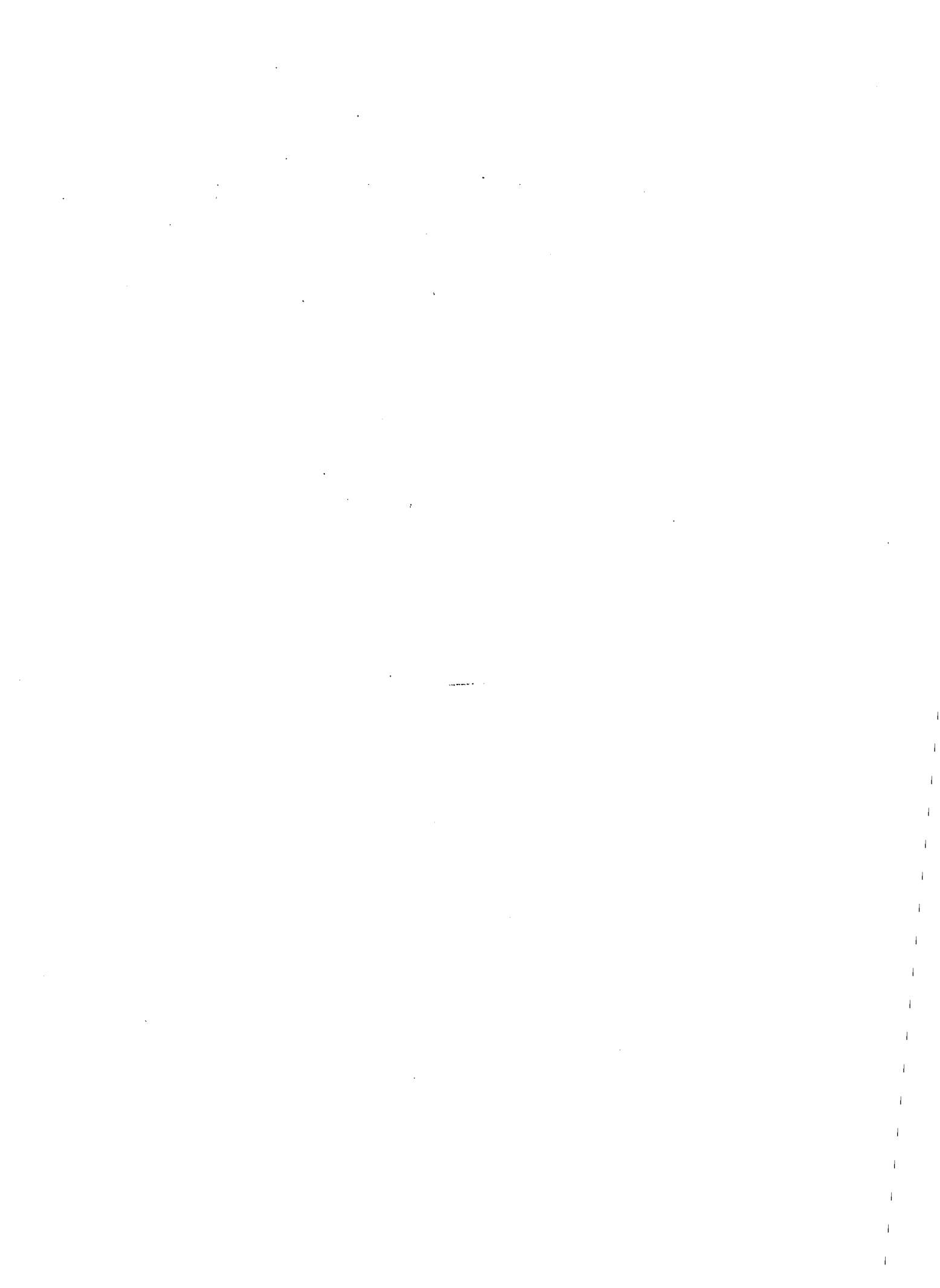## INFORMATION TO USERS

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INFLUENCES ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF WIVES WITH THE AIR FORCE ORGANIZATION: AN EXAMINATION OF THE TWO-PERSON CAREER PATTERN WITHIN THE MILITARY

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INFLUENCES ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF WIVES WITH

THE AIR FORCE ORGANIZATION: AN EXAMINATION

OF THE TWO-PERSON CAREER PATTERN

WITHIN THE MILITARY

by

Gilbert W. Beeson, Jr.

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
the University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy

Greensboro
1985

Approved by

_____
Dissertation Adviser

APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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BEESON, GILBERT W., JR. Influence on the Identification of
Wives with the Air Force Organization: An Examination of
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The present study investigated the processes leading

wives of Air Force husbands to identify with their

husband's work organization--the United States Air Force.

Utilizing the two-person career family pattern, the impact

of the husband's work on the wife's identification with his

job and his work organization were studied. Theoretical

models of family interaction suggesting that increased

personal identity by the wife diminishes her identification

with the husband's work role were also examined. A path

model was constructed to test the explanatory power of these

two processes, and to compare the strengths of their

influence on the wife's identification with the Air Force.

The subjects were selected through a stratified random

sampling procedure. The sample consisted of 4,737 married

couples located at 24 Air Force bases in the United States

and Europe. Husbands were service members and wives were

not.

The model explained 12.4% of the variance of Wife's Air

Force Identity for enlisted couples, and 15.9% of the

variance for officer couples. Variable effects were similar

for both officer and enlisted couples. A pronounced causal

chain emerged that linked together husband's work attitudes

and wife support for the husband's career. The variable of

attained rank and the variables associated with the wife's personal identity had little meaningful impact on the dependent variable. When the variable effects were decomposed, Husband's Advancement/Recognition demonstrated particularly strong effects on the criterion variable.

Overall results of the study supported the two-person career family pattern within the military. Wives geared their feelings about the husband's job and about the Air Force lifestyle to attitudes of the husband generated in the workplace. Indicators of personal wife identity demonstrated little effect on wife attitudes toward career support for her husband.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The contemporary American family is undergoing
significant change. There is more than adequate demographic
evidence (Glick, 1984a; 1984b; Hayghe, 1976, 1983; Masnick &
Bane, 1980; Waldman, Grossman, Hayghe, & Johnson, 1979) to
demonstrate alterations in family composition, male and
female work patterns, fertility, and rates of marriage,
divorce, and remarriage. Glick (1984a, 1984b) recently
suggested that the rates of change may be slowing somewhat,
but he has projected the same general directions for trends
in family life throughout the present decade.

Interpretation of the hard data is less certain. How
are these social phenomena related? What do they imply
about the internal dynamics of family life? As subjective
elements are combined with objective data, observations
become more imprecise and explanations more difficult to
substantiate. Nevertheless, the meaning and reasoning that
individuals apply as they respond to varied social
situations are indispensable pieces of the puzzle. Both
organizational and individual data, facts, and motivations
must be considered if one is to understand happenings within
the contemporary family.

Theorists have given much attention to the interplay between the life domains of work and family (Aldous, 1969; Kanter, 1977b; Mortimer, 1980; Near, Rice, & Hunt, 1980; Portner, 1978; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965; Statuto, 1984; Voydanoff, 1980a). It has been suggested that systematic, reciprocal interaction occurs between the worlds of work and family life, and the process shapes such matters as family values, role structure, identity, and timing and scheduling. Family units are required to accommodate work organizations. Family requirements, on the other hand, appear to influence the job participation, involvement, and productivity of the worker. Many individuals belong to both systems and engage in a continuous process of balancing demands which frequently overlap and conflict.

A useful theoretical explanation of current trends in family life involves a cycle of female employment followed by work and family role modifications for both wife and husband. National census data verify that slightly more than half of all wives work (Hayghe, 1982b; U.S. Department of Labor, 1983). When the intermittent work patterns of women are considered (Masnick & Bane, 1980; Waldman et al., 1979), a much larger proportion may be expected to have acquired work experience. Scanzoni (1978) has presented evidence that women who work often come to regard work as a right rather than an option, and that prolonged female work experience is frequently accompanied by a shift toward

egalitarian family roles. Pleck (1979) noted that husbands
in dual-earner families tend to participate in housework and
child care slightly more than husbands who are sole economic
providers, and he suggested that egalitarian family roles
may be developed among males as well. Thus a theoretical
picture emerges in which working women come to value their
positions in the work place. Resolution of conflicts
between work and family demands require women to seek a more
equitable division of family responsibilities. This latter
process initiates negotiation with the husband over
traditional family structure, and thus husband and wife tend
to move in the direction of egalitarianism.

Work organizations have generally expected families to
accommodate the world of work. Organizations that make
heavy demands on their workers often reach beyond the worker
to include the family as well (Hunt & Hunt, 1982; Mortimer,
Hall, & Hill, 1978; Papanek, 1979). Though outside the
formal work organization, spouses are encouraged to accept
the organization's lifestyle, to provide career support and
encouragement, to provide extensive home and child care, and
to subordinate their own work interests. Kanter (1977a) has
described a "career" track for wives that parallels the
careers of their corporate executive husbands. Work
organizations may "absorb" wives by soliciting their support
and drawing them into the larger social networks surrounding
the workplace through special attractions and benefits

(Kanter, 1977b; Renshaw, 1976; Mortimer et al., 1978; Whyte, 1951a, 1951b).

Thus many work organizations have built expectations around traditional family role structure. It has been assumed that couples will give priority to the work role of the husband, and that the wife will give priority to home and family management. The male worker is therefore freed from strong domestic responsibilities so that he may be heavily involved with work and can meet virtually any occupational requirements placed on him.

Work organizations that rely heavily on the compliance of families are likely to find workers from couples with egalitarian sex role orientations problematic. When the wife insists upon her right to work, the husband's ability to meet his work requirements is diminished. The wife is no longer available to provide exclusive care of home and family, and thus the husband is not totally free from domestic responsibilities. Furthermore, work requirements of husband and wife may clash, and such conflicts must be resolved by negotiation rather than gender role prescriptions. Hence the worker with an egalitarian orientation is less likely to fulfill without question strong work demands, but weighs them against a variety of work and family needs for himself and his wife. Work commitment and performance may be conditional, and this limited work response is likely to be unsatisfactory to demanding work organizations.

Other investigators question this scenario of heavy organization-worker conflict because of growing egalitarian attitudes among couples (Aldous, 1982; Hunt & Hunt, 1977, 1982, Mortimer, Hall, & Hill, 1978). They reason that organizations will not be forced to accept lowered work involvement so long as workers with families willing to conform to organizational expectations can be recruited and socialized. There appears to be no shortage of such families at present. Many wives appear to enjoy involvement in the husband's career and to find the lifestyle offered by demanding work organizations attractive (Aldous, 1969; Lopata, 1971; Mortimer et al., 1978; Portner, 1978; Voydanoff, 1980b). Consequently, participation in such work organizations may boil down to a matter of lifestyle choice for worker and family. Those willing to give priority to work demands may choose organizational participation, and families with egalitarian leanings may opt for work that is less rigid and provides greater work-family flexibility.

There is a potential for conflict between family and work organization within the armed forces. The military is a major work force which places heavy demands on members and member families (Levitan & Alderman, 1977a, 1977b; McCubbin, Marsdan, Durning, & Hunter, 1978; Moskos, 1973, 1977). Family separations, long and irregular work schedules, frequent geographic mobility, and hazardous duty are a few of the undesirable conditions that impact directly on the

family. Present-day forces consist entirely of volunteers, and hence the military must compete with all other work organizations for recruitment and retention of workers.

Family concerns have grown more important for the military organization because the incidence of marriage among service people has increased dramatically in recent years. Currently more than half of all military personnel and almost two-thirds of Air Force members are married (Armed Forces Information Service, 1984; Orthner & Bowen, 1983). There is wide variation in family structure (Carr, Orthner, & Brown, 1970; Hunter, 1982; Orthner & Bowen 1982a) and sex role orientation within military families (Bowen, 1981, 1984; Derr, 1979; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a).

Increasingly, military families live and participate in civilian communities, and they interact regularly with nonmilitary persons at the workplace (Air Force Manpower and Personnel Center, 1983; Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1960; Levitan & Alderman, 1977b). Work patterns of women married to servicemen parallel those of the civilian sector (Grossman, 1981; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a). There is little evidence to suggest that the military lives in an enclave, isolated and immune from society at large. Hence the dynamics of military family life can be expected to mirror those of the civilian world, and work-family matters should be quite similar to those facing any nonmilitary work organization and its workers.

The issues of shifting sex role orientations and weakening male work commitment are vital to the armed forces. National defense requirements cannot be met unless service members respond to military directives, and military needs will often translate into activities which affect family life adversely. Thus it is important for military leaders to understand the forces at work within military family life so that they can design organizational structure, work requirements, and policy which build positive family attitudes toward the military and minimize damage to worker morale and loyalty. It is equally important for families choosing the military way of life to recognize organizational constraints placed on them and to insure that they can live with the bargain they have struck.

The civilian wife of the military member appears to be the key player in this contest between family and military organization. To the extent that support for her husband's military career diminishes in favor of an independent identity of her own, the military organization will suffer. When she identifies with the military organization and accepts a role that complements her husband's career the armed forces will prosper. Consequently this study will focus on the military wife's identity with the military organization and the effects of those theoretical variables that would be expected to attract her to military life and/or distance her from it.

Purpose of the Study

Students of the work-family interface have long contended that certain work organizations tend to draw both worker and spouse into the organizational fold (Kanter, 1977b; Mortimer, 1980; Portner, 1978). The military has often been cited as an example par excellence of a work organization that makes heavy lifestyle demands on member families (Holmstrom, 1972; Kanter, 1977a, 1977b; Lopata, 1965), and investigators of military family life wholeheartedly agree (Hunter, 1982; Military Family Resource Center, 1984). Thus degree of identification with the military organization held by spouses of military members and understanding of how the level of identification is positively or negatively influenced become matters of much practical and theoretical interest.

The introductory discussion suggested that female sex roles have changed in such a way that traditional wife support of the husband's career can no longer be assumed. Shifts within military organizational structure have brought military families into greater contact with society at large, and there is reason to expect that the same social forces are at work in military and nonmilitary families. Recent investigations have suggested that military wives are revising their role definitions in the direction of greater independence and egalitarianism (Bowen, 1981, 1984; Derr, 1979; Dobrofsky, 1977; Hunter, 1982; Stoddard, 1978; Stoddard & Cabonillas, 1976; Warner, 1984; Wood, 1982).

This study examined the extent to which nonmember wives of Air Force servicemen identify themselves with the United States Air Force, and ways the organizational identification process is strengthened and weakened. To what extent does the Air Force wife define the wife role to include provision of career support for her husband? How do career rewards given to or withheld from the Air Force husband affect the organizational identity of the nonmember wife? How is Air Force identification affected when the level of wife motivation for her own employment interacts with her husband's career needs? The interaction of these wife organizational identification correlates will be examined and compared to interactive patterns predicted from theoretical logic and previous research. Findings should prove useful to military policymakers, but more importantly they will give theoretical insight into the dynamics of the conflict between military work requirements and family needs.

Previous Research

Inclusion of career support for the husband as a dimension of the wife role was first discussed in the literature on corporation families (Warner & Abegglen, 1956; Whyte, 1951a, 1951b) although military wives predated corporate wives in actually assuming the role (Goldman, 1973; Janowitz, 1960). Recent overviews of work and family systems have suggested wife support as a mediating variable

for certain demanding, male-dominated occupations (Hunt & Hunt, 1977, 1982; Mortimer et al., 1978; Portner, 1978; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965; Statuto, 1984; Voydanoff, 1980a, 1980b). Wife support has been conceptualized as primary care of home and children so that the husband is free to concentrate on the work role. Career support has also been described as active wife involvement on behalf of her husband in the social networks linked to her husband's work organization. Although wife support appears to duplicate the traditional female role, it differs in that the wife role specifically includes activities conforming to organizational expectations as a means of enhancing the husband's career.

Papanek (1973) named this work-family system the "two-person career." Originally Papanek viewed the female role as placation of the wife through vicarious identification with the husband's work achievements. She later revised her views somewhat (Papanek, 1979) by acknowledging that such effort was essential to the career advancement of some husbands, and she indicated broadening the wife work role to include such "status-production" activity. Other theorists have noted the difficulties encountered by dual-career families (Bryson, Bryson, & Johnson, 1978; Bryson, Bryson, Licht, & Licht, 1976; Holmstrom, 1972; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971a, 1971b), and the two-person career has been suggested as an attractive

alternative for well-educated, achievement-oriented couples (Hunt & Hunt, 1977, 1982).

Kanter (1977b) has conceptualized an "absorption" continuum of work organizations. One end of the polarity is characterized by organizations which operate with complete indifference to family life, and the opposite end marked by organizations which actively seek out wife support and identification with the work group. Absorptive organizations usually place heavy demands on the family, and spouse support serves both to legitimize work requirements and to strengthen striving of the worker (Aldous, 1969; Kanter, 1977a; Whyte, 1951a, 1951b). Kanter (1977b) also suggested the possibility of "occupational culture," a product of the organizational socialization of workers. Identity and values are promoted by some work organizations to such a degree that they are internalized by the workers and then passed along to the family of the worker. Kohn (1977), for instance, has argued that occupationally derived values influenced adult role structure and child-rearing practices. Work socialization theorists (Feldman, 1980; Van Maanen, 1976) have suggested similar generalizations of work-related values from workers to nonworkers as a means of resolving work and family role conflicts.

While wife support and the two-person career have been subjects of much theoretical discussion, there has been

little effort to establish the incidence of this work-family system within the national population. By definition the role appears to preclude wife employment, and the declining proportion of male single-earner households (Hayghe, 1981, 1982a, 1983) would suggest this family work pattern is relatively rare. Ryscavage (1979) utilized census data to demonstrate a substantial rise in working wives of high-earner males, thus suggesting further depletion of the population that gives rise to two-person career families. Mortimer and her colleagues (1978) noted the void in research on this family form and called for further investigation:

> While there have been some accounts of the "two-person career" pattern in some highly visible occupations, the diversity and extensiveness of wives's support and participation in their husband's work, the manner in which these activities are perceived by husbands and wives, and their implications for wives' employment need to be assessed for a full representative range of occupations. Whereas ideological and attitudinal shifts precipitated and expressed by the women's liberation movement reject this vicarious participation, little is known about the current distribution of satisfaction with these functions. To what extent does the "two-person career" pattern and consequent vicarious satisfaction still serve as a functional alternative to work for married women, engendering withdrawal from more individualistic achievement? (p. 304)

Two studies conducted in midwestern metropolitan centers during the early 1960s (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Lopata, 1965, 1971) uncovered a subset of wives investing heavily in the career support of their husbands. Activities went far beyond the usual expressive role of the wife to include

deliberate collaboration, encouragement, and entertainment duties aimed at promoting their husbands' careers.

A variety of studies examined in some detail the husband-wife relationships within specific occupations. The occupations included clergy (Hartley, 1978; Taylor & Hartley, 1975) diplomatic corps (Hochschild, 1969), politicians (MacPherson, 1975), medicine and academia (Fowlkes, 1980), military (Derr, 1979; Stoddard, 1978; Stoddard & Cabonillas, 1976), and corporate executives (Kanter, 1977a, Vandervelde, 1979). There was general consensus that wives were heavily involved in the work activity of their husbands, and that they enjoyed the support role and the vicarious occupational identity associated with it. Several studies (Derr, 1979; Hartley, 1978; Kanter, 1977a; Stoddard & Cabonillas, 1976; Whyte, 1951a, 1951b) revealed movement from low to high wife involvement across the husband's career span. With the exception of the clergy studies all samples were nonprobability, and most of the studies were descriptive in nature. The low response rate from clergy severely limited the generalizability of that data (Hartley, 1978; Taylor & Hartley, 1975). Consequently these investigations of specific occupational work-family systems must be regarded as exploratory at best, and the principal value of the findings are verification of the two-person career phenomenon and generation of hypotheses for further research.

Mortimer (1980) utilized path analysis to examine the relationships between wife's career support of her husband and various family and occupational correlates. She sampled married, male University of Michigan graduates approximately ten years after graduation. Most of the respondents were in the early stages of professional or managerial careers. Mortimer discovered that husband's occupational involvement, when correlated directly with marital satisfaction, was negatively related. On the other hand male occupational involvement correlated positively with wife support which, in turn, related positively to marital satisfaction. Other correlates of wife support were family strain (designated primarily by the husband's inordinate investments of time in work activity) which was negatively related, and socio-economic status which was positively related. Thus wife support appeared to enhance substantially the marriages of male careerists. Support was given when the husband was achieving, but was restrained when his work commitments cut too heavily into family participation.

The wife role within military family structure has been conceptualized as strongly interrelated with the military member's work role (Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Dobrofsky, 1977; Hunter, 1982; Janowitz, 1960; Military Family Resource Center, 1984; Stoddard, 1978). Perhaps the most salient feature of the role has been that of keeper of home and household, manager of family matters as the military member

moves in and out of the family unit in response to military
contingencies, and attendant role shifts in a cycle of
single- and double-parent family organization as the husband
enters and leaves the home for extended periods. Stoddard
(1978) and Rienerth (1978) noted that the wife provides
continuity to the military family unit and thus labeled
military families "female centered" or "matricentral." To a
lesser degree military wives have been expected to engage in
ceremonial, entertainment, and volunteer service activities
valued by the military organization (Dobrofsky, 1977;
Finlayson, 1976; Hunter, 1982; Military Family Resource
Center, 1984, Warner, 1984). Another conceptualized
dimension of the military wife role has been the
internalization of military values and traditions, and
reinforcement of them in family interaction with husband and
children (Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Dobrofsky, 1977;
Jannowitz, 1960).

The attitudes of military wives toward service life and
the support of wives for their husbands' decisions to enter
or leave the military have been surveyed in a variety of
contexts. Aggregate data suggest that most military wives
find the military lifestyle attractive (Air Force Management
Improvement Group, 1976; Doering & Hutzler, 1982; "Ladycom
Survey," 1977, 1980; "Mili-Wife Questionnaire," 1974a,
1974b; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982). The level of
spouse career support and the career intent of military

husbands consistently provide correlations in the .3 to .6
range (Dansby, 1984; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982;
Orthner, Pittman, & Monroe, 1984; Szoc, 1982). Wife
attitude is an important intervening variable in wives'
participation in military-sponsored services and programs
for families. The decision to get involved parallels their
favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward the military
organization (McKain, 1976; Van Vranken & Benson, 1978).
Several investigators of family life in the Navy, perhaps
the branch of the service with the most negative impact on
family life because of frequent sea duty, have concluded
that wife attitude is a key factor in the career decision
and commitment of Naval personnel (Grace & Steiner, 1978;
Lund, 1978; Szoc, 1982).

Most studies of military wife support for the husband's
career have lacked a theoretical basis for understanding and
further predictions, and they have not explored the internal
family dynamics leading to the presence of wife support.
One notable exception is a recent study by Orthner and his
associates (1984). Their respondents were a large
probability sample of Air Force husbands and wives drawn
from six bases in the United States and Germany.
Unfortunately the analysis was limited to families in which
military members had served less than ten years, and thus
findings cannot be generalized to the total Air Force.

A complex path model utilizing eleven predictor
variables to explain the level of spouse support was

created. The model proved extremely accurate. Four variables accounted for over one-fifth of the variability in spouse support. They were, in the order of predictive strength, (a) parental views of the Air Force as a suitable environment for raising children, (b) personal psychological adjustment of the spouse, (c) perception of the Air Force as responsive to families, (d) and satisfaction with Air Force programs that benefit families. Other variables which frequently are not significant when correlated directly with spouse support nevertheless contained considerable explanatory power within the causal chain of the model.

Overall the study suggested that spouse support for the military member's career was a product of personal and family characteristics intertwined with Air Force organizational support for families. A path model predicting commitment to an Air Force career was also constructed for Air Force members with similar results. Spouse support, in particular, proved a major predictor of member career intent.

There are many deficiencies in the existing research regarding wife support for the husband's career. First, while the phenomenon has been widely discussed and even categorized as a specific system of family work roles in the theoretical literature, there has been little rigorous empirical research. With the waning of single-earner couples and the increasing inclination of women to find

personal identity outside the spheres of home and husband, theorists have more or less assumed that the two-person career is a vanishing entity. It is possible, however, that this work-family system retains considerable appeal for families within certain highly absorbing occupational environments.

A second deficiency lies with the concept of wife support. The theoretical literature suggests that two-person career wives internalize values and conform to expectations of their husbands' work organizations. Most large-scale surveys, including the studies of Mortimer (1980) and Orthner et al. (1984) have operationalized wife support in husband-specific terms. The variable has been defined as loyalty to the husband and his career advancement with little regard for the wife's relationship to the husband's work organization. The extent to which the wife herself identifies with the organization or profession and incorporates organizational expectations into her own role identity has not been adequately examined.

Finally, the paucity of research has left many gaps in the understanding of what strengthens and weakens wife support. What is the relationship between the wife's general identity with her husband's work organization and her specific identity with his actual work performance? What impact do organizational actions affecting husbands' careers have on the level of career support provided by wives? Mortimer (1980) found that wives increased career

support when socioeconomic status of the couple advanced, but she controlled for husbands' achievements across careers rather than advancements within a given career. The findings of Orthner et al. (1984) suggested greater wife support as organizational benefits rose, but the benefits measured were those granted to families in toto rather than benefits parceled out in the form of career enhancement for select groups of husbands. And what occurs when husbands' needs for career support clash with the desires of wives for a work identity of their own? Orthner et al. (1984) found that career support diminished, but their study measured wife work patterns without consideration of preferences for employment. The presence of so many open research questions regarding the nature and dynamics of wife support for husbands' careers suggests a strong need for scholarly research in this work-family system.

Plan of Analysis

This study contributed to the research on both military and two-person career families in several important ways. Family theorists have stressed the need for further investigation of the two-person career interweave of work and family roles (Kanter, 1977b; Mortimer et al., 1978), and observers of military family life have emphasized the need for theoretically grounded research (McCubbin, Dahl, & Hunter, 1976). This study employed a cost-reward, social exchange orientation to predict and explain variations in

wife support for the careers of Air Force husbands. The sample was drawn from Air Force couples in the United States and Europe, and it afforded generalization to military families beyond the sampled population. Consequently the study contributed empirically useful, theoretically based information to knowledge of the military work-family system and the response patterns of wives as they encountered Air Force organizational expectations.

Secondly, the study distinguished between wife identity with the Air Force and wife identity with the husband's work role. The two-person career has been theoretically defined as a three-way relationship involving husband, wife, and husband's employing institution (Papanek, 1973; Portner, 1978). The organization projects a set of role expectations for the wife and implies that the husband's career will be helped or harmed, at least in part, by the degree to which the wife conforms to the role. The wife's decision regarding career support may be related to her attraction to life within the sphere of the work organization, or she may wish to facilitate career advancement for her husband. These two dimensions of wife career support are quite different. A wife could be willing to provide occupational support for a pilot, civil engineer, or clerk-typist but be unhappy with the role of Air Force wife. Conversely, she could desire the Air Force lifestyle but dislike her husband's specific job within the organization.

The practical distinctions between organizational and husband-specific identity are crucial--at least to the employing institution. When the wife's loyalty is given exclusively to career advancement for her husband she will presumably support his work efforts irrespective of his work organization. When the wife identifies strongly with the husband's work organization, she is likely to encourage his career advancement within the sponsoring organization. By teasing apart wife identification with the organization and with the job, this study enabled a more accurate assessment of the dynamics that go into wife support for the Air Force career. Military policymakers and program designers can plan with greater precision regarding family attraction to the military lifestyle. Knowledge of the two-person career system was extended as the interactive effects of these two aspects of wife support were measured.

There are substantial lifestyle and demographic differences between military officers and enlisted personnel (Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Levitan & Alderman, 1977b), and variation in family life patterns is even more pronounced (Bennett et al., 1974, Goldman, 1976; Little, 1971; Military Family Resource Center, 1984; Moskos, 1970). Officers are roughly comparable to management in the civilian work world, and enlisted personnel parallel labor. The social and entertainment aspects of wife support apply more to officer than enlisted families (Finlayson, 1976; Military Family Resource Center, 1984; Stoddard & Cabonillas, 1976).

The same theoretical path model was applied separately to Air Force officer and enlisted couples. Thus the flow of work-to-family attitudes was measured for the two diverse groups, and they were compared for likenesses and differences.

The study further contributed to the literature by examining the impact of two sets of variables on the wife's identity with the Air Force. One set of variables relates specifically to the husband's job, and another set includes variables likely to affect the wife's understanding of her own role within the Air Force work-family setting. A path analysis procedure utilizing the wife's identity with the Air Force as the principal criterion variable was utilized. The independent variables were (a) wife's pride in her husband's job, (b) husband's job-related pride and satisfaction, (c) degree of husband's perceived career advancement/recognition, (d) wife's preference for employment, (e) number of children living at home, (f) military rank, and (g) wife's educational level.

Finally, this research made a unique contribution to the work-family literature by interfacing work-related information gathered from husbands in the work setting and wife-support information gathered from wives in a nonwork setting. Most prior research utilizing survey techniques to study wife support of the husband's career have examined only the perspectives of husbands or wives (Helfrich & Tootle, 1972; Mortimer, 1980; Orthner et al., 1984; Stoddard

& Cabonillas, 1976; Taylor & Hartley, 1975; Vandervelde, 1979) to explain the level of wife support. Dansby (1984) linked Air Force member and spouse data for analysis purposes, but he utilized spousal attitudes to predict work variables. The present study constructed husband's work variables from a work assessment survey administered to Air Force members, and wife support variables from an attitudinal survey administered to spouses of the Air Force members.

Concept of Air Force Identity

The family research literature has long recognized the adaptation of wife and family roles to accommodate service life (Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Jannowitz, 1960; Lindquist, 1952, Lopata, 1965). Consequently the potential for examining linkages between wife of the serviceman and his military organization existed before Papanek (1973) coined the phrase "two-person career."

Saliency of the husband's work and degree of wife support provided were first suggested as mediating theoretical variables in the early examination of work and family reciprocity (Aldous, 1969; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965). They were generally regarded as variables that suppressed the entry of wives into the labor force (Aldous, 1969; Papanek, 1973).

Papanek (1973) gave this system in which husband and wife gear their efforts toward the husband's career

advancement an explicit theoretical description. She conceptualized the husband as sole provider, and his wife as an active promoter of his career. The wife acted in league with the husband's employing organization or professional community to serve as social companion and hostess, provide advice and personal support, manage a status-appropriate home and family, and encourage loyalty to the husband's work organization.

Papanek (1979) elaborated further on the concept of wife support in her discussion of "status-production work." She defined the latter to include (a) support work, (b) training of children, (c) politics of status maintenance, and (d) status-appropriate behavior of women. Support work represented couple-negotiated activity in which the wife managed family affairs in whatever manner was required to enable the husband to perform effectively in his career. Child-rearing duties included socialization of the children into the lifestyle and value system considered appropriate to the occupational level of the husband, and status-appropriate behavior of women suggested the wife's development of similar behavior patterns for herself. "Politics of status-production" referred to the wife's integration of the family into social, religious, and ceremonial circles of the community comparable to those of her husband's colleagues.

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During this initial stage of conceptualization no distinction was made between wife identification with

husband's work and his work organization. Presumably the
two were considered indistinguishable. Yet both elements of
wife identification were implied from the outset. Papanek
(1973) stated:

> The specific topic of this discussion--"vicarious
> achievement" in the two-person single career--is
> concerned with transactions which occur at the
> boundary between public and private spheres. They
> involve a three-way relationship, between employer and
> two partners in a marriage, in which two sets of
> relationships are of the "secondary" type and one is of
> the "primary." (p. 73)

Thus the existence of wife-husband and
wife-organization dimensions within the vicarious
achievement process were acknowledged. The distinction was
not maintained as wife responsibilities were specified under
this work-family system, however.

Kanter (1977b) examined work and family connections
from the organizational perspective. She suggested that
work organizations vary in the strength of their ties with
families of the workers, and some organizations become
extremely "absorptive" of the total family unit. Housing
patterns and family care services that place wives and
children in the work environment, extensive social networks
that facilitate interaction and subsequent socialization of
younger family members by older families, and status of the
wife acquired through the work role of the husband draw the
nonworker wife and the worker husband into the sphere of the
work organization.

Kanter (1977b) labeled such linkage between family and the husband's workplace a "total institution." She explained:

> If the organization constitutes more than a workday involvement and provides housing or other domestic services for members, as in the military or for staffs of boarding schools or small-town colleges, wives become involved for two reasons. The boundary between work and nonwork life becomes fuzzy with the organization encompassing much of members' lives; and the greater legitimacy needs of such demanding organizations makes it more important to secure the support of families. (p. 28)

Family absorption suggests direct organizational appeal to the wife. Kanter (1977b) also posited an "occupational culture and world-view" variable involving lateral transmission from the organization to the family through the worker. By "occupational culture" Kanter meant personal views, values, and behavior characteristics associated with and reinforcing to the worker's occupational performance. The strength of occupational culture depended on the saliency of the occupation to worker and family, and she maintained that attractive, challenging occupations generated greater influence on the family than less prestigious occupations.

Brim (1968) conceptualized occupational socialization as a series of role acquisitions by workers, and that process included both internalization of occupational values and resolution of work and nonwork role conflicts. Other theorists followed Brim's lead (Feldman, 1976, 1980, 1981; Van Maanen, 1976) in suggesting that couple negotiation and

family adaptation to the worker's occupational requirements were essential parts of occupational socialization. Brim's views are very close to Kanter's understanding of occupational culture and both imply that the wife is influenced to identify with her husband's work organization.

Studies of family work roles within corporation management have suggested that wives identify quite strongly with the sponsoring organization. Whyte's (1951a, 1951b) early investigation revealed that wives were anxious to cooperate with the stringent organizational expectations of them despite the hardships posed for the family. Corporations, in turn, frequently appealed directly to wives by providing them with security, status, and attractive perquisites. More recent examination of corporation wives (Kanter, 1977a) suggested similar organizational identity on the part of wives, but greater skepticism about the genuine inclusion of wives in matters of real concern to the corporation.

