 in number.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE C.A.F. MARRIED MALES AT C.F.B. GAGETOWN BY RANK CATEGORY AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE (CIVILIAN/BASE HOUSING) ON JANUARY 5, 1985 (N=1,798)

<u>Place of Residence</u>	<u>RANK CATEGORY</u>	
	<u>Officer</u>	<u>Enlisted</u>
Base Housing	68.6%	75.3%
Civilian Housing	<u>31.4</u>	<u>24.7</u>
	100.0	100.0
(N)	(283)	(1,515)

The decision to stratify the population according to husband's rank category was based in the fact that women married to men of enlisted rank far outnumbered those married to officers. Consequently, to ensure a good representation of officers' wives, I elected to stratify the population according to husband's rank.

At the same time, I had originally planned to make comparisons based on the women's place of residence (i.e., on base housing versus off base/civilian housing). Because there were relatively few living in civilian housing and because I wanted to ensure representation of those

individuals, I elected to further stratify the sample according to place of residence.⁵

Therefore, the population was divided into the following four strata:

1. Officers' wives residing with their husbands in base housing
2. Officers' wives residing with their husbands in civilian housing
3. Enlisted men's wives residing with their husbands in base housing
4. Enlisted men's wives residing with their husbands in civilian housing

The sample was then randomly drawn (without replacement) from each of the above lists according to the women's true proportion in the population in terms of their place of residence. That is, 75.3 percent of the 300 questionnaires (N=226) were sent to women married to enlisted men in base housing and 24.7 percent were sent to those in civilian housing (N=74). Of the 200 questionnaires sent to officers' wives, 68.6 percent were sent to women living in base housing (N=137) and 31.4 percent to those living in civilian housing (N=63).

⁵ As I progressed in the analysis of the data, however, the decision to focus on comparisons between those living in base housing and those living in civilian housing was reversed. The majority of the respondents who live in civilian housing reside within easy commuting distance to the base. Only 8 women live any real distance from the base (i.e., approximately 1 to 1 1/2 hours away), and a few of these women indicated that they were responding to certain questions as though they were currently living on the base.

Because officers' wives were oversampled and enlisted men's wives were undersampled, when making comparisons between women on the basis of their husband's rank category, each case in the sample was weighted to reflect their particular group's true proportion in the population.⁶

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire developed and used in this research is located in Appendix A. As the reader will see the questionnaire was broad in scope and dealt with a variety of issues. Most of the questions in it were developed by me on the basis of the literature reviewed. Some questions or statements are reworded versions of other researchers' questions and some are directly borrowed from other sources.

The questionnaire contained a variety of sections dealing with:

1. Demographics - Questions about the respondents at the time of this survey and before their marriage. Questions dealing with their husbands and their children.
2. Specifics relating to their lifestyle and their experiences as women married to men in the military.
3. The respondents' feelings about the military.
4. The respondents' involvement in the military community.

⁶ The weight factors established were 5.05 for women married to enlisted men ($5.05 \times 200 = 1,515$) and 1.42 for women married to officers ($1.42 \times 200 = 284$).

5. Their perceptions of how they can have input into their husbands' military careers and how the military, as an organization, can have an input into the living of their own lives.
6. Their feelings about women's and men's roles with respect to paid work and work in the home.
7. Their husband's work and their perceptions of their husband's feelings about his work and his place in it.

Though the questionnaire was broad in scope and touched on a number of issues, generally only those data which are directly related to the hypotheses developed and presented earlier are actually discussed within the body of this report.

THE PRETEST OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

After a number of versions were developed, a pretest of the questionnaire was carried out with nine women married to military men stationed at C.F.B. St. Hubert, Quebec. These women, married to men of various military rank, were part of a group who met weekly at a base church.⁷ Upon receiving their cooperation and after they had filled out the questionnaire, we discussed the virtuous and the not so virtuous aspects of the questionnaire. Over the next few weeks we met again. At those meetings we discussed the issues raised in the questionnaire, as well as the format.

⁷ These women, married for varying periods of time, were considered to be fairly representative of the women to whom the questionnaire would eventually be sent. It is assumed that their experiences within the military community would be similar to those of the selected sample.

(i.e., readability, length, etc.) of it. Some points of confusion about specific questions were pointed out and discussed. The length of the questionnaire (a particularly worrisome point to me) was not considered to be a problem by the women who took part in the pretest. Most of the women who filled it out indicated that they would have answered it if they had received it in the mail.

Some calculations of the data from the nine questionnaires were carried out, but because the pretest sample was small, these more in-depth discussions were invaluable in determining problem areas in the questionnaire and in terms of enlightening the researcher as to some of the issues raised. Many suggestions were made and some of that advice was taken (i.e., in terms of the wording of certain questions, the value of others, etc.)

Sometime later I gave a small presentation about a previous research project to a slightly larger group of women. Three more questionnaires were returned to me that evening. Again the conversation from this meeting helped to clarify some issues for me.

During and after this process of discussion various changes were made to the questionnaire. After discussing some of the points of questionnaire construction with a number of colleagues, a few more changes were made and the final version was developed. Because of the time factor involved and because of the quality of the discussions with

the women involved in the pretest regarding the style and content of the questionnaire, a further pretest was deemed unnecessary.

ANALYZING THE DATA: THE METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The data was analyzed utilizing the computer program, the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (S.P.S.S.). For the most part the data collected were ordinal level, some were nominal and none of the data were interval or interval-ratio level.

Since the majority of the data were ordinal level, and because of the exploratory nature of this research, an analysis utilizing crosstabs and examining percentage differences was seen as an appropriate way to explore the various hypothesized relationships.

To establish the strength of the relationships found, gamma, a PRE measure of association, was chosen. Gamma, which varies in value from -1.0 (a perfect negative association) to +1.0 (a perfect positive association), describes "the degree to which the values of one variable predict or vary with those of another" (Nie et. al., 1975: 218 - 219). It is generally used when both the dependent and independent variables are of ordinal level. The reader will note, however, that gamma is used occasionally when both or either of the independent and dependent variables are dichotomous. Nie et. al. (1975) indicate that dichotomous

variables can be treated as either nominal, ordinal or even interval level depending on the research situation.

Most of the respondents' answers to the questions in the questionnaire needed little preparation prior to inputting the data on coding sheets for ultimate input into the computer. The open-ended questions, however, did require some preparation. Generally this preparation involved the content analyses of the various questions.

Various categories and codes were developed to handle the data in the open-ended questions.⁸ All of the categories developed were pretested by at least one other individual and the researcher. Any necessary changes were made to the categories, and each answer in each questionnaire was coded according to those categories. These codes were then inputted onto coding sheets and inputted in the computer.

DEFINING THE CONCEPTS AND THE VARIABLES

In this section, the main concepts developed and utilized in this study are defined and the methods used to operationalize them are explained. The first of these discussed are the dependent variables of "involvement" and "identification".

⁸ Though there were many open-ended questions in the questionnaire, and categories were developed and coding was done for all but one question, only two questions were ultimately used in the final analysis. (See below, pages 89 - 93).

The Dependent Variables

Wives' "Involvement"

Based mainly on the points raised in the literature by Callan (1984), Finch (1983), Kanter (1977), Fowlkes (1980), Derr (1979), Stoddard and Cabanillas (1976), Smith (1977), Whyte (1971) and others, wives are seen as contributing to their husbands' careers and work organizations in a variety of ways.

Clearly the most obvious way women contribute to their husbands' work is through their domestic labour and by offering their emotional support at home. Wives provide an emotional buffer zone or home environment within which the husband has a "haven" from the outside world. This involves organizing the home in such a way that few demands are placed on the husband and "sending him off in a good frame of mind" (Kanter, 1977:111). Wives free up their husbands to meet the organization's demands (i.e., to travel, work late, etc.) by taking care of the majority of the household tasks and the children. Wives may also act as "sounding boards". That is, they provide their husbands with an opportunity to discuss and perhaps to clarify business ideas. They may offer business advice.

Wives may act as "image maker/sustainer" on their husbands' behalf. That is they may act as hostesses to their husbands' subordinates, peers or superiors or they may be socially active or visible at organizational social events

and in "wives' clubs". They may act as public relations persons on their husbands' behalf.

Wives may act as agents of socialization for the organization employing their husbands in that they may advise newcomer wives about the intricacies (i.e., the "do's" and the "don'ts") of the lifestyle.

In this research project "involvement" refers to the direct support given by the wives to their husbands' careers and to the organization. Generally I am referring more to the "social" aspects of her career as a military wife. In a sense, however, we can envisage wives' involvement or their labour in terms of degree from the indirect to the direct. Therefore, though the measures for involvement are generally set out in the questionnaire as the direct/visible forms of involvement, the responses to two open-ended questions (numbers 37.b. and 38.b.) were coded based on the conceptualization of involvement in terms of degree from the indirect to the direct.

After a careful review of the responses to these questions various categories were established and a pretest of them carried out. Three individuals including myself coded the women's responses to question 38.b. (how a wife can help her husband's career). In 62.5 percent of the cases coded (N=24) there was total agreement in the coding and in 33.3 percent of the cases two out of the three agreed. In only 4.2 percent of the cases coded did all three coders

disagree. After consultation with the coders, it was decided to cut down on the number of categories to seven and to revise the method of coding the responses. Consequently, each respondent was coded as either mentioning a particular aspect of involvement or not mentioning it.

Since the initial agreement amongst the three coders was high, and since no real changes were made to the definitional criteria of the original codes remaining, a further pretest of the categories was carried out by only two individuals. We reached a high degree of agreement in coding the responses. Given this fact, no further pretest was deemed necessary.

The categories for coding the ways in which the women indicated a wife could help her husband's military career (question 38.b) are (1) by providing affectual/emotional support; (2) by accepting the lifestyle; (3) by working "with" him; (4) by working "for" him; (5) depends on husband's rank; (6) miscellaneous ways the wife is a factor in her husband's career. (These were comments which were vague or difficult to interpret and, therefore, could not be easily classified into the above.); and, (7) the wife is not a factor.

The categories developed for the responses to the question of how a wife can hinder her husband's military career (question 37.b.) are as follows: (1) lack of affectual/emotional support; (2) lack of domestic support;

(3) inability to cope with or refusal to accept his general job demands; (4) presenting a poor personal image; (5) presenting a poor public image; (6) by refusing to participate in social activities; (7) getting involved in his career management directly; and, (8) miscellaneous ways a wife can hinder which are not easily classifiable into the above categories. A pretest of the coding scheme used for this question was carried out by two individuals and a high level of agreement was reached.⁹

In keeping with the conceptualization of indirect/direct involvement, we can place the main categories on a continuum, where some are more indirect forms of involvement and others are more direct. The following diagram illustrates where the majority of the categories fit on the continuum.

⁹ For an explanation of the criteria used for each of these categories the reader is referred to Appendix C.

Figure 1

The 'Forms of Wives' Involvement/Contributions

The Indirect		The Direct
+ Domestic labour/support Affectual/emotional support	Acceptance of and coping with the lifestyle	+ Working with him/ sideline work usually done at home Public image sustaining Personal image sustaining Participating in social events Working for him/ going public or "working the crowd"

Although the coding schemes for these questions are presented in Appendix C, a brief account of the explanation of the categories is provided.

Though there may be some overlap between these categories (i.e., appearing to cope with the lifestyle may involve not doing certain things such as calling the husband's unit for help when he is away), the categories are thought to present women's involvement in relatively concise ways. According to this scheme wives' involvement in the domestic or affectual domains is conceptualized as the more "indirect" forms of support. The wife is important as "listener" and one who offers her encouragement, as well as providing or "making" a "good" stable homebase or "haven".

In this case, the wife's visible support is not as important, though being a good housekeeper (and manager of money) may help his image.

"By accepting and coping with the lifestyle, women are elucidating the view that wives must learn to accept and, in some cases, to be seen to cope with certain events such as transfers, long periods of husband absence, etc.. There is, then, an element of complacency or compliance.

When working "with" one's husband, the wife is seen as advisor or assistant in certain aspects of his career [i.e., helping him to study, helping him prepare PERs (personnel evaluation reports), etc.] Though this is seen as moving towards the direct, it is still basically home-based work.

When working "for" one's husband, the wife is seen as "going public" or "working the crowd". Here the wife is involved in direct image sustaining and this involves such activities as attending functions, as entertaining, and being "friendly" to one's husband's superiors, peers and their wives.

In using the responses to these questions as a measure of involvement, it is important to note that in doing so I am making an implicit assumption. That is, in asking women how a wife can either help or hurt her husband's military career and in coding those responses in a particular way, I am assuming that women will discuss such issues in relation to their own experiences.

As mentioned above, other more direct questions were developed as measures of wives' involvement in their husbands' military careers and in the military community generally. Specifically women's involvement was measured by asking how often the respondents attended wives' clubs, helped organize wives' clubs or served as executive members of wives' clubs; how often they attended or helped to organize military social events or parties; whether or not they attended formal military events and if so how often they attended; whether or not they have entertained their husbands' peers, subordinates or superiors and how often they have done so.¹⁰

Questions were also asked to determine whether or not women felt some sense of obligation to attend certain military events and asked women to indicate the primary reason they attended wives' clubs and formal military functions. Further, women were asked to indicate whether or not they felt that they were "rated" by the military when promotion or posting decisions were being made. This particular body of questions is used to supplement those

¹⁰ A new variable, "hostess", measuring how often women were involved in entertaining their husbands' colleagues was developed by collapsing the women's responses to parts 1, 2, and 3 of Question 51.b., in the questionnaire. The categories of this new variable indicated the relative frequency of which women entertained various groups of individuals. The categories, four in number, ranged from a very high activity level ("very active") to a very low activity level ("very low").

above dealing with the degree to which women become involved in their husbands' military careers.

Another aspect of being "drawn in" or incorporated into the military as "greedy institution" has to do with the wife's feelings about the military and her husband's particular unit/regiment/squadron. It is to a discussion of this second dependent variable to which we now turn.

Wives' "Identification"

This variable, "identification", is defined as to associate closely or to think of one's self as an integral part of a group/organization and to accept and adhere to the norms, values, practices, policies, etc. of the military. Identification can be seen as being related to the military as a whole or more specifically to one's husband's work group (i.e., his unit/squadron/regiment).

Operationalizing identification with the military as a whole involved asking the respondents particular questions relating to the degree to which they agreed with the importance of upholding military traditions, the degree to which they expressed pride in being a part of the military community, the degree to which they perceived a distinction between the civilian and military communities, and the degree to which they were defensive of the military and military norms (including how those norms relate to wives).

The respondents were asked to indicate whether they strongly disagreed, disagreed, were undecided about, agreed or strongly agreed to a variety of statements. On one level the statements relate more directly with identification with the community generally and on another level they relate more to particular aspects of the husband's job (tradition, custom, etc.) and the wife's involvement in it. Those statements dealing more specifically with military traditions, customs, etc., are as follows:

1. The trouble with military wives today is that they can't see the necessity of maintaining military protocol and tradition.
2. If I had a son and he wanted to join the Canadian Armed Forces, I would encourage him to choose another career.
3. Military wives who criticize the military are troublemakers.
4. If I had a daughter and she wanted to join the Canadian Armed Forces, I would encourage her to choose another career.
5. More military wives ought to take part in regimental/unit/squadron social events.
6. There are important reasons for military members to maintain the rank structure outside of working hours.
7. The military does not care what wives think.
8. In this day and age, I find military customs outdated.

Those statements dealing with identification with the military community generally are:

1. Military personnel and their families are rarely understood by individuals in the civilian community.
2. I prefer being with friends of the civilian community rather than those in the military community.
3. I feel a sense of pride in being a part of the military community.

At the same time, the respondents were asked to indicate with whom they and their husbands as couples spent the majority of their time, and they were asked to indicate who the majority of their women friends were. The assumption here is that those who spend the majority of their leisure time with others in the military community would be demonstrating a sense of cohesion.

The second major measure of identification dealt with measuring the ways in which the women themselves come to feel about their husbands' particular unit/squadron/regiment. Identification in this sense is measured by degree and involves examining the degree to which women/wives express a sense of cohesiveness or belongingness to their husbands' particular work group.

The operationalization of this aspect of identification involved asking women to read over four statements and to check off all of those which best represented their feelings about their husbands' particular unit/squadron/regiment. The statements were arranged and worded in such a way that the first statement indicated a strong sense of cohesion and the last total removal. Those statements (found on page 12 of the questionnaire) are:

1. I feel an integral part of the unit/squadron/regimental family.
2. I have some feeling of belongingness to the unit/squadron/regiment.

3. I feel some indifference towards his unit/squadron/ regiment.

4. I feel myself to be totally removed from his unit/ squadron/regiment.

Each respondent was coded as either checking off or not checking off each statement. During the analysis of the data a new variable was created which involved the collapsing of these responses into one measure of "identification" (ID) with the husband's unit/squadron/regiment. The rationale behind creating this variable and the procedure used to create it is discussed below.

Because some women checked off only one statement and others two, some women were coded twice. The problem with this, of course, is that some women though they might have indicated that they felt some belonging and some indifference, were treated the same as only those who checked off only one of those statements. This assumes, then, that those women who checked off two statements felt the same way about their husbands' particular unit, etc., as those who checked off only one. Because of this, and because of the consistency of the responses to the four statements (i.e., officers' wives are more likely to indicate feeling a part of a "family" or some belongingness and enlisted mens' wives are more likely to indicate feeling indifferent or totally removed), a new variable was created out of the responses to

these four statements. The new variable, "identification" (ID), was created using the procedure described below.

First, it was established how many of the respondents checked off more than one response. Based on this determination and the theoretical "sense" of it, identification was operationalized in the following manner:

Figure 2

Statements Regarding the Wife's Feelings for Her Husband's Unit/Squadron/Regiment

Feels part of family	Feels some belonging	Feels indifference	Feels totally removed	DEGREE OF 'ID' CODED AS:
IF INDIVIDUAL RESPONSE TO STATEMENTS WAS:				
YES	NO	NO	NO	Very, very high
YES	YES	NO	NO	Very high
YES	NO	YES	NO	High
NO	YES	NO	NO	Somewhat high
NO	YES	YES	NO	Mid
NO	YES	NO	YES	Mid to low
NO	NO	YES	NO	Low
NO	NO	YES	YES	Very low
NO	NO	NO	YES	Very, very low

The categories on this variable were then collapsed into five categories from very high to very low as follows:

1. Very high (includes those who scored very, very high and very high)
2. High (includes those who scored high and somewhat high)
3. Mid (remains the same)
4. Low (includes those who scored mid to low and low)

5. Very low (includes those who scored very, very low and very low)

The Independent Variables

I have argued that wives' involvement in their husbands' military careers and their identification with the military and their husbands' particular unit/squadron/regiment is dependent upon a number of factors. For the purpose of this study, based on those most important factors identified in the literature, two major independent variables have been selected (husband's rank category and husband's type of occupation). In this section I will define these variables and indicate to the reader how they were operationalized in this research. The first of the independent variables to be discussed is the husband's rank category.

Husband's Rank Category

In the Canadian Armed Forces there are two broad status categories within which military members can be categorized. That is, one can either have the status of an "officer" or the status of enlisted or "other" rank.¹¹ Within each of these two broad categories there is a hierarchical ordering of ranks. As the following table illustrates, within the officer ranks there are eleven categories, and within the enlisted ranks, nine.

¹¹ In this thesis the term "enlisted", "other" ranks, or the term "non-officer" will be used interchangeably.

Figure 3

**List of Ranks Found Within the Canadian Armed Forces Under
the Two Broad Headings of Officer and Non-Officer**

OFFICER

1. General
2. Lieutenant-General
3. Major-General
4. Brigadier-General
5. Colonel
6. Lieutenant-Colonel
7. Major
8. Captain
9. Lieutenant
10. 2nd Lieutenant
11. Officer Cadet

NON-OFFICER

1. Chief Warrant Officer
2. Master Warrant Officer
3. Warrant Officer
4. Sergeant
5. Master-Corporal
6. Corporal
7. Private - Trained
8. Private - Basic
9. Private - Recruit

Operationalizing this variable - husband's rank level - merely involved asking the women to check off their husband's current military rank. When analyzing the data the categories were collapsed merely to reflect the husband's status as "officer" or as "non-officer". The rationale behind the decision to dichotomize this variable is based on theoretical, as well as, pragmatic considerations. On a pragmatic level, the numerous categories of this variable made a simple crosstabular analysis difficult to interpret, as well as difficult to present within the body of the thesis in tabular form. Secondly, the purpose was to compare two main status groups, not the various rankings within the groups (though, admittedly, this in itself would be an

interesting but separate study involving a different form of analysis):

Husband's Trade or Classification / His Occupation

As was mentioned previously, though the primary role of the Canadian Armed Forces is to engage in combat when necessary, some occupations are more directly related to battle in terms of the training and practice of warfare they require. Other occupations are distanced from the battlefield in terms of that training and practice. I have argued that the type of work and, hence, the type of work group within which the husband is involved, will affect his wife's involvement and her identification with the military. In order to determine the husband's occupation type, the women were asked to write in their husbands' trades or classifications (i.e., occupations). Examples such as clerk, pilot, truck driver, cook, or infantryman were given. These responses were then coded into three categories -- combat arms, combat support arms, and combat support services.¹²

These specific terms are a part of the language of the Canadian Armed Forces, but within the organization these terms are used to denote specific branches within it. For example, in military terminology (particularly in the

¹² The suggestion to utilize this coding scheme came from an individual in the armed forces. The coding of the responses to this question was done by myself and verified by a military member.

terminology used by the Army) the combat arms (C.A.) encompasses the infantry, artillery and armoured branches (i.e., those branches whose primary responsibility or raison d'etre is engaging in direct warfare or combat).

"The combat arms of artillery, armour and infantry are distinguished by their ability to close with the enemy in combat. Their missions may be specific or a combination of: destroy or capture the enemy; secure or deny terrain; protect a larger force; or gain information. Combat arms are trained, organized and equipped to use both direct and indirect fire in operations in direct contact with the enemy. Co-operation of the three combat arms is essential. Whether tanks are supporting infantry or vice versa, they must fight as a team" (C.F.P. B-GL-300-000/ FP-000, The Army, 1984:5-6).

The combat support arms (C.S.A.) consist of those branches which only secondarily are required as "fighters" and include such branches as the combat engineers, signals, intelligence, and tactical aviation. Their primary role is to offer specialized support to the combat arms.

"The combat support arms provide immediate specialist support to the combat arms. Combat support arms are capable of fighting, however, this is secondary to their supportive function" (C.F.P. B-GL-300-000/FP-000, The Army, 1984:5-11).

The combat support services (C.S.S.) are those branches which are least involved in combat. The primary function of the C.S.S. is to provide non-combative support.

"Combat support services are those elements whose primary tasks are to provide combat service support. All service support personnel are trained soldiers; however, because of their role combat service support units have a limited fighting capability and should only fight in self-defence. ... The major support services are logistics, medical, land ordnance, engineering and military police" (C.F.P. B-GL-300-000/FP-000, The Army, 1984:5-14).

Though these terms are utilized in the military to denote larger units than specific occupational categories, I have elected to use these terms as classification categories for two main reasons. First, the ease of transferring the general to the specific became obvious as I examined the women's responses to this question. Secondly, though on a broader level, the scheme had already been provided for me. Combat arms can be considered closest to the battlefield in terms of training and practicing for direct combat. Specific responses such as "infantryman", "tank driver", and "artillery officer" were easily coded into this category. Further, though the combat arms of infantry, artillery and armoured on a broad level are expected to operate with a team approach, I think it feasible to assume that within each branch, individuals are encouraged to develop a "team" approach.

The broad definition of combat support arms quoted above and the elaboration of the branches or units defined as C.S.A. made it relatively easy to narrow the definition down

to include those occupations mentioned by the women themselves (i.e., "pilot" or "signals").

Combat support services have embodied within it all of those whose work is not combat-oriented to any degree. Occupations such as physicians, clerks, vehicle mechanics were also easily classified using the broad definition given above.

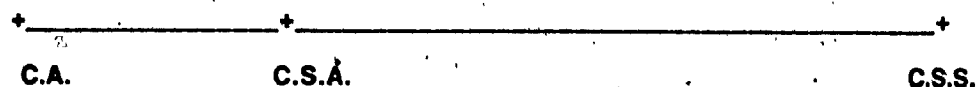
Generally we can envisage these occupational groupings as on a continuum where combat arms reflects those occupations more directly concerned with combat, combat support arms slightly less likely to be directly involved in combat and distanced from the battlefield by technology, and combat services support as those occupations furthest away from the battlefield in terms of technology and training. Schematically this would be as follows:

Figure 4

The Continuum of Military Occupations

Closest to the
Battlefield in Terms of
Training and Practice

Furthest from the
Battlefield in Terms of
Training and Practice



In actual fact some of those who are in combat support arms would be closer to the battlefield than the diagram above.

would indicate. In fact, if we were to distinguish between "fighters" and "nonfighters" only, both C.A. and C.S.A. could be categorized as fighters and C.S.S. as nonfighters. The reader is reminded, therefore, that this diagram is provided for illustrative purposes only.

The Control Variables

Various control variables were entered into the analysis. Specifically, these were the women's age category, the number of years they had been married, their education level, and their employment status (i.e., whether or not they were involved in paid work outside the home).

The husband's element of service is used as a control when examining the relationship between wives' involvement and identification by husband's occupational type.

One of the difficulties in carrying out research is deciding which variables to hold constant (i.e., to control) when exploring the original bivariate relationships. As Weisberg and Bowen (1977) suggest, we can be guided by the theory and purpose of our research in making that decision.