There is much evidence to suggest that military organizations exert considerable influence on the nonmember wives of servicemen. Janowitz (1971) concluded that military life and environment probably affect members more than formal training and indoctrination. If Kanter's (1977b) concepts of absorption and occupational culture are valid, the wife would also be expected to respond to such stimuli. Military sociologists (Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1960) suggested service wives were socialized into

wife roles through interaction with other families in the armed forces and transmission of organizational values through their military husbands. Others (Bennett et al., 1974; Dobrofsky, 1977) have observed that the military organization controls family members by virtue of rules and regulations regarding military privileges, military-provided housing, and use of services and facilities on military installations. The military member is generally considered responsible for other persons in the family. The military organization provides many attractive services and benefits for families on the one hand, but reacts with much intolerance when families do not readily conform to military expectations (Dobrofsky, 1977, Dobrofsky & Batterson, 1977; Frances & Gale, 1973). In sum, observers have noted a wide variety of social rewards and controls utilized by the armed forces to induce wife support for the military organization and lifestyle.

Turning from theoretical conceptualizations to empirical studies of wife support, a dearth in the literature is apparent. No studies were located that specifically operationalized wife identity with the work organization as a major variable. Many investigations of two-person careers relied heavily on informal interviews, and findings represented the general impressions of the investigators (Derr, 1979; Fowlkes, 1980; Hochschild, 1969; Kanter, 1977a; MacPherson, 1975; Stoddard & Cabonillas, 1976). Among the few studies that employed survey

techniques to examine wife support for the husband's career, operational definitions reflected the conceptual emphases of the investigators.

Two studies focused on the husband-specific dimensions of wife support. Taylor and Hartley (1975) operationalized vicarious achievement among clergy wives with a single-item measure of wife fulfillment "through your husband and his work" (p. 361), and wife support as the number of hours per week given to church-related activities. Mortimer (1980) inferred wife support among young male careerists from the single-item question--"Is your wife generally supportive of your occupation and accepting of its demands?" (p. 115). Since both studies linked wife support directly to husband's work performance without ascertaining wife attitudes toward the work organization, inferences regarding organizational identity of the wife were not possible.

Studies of military family life have frequently utilized the attitudes of wives toward continuance of their husbands' military careers to operationalize wife support (Dansby, 1984; Dansby & Hightower, 1984; Grace & Steiner, 1978; Orthner, 1980; Orthner et al., 1984). Because the items of measurement reference both husband and work organization, the two dimensions of wife support are diffused. Consider the following items that Orthner and his colleagues (1984) administered to a large, randomized sample of Air Force spouses.

1. How satisfied are you with your spouse being
in the Air Force?
2. How supportive are you of your spouse making a
career in the Air Force? (p. 94)

Clearly item responses are indicative of organizational

identity since wives must report level of support for

their husbands' careers within the context of the Air

Force. On the other hand, distinctions between wife

identification with husband and work organization

cannot be made since the wife has not been asked how

she feels about the Air Force.

Szoc (1982) developed three closely related scales to

measure spouse and family support for the career of the

young Naval officer or enlisted person. A six-item "Navy

Treatment of Family" scale tapped satisfaction with family

life inside the Navy organization. Another six-item

"Family/Navy Conflict" scale measured the degree of family

disruption imposed by Navy work requirements. And a

four-item "Spousal Support of Navy Career" scale indicated

the degree of spouse interest and involvement in the

member's career. Because the three factors were interrelated

and the internal consistency of the combined scales

approximated that of each scale utilized independently, they

were merged for use in analysis. Szoc's (1982)

comprehensive, multiple-indicator scale is the most fully

developed measure of spouse and family support to be found

in the military family literature.

It is interesting to note that "Navy Treatment of Family" explained one-third of the total scale variance, "Family/Navy Conflict" explained approximately 14%, and "Spousal Support" accounted for just under 10%. Thus the subscale most closely linked with organizational identification on the part of family members was far and away the strongest contributor to the overall measure of career support, and the power of the subscales decreased as the degree of organizational identity diminished. The husband-specific "Spousal Support" subscale, which examined spousal identity with member's work performance, proved the weakest measure.

The concept of Air Force identity was operationalized in this study by focusing on the extent to which the wife directly endorsed the military organization without reference to her husband's work assignment. Items representing attraction to the Air Force lifestyle, preference for military over civilian life, and desire to continue life as an Air Force wife were utilized as operational measures. These items stood quite apart from others that indexed the wife's pride in her husband's particular job and his work performance. The Wife's Air Force Identity variable is described in detail in Chapter III.

Air Force identity is a precise variable that strips one dimension of wife support away from other dimensions. Isolation of Air Force identity also allowed for measurement of the intervening effects of variables that strengthen or

weaken wife attraction to life within the Air Force environment.

The operationalization of Air Force identity built on early indices of spousal support. The career intention element was retained in the scale created, but it was augmented by items that directly measured spousal feelings toward and identification with the Air Force organization. The juxtaposition of career renewal and organizational identity constituted a useful and expanded index of spousal career support.

Dansby (1984) recently performed a factor analysis of the U.S. Air Force Spouse Survey data, the data source utilized for this study. An Identification with Air Force factor emerged that was similar to the scale constructed to operationalize the dependent variable in the present study. Since the Spouse Survey data is a cumulative data base that receives new input regularly, Dansby repeated the factor analysis with four different groups representing roughly equivalent periods of data collection between January 1982 and December 1983. The Identification with Air Force factor remained stable across the analyses.

Dansby's (1984) eight-item factor differed slightly from the six-item Wife's Air Force Identity variable utilized in this study because of different subject selection and item selection criteria. Of greatest interest, however, was the emergence of an Identification with Job factor which contained items related specifically

to the Air Force member's job and work performance. The two
factors did not appear to be strongly interrelated, and in
subsequent analysis procedures they performed very
differently (Dansby, 1984; Dansby & Hightower, 1984). This
natural grouping of spousal identity items around two
different axes supports the contention that organizational
identity is a unique dimension of wife support that performs
differently from either husband-specific motivations or wife
support in general.

Independent Variables

Theoretical discussion of the two-person career
suggests that both vicarious identity with the husband's
work role and direct organizational attractions are
motivators for wife support (Aldous, 1969; Hunt & Hunt,
1982; Mortimer & London, 1984; Mortimer et al., 1978;
Papanek, 1973, 1979; Portner, 1978). Measurement of wife's
pride in her husband's job permitted inferences regarding
the effects of this dimension of wife support on the wife's
identification with the Air Force organization. It also
allowed for contrast in the direct and indirect effects of
other variables on the principal criterion variable.

Husband's job-related pride and satisfaction indicates
the intrinsic satisfaction felt by the Air Force member with
respect to his work. Theorists have suggested that the
organizational climate in the work place and the salience of
the work role often carry over from worker to other family

members (Aldous, 1969; Kanter, 1977b; Mortimer et al., 1978;
Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965). Studies of military families
have revealed that job satisfaction is a major predictor of
spouse support and commitment to the military lifestyle
(Grace & Steiner, 1978; Szoc, 1982; Woelfel & Savell, 1978).
Thus job-related pride and satisfaction as perceived by the
husband permitted an important measure of the strength of
the relationship between work-related attitudes held by
husbands and wives.

Husband's perceived career advancement/recognition
represents expectations for further career attainment. By
correlating the expected chances for additional promotion
with other work-related attitudes of husbands and wives, the
influence of anticipated rewards on wife career support was
ascertained. These relationships constitute key theoretical
variables from the social exchange perspective since
husband's occupational advancement produces greater rewards
for the family and thus would be expected to generate
greater wife support (Aldous, Osmond, & Hicks, 1979;
Mortimer, 1980; Mortimer & London, 1984; Scanzoni, 1970,
1972). Descriptive studies of specific occupations have
also suggested that wife involvement increases as the
husband's career progresses (Derr, 1979; Hartley, 1978;
Kanter, 1977a; Stoddard, 1976; Whyte, 1951a, 1951b).

Wife's preference for employment has been suggested as
a variable that intervenes with and, as it increases,

weakens wife support for the husband and identification with the husband's work organization (Pleck, 1977; Scanzoni, 1978, 1980). Thus, examining the influence of wife employment preference on wife organizational identity allowed empirical testing of the commonly held assumption that increased wife identity outside the spheres of home and husband are accompanied by diminished identity with the husband's work organization.

The role of mother is an important dimension to the personal identity of many wives. The number of children living at home is a useful variable that permits inferences regarding the impact of the mother role on other aspects of wife identity contained in the theoretical model. Most studies have found child care to be a major problem for dual-earner families (Bane et al., 1979; Catalyst Career and Family Center, 1981; Holmstrom, 1972; Lein et al., 1974; Nock & Kingston, 1984; Paloma & Garland, 1971; Pleck & Staines, 1980; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971a; Staines & O'Connor, 1980). Although wives with very young children have recently entered the work force in increasing numbers, the presence of children nevertheless continues to suppress wife employment and commitment to work (Faver, 1981; Hayghe, 1982a; Johnson, 1979; Johnson & Waldman, 1981; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Orden & Bradburn, 1974). In particular, the participation of mothers in the work force has dropped as

the number of children in the family increased (Bryson et al., 1978; Sobol, 1974; Sweet, 1970).

The presence of children is an especially important variable in the study of military families. Theorists have argued that wives of military husbands find child care particularly demanding because of frequent absence by the husbands (Bowen, 1984; Hunter, 1982; Koehn, 1984; Little, 1971; McCubbin et al., 1976; McCubbin et al., 1978; Military Family Resource Center, 1984). Several studies of military family life have revealed that concern about raising children within the military environment is a major influence on the attitudes of parents ("Ladycom Reader," 1977; "Mili-wife Questionnaire Results (Pt. 1)," 1974; Orthner, 1980; Orthner et al., 1984). Thus number of children in the home is a significant theoretical variable affecting several dimensions of wife identity.

Military rank constitutes an objective measure of the Air Force member's career position within the organizational structure. Rank is assigned by the organization, and it carries consistent degrees of status, remuneration, and responsibility that cut across the various jobs and work assignments within the Air Force. By using rank as a variable the researcher can group military persons into comparable levels on a career track regardless of the different jobs they perform for the Air Force. When military rank is sequenced from low to high positions,

career advancement may be measured for all personnel within the Air Force. Most civilian work organizations lack mechanisms for assigning structural positions without regard for the nature of the work performed. Because of these many advantages, rank is one of the most frequently used control variables in military studies.

There are strong theoretical reasons for including military rank as a variable. Many previous studies of the two-person career have revealed varying patterns of wife support across the course of the husband's career (Hartley, 1978; Kanter, 1977a; Whyte, 1951a, 1951b). The same phenomenon has been observed among military couples (Derr, 1979; Finlayson, 1976; Houk, 1980, Stoddard & Cabonillas, 1976; Suter, 1979). Generally wife support has increased as the husband advanced in his career. A major feature of this study was examination of the effects of rank or career advancement on wife identity with the Air Force.

The educational attainments of women have increased substantially in recent years (Bianchi & Spain, 1983). There is much evidence to the effect that education correlates positively with commitment to work and to egalitarian sex roles among women (Beckman, 1978; Catalyst Career and Family Center, 1981; Molm, 1978; Scanzoni, 1975; Sorenson, 1983). Taylor and Hartley (1975) investigated the attitudes of clergy wives and learned that better educated wives were least likely to identify vicariously with the

husband's work role. Such findings suggest that increased education among wives leads to stronger self-identity on the part of the wife and hence lowered identity with the work role of the husband.

Studies of military families reveal that wives are generally well educated and many possess strong career aspirations (Finlayson, 1976; McNichols et al., 1980). Thus, one might expect wife education to strengthen the wife's preference for employment and to weaken wife support for the husband's career. Consequently, wife educational level was utilized as an independent variable to measure its relationship with the theoretically related variables of wife preferences for employment, wife's pride in her husband's job, and wife's identity with the Air Force.

Limitations to the Study

Every investigation involves practical constraints and trade-offs imposed by access to respondents, study design, funding, and the like. Limitations must be acknowledged, and findings can be generalized no further than the study and sample allow.

This study analyzed data gathered by the Research and Analysis Directorate, Leadership and Management Development Center of Air University. One limitation to the study was sampling methodology. The data were collected from Air Force bases in the United States and Europe as part of a management consultant process. Data collection teams did

not sample bases unless invited to do so by the senior
commanders of the military organizations (Ibsen & Austin,
1983; Mahr, 1982; Short & Hamilton, 1981). Stratified
random sample procedures were applied to the work
organization when the sample was drawn. Thus data were
representative of each base surveyed, and the bases
reflected wide geographical and organizational diversity
within the Air Force. Because the extent of bias resulting
from sampling by invitation rather than random selection of
bases is not known, generalizations beyond the survey
population must be made with caution.

Wife support for the husband's career is a conceptual
variable that has not been fully defined or operationalized
in the literature. Distinctions between wife support in
"traditional" and "two-person career" families have not been
adequately specified. Operational definitions of wife
support lack clarity. To what extent can wife support be
inferred when the wife identifies with her husband's work
organization? To what extent does the wife link support
with the level of her husband's specific work achievements
and rate of career advancement? What are the various types
of career support that wives provide and what circumstances
prompt which types of support? One study cannot
operationalize such a complex variable, and the proposed
study will make a needed but partial contribution to the
whole picture.

Obviously there were many important variables which
influence Air Force identity that were not examined.
Marital quality, life cycle variations, social and ethnic
differences, and sex role preferences serve as examples.
Each study has finite limits in terms of time, effort, and
clarity of understanding. Hence this investigator has
chosen those variables that seemed most crucial to
understanding military work-family relationships at present,
but the need for examining many other aspects of those
relationships is clear.

Finally, this study was limited by the cross-sectional
character of the data. Scanzoni (1978) has stressed the
need to move beyond single, snapshot pictures of
relationships toward examination of the relationships in
process. Certainly wife support for husband's career with
its dynamic, reciprocal involvement of husband-wife and
wife-organization relationships could be understood more
accurately as a set of motion-filled, open-ended
relationships. At this seminal point in the study of
two-person career systems, and certainly in the present
study of military families, research must move forward with
the more static, cross-sectional data available. It is
hoped that Scanzoni's call for more flexible data and
research design concepts will be applied to study of the
military family in the future.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There can be little doubt that traditional gender roles
have blurred as men and women increasingly move back and
forth betweer the worlds of work and family. Pleck's (1977)
vision of couple-negotiated rather than sexually prescribed
work and family responsibilities may well be reality for a
growing proportion of the national population. Certainly
the greatly increased presence of women--particularly wives
and mothers--in the labor force would suggest that major
family restructuring is underway. These new family work
patterns require altered role definitions and task
allocations within the family unit.

The military complex, perhaps the nation's largest work
organization, has long based organizational policy and
member work requirements on the traditional family model.
The military member is usually male and he is expected to
accommodate a demanding work role. The member's wife is
expected to manage home and children so that he will not be
restricted by family responsibilities whenever military
requirements demand his presence. The possiblity of altered
work and family roles raises significant questions with
respect to interaction between the military organization and
its member families. As military wives enter the civilian

work force and internalize the values of society at large, how will they react to the military organizational expectations of them? As military couples negotiate new work and family roles, how will the relationship between the military member and his work organization be affected?

Such questions are raised within the context of shifts inside the military organization itself. Though organizations appear to change much more slowly than individuals, there is some evidence that the military is responding to the current restructuring of American family life. This literature review will address the issues of work and family interaction, and will apply them to the military family. First, the process through which work organizations soicalize their adult workers will be examined. Next, work and family roles from the perspectives of husband, wife, and couple will be considered. Then the relationship between the military work organization and the military family will be covered. This latter review will include a careful look at the role of the military wife. Lastly, a theoretical perspective will be presented and applied to the review findings, and a set of testable hypotheses derived.

Organizational Socialization

Theorists (Brim, 1966, 1968; Brim & Kagan, 1980; Feldman, 1980; Van Maanen, 1976, 1978) have suggested that adults regularly alter their values, attitudes, aspirations,

and behaviors across the life-span in response to a wide
array of life circumstances. Individuals are socialized or
resocialized by learning a set of new, socially approved
behaviors or altering existing behaviors to meet
successfully the demands of ongoing life situations that
they encounter. Brim (1968) described a variety of work,
family, and community situations that often lead to change.
Brim (1966, 1968) conceptualized this process of adult
socialization as a series of role acquisitions. Many
students of Brim's model have adopted his concepts of
organizational socialization (Feldman, 1980; Van Maanen,
1976).

Adult socialization appears to differ substantially
from childhood socialization. The individual becomes more
active in her or his own socialization (Van Maanen, 1976,
1978), interacts with a greater number of socializing agents
(Brim, 1968), and generally faces a more complex social
environment. Behavior tends to become more
situation-specific during adulthood (Brim, 1966) with
appropriate responses developed for particular work and
family circumstances. Adult socialization frequently
involves less intimate relationships than those of childhood
(Brim, 1966; Van Maanen, 1978) with such persons as
employers, co-workers, community leaders, and acquaintances
taking a greater part in affirming or disconfirming
successful role acquisitions.

Work Organizations

Work patterns have been considered a major force in adult socialization (Brim & Abeles, 1975; Henry, 1971; Kanter, 1977b), and several investigators concluded that occupational characteristics have socializing effects (Haller & Rosenmayr, 1971; Wilensky, 1961a, 1961b). Furthermore, numerous studies linked such work-related variables as social class (Kephart, 1955; Kohn, 1959, 1977; Monahan, 1955) and income (Hannon, Tuma, & Groenveld, 1977; Scanzoni, 1970, 1975; Williamson, 1952) to internal family dynamics. Thus it appears reasonable to regard work as a means of socialization and the work organization as a likely socializer of adults.

Several processes related to the structure of the work organization have socializing implications for group members. For example, entry into the work organization has been described as a critical period (Feldman, 1980) since workers must conform to organizational performance requirements. Successful entry usually involves the development of realistic work expectations and the resolution of role conflicts on the part of the worker (Brim, 1966; Feldman, 1976, 1980; Van Maanen, 1976). Feldman (1981) has constructed a sequential stage model of organizational entry that consists of (a) anticipatory socialization, (b) acquisition of role behavior, (c) acquisition of group norms and values, and (d) outcomes

acceptable both to the organization and the worker. The model has received some empirical support (Feldman, 1976) and appears consistent with the views of other occupational socialization theorists (Brim, 1968; Van Maanen, 1976). In general the worker must master both task and social skills so that his or her work output is satisfactory to self and to the work organization.

Another organizational process with socialization overtones is career or work advancement. Becker and Strauss (1956) suggested that most career progression was upward, but downward and lateral movement also occurred. Van Maanen (1978) has elaborated upon a variety of socialization strategies that work organizations may employ. The "tournament" strategy, for instance, eliminates a worker from further advancement once promotion failure occurs, whereas a "contest" strategy allows for continued evaluation of the worker and advancement occurs whenever she or he is considered ready. Other socialization continuums include formal versus informal advancement, individual versus collective processes, and the like. Van Maanen (1976, 1978) has suggested that worker attitudes and productivity levels vary considerably according to the combination of socialization strategies employed by the organization. According to Becker and Strauss (1956), occupational incumbents usually learn the critical periods for advancement and adopt behaviors appropriate to the

situation. One adaptation, for instance, involves individuals with high and low occupational advancement expectations. Workers tend to join informal work groups that share and reinforce the same expectations for advancemwnt (Kanter, 1976; Pennings, 1970; Tichy, 1973; Van Maanen, 1976).

Most work organizations consist of a large, formal structure permeated with many small groups built around informal, personal relationships. Coates and Pellegrin (1965) distinguished between these two overlapping structures as follows:

> While formal organizations and social systems are purposefully created and controlled from above, "informal organizations" and social systems develop voluntarily and are often controlled from below. Thus, while authority flows through positional interaction in the formal functional structure, loyalty flows upward through social interaction in the informal social structure. (p. 159)

A major task of workers is the successful resolution of conflicts that arise when the formal and informal systems of the work organization clash (Feldman, 1981; Van Maanen, 1976). Because the informal structure often leads to friendships that extend beyond the workplace, friends and family members of workers may be drawn into the informal structure of the organization (Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Kanter, 1977b). Thus social networks that include persons not directly linked to the work organization may nevertheless have considerable impact on the organization.

Work and Family Linkages

In the past the domains of work and family have been regarded as separate entities with few connections between them. Kanter (1977b) vividly described this dichotomy as "the myth of separate worlds."

> The myth goes something like this: In a modern industrial society work life and family life constitute two separate and non-overlapping worlds, with their own functions, territories, and behavioral rules. Each operates by its own laws and can be studied independently. If events or decisions in one world (such as the wages awarded a worker) enter the other, they enter in the guise of external (and hence, often extraneous) variables but are not an intrinsic part of the operation of that world. They help shape a context, but little more. (p. 8)

While popular imagery may support such a view, contemporary sociologists (Aldous, 1969; Kanter, 1977b; Portner, 1978; Voydanoff, 1980a) note that work and family are strongly linked along many dimensions. Kanter (1977b) pointed out that work and family are more heavily interrelated for some occupational groups than others.

Perhaps the most obvious overlap has to do with work schedules. Both the cumulative number of hours worked and the work schedule followed require much adaptation on the part of families (Kanter, 1977b; Pleck, Staines, & Lang, 1980; Portner, 1978; Staines & O'Connor, 1980; Voydanoff, 1980a). Moonlighting, shift work, irregular hours, and work schedule conflicts within dual-earner families impact heavily on the activity levels, domestic routines, and emotional climates of families (Carpentier & Cazamian, 1977;

Lein et al., 1974; Mott, 1965; Mott et al., 1965; Pleck, Staines, & Lang, 1980; Staines & O'Connor, 1980, Zalusky, 1978). Scheduling effects are heightened for families containing young children (Carpentier & Cazamian, 1977, Lein et al., 1974; Pleck et al., 1980; Staines & O'Connor, 1980). The number of hours worked and the extent of work involvement have been positively linked with declining family involvement on the part of the worker (Pleck et al., 1980; Willmott, 1971; Staines & O'Connor, 1980), and generally work involvement appears to increase for professional and managerial groups. Evidence of family deterioration has been found among workers characterized by the intensive work-oriented behaviors of "Type A" personalities (Burke, Weir, & DuWors, 1979, 1980). Corollaries to restrictions on time for family activities when work demands run high are fatigue and depletion of energy (Pleck et al., 1980; Staines & O'Connor, 1980). Thus, timing and intensity of work place constraints on the family involvement of workers.

Work is the chief source of income for most families, and varied income levels translate into different family socioeconomic patterns and lifestyles. Several family theorists (Feldberg & Kohen, 1976; Furstenburg, 1974; Rainwater, 1974) have stressed the consumer role of the family and concluded that economic factors exert strong influence on family organization. Divorce occurs less often

as family income rises (Hannon, Tuma, & Groenveld, 1977;
Kephart, 1955; Monahan, 1955), but when the wife's income
rises divorce rates increase (Hannon et al., 1977). In a
nonprobability, longitudinal study of families Dizard (1968)
found occupational success by husbands accompanied by sex
role specialization and greater marital unhappiness. Best
(1978) found that a significant number of civil servants
were willing to cut their earnings if an equitable reduction
in work time were provided. Such findings have caused some
theorists (Aldous, Osmond, & Hicks, 1979; Voydanoff, 1980b)
to suggest that the preferable level of occupational success
lies in the moderate range. Whatever the linkage, it seems
likely that income is a work constraint with more than
incidental implications for family life.

Kanter (1977b) has suggested that some occupations
produce an "occupational culture" when the norms of the work
organization are internalized by the worker and transmitted
to other members of the family. For example, Kohn (1959,
1977) demonstrated that working-class adults acquired
self-direction values in the work setting, and their
respective parenting styles were in turn patterned after
these occupationally related values. Mortimer (1976)
discovered that sons who felt close to their high-status
fathers tended to choose similar occupations for themselves.
She concluded that the father-son relationship was affected
by occupational socialization. Wives of corporation

executives have frequently identified with the work organizations of their husbands (Kanter, 1977a; Uris, 1970; Whyte, 1951a, 1951b) and readily conformed to the lifestyles demanded of them.

Certain work organizations reach beyond the worker to prescribe organizational roles and living circumstances for the entire family. First described by Papanek (1973), the "two-person career" is built around the provider role of the husband and the support role of the wife. She is expected to care for home and children so that her husband can concentrate heavily on his work. She is also charged with entertainment and "status production" responsibilities-- demonstrating career success through her appearance and lifestyle (Helfrich & Tootle, 1972; Hunt & Hunt, 1977, 1982; Papanek, 1979). Often identified with corporation management and certain professions (Hartley, 1978; Helfrich & Tootle, 1972; Hochschild, 1969; Kanter, 1977a, Taylor & Hartley, 1975; Vandervelde, 1979; Whyte, 1951a, 1951b), such wives are expected to adapt readily to difficulties like frequent relocations, extended absence of their husbands due to travel and long work hours, and suppression of personal identities and work aspirations. Largely neglected in the literature, the two-person career is seen by some theorists (Hunt and Hunt, 1982; Kanter, 1977b; Mortimer, Hall, & Hill, 1978; Portner, 1978) as a significant family form that draws work and family tightly together.

As work organizations set policy and structure work requirements, families feel the impact. Despite much discussion about institutional response to changing family forms, it appears unlikely that work organizations will make major modifications so long as workers can be found who will conform to organizational expectations (Hunt & Hunt, 1982). Consequently, a great diversity of family forms with many combinations of work and family linkages seem likely in the future, but there can be little doubt that "the myth of separate worlds" has been exploded. Unlike the deliberate strategies involving workers, family members are drawn into the organizational socialization process indirectly through conditions imposed on the workers and the climate created by the implementation of organizational policies.

The Military as a Work Organization

In many respects the military is like other international industrial organizations. Members are recruited, assimilated, trained for work tasks, remunerated, and advanced in position and responsibility in ways comparable to those of the work force at large. The military differs from civilian work organizations in several important areas, however (Levitan & Alderman, 1977a, 1977b; Moskos, 1973). The military organizational output, national defense, is not a tangible product and cannot be measured in terms of economic profit. The armed forces expand and contract dramatically in response to world events. General

social conditions such as economic recession or the
existence of conscription may affect industry adversely
while actually enhancing manpower options of the military
organization.

The military has traditionally instilled institutional
values through custom and organizational socialization
(Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1960; Moskos, 1973,
1977). Kanter (1977a, 1977b) described the military as a
"total institution" that provides extensive services and
identity as a means of legitimizing the demanding military
lifestyle and securing family support for the institution.
Thus the family becomes an important part of the
socialization process by encouraging acceptance or
resistance of military organizational values.

Organizational structure. The military organization
may be divided into two groups--a relatively small core of
skilled and experienced personnel committed to an extended
career, and a large group of young, inexperienced workers
who will serve a few years before leaving the organization
(Janowitz, 1971; Leon, 1984; Levitan & Alderman, 1977a).
Careerists, the long-time service members, are generally
required to leave the military through "retirement" during
middle-age (Hunter, 1982; Stanton, 1976). The average
retirement age for an enlisted person is 42, and the typical
officer retires at age 45 (Leon, 1984). Thus policy and
structure produce an extremely young work force in the

military (Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Leon, 1984; Levitan &
Alderman, 1977b; Sider & Cole, 1984). Nearly three-quarters
of the armed forces were age 30 or below in 1983, and 22% of
the enlisted personnel were 20 or below (Armed Forces
Information Service, 1984). Compared to the national
population a higher proportion of racial minorities and
recruits from lower socioeconomic strata are found in the
enlisted ranks, but a lower than average number are officers
(Kourvetaris & Dobratz, 1976; Janowitz, 1971; Leon, 1984;
Levitan & Alderman, 1977a; Moskos, 1973; Sider & Cole,
1984). Around 9% of the armed forces are women (Armed
Forces Information Service, 1984), a growing but
nevertheless distinct minority of the military population.

The current military population stands at slightly more
than two million members, a substantial reduction from the
peak of three and one-half million during the Vietnam
Conflict (Armed Forces Information Service, 1984; Levitan &
Alderman, 1977b; Moskos, 1973). The bulk of that reduction
was borne by the Army, but all branches of the military have
declined in number since the late sixties. Parallel to the
scaling down of the force size has been elimination of the
military draft and construction of an "all volunteer" force
(Kourvetaris & Dobratz, 1976; Levitan & Alderman, 1977a,
1977b; Moskos, 1973). The military has been forced to
compete with the civilian sector for recruitment and
retention of workers. More than 60% of the present enlisted

force has served only in an all-volunteer environment (Doering & Hutzler, 1982).

A general consensus exists among military sociologists that the post-Vietnam reductions and institution of an all-volunteer force have resulted in major structural changes for the military organization. Substantive raises in pay and other economic incentives were instituted in order to attract and retain desirable personnel. Labeled the "occupational model" by Moskos (1977), the revised structure is pictured as an infusion of civilian values and management styles into the traditional military institution (Kourvetaris & Dobratz, 1976; McCubbin et al., 1978; Moskos, 1973, 1977).

Moskos (1977) has criticized the emerging structure for eliciting less dedication to purpose among members. McCubbin and his colleagues (1978) have reacted favorably; they suggested the new model is more flexible and responsive to the needs of service members. Whatever its merits, empirical support for the occupational model has been found (Stahl, McNichols, & Manley, 1981; Wood, 1982). The high interplay between economic and noneconomic factors as elements of career satisfaction in recent Air Force quality of life studies (Air Force Manpower and Personnel Center, 1983; McNichols, Manley, & Stahl, 1980) are consistent with the claims of the model.

Numerous factors contributed to the shift from traditional to occupational values. The heavy use of technology has produced a large contingent of technicians with a narrow, specialized focus (Kourvetaris & Dobratz, 1976; Leon, 1984; Moskos, 1973). The proportion of personnel serving in jobs that carry direct combat responsibilities has declined steadily, and in 1982 involved only 9 in 100 servicemen. Support personnel have increased in numbers and prestige while combat personnel have declined proportionally (Levitan & Alderman, 1977b; Leon, 1984; Wood, 1982). Like the struggle between management and professionals in the civilian corporation (Goldner & Ritti, 1967), organizational power may have shifted from those with military expertise to those with strong management skills.

The heavy integration of civilian and military personnel at all levels of operation, including deployment and overseas remote locations, has been noted (Levitan & Alderman, 1977b; Moskos, 1977). For instance, Levitan and Alderman (1977b) pointed out that 46% of the military complex was manned by civilian employees in 1977. Investigators (Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Wood, 1982) have found that military personnel tend to identify with civilian professional counterparts rather than military peers. Sociologists (Bennett et al., 1974; Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1960; Moskos, 1973, 1977) have also

suggested that military identity weakens as installations become larger and greater numbers of personnel reside in the civilian community.

Socialization Implications. The unique characteristics and demanding lifestyle of the military organization require an effective, ongoing process of socializing its members. Janowitz (1971), noting that the military provides the largest vocational training program in the United States, suggested that training also served to socialize vast numbers of unskilled youth to function within the military system. The armed forces encourage education, and most members increase their educational level during the service years (Doering & Hutzler, 1982). This socialization-through-training theory has been challenged, at least for officers, by Kourvetaris and Dobratz (1976). They asked, "which is more influential, the matrix of social experience and personality development prior to entering the military or the transmitting of technical knowledge and the inculcating of military values and outlooks during the training process?" (p 78). They tentatively concluded that the evidence was weighted toward self-selection with those persons most attracted to the military remaining and those who found the lifestyle disagreeable electing to leave. The views of Kourvetaris and Dobratz (1976) were supported in a recent study of young Navy personnel. Szoc (1982) found that some persons were attracted to the Navy lifestyle, and

these attractions overrode other considerations when they decided on whether or not to leave the service.

Exposure to the military environment also appears to have important socializing effects (Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1971). The military is a highly "absorbent" organization, to use Kanter's (1977b) term. Members and their families acquire inside knowledge, specialized skills, parlance, and general sense of comfort with the structure of the military.

Most persons are single upon entry into the military and marry at a later date. Thus spouses tend to enter the system after the member has already established himself or herself within the organization. Marriage appears to be discouraged during the early years of a military career, but to become almost obligatory as the career progresses (Bennett et al., 1974; Little, 1971). Work and family patterns of the military couple, most often a military husband and a civilian wife, are closely interwoven (Bennett et al., 1974; Derr, 1979; Hunter, 1982; Orthner et al., 1984; Stoddard, 1978). The wife's role includes entertainment and ceremonial responsibilities, adjustment to frequent moves, life in isolated locations (including foreign countries), sole management of home and children during extended absences of her husband, and adaptation of her work aspirations to the exigencies of her husband's career (Hunter, 1982; McCubbin et al., 1976; McCubbin et

al., 1978). Like the corporation wife the military wife encounters stronger role expectations from the organization as her husband's rank and level of responsibility increase (Bennett et al., 1974; Derr, 1979; Finlayson, 1976; Kanter, 1977a).

Spouse attitude appears to be a major influence on the career intent of the military member (Grace & Steiner, 1978; Orthner, 1980; Orthner et al., 1984; Szoc, 1982). Perhaps the expressive links of the nuclear family are intensified when the couple is separated from hometown community and extended family. Spouse support in the case of young enlisted men is particularly important to the organization since male recruits tend to marry around the same time they make their career decisions (Bennett et al., 1974.

Because of the spousal support role as an adjunct to the member's career and the strong influence of the spouse on the member's career intent there is good reason for the organization to socialize the member's spouse (usually a civilian wife). Consequently, the military has added many services designed to serve and attract the wife (Goldman, 1973; Little, 1971; Moskos, 1970; Stanton, 1976). Orthner and his colleagues (1984) have argued that the military organization can take an intentionally proactive role that will lead to positive family socialization and thus to increased job commitment and work productivity by the Air Force member.

Considerable effort has gone into organizational socialization of the wife (Derr, 1979; Moskos, 1973; Rienerth, 1978). Unlike the military member who can be socialized directly through training, work assignments, and career advancement, the wife must be socialized indirectly through the member and the environment in which she lives. The connections between family and work variables appear to be consistent but somewhat complex (Orthner et al., 1984; Szoc, 1982; Woelfel & Savell, 1978). Residence is a factor with wives living on the post or base demonstrating greater attraction to the military (Bennett et al., 1974; Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1960; Little, 1971; Stumpf, 1978; Wood, 1982). As wives become more knowledgeable of the military system and make greater use of the services provided, their attitudes toward the military become more favorable (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; Van Vranken & Benson, 1978). Apparently the efforts of the military to socialize wives have been quite successful for wives have regularly expressed a positive attitude toward the military lifestyle despite its hardships and difficulties (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; Hunter, 1982; Orthner, 1980).

Family Work Roles

The family is a consuming unit, and each family requires economic support. Traditionally, the husband has been the financial provider through participation in paid

employment while the wife has concentrated on managing the home and children (Pitts, 1967). Society continues to honor the male provider role through an economic structure biased toward working men (Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Davis, 1980; Gillespie, 1971; Kanter, 1976; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Miller, 1975; Mortimer & Sorenson, 1983; Rytina, 1982). Increasingly, however, wives and mothers have entered the ranks of the employed (Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Davis, 1980; Waldman et al., 1979) and begun to share responsibility for the economic support of the family with the husband.

The work patterns of wives, unlike husbands, have varied considerably. Some women work continuously while others work intermittently. Wives are more likely to work at certain times in the life cycle than others. Many wives work only part time. Some women possess strong credentials and value their occupational identity while others work primarily for economic reasons and are not strongly attached to the work role. As each wife settles into a work role--or more likely, a succession of work roles--the husband's routine and perceptions of his own set of life roles are altered. Thus a complex pattern of family work role combinations have been created, and the restructuring generated by new family work roles seems likely to produce dramatic effects that reach into all aspects of family life.

Adaptation to the many options available in the way of family work role systems has been accompanied by

considerable strain. Traditionalists fear the loss of family values as women neglect the mother and wife roles, and modernists point to gains in egalitarianism and total family involvement as couples share work and family role responsibilities on an equal basis. Work organizations find it difficult to accommodate the changing structure of family work roles. Several recent literature reviews (Aldous, 1982; Hunt & Hunt, 1982) point to a polarization of contemporary work roles. Bianchi and Spain (1983) have summarized the situation well:

> In the midst of significant change, tradition persists. The question for the upcoming decades is where the balance will be struck between the roles of women as wives and mothers and women as workers and economic providers for their families. (p. 26)

Presently the attention is focused almost exclusively on the future role of the working wife. A logical, but largely unaddressed, question concerns the future of the male provider role within the family. Pleck (1977, 1979) has made theoretical speculations about possible shifts in male work norms, but a noticeable dearth exists in the current research literature.

Work Role of the Husband

The work role of the typical adult male is straightforward in American society. After an appropriate training period he is expected to enter the work force and to pursue an uninterrupted work career until retirement.

Social pressures for males to follow this work pattern are intensified for those who marry and produce families. Child developmentalists (Bardwick & Douvan, 1971; Baumrind, 1971; Baumrind & Black, 1967; Hoffman, 1965) have suggested that boys are socialized toward independence and achievement at a very early age. Males follow the work roles prescribed for them in overwhelming numbers. More than three-quarters of the males over age 16 and around 80% of all husbands were in the 1981 work force (Hayghe, 1982b). During the peak work years of the 25-34 age range, the male participation rate exceeded 95% in 1980 (Johnson & Waldman, 1981). The work force percentage of husbands has declined in recent years as working women have replaced younger and older men on the age continuum (Gross, 1968; Hayghe, 1982b; Johnson, 1979, 1980, Masnick & Bane, 1980), but the actual number of men employed during their prime working years has been largely unaffected. Men have greater access to more and higher-status occupations than women, and salaries are generally favorable to men (Gross, 1968; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Pleck, 1977; Rytina, 1982).

Most married men view their work activities as family motivated (Aldous, 1969; Chusmir, 1982; Furstenberg, 1974; Lein et al., 1974; Pleck, 1977). Work produces earnings which, in turn, economically sustain the family unit. Wives have reinforced the male provider role by acknowledging and accommodating it with their own work activities (Aldous,

1969; Jolson & Gannon, 1972; Lopata, 1965, 1971; Lein et
al., 1974; Mortimer et al., 1978; Suter, 1979). Although
the relationship between success in the provider role and
positive familial response appears somewhat complex and
indirect (Osherson & Dill, 1983; Scanzoni, 1975), there is
strong evidence to suggest that occupational success by the
husband is prized by the wife. Greater marital solidarity
has been found among men in higher status, higher income
occupations (Furstenberg, 1974; Kephart, 1955; Monahan,
1955), and various measures of desired internal marital
dynamics have correlated positively with such male
occupational variables as income and job satisfaction (Blood
& Wolfe, 1960; Burke & Weir, 1976; Ridley, 1973; Voydanoff,
1980b; Williamson, 1952). As a result of findings like
these many family theorists (Aldous, 1969; Bailyn, 1970;
Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Feldberg & Kohen, 1976; Pleck, 1977;
Rainwater, 1974; Scanzoni, 1970) have concluded that the
male provider role is the linchpin to the marital relational
system. Since the whole family unit benefits from the male
occupational performance, it seems likely that various forms
of marital and familial satisfaction will parallel male work
achievements.

The saliency of the work role varies across
occupational and social class strata (Aldous, 1969; Kanter,
1977b; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965; Voydanoff, 1980a).
Generally, work-related matters receive greater priority

when higher status occupations are represented, and the
priority decreases as the occupational status descends.
Males in professional and managerial work roles identify
heavily with their occupations and invest inordinate amounts
of time and energy in their work (Heath, 1977; Staines &
O'Conner, 1980; Wilensky, 1961b; Willmott, 1971; Voydanoff,
1980b). In a longitudinal study Dizard (1968) followed 400
couples across a 20-year period. He found that as time
passed marital couples tended to "specialize" in
differential sex roles with husbands investing heavily in
occupational performance. The process was detrimental to the
marital relationship, and those achieving strong
occupational success were largely unsuccessful in family
roles. Mortimer (1980) utilized a path analysis procedure
to examine work and family connections. She found that
heavy work demands on time correlated positively with family
strain. Strain was linked with reduced wife support which,
in turn, lowered marital satisfaction. Writing in a more
popular vein Steiner (1972) described the clash between work
and family requriements that often leads to career success
and failure in the home. Noting the conflict between heavy
work involvement and family needs on the part of high
achievers, some family theorists (Aldous et al., 1979;
Mortimer, 1980; Voydanoff, 1980a) have modified the
previously described link between provider role and positive
familial response to suggest that positive response is more

likely when male occupational success occurs at moderate

levels.

Work Role of the Wife

It is more appropriate to speak of the work roles of

wives since the role options are many. If work is regarded

as income-producing activity performed outside the home,

some wives invest heavily in the work role and others not at

all. The same wife may choose to work full-time at one

point in her life, part-time at another point, and withdraw

from work altogether at still another point. Thus the work

role of the wife represents a complex set of social

phenomena that must be examined with regard to several

important and intervening social variables.

Women have participated in the American labor force

since the Colonial era, but never at current levels and

never involving such high proportions of wives and mothers

(Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Hayghe, 1976; Nye, 1974). The

percentage of wives who work rose steadily from 4.6% in 1890

to 9% in 1920, 22% in 1950 (Hayghe, 1976), 40.8% in 1970

(Johnson, 1979) and 53.2% in 1983 (US Department of Labor,

1983). Women constituted 43% of the 1981 labor force, and

wives from intact marriage made up 23.6% of the total work

force (Hayghe, 1982b). The greatest gains in female

employment were made by women below age 35 (Hayghe, 1976)

and by working mothers (Hayghe, 1982b; Johnson, 1979, 1980;

Johnson & Waldman, 1981). Reasons often cited for this

dramatic rise in working wives have been economic
incentives, growing social acceptance of working wives and
mothers, and expansions in the service-providing and light
manufacturing industries (Davis 1980; Hayghe, 1974, 1976;
Siegel & Haas, 1963).

The rise of working women is less dramatic when the
proportion of part-time workers is considered. A majority
of women in the labor force do not work full-time throughout
the year (Hayghe, 1976; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Nye, 1974;
Waldman et al., 1979). Only 43.4% of wives worked full-time
and year-around in 1974 as compared to 25.5% of full-time
but less than year-around workers and 31.1% of part-time
workers (Hayghe, 1976). Around 45% of all working women
were employed full-time, year-around in 1981 (Bianchi &
Spain, 1983). Waldman and her colleagues (1979) examined
trends among working mothers between 1970 and 1977. While
the proportions of part-time and full-time workers showed
little change for all mothers with children under age 18,
nearly 3% of working mothers shifted from part-time or
part-year to full-time, year-around employment. The
greatest gain in full-time, year-around employment was made
for mothers with children under age 6 who rose from 21.6% in
1970 to 25.2% in 1977. Masnick and Bane (1980) examined
similar data and also found a growing trend toward
full-time, year-around employment of women with sharp
increases among mothers of preschool and school-age

children. Thus there appears to be a slow but persistent rise in work attachment for wives and mothers, but slightly more than half of the working wives still opt for part-time or intermittent work patterns.

Women are not evenly distributed throughout the full range of occupations. They tend to cluster in jobs of moderate occupational status (Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Featherman, 1980; McClendon, 1976; Nye, 1974). Hayghe (1981) found over 80% of working wives in the clerical, professional-technical, service (excluding private household service), and operative occupations with almost 35% in the clerical field alone. When these broad categories are further partitioned into specific occupations the trend toward occupational clustering by females continues. For instance, women are concentrated in the professions of public school teaching, nursing, and to a lesser extent, social work (Masnick & Bane, 1980; Rytina, 1982). The highest proportion of working women are located in the service sector, however; clerical workers and secretaries are almost all female (Davis, 1980; Hayghe, 1976, 1982b; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Rytina, 1982). While the numerical concentrations are in the lower-status, white-collar occupations, women are working in virtually all occupations and have made gains in such male-dominated fields as mining, construction, and public transportation (Davis, 1980; Rytina, 1982).

When the various work categories are compared it is apparent that women are concentrated in lower-paying jobs (Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Davis, 1980; Johnson, 1979; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Nye, 1974; Pleck, 1977, Rytina, 1982). Women in male-dominant professional and managerial positions are the highest earners, but their incomes do not approach those of men (Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Rytina, 1982). Nevertheless, families with working wives report median family incomes greater than those with nonworking wives (Hayghe, 1981, 1982a, 1982b; Waldman et al., 1979). Women usually contribute around 25% of the family income, but their efforts lift the family above the poverty line (Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Hayghe, 1982b; Johnson, 1979, 1980; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Nye, 1974). Thus a majority of women appear to have strong economic incentives to work despite the generally unfavorable work climate for women. Women have made little gain in their proportionate contribution to family income in the past 20 years and no significant rise is forecast for the near future (Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Johnson, 1979).

The interplay between work and family responsibilities is considerably more complex for the wife than the husband. Theorists (Aldous, 1982; Brim & Abeles, 1975; Chusmir, 1982; Pleck, 1977; Voydanoff, 1980a) generally concede that family roles hold higher priority for most wives than do work roles. There is some difficulty in gauging how family roles

influence work roles, however. Paloma and Garland (1971) found a surprising resistance to work among a group of professionally qualified women. A more recent survey (Faver, 1981) of well educated women revealed employment constraints on the part of career-oriented mothers with young children. These researchers attributed the reluctance of respondents to work to the high salience of family roles. Sweet (1970) and Oppenheimer (1974) controlled for income limitations and conditions likely to produce high economic demands on the family. They found a propensity for women to work as children grew older. Thus Sweet (1970) and Oppenheimer (1974) explained attraction to work as a female response to family role requirements. If both work and nonwork by the wife/mother are generated by the family role priority of women, the maze of work patterns created by wives can be seen as an attempt to reconcile the conflict between work and family roles.

Studies of dual-career and dual-earner families revealed that the male work role was usually given preference over the female work role, and conflicts over such matters as scheduling, family relocation, and domestic responsibilities were often resolved in ways detrimental to the wife's job or career (Bryson et al., 1978; Bryson et al., 1976; Catalyst Career and Family Center, 1981; Holmstrom, 1972; Lein et al., 1974). Certain higher status, male-dominated occupations carry heavy expectations of the

wife and require substantial investments on her part for the sake of her husband's career (Hunt & Hunt, 1977, 1982; Lopata, Barnewalt, & Norr, 1980; Mortimer et al., 1978; Portner, 1978). Labeled the "two-person career" by Papanek (1973), the prescribed support role for the wife often prohibits or severely restricts work activities by the wife.

Other constraints are related to the work patterns prescribed by traditional sex role ideology. Hiller and Philliber (1982) argued that greater occupational success by the wife was threatening to the identity of the husband. The two researchers performed a secondary analysis of longitudinal data (Philliber & Hiller, 1983) and confirmed that wives in higher status positions tended to leave the labor force, to shift downward occupationally, or to dissolve the marriage. Discrimination against women in the work force, particularly in nontraditional jobs or in supervisory positions, has been suggested as an employment constraint. Kanter (1976) noted the female orientation toward affiliation rather than achievement and suggested the explanation may lie in the organizational denial of power to working women. Her claims were empirically supported by the findings of Miller et al. (1975) that women experienced occupational equity at lower levels of the work organization but encountered discrimination at the higher management levels. Thus it appears that both familial and nonfamilial variables interact to affect the work roles of wives.

The wide variance in female work patterns leads to much confusion when inferences are drawn from straight demographics. Theorists who have reviewed the work-family literature (Kanter, 1977b; Portner, 1978; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965; Sobol, 1974; Voydanoff, 1980a) suggest that salience of work is crucial to interpreting the work role. Thus work commitment, a perceptive measure of motivation and intent, becomes a key variable for understanding female employment. Safilios-Rothschild (1971) has suggested that work commitment is difficult to operationalize because it is a multidimensional variable, and that the best measures include several different indicators of commitment. Researchers have operationalized the concept in many different ways--reasons for working (General Mills, 1981; Haller & Rosenmayr, 1971; Hayghe, 1976; Orden & Bradburn, 1969), identity with work (Fuchs, 1971), intentions toward future work (Haller & Rosenmayr, 1971), favoring women working (Bailyn, 1970), participation in the work force (Bailyn, 1970), work performance patterns (Hedges, 1983); and multiple indices (Safilios-Rothschild, 1970). Although the variable clearly lacks precision, it is nevertheless a helpful measure in sorting out the underlying meaning of female work patterns and the conflict between work and family role conflicts.

When studies of female employment utilizing the work commitment variable were compared, several general trends

emerged. The majority of women were economically motivated to work but a sizable minority also worked for noneconomic reasons (General Mills, 1981; Haller & Rosenmayr, 1971; Hayghe, 1976; Orden & Bradburn, 1969). The degree of work commitment appeared to rise as the motivation for work moved from financial necessity toward the personal desire and intrinsic satisfaction of the worker (Fuchs, 1971; Haller & Rosenmayr, 1971; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Siegal & Hass, 1963; Sobol, 1974). Safilios-Rothschild (1970) made the point succinctly: "The higher the work commitment, the higher work ranks in a woman's value hierarchy and the more central its place in her identity. The lower the work commitment, the more work represents an absolutely necessary evil, expendable at the first occasion" (p. 687). As might be expected women in higher status occupations generally evidenced greater work commitment than women in lower status jobs (Haller & Rosenmayr, 1971; Safiliaos-Rothschild, 1970).

Safilios-Rothschild (1970) has cautioned that work commitment varies significantly at each occupational level and a high positive correlation between work commitment and job status cannot be assumed. It is possible that strong work commitment exists among some women in lower status occupations. Scanzoni (1980) has suggested that female occupational commitment is a product of the interaction between the wife's work history and the couple's negotiation of husband-wife family roles. While this explanation would

better explain the variation in work commitment at different occupational levels, it is somewhat contradicted by the findings of Geerken and Gove (1983) that wives tended to work independently of their husbands' preferences.

Work Roles of the Couple

Although the work roles of individuals, and particularly women, have changed drastically during the past quarter of a century, the most dramatic change has occurred as husbands and wives juxtapose their altered work roles within the structure of the family. Revisions in sex role ideology and childrearing practices, and the rise of new family forms appear closely related to the combined work role performances of husbands and wives. National public opinion polls (General Mills, 1981; Yankelovich, 1981) suggest a loosening of sex role norms, a growing tolerance of family involvement among men, and greater work involvement among married women. Scanzoni (1980) compared wives in "complement" (husband sole provider), "junior partner" (husband major and wife secondary provider), and "equal-partner" (husband and wife co-providers) families. Finding an inverse relationship between principal reliance on the husband for economic resources and commitment to an egalitarian lifestyle, Scanzoni suggested that a new approach to family life based on shared work and home responsibilities may be emerging.

Pleck (1977) has proposed a work-family system which would involve the assumption of both work and family roles by each marital partner. The emphasis would be on negotiation of equitable role responsibilities rather than following traditional gender prescriptions. When one group of well educated, English families were studied the investigators used a role classification system similar to that proposed by Pleck (Bailyn, 1970; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971a, 1974). Families were very unhappy when both partners concentrated on work to the neglect of the family. When the husband became heavily involved in family life, marital happiness increased irrespective of the other work and family role performances by husband or wife. Age and cultural differences of the sample notwithstanding, the findings suggest that a balanced work-family role system is necessary to satisfactory internal family dynamics.

Numerous linkages between work and family life have been established. The work contribution of the wife has become a significant factor in the assignment of socioeconomic status of the family (Nock & Rossi; 1979; Philliber & Hiller, 1978; Ritter & Hargens, 1975). Families seem to fare better when wives have greater choice or control over their work lives (Orden & Bradburn, 1969; Orthner & Axelson, 1980; Portner, 1978; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970). A growing body of literature indicates that both stress and satisfaction in the workplace parallel stress

and satisfaction in the family (Burke & Weir, 1977;
Furstenberg, 1974; Near, Rice, & Hunt, 1980; Orpen, 1978;
Ridley, 1973). It also appears that many intervening
variables exist which, if better understood, would increase
the explanatory power of work-family connections.

Noting the diversity of family lifestyles prevalent in
contemporary American society, some theorists (Aldous, 1982;
Hunt & Hunt, 1982) predict polarization and plurality with
respect to the work-family preferences of couples. Around
90% of women outside the labor force prefer not to work
(Bianchi & Spain, 1983). The previous section of this
review revealed that some women work largely out of economic
necessity and others for personal fulfillment; some women
move in and out of the labor force regularly while others
continue to work across the life-span.

With such diversity of work-family systems in mind
Portner (1978) placed intact families into four
classifications: traditional, two-person career,
dual-earner, and dual-career. Portner's schema will be
followed and each work-family system discussed in the
section that follows. Two of the systems, two-person career
and dual-earner, will be considered in greater detail. The
two-person career is of strong theoretical concern since
that work-family system has been frequently applied to the
military lifestyle. The dual-earner family is particularly
important because of its rapid expansion within military
circles.

Traditional families. Portner (1978) described this work-family system as "the traditional breadwinner/housewife pattern--the husband is employed and the wife is a full-time homemaker" (p. 9). The provider role of the husband remains virtually the same for each work-family combination, but only in the traditional pattern does the wife follow the straightforward, popularly prescribed homemaker role. If the demographic classification of "one-earner, husband-only" family is considered traditional, this family form is a dying breed. For instance, it declined from 34% of all married families in 1970 to 24% in 1980, and accounted for slightly less than one-fifth of all families in 1980 (Johnson & Waldman, 1981). When the previously described intermittent work patterns of women and life-cycle employment variations by working mothers are considered, it is apparent that families regularly crisscross the traditional and dual-earner patterns. If two-person career families are subtracted from the "one-earner, husband-only" families, the number of traditional families dwindles even further. Thus the traditional work-family system represents a minority and, for many, irregular lifestyle across the life-span. Compared to other family forms the contemporary traditional family is little-researched, and it appears to serve largely as a baseline against which other work-family patterns may be measured.

Two-person career families. Considerable wife involvement in the husband's career was first noted by Whyte

(1951a, 1951b) when he studied corporation wives. Subsequent
investigations (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Lopata, 1965, 1971)
also revealed patterns of strong career support and
vicarious identity with the husband's career by some wives.
The two-person career was named and described by Papanek
(1973). For the most part this work-family system has been
linked with occupations where work is extremely salient for
the male careerist, and work-related matters extend to other
family members through a process Kanter (1977b) labeled
"absorption."

> By absorptive, I mean occupational pursuits that not
> only demand the maximum commitment of the worker and
> define the context for family life; but also implicate
> other family members and command their direct
> participation in the work system in either its formal
> or informal aspects. Sometimes the occupation creates
> high identification in the work . . . and demands
> activities that spill over beyond the work day, into
> "leisure" or private life, such as the press toward
> community involvement for executives . . . . Sometimes
> the nature of the occupation demands the participation
> of other family members, giving them job-related tasks
> to perform; sometimes it structures norms and role
> expectations for other family members. In any case,
> work effectiveness bears some relation to family
> effort, and family life is dominated by work in
> absorptive occupations. (p. 26)

Portner (1978) suggested the two-person career family
"resembles the traditional pattern with the husband as
breadwinner, but in addition, the wife has social and
home-oriented responsibilities particularly designed to
foster the husband's career" (p. 9). Early
conceptualization of this work-family system specified that

it was confined to middle-class, male-dominated occupations
(Papanek, 1973; Taylor & Hartley, 1975). The employing
organization or professional community carries very real but
unacknowledged reponsibilities for the wife. She is often
expected to manage home and family so that her husband can
concentrate on his work, to ease the burden of the husband's
work by acting as a confidant and perhaps advisor, and to
promote her husband's career through the extended social
network associated with his employing organization. This
work-family system has generally been applied to the
professions, and to corporate and government management.
Investigations of the clergy (Hartley, 1978; Taylor &
Hartley, 1975), medicine and academe (Fowlkes, 1980), the
diplomatic corps (Hochschild, 1969), corporate management
(Kanter, 1977a), and the military (Rienerth, 1978; Stoddard
& Cabonillas, 1976) have confirmed the appropriateness of
the model for those occupations.

Kanter (1977a) outlined a three-phase process through
which the corporate wife became more involved with her
husband's work over the career span. During the technical
phase the traditional family pattern was followed as the
husband concentrated on mastering the basics of his vocation
and the wife focused on home and children. The wife became
more prominent in the managerial phase when her advice on
personnel matters became valuable, her social visibility and
entertainment skills were required, and the couple acquired

normative behavior patterns of corporation management.
Throughout the _institutional_ phase both the husband and wife
represented the work organization and performed numerous
ritualized social duties associated with their institutional
roles. This pattern of increased wife involvement as the
husband progresses up the career ladder has also been
observed with respect to other occupations (Derr, 1979;
Hartley, 1978; Hochschild , 1969; Stoddard, 1976). It
appears that the strength of this work-family system is
somewhat dependent on the location and success of the male
worker along the career path.

Papanek (1973) regarded the two-person career a
work-family system that placated educated women by providing
a sense of achievement through the husband's career while
denying the wife a career of her own. Numerous studies
(Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Hartley, 1978; Hochschild, 1969;
Lopata, 1965; Taylor & Hartley, 1975; Uris, 1970; Whyte,
1951a, 1951b) have documented the strong sense of identity
often expressed by wives regarding their husbands' careers,
and their views that male career success is the result of
team efforts by the couples. Lipman-Blumen (1972) found
that educated young women, even those espousing
nontraditinal sex roles, overwhelmingly accepted the idea of
vicarious achievement on the part of the wife through the
work role of her husband. Frequently the work organization
promotes the concept of the husband and wife as a team in an

effort to legitimize the heavy work involvement of the
careerist and to solicit spouse support for long-range
family commitment to the organization (Aldous, 1969;
Helfrich & Tootle, 1972, Orthner & Pittman, 1984; Renshaw,
1976; Uris, 1970; Whyte, 1951a, 1951b). Vicarious
achievement, and identity with the husband's career and work
organization, thus appear to be significant motivating
factors in the two-person career family.

Some family theorists (Hunt & Hunt, 1977, 1981; Mortimer
et al., 1978; Voydanoff, 1980a) regard the wife support role
in the two-person career as a meaningful alternative to wife
roles in other work-family systems. Male careerists
frequently compete for career advancements and must invest
much time and energy in their work. Wives free their
husbands for such heavy work involvement by assuming major
family responsibilities and providing much-needed emotional
support for the beleaguered husband (Blood & Wolfe, 1960;
Heath, 1977; Lopata, 1971; Mortimer et al., 1978; Papanek,
1979; Voydanoff, 1980a). Often husbands and wives in this
work-family system have some overlap in training and
background that enhances the consultant role of the wife
(Fowlkes, 1980; Taylor & Hartley, 1975), and her advice is
particularly valued when the husband moves into management
areas requiring relational expertise (Kanter, 1977a;
Steiner, 1972; Warner & Abeggle, 1956). The male career
path involves considerable family strain in the form of

irregular work hours, travel and family separation, and geographical relocations. The two-person career wife is the key to managing family stress under such difficult conditions (Culbert & Renshaw, 1972; Gaylord, 1979; Portner, 1978; Renshaw, 1976; Voydanoff, 1980a). The wife's valuable contribution to her husband's career advancement is of such importance that researchers (Hunt & Hunt, 1982; Mortimer et al., 1978; Papanek, 1979; Pfeffer & Ross, 1982;) have suggested the male careerist without a supportive wife is severely disadvantaged.

Another dimension of the two-person career wife role is what Papanek (1979) has called "family status production." Research has generally suggested that family economic resources correlate postively with family well-being (Hannon, Tuma, & Groenvelde, 1977; Scanzoni, 1975; Voydanoff, 1980a; Williamson, 1952), and that family consumption patterns contribute significantly to family status (Furstenberg, 1974; Nock & Rossi, 1979; Rainwater, 1974). When the husband generates sufficient income for family needs, the wife often attends to status-related activities of the family. These responsibilities may include socializing children in status-appropriate behaviors, managing social and ceremonial obligations, and generally directing a middle-class lifestyle (Hunt & Hunt, 1982; Papanek, 1979). Careful scrutiny of "status production" reveals that it is rarely frivolous, it may be

highly prescribed by the husband's work organization, and it is often a necessary corollary to his career advancement (Helfrich & Tootle, 1972; Hochschild, 1969; Kanter, 1977a).

The two-person career lifestyle has been criticized because it thwarts the identity of the wife. Lopata (1965, 1971) stressed the complexity of the housewife role and the elusiveness of feminine identity. Feelings of vicarious achievement appear to decline among women as their level of education and degree of employment increase (Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Lopata, 1971; Portner, 1978; Sorensen, 1983; Taylor & Hartley, 1975). Careerist husbands are highly work-involved, and many of their well-educated, middle-class wives have become disenchanted with having the total burden of childcare and family responsibilities placed on their shoulders (Bailyn, 1970; Burke, Weir, & DuWors, 1980, Dizard, 1968). Work organizations have recognized the desires of some women to find identity outside their husbands' careers, and some corporations have relaxed demands on corporate wives (Kanter, 1977a; Vandervelde, 1979). There is evidence of polarization among two-person career families with regard to wife identity, and students of family life expect greater couple negotiation over work-family role structure in the future (Hunt & Hunt, 1982; Kanter, 1977a; McCubbin et al., 1978; Pleck, 1977).

Dual-earner families. Described simply as a pattern in which "both husband and wife work at paying jobs outside

the home" (Portner, 1978, p. 9), this work-family system has become the prevailing lifestyle in American society. By 1980, 52% of families were so classified (Hayghe, 1982a) and 71% of the nation's workers are now supplied by married couples (Hayghe, 1983). The dual-earner classification also includes dual-career families, a subpopulation that will be described shortly. Since most males work without interruption during their adult lives the occurrence of the dual-earner family is dependent on the work pattern of the wife. The irregular work patterns of wives have already been noted, and it is apparent that frequent shifts between traditional and dual-earner family structure occur for many families as wives move in and out of the labor force.

Compared to traditional families, dual-earners are younger, more affluent, smaller, and better educated (Aldous, 1982; Hayghe, 1981, 1982a). Some 62% of families with school-age children and 45% of families with preschoolers are dual-earners (Johnson & Waldman, 1981). Although dual-earner families earn more than traditional families, the husband in the dual-earner family usually has a lower salary than the husband in the traditional family (Hayghe, 1981, 1982a) and the work activity of the dual-earner wife frequently serves to lift the family above the poverty line (Hayghe, 1982a, 1982b; Masnick & Bane, 1980). The high incidence of dual-earner families in younger age ranges has led several researchers to suggest a

cohort difference with respect to normative family work patterns may be occurring for younger workers (Faver, 1981; Hayghe, 1982b; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Pleck, 1979; Sorenson, 1983).

The relationship between dual-earner work patterns and internal family dynamics is important to an adequate understanding of the dual-earner work-family system. Research linking family life correlates with this system has focused primarily on wife employment rather than couple work patterns. Several studies found that working wives were happier and mentally healthier than wives who did not work (Burke & Weir, 1976; Ferree, 1976; Kessler & McRae, 1982; Lovell-Troy, 1983; Macke, Buhrnstedt, & Bernstein, 1979). Social class variables were the most powerful at explaining the occurrence of anomie for both working and nonworking wives, but the strongest single predictor was prestige of the job (or former job) held by the wife—not prestige of her husband's job. Wright (1978) reviewed six national studies and reported inconsistent, often insignificant differences between the satisfaction of working and nonworking wives. Wright's (1978) study examined responses to single, global items on happiness and life satisfaction, and, although he employed national probability samples, his research was weakened by the lack of a more rigorous measuring instrument.

While the preponderance of evidence is toward positive social benefits allied with wife employment, several studies (Faver, 1981; Freudiger, 1983; Keith & Schafer, 1983; Sorenson, 1983) have suggested that the process leading to life satisfaction is quite indirect and very different for working and nonworking wives. When Freudiger (1983) compared the life satisfaction of employed, formerly employed, and never employed wives, she discovered that the life satisfaction of never employed wives was more fully explained and that major correlates of life satisfaction lined up quite differently for those wives with work experience and those who had never worked. Occupational identity appears to follow the wife even when she leaves the labor force (Freudiger, 1983; Lovell-Troy, 1983; Sorenson, 1983), while other women are fully committed to a nonwork role (Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Ferree, 1976; Wright, 1978). Thus straightforward comparisons of indices of well-being for employed and nonemployed wives must be interpreted with caution.

Work motivation among wives has often been conceptualized as a polarity between economic necessity and intrinsic satisfaction with the work role. Increased wife employment has clearly accompanied strong economic need (Angrist et al., 1976; Chusmir, 1982; Hayghe, 1981, 1982a, 1982b; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Oppenheimer, 1974; Sweet, 1970), and researchers have suggested that when wives work

largely because of financial necessity their work experiences produce less positive social benefits (Orden & Bradburn, 1969; Portner, 1978; Sobol, 1974). It is possible that stress related to financial hardship rather than wife employment status may account for the negative findings. Orden and Bradburn (1969) utilized a national probability sample to examine the marital happiness of dual-earner families. Controlling for work motivation, they found that couples in which wives worked by choice were much happpier than couples with wives working out of economic necessity. The Orden and Bradburn study is often cited, but their data were gathered in 1963 and the findings may not hold today. Lein and others (1974) found that wives usually indicated financial need as their reason for working, while husbands pointed to the personal desires of their wives. Two recent studies (Freudiger, 1983; Keith & Schafer, 1983) utilizing multiple regression procedures found subjective evaluations of the family economic situation strong predictors of family well being, but the family measures correlated poorly with real income. The prevalence of perceived over objective financial indicators when accounting for family stress suggests that the entire spectrum of female work motivation--not just the personal work satisfaction of well educated wives--may be highly subjective in nature.

Husbands must make rather serious adjustments both in their daily routines and their self-perceptions as providers

when their wives enter the labor force. Domestic responsibilities generally follow traditional gender roles with little additional assistance provided by the husband, but there is evidence that fathers are giving slightly more help with childcare when wives work (Geerken & Gove, 1983; Hunt & Hunt, 1982; Lein et al., 1974; Pleck, 1977, 1979; Portner, 1978; Voydanoff, 1980a). Positive effects for the couple are linked with cooperative efforts at domestic tasks (Burke & Weir, 1977; Chusmir, 1982; Kessler & McRae, 1982). Stafford (1980) pointed out that combined job and home work hours were converging for men and women, but attributed the cause to a decline in weekly labor force participation and reduced housework for women rather than additional support from husbands. Several researchers (Davis, 1982; Osherson & Dill, 1983; Pleck, 1979; Scanzoni, 1980) have suggested that slight increases in male family activity may be signaling a change in the sex role ideology of adult males.

Dual-earner husbands continue to feel the social pressure of comformity to the provider role (Lein et al., 1974; Pleck, 1977), and especially so when their contributions to the family income are weak (Keith & Schafer, 1983; Ridley, 1973). Several studies (Geerken & Gove, 1983; Hiller & Philliber, 1982; Pleck, 1977; Philliber & Hiller, 1983) have indicated that husbands accept working wives, but do not accept wives whose occupational achievements exceed their own. Attempts to tie wife

employment status with husband's well-being have yielded weak and inconsistent results. Two investigations (Burke & Weir, 1976; Kessler & McRae, 1982) found dual-earner husbands somewhat unhappy, while Booth (1979) reported no difference and possibly even positive linkages. Other investigators suggested that most wives seek employment out of economic necessity and husbands generally adapt with little fanfare to the new circumstance (Davis, 1982; Geerken & Gove, 1983).