This research is exploratory in nature. Its purpose is to explore the work-home connection in the military community. That is, the purpose of this research is to explore what effect the husband's place in the hierarchy of the organization and his occupation has in "drawing in" the wives of military members in terms of involvement and

identification. These suggestions come from the literature. Generally, because of its exploratory nature, bivariate explorations are the main focus of this study. Controls, when they do enter into the analysis, are generally included to explore under what conditions the original relationship holds true. The rationale for including these variables as controls will be outlined as they appear in the findings section of this thesis.

Secondly, controls which are only related to both the dependent and independent variables should be included in the analysis. This is a consideration because, as Weisberg and Bowen (1977:179) suggest, "Controlling for a variable cannot reduce the original correlation unless it is correlated to both." Consequently, in this research those variables selected for controls, when they are used, are introduced only when I expect them to be related to the specific dependent and independent variables under investigation.

Because husband's element is important as a control, and because the reader may be unfamiliar with this variable, a brief explanation of it is in order.

Husband's Element of Service

"Husband's element of service" refers to that broad grouping within the Canadian Armed Forces within which the military member is identified. Traditionally these elements have been identified as "land" (Army), "sea" (Navy), or "air"

(Air Force). This variable was operationalized by asking the women to circle the category applicable to their husband's situation. However, based on my awareness that some military members may identify with or be identified with none of the traditional categories or with all of them (as in the case of the husband being "tri-service"), I included in the questionnaire an "other" category and asked the respondents to specify what that "other" element might be.

Based on the responses to this question, two new categories were added -- "tri-service" and "student". As we progress in the analysis of the data, those categories of the husband's element classified as sea or air elements, and those of tri-service or students were collapsed into one category -- "nonland". The rationale for doing so is explained in the findings chapter in this thesis.

FINDINGS

Of the original 500 questionnaires sent out to respondents, 21 were returned by the post office as undeliverable (i.e., the addresses of the respondents had changed and their new addresses were unknown). A return rate of 51.2 percent was realized. That is, of the 479 remaining questionnaires, 249 were returned to me. However, ten of those returned were not usable in this project for a variety of reasons (i.e., were from women whose husbands were retired from the Forces at the time of the research or were military exchange personnel from other countries, etc.). This brought the sample size down to 239 respondents or almost 50 percent.

PRESENTATION OF DATA ON THE SAMPLE AS A WHOLE

The Respondents: Their Ages, Education Level, Employment Status, Family Demographics

The questionnaire was divided into a number of sections, one of which sought certain demographic information about the women. Some of these data are presented as a means of introducing the reader to the respondents.

Most of the women are relatively young (almost 84 percent are from aged 19 years to 39 years) with the modal

category being 31 to 39 years. Slightly over half (58.6 percent) have been married for up to ten years, almost 32 percent for 11 to 20 years, and almost 10 percent for over twenty years.

Only 18.4 percent of the respondents have no children. The majority of the respondents, 67.4 percent, have one or two children and 14.3 percent have anywhere from three children to five or more. Almost half of the women indicated that their children are five years of age or younger, while almost 39 percent of the sample have children aged 12 years or older.

The modal category for wife's education was high school completed (30.3%). Some women had received only a junior high school or elementary school education (3.9%), and some had not finished high school (14.6%). Almost one-quarter of the women have at least some community college (i.e., either began a program at community college and did not finish or began and finished this type of program).¹ Almost 22 percent had received at least some university education (i.e., either began a program at a university and completed it or began and did not complete it), while 4.6 percent had completed or had begun but did not complete graduate school.

¹ Some of the responses to this question were coded to include women who had written that they had attended institutions such as trade or technical school, business college or secretarial school, teaching college, or nursing school. These women were coded in the category "at least some community college".

The Respondents: Their Lifestyle

I have argued that all military wives can be seen to be encompassed by the "greedy institution". All of the women share certain life experiences/demands and these experiences are dictated by the needs of their husbands' employer. At this juncture, then, I feel it important first to outline what these experiences are.

Postings, Jobs and Discrimination

As has been mentioned marriage to an individual in the armed forces usually involves a lifestyle which is highly transient. Almost half of the women in this sample have moved as often as once in one, two or three years (the modal category is once every three years). Slightly over 20 percent have moved once every 4 or 5 years, and almost 28 percent have moved only infrequently or are accompanying their husbands for the first time (i.e., this is their first posting together).² As a consequence of moving frequently, many women have given up their paid work outside the home. Indeed, only 39.4 percent of the women have never quit a job because their husbands were posted. At one point or another, then, almost two-thirds of the women have left their jobs

² Some women wrote in a response to this question. For example, one woman wrote that she had moved once every two and a half years. Responses such as this were edited. In this example the researcher rounded up and this woman was coded as moving once every three years.

and, of these, 19 percent have had this experience anywhere from three to seven times.

Once moved, finding work in their new location to replace that they left may also be a problem. It was for over two-thirds of the women in this sample to whom this question applied (N=137). Further women may experience difficulty in transferring their work credentials from one location to another. Slightly over one-quarter of the women to whom this question applied (N=117) have experienced difficulty in transferring their credentials.

Women may also experience discrimination in the job market because of their connection to the military. Over half of the women in this sample to whom this question applied (N=166) have experienced or suspect that they have experienced discrimination in the job market. Of these women almost three-quarters of them feel that their transient lifestyle was an issue with their potential employers. (One woman indicated that this was a factor even when she was interviewed for a job on the military base. Another wrote that the base people to whom she'd applied for work called her husband's military unit to verify the length of time they would be in the area. So it seems, that not only civilian employers may discriminate on the basis of wives' transiency, but also that the military as employer of civilian personnel may as well.)..

A few women wrote that they felt they were passed over for promotion in their work because of the transient nature of their lifestyle. Some women felt that they experienced discrimination because their potential employer disliked military people. Almost 17 percent felt or suspect that they have been discriminated against for both of the above reasons. Slightly over 11 percent cited "other reasons" -- i.e., because the employees disliked military people, because of husband's rank level, language barriers, etc. One or two women wrote that they had experienced "reverse discrimination". That is, they felt they received the jobs they did because of their connection to the military.

A few women discussed the difficulties they were experiencing in continuing their education (i.e., in finishing a degree) or in transferring university credits.

At the time of this research only 36.6 percent of the women were working outside the home and of these about half were involved in part-time work and half were full-time workers. These figures are somewhat lower than the national participation rates for married women. When comparing the participation rates of women with preschool aged children in Canada generally to the women in this sample, the military wives were slightly less likely to be involved in paid work outside the home.

Being "Drawn In"

"When a woman marries a man in the military, she marries the military also. Everything she does reflects on to her husband when it comes time for promotion. A wife is to be seen not heard so to speak." (Officer's Wife)

"In a sense we are in the military too. We have to learn to cope without our husbands when they are away. The woman should be made well aware of the life a military man leads before she marries him." (Enlisted Man's Wife)

I have argued that all wives are "drawn in" or become incorporated within the boundaries of the "greedy institution". Two aspects of being "drawn in" are the main focus of this study. That is, as we progress in this discussion we will explore the two main dependent variables of wives' "involvement" and "identification". Before doing so, however, and in keeping with the argument above, we will take a moment to explore those less obvious ways women's lives are affected by their marriage to military men and less obvious ways women become incorporated within the boundaries of the "greedy institution".

Obligations, Being Rated and Feeling Responsible

The majority of the women in this sample have felt some sense of obligation to attend certain military events. Most women (79.5%) indicated that they felt their behaviour would "reflect" on their husbands and almost half (42.7%) have felt that wives are "rated" (at least under certain circumstances)

by the military when the husband's promotion is being considered or when posting/transfer decisions are being made (47.5%).

These findings suggest that Canadian military wives, as Dobrofsky (1977) suggests of American military wives, may come to feel some responsibility for their husbands' career success. One officer's wife in my sample wrote, "I feel a wife is a factor in her husband's career success to a certain degree although I do not agree with it. *Sometimes I feel [the reason] my husband was not promoted earlier, is because of my lack of attendance at military functions.*" (Italics are mine.) She was not alone. Over 90 percent (94%) indicated that a wife could hinder her husband's military career and 86.5 percent indicated that a wife could help her husband in his career.

The majority of women (58%) indicated that the primary way a wife could "hinder" or hurt her husband's military career was by displaying inappropriate public behavior. Indeed, as can be seen in the table below, this was the most frequently cited reason given by the women in this sample as to how a wife could hurt her husband's military career.

TABLE 2

**RESPONSES TO "HOW A WIFE CAN HINDER/HURT HER HUSBAND'S
MILITARY CAREER"³**

<u>Category/Aspect</u>	<u>Percentage of total sample mentioning this aspect</u>
1. Presenting a poor public image	58.0%
2. Failure to cope or refusal to accept the lifestyle.	41.1%
3. Failure to provide affectual support	18.8%
4. Presenting a poor personal image	17.8%
5. Not participating in social events	16.8%
6. Miscellaneous or other comments not easily classifiable.	15.8%
7. Failure to provide domestic support/labour	13.9%
8. Getting too involved	2.5%

Table 3 reveals how the women's responses were coded in relation to the question of how a wife could help or was a factor in her husband's career success. Clearly the majority of the women indicated the more indirect forms of involvement more often than the direct.

³ The explanations for these categories, as well as those dealing with the responses to how a wife can "help" or is a factor in her husband's career can be found in Appendix C.

TABLE 3

**RESPONSES TO "HOW A WIFE CAN HELP HER HUSBAND'S
MILITARY CAREER"**

Category/Aspect	Percentage of total sample mentioning this aspect
1. In the affectual domain.	58.0%
2. By providing domestic support.	25.7%
3. Accepting the lifestyle.	23.8%
4. Working "for" husband.	22.8%
5. Wife is not a factor	10.2%*
6. Miscellaneous or other comments not easily classifiable	9.7%
7. Working "with" husband	7.3%
8. The wife is only important when the husband is of a certain rank	2.9%

The feeling of obligation or responsibility for one's husband's career success can be detrimental to the very well-being of some women. This is especially true when women are experiencing some problems (emotional/physical) and require assistance from formal military resource persons (i.e., military social workers, padres, police) but do not seek it or hesitate to seek it because of a fear of damaging their husbands' careers.

* Although some women wrote that the wife was not a factor in her husband's military career success, many respondents qualified their responses by indicating that women do have some input in the affectual domain, in their willingness to accept the lifestyle, and in other miscellaneous ways. Some, after noting that the wife was not a factor, even indicated that a wife could have input in ways which were categorized as "working for him".

Almost one-quarter (22.2%) of the women in this sample did at one time or another need to seek this assistance, and 51.6 percent of those who needed it (N=64) indicated that in seeking that help they were concerned about the effects of doing so on their husbands' military careers. Many (21.3%) did not seek assistance or hesitated to do so when they required it because of that fear.

Having stated the above, I do not mean to present the view that the majority of these women perceive themselves as victims. Indeed, this is not the case. Many indicated that, though there were some disadvantages associated with their lifestyle, generally they were satisfied with their lives. The majority of the women indicated that they were happy with their lifestyle (76%), felt free as opposed to trapped within the military community (64%), felt positive about (80.7%) and were content with their lives (75%). At the same time it is important to keep in mind that some women were not as generally satisfied.

On the basis of this data, however, it seems that it would be difficult to dispute the fact that the military -- the husband's work and work organization -- does, indeed, come "home to roost" in many implicit ways. This is reflected as well in terms of the women's own friendship networks within the military community. The majority of women indicated that of those women with whom they make friends within the military community (i.e., of the military

wives whom they befriend, the majority were located in the same status category (vicariously) as themselves.⁵ Further, almost half of the women (45.5%) indicated that as husbands progressed in rank, their wives assumed higher status positions in women's groups or clubs on the military base. Clearly, then, there is some evidence of the existence of a "shadow hierarchy" amongst the women themselves which parallels the hierarchy found in their husbands' work organization.

We now move on to explore what the husband's rank category means to women in terms of their involvement in the military community and in their husbands' careers, as well as in terms of their identification with the military community.

HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY AND WIVES' INVOLVEMENT

Based on the discussion earlier and in keeping with the concept of a "vicarious career" for wives within the "greedy

5. For both groups of women the most popular response (modal category) was that the majority of their women friends were a combination of women married to officers, to enlisted men, and women of the civilian community. (29.2 percent of the officers' wives and 32.3 percent of the enlisted men's wives indicated this.) However, almost half of the women married to enlisted men (48.4%) and half of the women married to officers indicated that the majority of their women friends were either only women of their own (vicarious) status or a combination of women of their own status and civilian women. Similarly the majority of women indicated that of the couples within the military community with whom they spend their leisure time, the majority of them hold the same or similar status (i.e., military rank) as their husbands. Further, the majority of women when they entertain their husband's work colleagues, primarily entertain those whose military rank is similar to or the same as their husband's rank.

institution", it was argued that where the husbands were located in the hierarchy of the organization would have an effect on wives' involvement in the community and in their husbands' careers. For the purposes of this research the husband's rank level was divided into two main categories -- those of officer ranks and non-officer or enlisted ranks. Forty-five percent of the sample is made up of women who are married to men in the officer category and almost 55 percent, women married to men in the non-officer category. As was mentioned previously, within each of these two main categories the Canadian Armed Forces distinguishes a number of rankings. The following table illustrates the constituency of the sample based on the respondents' husbands' military rankings represented in this sample.

TABLE 4**COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE ACCORDING TO HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY⁶**

OFFICER			NON-OFFICER		
Husband's Rank	% of Officer Group	% of Total	Husband's Rank	% of Non-officer Group	% of Total
Lt. Col.	3.7%	1.7%	C.W.O.	.8%	.4%
Major	22.4	10.1	M.W.O.	4.6	2.5
Capt.	59.8	26.9	W.O.	14.5	8.0
Lt./2nd Lt.	10.3	4.6	Sergeant	22.1	12.2
OCDT	3.7	1.7	MCpl.	16.8	9.2
			Cpl.	32.1	17.7
			Pvt. Basic/ Trained	9.2	5.0
TOTALS	99.9%	45.0%		100.1%	55.0%
(N=238) *	(107)			(131)	

*Missing = 1 case

Because the sample was a non-representative one (i.e., women married to men in the officer group were over sampled and women married to men in the non-officer group were under sampled), the cases were weighted to reflect their true proportions in the population of C.F.B. Gagetown. Therefore, when I refer to the husband's rank category in the discussion of the findings below, the findings are based on a weighted sample.

⁶ The rank levels of Lieutenant and 2nd Lieutenant, as well as those of Private Trained and Private Basic were collapsed.

Two hypotheses relating wives' involvement to husband's rank were elucidated. These are:

1. Officers' wives will be more involved and visible in the military community and more directly involved with their husbands' military careers than will enlisted men's wives.
2. A greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives will indicate that they experience greater conflict amongst their various roles.

Direct involvement or involvement of a more social nature was measured by asking the respondents about their activities in the military community.

To reiterate the previous discussion, it was argued that visibility becomes more important for the officer than for the non-officer and that the officer's wife is expected to be involved and visible. Consequently, we would expect a greater percentage of officers' wives to be more visible and active in the community than wives of enlisted men. At the same time, it was hypothesized, that as a consequence of their greater involvement, a greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives would indicate a greater sense of obligation and conflict amongst their various roles.

In addition, if we were to think of involvement as an investment, because officers' wives receive more in terms of vicarious rewards and status, we would expect that a greater percentage of officers' wives would be more involved than enlisted men's wives.

Table 5 summarizes the findings. Overall these findings indicate that officers' wives tend to be more involved than enlisted men's wives.

TABLE 5**WIVES' INVOLVEMENT BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY**

<u>Indicators of Involvement</u>	<u>Husband's Rank</u>		<u>Gamma</u>	<u>Significance*</u>
	<u>Officer</u> % (N)	<u>Enlisted</u> % (N)		
<u>WIVES' CLUBS</u>				
Attends wives' clubs	55.7% (151)	9.2% (656)	.85	.000
Attends frequently (all or half per year)**	47.4% (84)	54.6% (56)	-.10	.220
Official in wives' clubs	10.5% (81)	8.3% (61)	.13	.331
Organizer of wives' clubs	31.6% (81)	8.3% (61)	.67	.001
Goes for "other-directed" reasons***	24.1% (77)	18.2% (56)	-.03	.448
<u>MILITARY SOCIAL AND FORMAL EVENTS</u>				
Frequently attends social events (all/most)**	66.7% (149)	45.8% (662)	.25	.000
Helps to organize social events (at least some)**	22.4% (152)	9.9% (662)	.42	.000
Attends formal events	95.2% (149)	47.3% (651)	.91	.000
Frequently attends formal events (all/most)**	77% (142)	58.8% (343)	.16	.023
Goes for "other-directed" reasons***	61.5% (136)	40.8% (359)	-.40	.000
<u>ENTERTAINS</u>				
Acts as hostess to husband's work colleagues	69.2% (148)	25% (646)	.74	.000
Very active as hostess	18.8% (98)	10.3% (197)	.32	.000

* In this table and in the ones following it, when appropriate, Kendall's Tau B or Tau C were the measures used to determine statistical significance.

** For presentation in this table (and the remainder of the tables in this thesis), categories on these questions were collapsed as indicated. Gammas and probability statistics shown are those for the relationships explored before these categories were collapsed.

*** The various categories of these questions were collapsed into three: "self-directed", neutral, and "other-directed" reasons. Consequently, in this context, a negative association means that a greater percentage of enlisted men's wives were more likely to attend these events for self-directed reasons than were officers' wives.

Involvement in Wives' Clubs by Husband's Rank Category

As is clear in Table 5 there is a significant difference between the two groups of women in terms of who attends wives' clubs on the base.⁷ Officers' wives were more likely to attend wives' clubs, as well as, to be involved in organizing wives' clubs in some capacity (i.e., on the committee to telephone members, etc.)

There is no real difference between the two groups with respect to their responses as to why they go to wives' clubs. The majority of both groups indicated that the primary reason they attended wives' clubs had more to do with "self-directed" reasons (i.e., they went because they enjoyed them or because wives' club offered them the opportunity to get out of the house for awhile or the opportunity to meet new people). It is of note, however, that none of those women married to enlisted men indicated that they attended wives' clubs because they felt some sense of obligation in doing so. This was not the case amongst officers' wives. Though the percentage is low, 9 percent of these women indicated they went to wives' club out of some sense of obligation.

⁷ Only those who answered that they attended wives' clubs were asked to answer questions relating to the frequency of which they attend, why they attend, as well as the extent to which they are involved (i.e., as organizers or in an official capacity). This may explain why there was no major difference between the two groups in terms of the frequency of which they go to wives' clubs. Perhaps it is not so much how often they attend which is the key, but the difference between the two groups in going at all.

Wives' Involvement in Military Social and Formal Events by
Husband's Rank Category

A similar pattern of involvement is found when we ask who attends various military social functions. Two-thirds of the officers' wives and slightly over one-third of the enlisted men's wives go to these events on a fairly regular basis (i.e., go to all or most of these events).⁸ Almost one-quarter of the officers' wives help to organize social events at least some of the time, while only 9.9 percent of the enlisted men's wives do so.

A greater percentage of women whose husbands are of officer rank attend formal military functions and attend them more frequently than do non-officer's wives.

The responses to why women go to the formal events is of interest. For women married to enlisted men the modal category for primary reason for attending formal military functions was that they enjoy them. That is, 42 percent of these women indicated that they attend formal functions because they enjoy them. For those whose husbands are

⁸ The categories of this question, originally set within the questionnaire as "all", "most", "some", and "none", were collapsed in table 5 and in the remainder of the tables to reflect those who go to military social frequently (i.e., to all or most of them); those who go sometimes (i.e., some); and those who never go (i.e., none). Again, the measures of association and probability statistics given are those for the relationship explored before these categories were collapsed.

officers, however, the modal category was that they go in support of their husbands.⁹

Almost a quarter of the officers' wives indicated that they attend formal events because they are expected to attend. Only 7 percent of the enlisted men's wives indicated this as their primary reason for attending.

Finally, it is of significance to note that the majority of the officers' wives indicated their primary reason for attending was what I have termed "other-directed" reasons (i.e., they attend this type of event because they are expected to; or, they see it as a means to foster belongingness amongst the members and their families; or, they go in support of their husbands). On the other hand, the majority (56.8%) of enlisted men's wives go for what I have termed "self-directed" reasons (i.e., they attend because they enjoy them; or, they see such events as a means to get out of the house for awhile; or, these events offer them the opportunity to meet to new people.) What we see then is a moderate negative relationship between attending

⁹ This category was originally set in the questionnaire as a means to measure some sense of obligation on the wife's part -- or some realization that her visible support is necessary at such events. However, upon reflection and based on one woman's response, I believe that this could be interpreted in another way as well. That is, women may have perceived this as a form of emotional support -- of their being back-up person to their husband -- and not in the terms that I had imagined. As a consequence of this, as indicated earlier, I have collapsed the various responses into "other-directed" reasons for attending, "self-directed" reasons, neutral reasons, and a miscellaneous category.

formal events for self-related reasons and husband's rank category. That is, those women whose husbands were of non-officer rank were more likely to be involved in these events for reasons that are entirely self-oriented.

Wives' Involvement as "Hostess" to Their Husbands' Colleagues by Husband's Rank Category

Another form of women's involvement/contributions to their husbands' careers is that of entertaining their husbands' subordinates, peers, and superiors. As mentioned earlier, Kanter (1977), Finch (1983), and others noted the importance of the wife's contribution in entertaining the husband's colleagues. Derr (1979) and others indicated this was an important element in the American military officer's wife's array of "duties" linked to her husband's position.

The majority of officers' wives in this sample were involved in this type of activity, while the majority of enlisted men's wives were not. Not only did a greater percentage of officers' wives entertain their husband's work colleagues in a "more formal way", but they did so more often than did women married to enlisted men.¹⁰

¹⁰ Of note, however, some of the respondents indicated that, though they "entertain", they would hesitate to call it entertaining on a formal basis. Nonetheless, the fact that there is such a drastic difference between the two groups on this question seems to indicate that officers' wives are more directly involved in this aspect of their husbands' military careers.

Parallels With the Husband's Involvement

Of interest, as well, is that the women's behavior within the military community seems to parallel that of their husbands. That is, a greater percentage of officers' wives indicated that their husbands attend Friday night "Happy Hour" or "Beer Call" and attend more frequently than did the non-officer wives (Gamma = +.61801).

Further, a greater percentage of those women married to officers, as opposed to those who are married to non-officers, report that their husbands work long hour and weekends (Gamma=+.36455), and that their husbands (at least sometimes) help organize parties and social events (Gamma=+.35125). This offers support for the earlier claim that officers are more involved in the military community, and that they are at least expected to demonstrate their commitment to the military by attending events and being visible at happy hours, etc.

Anticipating Arguments -- A Brief Clarifying Statement

Before moving on to the next section where control variables are introduced into the bivariate tables mentioned above, it is important to anticipate some arguments related to the relationship between husband's rank category and the various indicators of wives' involvement explored above.

It may be argued that officers' wives are more involved because there are more opportunities for them to be involved

(i.e., they may receive more invitations to events; they may have more facilities offered them, etc.) Generally the questions in the questionnaire were worded in such a way as to reduce or eliminate this bias.

Further, if the main or only explanation for the difference of wives' involvement was availability of opportunity, we would expect that no women married to men in the lower levels of non-officership would be involved (the assumption being that their opportunities would be few or non-existent). This was not the case and was determined by selecting out from the sample only those women married to men in the non-officer category and, then, by running the various indicators of involvement by their husband's rank level (from C.W.O. to Private). Many of the women whose husbands were of each rank level attended events ("wives' clubs", "formal" and "social" events), and some helped to organize the social events. Varied percentages of women whose husbands were of each rank level have been involved in entertaining their husbands' colleagues. Therefore, though the opportunities for involvement may be less, they do exist and it seems that some women married to men in each rank level of non-officership are involved and others are not.

The question then becomes why they are involved. If availability of opportunity were the only reason for women's involvement, we would expect that both groups (women married to officers and women married to non-officers) would be

equally likely to indicate that they are involved because they enjoy certain events or they would be equally likely to indicate a sense of obligation as contributing to their level of involvement. This, as will be seen, was not the case.

As a final note, if there is some truth in the statement that women are involved because of opportunity and if these opportunities are seen as desirable and are not made equally available to both groups of women, then we must also ask why one group receives some benefits and one does not.

Indicators of Wives' Involvement by Husband's Rank Category
Controlling For Wife's Age

The wife's age is an important variable to consider as a control. If age rather than husband's rank explained the difference of the women's involvement in military events, we would expect that there would be little or no differences in the involvement of officers' wives and enlisted men's wives in each age category. That is, I am exploring the possibility that despite the wife's age, officers' wives will be more involved than will enlisted men's wives.

If the wife's age explained involvement, we would expect that a greater percentage of older women than younger women in both groups would be as equally involved. The underlying assumption here is that older women, having spent more time in the military community, would either see their involvement differently or would merely be more involved because of their experiences over the years (i.e., frequent mobility). It was

pointed out earlier that frequent mobility may function to encourage members of the military community to turn inward to the military community as opposed to outward to the civilian community.

Further, it is assumed that the wife's age is related to the husband's rank level within each group. That is, generally within the rank categories of officer and non-officer, husband's rank increases with age. Assuming women marry men of a similar age group (or only slightly older), it stands to reason that the older women within each group are married to men of the higher ranks within their own categories (i.e., officer and non-officer).

Attendance and Involvement in Military Wives' Clubs with Wife's Age as the Control Variable

As the following table indicates, despite the women's age category, officers' wives were more likely to attend wives' clubs, to officiate in or organize wives' clubs and to go for "other-directed" reasons.

In every age category, there is a significant difference between the two groups in terms of whether or not they attend wives' clubs. Further, with few exceptions, officers' wives were the organizers of and officials in wives' clubs. Though, overall, there is little difference between officers' wives and enlisted men's wives in their reasons for attending, a greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives in every age category except the 19 to

25 year group indicated that the primary reasons they go to wives' clubs are "other-directed" reasons.

There is a significant jump in women's involvement amongst enlisted men's wives in the 40 to over 50 year old group. Indeed, age seems to be a distinct factor among women married to men of enlisted rank. The women in the 40 to over 50 aged group were considerably more involved than their younger counterparts. Indeed, in this age category enlisted men's wives were more likely than officers' wives to attend wives' clubs more frequently and to officiate or organize them. This is significant because these older women within the non-officer category may be married to men of higher rank.

TABLE 6

WIVES' INVOLVEMENT BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR WIFE'S AGE

INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT	WIFE'S AGE CATEGORY				1st Order Gamma
	19 - 25 YEARS	26 - 30 YEARS	31 - 39 YEARS	40 TO OVER 50 YEARS	
<u>WIVES' CLUBS</u>					
HUSBAND'S RANK					
Officer Enlisted					
Attends	68.4% 5.4% (27) (187) $\bar{G} = .95$ $p = .000$	43.3% 7.4% (43) (136) $\bar{G} = .81$ $p = .000$	64.1% 7.3% (35) (207) $\bar{G} = .92$ $p = .000$	44.4% 26.3% (26) (96) $\bar{G} = .44$ $p = .019$	.86061
Attends Frequently (all/half per year)	22.1% 50% (18) (10) $\bar{G} = .08$ $p = .363$	46.2% 50% (18) (10) $\bar{G} = .05$ $p = .431$	60% 33.3% (36) (15) $\bar{G} = .34$ $p = .061$	50% 75% (11) (20) $\bar{G} = -.48$ $p = .047$	.09524
Offical in Wives' Clubs	0% 0% (18) (10) $\bar{G} = N.A.$ $p = N.A.$	8.3% 0% (17) (10) $\bar{G} = 1.00$ $p = .178$	16% 0% (35) (15) $\bar{G} = 1.00$ $p = .051$	14.3% 20% (10) (25) $\bar{G} = -.20$ $p = .349$	.50000
Organizer of Wives' Clubs	30.8% 0% (18) (10) $\bar{G} = 1.00$ $p = .027$	33.3% 0% (17) (10) $\bar{G} = 1.00$ $p = .021$	36% 0% (36) (15) $\bar{G} = 1.00$ $p = .004$	14.3% 20% (10) (25) $\bar{G} = -.20$ $p = .349$	.77358
Goes for "Other-Directed" Reasons	8.3% 25% (17) (20) $\bar{G} = .57$ $p = .094$	7.7% 0% (18) (10) $\bar{G} = .71$ $p = .011$	33.3% 0% (34) (5) $\bar{G} = -1.00$ $p = .064$	60% 25% (7) (20) $\bar{G} = -.64$ $p = .048$	.06383

Involvement in Military Social and Formal Events and as
"Hostess" Controlling for the Wife's Age

Similarly, as the following tables indicate, officers' wives, despite their age categories, were more likely to be involved in other ways as well. Officers' wives attend social military functions and help to organize them; they attend formal military functions more frequently and are more likely to go for "other-directed" reasons than are women married to men in the non-officer category.

As can be seen in the following tables there are only a few exceptions to this pattern. That is, enlisted men's wives aged 40 to over 50 were more likely than officers' wives in the same age category to indicate that they frequently attend social and formal military functions.¹¹ Further a slightly higher percentage of enlisted men's wives in the aged 19 to 25 year old category were more likely to indicate that they help to organize at least some military events.

¹¹ Of interest, however, is that between officer and non-officer wives there was little difference in the percentages indicating that they attend all formal military events. This held for each age category except the aged 40 to over 50 group. In this group non-officer wives were especially likely to indicate that they attend all of the events (epsilon = -13.2%). However, as mentioned, the categories of "all" and "most" in this question were collapsed. Once having done so it became clear that overall officers' wives were more likely to indicate that they attend all or most of these events (i.e., they "frequently" go) and women married to enlisted men were more likely to indicate that they attend only some of these events (i.e., "sometimes" go).

Despite their age category, officers' wives were more likely to include amongst their activities entertaining their husbands' colleagues. Not only do officers' wives indicate that they entertain but (with one exception) they do so more frequently than do women married to non-officers.

TABLE 2

WIVES INVOLVEMENT BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR WIFE'S AGE

INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT	WIFE'S AGE CATEGORY				1st Order Statistic
	19 - 25 YEARS	26 - 30 YEARS	31 - 39 YEARS	40 TO OVER 50 YEARS	
MILITARY SOCIAL AND FORMAL EVENTS Frequently attends social events (all/most)	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted 77.8R 45.9R (26) (187) S = .16, p = .146	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted 65.5R 46.4R (41) (141) S = .28, p = .021	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted 77.5R 46.7R (57) (227) S = .46, p = .000	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted 33.4R 42.9R (26) (106) S = -.12, p = .268	.30476
Helps to Organize Social Events (at least some)	10.5R 13.5R (27) (187) S = .15, p = .320	13.3R 3.6R (43) (141) S = .61, p = .009	32.5R 11.1R (57) (227) S = .56, p = .000	27.8R 9.6R (26) (106) S = .51, p = .000	.45876
Attends Formal Events	100R 37.1R (27) (177) S = 1.00, p = .000	90R 46.4R (43) (141) S = .82, p = .000	97.4R 51.1R (54) (227) S = .95, p = .000	94.4R 57.1R (26) (106) S = .86, p = .000	.92060
Frequently Attends Formal Events (all/most)	84.2R 47.1R (27) (86) S = .30, p = .036	74.1R 61.6R (38) (66) S = .14, p = .203	81.1R 57.7R (53) (131) S = .25, p = .027	64.7R 75R (24) (61) S = -.29, p = .084	.18655
Goes for "Other-Directed" Reasons	55.6R 36.4R (26) (111) S = .37, p = .038	57.7R 42.9R (37) (71) S = -.29, p = .073	60.5R 50.0R (54) (131) S = -.21, p = .100	78.6R 22.2R (20) (45) S = -.86, p = .000	-.31541

TABLE 2

WIVES INVOLVEMENT BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR WIFE'S AGE

INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT	WIFE'S AGE CATEGORY					1st Order Statistic
	19 - 25 YEARS	26 - 30 YEARS	31 - 39 YEARS	40 TO OVER 50 YEARS		
ENTERTAINS						
HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted						
Acts as hostess to husband's work colleagues	55.6% 25% (26) (162) $\bar{G} = .58 \quad p = .001$	56.7% 21.4% (45) (141) $\bar{G} = .65 \quad p = .000$	81.6% 25% (54) (222) $\bar{G} = .86 \quad p = .000$	77.8% 30% (26) (101) $\bar{G} = .78 \quad p = .000$		.76254
Very Active As Hostess	10% 0.0% (14) (0) $\bar{G} = .21 \quad p = .198$	0.0% 14.3% (24) (35) $\bar{G} = .34 \quad p = .090$	30% 15.4% (45) (66) $\bar{G} = .60 \quad p = .000$	25% 14.3% (17) (35) $\bar{G} = .17 \quad p = .233$		.38104

As a footnote to these tables, it may be of some significance to note that among officers' wives, those of the age category 31 to 39 years were frequently more likely to be involved in various activities than were their younger and older counterparts.

This may be in keeping with Moore and Trout's (1978) visibility theory of promotion for military officers. Assuming that the respondents' husbands are of a similar age (and keeping in mind that it is at this age generally when officers' career patterns are decided), increased activity and visibility as a strategy for promotion may become important. In keeping with this line of thinking, at this age level wives' involvement would become most important.

Various Indicators of Wives' Involvement by Husband's Rank Category While Controlling for Years Married

Generally, the variable "years married" was entered into the equation for the same reasons as was wife's age. Years married, like wife's age, may be related to the husband's rank level within each group. That is, it is assumed that if women were married when their husbands began their careers in the military or shortly thereafter, those married the longest may be married to men who have reached the upper levels of the hierarchy of their own group.

At the same time, however, years married is also important because it accounts for the fact that women, though they may be older, have been married for a shorter period of time. This variable, in fact, permits us to "pick up" on those who have only a little experience in the community (i.e., learning the norms, etc.) and in the lifestyle (i.e., the number of moves), despite their age. It serves as a check for the variable wife's age.

Involvement in Wives' Clubs Controlling for Years Married

As Table 9 clearly indicates, overall, despite the number of years women have been married, there is a positive relationship between the respondents' husbands' rank category and their involvement in wives' clubs.

There is one exception to this pattern. Women married to men of enlisted ranks overall were more likely to attend wives' clubs more frequently than were officers' wives. Perhaps of significance, then, is the finding that they indicated they did so for different reasons (i.e., were less likely than officers' wives to indicate that they went for "other-directed" reasons).

Amongst the women married to enlisted men, years married appears to be a key factor. Only those who have been married for over 20 years are involved in wives' clubs as officials and organizers. Indeed, women in this category are often

more active than are officers' wives who have been married
for the same or similar period of time.

TABLE 2

WIVES INVOLVED BY HUSBANDS RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED

INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT	YEARS MARRIED					1st Order Gamma
	UNDER 1 YR.	1 - 5 YRS.	6 - 10 YRS.	11 - 20 YRS.	OVER 20 YRS.	
HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	
WIVES' CLINGS						
Attends	OR (6) 62.9% (10) (50) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (10) 11.9% (212) (212) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (37) 46.2% (152) (37) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (45) 68.7% (212) (45) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (13) 33.3% (71) (13) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	.86709
Attends Frequently (at least per yr.)	OR (31) 27.3% (25) (31) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (25) 60% (25) (25) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (10) 66.7% (10) (10) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (15) 63.6% (15) (15) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (4) 100% (4) (4) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	-.12046
Official	OR (30) 4.8% (25) (30) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (25) 0% (25) (25) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (10) 25% (10) (10) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (15) 9.5% (15) (15) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (4) 30% (4) (4) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	.70000
Organizer	OR (30) 33.3% (25) (30) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (25) 0% (25) (25) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (10) 41.7% (10) (10) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (15) 23.8% (15) (15) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (4) 33.3% (4) (4) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	.93651
Good for "Other-Directed" Reason	OR (28) 20% (30) (28) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (30) 16.7% (30) (30) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (5) 0% (5) (5) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (28) 40% (30) (28) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	OR (3) 50% (3) (3) $\bar{S}=N.A.$ $p=N.A.$	.03896

Involvement in Military Social and Formal Events and as
"Hostess" Controlling for Years Married

Similarly, as the following tables indicate, with few exceptions women married to men of officer rank are more involved socially (in terms of attending events and in terms of acting as hostesses to their husbands' colleagues) than are women married to enlisted men.

It is of significance to note that officers' wives married over 20 years were less likely to attend or to assist in the organization of military social events and less likely to attend formal functions frequently than were their counterparts married for a shorter period of time. Indeed, these women are less involved in formal or social events than are the enlisted men's wives who have been married the same period of time.

This general low involvement on the part of older officers' wives who have been married for a longer period of time may, in fact, lend support for the view that older officers' wives begin to withdraw their support in the later years of their "wife of" career (c.f. Stoddard and Cabanillas, 1976; Dobrofsky and Batterson, 1977, and Snyder, 1978).

TABLE 10

WIVES INVOLVEMENT BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED

INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT	YEARS MARRIED					1st Order Sigma
	UNDER 1 YR.	1 - 5 YRS.	6 - 10 YRS.	11 - 20 YRS.	OVER 20 YRS.	
MILITARY SOCIAL AND FORMAL EVENTS	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	
	75R 0R (6) (10)	66.7R 54.8R (46) (212)	76R 22.3R (36) (157)	72.8R 52.4R (47) (212)	11.1R 35.7R (13) (71)	22888
	$\bar{S}=1.00$ $n=.001$	$\bar{S}=1.00$ $n=.494$	$\bar{S}=1.54$ $n=.000$	$\bar{S}=1.35$ $n=.005$	$\bar{S}=1.69$ $n=.013$	
	Frequently attends social events (all/most)					
Helps Organize at Least Some Social Events	0R 0R (6) (10)	17.1R 16.7R (50) (212)	15.4R 6.4R (37) (157)	39.4R 7.1R (47) (212)	11.1R 7.1R (13) (71)	44369
	$\bar{S}=1.00$ $n=.001$	$\bar{S}=1.00$ $n=.495$	$\bar{S}=1.41$ $n=.047$	$\bar{S}=1.79$ $n=.000$	$\bar{S}=1.18$ $n=.349$	
	Attends Formal Events					
	100R 50R (6) (10)	97.1R 39R (48) (207)	88.5R 43.3R (37) (152)	100R 57.1R (48) (212)	88.9R 50R (13) (71)	.93521
	$\bar{S}=1.00$ $n=.024$	$\bar{S}=1.96$ $n=.000$	$\bar{S}=1.82$ $n=.000$	$\bar{S}=1.00$ $n=.000$	$\bar{S}=1.78$ $n=.005$	

TABLE 10 (CONTINUED)

WIVES INVOLVED BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED

INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT	YEARS MARRIED					1st Order Sigma
	UNDER 1 YR.	1 - 5 YRS.	6 - 10 YRS.	11 - 20 YRS.	OVER 20 YRS.	
HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OFFICER Enlisted	
MILITARY FORMAL EVENTS						
Frequently Attends Formal Events (all/most)	75R 0R (6) (5) G=1.00 p=.002	81.8R 63.2R (47) (96) G=.04 p=.384	78.3R 38.5R (33) (66) G=.50 p=.000	81.3R 67.9R (45) (141) G=.13 p=.193	57.5R 57.2R (11) (35) G=.44 p=.083	.13064
Goes for Other- Directed Reasons	100R 0R (4) (5) G=1.00 p=N.A.	55.9R 30.4R (48) (116) G=.49 p=.001	57.1R 31.3R (30) (81) G=.49 p=.002	66.7R 61.5R (43) (131) G=.11 p=.274	62.5R 20R (11) (25) G=.74 p=.006	-.35597

WIVES INVOLVEMENT BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR NUMBER OF YEARS MARRIED

YEARS MARRIED						
INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT		UNDER 1 YR.	1 - 5 YRS.	6 - 10 YRS.	11 - 20 YRS.	OVER 20 YRS.
HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK Officer Enlisted
1st Order Gamma						
ENTERTAINERS						
Acts as hostess to						
Husband's colleagues						
25% (6)	50% (10)	58.8% (46)	24.4% (207)	64% (36)	25.8% (157)	90.6% (45)
9=50	n=.174	9=63	n=.000	9=67	n=.000	9=95
n=.000						
66.7% (15)	38.5% (66)	9=52	n=.032			
.77402						
Very Active as Hostess						
/	OR (5)	9.5% (30)	OR (66)	11.8% (24)	22.8% (45)	28% (61)
16.7% (61)	33.3% (9)	OR (20)	.33706			
G=N.A.	G=N.A.	9=40	n=.017	9=41	n=.024	9=59
n=.000						
9=33	n=.134					

Various Indicators of Wives' Involvement by Husband's Rank Category While Controlling for the Wife's Employment Status

Various researchers in the United States have found that military wives' participation in paid employment outside the home decreases as the rank level of their husbands increases (Finlayson, 1976; Hunter, Gelb and Hickman, 1981; Hunter, 1982, Little, 1971; Goldman, 1976).¹² Further, Mohr, Holtzbach and Morrison (1981) indicated that American military wives (Naval junior officers' wives) who were not employed outside the home were more supportive of their husbands' military careers.

Given Mohr, Holtzbach and Morrison's (1981) findings (and expanding it to include all women married to C.A.F. personnel), if the employment status of the wives alone explained wives' involvement in the community, we would expect that despite husband's rank those wives who worked outside the home would be less likely to be involved in various activities than those who are not employed outside the home. Conversely, we would expect that amongst the unemployed women there would be no differences between women

¹² This finding is not borne out in this study. There were no significant differences between the two groups in terms of their employment status and in terms of whether or not the women were full- or part-time workers. Of the officers' wives, 38.6 percent were involved in paid work outside the home while 36.6 percent of the enlisted men's wives were so employed. 47.4 percent of the officers' wives and 51.1 percent of the enlisted men's wives were employed in a full-time capacity.

married to men in the officer category and the non-officer category in the degree to which they are involved. Because wives' employment status may be considered another factor influencing involvement, this variable was entered into the original bivariate table as a control variable. As the following table and discussion indicate the original bivariate relationships between husband's rank level and the various indicators of wives' involvement mentioned above were present in the analysis.

TABLE 12

**INVOLVEMENT BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR
WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS**

	EMPLOYED		UNEMPLOYED		1st Order Gamma
Indicators of Involvement	Officer	Enlisted	Officer	Enlisted	
Wives' Clubs					
Attends	48.7% (55) <u>G=.70 p=.000</u>	14.6% (242) <u></u>	59.1% (94) <u>G=.91 p=.000</u>	6.1% (44) <u></u>	.86443
Attends Frequently (all/half per year)	42.1% (27) <u>G=.67 p=.000</u>	83.3% (30) <u></u>	48.7% (55) <u>G=.44 p=.003</u>	20% (25) <u></u>	.04348
Official	11.8% (24) <u>G=.11 p=.390</u>	14.3% (35) <u></u>	10.3% (55) <u>G=1.00 p=.048</u>	0% (25) <u></u>	.36170
Organizer	23.5% (24) <u>G=.30 p=.183</u>	14.3% (35) <u></u>	35.9% (55) <u>G=1.00 p=.000</u>	0% (25) <u></u>	.75701
Goes for "Other-Directed" Reason	37.5% (23) <u>G=.41 p=.092</u>	20% (25) <u></u>	18.9% (53) <u>G=.26 p=.128</u>	16.7% (30) <u></u>	.08527
Military Social and Formal Events					
Frequently Attends Social Events	64.1% (55) <u>G=.05 p=.343</u>	56.2% (242) <u></u>	67.7% (92) <u>G=.39 p=.000</u>	39.8% (419) <u></u>	.28368
Organizes at Least Some Social Events	28.2% (55) <u>G=.37 p=.010</u>	14.6% (242) <u></u>	17.9% (95) <u>G=.45 p=.001</u>	7.2% (419) <u></u>	.42045

TABLE 12 (Continued)

**INVOLVEMENT BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR
WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS**

Indicators of Involvement	EMPLOYED		UNEMPLOYED		1st Order Gamma
	Officer	Enlisted	Officer	Enlisted	
Attends Formal Events	100% (54)	66.7% (242)	92.4% (94)	35.8% (409)	.92611
	G=1.00 p=.000		G=.91 p=.000		
Frequently Attends Formal Events (all/most)	71.1% (54)	61.8% (172)	80.3% (87)	55.9% (172)	.18586
	G=.11 p=.183		G=.38 p=.000		
Goes for "Other- Directed" Reasons	71.4% (50)	43.3% (152)	55% (85)	39% (207)	.37969
	G=.53 p=.000		G=.31 p=.006		
ENTERTAINS					
Acts as Hostess to Husband's Colleagues	76.3% (54)	23.9% (232)	64.2% (92)	25.6% (414)	.72013
	G=.82 p=.000		G=.68 p=.000		
Very Active as Hostess	26.9% (37)	0% (40)	11.9% (60)	12.9% (157)	.21583
	G=.68 p=.000		G=.13 p=.135		

Table 12 illustrates (with few exceptions) that, despite employment outside the home, overall officers' wives were more involved in wives' clubs and in formal and social events. They were more likely to entertain their husbands' work colleagues in a more "formal" way, and generally were more "active" as hostesses in their own homes than were enlisted men's wives.

Enlisted men's wives who were employed outside the home were generally more involved in wives' clubs and in military events than were those who were not employed.

Unemployed officers' wives were generally more involved in wives' clubs than were those who did work outside the home, but were less likely generally to be involved in other aspects of military community life. Further a greater percentage of both officers' wives and enlisted men's wives who were employed outside the home, as opposed to those of both groups who were not, indicated that they primarily go to formal events and wives' clubs for "other-directed" reasons.

This finding and those suggesting their greater degree of involvement suggests that these women may be compensating for what they may perceive as the time taken away from the military community. This suggestion, of course, is only an assumption and would require a more in-depth analysis to determine its validity.

Generally to this point the data suggests that officers' wives despite their age, the number of years they have been married, and their employment status tend to be more involved in the military community and in their husbands' military careers. This is reflected, as well in the responses to the questions of how a wife can hinder or hurt her husband's military career and how a wife can help it. It is to the responses to these questions to which we now turn.

Perceiving Their Work: Wives' Input into the Military Career

Though women married to enlisted men were slightly more likely to indicate that a wife can hurt her husband's

military career (Gamma = -.26261), there was little difference between officers' wives and enlisted men's wives in their responses to whether or not a wife could help.

There were differences between the two groups in the ways they discussed the wife's role. As was explained in the section of this paper dealing with the definition of the concepts, the responses to these open-ended questions were coded into specific categories dealing with ways in which the wife is involved and can contribute to her husband's career. Officers' wives were more likely to mention the more direct input wives have into their husbands' careers than were non-officers' wives. The following tables indicate the four most frequently cited ways in which women in both groups indicated that they could hinder or help their husbands' military careers.

TABLE 13

FOUR MOST FREQUENTLY CITED WAYS A WOMAN CAN HINDER HER HUSBAND'S MILITARY CAREER (IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE TO EACH GROUP) BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY

Officer	Non-officer
1. Poor public image (58.5%)	1. Poor public image (49.5%)
2. Failure to cope or refusal to accept lifestyle (41.5%)	2. Failure to cope or refusal to accept lifestyle (41.1%)
3. Poor personal image (26.6%)	3. Lack of affectual support (18.7%)
4. Non-participation in social events (25.5%)	4. Lack of domestic support (17.8%)

Clearly both groups of women are aware of the importance of conforming to or complying with the demands of the lifestyle. Both are also cognizant of the importance of

image-sustaining in the community. However, it does appear that officers' wives see their own involvement in more direct ways. In Table 13 it is clear that, though some form of public "image sustaining" is important to both groups of women, a greater percentage of officers' wives mentioned that a wife could harm her husband's career by not participating or by not presenting a "good" (public or personal) image in the community than did wives of enlisted men. Enlisted men's wives tended to discuss their involvement in more indirect ways and were more likely than officers' wives to indicate that if a wife did not offer her support at home emotionally and through her physical labour, the husband could not carry out his work.

In the following table, we can see that both groups of women felt that a wife is a factor in her husband's career success primarily by offering her affectual or emotional support. It is of significance to note that a far greater percentage of enlisted men's wives mentioned this than did officers' wives. Officers' wives were more likely than enlisted men's wives to discuss the wife's importance in working "for" her husband. This is a direct form of contribution. At the same time, it is of importance to note that a greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives indicated that the wife can help her husband through her domestic labour.

TABLE 14

FOUR MOST FREQUENTLY CITED WAYS A WOMAN CAN HELP HER HUSBAND'S MILITARY CAREER (IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE TO EACH GROUP) BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY

<u>Officer</u>	<u>Non-officer</u>
1. Through her affectual/emotional support (39.8%)	1. Through her affectual/emotional support (62.5%)
2. By working for him (38.7%)	2. Through her willingness to accept the lifestyle (21.4%)
3. Through her domestic labour (34.4%)	3. Through her domestic labour (18.8%)
4. Through her willingness to accept the lifestyle (26.9%)	4. By working with him (10.7%)

Experiencing a Sense of Obligations and Conflicts by Husband's Rank Category

There does, then, appear to be some support for the hypothesis that women married to officers will be more involved in the community and involved in a more direct way in their husbands' military careers. At the same time, a greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives indicated that they felt obligated (at least sometimes) to attend certain military events. Eighty-four percent of the officers' wives and almost 38 percent of the enlisted men's wives indicated that there were times when they felt this obligation. This relationship remained when the controls of wife's age (.77382), years married (.82339) and employment status (.80505) were introduced.¹³

¹³ The figures shown in brackets are the 1st-order partial gammas.

Within the group of officers' wives, age, the number of years they have been married, and their employment status made little difference. The younger women and the older women were as likely to indicate that they experienced this sense of obligation, as were the employed and the unemployed officers' wives. Amongst those married the shortest period of time all of the officers' wives experienced this sense of obligation and almost 80 percent of those married the longest had the same feeling.

Amongst the women married to enlisted men, the older women and those married a greater period of time were slightly more likely to indicate feeling a sense of obligation to attend various military events. Interesting, as well, given that employed enlisted men's wives were more likely to attend events, is the finding that they were also more likely to indicate that there were times when they felt this sense of obligation.¹⁴

Further, officers' wives were more likely than enlisted men's wives to indicate that they (at least sometimes) felt a conflict between their responsibilities as a "military wife" in terms of what is expected of them and their own responsibilities as persons with their own occupations

¹⁴ The explanation for the difference between employed and unemployed enlisted men's wives may, in fact, lie in their ages and/or the number of years they have been married. That is, of the enlisted men's wives, those who are employed outside the home are the older women and those married the longest period of time.

(Gamma = +.34653) and their own responsibilities as mothers (Gamma = +.61727). Overall these relationships remained despite the respondent's age, the number of years they had been married and their employment status.¹⁵

Women married to enlisted men were only slightly more likely to indicate that there were times when their responsibilities as a military wife conflicted with their work as "housewives" (Gamma = -.12219). Generally when controlling for the respondent's age, years married and employment status this relationship remained, but was true of younger women, those married the shorter period of time, and those who were not employed outside the home.