The internal power structure of dual-earner families is a matter of great theoretical interest. Although family power takes many forms (Scanzoni, 1979), resource theorists have argued that the economic dimension constitutes the most potent source of power (Blood & Wolfe, 1960; Furstenberg, 1974; Rainwater, 1974; Scanzoni, 1970, 1975). Consequently, participation of the wife in the family economic enterprise would logically increase her power and detract from the power of her husband. The dual-earner family would be expected to produce a revised work role system involving both husband and wife as coproviders. The role reorganization could extend into noneconomic realms as well and lead to a more equitable, egalitarian distribution of power and responsibility throughout the family system (Pfeffer & Ross, 1982; Pleck, 1977; Portner, 1978; Scanzoni, 1980).

Mortimer and Sorenson (1983) pointed out that the earnings gap adversely affects women, and most working wives

pose no threat to the male as principal family provider. The concentration of women in lower-paying jobs is well documented (Davis, 1980; Hayghe, 1983; Masnick & Bane, 1980; McClendon, 1976; Nye, 1974; Pleck; 1977; Rytina, 1982), and the insistence that husbands' jobs carry first priority (Hunt & Hunt, 1982; Lein et al., 1974; Pleck, 1977; Portner, 1978) reinforces the claim of Mortimer and Sorenson. Scanzoni (1972, 1980) has labeled the dual-earner wife a "junior partner" when the couple continues to view the husband as chief breadwinner for the family.

There is evidence that dual-earner wives oocupy strategic economic positions which lead to a greater share in the family power structure. While female income is substantially lower than male income, it usually lifts the family above the poverty level (Hayghe, 1976, 1982a; Nye, 1974; Rytina, 1982). The participation of husbands in the labor force has declined in recent years (Hayghe, 1982b; Johnson, 1979; Johnson & Waldman, 1981) and one survey (Waldman, 1983) revealed that the decline included younger husbands. It is possible that the dual-earner work-family system has allowed some husbands to invest less heavily in the provider role.

Several studies have suggested that housewives feel financially dependent on their husbands, and economic concerns tend to override relational concerns for them (Ferree, 1976; Freudiger, 1983; Lopata, 1965, 1971). When Freudiger (1983) compared employed, formerly employed, and

never employed wives, she found marital happiness the principal correlate of life satisfaction for those with work experience. Financial matters were the major concern of housewives. This finding strongly suggested that working wives are free to focus on the relational aspects of the marriage, but nonworking wives must relegate the relationship to a lower priority because of their economic survival needs. The study also suggested that prior work experience can enhance the self-confidence of wives--even when they are not actually working. Female work role identity has been linked with positive personal benefits (Freudiger, 1983; Lovell-Troy, 1983; Macke et al., 1979), and this enhanced identity might account for the popularity of part-time work among wives (General Mills, 1981; Ferree, 1970; Masnick & Bane, 1980; Orden & Bradburn, 1969). Scanzoni (1980) found that wives who viewed themselves as more involved in providing economic support for the family also demonstrated a more egalitarian lifestyle. The interrelationship between dual-earner status and egalitarian power structure appears complex, but the literature suggests that such linkages exist.

Dual-career families. Characterized by the active career pursuit of both husband and wife, dual-career families constitute a small group within the dual earner classification. To a great extent dual-career couples mirror the structure and dynamics of all dual earners, but work patterns and family matters overlap quite uniquely in

certain instances. Possession of special qualifications and
participation in a work or trade involving advancement
within a profession or ogranization are the two basic
indicators of a career. Career development by both partners
qualify the couple as "dual career" (Rapoport & Rapoport,
1971b). The system has been described as one in which
". . . both husband and wife have careers which require time
and energy obligations beyond work time, and both place a
high emphasis on advancement" (Portner, 1978, p. 9).

Dual-career family demographics parallel those of dual
earners, but they are more extreme. Dual careerists are
younger and more highly educated, marry at a later date,
and produce fewer children than other work-family types
(Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Burke & Weir, 1976; Catalyst Career
and Family Center, 1981; Faver, 1981; Holmstrom, 1972;
Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971a). It appears likely that strong
career emphasis is a cohort characteristic among
contemporary young, adult females (Faver, 1981). The
Rapoports (1971a) examined the parentage of dual careerists
in England and found that dual-career wives tended to be
only children from small, high socioeconomic status
families. Dual-career husbands were often close to their
mothers. Work motivation appears higher for dual-career
wives than other working wives (Angrist et al., 1976;
Beckman, 1978; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Sobol, 1974), and
they show a strong tendency to work uninterrupted throughout

the adult years (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971a, 1971b; Sorenson, 1983).

The dual-career family lifestyle has been acknowledged and described in some detail in the literature (Catalyst Career and Family Center, 1981; Holmstrom, 1972; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1971a, 1971b), but the degree to which this family-work system prevails is unclear. Beckman (1978) found that professional wives consciously modified fertility patterns to accommodate their careers, and Sorenson (1983) reported that highly educated women with strong work histories tended to remain in the work force beyond marriage and childbearing. Ryscavage (1979) demonstrated that the greatest rise in working wives throughout the 1970s occurred among women whose husbands had higher than average incomes. The incidence of college educated women has risen sharply in recent years, and small gains of females in the male-dominated professions have been made (Bianchi & Spain, 1983; Davis, 1980). Other family researchers have pointed to the many conflicts and problems created by the dual-career lifestyle, and have expressed doubts that the family system will account for more than a small proportion of dual-earning couples (Aldous, 1982; Hunt & Hunt, 1982).

The Military Organization and the Military Family

Recent demorgraphic characteristics of military personnel have shifted greatly, and a larger proportion of the military population is now married and shouldering

family responsibilities. The interface between the military
organization and its family-oriented members has generated
much concern and continuing debate over policy within the
military community.

Interest in military family and organizational linkages
has been demonstrated by a recent upsurge in military family
research. Several extensive literature reviews have been
accomplished (Hunter, 1982; McCubbin, Dahl, & Hunter, 1976;
Military Family Resource Center, 1984), and a central
repository for military family research, the Military Family
Resource Center, has been established (Military Family
Resource Center, 1984). National workshops and symposia on
the military family have been convened both by military
groups and such professional organizations as the American
Psychological Association and the National Council on Family
Relations (Military Family Resource Center, 1984). A
multiforce survey of family demographics, funded by the
Department of Defense, was conducted by the Rand Corporation
(Doering & Hutzler, 1982). Defense, a monthly publication
of the Armed Forces Information Service, Department of
Defense, has begun issuing an annual almanac containing,
among other things, an update on military manpower and
family statistics.

Most branches of the armed forces have also generated
their own research. For instance, the Air Force sponsored a

series of "Families in Blue" studies (Carr, Orthner, & Brown, 1980; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a, 1983) which examined Air Force family life. Force-wide probability samples of military couples were drawn, and findings were generalized to the Air Force as a whole. A recurring "Quality of Life" survey containing family variables was instituted (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; Air Force Manpower and Personnel Center, 1983; McNichols, Manley, & Stahl, 1980), and a cumulative data base connecting family information provided by spouses and work information provided by Air Force members was established at the Leadership Management and Development Center (Ibsen & Austin, 1983).

This expansion of military family research is a recent phenomenon (McCubbin et al., 1976), and it parallels the development of the post-Vietnam, all-volunteer force. The Military Family Resource Center houses the largest single collection of American military family literature, and 86% of their holdings have been produced since 1970 (Military Family Resource Center, 1984). More than 45% of the work was published after 1980.

There are many limitations to this expanding body of research, however (McCubbin et al., 1976; Military Family Resource Center, 1984). Samples are frequently taken from geographic regions or specific military organizations and

cannot be generalized force wide. Much of the research has utilized nonprobability data, and early studies tended to concentrate on clinical populations. Largely because of regulations that restrict the gathering of data from family members, studies of the family tend to rely on the perceptions of the military member (Military Family Resource Center, 1984).

McCubbin and his colleagues (1976) suggested that most of the research was not theoretically grounded. Because a high proportion of the investigations are funded by the military, major emphasis has been given to answering questions of interest to the sponsors. Studies often identified correlates of recruitment and retention, or investigated stressors which adversely impacted on military performance. Rigorous analysis has rarely been applied, and findings have usually been reported as distributional proporations or bivariate correlations. The unfolding picture of military family life is relatively consistent, but it is extremely narrow in focus and often does not generate further hypotheses or a wider understanding of the dynamics of military family life.

Trends in Military Family Life

Family characteristics are dependent on the personnel structure of the armed forces. An examination of manpower trends in recent years reveals major mobilizations during

times of conflict with substantial force reductions
occurring during the interim periods (Leon, 1984; Levitan &
Alderman, 1977b; Sider & Cole, 1984; Moskos, 1973). A
small, volunteer force existed prior to World War II, but a
massive combat force of 12 million people was assembled
during the Second World War. The military then shrank to
1.5 million only to swell again to 3.5 million during the
Korean conflict. Personnel strength was reduced to 2.5
million during the Cold War period, and the nature of the
force changed somewhat as the proportion of direct combat
personnel decreased and the number of persons providing
indirect, technical support to the mission increased.
Another major mobilization occurred during the Vietnam
period when the draft was utilized to gather a force of 3.5
million persons in the late 1960s.

The present, post-Vietnam era has been characterized by
a smaller armed forces consisting entirely of volunteers.
Since conscription ceased the contemporary military has
placed greater emphasis on recruitment and retention, and
careful screening and training procedures have been applied
to raise both the quality and stability of the forces.
Current military strength is approximately 2.1 million
persons with some 785 thousand in the Army, 561 thousand in
the Navy, 195 thousand in the Marine Corps, and 597 thousand
in the Air Force (Armed Forces Information Service, 1984).

Active duty military members make up about 1.2% of the nation's population, and members serving in the United States constitute 1.6% of the nation's employed population (Leon, 1984).

Military members and their families number about 4.7 million or slightly more than 2% of the national population. If families of Coast Guard, National Guard, Reserve Forces, and retired military personnel are considered, the ranks expand to around 11 million people (Military Family Resource Center, 1984).

Historically, American military personnel and their families lived in relative isolation from the larger society (Coates & Pelligrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1960). To use Moskos' (1973) phrase, they were a "garrison force" with a lifestyle accommodating the career demands of the military member. Marriage was discouraged among the enlisted and junior officers, but encouraged for officers as their careers progressed (Bennett et al., 1974; Little, 1971; Moskos, 1970). Frequently young officers, especially academy graduates, married women from established military families who were already socialized into the military lifestyle. The wife was expected to manage the home whenever heavy career demands or lengthy separations prevented her husband's involvement, and a strong social and ceremonial role was prescribed for her by the military community

(Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1960; Little, 1971; Stoddard, 1978). Although force composition and military family characteristics have changed drastically, many of the veiws and customs that originated in the pre-World War II era continue to shape military organizational expectations of the family and the role of the military wife (Military Family Resource Center, 1984).

During the large-scale mobilization of World War II, military families suffered many hardships, and in the years that followed a variety of incentives and services were established to benefit them (Little, 1971; Stanton, 1976). Allowances and medical services for family members, housing, schools, shopping facilities, social services, and childcare centers were provided. Eventually the typical military installation became highly self-sufficient, a "total institution" (Kanter, 1977a, 1977b) integrating work and family patterns to a degree seldom realized in nonmilitary settings (Bennett et al., 1974; Coates & Pellegrin, 1965). More recently a network of centers providing direct family services has been established within each branch of the armed forces (Military Family Resource Center, 1984).

The armed forces have become a family-oriented institution. Nonmilitary family members have outnumbered military personnel since 1960 (Bennett et al., 1974; Carr, Orthner, & Brown, 1980; Goldman, 1976; Military Family

Resource Center, 1984), and currently the total military
community includes about one-half million more spouses and
children than active duty members (Armed Forces Information
Service, 1983). Data in Table 1 demonstrate a significant
rise in the proportion of married personnel from below 40%
in 1953 to well above 50% in 1983. The percentage of
married officers has remained relatively constant with most
of the additional marriages occurring among enlisted
personnel (Armed Forces Information Service, 1980, 1981,
1982, 1983, 1984; Bennett et al., 1974; Bowen, 1981; Carr,
Orthner, & Brown, 1980; Goldman, 1976; Military Family
Resource Center, 1984). Marriages are concentrated among
careerists--greater than 85% of the personnel above the
enlisted grade of E-5 and the officer grade of 0-3 are
married (Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Little, 1971). When the
marriage rates for military officers and enlisted personnel
are compared to the rate for the population at large,
officers are substantially above and enlisted substantially
below the national average (Goldman, 1976). The effect
appears to be an artifact of the youth of the armed forces,
and when age is controlled the proportions of married
personnel in the civilian and military sectors are very
similar (Bennett et al., 1974; Levitan & Alderman, 1977b).

Careful examination of Table 1 reveals that the
proportion of marriages for both the Air Force and the total

Table 1

Percentage of Married Officers and Enlisted Personnel

Year	Armed Forces			Air Force		
	Officer	Enlisted	Total	Officer	Enlisted	Total
1953	81.1	33.3	38.3	84.4	40.5	46.4
1955	78.0	36.9	41.7	78.6	42.7	47.8
1957	82.9	41.4	46.3	83.9	48.6	54.0
1960	84.9	47.5	52.2	88.1	60.6	65.0
1961	82.3	45.0	49.5	88.2	58.3	62.9
1965	80.7	43.5	48.0	84.5	60.1	63.9
1967	76.9	38.5	42.9	82.0	49.1	54.0
1970	80.8	47.0	51.5	87.7	63.7	67.7
1971	81.9	49.5	54.0	82.8	59.1	63.0
1972	81.9	50.4	54.8	84.0	62.3	65.9
1973	83.5	52.1	56.4	84.7	63.8	67.3
1974	83.1	52.7	56.9	84.9	64.2	67.7
1976	–	–	–	82.1	64.5	67.4
1977	–	–	–	86.4	63.5	66.4
1978	–	–	–	81.2	61.9	65.3
1979	79.8	50.8	54.8	79.4	60.3	63.6
1980	78.8	49.5	53.5	78.4	58.9	62.4
1981	–	–	–	78.0	58.1	61.6
1982	73.4	47.8	51.3	77.7	58.8	62.1
1983	74.1	50.1	53.5	77.2	60.3	63.3

Note: Data for 1953-1974 are from "Trends in Family Patterns of U.S. Military Personal during the 20th Century" (p. 126), by N. L. Goldman, 1976, in N. L. Goldman and D. R. Segal (Eds.), The Social Psychology of Military Service, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications. Air Force data for 1976-1981 are adapted from Family Ministry in a Changing Context by D. K. Orthner and G. L. Bowen, 1982b. All other data are adapted from the Special Almanac Issues of Defense published by the Armed Forces Information Service, 1980, July (p. 22); 1981, September (p. 27); 1982, September (p. 32); 1983, September (p. 32); and 1984, September (p. 32).

force has declined slightly since the late 1970s. The reduction is most noticeable for officers whose current marital rate is below that of 1953. Like society at large, the military has experienced a proliferation of lifestyles including an increase in singles and a decline among traditional military-husband, civilian-wife families. Other family forms--single parents, dual military couples, and military-wife, civilian-husband families--have increased significantly (Carr, Orthner, & Brown, 1980; Hunter, 1982; Leon, 1984; Orthner, 1982; Orthner & Bowen, 1982b). Women in the military are more likely than men to be single, and the increased female presence contributes to the lowered marriage rate (Armed Forces Information Service, 1984; Orthner, 1982; Orthner & Bowen, 1982b). Recent marriage rates for enlisted persons remain well above those of the 1950s.

Air Force personnel have consistently married in greater proportions than any other branch of the service (Goldman, 1976). Approximately two-thirds of Air Force personnel in contrast to about one-half of those in the total armed forces are married. Several factors contribute to this circumstance. Air Force personnel are older than other military members; there is a substantially higher ratio of officers to enlisted personnel in the Air Force; and work schedules tend to be somewhat more stable for members of the Air Force (Armed Forces Information Service,

1984; Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Leon, 1984; Levitan & Alderman, 1977a).

Many enlisted youth enter the military single and marry near the end of their first service commitment. A substantial rise in the marriage rate occurs at the E-5 and E-6 levels (Bennett et al., 1974; Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Orthner & Bowen, 1983). Thus career and marriage decisions of enlisted personnel tend to overlap during the early stages of military service. Bennett and his colleagues (1974) noted that the wide gap in the rate of marriage for officers and enlisted persons largely disappears as enlisted personnel age and increase in rank. Greater than 75% of all military wives are below age 30, and the incidence of childlessness is high within military family circles (Bennett et al., 1974; Carr, Orther, & Brown, 1980; Hunter, 1982).

Since military couples are located predominantly in the early stages of the family life cycle, military families are characterized by a heavy population of preschool and young school children (Bennett et al., 1974; Carr, Orthner, & Brown, 1980; Goldman, 1976; Grossman, 1981; Hayghe, 1978; Orthner & Bowen, 1983). Compared to society at large, military families contain a far greater proportion of young children. For example, Hayghe (1978) found that 52% of military families compared to 27% of civilian families had children less than 6 years old. When the youth of the

military force is considered, the high incidence of young
children is understandable. Officers, who are older and
generate greater income, tend to have slightly larger
families than enlisted personnel (Armed Forces Information
Service, 1984; Goldman, 1976; Orthner & Bowen, 1983).
Military families reflect the larger social trend in that
number of children per family has declined in recent years
(Armed Forces Information Service, 1984; Bennett et al.,
1974; Orthner & Bowen, 1983).

The military differs from the larger society in several
additional ways. Personnel are generally representatative
of lower socioeconomic strata, and military career
advancement offers an opportunity for upward social mobility
(Levitan & Alderman, 1977b). Minorities, particularly black
Americans, are overrepresented with more than one-fourth of
the current military force consisting of minorities (Armed
Forces Information Service, 1984; Hayghe, 1978; Levitan &
Alderman, 1977b; Sider & Cole, 1984). Probably a result of
the manpower selection process and the strong emphasis given
to further training and education of its members by the
military, the overall educational level of the armed forces
is higher than that of the civilian sector (Janowitz, 1971;
Levitan & Alderman, 1977b). Leon (1984) controlled for
educational levels and found that a substantially greater
proportion of the military as compared to the civilian
population were high school graduates, but a higher

percentage of civilians were college trained. The
distinctive makeup of the military population contributes
much to the unique family lifestyle of the uniformed
services, and military family trends reflect the blend of
both military and nonmilitary milieu in which service
families live.

Role of the Military Wife

Many military requirements impact on the
family--geographic location, family relocations, housing,
irregular and no-notice changes in work schedules,
competition for promotions, deployment and hazardous duty,
frequent and extended family separations. Generally, the
wife has bridged the gap between the military and the
family. By adapting the wife and mother roles to the work
patterns of her husband she has reduced family stress (Derr,
1979; Hunter, 1982; Military Family Resource Center, 1984;
Rienerth, 1978; Stoddard, 1978). Under the best of
circumstances the task has been difficult. Lindquist (1952)
uncovered many problems in an early study of Air Force
family life, and more recently Stoddard and Cabonillas
(1976) reported strong role conflict among officer wives as
they attempted to reconcile military expectations and family
needs.

Many different work-family systems are represented in
the military. Various single and dual provider combinations
occur, and family structures differ when husband, wife, or

both are members of the military organization (Derr, 1979; Houk, 1980; McNichols, Manley, & Stahl, 1980; Orthner, 1982; Orthner & Bowen, 1982b; Suter, 1979). Though declining slightly as other family forms proliferate, the military-husband, civilian-wife family still accounts for the overwhelming majority of military families.

Military-wife, civilian-husband families have increased slightly as greater numbers of women are integrated into the military, but they constitute a very small proportion of all military families (Carr et al., 1980; Orthner, 1982; Orthner & Bowen, 1982b). The dual-military couple, a variant of the dual-career pattern, involves simultaneous pursuit of active military careers by both husband and wife. It is the most rapidly expanding work-family system in the military organization and will probably increase as larger numbers of women enter the military (Orthner & Bowen, 1982b; Williams, 1978). Dual-career couples have been identified in the military, but "career" has been defined quite broadly (Air Force Manpower and Personnel Center, 1983; Houk, 1980; Suter, 1979). Erickson (1983) suggested that a military wife may work, but argued that long-range pursuit of a demanding civilian career is incompatible with the military lifestyle.

In the past, few military wives have worked outside the home. Employment was tolerated among enlisted wives, but the military organization discouraged officer wives from

entering the labor force (Bennett et al., 1974; Goldman, 1976; Little, 1971). The proportion of working military wives has increased dramatically during the past decade. The rate of wife employment varies somewhat depending on the definition of wife employment, overseas or stateside residence, and whether or not wives in the military are included. Most samples drawn in the late 1970s and early 1980s found military wife employment in the 40% to 50% range (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1975; Air Force Manpower & Personnel Center, 1983; Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Grossman, 1981; Hayghe, 1978; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a; Waldman et al., 1979). Wives in overseas locations were less likely to work and reported fewer job opportunities than did wives in the United States (Air Force Manpower and Personnel Center, 1983; Gates, 1981; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a). Grossman (1981) utilized census data to compare the employment rates of military and civilian wives in the United States between 1970 and 1979. She demonstrated that during the same period the proportion of working military wives increased by 20% while the proportion of civilian wives increased by only 8%, and that the 1979 employment rates of the two groups were equivalent. The unemployment rate among military wives was about double that for wives in the civilian population (Air Force Manpower and Personnel Center, 1983; Grossman, 1981; Hayghe, 1978; Waldman et al., 1979). Thus it appears that the

current wife employment rate for military wives approaches that of the civilian population, and many more military wives would like to work but are unable to find employment-- perhaps as a result of the military lifestyle.

When data on military spouse employment has been controlled for analysis, several trends have appeared. The incidence of employment continued to be greater among enlisted than officer spouses, but the disparity was much less than it had been in previous decades. The percentages of dual-income families declined and single-income families increased as the grade of the military member rose-- especially among officers (Air Force Manpower and Personnel Center, 1983; Bennett et al., 1974; Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Houk, 1980; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a; Suter, 1979). Doering and Hutzler (1982) reported a higher rate of spouse employment for officer than enlisted wives but the response of their sample was weak and the inconsistency of their findings with those of other studies could be explained by sampling error. Though dual-income families outnumbered single-income families in the military, single-income patterns were predominant during later career stages--especially after the 20-year point (Houk, 1980; Suter, 1979). Economic reasons were most often reported as the reason for working, but officer wives were much more likely than enlisted wives to indicate personal fulfillment as the most significant work motivation (Air Force Manpower

and Personnel Center, 1983; Bennett et al., 1974; Finlayson, 1976; Houk, 1980; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a).

Military spouse employment may be linked to weakened career commitment on the part of military members. Higher rates of spouse employment have been reported among those intending to leave the military than among careerists (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; Wood, 1982), and Orthner and his colleagues (1984) found that spouse commitment to work correlated negatively with spouse support for the member's career. Suter (1979) compared family work patterns of Naval officers and learned that two-career families were less committed to a full career in the Navy than one-career/one-job or single-income families. The causal path between spouse employment and military career intent correlations is far from clear. Other possible explanations of the findings include inadequate income from the military organization that prompts both negative career intent and spouse employment, or the desire of familiies leaving the military to increase their financial resources before the transition.

The military wife role has been variously labeled "complementary" (Military Framily Resource Center, 1984; Stoddard, 1978;; Stoddard & Cabonillas, 1976), "husband-oriented" (Lopata, 1965), "extension" (Dobrofsky, 1977), "blind supporter" (Derr, 1976), "absorptive" (Kanter, 1977b), and "two-person career" (Rienerth, 1978), but the

conceptualized interplay of work and family variables is similar. The military husband is heavily involved in a demanding work role that shapes and often restricts his participation in the family. The role of the wife is closely interwoven with the husband's work requirements and the military lifestyle.

The service wife identifies with the military organization and her husband's career. She adjusts her family activities and her own work or career aspirations to the limitations of the military lifstyle, provides social and ceremonial support designed to aid her husband's career advancement, takes pride in her husband's military achievments, and generally conforms to the expectations of the military organization. In return the wife expects from the military a package of family benefits and services, economic security, acceptance within the military community, and status recognition linked to her husband's position within the military structure (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; Derr, 1979; Grace & Steiner, 1978; Orthner, 1980; Stoddard & Cabonillas, 1976; Stumpf, 1978).

Work organizations frequently provide family benefits and promote spousal identification with the organization in order to legitimize the excessive demands imposed on the family unit (Aldous, 1969; Kanter, 1977a; Voydanoff, 1980b). As marriage and family concerns have become more prevalent among military members, the organization has increasingly

recognized the need for and courted spouse support (McCubbin et al., 1978; Military Family Resource Center, 1984; Orthner et al., 1984). Typical advice for wives was given in a recently published handbook for Air Force officer wives:

> The key word here is support. Get behind your husband and let him know you are his biggest fan. Each couple has individual ways of communicating support and encouragement. You might want to learn something about his job so you can understand and appreciate the demands placed upon him. Perhaps support to your husband means that he knows you'll survive when he's gone TDY [temporary duty] , the kids get sick, the washer breaks down, and the end of the month bills are due. (Erickson, 1983, p. 7)

Many of the inferences regarding the role of the military wife are based on observations of the officer's wife, and it is uncertain to what extent such generalizations can be made to the enlisted wife (Military Family Resource Center, 1984). There are major differences between wives of officers and enlisted personnel, and it appears that spouse support is more crucial to the career of the officer (Bennett et al., 1974; Bowen, 1981; Houk, 1980; Little, 1971). On the other hand, differences appear to diminish somewhat as career enlisted families acquire greater seniority. The increased marriage rate for enlisted personnel is a relatively recent phenomenon, and the degree of overlap between officer and enlisted wife roles requires further study. Perhaps the wife roles of the two groups will converge with time.

Military wives, particularly officer wives, have traditionally given large blocks of time to community

projects and activities. Volunteerism tends to increase with the rank and position of the wife's husband (Finlayson, 1976; Little, 1971; Military Family resource Center, 1984), and when the family resides on a military installation (Finlayson, 1976). Finlayson's (1976) study of Army officer wives revealed an interesting link between wife employment and volunteerism. Over half the wives who worked part-time were volunteers, and some full-time employees also participated in community activities. Wives report much pressure from the military organization to join in community affairs, and there is evidence that wife volunteerism has some impact on the military member's career (Dobrofsky, 1977; Erickson, 1983; Military Family Resource Center, 1984; Warner, 1984). Rates of volunteerism appear to increase as wife employment decreases and wife identification with the military increases. Thus increased volunteerism among senior wives may not reflect direct response to organizational expectations so much as the selective retention of those families who respond favorably to the military lifestyle.

A key dimension of the military wife's role involves managing the home and holding the family together during times of family separation and disruption. The wife is frequently required to assume such responsibilities during periods of brief or prolonged husband absence, and during the process of family relocation and subsequent community

readjustment (Bowen, 1984; Hunter, 1982; Little, 1971; McCubbin et al., 1976; McCubbin et al., 1978; Miitary Family Resource Center, 1984). In addition to military-imposed disruptions, there is a high incidence of "voluntary" separation when the military assignment poses financial difficulties or fails to meet special needs of the family (Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a). Several researchers have argued that the male's work role prevents his consistent family involvement. Consequently the military family has been considered "female centered" (Rienerth, 1978) or "mother centered" (Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Stanton, 1976; Stoddard, 1978; Stoddard & Cabonillas, 1976). Janowitz (1960) believed home and family care in the face of recurring work-related disruption was the crucial element of the military wife's role, and the often cited social support role was comparatively incidental. Wood (1982) suggested that the military husband lost power within the family because of his lack of control over presence within the home.

Family disruption creates a significant strain within the military home, and the wife usually bears the brunt of the stress. Separation from the family heads the list of negative factors reported in most military quality-of-life surveys (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; Bennett et al., 1974; Little, 1971; Lund, 1978; McNichols et al., 1980; Orthner, 1980). The total process of recurring

separations and subsequent reunions of family members has
been identified as a major source of stress, and many
theorists feel that the reintegration of the family unit may
be more difficult than the actual period of separation
(Decker, 1978; Hunter, 1982; McCubbin et al., 1976; McCubbin
et al., 1978). The irregularity of the military work
schedule can create much confusion within the household as
husband and wife alternately assume and relinquish
responsibility for various family roles and tasks. This
"shifting roles" phenomenon has been well described by the
staff of the Military Family Resource Center (1984):

> Constant separation, or the threat of separation, can
> produce a chronically stressful situation which
> disturbs the equilibrium within a family. For the
> family to regain a sense of balance, the roles within
> the family must be altered . . . . In this traditional
> situation, the wife becomes more independent, maintains
> the functioning of the family, and assumes tasks
> usually held by the husband . . . . Role shifts can be
> a significant and potentially disruptive force in a
> family where the members, particularly the wife, play a
> substantially different role when the husband/father is
> home than when gone. This is especially true when
> separations are frequent and of short duration (for
> example, gone during the week and home on the weekend
> or gone three weeks and home one week) because the
> family treats the reunion period as they would the
> reunion from a long deployment. They attempt to have a
> "holiday routine" every weekend (pp. 144-145).

Szoc (1982) carried out an insightful study of young
Navy officers and enlisted personnel. By comparing those
electing to remain with the Navy to those choosing to leave,
Szoc determined that neither number nor length of family
separations affected the degree of stress experienced. He

concluded that some families simply coped with separation better than others, and those families encountering less stress were more inclined to remain with the Navy. One must consider the very low survey response rate when interpreting Szoc's findings, but other researchers (Derr, 1979; Frances & Gayle, 1973; Hunter, Gelb, & Hickman, 1981; Orthner & Bowen, 1983) have also noted wide variances among the coping skills of military families. Hunter et al. (1981) suggested that military life can actually foster growth and independence on the part of wives as circumstances force them to develop new skills and to handle greater responsibilities. It appears that some families are more adaptable than others to the disruptive nature of military family life. It also seems likely that the wife-mother provides continuity to the home, eases the many entry and exit transitions of the husband-father, and serves as the pivotal member of this family system.

Despite the stress involved, the military lifestyle has been attractive to most service wives. When surveyed, wives consistently rated the military "way of life" more postively than did their member husbands (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Hunter, 1982; Military Family Resource Center, 1984; Orthner, 1980). Specific attractions included benefits and services, travel, sense of belonging, and service life experiences (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; Doering & Hutzler, 1982;

Orthner, 1980). The degree of attraction was higher for wives of careerists than for those whose husbands had made no commitment to the military (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; Hunter, 1982; Orthner, 1980). Wives have tended to identify strongly with the military organization, and researchers have found them more resistant to the feminist movement than nonmilitary wives (Dobrofsky, 1977; Dobrofsky & Batterson, 1977). It appears that many wives find military family life agreeable and consider the negative aspects worth tolerating. Perhaps attraction to the lifestyle is a significant resource affecting the wife's adaptability to family stress within the military environment.

On the other hand researchers have also noted among military wives a growing independence, a drive for self-identity, and increasing resistance to the ancillary role prescribed for them by the military organization. Warner (1984) surveyed a convenience sample of Air Force wives whose career-oriented husbands were students at Air University. The wives were generally positive toward the Air Force lifestyle, but they overwhelmingly affirmed the right of wives to work and to choose their own level of organizational involvement.

Feminist ideology, wife employment, changing societal norms and family patterns, and greater civilian-military interaction have been suggested as reasons for changes in

wife attitudes (Bowen, 1981, 1984; Hunter, 1982; McCubbin et al., 1978; Moskos, 1977; Stanton, 1978; Stoddard, 1978; Wood, 1982). Sociologists observed that the military organization has grown larger and more complex, and that military families are as likely to live and function in civilian as military communities. The insulated, self-sufficient atmosphere of the local military base or post has dissolved as growing proportions of the military population spill over into the civilian world (Bennett et al., 1974; Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Janowitz, 1960; Moskos, 1977). Wood (1982) argued that nonmilitary members of the family identified strongly with the civilian community, and they tended to "civilianize" the military members.

Substantial variations in husband and wife sex roles exist within the Air Force. When a large, force-wide probability sample of Air Force couples was examined, about one-third subscribed to traditional sex roles, one-fourth to egalitarian sex roles, and the remaining dyads were a mix of traditional and egalitarian views (Bowen, 1981; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a). Bowen (1981) found that marital quality was lowest when the wife held an egalitarian sex role orientation and her husband held traditional views. Orthner (1980) felt that traditional wives were more likely to support the military member's career than were egalitarian wives, but Hunter (1982) observed that highly traditional households lacked the flexibility required for

coping well during times of separation and relocation. Less traditonal views were held most often by young, well educated wives--and particularly by the wives of officers (Dobrofsky & Batterson, 1977; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a; Thomas & Durning, 1977).

Bowen (1984) has concluded that a shift in sex roles is currently underway:

> Changes in sex-role preferences can be seen most clearly in the role of the wife in the Air Force. In contrast to the role that has been expected of them by military tradition, many Air Force wives are, for instance, less willing than in the past to subordinate their individual needs and desires for the "good of the service" and the needs of their spouses' military careers. (p. 80)

Stodddard (1978) cautioned that the military organization runs the risk of alienating wives and hence lowering spouse support for members' careers unless the changing sex roles of wives are taken into account when organizational expectations are fashioned.

When the role of the wife includes involvement in her husband's career, there appears to be a continuum of wife involvement which reflects the track of her husband's career advancement. Kanter (1977a), for instance, documented a linear path which moved from minimal to quite heavy involvement among the wives of corporation executives. A similar path has been noted for wives of military careerists, but the degree of wife involvement appears to be curvilinear with the peak occurring at the midcareer point

(Derr, 1979; Dobrofsky, 1977; Finlayson, 1976; Military
Family Resource Center, 1984; Rienerth, 1978; Stoddard &
Cabonillas, 1976). Derr (1979) has suggested three
sequential role stages for Navy wives. During the
early-career stage (0-8 years of service) the wife begins to
identify with the military and adapts to the lifestyle. She
becomes more active in her career support during the
mid-career stage (8-14 years of service) providing
encouragement, acting as social companion and hostess, and
caring for the home during periods of absence and heavy
work-involvement by her husband. In the late-career stage
(greater than 15 years of service) family demands render the
wife less mobile and she withdraws her career support
somewhat as she prepares for the transition into civilian
life.