The Rating of Wives: Women's Perceptions

Officers' wives were slightly more likely to indicate that wives are "rated" by the military when decisions are made regarding husbands' promotions and postings. Slightly over one-half of the officers' wives and slightly over one-third of the enlisted men's wives perceived that wives were rated in promotion decisions (at least under certain conditions) (Gamma = +.34052). The differences between the two groups of women were not as significant when it came to

¹⁵ The categories on the question dealing with conflicts (question number 52 in the questionnaire) were collapsed into the simple dichotomies of "yes" and "no". This was done because the purpose of this question was to determine whether or not the women experienced these conflicts, and not the extent to which they do.

examining their responses to a similar question regarding the rating of wives during posting decisions. Slightly over half of the officers' wives and almost one half of the women married to non-officers felt the military rated wives in posting decisions ($\Gamma = .+22258$). These relationships remained despite the women's age level, the number of years married, and their employment status.

HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY AND WIVES' "DEGREE OF IDENTIFICATION"

As discussed in the previous chapter and above, wives are seen as being "drawn in" in another important way. It has been argued that the military as a "greedy institution" seeks to win the support of spouses/wives. At the least the organization seeks wives' compliance and at the most, commitment or identification to the organization. It has also been argued that the organization utilizes coercive and non-coercive techniques to win the support of spouses. It has been suggested that one of those non-coercive techniques involves the military's provision of certain services or benefits. In the American military case both Kohen (1984) and Dobrofsky (1977) have indicated that these provisions have the implicit function of encouraging individuals' dependence on and commitment to the organization. This argument can be extended, however, to take into account the fact that not all benefits/status/rewards are distributed equally. That is, benefits and status in the Canadian Armed

Forces increase with military rank. Those who are of officer rank as opposed to enlisted rank receive more in terms of status or benefits.

I have argued that the military as a "greedy institution" incorporates the wives of its members in its demands and vicariously in its rewards (or status system). I have suggested that social status and benefits are positively related to rank level and that social status and benefits are positively related to the degree of identification. Arising from these claims, it was hypothesized that:

A greater percentage of officers' wives than wives of enlisted men will identify with the military and with their husbands' particular work unit.

As was mentioned previously, identification may be of two main types -- identifying with the military as a whole and identifying with the husband's particular unit/squadron/regiment. In this section we will look at those findings relating to wives' identification with the military as a whole and compare the responses on the basis of the husband's rank category within the military.

The first way "identification" with the military as a whole was measured involved asking with whom the women, alone or with their husbands, spent their leisure time (i.e., who the majority of their women friends were, and with whom they, as a wife/husband couple, spent the majority of their leisure time).

Though a slightly greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives indicated that the majority of their women friends, and their "couple" friends were located within the military community, the difference between the two groups was not significant. The majority of women in both groups indicated that the majority of their women friends were both women of the military community and women of the civilian community. The majority of both groups of women indicated that they and their husbands, as a couple, spend the majority of their leisure time alone or with family.

It is further assumed that those who would disagree with the following statements would identify with the military as a whole:

1. If I had a son (or daughter) and he (she) wanted to join the Canadian Armed Forces, I would encourage him (her) to choose another career.
2. I prefer being with friends of the civilian community rather than those in the military community.
3. The military does not care what wives think.
4. In this day and age, I find military customs outdated.

Those who agree with the following statements are thought to identify with the military as a whole:

1. The trouble with many military wives today is that they can't see the necessity of maintaining military protocol and tradition.
2. Military wives who criticize the military are troublemakers.
3. Military personnel and their families are rarely understood by individuals in the civilian community.

4. I feel a sense of pride in being a part of the military community.

5. More military wives ought to take part in regimental/unit/squadron social events.

6. There are important reasons for military members to maintain the rank structure outside of working hours.

Initially the categories of these statements ran from strongly disagree to strongly agree. However, because the purpose was to determine agreement or disagreement only, these categories were collapsed into three: disagree, undecided, agree. Tables 15 and 16 summarize the findings. In table 15, those who disagree with the various statements shown are thought to identify with the military, and in table 16 those who agree are thought to identify.

TABLE 15**PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN DISAGREEING WITH VARIOUS STATEMENTS BY
HUSBAND'S RANK**

Statement	Husband's Rank	
	Officer	Enlisted
Would encourage son to choose another career	65.4% (152) Gamma = .03	62.3% (656) p=.378
Prefers being with civilian friends	56.9% (145) Gamma = -.15	64.3% (651) p=.031
The military does not care what wives think	30.8% (148) Gamma = .16	24.6% (656) p=.021
Military customs are outdated	52.9% (148) Gamma = .25	32.8% (646) p=.001
Would encourage daughter to choose another career	58.9% (152) Gamma = .05	53.1% (657) p=.256

TABLE 16

**PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN AGREEING WITH VARIOUS STATEMENTS BY
HUSBAND'S RANK**

Statement	Husband's Rank	
	Officer	Enlisted
The trouble with military wives today is that they can't see the necessity of maintaining military protocol and tradition	37.4% (152) Gamma = .09	41.9% (651) p=.123
Military wives who criticize the military are troublemakers	18.1% (149) Gamma = .13	24% (651) p=.060
Military personnel and families are rarely understood by civilians	63.6% (152) Gamma = .02	60.5% (651) p=.426
Feels pride being part of military community	68.9% (151) Gamma = -.10	62% (651) p=.138
More wives "ought" to take part in social events	55.7% (151) Gamma = -.06	53.4% (662) p=.215
There are important reasons for military members to maintain rank outside of working hours	52.9% (152) Gamma = -.61	16.9% (656) p=.000

For all but five of the above statements there were little (or no) significant differences between the two groups of women in their responses. That is:

1. Though the majority of the women in both groups disagreed with the suggestions that they would encourage their sons or daughters to select a career other than the military, there were no significant differences between the groups.

2. The majority of women in both groups agreed that military personnel and their families are rarely understood by individuals in the civilian community, but the difference between the two groups in their response to this question were insignificant.

3. The majority of the women in both groups agreed that they felt some sense of pride in being a part of the military community, but there was no significant difference between the two groups.

4. The majority of the women in both groups agreed that more wives ought to take part in regimental/unit/squadron social events, but there was no significant difference between the two groups in their responses to this statement.

5. Both groups of women were evenly split between agreeing and disagreeing with the statement that the trouble with some military wives is that they can't see the necessity of maintaining military protocol and tradition, and there were no significant differences between them in terms of their responses to this statement.

As tables 15 and 16 indicate, there were, however, differences found between officers' wives and enlisted men's

wives in their responses to the other statements. Though the majority of women in both groups indicated disagreement with the statement, "Military wives who criticize the military are troublemakers", a slightly greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives disagreed with this statement. (The relationship, though, is weak and not statistically significant.)

Though the majority of both groups of women indicated their disagreement with the statement that they prefer being with friends in the civilian community, a greater percentage of women married to men of enlisted rank indicated their disagreement.

The majority of women in both groups agreed with the statement that, "The military does not care what wives think". Officers' wives, however, were slightly more likely to disagree with this than were enlisted men's wives. Again, the relationship between husband's rank category and the wives' responses to this statement was weak.

Similarly, officers' wives were more likely to disagree with the statement that military customs are outdated than were enlisted men's wives. The relationship between husband's rank category and wives' feelings with regard to this statement, though slightly stronger relative to the ones already discussed, was also weak.

There was, however, a substantial difference between the two groups of women in their responses to the statement,

"There are important reasons for military members to maintain the rank structure outside of working hours". A far greater percentage of those women married to enlisted men indicated their disagreement with this statement than did officers' wives.

Wives' Degree of Identification with the Military as a Whole Controlling for Wife's Age, Years Married, Wife's Employment Status and Level of Education

The variables wife's age, years married, wife's employment status and level of education were introduced as control variables. It is assumed they would be related to those statements measuring identification, as well as to the husband's rank category.

It is assumed that older women and/or those married for the longest period of time would have spent more time in the military community. They are, in relative terms, "old hats". In all likelihood they would have experienced more moves and would have had more time to become attached to the community in many ways. As a result of these factors, it is assumed that they would probably identify higher than those with little experience.

It is also assumed that those who work outside their homes would have had more contact with a variety of people with a variety of backgrounds than those who do not. They would have had more exposure to differing viewpoints, which

may, in fact, influence the degree to which they would agree or disagree with the above statements.

Education may also be related to both the dependent variable (identification) and the independent variable (husband's rank). In this particular sample women married to men in the officer category tended to have a higher level of education than those married to enlisted men.

Education may also be related to women's identification with the military. That is, it is assumed that those who have a higher level of education would have a somewhat broader view of the world and therefore would not be as likely to identify with the military (i.e., its norms, etc.).

I am exploring the possibility that despite the wife's age, the number of years they have been married, their employment status or their education level, women married to men of officer rank would identify higher with the military than would those married to men of enlisted rank. In the following pages, focusing on those statements above, we explore the original bivariate relationships between husband's rank and wife's identification with the military as a whole while controls are introduced.

"There are important reasons for military members to maintain the rank structure outside of working hours":

When the controls of wife's age, years married, wife's employment status and education level were introduced into the table exploring the relationship between the wife's

husband's rank category and the statement that there are important reasons for military members to maintain the rank structure outside of working hours, we find overall that despite the wife's age, despite the number of years the women were married, despite their employment status, and despite their level of education, a greater percentage of women married to men in the officer category agreed with this statement. (See Table 27 in Appendix D). Amongst the partial tables, the only exceptions to the pattern were amongst those married the longest period of time (i.e., married for over 20 years) and those with the highest level of education (i.e., at least some graduate school). In these groups, a greater percentage of enlisted men's wives than officers' wives were more likely to agree.

"The military does not care what wives think"

As previously noted, the majority of both groups of women actually agreed with this statement. However, overall, when controlling for the respondents' age, the number of years they had been married, their employment status, and their level of education officers' wives were more likely to disagree than were women married to enlisted men.

Specifically, this pattern was found in every category of the variable of wife's education, as well as amongst unemployed women, women from 31 years of age upwards, and amongst those married less than one year and those married from 11 to over 20 years. (See Table 28 in Appendix D.)

"In this day and age, I find military customs outdated":

When the control variables of wife's age, years married, wife's employment status, and wife's education level are introduced, overall the original findings remain. Officers' wives were more likely than enlisted men's wives to indicate their disagreement with this statement. That is, as Table 29 in Appendix D illustrates, in every category of the variables wife's age, years married and employment status, a greater percentage of women married to men in the officer category disagreed with the statement that military customs are outdated. In every category of the variable of wife's education with the exception of those with the highest level of education, a greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives disagreed.

"Military wives who criticize the military are troublemakers":

As previously stated, the majority of women married to men in both status groups indicated their disagreement with this statement. Overall, despite the controls of wife's age, years married, and employment status, the original finding held. A greater percentage of enlisted men's wives agreed that military wives who criticize the military are "troublemakers". When the control variable, wife's education, was introduced the original relationship almost disappeared (1st-Order Gamma = $-.04378$).

Again, however, there were some exceptions to this pattern. (See Table 30 in Appendix D). The opposite finding was found in the 26 to 30 year old group, amongst those married from less than one year and over 20 years. In these categories a greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives agreed. Amongst those women with an education level of at least some community college and at least some university, a greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives agreed.

"I prefer being with friends of the civilian community rather than those in the military community":

Though the majority of women in each group disagreed with this statement, women married to enlisted men were more likely to disagree than those who were married to officers. Overall this relationship remained despite the wife's age, years married or their employment status. The exceptions to this pattern, illustrated in Table 31, Appendix D, included those of 19 to 25 years of age and those married less than one year, from 1 to 5 years, as well as those married over 20 years. In these categories a slightly higher percentage of women married to officers than non-officers indicated their disagreement. When the control for wife's education level was introduced the original relationship almost disappeared (1st-Order Gamma = $-.07223$).

Generally when the controls of wife's age, years married, wife's employment status, and wife's education level

were entered into the original bivariate tables of husband's rank category and the various other statements, there were little changes¹⁶ with the exception of the following:

1. Feels pride in being a part of the military community: When controlling for years married, wives' employment status, and education level overall a greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives agreed with this statement. This was especially the case amongst unemployed women, amongst those married in every category except those married over 20 years, and amongst women in every education category except those women with at least some graduate school experience.

2. More wives ought to take part in military social events: When controlling for wife's age, overall a greater percentage of officers' wives than non-officers' wives agreed with this statement, though this was true only of those aged 31 to 39 and 40 to over 50 years of age. Amongst the younger women, (aged 19 to 25 and 26 to 30 years) a greater percentage of enlisted men's wives agreed with this.

When controlling for the wife's education level, overall a greater percentage of officers' wives agreed with this statement. The exception is amongst those women with at least some graduate school experience.

¹⁶ This was determined by examining the zero-order and the partial gammas for each of the remaining statements.

3. The trouble with many military wives is that they can't see the necessity of maintaining military protocol and tradition: When controlling for wife's age, a greater percentage of those women married to enlisted men in every age category except the 40 to over 50 year old group indicated their agreement with this statement.

When controlling for education level, the relationship (overall) is reversed, and a greater percentage of officers' wives agreed with this statement. This pattern remained in every category except those with a graduate level education. Here a slightly greater percentage of women married to men of enlisted rank agreed.

Discussion

Though most of the relationships between husband's rank and these indicators of identification have been weak and show some inconsistencies, it is of significance to note some of the consistencies. Overall the data seem to suggest that officers' wives were more likely to agree with military norms and customs (i.e., acceptance of members maintaining rank and the perception that military customs are not outdated) than were enlisted men's wives. Further there is some evidence to suggest that these same women seemed more likely to take a protective stance of the military when it came to themselves as evidenced by the differences between officers' wives and enlisted men's wives in their disagreement with the statement

that the military does not care what wives think. (Though, admittedly, the differences between the two groups are especially apparent among older women, those married for the shortest and for longer periods of time, as well as among those who are unemployed.)

These findings suggest that officers' wives, like officers themselves, are the gatekeepers of military norms and customs: the protectors of a military "culture".

Identifying with the Husband's Work Unit/Squadron/Regiment

The second major aspect of wives' identification has to do more with their husbands' particular unit/squadron/regiment. As was explained in an earlier section, this aspect of wives' identification was measured by asking the respondents to check off as many of the following four statements which best describes their feelings for their husbands' military unit/squadron/regiment.

1. I feel an integral part of the unit/squadron/regimental family.
2. I have some feeling of belongingness to the unit/squadron/regiment.
3. I feel some indifference towards his unit/squadron/regiment.
4. I feel myself to be totally removed from his unit/squadron/regiment.

Each of these statements was then treated as a separate variable and coded as either being checked off or not being checked off by the respondents (i.e., "yes" or "no"). If a

woman did not respond to any of the four statements she was coded as "missing" on all four.

Each of these variables were then treated as dependent variables and a cross-tabular analysis was carried out with husband's rank category as the independent variable. The results of the zero-order correlations are presented in summary form in Table 17.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGES RESPONDING "YES" TO INDIVIDUAL STATEMENTS MEASURING WIVES' DEGREE OF IDENTIFICATION WITH THEIR HUSBANDS' UNIT, SQUADRON, OR REGIMENT BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY

Statement	Husband's Rank Category		Gamma	Significance
	Officer N (149)	Enlisted N (646)		
Feels an integral part of "family"	21.9%	6.3%	.62	.000
Has some feeling of belongingness	57.1%	38.3%	.37	.000
Feels some indifference	20%	34.4%	-.35	.000
Feels totally removed	20%	39.1%	-.44	.000

To summarize these findings, it is clear that

- (1) a greater percentage of women married to men of the officer rank than women married to men of non-officer rank indicated that they felt an integral part of the unit/squadron/regimental family;
- (2) A greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives have some feeling of belongingness to the unit/squadron/regiment;
- (3) A greater percentage of women married to men of non-officer rank than

women married to men of officer rank indicated that they felt some indifference toward their husbands' unit/squadron/regiment; and, (4) A greater percentage of non-officers' wives indicated that they felt themselves to be totally removed from their husbands' unit/squadron/regiment.

When years married, wife's age, wife's employment status, and education level were entered as controls, the original bivariate relationships remained. That is, despite the number of years the women have been married, their age group, their employment status or their level of education, officers' wives were overall more likely to indicate that they felt an integral part of the "family" and some sense of belongingness to the unit/squadron/regiment than did women married to men who were not officers. Enlisted men's wives, despite the number of years married, their age group, their employment status, or their education level, were more likely than officers' wives to indicate that they felt some indifference toward or complete removal from their husbands' unit/squadron/regiment.

As was explained in the previous chapter, a new variable measuring wives' degree of identification ("ID") was created by collapsing the women's responses to these statements. The following table reveals the percentages of women who scored from very high to very low in identification with their husbands' unit/squadron/regiment.

TABLE 18

PERCENT OF SAMPLE SCORING FROM VERY HIGH TO
VERY LOW IN DEGREE OF IDENTIFICATION (ID)

<u>Degree of Identification</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Very high	12.8%
High	33.7
Mid	8.1
Low	15.8
Very low	29.5
	99.9
(N)	(234)

Women's Degree of "ID" by Husband's Rank Category

In examining the relationship between the women's degree of ID and husband's rank category, we find that a greater percentage of officers' wives than women married to enlisted men, identified higher with their husbands' unit/squadron/regiment. That is, slightly over 60 percent of the officers' wives and slightly over 30 percent of enlisted men's wives scored either very high or high on identification.

(Gamma = .46268).

Wives' Degree of "ID" by Husband's Rank Controlling for
Wife's Age and Years Married

The positive relationship between husband's rank and the degree of wives' identification remained despite the wife's age group, and despite the number of years the women had been married.

As the following table demonstrates at each age level and in every category of the variable years married, a greater percentage of officers' wives than non-officers' wives scored higher in identification with their husbands' unit/squadron/regiment. In both cases it appears that husband's rank category is slightly more strongly correlated with wives' degree of identification than is either the wife's age or the number of years the women have been married.¹⁷

¹⁷ This finding was determined by calculating the "relative effects" of the independent variables on the dependent variables (c.f. McGaw and Watson, 1976:444 - 446). The category "very high" on the dependent variable, ID, was used as the basis to determine the relative effects of the husband's rank and wife's age, as well as the husband's rank and years married.

TABLE 19

WIVES' DEGREE OF IDENTIFICATION (ID)* BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR (1) WIFE'S AGE (2) YEARS MARRIED

		WIFE'S AGE									
WIVES' DEGREE OF ID		19 - 25 YEARS	26 - 30 YEARS	31 - 39 YEARS	40 TO OVER 50 YEARS						
Very High/High	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	1st Order Second				
	72.2R (26) S=.65 p=.000	25.7R (17) S=.44 p=.000	53.4R (43) S=.44 p=.000	29.6R (136) S=.41 p=.000	56.4R (55) S=.41 p=.000	37.8R (227) S=.41 p=.000	77.8R (26) S=.42 p=.005	.46035			
YEARS MARRIED											
Very High/High	UNDER 1 YR.	1 - 5 YRS.	6 - 10 YRS.	11 - 20 YRS.	OVER 20 YRS.						
	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OTC/EC Enlisted					
Very High/High	50R (6) S=.71 p=.018	OR (10) S=.41 p=.000	58.9R (48) S=.41 p=.000	34.1R (207) S=.47 p=.000	64R (36) S=.47 p=.000	31R (146) S=.53 p=.000	60.6R (47) S=.53 p=.000	33.3R (212) S=.44 p=.029	77.7R (13) S=.44 p=.029	50R (71) S=.44 p=.029	.47051

* For the sake of simplicity the categories of "very high" and "high" on the variable "ID" have been collapsed in these tables and in the one following them. The first order partial gammas shown are those for the relationships explored before these categories were collapsed.

Wives' Degree of "ID" by Husband's Rank Category Controlling
for Wife's Employment Status

As Table 20 indicates, there is a moderate positive relationship between the women's degree of ID and husband's rank while controlling for the wife's employment status.

Of particular interest is that there was no significant difference between officers' wives who were employed outside the home and those who were not. Both were as likely to score in the high ranges of degree of identification (i.e., high or very high).

Within the group of enlisted men's wives in this sample, a greater percentage of those who were employed outside the home had a higher degree of identification with their husbands' unit/squadron/regiment than did those who were not employed outside the home. (This may have more to do with the age level or the number of years they have been married. That is, the enlisted men's wives who were employed, were generally older and married longer than their unemployed counterparts.)

Overall, when each of the variables (husband's rank and wife's employment status) takes a turn as a control, it is the husband's rank category which has the greatest effect on the wives' degree of identification.

TABLE 20

**WIVES' DEGREE OF "ID" BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY
CONTROLLING FOR WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS**

Wives' Degree of ID	EMPLOYED		UNEMPLOYED	
	<u>Husband's Rank</u>		<u>Husband's Rank</u>	
	Officer	Enlisted	Officer	Enlisted
Very High	23.1%	8.5%	21.5%	3.7%
High	38.5	42.6	41.5	21.0
Mid	10.3	6.4	6.2	8.6
Low	7.7	17.0	13.8	19.8
Very Low	20.5	25.5	16.9	46.9
	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0
(N)	(55)	(237)	(92)	(409)
	G=.24 p=.014		G=.58 p=.000	

Zero Order Gamma = .45987

1st Order Partial Gamma = .49666

**Wives' Degree of ID by Husband's Rank Category Controlling
for Wife's Level of Education**

Education may also be related to women's identification with their husbands' unit/squadron/regiment. That is, it is assumed that those who have a higher level of education would be less likely to "identify" than those with less education. The underlying assumption is that those who have a higher education would have a somewhat broader view of the world and therefore would not be as likely to see the husband's work and work organization as "family".

As the following table illustrates, despite their level of education women married to officers scored higher in identification than did those women married to enlisted men.

The reader will note, however, that within both groups as education increased, the less likely were women to identify with their husbands' unit/squadron/regiment. Overall, though, when each of the variables (husband's rank and wives' education) takes a turn as the control variable, it is the husband's rank category which has the greatest effect on the wives' degree of identification.

TABLE 21

WIVES' DEGREE OF IDENTIFICATION (ID) BY HUSBAND'S RANK CATEGORY CONTROLLING FOR WIVES' LEVEL OF EDUCATION

WIVES' DEGREE OF ID	LEVEL OF EDUCATION				
	Less Than High School	At Least Some High School	At Least Some Community College	At Least Some University	At Least Some Graduate School
Very High	11.18 /	38.58 /	29.68 /	11.98 /	0.08 /
High	44.4 /	30.8 /	25.9 /	54.6 /	33.3 /
Mid	11.1 /	3.8 /	14.8 /	7.1 /	0.0 /
Low	0.0 /	11.5 /	11.1 /	11.9 /	22.2 /
Very Low	33.3 /	15.4 /	18.5 /	18.3 /	44.4 /
Totals (N)	99.9 (45)	100.0 (37)	99.9 (38)	100.0 (162)	99.9 (13)
	6-NA, p=NA	6-58, p=0.000	6-46, p=0.000	6-48, p=0.001	6-14, p=0.308

Zero Order Gamma = .45142
First Order Partial Gamma = .53364

Parallels With Husband's Degree of Identification:

- Earlier in the paper we saw evidence to suggest that wives' involvement seemed to parallel that of their husbands' and that this was dependent upon the husband's rank category. That is, according to their wives, officers were more involved socially and otherwise in the military community and we have seen some evidence to suggest that officers' wives were more involved than were enlisted men's wives. (See above page 129).

Officers' wives were also more likely than enlisted men's wives to perceive that their husbands attend happy hours primarily to "show support" (42.7% versus 22.5%). Further, there were differences in the ways the women perceived that their husbands felt about the military and their role in it. Generally, a greater percentage of officer husbands (according to the wives) see their work as a "way of life" (Gamma = .25668); see the rank system as an efficient part of the military (Gamma = .58509); value the traditions of their units/squadrons/regiments (Gamma = .30636); and feel commitment to the military (Gamma = .14491). At the same time a greater percentage of non-officer husbands (according to their wives) would feel that they "can't wait to leave the military" (Gamma = -.1508);

that their work is not valued ($\text{Gamma} = -.31589$); and, that tradition is overbearing and outdated ($\text{Gamma} = -.25107$).¹⁸

Over and above the relationship between the wife's degree of identification and husband's rank category revealed above, there is some evidence to support the view that the women's identification (ID) is related to the way the women perceive that their husbands feel about the military, its customs and traditions, as well as their role in it. That is, there is a consistent positive relationship between wives' degree of identification as measured by the variable ID, and husbands' degree of identification (according to their wives) as measured by those statements above.

Summary

To summarize to this point, on the basis of this data there does seem to be some support for the hypotheses previously stated. That is, there is some evidence to support the view that Canadian Armed Forces officers' wives are more involved and visible in the military community than are non-officers' wives.

¹⁸ Though these statements indicate a difference between officers and non-officers (according to the wives), it is important to note that the majority of non-officer wives indicated that their husbands see their work as a way of life (73.8%); that they do not want to leave the military (58.5%); that they see tradition as not overbearing (51.5%); that they perceive that their work is valued (50.4%); that they value the traditions of their particular group (68.7%); that they feel commitment to the military (79.2%); and, that they see the rank system as an efficient one (74.8%).

This is reflected as well in the women's responses to whether or not they experience a sense of obligation to attend certain events or experience a sense of conflict amongst their other responsibilities as mother, housewife, and paid worker. A greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives indicated that they have experienced a sense of obligation as well as indicated that they have experienced a conflict between their responsibilities as "military wife" and their responsibilities as women with their own careers or as mothers.

The majority of women in both groups indicated that they never experience a conflict between their work as housewives and their responsibilities as "military wives". (This is not surprising given the value placed on women's work done in the home). However, a greater percentage of women who are married to men in the enlisted or "other" ranks indicated a conflict between their responsibilities as housewives and those associated with being a "military wife".

There is as well some support for the third hypothesis. That is, there is evidence to suggest that a greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives "identify" with their husbands' military unit/squadron/regiment. With few exceptions, however, it appears that there is no consistent difference between the two groups of women on those statements meant to measure wives' degree of

identification with the military as a whole. Further, those relationships which were present were relatively weak ones.