Increased status, organizational responsibilities, and
positive identification with the military wife role
generally parallel the husband's rank (Dobrofsky, 1977;
Finlayson, 1970; Military Family Resource Center, 1984).
Snyder (1978), however, found that the husband's promotion
and the attendant social expectations of the wife were
extremely stressful for some Navy wives. Two significant
events appear to impact negatively on the military wife and
to break the cycle of strengthened career support. When the
husband reaches his career potential and no further
advancement is expected, wife identification with military

life appears to diminish (Derr, 1979; Stodard & Cabonaillas, 1976). And as military retirement approaches the wife tends to lessen her military involvement and to identify with the civilian community (Derr, 1979). The two events may be related since nonpromotion of the military member frequently leads to retirement.

Theoretical Applications

The interrelatedness of work and family has received much attention recently in the social science community. Major issues have been identified and surveyed (Kanter, 1977b; Pleck, 1977; Portner, 1978; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1965; Voydanoff, 1980a). For the most part relationships have been described but few theoretical applications have been made. A typology of family structures built around the various work roles of family members has emerged, and stresses generated through family accommodation of work requirements have been catalogued. Most literature reviews have assumed work-to-family causality, but a few studies (Aldous, 1969; Kanter, 1977b) have posited a more flexible, reciprocal pattern of interaction between the two systems.

Perhaps the most theoretically stimulating material in the work-family area has been provided by Kanter (1977b). She suggested that research and theory have been impeded as a result of the misleading notion of separation and unrelatedness between the domains of work and family promoted by functionalism. As theoretical positions have

arisen that appreciate the intersecting, dynamic qualities of both social dimensions, more fruitful study of work and family issues has occurred. Kanter encouraged the recognition of continuums and cycles within work and family processes, and study of the ways they overlap.

Although Kanter (1977b) did not identify herself with one specific sociological theory, she suggested that rewards and resources provide useful variables for work-family research. Scanzoni's social exchange model linking economic resources acquired through work performance with power in the family unit was cited as a useful paradigm for studying work and family connections. Kanter's thought was also stimulating with regard to adult socialization through the work experience and the possible development of an "occupational culture." She suggested that both husband and wife may be drawn into such a culture, and considerable family restructuring along the culturally encouraged lines may result.

The reciprocal nature of work and family relationships render them quite amenable to social exchange analysis. The family consumes goods and services provided by the work organization, and it supplies labor for the workplace. The work organization, on the other hand, provides economic sustenance, status, and identity to family members. Thus there exists a basis for continued exchange between the two systems. Family roles and work roles must be reconciled,

and ongoing negotiation is required to insure that each life domain contributes equitably and positively to the other.

This study will draw upon social exchange theory to conceptualize and explain the problems under investigation. The tenets of social exchange have been outlined in detail elsewhere (Blau, 1967; Edwards, 1969; Heath, 1976; Homans, 1958, 1961; Kelly & Schenitzki, 1972; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959) and specifically applied to the concepts of family life (Nye, 1979; Scanzoni, 1970, 1972). Several theorists (Heath, 1976; Turner, 1978) have cautioned, however, that social exchange is actually a loose collection of theoretical ideas drawn from such diverse quarters as anthropology, economics, behavioral psychology, and traditional sociology. Given the variety of social exchange concepts available it is useful to review briefly the key ideas that will be applied in this study.

Social exchange employs economic concepts to explain human interaction. It is assumed that human behavior is essentially purposive and reward seeking, and that costs are weighed against expected benefits to determine whether or not an exchange is worthwhile. Rewards may be positive gratifications and satisfactions acquired (Nye, 1979; Thibaut & Kelley, 1959) or negative outcomes avoided (Homans, 1961). Costs are commodities expended or alternatives foregone in order to capture desired rewards.

The actor weighs his or her costs against rewards to determine the profit level of an exchange, and some degree of profit is generally necessary for all parties who engage in an exchange. Kelley and Schenitzki (1972) have argued that individuals usually negotiate the highest profit possible for all participants in the exchange--even when information about the value of the rewards to be exchanged is limited. If the profit level is unsatisfacotry or if one party exploits another, those dissatisfied will withdraw from the exchange process when it is possible to do so. Costs, rewards, and profits may be objective or subjective, and they may be assessed and calculated quite differently across actors.

Comparison is a crucial activity in social exchange. Profits are determined by comparing actual to other possible costs and rewards, and by comparing the rewards one received to those received by other people (Homans, 1961). Thibaut and Kelley (1959) formally designated these concepts Comparison Level (CL) and Comparison Level Alternative (CLA). Comparison Level was described as an acceptable but somewhat neutral degree of satisfaction felt when costs were subtracted from rewards; Comparison Level Alternative represented the lowest ratio of cost and reward acceptable to the actor. Thus willingness to engage in an exchange or to continue with ongoing exchanges could be predicted by relating expected exchange outcomes to the CL and CLA.

Another key idea is the concept of reciprocity or mutual gratification between actors. When one actor provides positive rewards for another, the recipient is expected to respond in kind (Blau, 1967; Gouldner, 1960; Nye, 1979). Gouldner (1960) argued that the expectation of reciprocal positive exchange is socially internalized and thus rendered normative behavior for social groups. In a similar vein other theorists (Blau, 1967; Homans, 1958, 1961; Thibaut & Kelley, 1958) have argued that rules and rates of fair exchange for specific contexts are formulated and accepted as norms by large proportions of group members. These exchange stipulations are flexible and may be altered over circumstance and time. They serve to standardize and expedite exchange and to prevent exploitation by parties with greater power.

Another dimension of reciprocity has to do with the complexity and expansion of social relationships. Actors regularly participate in large social systems involving circular chains of costs and rewards (Homans, 1961; Levi-Strauss, 1969; Nye, 1979). For example, actors contribute to groups and organizations which process the contributions through additional subgroups and individuals. The latter, in turn, provide rewards of direct or indirect value to the original contributor. Nye (1979) has noted that this form of generalized exchange lacks the immediacy of two-person exchange and relies instead on the system as a

whole to regulate participation and the rules of exchange.
The process is well illustrated by citizen contributions to
the government in the form of taxes, and the resultant
government-provided benefits to its citizenry.

The final aspect of social exchange theory to be
discussed is the interaction between individuals and
organizations. Although most theory tends to examine social
phenomena either at the micro or macro level, there are
occasions when it is useful to move back and forth between
the two (Blalock & Wilken, 1979; Turner, 1978). For
instance, organizational structure and policy impact on
individuals, and the collective actions of individual
members affect large organizations. This interplay is
particularly important for work and family issues since work
variables are often organizationally derived at the macro
level, and worker responses often involve individual
decision-making at the micro level.

Blau (1967) provided a useful model of individual-
organization interaction. He regarded organizations as
large social structures capable of producing ends or rewards
beyond the productive capacities of individual members. So
long as the organization met its reward-producing goals, the
organization was legitimized and organizational leadership
was acknowledged. Blau described the process as follows:

> An important function of legitimate authority is to
> organize collective effort on a large scale in the
> pursuit of ends commonly accepted. To be sure, this is

not the only function of legitimate authority . . . but
this is . . . the one that is manifest in formal
organizations whether they are political, economic,
military, or some other kind. (pp. 213-214)

Blau (1967) contended that the organization required

compliance from its members, and member cooperation depended

on the equitable distribution of rewards among the members.

Before members will regard organizational requirements and

practices as legitimate, however, they must internalize the

values and rules of fair exchange that are common to leaders

and subordinates of the organization. Thus the organization

must socialize its members to accept agreed-upon values and

rules of exchange within the institution. Leaders and

subordinates must then abide by the organizational

guidelines if the organization is to operate smoothly and

meet its goals. When noninstitutional values are

internalized by organization members, however, nonreciprocal

exchanges between the organization and individuals will

occur and the goals of the organization will be threatened.

Homans (1961) also viewed the organization as a

producer of large-scale rewards. He maintained that the

organization must provide adequately for the needs of its

individual members in order to keep their cooperation.

Whenever primary needs are neglected by the organization,

members will turn to alternative sources. Thus the

individual decisions of members may, in time, jeopardize

the operation of an organization when the organization fails
to reward its members properly.

The focus of this investigation is on the extent to
which Air Force wives--individuals who are not members of
the Air Force but whose work and family roles are affected
by the military--identify with their husbands' work
organization. Kanter (1977b) has suggested that an
"occupational culture" can develop through the transmission
of organizational values from work force members to the
entire family. Sociologists who have studied corporation
families (Kanter, 1977a; Whyte, 1951a, 1951b) and military
families (Coates & Pellegrin, 1965; Hunter, 1981; Janowitz,
1960; Little, 1971) support this concept. If wives are
considered an integral part of the larger Air Force
community, social exchange principles--particularly the
nature of organization-member interaction as delineated by
Blau (1967) and Homans (1961)--would extend to them.

Following the "occupational culture" line of reasoning,
Air Force wives might be expected to identify with the
military organization to the extent that they internalize
work values promoted by the military institution. From
Blau's (1967) perspective, however, the degree of
identification will depend on the distribution of rewards to
Air Force wives. Those wives who feel equitably rewarded
will identify strongly with the Air Force, and wives who
feel that rewards have been distributed unfairly will

express weak organizational identification. Those who feel that the Air Force has not properly rewarded them are more likely, as Homans (1961) has suggested, to turn to other sources for rewards and gratifications. When perceived costs, in terms of personal and family sacrifice for the good of the service, exceed rewards, Air Force wives are likely to identify negatively with the organization through nonsupport of their husbands' work efforts.

Since wives are linked to the Air Force through their member husbands, it can be assumed that many organizational rewards will be provided through the careers of their husbands. Applying the notion of generalized exchange, organizational rewards provided through members' careers benefit the wife and family. Thus reciprocal obligations for organizational support from the wife are created, and increased organizational identity on the part of the wife can be expected.

Research Predictions

From the foregoing application of social exchange theory to the interaction between Air Force couples and the Air Force organization, a series of predictions regarding the organizational identification of wives was made. Path analysis was the method chosen to test the accuracy of the predictions. The theoretical variables included in the analysis were described in the previous chapter, and the

structure of the path model will be explained in Chapter III.

Prediction 1: The path model will explain a greater amount of variance in the identity of wives with the Air Force for wives of officers than for wives of enlisted persons. The two-person career has been linked almost exclusively with managerial and professional careers (Mortimer & London, 1984; Papanek, 1973; Portner, 1978; Statuto, 1984; Voydanoff, 1980a). Status and economic benefits are high for persons in such fields of work, and presumably they transmit greater work-related rewards to the family. Work has been regarded as less salient for lower socioeconomic workers and thus less influential on their family attitudes and the self-identification processes of the family members. Consequently the transmission of attitudes from workplace to the home was expected to be more efficient for families of higher than lower socioeconomic workers.

Military officers parallel management personnel and military enlisted persons resemble blue-collar workers within the structure of the Air Force organization. Since the model was designed to demonstrate the efficacy of the two-person career, greater accuracy in predicting the criterion variable was suggested for the management-oriented families of Air Force officers.

Prediction 2: The path model will explain a greater
amount of variance for wife's pride in husband's job than
for wife's Air Force identity. Papanek (1973) and others
(Portner, 1978; Statuto, 1984; Taylor & Hartley, 1975;
Voydanoff, 1980a) have suggested that wives in the
two-person career family identify both with the husband's
job and with his employing organization or profession.
Kanter (1977b) theorized that emotional climate and
"occupational culture" may be transmitted to the family
through the worker, and that a wife may be absorbed into the
"total institution" through direct links between her and the
work organization of her husband. Thus two related and
overlapping dimensions of career support attitudes emanating
from two different sources have been posited for the
two-person career wife.

Wife's pride in husband's job is a narrowly defined
variable focused exclusively on wife identification with the
husband's work role. Wife's Air Force identity is a more
diffused variable that includes feelings about the general
climate of Air Force life and the desire to live in an Air
Force environment. Complex social phenomena are more
difficult to explain than simple, straightforward ones.
Consequently, the husband-specific dimension of wife career
support is likely to be explained with greater accuracy than
the broadly-based concept of organizational identity.

Prediction 3: The variable of husband's rank will
exert greater indirect than direct influence on the variable
of wife's Air Force identity. Military rank is the most
tangible and universally applied reward that the
organization provides for its members. Advancement in rank
carries status and economic benefits for the family, and it
was expected to provoke positive Air Force identification on
the part of the wife.

The effects of rank may be enhanced or negated by a
variety of circumstances, however. When the husband
perceives further career advancement as likely or he is very
satisfied with his job, advanced rank is thought to generate
further career support and Air Force identity on the part of
his wife. If the husband experiences negative work
situations and transmits unhappy feelings to the family, the
degree of wife support is likely to diminish with advancing
rank. From a social exchange perspective, wife response to
rank achieved by the husband is dependent on her views of
equitability. Favorable attitude toward the Air Force
occurs when the wife considers her husband fairly rewarded
by the organization for his career effort.

The variables of husband's perceived advancement and
recognition, husband's job-related satisfaction, and wife's
pride in husband's job serve to isolate and mediate
attitudes surrounding rank. They screen the rank variable
for important, additional information about the relationship

between rank and wife's Air Force identity. Thus they transmit the effects of rank in a strengthened, more useful form. Consequently, the indirect effects of rank transmitted through intervening variables were expected to outweigh the direct effects of rank on wife's Air Force identity.

Prediction 4: The variables of wife's pride in husband's job and wife's Air Force identity will be influenced more strongly by variables associated with the husband's work role than by variables associated with the wife's work role. The central theme of the two-person career model is wife adaptation of her role to accommodate the work role of her husband. The military lifestyle makes heavy demands upon both husband and wife, and there is little opportunity for the wife of a military husband to establish a strong work role within the family unit. Consequently, it was considered more likely that wife career support would be geared to attitudes surrounding the husband's work than attitudes and circumstances surrounding the wife's definition of her own work role. Although researchers have concluded that a shift toward greater independence is occurring among military wives (Bowen, 1981, 1984; Hunter, 1982; McCubbin et al., 1978; Warner, 1984; Wood, 1982), the military community tends to resist such change and the military lifestyle facilitates against it (Dobrofsky, 1977; Dobrofsky & Batterson, 1977).

Prediction 5: The husband's work-related variables of
advancement/recognition and job-related pride and
satisfaction will correlate positively with the wife
attitudinal variables of pride in husband's job and
wife's Air Force identity. As the husband experiences
satisfaction with his work situation and builds expectations
for further career progression, he is likely to develop and
communicate to his wife positive feelings about his work
role. The wife is expected to respond in kind with positive
feelings about her husband's job and the larger Air Force
organization in which he works. This generalization of
feelings from the husband's work setting to the wife's
attitude toward career support will result in a positively
correlated set of variables.

Prediction 6: The wife's personal identity variables
of wife preference for employment and wife educational level
will correlate negatively with, and the variable of children
at home will correlate positively with the career support
variables of wife's pride in husband's job and wife's Air
Force identity. Studies of the two-person career have
suggested that increased education and commitment to work on
the part of the wife lead to diminished identification with
the husband's work role (Lipman-Blumen, 1972; Lopata, 1971;
Portner, 1978; Sorensen, 1983; Taylor & Hartley, 1975).
Young, well-educated military wives appear to hold less
traditional views than their older, less educated

counterparts (Dobrofsky & Batterson, 1977; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a; Thomas & Durning, 1977). Since greater education and strengthened preference for work appear to indicate greater independence on the part of the wife, those variables were expected to yield negative correlations with the career support variables.

A larger number of children in the home is likely to strengthen the role of mother and to promote traditional wife reliance on the husband for financial support. The military places heavy childcare demands on the wife because of frequent mobility and father absence, and hence a sense of belonging to the "team" might also be expected. Thus increased numbers of children in the home were predicted to correlate positively with wife career support attitudinal variables.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study has involved secondary analysis of existing
data. Hyman (1972) has noted that secondary analysis
consists of rearranging rather than prearranging data, and
he identified several methodological tasks crucial to this
research strategy. They included isolation of portions of
the data set for analysis, appraisal and accommodation of
error, and appropriate choice of variable indicators from
the items available in the data set. Hyman (1972) also
advised separation of suspect data whenever possible, and
full reporting of any residuals created in the rearrangement
of data. Generally, these guidelines have been followed
during the present investigation.

There are characteristics unique to the data source
which both enhance the value of the data and create some
difficulty in its interpretation. Consequently a full
description of the complex sampling procedure has been
included. To offset methodological concerns, several
procedures for assessing the representativeness of the
sample were carried out.

Sample

The data source for the study consisted of two separate
data bases--one computer file containing work-related

attitudinal information provided by Air Force members, and another file containing attitudinal information gathered from spouses of Air Force members. The cases were matched through a Survey Instrument Linking Code (silcode) so that husbands and wives could be tied together as matched pairs (Ibsen & Austin, 1983). Thus it was possible to treat the data base as two single files, or to treat the linked cases as a single file of married couples. The sample consisted of 4737 couples, and data were gathered between January, 1982, and December, 1984.

Couple data were actually based on a larger Air Force member sample, and that member sampling procedure must be described first. Data were gathered as part of an Air Force management consultant process. Consultants visited each base and surveyed a sample population at the invitation of the senior commander of the Air Force base or organization (Mahr, 1981). At each location the Air Force member sample was stratified by work organization with at least 60% of the people in each work group participating (Hightower, 1982; Hightower & Short, 1982; Mahr, 1982; Short & Hamilton, 1981). Since the survey was conducted in the work setting under the sponsorship of the commander, virtually all selected respondents participated.

When Air Force personnel were surveyed the married members were given survey forms designed for their spouses. They were encouraged to take the survey forms home and to

ask their spouses to complete the questionnaire. Spouse response sheets were collected later and spouse data placed in the spouse data base. The silcodes were then utilized to match spouse respondents with Air Force members, and a new, double-wide computer file containing both Air Force member and spouse data was created (Ibsen & Austin, 1983). This sample of couples drawn from the larger, stratified sample of Air Force members constituted the data base for the present study.

The sample consisted of Air Force husbands and their wives. Only couples living together at the time of the data collection, and wives who were not themselves military members, were included.

When the existing data set was examined, the modal couple was enlisted (72.2%), white (76.6%), and married between one and three years (23.4%). The modal family had two children (35.2%), and the husband had been a member of the Air Force over 12 years (43.7%). The average age of the husband was 31.5 years and the average age of the wife was 30.3 years. A substantial number of wives (8.3%) did not report their ages, but when the ages of their husbands were compared to the ages of all husbands in the sample little difference was found in the distributions. Both husbands (28.6%) and wives (39.3%) clustered heavily at the high school graduate educational level, but overall husbands possessed more formal education than wives. The black

population was noticeably underrepresented. Approximately 6.7% of the Air Force husbands sampled were black, whereas the actual proportion of Air Force members for 1982-1983 exceeded 14% (Air Force Manpower and Personnel Center, 1983; Armed Forces Information Service, 1983). Couples in which both husband and wife were black constituted only 5.2% of the sample. The demographic characteristics listed in Table 2 constitute a more thorough description of the sample.

Although Air Force members were highly representative of the bases and organizations sampled, there was much potential for loss in representativeness among the spouses sampled. Members might fail to take the survey package home and deliver it to their spouses or return the completed form to the consultant teams; spouses could refuse to cooperate; completed survey responses could be lost in the mechanics of collecting them. There was no attempt at follow-up in the collection of spouse survey data. Also, some couple data were lost because silcodes were not properly recorded on the response sheets. Ibsen and Austin (1983) found almost 25% of the returned spouse data incapable of linking with Air Force members due to inadequate silcodes during the early stages of the data gathering process. Despite this cumbersome manner of spouse data collection, a response rate of 30.3% was achieved. The response rate was determined by comparing the number of returned spouse survey forms to the number of married, male Air Force personnel in the work

survey sample who met the criteria for inclusion in this study.

The demographic profile in Table 2 includes a comparison of husbands in the present study and husbands in the larger work-related study from which the present sample was drawn. Criteria for inclusion were male Air Force members physically located with their wives when the information was collected and married to women who were not members of the armed forces. The work study sample consisted of 15,640 Air Force husbands, while the present study of Air Force couples consisted of 4,737 couples.

When husbands in this study were compared to husbands in the work study on selected characteristics, no major differences emerged. Junior enlisted personnel in the grades of E2 through E5 were underrepresented by approximately 11% with the corresponding overrepresentation evenly distributed among the senior enlisted and officer personnel. The black population was underrepresented by about 5% and the white population overrepresented by approximately 7%. Thus findings in the present study must be considered biased somewhat toward white personnel, military officers and enlisted careerists. Otherwise the study is quite representative of the population sampled.

Instrumentation

The information for the study was gathered through two different instruments--the Organizational Assessment Package

Table 2

Demographic Characteristics of Work Study Husbands and

Sample Couples, January 1982 - December 1984

	Number		Percent	
Characteristic	Work Study	Couple Study	Work Study	Couple Study
Rank of Husband				
Enlisted				
E2	228	50	1.5	1.1
E3	1813	350	12.1	7.4
E4	2445	534	16.3	11.3
E5	3416	1031	22.8	21.8
E6	2140	708	14.3	15.0
E7	1435	525	9.6	11.1
E8	385	159	2.6	3.4
E9	148	52	1.0	1.1
Officer				
01	170	77	1.1	1.6
02	433	153	2.9	3.2
03	1316	476	8.8	10.1
04	544	227	3.6	4.8
05	397	177	2.7	3.7
06	105	44	.7	.9
Missing	664	174	4.4	3.7

(table continues)

Characteristic	Number		Percent	
	Work Study	Couple Study	Work Study	Couple Study
Years Husband in Air Force				
Under 1 year	443	108	2.8	2.3
1 year	919	190	5.9	4.0
2 years	1169	249	7.5	5.3
3 years	1272	290	8.1	6.1
4 - 7 years	3425	953	21.9	20.1
8 - 12 years	2651	868	17.0	18.3
Over 12 years	5726	2068	36.6	43.7
Missing	35	11	.2	.2
Age of Husband				
Under 20 years	201	38	1.3	.8
20 to 24 years	3784	801	24.2	16.9
25 to 29 years	3862	1131	24.7	23.9
30 to 34 years	3391	1144	21.7	24.2
35 to 39 years	2797	993	17.9	20.1
40 to 44 years	1184	475	7.6	10.0
Over 45 years	353	138	2.3	2.9
Missing	68	17	.4	.4

(table continues)

Characteristic	Number		Percent	
	Work Study	Couple Study	Work Study	Couple Study
Educational Level of Husband				
Non-high school graduate	78	9	.5	.2
High school graduate	5241	1354	33.5	28.6
Under 2 years college	4501	1320	28.8	27.9
Over 2 years college	2286	725	14.6	15.3
Bachelor's degree	1898	698	12.1	14.7
Graduate degree	1598	620	10.1	13.1
Missing	38	11	.2	.2
Husband Ethnicity				
Native American	207	60	1.3	1.3
Asian or Pacific Islander	264	49	1.7	1.0
Black (not Hispanic)	1791	319	11.5	6.7
White (not Hispanic)	12074	4002	77.2	84.5
Hispanic	668	141	4.5	3.0
Other	543	144	3.5	3.0
Missing	93	22	.6	.5

(table continues)

Characteristic	Number		Percent	
	Work Study	Couple Study	Work Study	Couple Study
Wife Employment				
Employed	6653	1856	42.5	39.2
Not employed	8987	2881	57.5	60.8
Location				
United States	11908	3590	76.1	75.8
Europe	3732	1147	23.9	24.2

Characteristic	Number	Percent
Number of Children		
Childless	1009	21.3
1	1067	22.5
2	1668	35.2
3	661	14.0
4 or 5	260	5.5
6 or more	33	.7
Missing	39	.8

Characteristic	Number	Percent
Educational Level of Wife		
Non-high school graduate	351	7.4
High school graduate or GED	1863	39.3
Under 2 years college	1036	21.9
Over 2 years college	739	15.6
Bachelors degree	598	12.6
Graduate degree	124	2.6
Missing	26	.5
Wife Employment		
Not employed		
Does not desire employment	1575	33.2
Desires employment	1089	23.0
Part time employment	809	17.1
Full time employment	1152	24.3
Missing	112	2.4

Characteristic	Number	Percent
Age of wife		
Under 20 years	119	2.5
20 to 24 years	889	18.8
25 to 29 years	1168	24.7
30 to 34 years	963	20.3
35 to 39 years	773	16.3
40 to 44 years	307	6.5
45 years or over	127	2.7
Missing	391	8.3
Residence		
On base	2458	51.9
Off base	2207	46.6
Missing	72	1.5
Years Married		
Under 1 year	357	7.5
1 to 3 years	1107	23.4
4 to 7 years	990	20.9
8 to 11 years	861	18.2
12 to 15 years	759	16.0
16 to 19 years	412	8.7
20 years or over	226	4.8
Missing	25	.5

(table continues)

Characteristic	Number	Percent
Wife Ethnicity		
Native American	32	.7
Asian or Pacific Islander	267	5.6
Black (not Hispanic)	262	5.5
White (not Hispanic)	3907	82.5
Hispanic	142	3.0
Other	83	1.8
Missing	44	.9
Couple Ethnicity		
Native American	4	.0
Asian or Pacific Islander	28	.0
Black (not Hispanic)	244	5.2
White (not Hispanic)	3627	76.6
Hispanic	59	1.3
Other	19	.0
Intercultural	703	14.8
Missing	53	1.1

Note: Work study data reflect characteristics of husbands in a large sample of Air Force members, and couple study data reflect characteristics of husbands in the present study who constitute a subset of the work study sample. For Number of Children and subsequent items only couple data are reported since the information was not collected in the work study.

(OAP) and the US Air Force Spouse Survey (SS). The OAP is a 109-item survey developed jointly by the Leadership and Management Development Center and the Air Force Human Resources Laboratory between June 1977 and July 1978 (Mahr, 1982). In addition to demographics, the OAP contains 25 factors that assess attitudes of Air Force members toward their work and work environments. The OAP factors have demonstrated strong internal consistency and stability over time (Hightower, 1982; Hightower & Short, 1982; Short & Hamilton, 1981).

The SS was developed by the Leadership and Management Development Center to assess spousal and family attitudes toward Air Force life and the impact of spousal influence on the work performance of the member (Ibsen & Austin, 1983). First administered in January 1982, this 73-item instrument measured demographics, satisfaction with various base services and programs, and general attitudes toward Air Force life. Unlike the OAP, the SS is a relatively new instrument that lacks well-documented temporal stability and internal consistency. It is presently undergoing the first major revision of items (Dansby, 1984). Dansby examined the stability of factor construction within the SS through a series of factor analyses and found the principal factors to be consistent over the two years that the instrument has been in use.

Since the present study used only a small portion of the OAP and SS responses there is no need to examine the instruments further. Detailed information will be provided for the specific items and factors of interest when theoretical variables are operationalized.

Data Collection

Both OAP and SS data were collected as part of the management consultant services provided through the Leadership Management and Development Center of Air University (Ibsen & Austin, 1983; Mahr, 1982). The base or organization requesting a consultation appointed a project officer. A management consultant visited the base prior to the data-gathering stage and outlined for the local project officer the sampling procedures and survey methods to be followed. The project officer then compiled lists of personnel by work groups within the larger organization. Respondents were randomly selected from each work group, notified of the selection, and scheduled for participation in an OAP survey session (Mahr, 1982).

Management consultants from the Leadership Management and Development Center administered the OAP. It was a group-administered questionnaire, and respondents marked their answers directly onto an especially designed computer scan sheet. A standard instruction briefing was followed to insure consistency in administration procedures across survey sessions. The survey sessions were generally

scheduled 90 minutes apart during the normal working hours of those participating in the survey. Most respondents completed the survey form within 45 minutes.

When the OAP was administered, the management consultants asked married respondents for a show of hands. SS packages and randomly generated silcodes were distributed to the married personnel. Each married person was instructed to mark the same silcode at the appropriate place on his or her OAP and SS computer response sheets. The anonymity of the data was stressed, and respondents were encouraged to take the package home and ask their spouses to complete the questionnaire. The military personnel were also instructed to seal the survey materials when their spouses had completed the questionnaire, take the materials to their workplace, and put them into the base distribution system. The SS response sheets were then gathered by the local organization and given to the management consultation team for compilation.

Research Measures

Wife's Air Force Identity: Criterion Variable

The six-item Wife's Air Force Identity Variable (WAFI) measured the extent a wife identified with the Air Force lifestyle (see Appendix A). The focus was on a career track for the husband inside rather than outside the Air Force organization. Each item consisted of an attitudinal stem and a Likert-type response scale. Five items provided seven

response categories. Item 44, the wife's preference for her husband's continuation in the Air Force, had six response categories. The item was reduced to five categories by recoding desire for immediate retirement to the same score as desire for separation from the Air Force. Items were computed so that each carried equal weight in the total WAFI score. The full scale allowed for a possible .91-6 range of values with higher scores indicating greater Air Force identity.

The theoretical basis for WAFI was stated in previous chapters. The scale was conceptualized through a simultaneous review of the work-family literature and perusal of the SS questionnaire for possible scale items. The proposed scale was constructed through a series of factor analyses utilizing data in the current Air Force spouse data base. The VARIMAX orthogonal rotation method of the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (Nie et al., 1975) was employed for all factor analyses. Only nonmilitary wives of Air Force husbands who were living with their husbands at the time of the data collection were utilized as respondents. When the scale had been constructed, Cronbach's alpha was computed as a reliability estimate.

The scale consisted entirely of items from the SS. During the initial phase of scale construction three different subject groups of SS data were factor analyzed:

(a) total sample, (b) wives whose husbands had been in the Air Force less than four years, and (c) wives whose husbands had been in the Air Force more than four years. The four-year breakpoint was selected because that is a time when many persons leave the Air Force. Thus the act of going beyond four years suggests greater commitment to an Air Force career. It seemed possible that wives of husbands who had committed themselves to an Air Force career may identify with the organization differently from wives of husbands who had not made such a commitment. With the exception of two items that could not be interpreted because of ambiguous wording, all attitudinal items in the SS were included in this first series of factor analyses.

The SS contains items designed to evaluate military services and programs which have no conceptual interest to the question of wife support. Once the basic factoral structure of the survey had been determined through analysis of all attitudinal items, those statements judged extraneous to the nature of this study were removed from consideration. Item 45, the wife's perception of her husband's Air Force career intention, was also removed on conceptual grounds even though it loaded strongly on the scale. The purpose of WAFI was to measure wife identity with the Air Force, and proxy statements of husband identity were considered inappropriate. Thus the number of SS items considered was reduced from 56 to 29, and a fourth factor analysis was

performed for the total sample. The resulting factors were substantially cleaner with only four factors possessing eigenvalues greater than 1.0. The Wife's Air Force Identity factor accounted for 39.6% of the variance among the reduced items as compared to approximately 14% of the variance in the earlier series of analyses.

For all four analyses the factor accounting for the greatest amount of variance included items clustering around wife identity with the Air Force. Item loadings on the Wife's Air Force Identity factor across the series of analyses are reported in Table 3. As expected, loadings for wives of husbands not yet committed to an Air Force career varied somewhat from the "committed" and the "total sample" wives.

Nine items loading above .30 were highest on the Wife's Air Force Identity factor for the "all items, total sample" factor analysis. Examination of the item loadings across the series of four analyses suggested that SS items 16, 27, 44, and 71 clearly belonged to the scale. Each item consistently loaded above .40 on the Wife's Air Force Identity factor and did not load above .30 on any other factor. Items 17 and 19 were retained even though they loaded heavily on other factors for the wives of uncommitted husbands. These items loaded above .40 on the Wife's Air Force Identity factor for each analysis (including the "under four years" wives), and the items with which they

Table 3

Item Loadings on Wife's Air Force Identity Factor

	Factor Analyses			
SS items	All items Total sample	All items Husbands <4 years	All items Husbands >4 years	Reduced items Total sample
16.	.52	.42	.50	.50
17.	.64	.53(.36)	.65	.66
19.	.45	.40(.49)	.43	.52
22.	.43(.34)	.29(.62)	.42(.39)	.51(.33)
27.	.72	.67(.30)	.72	.76
32.	.34(.30)	.17(.66)	.33(.32)	.41(.32)
44.	.74	.81	.74	.55
45.	.62	.79	.60	--[a]
71.	-.63	-.70	-.62	-.47

Note. When an item loaded .30 or higher on another factor, the highest additional loading is reported in parentheses. [a] SS item 45. was not included in the "reduced items, total sample" factor analysis.

loaded to form additional factors were not utilized in this study. Items 22 and 32 appeared unstable in the factor construction and thus were dropped from the scale.

Cronbach's alpha was computed as a measure of internal consistency for the proposed scale, and a coefficient alpha of .78 was obtained. Carmines and Zeller (1979, p. 51) recommended .80 as the minimal level of realiability for "widely used scales," although they acknowledged that acceptability might vary according to the nature and use of the scale. Short and Hamilton (1981, p. 7), for example, considered .70 adequate when assessing the reliability of OAP factors. They demonstrated that the .70 alpha level generally held across various groups of respondents and across administrations of the survey to the same respondents at different times. Cronbach's alpha is a conservative estimate of reliability, and an alpha of higher value is more difficult to achieve when there are few items in a scale (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). Given the properties of Cronbach's alpha, the limited number of items in WAFI, and the very stable factor structure of the scale, the obtained .78 measure of internal reliability was considered acceptable.

For analysis purposes the WAFI variable was computed and treated in the following manner:

1. On SS item 44 the wife's desire that her husband retire within the next 12 months was recoded equal in value to the wife's desire that her husband separate from the Air

Force. Thus a logical sequence of responses ranging from wife's preference for her husband to leave the service to preference that he make the Air Force a career was created. Responses on SS item 71 were reversed so that they loaded positively on the scale, and all items reflected positive correlations with increased Air Force identity.

2. Each item score was divided by the number of response categories available for that item. The six computed item scores that constituted WAFI were then summed. A theoretical range of .914-6. scores existed with higher scores indicating greater Air Force identity.

The WAFI score constituted the principal estimate of wife identity with the Air Force. It was utilized as the principal dependent variable in a series of ordinary least squares regressions aimed at determining the direct and mediating effects of selected independent variables on wife identity with the Air Force through the process of path analysis.

Wife Education Level: Independent Variable

The educational attainments of women have been widely discussed in the theoretical literature as a likely influence on the formation of self-identity among wives. The rationale and justification for including wife education as an independent variable for this analysis were given in Chapter I.

Wife educational level is a matter of particular concern to the understanding of Air Force family dynamics. The military places much emphasis on education (Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Janowitz, 1971), and many of the educational opportunities available to the service member are also available to the spouse. Officers are required to possess a college degree, and thus they tend to marry well-educated wives. Consequently, Air Force wives are generally well educated. If wife education weakens career support either through strengthened preference for wife employment or through enhanced self-identity, it is important for the military organization to recognize the effects of wife education when setting policy or providing services for member families.

The wife education level was determined from the SS item found in Table 4. Six categories were created from the seven responses available. The first five categories matched the given response numbers. Responses six and seven, master's and doctoral degrees, were combined and recoded as category six. Thus a scale with a range of 1 through 6 was created that moved from low to high wife education with 6 indicating the highest level of educational attainment.

Wife education level was utilized as an exogenous independent variable in the path analysis. Both direct and indirect effects of the variable on wife's preference for

employment, wife's pride in husband's job, and wife's Air Force identity were measured.

Table 4

U. S. Air Force Spouse Survey Item Measuring

Wife Education Level

---

8. What is the highest education level you have obtained?

   1. Non-high school graduate

   2. High school graduate or GED

   3. Less than two years college

   4. Two years or more college

   5. Bachelor's Degree

   6. Master's Degree

   7. Doctoral Degree

Military Rank: Independent Variable

Military rank is a career advancement position assigned to each member by the Air Force organization. Since the same rank structure is used consistently throughout the Air Force the military rank categories effectively stratify service members across work groups within the total organization despite differences in the nature of their work from group to group. It is a frequently utilized control

variable in studies of military populations and was employed
in this study to index the level of career progression and
work responsibility occupied by Air Force members.

The rationale for inclusion of military rank as a
variable has already been discussed. The rank codes
utilized throughout this study are matched with
corresponding military rank positions of the Air Force in
Table 5. The enlisted ranks do not include E1 (Airman
Basic) because that is an entry level, training position.
E1 personnel are younger and less likely to be married, and
most have advanced beyond the rank of E1 before leaving
their initial training assignments. For example, only 26
Airmen in the grade of E1 were found in a recent sample of
more than 10,000 married, male respondents in the OAP data
base. Officer positions did not include rankings for
general officers because none were found in the data source,
and if included their incidence would be too small to draw
statistically valid conclusions.

The categories of military rank were matched with
numerical values of 1 through 14. The lowest rank, E2, was
valued at 1 and the highest rank, 06, was valued at 14.
Thus an ascending scale was created for the advancing levels
of military rank. Since the path model was applied
separately to enlisted persons and officers, the ranges for
those two groups differed. The military rank scale for

Table 5

Rank Structure of the Air Force

Rank Code	Air Force Rank
E2	Airman
E3	Airman 1st Class
E4	Sergeant
E5	Staff Sergeant
E6	Technical Sergeant
E7	Master Sergeant
E8	Senior Master Sergeant
E9	Chief Master Sergeant
01	2nd Lieutenant
02	1st Lieutenant
03	Captain
04	Major
05	Lieutenant Colonel
06	Colonel

enlisted persons included a possible range of 1-8, and the
rank scale for officers included a possible range of 9-14.

Although military rank may be determined from either
OAP or SS items, the variable of rank was drawn from the
OAP. It was assumed that the listing of rank was more
reliable when given by a military member. Whether by error
or intention, nearly 4% of the Air Force husbands failed to
report their military rank. Despite Hyman's (1972) caution
to isolate suspect data, the wife's listing of her husband's
rank was substituted when the information was not provided
by husbands. If husbands were motivated to conceal their
rank because of negative or controversial opinions, the
exclusion of this small component from the analysis could
bias the results of the study.

Military rank was an exogenous variable in the path
model. It served as a key theoretical variable because it
represented the principal reward conferred upon Air Force
members by the organization, and all endogenous variables
were regressed on the variable of rank. The direct and
indirect effects of rank on the wife support variables,
Wife's Pride in Husband's Job and Wife's Air Force Identity,
were major concerns of the present study.

Children at Home: Independent Variable

The role of mother is one of the most firmly
established set of social values contained in the American

culture. Much attention has been given to alterations in this role with the increased participation of women in the labor force and shifting attitudes toward gender identity. The literature reviewed in Chapter II suggested that mothers have demonstrated a growing attachment to work and strong personal identity outside the home, but family responsibilities and particularly motherhood remain potent influences of the wife's self-concept.

As the number of children living in the home expands childcare responsibilities also increase, and a strengthened mother role would be expected. Theorists have suggested that childcare is a major responsibility of the two-person career wife since she endeavors to free her husband to concentrate on career advancement (Heath, 1977; Lopata, 1971; Mortimer et al., 1978; Papanek, 1979; Voydanoff, 1980a). Students of the military family have claimed that wives are overburdened since they must often serve as de facto single parents because of the husband's frequent absences and low family involvement (Bowen, 1984; Hunter, 1982; Kohen, 1984; McCubbin et al., 1976; McCubbin et al., 1978; Military Family Resource Center, 1984; Wood, 1982). The effects of childcare responsibility on the attitudes of military mothers are thus a matter of great theoretical interest.

The number of children living in the home was determined from the SS item found in Table 6. Item

responses were utilized without alteration as a scale
measuring increased increments of children present in the
home. The continuum ranged from an absence of children to
the presence of nine or more children in the home. The
scale ranged from 1 to 7 with the highest value indicating
the largest number of children present.

Children at home served as an endogenous variable in
the path analysis. The effects of children at home on the
subsequent variables of wife's preference for employment,
wife's pride in husband's job, and wife's Air Force identity

Table 6

U.S. Air Force Spouse Survey Item Measuring
Children at Home

---

10. How many children presently live at home?

    1. None

    2. 1

    3. 2

    4. 3

    5. 4 or 5

    6. 6, 7, or 8

    7. 9 or more

---

were of much theoretical concern. Both direct and indirect effects of children at home on the subsequent variables in the model were measured.

Wife's Preference for Employment: Independent Control Variable

Wives were categorized according to their preferences for employment. A measure of employment preference was constructed from the response categories of the two SS items found in Table 7. Unemployed wives were classified as "do not desire employment" and "desire employment." Working wives were classified as "strong economic motivation," "moderate economic motivation," and "noneconomic motivation." Thus a categorical hierarchy of work preference and motivation among wives was created that moved from wives who chose nonwork to wives who worked primarily for personal satisfaction. The unemployed categories were drawn from the first two responses on item 11, and the categories for employed wives were drawn from the responses to item 13. More wives were unemployed (53.5%) than were employed (39.8%). Another 6.7% of the wives were missing from the data (see Table 8).

Wife employment has increased dramatically in recent years, and Grossman (1981) has produced census data to demonstrate that employment among military wives is equivalent to that of the civilian population of wives. Employment patterns for women vary significantly from those of men, and theorists have argued that motivation must be

Table 7

U. S. Air Force Spouse Survey Items Measuring Employment
Patterns of Air Force Wives

---

11. Are you employed in an income-producing job?

    1. No, and do not want to be employed.
    2. No, would like to work but cannot find employment.
    3. Yes, part time.
    4. Yes, active duty military.
    5. Yes, federal civil service.
    6. Yes, other full time employment.

13. If you are employed, why do you work?

    1. Not employed.
    2. Financial necessity.
    3. To earn "extra" money.
    4. Personal growth and development.
    5. Professional growth and development.
    6. Other.

Table 8

Wife's Preference for Employment

Preference	Number	Percent
Not employed		
Do not desire employment	1518	32.0
Desire employment	1017	21.5
Employed		
Strong Economic motivation	819	17.3
Moderate economic motivation	520	11.0
Noneconomic motivation	545	11.5
Missing	318	6.7

considered if female work patterns are to be understood (Fuchs, 1971; Safilios-Rothschild, 1970; Scanzoni, 1978; Sobol, 1974). Scanzoni (1978) has provided evidence to suggest that working wives gradually alter their sense of identity and methods of relating to their husbands as a result of their work experiences. Wood (1982) found a similar pattern of altered wife identity based on work experiences among a sample of Air Force wives. The implications of employment for military wives with respect to reduced wife support for her husband's military career and weakened identity with the Air Force organization have been discussed thoroughly in previous chapters.

It could be argued that the various categories of wife employment preferences do not constitute a logical hierarchy. Unemployed wives desiring work might possess a stronger preference for employment than wives working to earn "extra money," for example. From a conceptual standpoint, it has been suggested that the employed wife develops personal identity outside her home and husband's career. Because the unemployed wife lacks the opportunity for developing personal identity through work experience, she ranks lower than the employed wife with respect to expected identity development. The employed wife is considered to exhibit stronger work motivation and hence stronger personal identity as she moves from the external needs of financial necessity to intrinsic satisfaction needs as her reason for working.

·The wife's preference for employment variable was created in the following manner:

1. Wives who responded "not employed" on item 13 and indicated response one on item 11 were categorized as "not employed, do not desire employment."

2. Wives who responded "not employed" on item 13 and indicated response two on item 11 were categorized "not employed, desire employment."

3. Wives who gave a "yes" response to item 11 and indicated "financial necessity" on item 13 were categorized "employed, strong economic motivation."

4. Wives who gave a "yes" response to item 11 and indicated "to earn 'extra' money" on item 13 were categorized "employed, moderate economic motivation."

5. Wives who gave a "yes" response to item 11 and indicated "personal" or "professional" growth and development (response four or five) on item 13 were categorized "employed, noneconomic motivation."

Wife work patterns have been linked with changing values, new family relational patterns, and generally altered work-family dynamics. Since military family life requires much family adaptation and strong wife support for her husband's career, investigation of the relationship between wife employment preference and wife identity with the Air Force is a matter of applied and theoretical interest. The variable was used to determine what amount of

pull away from identity with Air Force life--if any
existed--occurred among Air Force wives who had entered the
labor force. It served as a major endogenous variable in
the path analysis procedure and permitted inferences
regarding the effects of self-identity among wives on career
support for their husbands.

Husband's Advancement/Recognition: Independent Variable

Husband's Advancement/Recognition (HAR) was a four-item
OAP factor that measured the opportunities for further
career progression as perceived by the Air Force husband
(see Appendix B). He was asked to assess various aspects of
his job in relation to the likelihood that his job
performance would lead to further promotion. Each item was
a question that began with "To what extent . . . ," and
permitted response on a seven category Likert-type continuum
ranging from "not at all" to "an extremely large amount."
The possible range of scores for HAR was 4-28.

It has been argued throughout this study that the wife
is indirectly rewarded for career support of her husband
through his career advancement. The HAR variable enabled
measurement of husband's perceived advancement opportunities
for analysis purposes. When HAR variable responses were
linked with WAFI responses, the interactive effects of
husband's career and wife's career support were examined.

The OAP was first developed in 1977 (Mahr, 1982), and
Advancement/Recognition has been a stable factor in the
survey since its inception. Short and Hamilton (1981)

utilized Cronbach's alpha coefficient and test-retest
methods to examine the reliability of all OAP factors. The
survey was readministered to two different samples--one
after a five weeks interval and another after a six months
interval. The Cronbach's alpha for the Advancement
/Recognition factor ranged from .78 to .90 across all
analyses. The test-retest correlation was .78 for the five
weeks study and .39 for the six months study. Hightower
(1982) and Hightower and Short (1982) studied the factor
stability of the OAP across time, and across varied
demographic and work groups within the data base.
Advancement/Recognition consistently factored out with high
item loadings across the various groupings within the
extensive OAP data base.

The original OAP Advancement/Recognition factor also
included the following stem:

To what extent do people who perform well receive
recognition?

While the item has generally loaded above .40 when factor
analyses were performed, it has consistently loaded lower
than the other factor items and has occasionally loaded as a
primary item on other factors (Hightower, 1982; Hightower &
Short, 1982). It was the only item on the scale that did
not ask the respondent to evaluate advancement and
recognition as it applied directly to him or her. Instead,
the item referenced the collective noun "people." Hightower
(1982) identified it as one of the 12 least stable among the

109 items on the OAP and included it among the items that "should be considered candidates for elimination in the absence of overriding consulting needs" (p. 16). Given the weak performance of this item, it was eliminated from the scale.

Cronbach's alpha was computed for the HAR and a reliability coefficient of .75 obtained. It was well beyond the level acceptable to Short and Hamilton (1981), and approached that recommended by Carmines and Zeller (1979). Given the previously described characteristics of Cronbach's alpha and the manner in which the scale was used, the achieved reliability estimate was considered satisfactory.

The four items of the HAR were summed for each respondent. A possible range of 4-28 existed for scale scores with higher scores indicating increased feelings of advancement and recognition. The HAR was then utilized in a series of ordinary least squares regressions according to the specifications of the path model employed in this study.

Career advancement has been a major goal for most husbands in American society, and it has generally prompted a positive response from the wife (Scanzoni, 1972, 1978). Operationalization of the advancement/recognition variable permitted examination of the interrelationships between rank achieved and expectations of future achievements, and their effects on the various dimensions of wife support for the husband's career. It served as an endogenous variable and

thus allowed measurement for both unique effects on subsequent variables in the path model and the effects of military rank as transmitted through the set of advancement/ recognition attitudes.

Husband's Job-Related Pride and Satisfaction: Independent Variable

The Husband's Job-Related Pride and Satisfaction variable (HJRPS) was constructed from an eight-item OAP factor that measured the husband's pride in his work and general satisfaction with various aspects of his job (see Appendix C). Originally the scale consisted of two separate OAP factors -- a two-item "pride" factor and a seven-item "job-related satisfaction" factor (Mahr, 1982; Short & Hamilton, 1981). When Hightower and Short (1982) studied the factor stability of the OAP across various demographic and work groupings within the Air Force they found that the two factors converged for most groups. Hightower (1982) reported the same convergence when she examined the factor structure of the OAP across five equivalent time frames between 1979 and 1982.

One item that measured satisfaction with co-worker relationships was originally identified with the "job related satisfaction" factor (Mahr, 1982; Short & Hamilton, 1981), but in later analyses the item consistently loaded higher on a "work group effectiveness" factor (Hightower, 1982; Hightower & Short, 1982). Consequently the item was not included in the HJRPS.

Short and Hamilton (1981) studied the reliability of OAP factors. They obtained a test-retest correlation of .43 after a six months interval and a .73 after a five weeks interval for the "pride" factor, and correlations of .43 and .93 for the "job-related satisfaction" factor. The alpha coefficients for the two factors ranged from .79 to .98 across the various OAP administrations. Additional studies of the OAP factor structure revealed "job-related pride and satisfaction" to be a stable factor appearing across many different groupings with all items regularly loading above.40 (Hightower, 1982; Hightower & Short, 1982).

The HJRPS consisted of eight items with seven response categories for each item. Two items required respondents to indicate on a Likert-type continuum the extent of pride felt toward the job. The other six items required a similar declaration of satisfaction with job-related feelings about helpfulness to people, family support, work schedule, job security, skills acquired, and the job as a whole. A possible range of 8-56 existed for the HJRPS with higher scores indicating stronger feelings of pride and satisfaction.

Cronbach's alpha was computed for HPJRS and a reliability coefficient of .86 obtained. The results exceeded the level recommended by Carmines and Zeller (1979), and strong internal reliability was indicated for the scale.

The HJRPS variable was treated as follows:

1. The eight items of the HJRPS were summed for each respondent. A possible range of 8-56 scores existed.

2. The scale scores were included in a series of ordinary least squares regressions as specified by the path model to be described shortly.

Husband's work involvement is a major theoretical element in the two-person career model. Measurement of job pride and satisfaction felt by the husband permitted study of the relationships between attitudes generated in the workplace and attitudes developed in the home. HJRPS served as an endogenous variable in the path model, and the strength of direct and indirect relationships with both prior and subsequent variables were assessed.

Wife's Pride in Husband's Job: Independent Variable

The four-item Wife's Pride in Husband's Job variable (WPHJ) assessed the wife's feelings about the job that her husband was currently performing. The items reflected the degree of pride and importance that she attached to his specific work position and his performance in that role (see Appendix D). Each item was an attitudinal stem with a Likert-type scale containing seven response categories. The stems referenced the Air Force member and his job with little concern for the Air Force as an organization. Individual scores on the PHJS could range from 4 to 28.

The conceptual differences between organizational and husband-specific dimensions of wife support have been fully discussed in earlier sections of this study. It has been argued that the wife's identity with her husband's work role and career advancement is a unique variable that differs substantially from attraction to her husband's work organization.

WPHJ was constructed through the same series of procedures described for construction of WAFI. Both OAP and SS items were examined for possible scale items while military work-family literature was reviewed. Essentially the same scale was created from the SS data and utilized in a series of multiple regression analyses examining linkages between spouse variables and Air Force work performance (Dansby, 1984; Dansby & Hightower, 1984). The most powerful spousal predictor of job satisfaction and perceived work group effectiveness among OAP respondents was the WPHJ.

A series of four factor analyses was conducted utilizing SS data drawn from nonmilitary wives of Air Force husbands. Item covariance was first examined for all SS attitudinal items (excluding two poorly worded stems) within the total sample, for wives of husbands who had been in the Air Force under four years, and for wives of husbands in the Air Force more than four years. A fourth factor analysis examined only SS items of theoretical interest to the study. Item loadings for the Wife's Pride in Husband's Job factor across series of analyses are reported in Table 9.

Table 9

Item Loadings on Wife's Pride in Husband's Job Factor

| | Factor Analyses | | | |
| | | | | |
SS items	All items Total sample	All items Husbands <4 years	All items Husbands >4 years	Reduced items Total sample
25.	.67	.61	.64	.51
26.	.73	.73	.72	.71
28.	.57(.34)	.56(.39)	.59	.52(.37)
70.	.59	.69	.51	.56(.31)
72.	-.63(.31)	-.62(.32)	-.63(.32)	-.43

Note. When an item loaded .30 or higher on another factor, the highest additional loading is reported in parentheses.

Five SS items loaded above .30 and were highest on the Wife's Pride in Husband's Job factor. The factor construction was consistent across all analyses, although a greater amount of variance (9.9%) was explained in the analysis of reduced items than in the analyses of all items. SS items 25 and 26 loaded highly for each analysis and thus were included in the WPHJ scale. SS item 70 was included in WPHJ even though it loaded .31 on the Air Force Identity factor in the reduced items analysis. The rationale for retaining this item was face validity of the item, high overall loading on the Wife's Pride in Husband's Job factor

across the analyses, and the substantially greater loading on Wife's Pride in Husband's Job than Wife's Air Force Identity factor. SS item 72 was also included in the WPHJ even though it loaded above .30 on another factor across the "all items" analyses. The items with which it covaried constituted an uninterpretable factor that held little theoretical interest for this study, and the secondary loading disappeared when the items were reduced. The one item excluded from the scale, SS item 28, loaded strongly on the Wife's Air Force Identity factor across the series of analyses and hence provided little discrimination between the two organizational variables.

Cronbach's alpha was calculated for WPHJ and a reliability coefficient of .62 obtained. This reliability level clearly fell short of the .80 level recommended by Carmines and Zeller (1979) and even the .70 level accepted by Short and Hamilton (1981). Carmines and Zeller (1979, p. 51) acknowledged that " . . . it is difficult to specify a single reliability level that should apply in all situations." Since the present study utilized secondary analysis techniques rejection of WPHJ would have resulted in elimination of this theoretical variable from the analysis. Given the properties of Cronbach's alpha and the small number of items in the WPHJ, the high stability of the WPHJ factoral structure, and the lack of operational alternatives for the theoretical variable, the .62 alpha was considered acceptable.

The WPHJ variable was computed and employed in analysis in the following manner:

1. SS item 72, which loaded negatively on WPHJ, was recoded so that responses loaded positively and higher scores reflected greater pride in the husband's job.

2. The four items of WPHJ were summed for each respondent. A range of 4-28 existed for possible scale scores.

3. WHPJ scores were utilized in a series of ordinary least squares regressions specified by the path model that will be described shortly.

Wife's Pride in Husband's Job allowed measurement of the husband-specific dimension of wife support. This variable enabled the analysis of one dimension of wife support, identification with the husband's job, as it impacted on another dimension of wife support, attraction to the husband's work organization. Since the interactive effects of wife identification with the husband's work and wife attraction to the work organization have generally been ignored in the literature, use of this variable increased knowledge of the dynamics involving wife support for the Air Force husband's career. It also permitted contrasts between the effects of the various causal effects theorized in the model on the husband-specific dimension of career support operationalized by WPHJ and the broadly defined, organizational dimension operationalized by WAFI.

Data Analysis

The central focus of this study is the transmission of work-related attitudes and role definitions from the workplace to the home. Much empirical evidence and numerous theoretical concepts suggesting that both husbands and wives react to circumstances surrounding work relationships in the fashioning of their own familial identities have been presented. In particular, it has been suggested that the two-person work-family system is applicable to the military situation, and that wives are greatly influenced by the work of their husbands and the work organization to which he belongs. The changing status of women has also been noted, and the possibility that stronger self-identity among wives may diminish their identity with the military husband and his work organization has also been suggested.

From the foregoing information and the theoretical variables previously defined, a path model was constructed. Path analysis does not demonstrate causality, but it may provide support for a theoretical framework if the researcher is willing to assume a given causal order (Kerlinger & Pedhazur, 1973; Nie et al., 1975). The procedure also permits decomposition of causal relationships into direct and indirect effects, and identification of the causal paths followed as one variable impacts on another. The present study seeks to trace work-to-family attitudes according to a well established set of theoretical

principles. Thus path analysis was chosen as the method for examining the data.

Path analysis procedures place responsibility for the causal ordering of variables on the researcher and thus require careful explanation of the model construction. The model is diagrammed in Figure 1. It is a recursive model consisting of six endogenous and two exogenous variables.

Essentially the model represents three concepts -- wife career support for the husband, husband's work relationships, and wife's personal identity. The causal order of the variables flows from the husband's work organization through various husband and wife attitudinal variables to wife attitudes toward the husband and his work. The logic for the causal ordering of each variable will be explained, in turn, working backwards from the criterion variable to the exogenous variables.

The wife's general attitude toward the Air Force lifestyle was the variable of greatest theoretical interest and the predicted result of the prior variables in the model. This Wife's Air Force Identity (WAFI) was the prime criterion variable and was entered first into the model. Paths testing direct relationships with all prior variables and likely indirect relationships were measured and reported.

The second variable entered was Wife's Pride in Husband's Job (WPHJ). Identification with the husband's

Figure 1. Path diagram for the effects of husband and wife variables on Wife's Air Force Identity
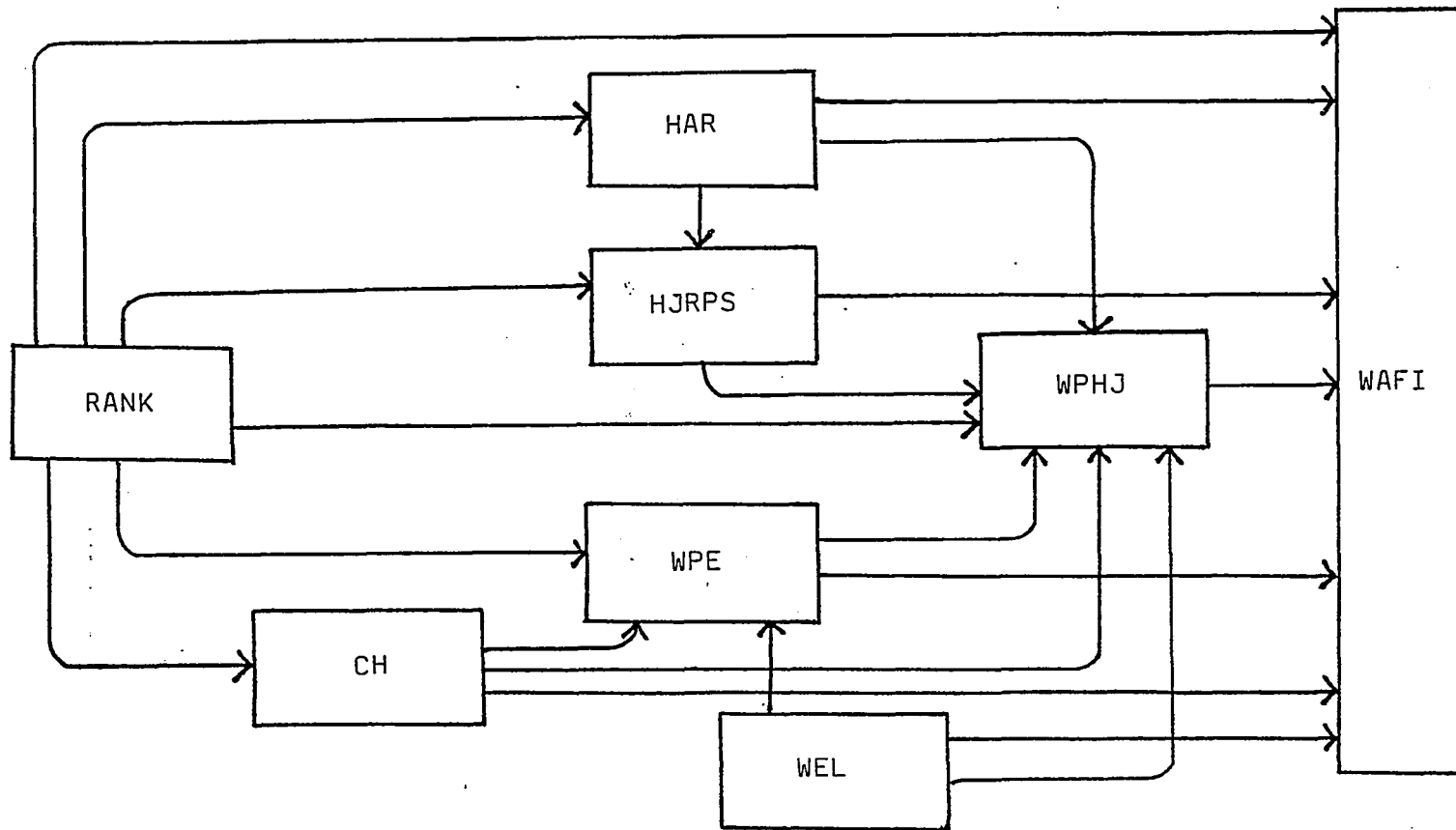
WAFI = Wife's Air Force Identity
WPHJ = Wife's Pride in Husband's Job
HJRPS = Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction
HAR = Husband's Advancement/Recognition

WPE. = Wife's Preference for Employment
CH = Children at Home
RANK = Husband's Military Rank
WEL = Wife's Educational Level

work role has been posited as one motivation of wife support for the husband's career. Because the variable involved direct response to the husband's job performance without regard for his work organization it was reasoned that WPHJ preceded WAFI in causal ordering. Response to the husband's job nevertheless involved career support and thus could be expected to influence WAFI. As with WAFI, direct effects of all prior variables and indirect effects of likely variables on WPHJ were measured and reported.

Because variables related to the husband's work role were expected to influence wife support more strongly than those variables measuring the wife's personal identity, the two endogenous variables reflecting the husband's work attitudes were then entered. Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction (HJRPS) was the next variable entry because a general measure of job satisfaction was thought most likely to convey the husband's work related attitudes to the wife and thus to generate an appropriate career support attitude on her part. Husband's Advancement/Recognition (HAR) was then entered because the husband's perceived opportunities for further promotion were considered likely to influence the general level of job satisfaction. Thus a hypothesized causal path (HAR HJRPS WPHJ WAFI) of work-to-family transmission of attitudes was created and tested.

Next the endogenous variables related to the wife's
personal identity were entered. Wife's Preference for
Employment (WPE) was expected to strengthen wife identity
and thus to decrease wife identity with her husband's work.
Consequently, WPE was entered into the model following the
husband's work-related variables but tested for causal
effects only on the wife support variables. Children at
Home (CH) followed as a variable entry because the presence
of children in the home was expected to have an inhibiting
effect on the wife's employment preference. Causal paths
tracing the effects of children on wife employment desires,
and employment desires on wife career support for the
husband were thereby created and tested in the model.

The last two variables in the model were the exogenous
variables of Rank and Wife Educational Level (WEL). Because
the husband's work-related variables were expected to exert
greater influence on wife career support than wife identity
variables, RANK was entered before WEL. The direct and
indirect effects of the military rank of the husband on all
endogenous variables were computed and reported. Since Rank
represented a work-related position conferred on the Air
Force member by his work organization, it was considered
causally prior to the endogenous variables with respect to
work-to-family transmission of attitudes.

The relationship between RANK and CH was obviously
problematic since both variables increased with time. Thus

a spurious correlation between the two variables should be expected. If Rank is also considered a measure of socioeconomic status within the Air Force accompanied by changing family attitudes and expectations with the various levels of husband's rank, and the number of children in the home is viewed as a differing set of social and economic demands on the family unit, it is reasonable to test for shifts in attitudinal effects originating with RANK and mediated through the presence of children in the home.

The final variable in the model was Wife Educational Level (WEL). It was considered causally prior to the endogenous variables in the model and was expected to affect the employment preferences and career support attitudes of the wife.

Path analysis is essentially a logical sequence of multiple regression procedures which, by assuming a prior causal ordering, allows decomposition and interpretation of the linear relationships among a given set of variables. Alwin and Hauser (1975) developed a method for interpreting the effects of variables in recursive path models, and their recommended procedures were followed closely in this analysis. The method involved regression of each endogenous variable in the model first on the exogenous variables and then adding, in causal order, each of the intervening variables. From this series of equations it was possible to determine the total effects, direct effects, and paths of indirect effects between all causal and criterion variables.

Although it is possible to perform path analysis utilizing either standardized or unstandardized coefficients, this study has employed standardized coefficients and thus will report only beta weights in the summary tables. This latter method offers advantages in the comparison of effects across variables, and it is generally preferred in analysis (Alwin & Hauser, 1975; Nie et al., 1975). All statistical procedures were performed under the Hierarchical Inclusion Method of the subprogram Regression, SPSS Release Nine (Nie et al., 1975).

For theoretical reasons already explained, the path model was analyzed separately for Air Force officer and enlisted couples. In most instances the results were presented and discussed separately before they were compared.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The underlying hypothesis for this study was that attitudes generated in the husband's work environment carry over into the family domain and shape the wife's inclination to support his career. A secondary hypothesis has been that strengthened self-identity on the part of the wife may weaken her willingness to provide career support for her husband. To test these ideas for empirical support a theoretically derived path model was constructed and the results of the analysis are reported in this chapter.

A brief summary of the necessary statistical assumptions for path analysis is first presented. It is followed by an examination of the path model. Since the model was applied separately to Air Force enlisted and officer couples, findings for both analyses are presented. Descriptive statistics for the variable measures, path diagrams, and decomposition tables for the variable effects are included. The chapter concludes with an examination of each of the six theoretical predictions for confirmation or rejection.

Statistical Assumptions

Path analysis is one form of multiple regression methodology and hence regression assumptions must be met.

The usual requirements for random sampling, normal distribution of dependent variable, linear relationships, and absence of auto correlations exist (Lewis-Beck, 1980; Nie et al., 1975). Given the sampling procedure followed and the large size of the sample in the present study, regression analysis appeared robust for the population examined.

Kerlinger and Pedhazur (1973) enumerated a set of assumptions applied specifically to path analysis. These included (a) interval measurement of the variables, (b) linear, additive, and causal variable relationships, (c) unidirectional causal flow within the model, and (d) noncorrelation of residuals. For the most part it appeared reasonable to make these assumptions.

The most problematic requirement was the one-way flow of causal effects. Major family theorists have stressed the reciprocal nature of work-family relationships (Kanter, 1977b; Scanzoni, 1978), and their views are largely shared by social scientists. Most of the empirical literature has assumed a preponderance of work in the work-family exchange of influence, however.

Orthner and his associates (1984) addressed the same point with respect to a path model measuring Air Force family relationships. They stated, "First, it must be recognized that the data, collected at one point in time, represent a static picture of a dynamic process.

Consequently, the unidirectional paths hypothesized are those considered of primary importance to understanding the process" (p. 25).

This researcher accepts that attitudes are formed within the give-and-take of much systemic interaction, and the dependent variable is most likely set in such a context. Until stronger theoretical and research evidence are presented to the contrary, however, it appears valid to assume that the stronger causal flow is that put forth in the path model.

Examination of Path Model

The data were examined through a series of multiple regressions as specified by the theoretically derived path model. SPSS multiple regression procedures offer several options for handling missing values (Nie et al., 1975). The listwise procedure eliminates any case from the analysis when a single item value is missing. This methodology has the disadvantage of substantially reducing the sample size and thus losing much valuable information. Advantages include generating a single universe of data for calculations and comparisons, and assuring a high quality of information. Since the sample in the present study was large and the cases lost were likely to be distributed evenly throughout the sample, the listwise method for managing missing values was adopted.

After listwise procedures were applied, 2,945 of 3,409 eligible enlisted couples were included in the analysis.

Similarly, 926 of a possible 1,154 officer couples were retained. The model was analyzed separately for enlisted and officer couples, and all regression equations were performed utilizing a single correlation matrix containing each of the variables in the model.