The reasons for the inconsistencies may lie in the fact that each of the statements were not measuring the same thing (a question of validity). These statements were included after careful consideration of the issues involved and were thought to adequately tap into degree of identification with the military as a whole. Ultimately, though, they were included only on the basis of face validity.

At the same time it appears that these statements are related to the variable "ID" (identification with the husband's particular work group). The explanation for this may be that the respondents themselves perceive the "military" organization as an abstraction -- something "out there". Their husbands' particular unit/squadron/regiment is something more concrete and part of their daily experience. That is, they may know people with whom their husbands work, they may know the spouses of the members, and they may be more familiar with the internal workings of a particular work group as opposed to the military as a whole.

Because of the questionable validity of those statements and because each of them (with one exception) is related to the variable "ID" (see Appendix E), I have elected to focus only on this new variable as the measure of identification. Consequently, as we progress in the thesis, identification will be measured only by the variable "ID".

A Brief Clarifying Statement on the Relationship Between ID,
Husband's Rank and Wives' Involvement

Before moving on to explore the relationship between women's involvement and identification as they relate to their husbands' occupations, it is important to note that, though husband's rank seems to be positively related to involvement, so too is the degree to which wives' identify with their husbands' work groups (i.e., as measured by the variable "ID"). That is, there is a positive relationship between involvement and ID. Those who identify higher go to events (including wives' clubs) and go more frequently; and, they are more likely to entertain and to do so more frequently than do those who score lower in ID.

At the same time, it is important to note that a greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives who score very low and/or low on identification

- (1) attend wives' clubs and attend them more frequently;
- (2) are officials of wives' clubs; (3) are organizers of wives' clubs; (4) organize at least some social events;
- (5) attend formal functions; (6) entertain their husbands' work colleagues; and, (7) do so more frequently.

A greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives who score low on ID attend military social and formal events more frequently. However, a slightly higher percentage of enlisted men's wives than officers' wives who

scored very low in identification attended those events more frequently.

Overall (when looking at the 1st order partial gammas) we find that the initial relationships between wives' involvement and husband's rank remains but weakens in the following areas or indicators of involvement: attendance at wives' clubs, organizers of social events, attendance at formal military functions, involvement as "hostess" and frequency of entertaining husband's work colleagues. The relationship between wives' involvement as organizers of wives' clubs and husband's rank level remains when controlling for identification (Zero-Order Gamma = .67797/ First-Order Partial Gamma = .72043).

The initial relationships between wives' involvement and husband's rank almost disappears in the following areas: officials in wives' clubs, frequency of attending military social and formal events.

Clearly, despite husband's rank there is some interplay between identification and involvement. Since a greater percentage of officers' wives scored higher in identification (ID) than did enlisted men's wives (despite their ages, number of years married, education and employment status), perhaps "ID" is an intervening variable. That is, it is argued that status and benefits increase with rank. Women married to officers vicariously receive more status and benefits than do women married to enlisted men. As a

consequence of this I hypothesized that these women would identify higher than those married to enlisted men. (We have seen evidence in support of this.)

Perhaps because of their high degree of ID and because they are expected to fulfill certain obligations (as seen by those those score low and very low but still are relatively active in the community), officers' wives are overall more involved than enlisted men's wives.

A more detailed analysis of these factors would no doubt clarify the interplay amongst these variables.

HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL TYPE AND WIVES' INVOLVEMENT

Earlier in this paper, based on both literature dealing with the military as organization (Cotton, 1979) and on the military family (Stanton, 1976), it was hypothesized that the respondents' husbands' particular occupations within the C.A.F. would have an effect on the degree to which women were "drawn into" the boundaries of the "greedy institution". In other words, in this section, I will explore the possibility that within the organization some occupational groupings are more "greedy" than others with respect to wives.

It was argued that the husband's type of work and work group would have an independent effect on the wife's involvement in and her identification with the military community. As was explained earlier (see above pages 102--106) the respondents' husbands' occupations were coded as either being combat arms (C.A.), combat support arms (C.S.A.), or combat support services (C.S.S.).

Those occupations classified as combat arms are most directly related to battle in terms of the encumbant's training and practice for combat. Those occupations classified as combat support arms are slightly further from the battlefield in terms of the encumbant's training and practice. Individuals who occupy these positions are distanced somewhat by technology. Occupations classified as combat services support are those within which the encumbant is furthest from the battlefield in terms of his/her training and practice for direct combat.

Of the women who took part in this survey, 46 percent are married to men whose occupations were categorized as combat arms; 9.2 percent as combat support arms; and, 41 percent were married to men in occupations classed as combat support services. In 3.8 percent of the cases (N=9), the respondents either did not answer this question or it was impossible on the basis of their response to determine the husband's occupational type. Therefore, the findings reported below are based on a total sample size of less than the original number of cases.

The occupational categories of combat support and combat support services can be found in all three of the main elements of land, sea, and air. However, combat arms occupations are found only in the land element. The following table illustrates the constituency of the sample based on the husband's element and occupation.

TABLE 22

COMPOSITION OF SAMPLE ACCORDING TO HUSBAND'S CURRENT TRADE/
OCCUPATION BY HUSBAND'S CURRENT ELEMENT OF SERVICE
(IN PERCENTAGES)

	Husband's Element of Service		
	LAND	SEA/AIR	TRISERVICE/STUDENT
<u>Husband's Occupation</u>			
C.A.	58.2%	0%	0%
C.S.A.	5.8	35.7	9.1
C.S.S.	36.0	64.3	90.9
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
(N)	(189)	(28)	(11)

As we progress in this section, the reader will note that while exploring the effect of husband's occupation on the wife's degree of involvement and identification, the control variable of husband's element of service in the C.A.F. is present in the analysis.

Husband's element is included in the tables as a control variable because there is a relationship between military occupations and military elements. In particular, though all

elements have "combat support arms" and "combat support services" occupations within them, only the land element has the "combat arms" occupations (i.e., those particular occupations most directly related to combat -- e.g., the infantry soldier). Because the husband's element and the husband's occupation are related, it is necessary to control for the other when either variable is treated as the independent variable. Therefore, when we explore the relationship between husband's occupation and wives' involvement and identification, we do so within the context of land and "nonland" elements.¹⁹

To reiterate the discussion previously, based on the literature related to the military, the "military family", and based on those points raised by Finch (1983), Callan (1984) and others, I have argued that the type of work the husband does and the particular work group within which he operates will not only affect him in terms of his involvement and sense of commitment to or identification with the

¹⁹ C.F.B. Gagetown is primarily a combat-training base. This is reflected in the finding that the majority of the respondents (82.7%) indicated that their husbands identify with or are identified with the land element. 17.3 percent were married to men in a variety of other elements or broad work groups. Because of this difference and because the numbers in all of the other categories were so small, all of those whose husbands were in the air, sea, triservice or student categories were collapsed into one category for the analysis of the data. That is, all were classified as being married to men in the "nonland" element. As a final note, the "triservice" category includes those whose husbands neither identify with nor are identified with any of the traditional broad elements of service.

military, but also will affect his wife. This is to say that some occupations within the military are more closely aligned to the primary *raison d'être* of the military -- to engage in combat when required -- and some are not. Some occupations, then, are more "greedy" than others.

It is argued that those military members who are involved in occupations which are less like civilian occupations and are more directly related to combat will either view their work and work organization differently or be encouraged to view their work and work organization differently than those who are not. At the same time, I have argued that this will influence the degree to which women are drawn into their husbands' work and work organization. Based on these claims the following hypotheses were elucidated:

1. Women who are married to men whose occupations are less like civilian occupations and more directly related to combat will be more involved in the military community and in their husbands' careers than will women who are married to men in occupations which are more like civilian occupations and less directly related to combat.
2. Women who are married to men whose occupations are less like civilian occupations and more directly related to combat will have a higher degree of identification with the military and with their husbands' particular unit than will women who are married to men in occupations which are more like civilian occupations and less directly related to combat.²⁰

²⁰ The reader is reminded that identification in this section is measured only by variable "ID". (See above, pages 97 - 100 and 172 - 173).

We turn now to explore those findings related to the first of these hypotheses.

Wives' Involvement by Husband's Occupational Type

Tables 23 to 25 summarize the relationships between the various indicators meant to measure women's involvement and the husbands' occupational types, while controlling for the element within which the military member (husband) serves within the Canadian Armed Forces.

With few exceptions the data seem to support the hypothesis that those women who are married to men in the more combat-oriented trades are more involved in the military community than are those women whose husbands are distanced from the battlefield in occupational terms.

Women's Involvement in Wives' Clubs by Husband's Occupational Type

As Table 23 indicates, despite the husband's element of service, those married to men in the more combat-oriented trades/occupations were more likely to attend wives' clubs and to officiate in them. They were, however, overall slightly less likely to indicate that they go primarily for "other-directed" reasons.

The fact that a greater percentage of them attend wives' clubs at all may be more important than how frequently they go (i.e., in terms of demonstrating their commitment at least sometimes).

Though women married to men in the combat-oriented trades were more likely to officiate in wives' clubs, they were less likely to help to organize them (i.e., be on a telephoning committee, etc.).

TABLE 23

WIVES INVOLVED BY HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL TYPE CONTROLLING FOR HUSBAND'S ELEMENT OF SERVICE

INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT	LAND		NONLAND		1st Order Gamma
	HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION		HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION		
	C.A.	C.S.A.	C.S.A.	C.S.S.	
WIVES' CLUBS					
Attends	43.1% (109)	27.3% (11)	10.4% (67)	54.5% (11)	.66983
	$\chi^2=6.67$ $p=0.00$		$\chi^2=7.6$ $p=0.005$		
Attends Frequently (at least per year)	45.6% (46)	66.6% (3)	42.9% (7)	50.0% (6)	-.00744
	$\chi^2=0.2$ $p=.665$		$\chi^2=5.8$ $p=N.A.$		
Official in Wives' Clubs	8.9% (45)	0.0% (3)	0.0% (7)	33.3% (6)	.84000
	$\chi^2=1.00$ $p=.167$		$\chi^2=2.0$ $p=N.A.$		
Organizer of Wives' Clubs	26.7% (45)	33.3% (3)	42.9% (7)	16.7% (6)	-.28829
	$\chi^2=2.9$ $p=.196$		$\chi^2=2.5$ $p=N.A.$		
Goes for "Other-Directed" Reasons	21.4% (42)	33.3% (3)	25.0% (8)	33.3% (6)	.13830
	$\chi^2=1.4$ $p=.353$		$\chi^2=1.4$ $p=N.A.$		

* Included amongst those responses classed as "other-directed" are those original categories of attending wives' clubs out of a sense of social obligation or in support of husbands. Of those mentioning these aspects ALL were married to men in the combat-oriented trades (i.e., C.A. or C.S.A.) in the land element.

Women's Involvement in Military Social and Formal Events by
Husband's Occupational Type

As illustrated in Table 24, for the most part, there is a positive association between the various indicators of involvement in military social and formal events and the respondents' husbands' occupational types. That is, despite their husbands' element of service, women married to men in the combat-oriented trades were more likely to attend social events frequently and help to organize them, as well as to attend formal military events, and attend them more frequently than were women married to men in the least combat-oriented trade (i.e., C.S.S.). However, overall, there are no real differences among the women as to why they go to formal military events (i.e., for "other-directed" reasons). In looking specifically at the "land" group, those women married to men in C.S.A. occupations were more likely than either those married to men in C.A. or C.S.S. occupations to indicate that they go for "other-directed" reasons. In the non-land group, a greater percentage of women married to men in the more combat-oriented occupations indicated that they attend formal events for other-directed reasons.

TABLE 24

WIVES INVOLVED BY HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL TYPE CONTROLLING FOR HUSBAND'S ELEMENT OF SERVICE

	LAND		NONLAND		
	HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION		HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION		
	C.A.	C.S.A.	C.S.A.	C.S.S.	1st Order Gamma
INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT					
MILITARY SOCIAL AND FORMAL EVENTS					
Frequently Attends Social Events (all/most)	66.9% (109)	72.8% (11)	47.1% (68)	72.7% (11)	21.4% (28)
	$\bar{x}=31$	$\bar{x}=002$		$\bar{x}=43$	$\bar{x}=029$
Helps Organize At Least Some Social Events	18.2% (110)	27.3% (11)	11.8% (68)	18.2% (11)	10.7% (28)
	$\bar{x}=19$	$\bar{x}=147$		$\bar{x}=27$	$\bar{x}=285$
Attends Formal Events	80.4% (107)	90.9% (11)	50.0% (68)	81.8% (11)	50.0% (28)
	$\bar{x}=56$	$\bar{x}=000$		$\bar{x}=64$	$\bar{x}=036$
Frequently Attends Formal Events (all/most)	79.4% (92)	90.0% (10)	55.5% (36)	87.5% (8)	35.7% (14)
	$\bar{x}=44$	$\bar{x}=001$		$\bar{x}=59$	$\bar{x}=033$
Goes For "Other-Directed" Reasons	54.0% (87)	62.5% (8)	53.8% (39)	55.6% (9)	33.3% (15)
	$\bar{x}=01$	$\bar{x}=472$		$\bar{x}=43$	$\bar{x}=148$

-.00178

Women's Involvement as Hostess to Their Husbands' Colleagues
by Husband's Occupational Type

The positive relationship between the husband's occupational type and the wife's involvement is also found when we ask who is more likely to act as hostess to her husband's colleagues (i.e., to entertain in a more "formal" way). As Table 25 illustrates, this is especially true of women married to men in the land element. That is, in this group, those women married to men in the more combat-oriented trades were more likely to entertain and to do so slightly more frequently than were those women married to men in the less combat-oriented trades. In the nonland group, women married to men in C.S.S. occupations were slightly more likely to entertain (though the difference between the women is negligible), and were more likely to entertain more frequently than women married to men in C.S.A. occupations.

TABLE 25

WIVES INVOLVED BY HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL TYPE CONTROLLING FOR HUSBAND'S ELEMENT OF SERVICE

INDICATORS OF INVOLVEMENT	HUSBAND'S ELEMENT			HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION			1st Order Gamma
	LAND	NONLAND		HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION			
ENTERTAINERS	C.A.	C.S.A.	C.S.S.	C.S.A.	C.S.S.		
Acts as Hostess to Husband's Colleagues	49.5% (107)	63.6% (11)	31.3% (67)	50.0% (10)	51.9% (27)	.29152	
	$\bar{S}=30$ $\sigma=.014$			$\bar{S}=.04$ $\sigma=.460$			
Very Active as Hostess	11.3% (53)	33.3% (6)	9.1% (22)	11.1% (9)	28.6% (4)	.09662	
	$\bar{S}=14$ $\sigma=.203$			$\bar{S}=.42$ $\sigma=.100$			

Helping and Hindering: Women's Perceptions of Their Work by Husband's Occupation

Given that women married to men in the more combat-oriented trades seemed to be more involved in the community, it comes somewhat as a surprise to find that these women were overall less likely to indicate that a wife could hurt her husband's military career. They were, however, more likely than those married to men in the less combat-oriented occupations to indicate that a wife could help.

Those married to men in the combat-oriented occupations were overall more likely to mention that a wife who failed or refused to cope with the lifestyle, who presented a poor personal image and who did not participate socially could damage her husband's military career.²¹ At the same time, these women were more likely than those married to men in the less combat-oriented trades to indicate that a woman who became too directly involved could damage her husband's career.

Overall those women married to men whose occupations were less combat-oriented indicated that a wife who did not provide domestic and affectual support at home, and who presented a poor public image could damage her husband's career.

²¹ The relationship between mentioning that a wife could hurt her husband's career by not participating socially and husband's occupational type was, however, negligible at .06698 (1st-Order Partial Gamma).

To this point we see (with one exception) that overall women married to men in the more combat-oriented fields tended to discuss those more direct forms of involvement and to indicate that compliance to some degree is necessary. At the same time, they were more likely to point out that there are limits to involvement (i.e., getting too directly involved) than were those women married to men involved in occupations which are less combat-oriented.

When asked how a wife could help, however, those married to men whose occupations were more combat-oriented were less likely to indicate that a wife who "works for" or "with" her husband can be a help. (The relationship between husband's occupational type and mentioning the wife's importance in working for her husband was a negligible, negative one). Further these women were less likely to mention that a wife who accepts the lifestyle is helping her husband. They were more likely than those married to men in the less combat-oriented occupations to indicate that a wife can be a factor by providing domestic support. Further they were more likely to indicate that a wife is a factor only when her husband reaches a certain rank.

Those women married to men in the less combat-oriented occupations were more likely overall to discuss the wife's importance in the affectual domain (but the relationship is negligible). Further, these women were more likely to

indicate that the wife is not a factor in her husband's career success.

There is some support for the hypothesis that women who are married to men in the more combat-oriented occupations will be more involved than those whose husbands' occupations are less combat-oriented. Their behavior is consistent with their comments in response to the question of how a wife can hinder her husband's military career, but tends not to be consistent to their responses regarding how a wife can help. At the same time, it is of significance to note that women married to men in the more combat-oriented occupations were slightly less likely to mention that the wife is not a factor.

Feelings of Obligation and Conflicts: Differences Among the Women According to Their Husbands' Occupations

In keeping with the above, women married to men in the more combat-oriented trades were more likely to feel some sense of obligation to be present at certain military events. Despite the husband's element, a greater percentage of women married to men in the combat-related occupations, as opposed to those married to men in occupations distanced from the battlefield, indicated that there were times when they felt this obligation (Zero Order Gamma = .40651/ First-Order Partial Gamma = .36208).

Further, perhaps as a consequence of their involvement, a greater percentage of women married to men in the more

combat-oriented occupations indicated that they at least sometimes felt a conflict between their responsibilities as a "military wife" and their work as mothers (.12164), as housewives (.25562), and as paid employees (.11805).²²

Overall, however, there was little difference between women married to men in combat or non-combat oriented trades when asked whether or not they felt wives were rated in promotion or posting decisions (respective 1st-Order Partial Gammas being .09487 and .03837).

WIVES' DEGREE OF IDENTIFICATION (ID) BY HUSBAND'S OCCUPATIONAL TYPE

It has been argued that men in occupations which are more combat-oriented will be trained to work in an environment which lends itself to a "team" approach. Individuals in these types of occupations may be encouraged to see their work differently (or are expected to show a different type of commitment) than those who are involved in occupations which are less combat-oriented. There is empirical evidence to support this argument (e.g., Cotton, 1979).

As the following table illustrates, there seems to be support for the notion that this feeling may be passed on to the wives of military members.

²² 1st-Order Partial Gammas are shown in brackets.

TABLE 26

WIVES' DEGREE OF IDENTIFICATION (ID) BY HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION
CONTROLLING FOR HUSBAND'S ELEMENT OF SERVICE (N=223)

WIVES' DEGREE OF ID	HUSBAND'S ELEMENT				
	LAND			NONLAND	
	HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION			HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION	
	CA	CSA	CSS	CSA	CSS
Very High	17.5%	18.2%	6.0%	36.4%	0.0%
High	40.7	27.3	22.4	18.2	46.2
Mid	8.3	9.1	9.0	9.1	3.8
Low	15.7	0.0	14.9	8.2	9.2
Very Low	17.6	45.5	47.8	18.2	30.8
Totals	99.8%	100.1%	100.1%	100.1%	100.0%
(N)	(108)	(11)	(67)	(11)	(26)
	G = .44	p = .000		G = .37	p = .066

Zero Order Gamma = .36954

First-Order Partial Gamma = .43667

Similarly, though the majority of women indicated that the majority of their women friends come from both the military and civilian communities, a greater percentage of those women whose husbands were in the more combat-oriented trades indicated that the majority of their women friends were only other military wives. Further, though the majority of women in all categories indicated that they as a wife/husband couple spend the majority of their leisure time alone or with family, a greater percentage of those whose husbands were in the more combat-oriented trades indicated that they spent the majority of their leisure time with

others in the military community. A greater percentage of those whose husbands were C.S.S. (the least combat-oriented) spent their leisure time with individuals who are not involved in the military in any way.

Summary

Clearly, despite the husband's broad work environment (element), the tables above offer support for the hypothesis that a greater percentage of women married to men whose occupations are closer to the battlefield in terms of training and technology are "drawn in" further to their husbands' work and work organization in the the two main areas explored (involvement and identification.)²³

As is clear from the tables above, there were occasions when a greater percentage of those women married to men in the land element whose husbands were employed in those occupations classified as "C.S.A." were more involved in specific events in the military community than were those whose husbands were classified in "C.A." types of occupations.

It was expected that a clear and consistent pattern would be found in this analysis. That is, it was expected that the women's involvement and sense of identification would decrease as their husbands' occupations became distanced from the battlefield. This clear pattern did not

²³ Generally these findings held despite the husband's rank level.

emerge. Perhaps the explanation for this lies in the fact that it is not possible to actually draw a distinct line between those occupations classified as combat arms and those classified as combat support arms. That is, perhaps it is more appropriate to think of or to conceptualize military occupations as falling into two spheres: as combat-related and non-combat related (i.e., as "line" and "staff" or as "operational" and "support").

In any case, it is of significance that we are seeing differences amongst the women based on their husbands' rank, and their husbands' occupational categories. Clearly, this is in keeping with Finch's (1983) concept of "incorporation" and in keeping with the conceptualization of women's experiences paralleling those of their husbands' in terms of a "career".

In the next chapter a synthesis of the findings is provided and suggestions are made as to the ways the organization can take steps to improve the life situation of military wives.

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS,
AND CONCLUSIONS

DISCUSSION

Although I have been focusing on the relationship between military wives and the military organization, it is important to emphasize that on one level the situation of military wives is not unique. That is, their situation is only different in that the processes involved and the consequences of incorporation or "being drawn in" are more visible to us. Women married to military men face the same assumptions about them and the same expectations as to what they will do as wives as all married women in a patriarchal society.

At the same time their situation is different by degree. The organization is a patriarchal one with respect to its members and, consequently, with respect to the spouses of those members. In fact it is possible to think of the military as an organization which reasserts or reaffirms a particular view of women and women's place. Its "culture" or work environment has been created and developed overtime by men. Women, as soldiers, have had and continue to have very little influence in forming that culture. Women, as wives, have had even less. It is within this cultural milieu,

created, developed and controlled by men, where women as soldiers and women as wives have been defined.

Coser (1974) has suggested that the nuclear family in our society can also be classified as a "greedy institution" -- the nuclear family is greedy with respect to wives and mothers. If we accept this argument, then women married to military men are no different than any married women in our society. However, I have also argued that the military organization is also "greedy" with respect to the wives of its members. This means then that military wives must learn to deal with the demands of both the family and the military.

I have argued that all women married to men in the Canadian Armed Forces can be seen as having a "career" -- the career of "military wife". All are conceptualized as being "drawn in" and encompassed within the boundaries of the "greedy institution". All or most have shared certain life experiences, despite their husbands' rank or particular element of service or occupation. All have been defined as "dependents" by the military and all, I have argued, are faced with coping with the definition of the "good" military wife and the demands that go with it.

Part of being drawn in means that the military has a great deal of control (explicit and implicit) over women's/wives' lives. This is especially true amongst those who live on military bases in Canada and abroad. But all military wives, no matter where they live, are affected in

many ways by their husbands' work and work organization. Further, most or many women will at some time or another during their marriage live in military base housing. Within the community they learn the norms of the group. They learn from their husbands, their neighbours, other military wives and even from their husbands' superiors or peers.¹

Though the sample size is small, the findings in the previous chapter suggest that one of the things wives may learn is that they do have a part to play in their husbands' careers. Particularly, over time women may learn what is required of them as military wives (they learn the organization's expectations of them). Military wives (whether they are fully aware of it or not) are subject to sanctions (implicit or explicit) when they do not live up to the organization's definition of them as "dependent" wives. Contrary to the suggestion made by Kanter (1977), Smith (1977) and others, the previous findings and the following quotes suggest that work involving image sustaining is not confined to women married to men on the executive level of the organization.

"If I write a N.S.F. cheque or act up at a mess dinner it will reflect on to my husband. He will get in trouble for my actions." (Enlisted man's wife)

¹ Of the women in this sample who indicated from whom they received advice on the "proper" behavior of a military wife (N=77), almost 33 percent said that advice came from their husbands' seniors or their wives.

"His superiors make it their business to know what military spouses are up to. On more than one occasion, I have heard about guys being called up on the mat and told to have their wives 'clean up their acts'." (Officer's wife)

"At one time I was in an argument with a [higher ranking person], he wasn't in uniform and I had no idea who he was. The next day my husband was reprimanded for it." (Enlisted man's wife)

"A member of the CAF is 'on duty' 24 hrs/day, therefore does not really have a "private life". His family must behave in an appropriate manner. His 'CO' would soon hear if that were otherwise. The general idea is" : 'If a serviceman can't handle his 'private life' (i.e. family), he can't handle his job (i.e. promotions).' (Officer's wife)

"I was involved [in a parents' group which organized over a local issue]. My husband's CO asked him if I was involved in any way & if I was, I shouldn't be. Also the chemical issue on the Base now - military personnel & dependants are not allowed to participate in a survey." (Enlisted man's wife)

These quotes are only a representative few -- many other women wrote along the same theme. Further, though there were some differences between the two groups of women on some of the following points, this argument is also supported by the findings that:

- A large majority of both groups of women (officers' wives and enlisted men's wives), feel that their behavior "reflects" on their husbands. Their comments reflect this as well.
- The greater majority of both groups of women tell us that a wife can "hinder" or "help" her husband's military career.
- Over half of the officers' wives and over one-third of the enlisted men's wives feel wives are rated by the military (at least under certain circumstances) when husbands are being promoted.

- Over half of the officers' wives and over forty percent of the enlisted men's wives feel the military rates wives (at least under certain conditions) when the husband is being considered for a posting.

- Over one-third of the officers' wives and almost two-thirds of the enlisted men's wives when having to seek help from formal military "helpers" (police, padres, social workers) worried about damaging their husbands' military careers when doing so.

- Almost 20 percent of the officers' wives and almost one-quarter of the enlisted men's wives have hesitated or not sought help when they needed it because of fear of damaging their husbands' military careers.

Clearly, as Callan (1984) would argue, there is evidence to suggest that all wives are subject to sustaining a certain image -- an image which is not created by them as individuals or even in conjunction with their husbands but one which is created by the organization.

But the quotes above suggest something more to us. They clearly indicate that wives, defined as "dependents" by the organization, are being denied their adult status. Their presence in the military community, as individuals who are responsible for their own behavior and who have full rights as adult citizens, is being denied by the organization. Wives have no independent collective voice in approaching particular base commanders or in approaching the Department of National Defence Headquarters. As an individual, the wife's only real voice is through her husband. This point and others will be addressed in the pages to follow.

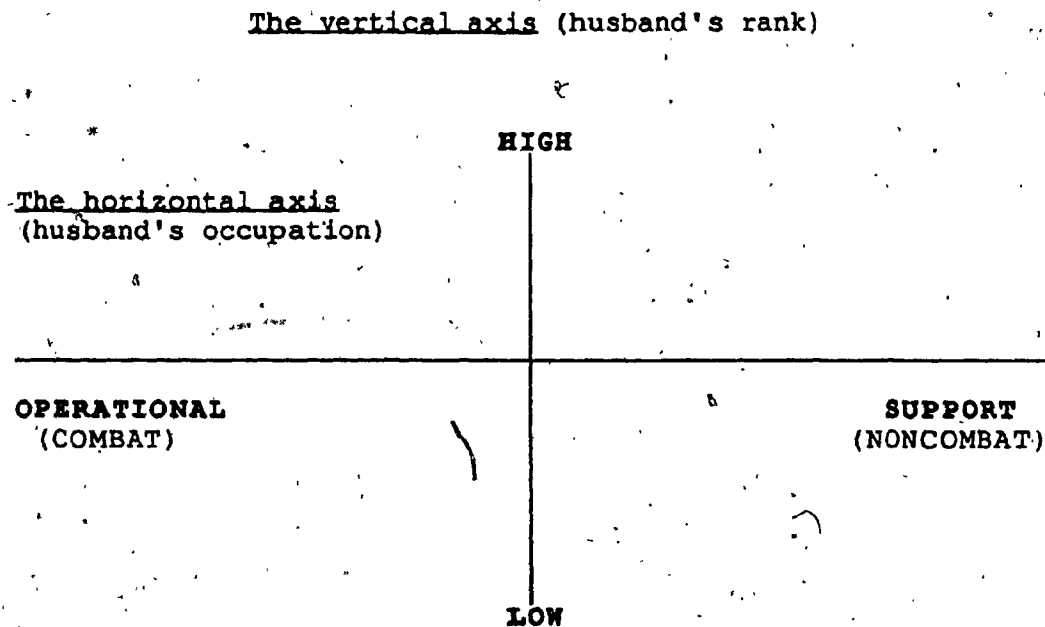
The Structure Within Which Wives' Incorporation Takes Place:
A Summary of the Findings

Within the framework of the military as "greedy institution" we have explored specific factors relating to the husband's work which, it was argued, would further function to "draw in" or incorporate wives.

The operational structure of the Canadian Armed Forces is both vertical and horizontal. The military is a hierarchical organization (i.e., positions within it are hierarchically organized). At the same time, it has within it various functional groupings which are ordered on an horizontal axis from the operational (combat-oriented) to the support (noncombat-oriented). It is within this context, involving both the vertical and the horizontal axes, where we have explored wives' incorporation. That is, as the following model illustrates we have been looking at the wives' incorporation in terms of where their husbands "fit" on those two axes.

Figure 5

The military organization:
The structure within which wives' incorporation takes place



The data gathered and analyzed for this study do seem to offer support for the hypotheses that the husband's place in the hierarchy and his particular functional grouping or occupational type would have an effect on the degree to which a woman becomes further incorporated within the boundaries of the military organization.

We have seen evidence which suggests that officers' wives are more involved in the military community and are more directly involved in their husbands' careers than are enlisted men's wives. They also have a higher degree of

identification with the military than do women married to enlisted men.

We have also seen evidence to suggest that the husband's particular occupation and occupational grouping has an effect on his wife's involvement and identification with the military. That is, those whose husbands were employed in more combat-oriented trades/occupations were more likely to be involved in the community and to identify with the military.

It seems, however, that women do differ in the degree to which they identify with the military or their husbands' particular unit/squadron/regiment. This suggests that the military has the power to decide and differs according to its operational requirements in deciding who will be drawn in further and who will not.

The military seeks to maintain a tight-knit, "family" feeling amongst its members (Loomis and Lightburn, 1980). It appears, however, that this is especially true amongst the officer corps. Indeed, the Canadian Armed Forces has operated on the philosophy that it must always maintain a well-trained officer corps. Officers are especially encouraged to be more involved in the community and they appear (more often than their "other rank" counterparts) to view their work more as a vocation or a calling (Cotton, 1979). Further, it has been argued that the military seeks to maintain this "family" feeling amongst those whose tasks

are directly related to combat.² The findings of this survey suggest that it is especially in situations such as these that wives are also included.

That is, within the overall structure of the greedy institution, it appears that the military is more greedy with respect to some groups of individuals than others. In keeping with the notion that the military seeks to win the support of wives in order to maintain the husbands' support, it would appear that especially in the case of the officer corps and in small, specific occupational groupings (combatants), wives may be drawn in further yet in order to buttress their husbands' commitment. The findings of this survey indicate that in this the military may have had some measure of success.

The Relationship Between Wives' Degree of Identification and Their Involvement

Though this was not a main focus of this study, it is important to note the interplay found between the variables of wives' "degree of identification" and their "involvement". In the previous section we saw evidence to suggest that,

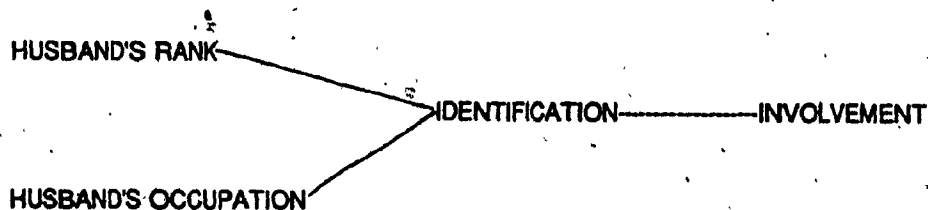
² This is discussed in a peripheral manner by Loomis and Lightburn (1980). These authors indicate that there are different training requirements for those in various occupations in the land, sea, and air elements of the Canadian Armed Forces. They focus, however, only on the requirement to recognize the differences in discipline and physical fitness and only implicitly suggest that combat-oriented occupations require different forms of socialization.

despite their husbands' place in the hierarchy, there was a positive association between the women's degree of identification with the military and their involvement in the military community. This is not a surprising finding. It stands to reason that those who feel a part of a "family" or some sense of belongingness to a particular group would be more likely to be involved in activities associated with it than those who do not.

At the same time, as has been seen, women do differ in the degree to which they identify with the military. Therefore, though the husband's rank and his type of work and work group seem to have consistent independent effects on involvement, perhaps it would be more appropriate to think of "ID" or identification as an intervening variable. The following diagram illustrates the conceptualized relationships amongst the various variables.

Figure 6

The Relationship Between Husband's Rank, Husband's Occupation, and Wives' Degree of Identification and Involvement



To conceptualize the relationship amongst the variables in this way is to realize that wives' degree of "identification" has an effect on their involvement in military events, but does not totally explain it. This, as we have seen, is especially the case amongst officers' wives, as well as amongst women married to men in the combat-oriented trades and is supported by those findings presented earlier and reiterated here that:

1. A greater percentage of officers' wives than enlisted men's wives feel obligated to go to various military events (including wives' clubs) and attend formal military functions for "other-directed" reasons.

2. A greater percentage of women married to men in the combat-oriented occupations/trades, as opposed to those in the noncombat-oriented trades, feel obligated to attend events and were slightly more likely to go to formal military events for "other-directed" reasons.

A Dilemma For Wives

I have argued that the military, as a "greedy institution", attempts to win the support of wives (if only to retain the soldiers). As a result, in the United States many formal organizations have been established to assist women in a variety of ways. This is not the case to the same degree in Canada. Butler (1981: 28) writes that Canadian military families are given a "mixed" message: "an

expectation of identification but not always the means of identification". The results of this research indicate that this seems to be more true of some women than others (i.e., some wives have been given the "means" of identification and others have not). At the same time many of those who do receive the "means" -- i.e., those who may be encouraged to feel a part of something special and those who receive more consistent benefits -- are also the ones to experience conflicts amongst their various responsibilities and to feel a sense of obligation to attend military functions.

Herein lies a problem and a possible trade-off for wives. If the military wishes to win and keep all wives' support, more consistent services and programs directed specifically to meet their needs must be developed. At the same time, increasing support and programs would no doubt increase wives' dependence on and commitment to the organization. The dilemma lies in the trade-off: the offer of more services, though no doubt helping wives cope with the demands of the organization, would provide the military with another avenue of control over the lives of military wives. The power of the organization to take wives "off the strength" would be enhanced even more.

Yet there is no question that the everyday demands of the organization take their toll on wives. The literature on the military family in the United States clearly illustrates

the problems associated with frequent postings or husband absences.

The various branches of the military in the United States, through the establishment of various programs, has attempted to do something about these problems. (Though, as will be seen, the ultimate motivator was not to assist women but to improve recruitment and retention rates.) As mentioned, the Canadian military does provide some services for wives and children, though not to the same degree as its American counterpart. It seems in the Canadian case, though the demands made on wives and families are similar to those of American military families, the pay-off is less.

Given the global environment in which we live, I think we can assume that the primary role of the military will not change. The military will continue to train men (and some women) for war; it will continue to move families every few years; it will continue to assume the support and compliance of wives. Because these things will in all probability not change, it is to the benefit of wives ultimately to recommend an increase in programs to assist women. Further, the threat of being "knocked off the strength" can be minimized if the women themselves have an independent voice and more control over their lives, including the management of these services.

Providing or providing for the implementation of various programs for wives and families would be of mutual benefit to the organization. That is, though I have been exploring the

ways in which the organization affects wives' lives, it is important at the same time to recognize that wives have a great deal of impact on the organization. Women can and do "opt out" either of the marriage contract or the organizational one. In the latter case wives can encourage their husbands to leave the military (Stanton, 1976; Bortfeld, 1982; Derr, 1979; Derr et al, 1978; Mohr, Holzbach and Morrison, 1981; Lund, 1978; Grace and Steiner, 1978; Thomas and Durning, 1980).

In the United States after the implementation of the all volunteer forces, the various branches of the military began experiencing recruitment and retention problems. These problems came to their peak in the late 1970's. As a consequence of these events, researchers began to focus more and more attention on the family and its influence on the career decisions of the military member. Hunter (1982: 27) writes, "When manpower became a critical issue with the advent of the All Volunteer Forces, 'family power' also became an issue. . . ."

Canada, except for brief moments in history, has maintained a voluntary approach to military recruitment. As a result of this, and as a result of personnel cuts in the 1970's, the Canadian military has not shared to the same degree the recruitment or retention problems experienced by

our neighbours to the south. Indeed, from 1979 to 1983 the attrition rates for both officer and enlisted ranks dropped.³

This, coupled with the military's failure to recognize the adult status of wives, as evidenced by the assumption that the military man will speak and act for his entire family (i.e., is responsible for his family), probably explains why the Canadian Armed Forces has neither researched nor recognized to any great degree the problems experienced by Canadian military wives or their contributions to the organization.

I would suggest that recent events (e.g., the organization of a group of women such as OSSOMM) are strong indicators that the C.A.F. cannot maintain this laissez-faire approach to wives. Further, women's and men's perceptions of their roles within the family and in the workplace outside the home have changed. Military members and their spouses, as individuals in society generally, may ascribe to a less traditional view of themselves than that which is expected from them by the organization. To ignore societal changes such as these -- to continue to take for granted women's contributions -- is to court eventual disruption down the road.

³ Personal correspondence with Lt.-Col. T. J. Prociuk, Commanding Officer, Canadian Forces Personnel Applied Research Unit, Department of National Defence, July 6, 1984.

Clearly there are some steps the organization can take today which will be of benefit to both the organization and, more importantly, to the wives and husbands of their members.

The number of cases in this survey is admittedly rather small. Hence some caution in generalizing the findings to the wider population of "military wives" is in order. At the same time, as has been illustrated, the population is homogeneous in many ways. Therefore, I feel confident that the findings can at least guide us in making certain recommendations in an attempt to alleviate some of the concerns and problems facing military wives in Canada and elsewhere.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations which follow arise from the findings in this research. The reader will note that they are not related to any one specific hypothesis, but are related generally to the overall issue of wives' incorporation within the boundaries of the greedy institution. They are related to the view that, though some wives are drawn in further within those boundaries of the organization, all military wives experience (or the possibility exists that they will experience) certain constraints. The military holds certain assumptions about them. These recommendations address those issues.

Further, the following recommendations are applicable particularly in times of peace. These recommendations are made with the full realization that in times of war some of the services would necessarily require some modification to reflect the military's requirement to go to war.

The Recognition of The Independent Status of Wives

Though recent events tend to indicate otherwise (e.g., the refusal by the Department of National Defence to allow women in OSSOMM to meet on military bases), most of the following recommendations are made in the optimistic hope that there is willingness on the part of the military to institute some change -- change not only in the material sense but change in the "cultural" sense as well. Frequently one reads of the assertion made by individuals within the Canadian Armed Forces that the military constitutes a unique "subculture" within society. This may or may not be true. But the recent literature on "organizational cultures" may provide some insight as to the barriers facing wives being given legitimate status in the military community.

Language is a medium of cultural values (Kanter, 1977; Peters and Waterman, 1984; Pettigrew, 1979). Kanter (1977) tells us that the language used in a particular company/organization reflects the values found within it. Similarly, Pettigrew (1979: 575) writes that "organizational vocabularies" or language expresses communal values, evokes

past experiences, and provides the "seed beds for human action." He also suggests that language can be used to legitimate "current and evolving distributions of power". Peters and Waterman (1984: 261) suggest that the language used in the "excellent" companies in their study contained "plenty of words to describe the way people ought to treat one another".

The military officially defines wives as "dependents". This is part of the language of the organization. Clearly this (1) reflects the status of the wife; (2) indicates how women "ought" to be treated or perceived; and, (3) legitimates the power of the husband and the organization over the wife.

I strongly urge the Department of National Defence to recognize the independent adult status of military wives within the military community and I would further recommend that every effort be taken to remove the term "dependent" and any other degrading or sex-stereotyped language from any official documentation and from the everyday discourse at work.

The findings presented earlier also suggested that many of the military wives in this sample felt that wives are "rated" by the military. The majority felt that their behavior in the community "reflects" on their husbands. This finding -- the perception on the part of so many wives that women can damage their husbands' careers -- is a disturbing

one. It is even more disturbing when this perception stops women from seeking assistance (emotional/material) from military helping agents (social workers, padres, police, etc.). This is not confined to rank. Women from both groups have either hesitated or not sought help when they required it. Many indicated that this is something they learned from their husbands, many from other members or their wives, and some from experiences of their own.

Therefore, I would strongly recommend that the Canadian Armed Forces undertake a program to alleviate these fears or concerns. Obviously the first place this must be accomplished is at the beginning of the husband's career. New recruits must be informed that they will be judged only on their performance. The military must accept that husbands are not responsible for the actions of their wives. Consequently, again the military must first recognize the independent status of wives.

Not only must this policy be stated, but it also must be seen to be adhered to by individuals in the higher levels of the organization. As Kanter (1977) and others have suggested the key to change is top management's willingness to change, some action in that direction, and visible support of such change. It is necessary, therefore, for management to decree that practices such as reprimanding a husband for the wife's behavior will not be tolerated. A method to redress such practices must be made available to the member and/or his/her

spouse. To ensure the legitimization of this process and its continued use, the process of redress must not in any way reflect poorly on the member's position within the military (i.e., his/her military career).

The Recognition of Wives' Contributions

The findings in this research suggest that all military wives contribute to their husbands' work and to the organization. They carry out a number of tasks. They take care of the majority of household tasks permitting the husband to fulfill his obligations to the organization (and the organization runs smoothly because of it). Military wives can act as public relations persons on their husbands' and on the organization's behalf. They can advise other wives as to the norms of the organization. This is work for which most women receive no recognition or no rewards.

Consequently, I would recommend that the organization recognize this work in two ways. First, it is suggested that the military organization implement a pension plan for wives (or at least begin a process of study which would examine this issue carefully and with the participation of those women most affected, e.g. military wives). Generally, the opportunities for military wives to accumulate seniority or pension contributions in any one paid job are minimized by the requirement that they move every few years. By introducing an independent pension plan the future of these

women is somewhat more secure than would otherwise be the case.

Second, once recognizing women's/wives' contributions as work, the military can then take steps to alleviate that work by implementing or permitting the implementation of day care centres, nurseries, and drop-in centres on the various bases in Canada and abroad.

The organization of day care facilities, in close proximity to military housing, would permit wives the opportunity (if they wished) to look for paid work outside the home and would provide a constant source of support to themselves and their children while their husbands were away. At the same time such centres could benefit those military members (male or female) who are single parents.⁴

Nurseries or places where young mothers can drop their children off for a few hours, or where young women with young children can meet should also be provided. A service such as this may be invaluable to a young mother who is left alone to care for her children for varying periods of time. Nurseries would provide the mothers with "time off".

⁴ There has been an increase in the reported number of single-parent families in the military community of the United States (Hunter, 1982). Though, as far as I am aware, there is no empirical evidence to verify this, one would assume a similar increase of the number of single-parent military members has occurred in the Canadian Armed Forces as well.

Drop-in centres, or women's resource centres would provide a constant source of support for military wives from military wives. Further, centres such as this would permit women married to both officers and enlisted men the opportunity to meet, and more importantly, would facilitate the development of a mutual understanding for each other's problems.

Funding for these facilities could come directly out of each base's N.P.F. account.⁵ I would further recommend that on each base space be made available for these institutions. A centrally located building, such as a P.M.Q., could be made available for that purpose. Once space and funding is made available for day care centres, nurseries, and drop-in centres they could be organized and run by military wives themselves. As an added benefit this could provide at least part-time employment opportunities for wives.

The Recognition of Wives' Career/Educational Aspirations

The findings of this research suggest that many women transferring with their husbands to various locations in Canada and elsewhere have had difficulties in finding work in

⁵ The abbreviation "N.P.F." stands for non-public funds. These are funds which are deducted from the service member's pay cheque, and also are raised through the profits of military messes and CANEX facilities. These funds, then, are obtained from the military member and his/her family members but are funds over which military wives have no input in deciding where on the base such money will be spent (OSSOMM, 1985).

their new locations. Further, many women have experienced or suspect they have experienced discrimination in the job market because of their transiency. What's more some of them had experienced this when looking for work on military bases.

I would recommend that the Canadian Armed Forces, when making decisions regarding the moves of their military members, take into account when possible the career or educational aspirations of wives. That is, it is possible within the existing structure of career management to determine the readiness of families to move. If, for example, the spouse or child of a military member was in the last year of a high school or university program and a move would prevent her/him from completing credits towards a degree or diploma, I would suggest that that member not be posted if another suitable person was found to fill that particular posting position. I would further suggest that no detriment accrue to the military member because of such a request.

Secondly, I would recommend that the Canadian military assist wives in finding paid work outside the home when they relocate to new areas. (A similar program was suggested to the Pentagon in the United States by a group of 100 Defense Department and service employment experts and military

spouses.)⁶ This could be accomplished by ensuring that military wives be given preferential treatment when civilian positions become available on military bases. The existing Civilian Personnel Officers on the various bases can oversee such a program.

Closely aligned to that point made above, I would strongly recommend that the various units requiring civilian assistance (i.e., workers) be informed of such a policy, and cautioned not to discriminate against military wives because of the transient nature of the their lifestyle.

Giving Women Some Control Over Their Environment

I would strongly recommend that military wives be given more control over their environment -- more input into community planning on military bases. This would require that a representative of the spouses of military members on each base be present on the committees formed to administer non-public funds and, further, that the positions of mayor on community councils, of school board member or of trustee be determined by a democratic process rather than by appointment.

This is seen as an effective and equitable response to the present situation where problems or issues on military bases are now exclusively identified and defined by base commanders. The base commander must necessarily be primarily

⁶ Reported in the Air Force Times, 44: 15, May 28, 1984.

concerned with the military operational side of any given base, and less so with matters of direct concern to spouses. Changes such as those above will permit wives to identify problems in the community relating specifically to them and will provide women with a forum to express their concerns. Further, in having a representative voice in the community, women will also have the means to respond to those problems.

It is suggested that by making such changes both the spouses of military members and the organization would benefit. It has been suggested that those who feel that they have control over their lives will be more satisfied with their situation. It stands to reason then that those who are more satisfied with their lives will be less likely to encourage their husbands to leave the organization.

I would recommend that the Canadian Armed Forces encourage the development of and subsidize a national organization made up of military wives (and male spouses) which would act on behalf of all military spouses. This organization, a counterpart of which can be found in the United States, would primarily fulfill the role of ombudsman between military spouses and the organization. This would provide military spouses with a legitimate "official" voice and some guarantee of protection of their status and their rights.

The Recognition/Sponsorship of Research Focusing Specifically
on Issues Relating to the Family and Wives

There is a paucity of information about the Canadian "military family" and "military wives". The public generally, and more importantly from a policy viewpoint, the military organization itself has very little knowledge about the families and spouses of their members.

I would, therefore, recommend that the Department of National Defence, either within its existing research facilities or through the sponsorship of civilian researchers, subsidize or carry out research on a variety of topic areas. For example, this research could revolve

around:

1. The revelation of those areas of concern specifically to wives of military members. This would involve surveying the women themselves. [For example, women in my sample wrote of problems having to do specifically with the schooling of their children; the stresses associated with an inevitable, close-approaching retirement, including the costs associated with getting settled in the civilian community; the inconsistencies in the availability of services (including the availability of housing) and personal considerations from base to base and from base commander to base commander; etc.]
2. A study of the impact of husband absences and frequent transfers on wives and children and on the methods the organization could implement to minimize any traumatic effects of these events.
3. A study of the employment/unemployment situation of wives and of the effects of transfers on their employment and educational aspirations.

4. A study examining the effectiveness of the existing formal avenues (social workers, padres, police) for members, wives and families to seek counselling or assistance on military bases, particularly on isolated bases or bases in Europe.

These are only a few areas in which research is required.

CONCLUSION

To conclude, this research has explored the work/home connection in the Canadian military community. It has explored the extent to which the husband's work organization can "reach into the home" in a variety of ways.

Specifically the findings from this survey seem to suggest that, though all wives can be and are "drawn in" in various ways, there are certain factors relating specifically to the husband's place in the organization along horizontal and vertical axes (occupational type and rank) which increase the likelihood that women will be drawn in or "incorporated" even further.

Ultimately of more immediate importance, however, are the findings in this survey which suggest the extent to which the organization has power over the lives of wives of its members. Further, and sadly in this instance, this shows us that the "myth of separate worlds" is indeed a myth.

- APPENDIX A -

The Questionnaire

MILITARY WIVES SURVEY

THIS QUESTIONNAIRE SEEKS TO LEARN ABOUT YOU AND YOUR EXPERIENCES AND ACTIVITIES AS A WOMAN MARRIED TO A MILITARY MAN. QUESTIONS ARE ALSO ASKED ABOUT YOUR FAMILY AND YOUR HUSBAND, IN THE PAST, THE PRESENT, AND YOUR PLANS FOR THE FUTURE. PLEASE READ THE QUESTIONS CAREFULLY AND ANSWER THEM AS HONESTLY AS YOU CAN, KEEPING IN MIND THAT ALL YOUR RESPONSES WILL BE ANONYMOUS.

Most of the questions will require you only to circle the number next to the response which is appropriate for you. For example, in question 1 you are asked how long you have been married. If you have been married for 6 to 10 years, you would circle the number 3.

Some questions, however, require you to check off your answer. When this type of question comes up, there will be a note to you asking you to use this procedure. In other questions you will be asked to write a response. Please take your time on these questions, since they give you the opportunity to express yourself in your own words and are very important.

1. How many years have you been married?

- 1..... Less than 1 year
- 2..... 1 to 5 years
- 3..... 6 to 10 years
- 4..... 11 to 20 years
- 5..... Over 20 years

2. a. How many children do you have?

- 1..... None
- 2..... 1 to 2 children
- 3..... 3 to 4 children
- 4..... 5 or more children

b. If you do have children, are any of them under 5 years of age?

- 1..... Yes
- 2..... No

c. Are any of your children 12 years of age or over?

- 1..... Yes
- 2..... No

3. Please indicate by circling the appropriate category, the age group within which you fall.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1..... 18 years or younger | 4..... 31 to 39 years |
| 2..... 19 to 25 years | 5..... 40 to 50 years |
| 3..... 26 to 30 years | 6..... Over 50 years |

4. In total, how many years has your husband been in the military?

- 1.....Less than 1 year
- 2.....1 to 5 years
- 3.....6 to 10 years
- 4.....11 to 15 years
- 5.....16 to 20 years
- 6.....Over 20 years

5. How close is your husband to his retirement from the military?

- 1.....3 years or less from military retirement
- 2.....4 to 5 years from military retirement
- 3.....6 to 10 years from military retirement
- 4.....Over 10 years from military retirement

6. Is your husband a "career" military person? That is, does he intend to make or has he made a career out of the military?