The path analysis procedures followed in this study were outlined by Alwin and Hauser (1975). Their recommended methodology involved a sequence of multiple regression equations for each endogenous variable in the model. Each regression sequence began with the exogenous variables and added, one by one in the causally prescribed order, the specified variables. From the information generated path coefficients, total effects, and indirect effects via each intervening variable were computed and reported in the appropriate tables.

The decomposition procedure produced interpretations for a fully recursive model. That is, effects were determined for all possible paths between each endogenous variable in the model and all prior variables on which they were regressed. Thus paths were tested and results reported for some relationships not considered causally related in the theoretical model. The effects of Wife's Educational Level (WEL), Children at Home (CH), and Wife's Preference for Employment (WPE) on the wife's career support variables as mediated through the intervening husband attitudinal variables were computed even though they were not causally

linked in the theoretical model. Actually, the model was upheld in the sense that no meaningful variations in effects for these theoretically unsupported relationships occurred. In order to avoid the confusion that would result if direct and indirect effects did not sum to total effects the full set of indirect effects is reported in each decomposition table.

Enlisted Couples

The zero order correlations and simple descriptive statistics for the path model variables as they applied to the sample of enlisted couples are contained in Table 10. It was noteworthy that most of the correlations were statistically significant, but with large sample sizes even very small correlations often take on significance. Alwin and Hauser (1975) labeled such relationships "total association" because they linked together variables under many different forms of association. Interpretation is strengthened considerably when the correlations can be divided into causal and noncausal components and an order of effect determined.

It was also noteworthy that the mean score for WAFI, the criterion variable in the path model, was 4.14 on a scale ranging from .91 to 6.0. Thus most wives married to enlisted persons in the sample tended to identify favorably with the Air Force. Similarly, WPHJ, HJRPS, and HAR mean scores were on the high sides of the scales. It appeared

Table 10

Zero Order Correlation Matrix and Simple Statistics for

Path Model Variables, Enlisted Couples (N = 2945 Married Couples)

	WAFI	WPHJ	HJRPS	HAR	WPE	CH	RANK	WEL
WAFI	____							
WPHJ	.334**	____						
HJRPS	.233**	.441**	____					
HAR	.175**	.268**	.583**	____				
WPE	-.005	.015	.064**	.045**	____ -			
CH	.035*	.067**	.058**	.084**	-.099**	____		
RANK	.069**	.125**	.110**	.223**	.044**	.326**	____	
WEL	-.040*	-.067**	.017	.008	.124**	-.096**	.006	____
MEAN	4.14	21.02	41.65	18.76	2.29	2.49	4.25	2.57
STD	1.13	5.07	9.55	4.87	1.38	1.09	1.05	1.13
MIN	.91	4.	8.	4.	1.	1.	1.	1.
MAX	6.	28.	56.	28.	5.	7.	8.	6.
RANGE	5.09	24.	48.	24.	4.	6.	7.	5.

*p<.05
**p<.01

WAFI = Wife's Air Force Identity
WPHJ = Wife's Pride in Husband's Job
HJRPS = Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction
HAR = Husband's Advancement/Recognition
WPE = Wife's Preference for Employment
CH = Children at Home
RANK = Husband's Military Rank
WEL = Wife's Educational Level

that husbands and wives were generally supportive of the husband's work role, and the variance accounted for in the model was heavily clustered on the positive end of the continuums used in measurement.

The relationships between endogenous and antecedent variables are pictured in Figure 2. The model explained 12.4% of the variance in WAFI, the primary dependent variable. The path coefficients are standardized coefficients or beta weights drawn from appropriate multiple regression equations.

It is immediately apparent that WPHJ, the husband-specific measure of wife support for the husband's career, was the major contributor to the criterion variable, WAFI. HJRPS and HAR also influenced WAFI to a statistically significant degree, but when the criterion of meaningfulness was applied the contributions of those variables were minimal.

Moving backward across the model from criterion to exogenous variable, one set of path coefficients stood out. WAFI was firmly linked to WPHJ, WPHJ to HJRPS, HJRPS to HAR, and HAR to RANK. Thus a causal flow of influence leading from husband's rank through the intervening variables of husband's work-related attitudes to, first, husband-specific and then organizational aspects of wife career support for the husband was present. The paths linking wife's personal identity variables with the wife's career support variables

Figure 2. Path model for the effects of husband and wife variables on Wife's Air Force Identity for enlisted couples
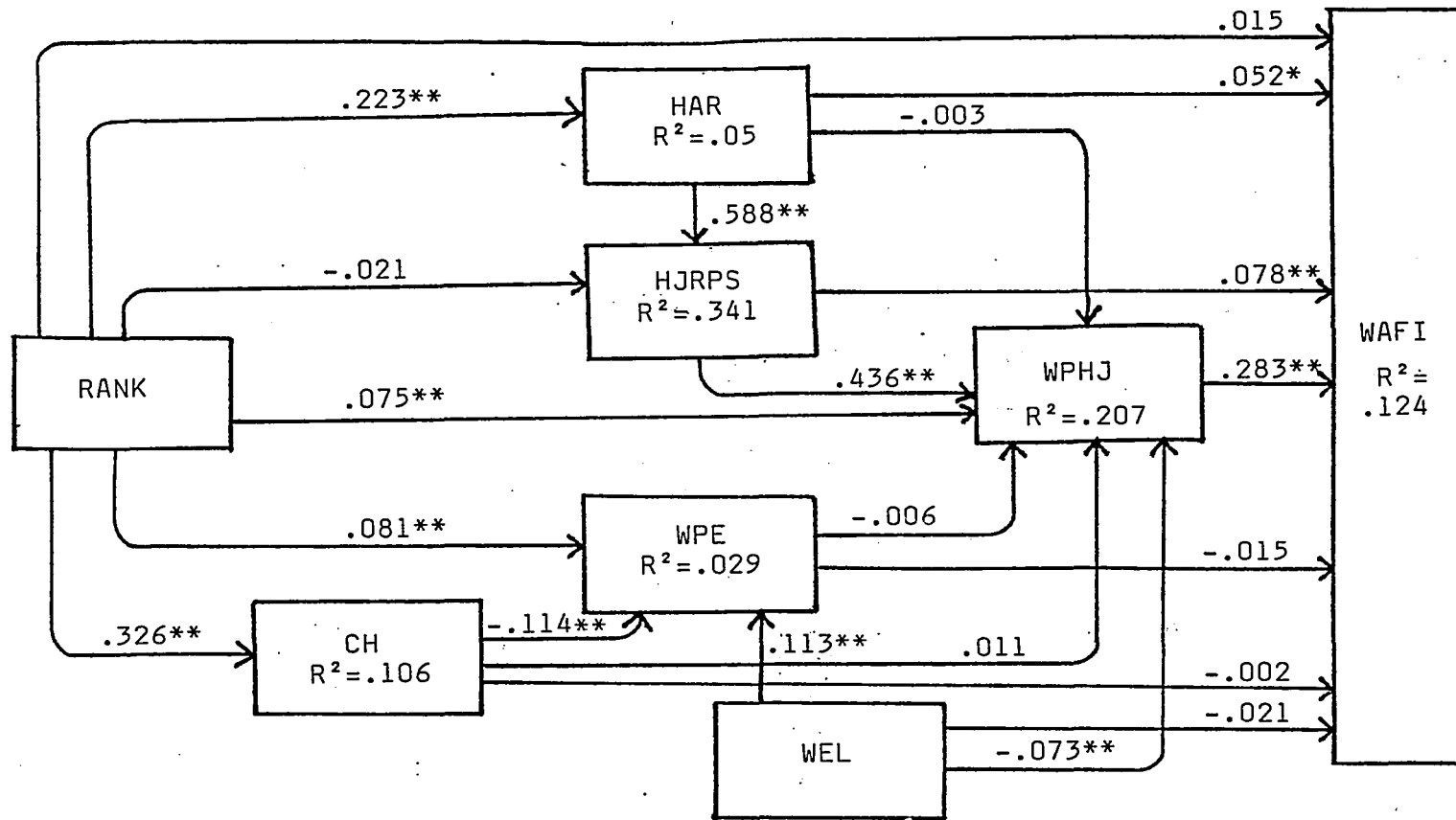
*p<.05   WAFI = Wife's Air Force Identity   WPE = Wife's Preference for Employment
**p<.01 WPHJ = Wife's Pride in Husband's Job   CH = Children at Home
         HJRPS = Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction   RANK = Husband's Military Rank
         HAR = Husband's Advancement/Recognition   WEL = Wife's Educational Level

were weak although WEL produced a statistically significant path coefficient with WPHJ in the expected direction.

While the path diagram is helpful in visualizing the flow of effects through the model, it deals with direct effects only. The information provided when effects are decomposed into direct and indirect effects greatly expands the theoretical value of path analysis. Utilizing the procedures outlined by Alwin and Hauser (1975) the path effects for the analysis performed on enlisted couple data were decomposed and reported in Table 11.

The decomposition of effects revealed that the total effects for the husband's perceived advancement/recognition opportunities (HAR, .169) and the husband's general satisfaction with the job (HJRPS, .201) approached the degree of influence on the criterion variable wielded by the wife's pride in her husband's job (WPHJ, .283). Furthermore, many of the HAR and HJRPS effects were transmitted indirectly through the subsequent causal variables in the model. Hence the effects of HJRPS and WPHJ were due, in part, to the strong contribution of HAR in the causal chain.

When the total effects of HAR, husband's perceived advancement/recognition, on the criterion variable (.169) were further decomposed it was found that .052 or 30.6% of the effects were transmitted directly and .118 or 69.9% were transmitted through HJRPS. This means that .046 of the

Table 11

Decomposition of Variable Effects on Wife's Air Force Identity for Enlisted Couples, (N = 2945 Married Couples)

Dependent Variables	Independent Variables	Total Effect	Indirect Effects via					Direct Effect
			CH	WPE	HAR	HJRPS	WPHJ	
CH	RANK	.32553						.32553
WPE	WEL	.11279						.11279
	RANK	.04343	-.03728					.08071
	CH	-.11430						-.11430
HAR	RANK	.22266						.22266
HJRPS	RANK	.10999			.13093			-.02094
	HAR	.58805						.58805
WPHJ	WEL	-.06740	-.00222	.00235	.00106	.00426		-.07285
	RANK	.12552	.00741	.00168	.05441	-.01304		.07506
	CH	.02272		-.00239	.00442	.01011		.01058
	WPE	.02085			.00920	.01742		-.00577
	HAR	.25265				.25553		-.00288
	HJRPS	.43588						.43588
WAFI	WEL	-.03994	-.00089	-.00031	.00071	.00197	-.02063	-.02079
	RANK	.06944	.00298	-.00021	.03627	-.00595	.02125	.01510
	CH	.00914		.00031	.00295	.00467	.00300	-.00179
	WPE	-.00271			.00614	.00804	-.00163	-.01526
	HAR	.16875				.11793	-.00082	.05164
	HJRPS	.20116					.12342	.07774
	WPHJ	.28315						.28315

WAFI = Wife's Air Force Identity
WPHJ = Wife's Pride in Husband's Job
HJRPS = Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction
HAR = Husband's Advancement/Recognition

WPE = Wife's Preference for Employment
CH = Children at Home
RANK = Husband's Military Rank
WEL = Wife's Educational Level

Note: Indirect effects were computed for all possible paths as causally ordered by the regression equations. Some indirect effects reported were derived from paths not contained in the theoretical model.

HJRPS direct effects and .072 of the HJRPS indirect effects, approximately 59% of the HJRPS total effects, actually consisted of HAR effects. And since the indirect effects of HJRPS were necessarily mediated to the final intervening variable of WPHJ, the .072 effects originally drawn from HAR and passed along to WPHJ constituted about 26% of the effects of the major predictor variable--WPHJ.

The same decomposition procedure was applied to the husband's job satisfaction measure (HJRPS) to trace the path of impact for husband's job satisfaction on the wife's identification with the Air Force (WAFI). After removing the HAR component from the HJRPS total effects (.20116 - .11793 = .08323), it was found that direct effects of .032 and indirect effects of .051 transmitted to the WPHJ variable were due to the unique effects of the husband's job satisfaction. Furthermore, the combined impact of HAR and HJRPS effects mediated to WPHJ were .123 or about 43.6% of the WPHJ effects on WAFI.

The total effects for HAR were .169, for HJRPS (with HAR effects removed) were .083, and for WPHJ (with HAR and HJRPS effects removed) were .16. Thus it was clear that each of the three variables impacted heavily on the wife's identity with the Air Force. The attitudes of husband's perceived advancement/recognition and wife's pride in her husband's job were roughly equivalent, and the job satisfaction component conveyed about half the influence of each of the other two variables.

The decomposition of effects should not obscure the interactive effects of the process, however. Over 42% of the husband's advancement/recognition effects (.072) and over 61% of the husband's job satisfaction effects (.051) occurred when those variables interacted with the wife's pride in her husband's job.

Officer Couples

A matrix of zero order correlations and a table of simple descriptive statistics for the path model variables as they apply to the sample of officer couples are contained in Table 12. There were fewer significantly correlated variables for officer couples than for enlisted couples. The most strongly associated set of variables were those having to do with husband's attitudes toward work and wife's attitudes toward career support for her husband. Notably insignificant, particularly when compared to the covariance among enlisted couples, were those correlations between military rank and other variables in the model. The wife employment preference variable also correlated in some strength with the wife identity variables of educational level and number of children at home.

The mean score on the criterion variable, Wife Identity with the Air Force (WAFI), was 4.38 on a .91 through 6.0 scale. Thus the wives of Air Force officers, like their enlisted counterparts, identified quite heavily with the Air Force. The wife career support variables (WAFI, WPHJ) and

Table 12

Zero Order Correlation Matrix and Simple Statistics for

Path Model Variables, Officer Couples (N = 926 Married Couples)

|	WAFI	WPHJ	HJRPS	HAR	WPE	CH	RANK	WEL
WAFI	____							
WPHJ	.365**	____						
HJRPS	.238**	.455**	____					
HAR	.238**	.332**	.642**	____				
WPE	-.064*	-.030	-.024	-.018	____			
CH	-.006	-.049	.011	.057*	-.230**	____		
RANK	-.035	-.025	.084**	.049	.035	.167**	____	
WEL	-.096**	-.021	-.022	-.008	.180	-.057*	.077*	____
MEAN	4.38	21.88	43.86	18.86	2.26	2.57	11.33	4.02
STD	1.12	4.87	8.74	5.01	1.67	1.09	1.30	1.23
MIN	.91	4.	8.	4.	1.	1.	9.	1.
MAX	6.	28.	56.	28.	5.	7.	14.	6.
RANGE	5.09	24.	48.	24.	4.	6.	5.	5.

*p<.05
**p<.01

WAFI = Wife's Air Force Identity
WPHJ = Wife's Pride in Husband's Job
HJRPS = Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction
HAR = Husband's Advancement/Recognition
WPE = Wife's Preference for Employment
CH = Children at Home
RANK = Husband's Military Rank
WEL = Wife's Educational Level

the husband attitudinal variables (HJRPS, HAR) indicated general satisfaction with the Air Force as an employer and a lifestyle. As with enlisted couples, the variance for officer couples was largely distributed on the positive end of the measurement continuums. The mean educational level of the wives was 4.02, thus indicating that the typical wife of the Air Force officer had completed several years of college.

The direct relationships between endogenous and their causally antecedent variables for officer couples are diagrammed in Figure 3. The reported path coefficients are standardized coefficients or beta weights obtained from the multiple regression series. The model explained 15.9% of the variance for Wife's Air Force Identity (WAFI), the prime dependent variable in the model.

When the effects of all prior variables on WAFI were examined, WPHJ emerged as the major predictor variable with a path coefficient of .313. The husband's perceived advancement/recognition opportunities (HAR) also affected WAFI significantly with a .125 coefficient. The wife's educational level (WEL) correlated negatively (-.08) with the criterion variable at a statistically significant but practically unimportant level. Other direct path coefficients between WAFI and the antecedent variables were statistically insignificant.

Figure 3. Path model for the effects of husband and wife variables on Wife's Air Force Identity for officer couples
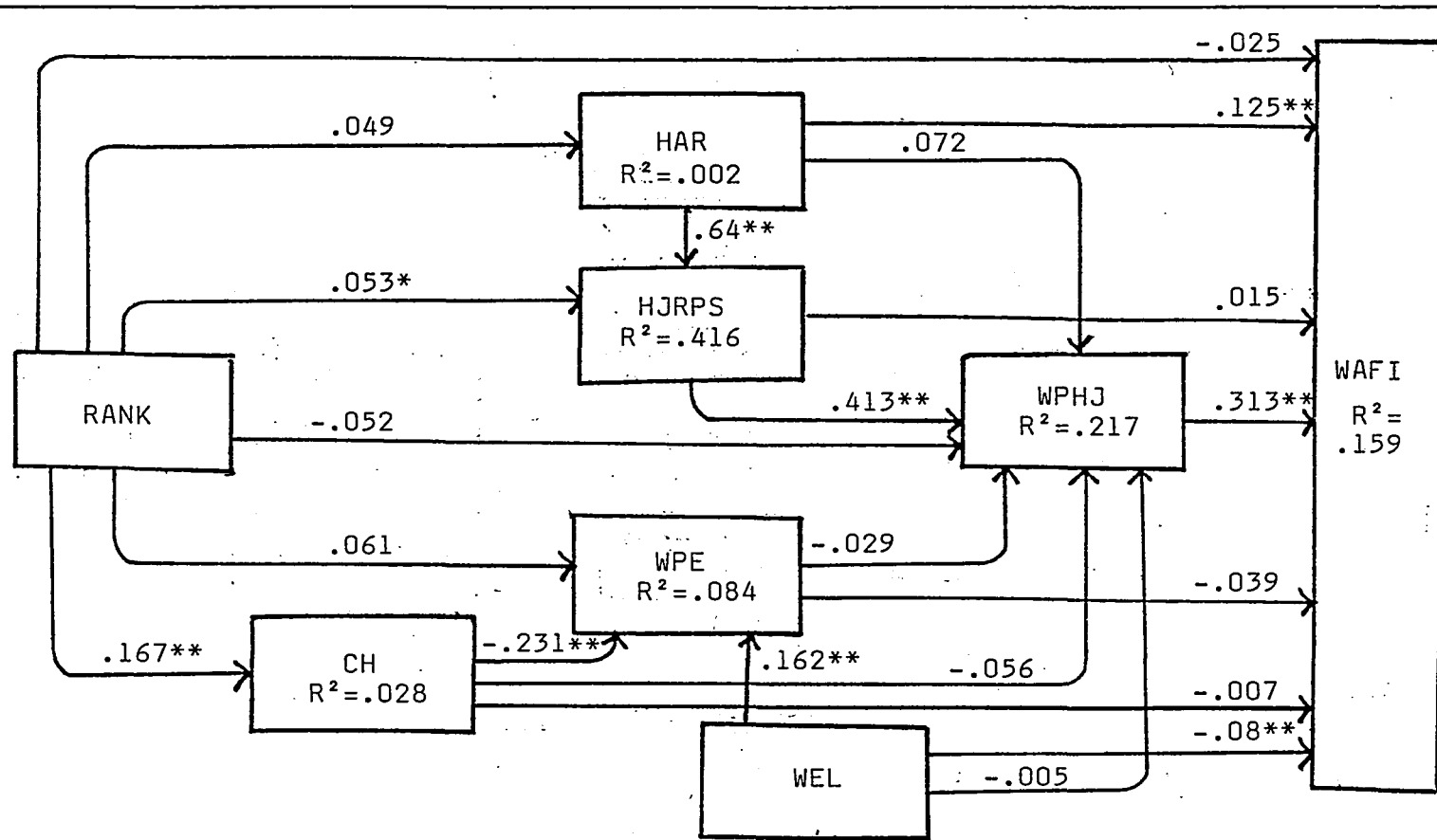
* p<.05	WAFI = Wife's Air Force Identity	WPE = Wife's Preference for Employment
** p<.01	WPHJ = Wife's Pride in Husband's Job	CH = Children at Home
	HJRPS = Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction	RANK = Husband's Military Rank
	HAR = Husband's Advancement/Recognition	WEL = Wife's Educational Level

The linkages between husband work attitudes and wife career support attitudes for the husband noted in the correlation matrix appeared in the path model. HAR correlated strongly with HJRPS, HJRPS with WPHJ, and WPHJ with WAFI. Thus a causal path that began with the husband's feelings about recognition and further career advancement (HAR) and flowed through to the WAFI criterion variable was suggested. For officers, HAR carried significant direct effects (.125) on WAFI in addition to the apparent indirect effects. RANK did not correlate significantly with HAR, accounted for none of the HAR variance, and thus did not figure in the causal path just outlined. For officers, unlike enlisted persons, achieved rank exerted no significant influence on future career expectations.

The variable relationships within the path analysis for officer couples were decomposed into direct and indirect effects, and the results are reported in Table 13. When the total effects of the variables on Wife's Air Force Identity (WAFI), the dependent variable, were compared, three major variables stood out—Husband's Advancement/Recognition (HAR, .24), Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction (HJRPS, .144), and Wife's Pride in Husband's Job (WPHJ, .313).

When the impact of HAR was traced through direct and indirect paths to the dependent variable, it was found that about half of the HAR effects (.125) were transmitted directly to WAFI, the criterion variable. Around 9.5% of

Table 13

Decomposition of Variable Effects on Wife's Air Force Identity for Officer Couples, (N = 926 Married Couples)

Dependent Variable	Independent Variables	Total Effect	Indirect Effects via					Direct Effect
			CH	WPE	HAR	HJRPS	WPHJ	
CH	RANK	.16712						.16712
WPE	WEL	.16198						.16198
	RANK	.02158	-.03977					.06128
	CH	-.23059						-.23059
HAR	RANK	.04847						.04847
HJRPS	RANK	.08357			.03102			.05255
	HAR	.63990						.63990
WPHJ	WEL	-.01868	.00336	-.00650	-.00252	-.00821		-.00481
	RANK	-.02363	-.00828	-.00246	.01394	.02543		-.05226
	CH	-.04805		.00926	.01598	-.01710		-.05619
	WPE	-.04016			-.00258	-.00819		-.02939
	HAR	.33699				.26456		.07243
	HJRPS	.41256						.41256
WAFI	WEL	-.09377	.00051	-.00848	-.00179	-.00286	-.00151	-.07964
	RANK	-.02745	-.00125	-.00321	.00994	.00885	-.01636	-.02542
	CH	-.00724		.01207	.01138	-.00595	-.01759	-.00715
	WPE	-.05234			-.00183	-.00286	-.00920	-.03845
	HAR	.24002				.09215	.02267	.12520
	HJRPS	.14370					.12914	.01456
	WPHJ	.31303						.31303

WAFI = Wife's Air Force Identity
WPHJ = Wife's Pride in Husband's Job
HJRPS = Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction
HAR = Husband's Advancement/Recognition

WPE = Wife's Preference for Employment
CH = Children at Home
RANK = Husband's Military Rank
WEL = Wife's Educational Level

Note. Indirect effects were computed for all possible paths as causally ordered by the regression equations. Some indirect effects reported were derived from paths not contained in the theoretical model.

the HAR effects (.023) were transmitted directly to WPHJ, and the remaining 38% of the HAR effects (.092) were conveyed to the next intervening variable--HJRPS. Virtually all of the HAR effects mediated through HJRPS were passed along to WPHJ, the penultimate variable in the model. Thus the HAR effects transmitted directly (.083) and indirectly through HJRPS (.023) to WPHJ summed to .106 or around one-third of the total WPHJ effects. When the total effects of HAR (.24) were compared to the total effects of WPHJ with the HAR component removed (.313 - .106 = .207), it was apparent that HAR influenced Wife Air Force Identity with strength equal to or greater than that of any other variable affecting WAFI. Slightly less than one-half of the HAR effects occurred in interaction with the wife's identification with her husband's job (WPHJ), and slightly over one-half of the HAR effects impacted directly onto the wife's identity with the Air Force.

The unique effects of husband's job satisfaction (HJRPS) on the wife career support variables were very slight. When the HAR component transmitted to HJRPS (.092) was removed from the HJRPS total effects (.144), the unique effects of HJRPS were reduced to .052 or about 36% of the HJRPS total effects. The HJRPS effects (.046) transmitted to the WPHJ variable constituted less than 15% of the WPHJ total effects. Husband's job satisfaction was nevertheless an important step in the causal process. More than

one-third of the HAR effects (.092) interacted with HJRPS before they were passed along to the later variables in the chain and subsequent influence on Wife's Air Force Identity.

Examination of Research Predictions

Prediction 1: The path model will explain a greater amount of variance in the identity of wives with the Air Force for wives of officers than for wives of enlisted persons.

The results obtained when the criterion variable was regressed on all other variables in the path model are reported and compared for enlisted and officer couples in Table 14. An R^2 of .1237 was achieved for enlisted wives and an R^2 of .1586 for officer wives. Thus 3.49% more of the variance was explained for officer than enlisted wives. While the research prediction was supported, the differences in explained variance were too small to claim that the model was more appropriate for officer than enlisted couples. The model appeared useful in estimating variable effects on wife's identity with the Air Force among both sets of couples.

The wife's pride in her husband's job accounted for 90% of the explained variance among enlisted wives and 84% of the explained variance for officer wives. The next 9% of the explained variance for enlisted wives and 10% for officer wives was accounted for by the two work-related attitudes of the husbands.

Table 14

Summary Table Comparing Path Model Variable Effects on

Wife's Air Force Identity for Enlisted and Officer Couples

Variables	Enlisted Couples		
	R^2	R^2 Change	Beta
Wife's Pride in Husband's Job	.11171	.11171	.28315**
Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction	.12080	.00909	.07774**
Husband's Advancement/Recognition	.12279	.00199	.05164*
Wife's Preference for Employment	.12308	.00029	-.01526
Children at Home	.12311	.00002	-.00179
Husband's Military Rank	.12328	.00017	.01510
Wife's Educational Level	.12370	.00042	-.02079

	Officer Couples		
Wife's Pride in Husband's Job	.13326	.13326	.31303**
Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction	.13975	.00649	.01456
Husband's Advancement/Recognition	.14875	.00899	.12520**
Wife's Preference for Employment	.15144	.00270	-.03845
Children at Home	.15155	.00010	-.00715
Husband's Military Rank	.15250	.00095	-.02542
Wife's Educational Level	.15860	.00610	-.07964**

**$p<.05$

*$p<.01$

Nearly 4% of the explained variance for officer's wives was produced by the educational level of the wife. Thus for officer and enlisted couples the major influence on the Wife's Air Force Identity was the wife's pride in her husband's job. The secondary influence for enlisted wives was husband's job-related attitude, whereas for officer wives the secondary influence was divided between the husband's work-related attitudes and the wife's degree of education.

Prediction 2: The path model will explain a greater amount of variance for wife's pride in husband's job than for wife's Air Force identity.

Among enlisted wives 20.7% of the Pride in Husband's Job variance was explained whereas 12.4% of the Air Force Identity variance was explained. The Pride in Husband's Job variable accounted for 21.7% of the variance while 15.9% was explained by Wife's Air Force Identity for officer wives. The differences in explained variance were modest (approximately 8% for enlisted wives and 6% for officer wives), but in both instances the results were as predicted. WPHJ, the husband-specific dimension of wife career support, was more accurately accounted for than WAFI, the wife's general identification with the Air Force.

The amounts of explained variance achieved by the WAFI and WPHJ multiple regressions are summarized and compared in Table 15. For both officer's wives and enlisted wives the

Table 15

Summary Table Comparing Explained Variance for Wife's Air Force Identity

and Wife's Pride in Husband's Job,   Enlisted and Officer Couples

	R^2				R^2 Change			
	Enlisted		Officer		Enlisted		Officer	
Causal Variables	WPHJ	WAFI	WPHJ	WAFI	WPHJ	WAFI	WPHJ	WAFI
Wife's Pride in Husband's Job		.11171		.13326		.11171		.13326
Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction	.19487	.12080	.20694	.13975	.19487	.00909	.20694	.00649
Husband's Advancement/ Recognition	.19584	.12279	.20968	.14875	.00017	.00199	.00274	.00899
Wife's Preference for Employment	.19522	.12308	.21005	.15144	.00017	.00029	.00037	.00270
Children at Home	.19683	.12311	.21414	.15155	.00162	.00002	.00409	.00010
Husband's Military Rank	.20133	.12328	.21680	.15250	.00450	.00017	.00266	.00095
Wife's Educational Level	.20652	.12370	.21682	.15860	.00518	.00042	.00002	.00610

WAFI = Wife's Air Force Identity

WPHJ = Wife's Pride in Husband's Job

gap between explained variance for WPHJ and WAFI occurred when the first variable was entered into the respective multiple regression equations. The distance between the levels of explained variance remained more or less consistent as the various steps in the equations were computed. Thus the adequacy of the model resided in the interaction of the variables prior to transmission through the first variable in the regression equation--in the case of Wife's Air Force Identity, the Wife's Pride in Husband's Job variable, and in the case of Wife's Pride in Husband's Job, the Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction variable.

Although the differences were mostly insignificant and thus quite possibly due to sampling error, it was interesting to note the pattern in the R^2 Change column on Table 15. The last four variables entered into the corresponding regression equations, both for enlisted wives and officer wives, tended to produce a slight effect on either WPHJ or WAFI but not on both. Among enlisted wives CH, RANK, and WEL appeared to influence WPHJ but not WAFI. Among officer wives, WPE and WEL appeared to influence WAFI but not WPHJ, whereas CH and RANK seemed to affect WPHJ but not to influence WAFI. The amounts of explained variance were too slight to consider important, but the pattern was consistent enough to warrant noting.

<u>Prediction 3: The variable of husband's rank will</u>
<u>exert greater indirect than direct influence on the variable</u>
<u>of wife's Air Force identity</u>.

The decomposition of the independent variable effects
on the criterion variable of Wife's Air Force Identity were
reported in Tables 11 and 13. Among enlisted couples the
total effect for rank (.069) was larger than the direct
effect (.015), and indirect effects accounted for 78% of
overall rank effects. Rank explained less than one percent
of WAFI variance, however, and thus the explanatory power of
the variable effects, direct or indirect, were too weak to
claim support for the research prediction. The total effect
(-.028) and direct effect (-.025) of rank on WAFI were
virtually the same for officer couples, and hence the
research prediction was completely unsupported. The
variable of military rank exerted no substantive effects,
indirect or otherwise, on Wife's Air Force Identity for
officer or enlisted couples.

<u>Prediction 4: The variables of wife's pride in</u>
<u>husband's job and wife's Air Force identity will be</u>
<u>influenced more strongly by variables associated with the</u>
<u>husband's work role than by variable associated with the</u>
<u>wife's work role</u>.

Even the most cursory examination of the data generated
from the analysis provides overwhelming support for this
prediction both for enlisted and officer couples. In the

correlation matrices reported in Tables 10 and 12 the WPHJ
and WAFI variables correlated with husband's work role
variables (HJRPS, HAR) from .17 to .45, whereas WPHJ and
WAFI correlated with wife's work role variables (WPE, CH,
WEL) in a range of -.10 to .07. Examination of the path
model for enlisted couples (Figure 2) and officer couples
(Figure 3) revealed a strong causal path beginning with the
husband's work variable of HAR, flowing through the
intervening variables of HJRPS and WPHJ, to influence the
criterion variable of WAFI. No such causal path emerged for
variables associated with the wife role variables. The same
general picture held for enlisted and officer couples.

The most clear-cut evidence supporting the prediction
was contained in the tables decomposing the path model
variable effects. Among enlisted couples (Table 11) the
total effect of HAR on WPHJ was .253, and on WAFI was .169.
The total effect of HJRPS on WPHJ was .436, and on WAFI was
.283. The highest total effect for a wife work role
variable on WPHJ was -.067, and on WAFI the highest total
effect was -.040.

The relationships between husband's work role variables
and wife career support for the husband were quite similar
among officer couples. The effects were reported in Table
13. The HAR total effect on WPHJ was .337, and on WAFI was
.24. The HJRPS total effect on WPHJ was .413, and on WAFI
was .144. The strongest links between wife work role

variables and wife support for the husband's career
variables were total effect of CH on WPHJ (-.04) and the
total effect of WEL on WAFI (-.094).

The firm influence of husband's work related attitudes
on the wife attitudinal variables of pride in husband's job
and Air Force identity was the most conclusive finding of
this study. The weak showing of wife work role variables
with respect to impact on wife attitudes toward husband's
career support was almost as straightforward. In
particular, the wife's preference for employment lacked
meaningful association with the wife career support
variables in the path analyses for enlisted or officer
couples.

Prediction 5: The husband's work-related variables of
advancement/recognition and job-related pride and
satisfaction will correlate positively with the wife
attitudinal variables of pride in husband's job and wife's
Air Force identity.

Positive correlations occurred for all meaningful
measures of the husband's work-related variables (HAR,
HJRPS) and the wife's attitudes toward career support of her
husband (WPHJ, WAFI). Among enlisted couples all zero
ordered correlations across the two sets of variables were
positive and highly significant. The path model diagram for
enlisted couples (Figure 2) revealed statistically
significant (p <.01), positively correlated paths leading

from HAR to WAFI. The path from HAR to WPHJ (-.003) suggested no meaningful relationship between the two variables. All paths, direct and indirect, from HJRPS to WPHJ and WAFI were meaningful and positively correlated. Similarly, the total effects (Table 11) of HAR and HJRPS on the WPHJ and WAFI variables were firmly and positively related.

The correlations among officer couples were parallel to those of enlisted couples. All zero ordered correlations among the predicted variables (Table 12) were significant (p <.01) and positive. All paths leading from HAR to HJRPS to the two wife career support variables were positive (Figure 3) although the direct effects of HAR on WPHJ (.072) and of HJRPS on WAFI (.015) were not statistically significant. HAR, on the other hand, initiated a causal path which flowed from HAR through HJRPS and WPHJ to the dependent variable, WAFI. The decomposition of effects of HAR and HJRPS on both WPHJ and WAFI were consistent and positive. Thus all indicators suggested that as the husband's advancement expectations and job satisfaction increased, the wife's identity with his work role and with his work organization also increased. The prediction was strongly supported for officer and enlisted couples.