- 1.....Yes
- 2.....No
- 3.....Undecided
- 4.....Don't Know

7. At the present time, what is your husband's rank level within the military?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1.....General | 12.....Chief Warrant Officer |
| 2.....Lieutenant-General | 13.....Master Warrant Officer |
| 3.....Major-General | 14.....Warrant Officer |
| 4.....Brigadier-General | 15.....Sergeant |
| 5.....Colonel | 16.....Master-Corporal |
| 6.....Lieutenant-Colonel | 17.....Corporal |
| 7.....Major | 18.....Private - Trained |
| 8.....Captain | 19.....Private - Basic |
| 9.....Lieutenant | 20.....Private - Recruit |
| 10.....2nd Lieutenant | |
| 11.....Officer Cadet | |

8. How long has he been at his current rank level?

- 1.....Less than 1 year
- 2.....1 to 5 years
- 3.....6 to 10 years
- 4.....11 to 15 years
- 5.....16 to 20 years
- 6.....Over 20 years

9. Within which of the following pay categories is your husband currently located?

- 1..... Do Not Know
- 2..... \$10,000. to \$15,000.
- 3..... \$16,000. to \$20,000.
- 4..... \$21,000. to \$25,000.
- 5..... \$26,000. to \$30,000.
- 6..... \$31,000. to \$35,000.
- 7..... \$36,000. to \$40,000.
- 8..... \$41,000. to \$45,000.
- 9..... Over \$45,000.

10. At the present time, what is your husband's element of service?

- 1..... Land
- 2..... Sea
- 3..... Air
- 4..... Other _____
(Please specify)

11. How long has your husband been in this particular element?

- 1..... Less than 1 year
- 2..... 1 to 5 years
- 3..... 6 to 10 years
- 4..... 11 to 15 years
- 5..... 16 to 20 years
- 6..... Over 20 years

12.a. Has your husband ever changed elements at any time during his career in the military?

- 1..... Yes
- 2..... No

b. If your husband has changed elements, which did he leave?

- 1..... Does not apply
- 2..... Land
- 3..... Sea
- 4..... Air
- 5..... Other _____
(Please specify)

c. How long had he been in that element?

- 1..... Does not apply
- 2..... Less than 1 year
- 3..... 1 to 5 years
- 4..... 6 to 10 years
- 5..... 11 to 15 years
- 6..... 16 to 20 years
- 7..... Over 20 years

13.a. At the present time, what is your husband's trade or classification?
That is, in the space provided, please indicate what your husband
does in the military. For example, he may be a clerk, pilot, truck
driver, cook, or infantryman, etc.

b. Since your husband has been in the military, has he ever changed his trade
or classification?

1.....Yes

2.....No

c. If he has, what trade did he leave? _____

d. In which of those trades, has he served the longest? (Please name the trade
in which he served the longest.)

14: Where are you currently living?

1.....In P.M.Q.s

2.....In civilian housing within the confines of Oromocto proper

3.....In civilian housing within the confines of Oromocto West

4.....Other : (Please indicate where you are living -- e.g.
Fredericton, Geary, the Village of Gagetown, Saint John)

15.a. Did you choose to live where you are (i.e., in PMQs or in civilian housing),
or did circumstances decide that for you (i.e., your husband is required to
work in another centre, or no PMQs were available)?

1.....Chose place of residence

2.....Circumstances decided it

b. If you are living in either base housing or civilian housing by choice
why did you make that choice?

THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS ARE ABOUT YOU AND YOUR FAMILY
BEFORE YOU WERE MARRIED.

16. a. As a child did you grow up within the military community. That is, was your father (or mother/guardian if your father was not present) in the military when you were a child?

1.....Yes 2.....No

(IF YOU RESPONDED NO TO THE ABOVE PLEASE GO ON TO QUESTION 17. IF YOU RESPONDED YES, PLEASE GO ON TO 16 b AND c.)

b. If your answer was yes, please indicate the period of time you, as a child, lived within the military community?

1.....Less than one year
2.....One to five years
3.....Six to ten years
4.....Eleven to fifteen years
5.....Over fifteen years

c. What was your father's (mother's/guardian's) rank level? (If he (she) was classified according to the old military ranking scale, please write in his (her) rank level in the space marked "other".)

1.....General	12.....Chief Warrant Officer
2.....Lieutenant-General	13.....Master Warrant Officer
3.....Major-General	14.....Warrant Officer
4.....Brigadier-General	15.....Sergeant
5.....Colonel	16.....Master-Corporal
6.....Lieutenant-Colonel	17.....Corporal
7.....Major	18.....Private - Trained
8.....Captain	19.....Private - Basic
9.....Lieutenant	20.....Private - Recruit
10.....2nd Lieutenant	21.....Other
11.....Officer Cadet	

17. If your father (mother/guardian) was not in the military, what was his/her primary occupation while you were growing up? Please name his/her occupation and briefly describe it (e.g. milkman -- delivered milk).

18. a. At the time of or just prior to your marriage, what was your employment status?

1.....Employed 2.....Unemployed

(IF YOU WERE UNEMPLOYED AT THE TIME OF OR JUST PRIOR TO YOUR MARRIAGE, PLEASE SKIP DOWN TO QUESTION 19. IF YOU WERE EMPLOYED PLEASE ANSWER 18 b,c, d, AND QUESTION 19 a, b, AND c BEFORE GOING TO QUESTION 20.)

b. If you were employed, was it on a part-time or a full-time basis?

1.....Part-time

2.....Full-time

c. If you were employed at the time of or just prior to your marriage, were you satisfied or dissatisfied with your job?

1.....Very satisfied

2.....Satisfied

3.....Dissatisfied

4.....Very dissatisfied

d. At that time, were you able to support yourself on your salary alone?

1.....Yes

2.....No

19.a. Have you ever been in the military (permanent forces) yourself?

1.....Yes

2.....No

b. If so, how long were you in the Forces?

1.....Less than one year

2.....One to five years

3.....Six to ten years

4.....Eleven to fifteen years

5.....Over fifteen years

c. If you were in the military, what was your rank level when you left the Forces? (If you were categorized under the old ranking system, please write in your rank in the space marked "other".)

1.....General

2.....Lieutenant-General

3.....Major-General

4.....Brigadier-General

5.....Colonel

6.....Lieutenant-Colonel

7.....Major

8.....Captain

9.....Lieutenant

10.....2nd Lieutenant

11.....Officer Cadet

12.....Chief Warrant Officer

13.....Master Warrant Officer

14.....Warrant Officer

15.....Sergeant

16.....Master-Corporal

17.....Corporal

18.....Private - Trained

19.....Private - Basic

20.....Private - Recruit

21.....Other

THIS SECTION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE ASKS ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCES AS A MILITARY WIFE AND ABOUT YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT YOUR LIFESTYLE AND THE MILITARY.

20. What do you immediately think of when you see the Canadian Armed Forces recruiting advertisement which contains the statement, "There's no life like it?"

21. In your experience as an individual married to a military man, on the average how often have you moved?

- 1.....Have never moved
 2.....Once every year
 3.....Once every two years
 4.....Once every three years
 5.....Once every four years
 6.....Once every five years
 7.....Once every six years or more
 8.....Other: Please specify _____

22. Since your marriage, approximately how many times have you had to leave your job or firm because you were leaving the area? (In other words, how many jobs have you had to leave because you were being posted?)

1. - Approximately _____ jobs; OR,
 (Number of jobs)
 2. - Have never quit a job because my husband was being posted _____

23. Some people say that women married to military men may experience discrimination in the hiring practices of potential employers. That is, employers may hesitate to hire or refuse to hire women who are married to military personnel. This discrimination may be the result of the employer knowing that military families may remain in any particular area for a relatively short period of time, or it may be the result of his/her dislike for the military and military people.

a. If you are or have been a member of the work force, do you feel that you, at some time, have experienced discrimination in the job market because of your husband's connection with the military?

- 1.....I am sure that I have experienced discrimination
- 2.....I suspect that I have experienced discrimination
- 3.....I have never experienced discrimination
- 4.....Does not apply

b. If you are sure or suspect that you have experienced discrimination, which of the reasons given above do you feel may explain that discrimination?

- 1.....Does not apply
- 2.....Potential employer may have been concerned about the length of time you, as an employee, would remain in the area
- 3.....Potential employer may have disliked military people
- 4.....Both of the above
- 5.....Other reason(s). Please explain_____

24. When you have moved have you found it very difficult, difficult or not difficult to find work in your new location?

- 1.....Does not apply
- 2.....Very difficult
- 3.....Difficult
- 4.....Not difficult
- 5.....Never wanted to look for work

25. Have you ever experienced difficulties in transferring your work credentials (i.e., licences, certification certificates, etc.) from one location to another?

- 1.....Yes
- 2.....No
- 3.....Does not apply

26.a. At the present time, what is your employment status? (Include part-time work and working for yourself as employment.)

- 1.....Employed
- 2.....Unemployed

(IF YOU ARE EMPLOYED, PLEASE ANSWER QUESTION 26 b,c, d,e AND f. IF YOU ARE NOT EMPLOYED AT THE PRESENT TIME, PLEASE GO ON TO QUESTION 27.)

b. If you are employed, do you work on a part-time or a full-time basis?

1.....Part-time 2.....Full-time

c. On the average, how many hours a week do you work?

1.....5 hours or less per week 4.....31 to 35 hours per week
 2.....6 to 20 hours per week 5.....36 to 40 hours per week
 3.....21 to 30 hours per week 6.....Over 40 hours per week

d. Please indicate by checking off the appropriate category(ies) the type(s) of work you do:

- 1____Professional (physician, lawyer, engineer, university professor, etc.)
- 2____Manager (officer, manager, manager of a business, etc.)
- 3____School Teacher
- 4____Social worker
- 5____Nurse (R.N., R.N.A., orderly)
- 6____Real Estate salesperson
- 7____Office worker (secretary, stenographer, typist, file clerk, etc.)
- 8____Sales clerk
- 9____Telephone operator
- 10____Day care worker
- 11____Waitress
- 12____Bar tender
- 13____Janitor, cleaner, maid
- 14____Factory worker
- 15____Home sales (Mary Kay, Tupperware, etc.)
- 16____Other. Please specify _____

e. How do you feel about your work?

- 1.....My work means a great deal to me
- 2.....I like several aspects of my work but I wouldn't say that it means a great deal to me
- 3.....I see my work as "just another job"

f. What is your current salary level?

- 1.....Under \$5,000.
- 2.....\$5,000. to \$10,000.
- 3.....\$11,000. to \$15,000.
- 4.....\$16,000. to \$20,000.
- 5.....\$21,000. to \$25,000.
- 6.....\$26,000. to \$30,000.
- 7.....\$31,000. to \$35,000.
- 8.....\$36,000. to \$40,000.
- 9.....Over \$40,000.

27.a. At the present time, what is the highest level of education you have had?

- 1.....Elementary School
- 2.....Junior High School
- 3.....High School (not completed)
- 4.....High School (diploma received)
- 5.....Community College or Vocational School (not completed)
- 6.....Community College or Vocational School (diploma received)
- 7.....University (degree not obtained)
- 8.....University (degree obtained)
- 9.....Graduate School (degree not obtained)
- 10.....Graduate School (degree obtained)
- 11.....Other. Please specify _____

b. What other academic, self-improvement, and skill-related courses have you taken? (Please list them.)

1.....Does not apply

28.a. At the present time are you a student?

1.....Yes

2.....No

b. If you are a student, are you a full-time or part-time student?

1.....Full-time

2.....Part-time

29. Over the years your husband has been in the military approximately, how often has he been away from home for work-related reasons (i.e., on course, in the field, etc.)?

- 1.....Has never been away for work-related reasons
- 2.....Once a year
- 3.....Two to three times a year
- 4.....Four to five times a year
- 5.....Six to ten times a year
- 6.....Eleven or more times a year

30. What was the longest period of time your husband was away for work-related reasons?

- 1.....Has never been away for work-related reasons
- 2.....One day
- 3.....More than one day but less than a week
- 4.....More than one week but less than a month
- 5.....More than one month but less than six months
- 6.....Six months to a year
- 7.....A year or longer

31.a. If you answered that your husband has been away for a month or longer, has this occurred on more than one occasion?

- 1.....Yes 2.....No

b. If you responded "yes" to the above, how many times has your husband been away for a month or longer?

- 1.....Two to three times
- 2.....Four to six times
- 3.....Seven to nine times
- 4.....Ten times or more

32. Some people have indicated that on occasion women married to military men have not sought the advice or assistance of formal military helping agents (i.e., military padres, social workers, police) when they have required it. It has been suggested that the reason for this, is that women may be concerned that by seeking the advice or assistance from formal military helping agents they may in some way be damaging their husband's military career.

a. Have you ever had to seek advice or assistance from formal military "helping" people (i.e., military padres, social workers or military police)?

- 1.....Yes 2.....No

b. If your response was yes, were you concerned that by seeking the help or advice of padres, military social work officers or the military police that you would somehow be endangering or damaging your husband's career?

- 1.....Yes 2.....No

33. Have you ever wanted or needed to seek the help or advice of military padres, social workers or police but hesitated or did not seek that advice or help because of your concern about damaging your husband's career in some way?

1.....Yes

2.....No

34. The following statements may be said to reflect the way women may come to feel about their husband's unit/squadron/regiment. Please check off all of those statements which you feel represent your feelings. (Check off as many as you feel apply to you.)

1. ☐ I feel an integral part of the unit/squadron/regimental family.

2. ☐ I have some feeling of belongingness to the unit/squadron/regiment.

3. ☐ I feel some indifference towards his unit/squadron/regiment.

4. ☐ I feel myself to be totally removed from his unit/squadron/regiment.

35.a. In your opinion, is the statement "the military takes care of its own" a relatively true or false statement?

1.....True

2.....False

b. Please explain why you feel the statement is true or why you feel it is false.

36.a. Do you agree with the statement, "My husband is in the military, not me. Therefore, what I do or how I behave in my private life will not reflect on my husband"?

1.....Agree with statement

2.....Disagree with statement

36.b. Please take a moment to explain why you agree or disagree with the statement.

37.a. In your opinion, is it possible that a wife can hinder or hurt her husband's military career?

1.....Yes

2.....No

b. If you feel that it is possible that a wife can hinder her husband's career, please explain in what ways she can do so.

38.a. According to recent statistics over sixty percent of male Canadian Armed Forces personnel are married. In your opinion, is a wife a factor in a military man's career success? That is, can she help him in his career?

1.....Yes

2.....No

38.b. Please explain why you feel a wife is or is not a factor in her husband's career success.

39. Please indicate whether you strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree with or are undecided about the following statements. Please circle the number which corresponds to your answer.

a. The trouble with many military wives today is that they can't see the necessity of maintaining military protocol and tradition.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree

b. If I had a son and he wanted to join the Canadian Armed Forces, I would encourage him to choose another career.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree

c. Military wives who criticize the military are troublemakers.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly Agree

d. Military personnel and their families are rarely understood by individuals in the civilian community.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Undecided 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

e. If I had a daughter and she wanted to join the Canadian Armed Forces, I would encourage her to choose another career.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Undecided 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

f. I feel a sense of pride in being a part of the military community.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Undecided 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

g. More military wives ought to take part in regimental/unit/squadron social events.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Undecided 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

h. I prefer being with friends of the civilian community rather than those in the military community.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Undecided 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

i. There are important reasons for military members to maintain the rank structure outside of working hours.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Undecided 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

j. The military does not care what wives think.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Undecided 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

k. In this day and age, I find military customs outdated.

1 Strongly Disagree 2 Disagree 3 Undecided 4 Agree 5 Strongly Agree

40. Below is a list of statements which contain words with opposite meanings. These words could be used to describe how people feel about their lives and their experiences with the military lifestyle. Because our feelings may not be either just one way or another (neither black or white nor good or bad), I have separated the words by numbers. Please circle the number between the two main words which comes closest to the way you feel about your life as a military wife. The closer you circle a number in either direction means that your feelings about your life are more like that word. Please circle only one number per line.

- a. I am **HAPPY** 1 2 3 4 5 **UNHAPPY** with my lifestyle.
- b. I feel **TRAPPED** 1 2 3 4 5 **FREE** within the military community.
- c. I feel **SECURE** 1 2 3 4 5 **INSECURE** in my life.
- d. I feel **POSITIVE** 1 2 3 4 5 **NEGATIVE** about my life.
- e. I am **DISCONTENTED** 1 2 3 4 5 **CONTENTED** with my life.

41. Who are the majority of your women friends?

- 1.....I have no or very few women friends
- 2.....Officers' wives
- 3.....Enlisted men's wives
- 4.....Both officers' and enlisted men's wives
- 5.....Women of the civilian community
- 6.....Women of the civilian community and enlisted men's wives
- 7.....Women of the civilian community and officer's wives
- 8.....A combination of officers' wives, enlisted men's wives, and women of the civilian community

- 42a. With whom do you and your husband, as a couple, spend most of your leisure time?

- 1.....By ourselves
- 2.....With extended family members (e.g., sister, brother, etc.)
- 3.....With civilian friends
- 4.....With other military couples
- 5.....With couples from both civilian and military communities

42.b. Of the military couples with whom you spend your leisure time approximately what percentage of them are:

Percent

1. Couples within which the military member (the husband or the wife of the couple) is of lower rank than your husband (i.e., at least 3 rank levels below your husband's rank level)? 8
2. Couples within which the military member is of the same or similar rank level as your husband (i.e., within 1 or 2 rank levels above or below the rank level of your husband)? 8
3. Couples within which the military member is of a higher rank level than your husband (i.e., at least 3 rank levels above your husband's rank level)? 8

43.a. Do you attend wives' clubs on base (i.e., officers' wives' club, sergeant and warrant officers' wives' club, unit wives' club, etc.)?

1.....Yes 2.....No

(IF YOUR RESPONSE WAS YES, PLEASE ANSWER 43-B,C,D,E. IF YOUR RESPONSE WAS NO, PLEASE GO ON TO QUESTION 44.)

b. How often do you attend wives' club?

- 1..... Every meeting
- 2..... At least half of the meetings held in a year
- 3..... About a third of the meetings held in a year
- 4..... Two or more of the meetings held in a year
- 5..... At least one meeting held in a year

c. Are you involved in wives' clubs in a more official capacity (e.g., are you on the executive?)

1.....Yes 2.....No

d. Are you involved in organizing wives' club meetings in any other capacity (e.g., on the telephoning committee, etc.)?

1.....Yes 2.....No

e. Please indicate your reason for your involvement in wives' club by rank ordering the following statements. For example, if your primary reason for attending lies in the fact that it provides you with the opportunity to get out of the house for a while, beside that statement you would write in the number 1. If your second reason has to do with your meeting new people, you would rank that a 2. Please only rank three of the statements.

1. _____ I consider my attendance a part of my social obligations.
2. _____ I attend because it's a means for me to get out of the house for a while.
3. _____ I attend to help create or foster a feeling of belongingness amongst wives.
4. _____ I attend in order to meet new people.
5. _____ I attend in support of my husband.
6. _____ I attend because it is financially a cheaper form of entertainment than I can get elsewhere.
7. _____ I attend because I enjoy going.
8. _____ Other: Please specify _____

44. As husbands progress in rank, do you find their wives assuming higher status positions in women's groups or clubs on the base (i.e., wives' clubs)?

1 Yes 2 No 3 Don't Know

45.a. Other than wives' clubs, do you belong to any other groups, clubs or organizations?

1 Yes 2 No

b. If you do belong to other groups, clubs or organizations, are the majority of them organized by the base or held in base facilities, or are the majority of the groups you belong to organized by individuals in the civilian community?

1 The majority of groups I belong to are organized by the base or held in base facilities.

2 The majority of groups I belong to are organized by individuals in the civilian community.

3 I belong to about an equal number of groups which are organized by individuals in the civilian community and which are organized by the base or held in base facilities.

-

2. _____ Church 1.....weekly 2.....monthly 3.....occasionally

3. _____ Recreation Centre 1.....weekly 2.....monthly 3.....occasionally

4. _____ CANEX facilities 1.....weekly 2.....monthly 3.....occasionally

5. _____ Base social/recreational clubs
 1.....weekly 2.....monthly 3.....occasionally

6. _____ Other: Please specify _____
 1.....weekly 2.....monthly 3.....occasionally

- 1..... All of them?
- 2..... Most of them?
- 3..... Some of them?
- 4..... None of them?

- 1.....All 2.....Most 3.....Some 4.....None**

- 1.....Yes 2.....No

- 1.....All of them 2.....Most of them 3.....Some of them

49.c. As you did for question 43.a., please indicate your reasons for attending formal military functions by rank ordering three of the the following statements, from 1 (what you consider to be your primary reason for attending) to 3 (your third most important reason for attending.)

1. ☐ I am expected to attend
2. ☐ I attend because it's a means for me to get out of the house for a while
3. ☐ I attend to help create or foster a feeling of belongingness amongst military personnel and their families
4. ☐ I attend in order to meet new people
5. ☐ I attend in support of my husband
6. ☐ I attend because it is financially a cheaper form of entertainment than we can get elsewhere
7. ☐ I attend because I enjoy them
8. ☐ Other : Please specify _____

50. If you are presently employed, do you wish that you could attend some of the military functions which due to your job you are unable to attend?

- 1.....Yes 2.....No 3.....Does not apply

51.a. Have you entertained, in a more formal way, people who are connected with your husband's work?

- 1.....Yes 2.....No

b. If so, please indicate approximately how often in the past year you have entertained each of the following three categories of people. (Circle the responses which are applicable.)

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Never	1 - 5	6 - 11	12 times
	times	times	or more

- 1 - Military men or women senior in rank to your husband and their spouses (i.e., where the military member is at least 3 rank levels higher than your husband's rank level).

1 2 3 4

Never 1-5 6-11 12 times
times times or more

2 - Military men or women of equal or similar rank to your husband and their spouses (i.e., where the military member is of the same rank level or 1 to 2 rank levels higher or lower than your husband's rank level).

1 2 3 4

3 - Military men or women junior in rank to your husband and their spouses (i.e., where the military member is at least 3 rank levels below your husband's rank level).

1 2 3 4

52. Are there times when you find that your husband's work demands (i.e., your attendance at military functions, etc.) conflict with your own responsibilities as mother, housewife, or with your own occupational demands?

1. As a mother?

1.....Yes, frequently 2.....Yes, sometimes 3.....No, never 4.....Does not apply

2. As a housewife?

1.....Yes, frequently 2.....Yes, sometimes 3.....No, never

3. As a person with your own occupation?

1.....Yes, frequently 2.....Yes, sometimes 3.....No, never 4.....Does not apply

53. At the present stage of your husband's career, do you sometimes feel obligated to attend military functions?

1.....Yes, sometimes 2.....No, never

54.a. If the following events were held on the same date and at the same time, which would you prefer to attend? (If you do not have children, place a check mark in the following space and skip down to Question 55.)

_____ DO NOT HAVE CHILDREN

1.....Your son's or daughter's special school event (i.e., a school play or sports event in which he or she were a participant).

2.....A command or other military function to which you and your husband had been formally invited and were expected to attend.

54.b. Which of those events mentioned would you be most likely to attend?

- 1..... Your son's or daughter's special school event (i.e., a school play or sports event in which he or she were a participant).
- 2..... The command or other military function to which you and your husband had been formally invited and were expected to attend.
- 3..... Would try to attend both

55.a. In your experience as a woman married to a man in the Canadian Armed Forces, have you ever received advice on the "proper" behavior befitting a woman married to an officer or an enlisted man?

- 1..... Yes, direct advice
- 2..... Yes, indirectly
- 3..... No

b. Please describe briefly who gave you the advice and what type of advice was given.

56. In your opinion should wives of military men be "rated" or assessed by their husbands' employer when promotion or posting decisions are being made?

IN DECISIONS ABOUT
PROMOTIONS?

- 1..... Yes, definitely
- 2..... Yes, but only when the husband, with his promotion, will be assigned a command position
- 3..... Definitely not under any circumstances
- 4..... Undecided

IN DECISIONS ABOUT
POSTINGS?

- 1..... Yes, definitely
- 2..... Yes, but only when the posting is an exchange posting to another country
- 3..... Definitely not under any circumstances
- 4..... Undecided

57. Do you think that this "rating" of wives by the military takes place now?

WHEN PROMOTION DECISIONS
ARE BEING MADE?

1.....YES

2.....NO

WHEN POSTING DECISIONS ARE
BEING MADE?

1.....YES

2.....NO

IN THE PREVIOUS SECTION THE FOCUS WAS ON YOUR EXPERIENCES AND ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE MILITARY COMMUNITY, AS WELL AS ON YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT THE MILITARY. IN THE FOLLOWING SECTION YOU ARE ASKED TO INDICATE HOW CLOSELY CERTAIN STATEMENTS REFLECT THE WAY YOU THINK THAT YOUR HUSBAND FEELS ABOUT HIS WORK, AS WELL AS HOW CLOSELY THEY DESCRIBE YOUR HUSBAND'S WORK BEHAVIOR. PLEASE ANSWER AS HONESTLY AS POSSIBLE KEEPING IN MIND THAT ALL YOUR RESPONSES ARE COMPLETELY ANONYMOUS.

58. Please circle the appropriate category. For example, if you strongly disagree with a statement about the way you think your husband feels, you would circle the number 1. If you were uncertain or undecided about a particular statement you would circle the number 3 and so on. Please follow this procedure for all of the statements.

- My husband considers his work to be more than a "job" but a "way of life".

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know

- My husband can't wait until he can leave the military.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know

- My husband feels that the presence of a ranking system or order is a necessary part of an efficient military system.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know

- My husband feels that tradition in the military is overbearing and outdated.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't Know

- My husband feels that the military does not value the work that he does.

1 2 3 4 5 6
Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree Don't Know

- My husband values the traditions of his unit/branch.

1 2 3 4 5 6
Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree Don't Know

- My husband feels a strong sense of commitment to the military.

1 2 3 4 5 6
Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree Don't Know

59. a. How often does your husband attend Friday night "beer call" or "happy hour"?

- 1.....Every week
2.....Two to three times a month
3.....Once a month
4.....A few times a year
5.....Never

b. If your husband does go to beer call or happy hour, what do you feel is his main reason for going? (Please rank your answer in order of priority. That is, if you feel the main reason your husband goes to happy hour or beer call is because he needs to "let off steam" you would rank that a 1. The least important reason for his attending would have a possible rank of 5. Please rank all of the responses below.)

- (1) _____ To let off steam after a long work week
(2) _____ To show support for those in his regiment/unit/squadron
(3) _____ It is a cheap form of entertainment
(4) _____ His boss has told him he expects him there
(5) _____ Other: Please specify _____

60. Even when he is not asked or ordered to do so, does your husband work long hours and weekends?

- 1.....Yes, sometimes 2.....No, never

61. Does your husband, at times, help to organize unit/squadron/regimental parties or social events?

- 1.....Yes, sometimes 2.....No, never

62. Who are the majority of your husband's male friends?

- 1.....Men of his unit/regiment/squadron
- 2.....Men of other military units/regiments/squadrons
- 3.....Men with civilian occupations
- 4.....A mixture of men in the military and in the civilian community

THIS SECTION, THE LAST OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE, ASKS IN A MORE GENERAL WAY YOUR FEELINGS ABOUT THE FAMILY AND ABOUT YOUR PLANS FOR THE FUTURE.

63. Please indicate by circling either 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 (strongly agree, agree, undecided, disagree or strongly disagree), how closely the following statements relate to your own way of thinking.

a. A married woman's most important task in her life should be taking care of her husband and children.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

b. If his wife works, the husband should share equally in household chores such as cooking, cleaning, and ironing clothes.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

c. A married woman should work outside the home only if the family needs the money.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

d. Married women who have small children should put off their own career plans until their children are in school.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

e. Having a challenging job or career is as important to me as being a wife and mother.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly Agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

f. A married woman's responsibility for working outside the home and providing the material things of life for her family is as great as her husband's responsibility.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

g. Women are better suited emotionally to take care of children than are men.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

h. Some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the husband ought to have the main say in family matters.

1 2 3 4 5
Strongly Agree Agree Undecided Disagree Strongly Disagree

64. As you look into the future, what do you see as being your primary or most important goal for the future? (Please rank order three of the following statements. Put a number 1 beside the statement which reflects your most important goal, a 2 beside that statement which reflects the goal of secondary importance to you, and a 3 beside that statement which reflects your next important goal.)

- (1) _____ Continuing my education
- (2) _____ Settling down in one spot with my family
- (3) _____ Becoming financially able to send my child (children) to university, college or technical school if he/she (they) wanted to go
- (4) _____ Embarking on my own career
- (5) _____ Supporting my husband in his career goals
- (6) _____ Saving enough cash so that I can get away by myself for awhile
- (7) _____ Other: Please specify _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR CO-OPERATION IN FILLING OUT THE QUESTIONNAIRE. BE ASSURED THAT YOUR ANSWERS WILL REMAIN ANONYMOUS. PLEASE PLACE THE COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE IN THE RETURN ENVELOPE PROVIDED AND SEND IT TO ME AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. SHOULD YOU WISH TO WRITE ANY COMMENTS, PLEASE FEEL FREE TO ENCLOSE ANOTHER PAGE.

- APPENDIX B -

Two Poems About "Military Wives"

Appendix B

THE MILITARY WIFE

Who said that "Variety is
the Spice of Life?"
No doubt 'twas first said by
a Military Wife
For the poor girl knows not
where she's at;
Her home is where ever He
parks his hat,
She moves each two years
into new sets of quarters,
During which time she births
sons and daughters.
She packs up to move - Cold
Lake's their station,
Then orders are changed -
they have a new destination.
She may live in a hut with
no room for expansion
Or maybe a tent or perhaps
it's a mansion.
Then she uncrates the
furniture in snow or in
rain,
And lays the linoleum
between each aching pain.
She wrangles saw horses and
builds all the beds,
Makes curtains of hessian
she last used for spreads.
And during each move - now
isn't it strange?
The brats catch diptheria,
measles or mange!

She no more gets settled
when she must dress up
pretty,
Go to a party; be charming
and witty.
She must know contract
rules, mah jong and chess,
And whether a straight or a
flush is the best.
On every subject she must
know how to discourse.

She must swim, ski and golf
and ride any troupe horse.
She must know traditions of
his famous Squadron
And she fast learns the way
in which the War was won.
She jitterbugs with
corporals who always are
glamorous,
Then waltzes with colonels
who are usually amorous.
She must drink all
concoctions; gin, whiskey
and beer
But in moderation or she'll
wreck his Career.

He insists on economy,
questions every check stub,
Yet her house must be run
like a hotel or club.
For she entertains at all
hours, both early and late,
For any number of guests
either eighty or eight.
The first of each month
there is plenty of cash,
So she serves turkey and ham
- but the last week it's
hash.

She juggles the budget for a
tropical worsted,
Though the seams on her own
best outfit have bursted.
Then she just gets the
uniform payments arranged
When the shirt is no good -
regulations have changed.
One year she has servants
and lives like a lady
The next year she does
housework and has a new
baby.
That there'll be a bank
balance she has no assurance
- It all goes for liquor or
some damned insurance!

And at an age to retire, He
is hale and hearty,
Fit as a fiddle, the life of
the party,
While She's old and haggard,
cranky and nervous
- Really a wreck after his
Term of service
But even at that, when all's
said and done
She goes on believing that
Military Life is Fun
She has loved every minute -
and the reason why
She would have been bored
with the average guy.

Then He gets for His service
the CD,
But in actual fact it should
have been she!

Appendix B (Continued)

SERVICEMAN'S WIFE

A Serviceman's wife is mostly girl. But there are times, such as when her husband is away and she is mowing the lawn or fixing a flat tire of a youngster's bike, that she begins to suspect that she is also a boy.

She usually comes in three sizes: petite, plump and pregnant. During the early years of her marriage it is often hard to determine which size is her normal one.

She has babies all over the world and measures time in terms of places as other women do in years.

"It was at Whitehorse that we all had the mumps . . . in Germany Dan was promoted . . ."

At least one of her babies was born or a move was accomplished while she was alone. This causes her to suspect a secret pact between her husband and the army providing for a man to be overseas or on temporary duty at times such as these.

A Serviceman's wife is international. She may be a prairie farm girl, a French mademoiselle, an Indian princess or a Maritime nurse. When discussing service problems they all speak the same language.

She can be a great actress. To heartbroken children at posting time, she gives an Academy Award performance! "Wainwright is going to be such fun. I heard they have Indian Reservations . . . and gophers, and more gophers." But her heart is breaking with theirs. She wonders if this Service life is worth the sacrifice. An ideal Serviceman's wife has the patience of an angel, the flexibility of putty, the wisdom of a scholar and the stamina of a horse.

If she dislikes money, it helps. She is sentimental, carrying her memories with her in an old barrack box.

She often cries at parades without knowing why.

She is a dreamer when she vows: "We'll never move again."

An Optimist: "The next place will be better."

A Realist: "Oh well, as long as we are together."

One might say she is a bigamist sharing her husband with a demanding entity called "duty". When duty calls, she becomes No. 2 wife. Until she accepts this fact, her life can be miserable. She is, above all, a woman who married a soldier who offered her the permanency [permanency] of a gypsy, the miseries of loneliness, the frustration of conformity and the security of love.

Sitting among her packing boxes with squabbling children nearby, she is sometimes willing to chuck it all . . . until she hears the firm step and cheerful voice of that lug who gave her all this. Then she is happy to be . . . his Serviceman's wife.

The first poem, "The Military Wife", was given to me by a military member stationed at C.F.B. Galetown. At the bottom of the copy given me is the following: "Dedicated to all the wives, of 434 Squadron members, past and present. On the occasion of 434 Colour Presentation." 434 Squadron was presented with their colours in 1977.

The second poem, "Serviceman's Wife", was given me by a military wife. It had originally appeared in a Canadian Armed Forces newspaper, Der Kanadier, which is published in West Germany.

I have no knowledge of the dates of publication or of the authors' identities for either poem.

- APPENDIX C -

Coding Categories Developed and Utilized
in Coding Responses to Questions 37.B. and 38.B.
in the Questionnaire

Appendix W

**CODING CATEGORIES FOR CODING QUESTION 37B --- HOW A
WIFE CAN HINDER HER HUSBAND'S MILITARY CAREER.**

VARIABLE ASPECT	COLUMN	EXPLANATION
Lack of affectual support	39	Some comments will indicate that a wife can hinder her husband's career by failing to "be there for him", by not listening to his problems, etc.
Lack of domestic support	40	Some comments will indicate that a wife can hinder her husband's career by failing to provide her labour at home (taking care of domestic matters including children, care of the household, financial matters, etc.)
Poor personal image	41	Those comments which include a mention or discussion of the wife's personal habits will go here. Things such as over-drinking, sexual liasons, or being "morally incorrect" will go here. These elements have more to do with her personal, private life. (There is a moral element here.)

Inability to cope with
or refusal to accept his
general job demands

42

Women who discuss the wife's refusal to accept the lifestyle including postings, long absences (separations), his attendance at functions, or his long hours go here. Also those women who write about women calling their husbands at work and women who call the husband's unit, CO, or "helpers" while their husband's are away will go here.

Poor public image

43

Those comments which indicate women who dress "improperly" in and outside of military establishments are to be classified here as are the following:

- involvement in civilian action groups
- being opinionated
- being outspoken to the "wrong people" (CO, CO's wife, others who are senior in rank to husband)
- causing disturbances in the messes, in the PMQs or in the military community generally
- "gossiping" or discussing military matters

Refusal to participate
in social activities

44

Includes the more formal military functions and refusal to entertain or "assist" other wives.

Getting involved in his
career management
DIRECTLY

45

Calling or speaking to his superiors in an attempt to specifically influence posting and promotion decisions

Miscellaneous/Other

46

Comments not easily classified into the above, including those comments which are vague or it is not clear what the respondent is discussing.

Appendix C (Continued)

CODING CATEGORIES FOR CODING QUESTION 38 B -- 'HOW A WIFE IS A FACTOR IN HER HUSBAND'S CAREER

<u>VARIABLE ASPECT</u>	<u>COLUMN</u>	<u>EXPLANATION</u>
Affectual	49	Those comments which indicate the wife is important by listening to her husband's problems and by trying to understand his situation at work will go here. She may talk about the home as a haven. She may also indicate that the wife is important in offering her encouragement, or that she helps keep him stable, responsible.
Domestic	50	Those comments which indicate the wife is important in freeing up the man to do his work (go on courses, out in the field, etc.) through her work at home in providing a smooth-running household (including finances) will go in this category. She "provides" or "makes" a "good" home.
Accepting the lifestyle	51	Specific comments will be made by the women relating to the view that the wife will not complain to the husband; or, they will discuss their acceptance of the need to conform; or their acceptance of frequent mobility (postings). Those comments will be coded here.
Working "with" him	52	Those comments that have to do chiefly with helping the husband to study; helping him prepare PERs, advising him on his career moves, etc., will go here.

- Working "for" him 53 "Working the crowd".
Those comments which mention the wife is important in attending functions and being socially active in other ways (i.e., entertaining, being friendly to husbands superiors and peers, and their wives) will be coded in this category. Some women may talk about putting in a "good" word for the husband with the bosses.
- Depends on husband's rank 54 Those comments suggesting that only at a certain rank level is a wife a factor in her husband's career success will be coded here.
- Miscellaneous/other 55 Other ways she can help or other comments not easily classified into the above (i.e., are vague). Those who mention a wife can help by "supporting" her husband but who do not clarify what they mean by "support" will be coded here.
- Wife is not a factor 56 Those comments which indicate that a wife is definitely not a factor will be coded here (i.e., women may write that it is his ability alone that counts; or that in their experience they have seen many successful single officers or enlisted men, etc.)

- APPENDIX D -

Tables 27 to 31: The Relationship Between Husband's Rank Category and Women's Agreement/Disagreement to Various Statements Meant to Measure Identification with the Military as a Whole with Controls

Appendix D

TABLE 27

Percentage of Women Agreeing with the Statement, "There are important reasons for military members to maintain the rank structure outside of working hours" by Husband's Rank Controlling for (1) Wife's Age; (2) Years Married; (3) Wife's Employment Status; and, (4) Wife's Level of Education

1. WIFE'S AGE

19 - 25 YEARS	26 - 30 YEARS	31 - 39 YEARS	40 TO OVER 50 YEARS	1st Order Gamma
<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
63.2% 16.2% (27) (187)	63.3% 14.3% (43) (141)	40% 13.6% (57) (222)	50% 28.6% (26) (106)	-59.400
6--.75 p=.000	6--.79 p=.000	6--.46 p=.000	6--.36 p=.038	

2. YEARS MARRIED

UNDER 1 YR.	1 - 5 YRS.	6 - 10 YRS.	11 - 20 YRS.	OVER 20 YRS.	
<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
75% 50% (6) (10)	57.1% 14.3% (30) (212)	69.2% 22.6% (37) (157)	39.4% 9.8% (47) (207)	22.2% 28.6% (13) (71)	-63897
6--.60 p=.085	6--.72 p=.000	6--.71 p=.000	6--.55 p=.000	6--.27 p=.208	

Appendix D

TABLE 22 (Continued)

Percentage of Women Disagreeing with the Statement, "There are important reasons for military members to maintain the rank structure outside of working hours" by Husband's Rank Controlling for (1) Wife's Age; (2) Years Married; (3) Wife's Employment Status; and, (4) Wife's Level of Education

3. WIFE'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS

EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED		1st Order Term
	HUSBAND'S RANK OJTCAC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OJTCAC Enlisted	
	59R 16.7R (55) (242)	49.3R 17.1R (95) (414)	-60245
	6--69 p=.000	6--57 p=.000	

4. WIFE'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION

LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	AT LEAST SOME HIGH SCHOOL		AT LEAST SOME COMMUNITY COLLEGE		AT LEAST SOME UNIVERSITY		AT LEAST SOME GRADUATE SCHOOL		
	HUSBAND'S RANK OJTCAC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OJTCAC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OJTCAC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OJTCAC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OJTCAC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OJTCAC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OJTCAC Enlisted	HUSBAND'S RANK OJTCAC Enlisted	
	33.3R (45)	42.9R 19.2R (40) (394)	63R 9.7R (38) (157)	54.8R 0R (60) (51)	44.4R 50R (13) (10)				-56522
	6--N.A. p=N.A.	6--37 p=.006	6--79 p=.000	6--90 p=.000	6--17 p=.314				

Appendix DTABLE 28

Percentage of Women Disagreeing with the Statement, "The military does not care what wives think" by Husband's Rank Controlling for (1) Wife's Age; (2) Years Married; (3) Wife's Employment Status; and, (4) Wife's Level of Education

1. WIFE'S AGE

19 - 25 YEARS	26 - 30 YEARS	31 - 39 YEARS	40 TO OVER 50 YEARS	1st Order Gamma
<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
27.8% 27.8% (26) (182)	17.9% 21.4% (40) (141)	22.5% 17.8% (57) (227)	72.2% 38.1% (26) (106)	.16159
6-.07 p=.358	6-.08 p=.304	6-.04 p=.178	6-.58 p=.001	

2. YEARS MARRIED

UNDER 1 YR.	1 - 5 YRS.	6 - 10 YRS.	11 - 20 YRS.	OVER 20 YRS.	
<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
50.0% 0% (6) (10)	17.6% 26.8% (46) (207)	20.8% 22.6% (34) (157)	39.4% 21.4% (47) (212)	66.7% 35.7% (13) (71)	.15087
6-1.00 p=.008	6-.04 p=.394	6-.09 p=.304	6-.35 p=.006	6-.44 p=.051	

TABLE 28 (Continued)

Percentage of Women Disagreeing with the Statement, "The military does not care what wives think - by Husband's Rank Controlling for (1) Wife's Age; (2) Years Married; (3) Wife's Employment Status; and, (4) Wife's Level of Education

3. WIFE'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS

EMPLOYED		UNEMPLOYED		1st Order Gamma
HUSBAND'S RANK		HUSBAND'S RANK		
Officer	Enlisted	Officer	Enlisted	
33.3%	33.3%	29.7%	19.5%	20484
(55)	(242)	(91)	(414)	
6-00	p-.494	6-26	p-.003	

4. WEBS LEVEL OF EDUCATION

LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	AT LEAST SOME HIGH SCHOOL	AT LEAST SOME COMMUNITY COLLEGE	AT LEAST SOME UNIVERSITY	AT LEAST SOME GRADUATE SCHOOL
HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK
OFFICER Enlisted	OFFICER Enlisted	OFFICER Enlisted	OFFICER Enlisted	OFFICER Enlisted
/ 44.4% (45)	33.3% 26% (36) (369)	22.2% 16.7% (36) (162)	37.5% 20% (57) (51)	22.2% 0% (13) (10)
6-11 A. p-11 A.	6-12 p-206	6-101 p-489	6-45 p-.003	6-09 p-.402

Appendix D

TABLE 29

Percentage of Women Disagreeing with the Statement, "In this day and age, I find military customs outdated" by Husband's Rank Controlling for (1) Wife's Age; (2) Years Married; (3) Wife's Employment Status; and, (4) Wife's Level of Education

1. WIFE'S AGE

19 - 25 YEARS	26 - 30 YEARS	31 - 39 YEARS	40 TO OVER 50 YEARS	1st Order Gamma
<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
44.4% 57.1% (26) (177)	53.3% 28.6% (45) (141)	43.6% 29.5% (55) (222)	82.4% 38.1% (24) (106)	2.1357
6-.03 p=.445	6-.35 p=.007	6-.12 p=.171	6-.68 p=.000	

2. YEARS MARRIED

UNDER 1 YR.	1 - 5 YRS.	6 - 10 YRS.	11 - 20 YRS.	OVER 20 YRS.	
<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
50.0% 0% (6) (10)	42.4% 32.5% (47) (202)	61.5% 35.5% (57) (157)	51.5% 29.3% (47) (207)	75% 42.9% (11) (71)	.22659
6-1.00 p=.001	6-.00 p=.490	6-.34 p=.012	6-.35 p=.004	6-.41 p=.075	

Appendix D

TABLE 30

Percentage of Women Agreeing with the Statement, "Military wives who criticize the military are troublemakers" by Husband's Rank Controlling for (1) Wife's Age; (2) Years Married; (3) Wife's Employment Status; and, (4) Wife's Level of Education

1. WIFE'S AGE

19 - 25 YEARS	26 - 30 YEARS	31 - 39 YEARS	40 TO OVER 50 YEARS	1st Order Gamma
<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
15.8% 21.6% (27) (187)	10% 7.7% (45) (311)	22.5% 33.3% (57) (227)	25% 28.6% (23) (106)	.11222
6-.06 p=.374	6-.09 p=.369	6-.17 p=.107	6-.11 p=.284	

2. YEARS MARRIED

UNDER 1 YR.	1 - 5 YRS.	6 - 10 YRS.	11 - 20 YRS.	OVER 20 YRS.
<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>	<u>HUSBAND'S RANK</u>
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted
25% 0% (6) (10)	20% 19.5% (50) (207)	11.5% 16.7% (37) (152)	15.2% 31% (47) (212)	42.9% 35.7% (10) (71)
6-1.00 p=.009	6-.10 p=.245	6-.20 p=.174	6-.17 p=.128	6-0 p=.500
				.15734

Appendix D**TABLE 30 (Continued)**

Percentage of Women Agreeing with the Statement, "Military wives who criticize the military are troublemakers" by Husband's Rank Controlling for (1) Wife's Age; (2) Years Married; (3) Wife's Employment Status; and, (4) Wife's Level of Education

3. WIFE'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS

EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED		1st Order Gamma
	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
20.5% (55)	28.3% (232)	16.9% (92)	21.7% (419)
6-.19 p=.006		6-.09 p=.201	
			.11802

4. WIFE'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION

LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	AT LEAST SOME HIGH SCHOOL	AT LEAST SOME COMMUNITY COLLEGE	AT LEAST SOME UNIVERSITY	AT LEAST SOME GRADUATE SCHOOL	
HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
55.6% (45)	25.9% (38)	22.2% (36)	14.6% (58)	0% (13)	
6-N.A. p=N.A.	26.3% (384)	18.7% (162)	0% (51)	0% (10)	
	6-.04 p=.403	6-.01 p=.484	6--1.00 p=.000	6-.33 p=.215	
					-.04378

Appendix D**TABLE 31**

Percentage of Women Disagreeing with the Statement, "I prefer being with friends of the civilian community rather than those in the military community" by Husband's Rank Controlling for (1) Wife's Age; (2) Years Married; (3) Wife's Employment Status; and, (4) Wife's Level of Education

1. WIFE'S AGE

19 - 25 YEARS	26 - 30 YEARS	31 - 39 YEARS	40 TO OVER 50 YEARS	1st Order Significance
HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	
OTTCAC Enlisted	OTTCAC Enlisted	OTTCAC Enlisted	OTTCAC Enlisted	
61.1R 56.8R	60.7R 64.3R	55R 72.7R	50R 60R	-.18121
(26) (187)	(40) (141)	(57) (222)	(23) (101)	
6=.06 p=.375	6=.08 p=.323	6=.31 p=.009	6=.25 p=.104	

2. YEARS MARRIED

UNDER 1 YR.	1 - 5 YRS.	6 - 10 YRS.	11 - 20 YRS.	OVER 20 YRS.
HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK
OTTCAC Enlisted	OTTCAC Enlisted	OTTCAC Enlisted	OTTCAC Enlisted	OTTCAC Enlisted
25R 0R	58.8R 57.1R	70.8R 77.4R	45.5R 68.3R	71.4R 53.8R
(6) (10)	(46) (212)	(34) (157)	(47) (207)	(10) (66)
6=1.00 p=.009	6=.02 p=.462	6=.21 p=.148	6=.35 p=.004	6=.15 p=.310

-.16265

Appendix D

TABLE 31 (Continued)

Percentage of Women Disagreeing with the Statement, "I prefer being with friends of the civilian community rather than those in the military community" by Husband's Rank Controlling for (1) Wife's Age; (2) Years Married; (3) Wife's Employment Status; and, (4) Wife's Level of Education

3. WIFE'S EMPLOYMENT STATUS

EMPLOYED	UNEMPLOYED	1st Order Gamma
HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
54.1% 70.2%	57.8% 61%	
(53) (237)	(91) (414)	
6--37 p=.002	6--03 p=.377	-.11669

4. WIFE'S LEVEL OF EDUCATION

LESS THAN HIGH SCHOOL	AT LEAST SOME HIGH SCHOOL	AT LEAST SOME COMMUNITY COLLEGE	AT LEAST SOME UNIVERSITY	AT LEAST SOME GRADUATE SCHOOL	
HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	HUSBAND'S RANK	
Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	Officer Enlisted	
66.7% 63%	64.9% 63%	57.7% 64.5%	59% 60%	33.3% 50%	
(45) (36)	(369) (36)	(157) (37)	(51) (55)	(10) (13)	
6--14 p=.114	6--07 p=.336	6--10 p=.274	6--02 p=.459	6--54 p=.047	-.07223

- APPENDIX E -

A Summary of the Relationships Between the Various
Statements Meant to Measure the Respondents' Degree of
Identification with the Military as a Whole and
the Variable "ID" Measuring Wives' Degree of
Identification with the Husband's Particular
Unit, Squadron or Regiment

Appendix E

Strength of the Relationships Between the Various Statements Meant to Measure the Wives' Degree of Identification with the Military as a Whole and the Variable "ID" Measuring Wives' Degree of Identification with the Husband's Particular Unit/Squadron/Regiment

STATEMENT	STRENGTH OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN STATEMENT AND VARIABLE "ID" ¹	
	<u>GAMMA</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANCE</u>
If I had a son and he wanted to join the Canadian Armed Forces, I would encourage him to choose another career.	+.18	.008
If I had a daughter and she wanted to join the Canadian Armed Forces, I would encourage her to choose another career.	+.17	.008
I prefer being with friends of the civilian community rather than those in the military community.	+.26	.000
The military does not care what wives think.	+.38	.000
In this day and age, I find military customs outdated.	+.32	.000
The trouble with military wives today is that they can't see the necessity of maintaining military protocol and tradition.	-.24	.000

¹ A positive relationship between the statements and the variable "ID" indicates that a greater percentage of those who identify highly with their husband's military unit/squadron/regiment disagree with the statements than do those whose degree of identification is very low. A negative relationship means that a greater percentage of those who identify highly agree with the statements than do those whose degree of identification is low. The statistic for significance shown is that given for Kendall's Tau B.

Appendix E (Continued)

Strength of the Relationships Between the Various
Statements Meant to Measure the Wives' Degree of
Identification with the Military as a Whole and the
Variable "ID" Measuring Wives' Degree of
Identification with the Husband's Particular Unit/
Squadron/Regiment

STATEMENT	STRENGTH OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN STATEMENT AND VARIABLE "ID"	
	<u>GAMMA</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANCE</u>
Military wives who criticize the military are troublemakers.	-.24	.001
Military personnel and their families are rarely understood by individuals in the civilian community.	+.02	.388
I feel a sense of pride in being a part of the military community.	-.36	.000
More military wives ought to take part in regimental/unit/ squadron social events.	-.34	.000
There are important reasons for military members to maintain the rank structure outside of working hours.	-.33	.000

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