<u>Prediction 6: The wife's personal identity variables</u>
<u>of wife preference for employment and wife educational level</u>
<u>will correlate negatively with, and the variable of children</u>
<u>at home will correlate positively with the career support</u>
<u>variables of wife's pride in husband's job and wife's Air</u>
<u>Force identity</u>.

As might be expected the relationship between the
wife's personal identity and her inclination to provide
career support for her husband was difficult to unravel. In
contrast to the established linkages between wife career
support and husband's feelings about his job, the
connections between wife attitudes toward her husband's work
and her own personal identity variables were weak and
inconclusive.

Wife employment preference, a key theoretical variable,
was not significantly related to WPHJ or WAFI for enlisted
(Figure 2) or officer (Figure 3) wives. The direct and
indirect effects for enlisted (Table 11) and officer (Table
13) wives were equally as weak. The strongest relationship
achieved were the direct effects of WPE on WPHJ (-.04) and
WAFI (-.05) for officer wives. Except for the total effect
of WPE on WPHJ (.02) among enlisted wives, all direct and
total effects of WPE on the wife career support variables
were negative.

The effects of children at home on the wife career support variables were also weak. Among enlisted wives the strongest relationship found was the CH total effect on WPHJ (.02), and for officer wives the CH total effect on WPHJ (-.04). The directions of the relationship were divided for enlisted wives--positive with WPHJ and negative with WAFI. The relationships were consistently negative for officer wives.

The relationships between the wife's educational level (WEL) and the wife career support variables (WPHJ, WAFI) were also weak but slightly stronger than those of other wife personal identity variables. For enlisted wives the effect of WEL on WPHJ was -.073 (Figure 2) while the relationship between WEL and WAFI was inconsequential. Among officer wives little relationship was uncovered between WEL and WPHJ, but a path of -.08 was found between WEL and WAFI (Figure 3). Direct and total effects of WEL on WPHJ and WAFI for enlisted and officer wives were consistently correlated in the negative direction (Tables 11 and 13).

Overall there was little support for this prediction and no clear picture of how wife identity variables influenced wife attitudes toward career support for husbands emerged. The relationships uncovered were generally weak and uncertain. The one possible exception was WEL which, despite the fact that it was entered last in the regression

equation, achieved the expected negative correlations at small but statistically significant levels (p <.01) with some of the predicted variables. Of the personal identity variables, wife education proved strongest and certainly warrants further investigation.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

Despite much research emphasis on shifting sex role
definitions and family structure, little attention has been
given to the extent of change in the relationships between
workers and their work organizations as a result of the
societal reorganization of the family. Large work
organizations such as the armed forces have tended to assume
a traditional family structure, and to define work roles for
organizational members based on heavy family adaptation to
the prescribed work requirements for their workers. In
particular, the "two-person career" family form, a structure
involving major work investment by the adult male member of
the family and much ancillary activity on the part of his
wife geared toward enhancement of the husband's work
efforts, has been suggested as a useful model for
understanding military family life.

There is evidence that the two-person career may not be
appropriate for conceptualizing military family life.
Military families have integrated into the civilian
community structure in increasing numbers. Wives of
military husbands have entered the civilian workforce at the
same rate as society at large. Shifts toward egalitarian

sex roles and stronger self-identity have been noted among wives of military husbands. Thus it appeared likely that increased personal identity among wives would lead to lowered identity with the husband's work role and hence less inclination to provide him with career support.

To test the accuracy of this reasoning a path model explaining wife attitudes toward the career support of her military husband was constructed and six research predictions generated from the structure of the path model. Applying the cost-reward logic of social exchange theory, the model assumed that rewards provided by the organization to the military husband would induce career support for him on the part of the wife. The model further assumed that to the extent the wife found rewards from sources outside those provided through the husband's work organization, wife identification with and career support for the husband's work role would diminish. A secondary feature of the model was division of motivation for wife career support of her husband into two separate but related concepts--wife identification with the husband's job and wife identification with the husband's work organization.

The study utilized secondary data sources for analysis; therefore it was necessary to draw the theoretical variables from the information contained within the sources. Eight variables were operationalized: (a) Wife's Air Force Identity, (b) Wife's Pride in Husband's Job, (c) Husband's

Job-Related Pride and Satisfaction, (d) Husband's

Advancement/Recognition, (e) Wife's Preference for

Employment, (f) Children at Home, (g) Rank, and (h) Wife's

Educational Level. Wife's Air Force Identity was the

criterion variable, and Wife's Pride in Husband's Job was

viewed as a distinct component of wife career support which

influenced the more broadly defined criterion variable. Two

variables, Husband's Advancement/Recognition and Husband's

Job-Related Pride and Satisfaction, were considered to be

measures of the husband's work role. Three variables--Wife

Preference for Employment, Children at Home, and Wife's

Educational Level--were considered to be indicators of the

wife's personal identity. Rank, an external reward provided

by the military work organization, was considered to be

causally prior to and influential on all variables but the

exogenous Wife's Educational Level. Thus the model allowed

measurement of a unidirectional flow of influence from the

exogenous variable of military rank across a path of

variables related to the husband's work role and a parallel

path of variables related to the wife's personal identity.

The model included measures of influence from all prior

variables both on the specific identity of the wife with her

husband's job and the wife's general identification with the

Air Force as an organization.

Rank, Children at Home, and Wife Educational Level were

drawn from single-item, demographic responses. Wife

Preference for Employment was a five-point scale created by merging two single items. The remaining variables consisted of multiple item scales with demonstrated factor stability and acceptable internal reliability.

The sample consisted of 4,737 married couples located at 24 Air Force bases in the United States and Europe. Husbands were members of the Air Force but their wives were not, and all couples were stationed together when the data were gathered. A random sampling procedure stratified by husband's work organization was used. Instrumentation consisted of the Organizational Assessment Package, a survey of work-related attitudes, which was group administered to husbands in the workplace. Wife attitudes were gathered through the US Air Force Spouse Survey administered in the home through a "take home" package given to the married military husbands. Virtually total participation of military members was achieved since the survey was work-related, and wife participation consisted of 30.3% of the married men in the sample. It was possible to link together husband and wife responses, and thus to treat the two surveys as couple data. Comparison of the work study and couple samples revealed that the couple sample was underrepresented in lower ranking, enlisted couples by approximately 11% and underrepresented in black husbands

by about 5%. In other respects the samples were generally equivalent. The data were gathered between January 1982 and December 1984.

Because of socioeconomic and lifestyle differences between military officers and enlisted persons the path model was applied separately to officer and enlisted couples. The resulting analyses permitted conclusions for each group and comparisons between the two.

For enlisted couples the path model explained 12.4% of the variance for Wife's Air Force Identity, the criterion variable, and 20.7% of the Wife's Pride in Husband's Job variable. The explained variance was slightly higher for officer couples--15.9% for Wife's Air Force Identity and 21.7% for Wife's Pride in Husband's Job. In both analyses the criterion variable was largely explained by Wife's Pride in Husband's Job, and that variable, in turn, was largely explained by Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction.

The most clear-cut causal chain linked together the two work-related attitudinal variables surrounding the husband's job, the wife's identification with husband's job, and the wife's identification with the Air Force. This causal path appeared in similar strength among enlisted and officer couples. When the variables were decomposed, the perceived opportunities for career advancement and recognition by husbands were found to exercise considerable influence on

all subsequent variables--including the criterion variable. Although Husband's Advancement/Recognition was influential for enlisted and officer couples, it was stronger for the officer group.

The variables surrounding the wife's personal identity demonstrated few meaningful relationships with the Wife's Pride in Husband's Job or Wife's Air Force Identity variables. Wife's Preference for Employment, a key theoretical variable, appeared unrelated to the wife career support variables. Weak, negative relationships between Wife's Educational Level and some wife career support variables occurred.

Military rank exerted little meaningful influence on the inclination of wives to provide career support for their Air Force husbands. When indirect effects were measured, rank demonstrated a low positive effect for enlisted wives. There was no meaningful relationship between husband's rank and wife career support for officer wives.

Overall results of the study strongly supported the two-person career as the family form best explaining the dynamics of Air Force family life for both officer and enlisted couples. The wife's willingness to support her husband's career was firmly linked to his work role performance and was virtually unrelated to her own work

aspirations and personal identity. The driving force behind the husband's evaluation of his job was not rank attained, however, but expectations of further recognition and career advancement.

Conclusions

The amount of variance explained by the path model, 12.4% for enlisted couples and 15.9% for officer couples, was not great. Explanatory power was important in establishing causal strength for predictor variables, but it was never the intent of this study to build a comprehensive model to account for wife identification with the Air Force. The variables of internal family dynamics, parental concerns, organization appeals and services aimed directly at the wife, and family disruption have strongly demonstrated linkages with spousal attitudes toward the military lifestyle (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; McNichols et al., 1980; Orthner et al., 1984; Szoc, 1981). They were not included in the model, however, because the purpose of this study was to examine and compare two separate processes, the impact of husband's work role performance and wife's personal identity, on the dependent variable.

Glenn and Shelton (1983) have cautioned against overreliance on explained variance in studies employing multiple regression methodology and stressed the need to

fully understand the variance that is accounted for. In that vein the value of this study lies with the causal processes established which connect husband's work role variables with the wife career support variables.

The principal conclusion of this study was that the identification of Air Force wives with the military lifestyle mirrored the work-related attitudes of their husbands. As husbands anticipated further career progression and found satisfaction in their work, wives increased their pride in the husband's job and their own attraction to Air Force life. The findings followed the conceptualizations of work-family linkages in which both husband and wife provide mutual support aimed at strengthening the husband's work performance and career advancement (Kanter, 1977b; Lopata et al., 1980; Mortimer & London, 1984; Papanek, 1973; Portner, 1978; Statuto, 1984). Dubbed the "two-person career" by Papanek (1973), this family pattern is characterized by strong identification of both working husband and supportive wife with the husband's work organization.

Results of the study were consistent with social exchange theory. Homans (1961) and Blau (1967) suggested that individuals accept organizational legitimacy and comply with organizational requirements to the degree that the organization provides expected rewards and distributes them equitably among the members of the organization. In this

instance military wives identified more strongly with the
Air Force when the organization provided their husbands with
satisfying work and expectations of further career
advancement. The concept of generalized exchange (Homans,
1961; Levi-Strauss, 1969; Nye, 1979) would explain the
transfer of husband's work-related attitudinal effects to
the wife's attitudes toward her husband's job and her life
in the Air Force. Kanter's (1977b) understanding of
"occupational culture," values acquired in the workplace and
transmitted through the worker to the family unit, was very
much akin to the idea of generalized exchange. Such
transmission appeared to occur in the causal paths leading
from husband's work-related variables to wife career support
variables.

The source of organizational rewards was unanticipated.
While Blau (1967) and Homans (1961) discussed exchanges
between individuals and organizations, they largely stressed
the equitable distribution of rewards provided. In the case
of Air Force couples it was expected that attained military
rank, a position of status and economic reward conferred on
the member by the Air Force, would strongly influence wife
attitudes toward the military organization. This
correlation between husband's career advancement and wife
support for his career has been reported frequently in the
literature (Derr, 1979; Finlayson, 1976; Hartley, 1978;

Houk, 1980; Kanter, 1977a; Stoddard & Cabonillas, 1976). In the present study those linkages failed to materialize.

Instead, the major source of rewards and the springboard for reciprocal wife response to the organization was anticipated career advancement for the husband. Rank expected in the future, not rank attained in the past, most influenced wife attitudes toward the Air Force. Apparently Air Force wives made comparisons between themselves and other families within the organization in their determination of the profitability of providing career support for the husband and identification with his work organization. In the terminology of Thibaut and Kelley (1959), wives responded favorably so long as the husband's career potential remained at Comparison Level. When the husband's work situation and perceived advancement possibilities dipped to Comparison Level Alternative or lower, wives withdrew their career support and organizational identification.

A second major conclusion of the study was that the wife's personal identity, and particularly her preference for employment, lacked any meaningful association with her feelings about the husband's job or his work organization. Some degree of relationship was expected, but the absence of any real linkage held firm over all measures of total association, direct effects, and indirect effects for officer and enlisted couples. This finding stood in

contrast to theoretical formulations and empirical evidence presented in the literature regarding changing female sex roles (Pleck, 1979; Scanzoni, 1978, 1980). The results also ran counter to previous studies of military family life in which increased spousal commitment to work appeared to weaken career support for the military member (Houk, 1980; Orthner et al., 1984; Suter, 1979; Warner, 1984; Wood, 1982).

The question of discrepancy arises. Why did this representative sample of Air Force couples uncover no influence of personal wife identity on the wife's career support of her husband when the literature suggests that such a relationship exists?

Several explanations appear feasible. One consideration is the inadequacy of the Wife Preference for Employment measure. Safilios-Rothschild (1971) has warned that female work commitment is a complex variable that is difficult to operationalize, and suggested that it must be considered multidimensional in nature. There is much diversity within the literature among the indices of female work commitment. Clearly the crude scale created in the present study did not meet the rigorous requirements suggested by Safilios-Rothschild, and it lacked the robustness of other multiple-item husband and wife attitudinal scales developed for the path model. While the inadequacy of the scale may contribute, in part, to the

findings, there is also evidence that it was not totally inadequate. Both children in the home and wife educational level related significantly ($p<.01$) and in expected directions to the employment preference variable for enlisted and officer wives. On the other hand, the lack of significant relationships between wife employment and career support was pronounced for both officer and enlisted path models. Thus it seemed unlikely that the finding could be fully explained by the inadequacy of the measure.

A more likely explanation is suggested by the Air Force lifestyle. Female work commitment appears to develop over time and to involve attitudinal change related to the employment experience of the working wife (Faver, 1981; Freudiger, 1983; Keith & Schafer, 1983; Lovell-Troy, 1983; Sorenson, 1983). Scanzoni (1978, 1980) has argued that such change is produced by the wife's redefinition of self when she has come to view work as a personal right, and when she has restructured her place within the family system. Frequent relocations, residence overseas and in remote locations where work opportunities for the wife are limited, and heavy familial responsibilities caused by extended husband absence often prevent employment by the Air Force wife or else hinder her advancement by denying her longevity with a particular work organization. This fragile work pattern for military wives is supported by the consistent finding that the proportion of unemployed military wives

seeking employment is double that of the civilian population
(Air Force Manpower and Personnel Center, 1983; Grossman,
1981; Hayghe, 1978; Waldman et al., 1979). Over 40% of the
unemployed wives in this sample desired to work. When the
family lifestyle severely curtails the wife's work options,
there is little control over one's personal work history and
hence little opportunity for the development of strong
attitudinal change as a result of prolonged work experience.

Perhaps even more relevant is the matter of selectivity
within the structure of the Air Force organization. The
military career span is relatively short when compared to
that of the civilian work organization. There are many
points at which the serviceman voluntarily or involuntarily
exits the system, and the military careerist can "retire"
with a lifetime pension after 20 years in the service
(Hunter, 1982; Leon, 1984; Levitan & Alderman, 1977a, 1977b;
Sider & Cole, 1984). It is reasonable to assume that
families who find service life problematic will choose to
leave the military at the earliest and most convenient point
in the career. There is evidence to suggest that this
process does occur. Szoc (1981) found Navy families
experiencing high stress related to the military lifestyle
electing to leave the service. Other researchers have found
higher wife employment among those leaving the service than
those staying (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976;
Suter, 1979; Wood, 1982). These observations suggest that

when wife work commitment is high and the family cannot
resolve their conflicts between wife employment aspirations
and Air Force organizational requirements, the family
probably separates from the Air Force earlier than those
families possessing no such conflicts. The net effect for
the Air Force would be a relatively homogeneous group of
families highly committed to the military lifestyle and
possessing generally low work commitment on the part of
wives. These were precisely the findings of this study.

While all indicators of personal identity among Air
Force wives evidenced little influence on the wife's support
for her husband's career, the degree of wife education
suggested a low, statistically significant ($p<.01$), negative
effect on career support. Wives of officers were more
highly educated than wives of enlisted husbands, and the
impact of education was different for the two groups. Among
officer wives education had no effect on feelings about the
husband's job but lowered identification with the Air Force;
enlisted wives tended to decrease identification with the
husband's job but did not alter feelings about the Air Force
as education increased.

One cannot draw firm conclusions based on the effect of
wife education because the variable demonstrated little
practical impact on the dependent variable, but the
relationship does raise the possibility that increased
self-identity among Air Force wives limits their career

support for husbands. The same phenomenon has been noted in previous studies of military families (Dobrosfsky & Batterson, 1977; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a; Thomas & Durning, 1977). It also appeared in both path analyses performed for this study. If the relationship is accurate, the cross-sectional nature of the data does not permit determination of whether the finding represents the beginning of a trend that will expand in the future or the presence of an ongoing but minor influence on the population of Air Force wives.

A third conclusion was that the two-person career work-family system consisted of two related but distinct components--specific identification with the husband's job, and general identification with the husband's work organization. Both sets of relationships were implied but never spelled out in the the theoretical literature (Kanter, 1977b; Mortimer & London, 1984; Papanek, 1973; Portner, 1978; Statuto, 1984). The two components factored into distinct scales in the data when the variables were operationalized, and the path model predicted the more narrowly defined "wife identity with husband's job" variable more accurately than "wife identity with the Air Force." Yet the job identification variable proved to be the major predictor of Air Force identification for both enlisted and officer wives. By recognizing these two aspects of wife career support for husbands and charting their relationships

with prior variables in the path model, the dynamic process
leading to overall wife career support was better understood
and more accurately predicted.

Drawing together the various threads of overall
findings, a process of work-family interchange leading from
husband's career performance to wife's identification with
the Air Force emerged. While likely career advancement was
the organizational reward prompting wife identification with
the Air Force, a relatively complex process was uncovered by
the path analysis. Only when husband's career advancement
perceptions interacted with his sense of job satisfaction
did they significantly influence the wife's pride in his
job. And wife's feelings about the husband's job proved to
be a major channel leading to her personal identification
with the Air Force lifestyle.

The military lifestyle appeared to strengthen the
process just described. It prevented consistent work
experience among wives and thereby avoided a buildup of wife
work commitment, and prompted exclusion of the more extreme
cases of work commitment on the part of the wife from the
Air Force work-family structure. Thus the distribution of
organizational rewards and the general procedures for
organizational membership appeared to interact so as to
produce a force of organizationally oriented families among
Air Force careerists. Weak evidence ($p<.05$) of resistance
to this process appeared on the part of well-educated

wives, particularly officer wives, but the long-range effects of the finding were unclear.

Finally, it was noteworthy that the process leading to wife identification with the Air Force appeared generally the same for enlisted and officer couples. While some slight differences were uncovered, they seemed more a matter of emphasis than fundamental difference. Apparently the lifestyle and organizational structure of the Air Force interact in a way that creates very similar attitudes toward work and life in the Air Force environment for these two seemingly diverse groups.

Recommendations

Research seldom provides information without prompting further study and follow-up applications. The present findings are no exception. Additional study in the area of family adaptation to the Air Force lifestyle is recommended. The insights acquired also suggest programs and policy changes that will help both the Air Force and its member families to interact more comfortably and take advantage of the benefits each can provide to the other.

Recommendations for Future Research

1. The model explaining wife's identification with the Air Force should be expanded to include additional independent variables. Previous research has revealed that attitudes toward the military lifestyle were related to the internal structure of the family (Orthner & Bowen, 1983;

Orthner et al., 1984; Szoc, 1981). The value placed on such military provided services as housing, medical care, shopping facilities, and the like have also influenced wife attitudes (Air Force Management Improvement Group, 1976; Derr, 1979; Grace & Steiner, 1978; Orthner, 1980; Stumpf, 1978). The addition of these and other theoretical variables to the existing model would strengthen its explanatory power and permit further study of the variable interaction producing wife identity with the Air Force. More importantly, however, other processes at work within the work-family system could be compared to those already examined for strength in influencing the attitudes of wives.

2. Causal relationships flowing from family to work should be explored. The concept of wife support for the husband's career, though examined in this study as originating in the work environment of the husband, implies a cyclical nature. As the wife strengthens or weakens her career support, an impact on the husband's work performance and ultimately his career pattern within the organization might be expected. Useful independent variables in such research would be the wife's willingness to care for home and family in the husband's absence, feelings of being a "team member" in pursuit of an Air Force career, preferences for the Air Force lifestyle, and desire for an independent career. Likely dependent variables might include such variables as the husband's desire to remain in the Air

Force, preferences for various types of jobs within the Air Force, feelings about irregular work schedules and extended absences from the home·

Research examining the effects of family life on the Air Force organization is also needed. In recent years the military has responded to the growing presence of families within its community (Hunter, 1982; McCubbin et al., 1978; Military Family Resource Center, 1984; Orthner et al., 1984). The relationships between proportions of families, families at various lifecycle stages, and families within various economic ranges with such organizational services as day care, wife employment assistance, marriage and family therapy, and family life education could be examined. The effects of family-related variables on organizational matters like recruitment, retention, and early retirement rates could prove useful.

3. Wife employment within the Air Force should be further researched. The findings of this study that Wife Preference for Employment did not influence wife attitudes toward career support for the husband and identification with the Air Force need further clarification. If the findings were accurate, then how does wife employment fit into the Air Force lifestyle? Spouse employment is widespread within the military (Air Force Manpower & Personnel Center, 1983; Doering & Hutzler, 1982; Grossman, 1981; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a). What

motivates the wife employment patterns? Is economic
necessity a stronger motivation for wife employment among
military than civilian families? If so, what impact does
this economic need have on wife attitudes toward the Air
Force? Such questions underscore the value of understanding
more fully the dynamic behind wife employment within the Air
Force community and how the process fits into the overall
picture of the military lifestyle. Well designed
exploratory studies are needed that examine work histories
and work aspirations of various groups of wives within the
military, and that discern the connections between wife work
patterns and various family and military career variables.

4. The effects of wife education on wife attitudes
toward career support for the husband and toward the Air
Force lifestyle should be further researched. Findings in
this study revealed a weak, inverse relationship between
wife education and career support for her husband, but they
suggested many interesting questions. Why are the
relationships so weak? Is it possible that this weak but
statistically significant ($p < .01$) effect represents a trend
toward greater self-identity on the part of wives that will
increase in the years ahead? Do military wives channel
skills acquired through education into life activities other
than wife employment and enhanced personal identity? Does
wife education interact in any significant way with other
variables in the model to produce the observed effect? Are

the frequently reported ambivalent attitudes of wives toward personal identity and career support of the husband related to wife education? Provocative questions such as these provide useful grist for the mill as military family research is designed for the future. Exploratory studies regarding the development of self-identity among Air Force wives should take education into account as a predictor variable, and should be included in multiple-variable studies of military family dynamics conducted in the future.

5. The model should be applied to various groups within the Air Force. It would be useful to divide the population of couples into subgroups along the career span or according to career intent and apply the path model. Wife self-identity might influence wife support for the husband's career very differently for couples who are not yet committed to an Air Force career. Husband's work role performance may prompt different reactions from the wife when the couple have made the decision to retire from the service.

If the contention that the Air Force lifestyle tends to produce a homogeneous group who invest heavily in the husband's career is accurate, couples with less exposure to the lifestyle might be expected to respond less strongly to the husband's work-related attitudes. By comparing the dynamic processes outlined in the path model across groups of couples who vary in their commitment to the Air Force,

the overall process leading to wife identification with the Air Force will be further explained.

Recommendations for Air Force Policy and Programs

1. Job satisfaction should be balanced with career advancement as motivation for an Air Force career. This study has revealed that anticipated promotions strongly overshadow sense of fulfillment in one's present job as a source of satisfaction. Past achievements in the form of rank attained had little effect on the husband's sense of satisfaction, while expected promotions accounted for almost two-thirds of the job satisfaction professed by officers and enlisted personnel. Wives, and particularly officer wives, gave primary consideration to the likelihood of future career advancement for their husbands when deciding on the degree of career support that they would extend.

Of course career advancement is necessary to motivate performance and it is an inherent feature of any large organization offering a career track for its workers. One must remember that correlation means not only covariance at the postive end of the continua, but covariance on the negative ends as well. Thus those individuals who are not promoted and who feel that their chances for further advancement are restricted demonstrate declining job satisfaction, elicit lowered wife support, and presumably perform less effectively on the job. As the organizational structure permits fewer opportunities for advancement when

the worker encounters the well-known pyramid of
organizational leadership positions, this negative cycle
will be set in motion for more and more workers.

One option the Air Force might consider would be
allowing members to elect at certain points whether or not
they wished to compete for future promotions. Allowing such
selections without placing restrictions on career longevity
would remove some of the stigma associated with nonpromotion
and elevate the element of job satisfaction within the
system.

Other options include programs aimed directly at
enhancing job satisfaction for workers and their wives.
Recognition and rewards for jobs well done could be
developed. Many such programs now exist, but most feed into
the recognition required to achieve promotion. Programs
aimed at job satisfaction would require a design that does
not lead to further promotions, but provides inherent
satisfaction in and of itself. Other alternatives that
would strengthen job satisfaction might include placing
emphasis on organizational unity and group achievements,
promoting a sense of patriotism and common purpose among
workers and their families, and building awareness of the
positive side of military life among families.

2. The Air Force should sponsor a series of "Air Force
Lifestyle Seminars" for all married couples at specified
points along the career track. This study and comparable

research contained in the literature review have established that the military lifestyle is unique, and that it impacts heavily on the lives of the whole family unit. Thus it would be helpful to families and to the work organization if an organized program of family life education designed to explore the major work-family linkages were provided for families at critical junctures in the Air Force career of the family member(s).

Appropriate times for such seminars would be shortly after married persons arrive at their first permanent assignment or after a military member marries, the four-year point when the couple has made a commitment to the Air Force as a career, the ten-year or mid-career point, and the eighteen-year point as the couple approaches possible retirement. Topics to be covered in the seminars would vary with the location and work environment, and with the particular career juncture. Generally, however, they would revolve around work requirements that affect the family, roles of husband and wife within the greater Air Force community, problems and disruptions in the family caused by the Air Force lifestyle. The seminars should be designed and offered by the network of family life professionals within the system who constitute the staffs of the Air Force Family Support Centers. Where Family Support Centers do not exist, and as ancillary staff where there are Centers, assistance could be provided by chaplains, social workers, and well-trained volunteers.

Since participation would be voluntary, the success of
the program would depend on promotion by Air Force leaders.
Inducements for attendance could include work-release time
for Air Force members (and for wives employed as civilians
within the larger military complex), participation by units
(perhaps with the seminars held at the workplace), free
child care, and heavy personal participation by military
leadership. Ultimately the success of the project would
depend on the quality of the seminars themselves, and the
value they provided for participants.

3. The Air Force should sponsor a force-wide spouse
volunteer/employment assistance program. This study
demonstrated that wife employment did not diminish the
wife's positive attitude toward the Air Force or her
willingness to support his career. Thus the organizational
integrity of the Air Force is not threatened by the working
wife of the officer or enlisted person. Various levels of
employment preference existed--from those who did not wish
to work to those who found much personal fulfillment in
working. Especially notable was the large group of wives
who wished to work but could not find jobs.

Even though the full implications of wife employment
preference cannot be stated without further study, the
divergence of views and lifestyle considerations suggest
that Air Force wives need assistance. It is very likely
that many wives work out of economic necessity (Air Force
Manpower and Personnel Center, 1983; Bennett et al., 1974;

Finlayson, 1976; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a). On the other hand, both working and nonworking wives have expressed the need to work and to volunteer their time for reasons of self-satisfaction (Finlayson, 1976; Orthner, 1980; Orthner & Bowen, 1982a; Warner, 1984). By assisting wives who wish to work for pay and those who wish to work as volunteers, the Air Force can help member families to find stability, economic security, and personal fulfillment within the context of the ever-changing military career.

The spouse volunteer/employment assistance program could provide detailed information to military wives on volunteer and employment opportunities on the base and in the surrounding civilian community. It could maintain a file of prospective volunteers and employees with their credentials along with such information as arrival and expected departure dates. Such a program might offer training opportunities, job-hunting skills seminars, pairing of wives seeking positions and others who have found them, and support groups for job-hunting wives with common interests. The program could serve as an advocacy agency on such matters as child care and local discrimination against hiring military wives. It could document volunteer service that would lead to later employment, and place volunteers in positions where they would acquire useful skills. Programs of this sort are currently under development at some Family Support Centers within the Air Force, but there is much need to establish and manage such a program across the Air Force

and to place a full-time director in the Air Force Family
Matters Office.

4. Finally, it is crucial that the Air Force continue
its work-family research. As the findings from this study
suggest, the processes leading to the greatest mutual
benefit between the work organization and the member
families are just beginning to come into focus. Given the
urgency of the Air Force mission and the centrality of the
member contribution to the mission, family concerns become a
factor that cannot be ignored.

Recently the decision was made to cease the management
consultation process through which the data for the present
study were gathered. Whether or not data collection will
continue in another form is uncertain. It is strongly
recommended that the research process be kept alive, and
that the existing data bases from which this information was
drawn continue to receive new input. The USAF Spouse Survey
was recently revised to include items that would greatly
strengthen its analysis capability (Dansby, 1984).
Ultimately, military family research appears likely to rival
the more readily accepted studies of hardware and manpower
in their overall implications for the effectiveness of the
Air Force.

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APPENDIX A

Wife's Air Force Identity (WAFI)

Please indicate your agreement by choosing the phrase which best represents your attitude concerning the following statements.

    1 = Strongly disagree   5 = Slightly agree
    2 = Moderately disagree   6 = Moderately agree
    3 = Slightly disagree   7 = Strongly agree
    4 = Neither agree nor diagree

16. I feel involved with the Air Force lifestyle.

17. I would recommend an Air Force career for any young man or woman, including a son or daughter of mine.

19. An Air Force career has as much prestige and status as a civilian career.

27. I am glad my spouse chose the Air Force as a career.

44. Which of the following best describes your desires for your spouse's career or employment intentions?

    1. I would like my spouse to separate/terminate from the Air Force as soon as possible.

    2. For the most part, I would like my spouse to not make the Air Force a career.

    3. I am undecided as to my desires concerning my spouse making the Air Force a career.

    4. For the most part, I would like my spouse to make the Air Force a career.

    5. I would like my spouse to make the Air Force a career.

    6. I would like my spouse to retire in the next 12 months.

Below are items which relate to your spouse's job. Read
each statement carefully and then decide to what extent the
statement is true of your spouse's job. Indicate the extent
to which the statement is true for his/her job by choosing
the most appropriate phrase.

1 = Not at all   5 = To a fairly large extent
2 = To a very little extent   6 = To a great extent
3 = To a little extent   7 = To a very great extent
4 = To a moderate extent

71.   To what extent would you be happier if your spouse was
doing a similar job only as a civilian?

Appendix B

Husband's Advancement/Recognition (HAR)

Below are items which relate to your job. Read each statement carefully and then decide to what extent the statement is true of your job. Indicate the extent to which the statement is true for your job by choosing the phrase which best represents your job.

1 = Not at all   5 = To a fairly large extent
2 = To a very little extent   6 = To a great extent
3 = To a little extent   7 = To a very great extent
4 = To a moderate extent

41. To what extent are you aware of promotion/advancement opportunities that affect you?

43. To what extent do you have the opportunity to progress up your career ladder?

44. To what extent are you being prepared to accept increased responsibility?

47. To what extent do you have the opportunity to learn skills which will improve your promotion potential?

APPENDIX C

Husband's Job Related Pride and Satisfaction (HJRPS)

Below are items which relate to your job. Read each statement carefully and then decide to what extent the statement is true of your job. Indicate the extent to which the statement is true for your job by choosing the phrase which best represents your job.

1 = Not at all   5 = To a fairly large
2 = To a very little extent   extent
3 = To a little extent   6 = To a great extent
4 = To a moderate extent   7 = To a very great extent

32.   To what extent are your proud of your job?

46.   To what extent does your work give you a feeling of pride?

Items below are used to determine how satisfied you are with specific job related issues. Indicate your degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with each issue by choosing the most appropriate phrase.

1 = Extremely dissatisfied   5 = Slightly satisfied
2 = Moderately dissatisfied   6 = Moderately satisfied
3 = Slightly dissatisfied   7 = Extremely satisfied
4 = Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied

101.   Feeling of Helpfulness
The chance to help people and improve their welfare through the performance of my job. The importance of my job performance to the welfare of others.

103.   Family Attitude Toward Job
The recognition and the pride my family has in the work I do.

106.   Work Schedule
My work schedule; flexibility and regularity of my work schedule; the number of hours I work per week.

107. <u>Job Security</u>

108. <u>Acquired Valuable Skills</u>
     The chance to acquire valuable skills in my job which prepare me for future opportunities.

109. <u>My Job as a Whole</u>

APPENDIX D

Wife's Pride in Husband's Job (WPHJ)

Please indicate your agreement by choosing the phrase which best represents your attitude concerning the following statements.

1 = Stongly disagree   5 = Slightly agree
2 = Moderately disagree   6 = Moderately agree
3 = Slightly disagree   7 = Strongly agree
4 = Neither agree nor disagree

25. My spouse's abilities are fully used in his/her current job.

26. My spouse has an important job.

Below are items which relate to your spouse's job. Read each statement carefully and then decide to what extent the statement is true of your spouse's job. Indicate the extent to which the statement is true for his/her job by choosing the most appropriate phrase.

1 = Not at all   5 = To a fairly large extent
2 = To a very little extent   6 = To a great extent
3 = To a little extent   7 = To a very great extent
4 = To a moderate extent

70. To what extent are you proud of your spouse's job?

72. To what extent would you like your spouse to change the job he/she is now doing, but remain in the Air Force?