THE NAVY AND THE FAMILY

A Study of the relationship between Naval Service and Family Life, using the articulation between the occupational system and the family as the theoretical framework, and the concept of the boundary role of the member/husband as the focal point of the methodological analysis

I declare that this thesis is my own composition and that all sources have been acknowledged.

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the Australian National University

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I declare that this thesis is my own composition and that all sources have been acknowledged.

I am especially indebted to Professor J. Zubrzycki for his constant advice, guidance and support and to Professor E.H. Turner, who introduced the thesis topic with me when he was in Cascoza in 1972 and was able to help me immensely because of his knowledge and experience of the Navy and the family.

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"Societies or social systems may contain a considerable degree of harmony, in the sense that the performance of roles is reciprocated without a great deal of obstruction; but this does not mean that such systems are highly co-operative; between the poles of co-operation and unrestrained conflict lie most forms of social relationship. Within these relationships there is a constant tension between reciprocation and non-reciprocation".

INTRODUCTION

The Social Worker's Perspective

"The aim of the Navy in peace is to train to fight the ships in war. It is equally true to say that if the morale of the people who train and fight is questionable, due to either a real or imagined state of compassion, so also is their efficiency".

These words were used by the Second Naval Member when he supported a move to appoint professional social workers to the Royal Australian Navy in 1957. The first social work appointments were made in that year, and in 1973, approximately sixteen years later, there are twenty-three naval social workers located throughout Australia. The total strength of the Navy at December 28, 1972 was 16,868 persons, consisting of 13,973 sailors, 7877 officers and 767 female personnel. Of this number 1,502 officers, 6,096 sailors and 124 females were married.

The author has been the principal social worker located at Navy Office in Canberra since 1964 and in this capacity has participated in the development of policy and services for the Navy and the families of its members. This study is a direct result of this experience and has drawn on the knowledge gained from this period of association with the Navy, naval families and naval social workers in the day-to-day situation.

In 1972, naval social workers were in touch with two thousand families. Activity on this scale suggests that naval members and their families find it hard to
adjust to the conditions of service, and the social worker's experience tends to confirm this reasoning. It is recognised that this conclusion could be reached because of the position in which the social worker is placed. The social worker is mediating between the worlds of the Navy and the family and is able to see the needs of both systems and at the same time participate in the hostility and tension between the two. Alternative reasons for the widespread involvement of social workers are entertained. Their use could be evidence that there are specific factors in the service situation which make it imperative that conflict and tension be resolved; it could represent enlightened and progressive personnel policy by an employer; it could suggest institutionalised conflict between the occupational system and the family or it could be symptomatic of pathology in the military system, the community, the family, or the individual.

The social worker's perspective suggests that there is conflict between Navy and the family, as the Service is more powerful and is able to control the relationship. The question the social worker frequently asks is how the families do manage to survive. This consideration is tempered by the thought that in fact many families do adjust to the system and exist without making any complaint.

But survival is not sufficient evidence of harmony. Between survival and co-operation there are many degrees of satisfaction, and the cost of survival may be
reflected in other areas of family and occupational life. The member may be alienated from both his family and the Navy, his children may suffer due to his absences from home, his wife may breakdown in middle age, or the marital adjustments subsequent to his discharge may be severe and painful.

In the course of this study the conclusion has been reached that the naval situation is not as different from other occupations as had been thought initially, and useful comparisons can be made between service life and other occupations. The theoretical orientation which proved seminal in developing the analysis is the concept of the boundary role of the member, who is also a husband/father (Parsons, 1971: 53). This boundary role became the central focus of the research study, which sought to examine the man's attitudes to his work in the Navy and his role in the family at the point when he was free to make a decision as to whether he would stay in the Navy. The starting point was that married members would choose to leave the Navy because they were experiencing conflict between their commitments to the Navy and to the family. This prediction was not proven by the research findings to the extent which had been anticipated, and this outcome suggests that the social worker had, in fact, experienced an occupational bias.

On reflection, it seems possible that this bias may stem from two sources. The social worker's position may not be dissimilar to the member's, and a form of
identification may take place. Both may be involved in the conflict and tension between the two worlds, though the social worker is one step removed from the actual scene. On the other hand, the individual member is only involved in his own situation, but the social worker is aware of the total volume of strain. The other hazard is that a degree of personal identification with the naval system inevitably takes place, and this is accompanied by familiarity and subjectivity. This problem is illustrated by Rosser and Harris (1965: 287), who quote Nadel, (1951: 199):

"The motions of a roundabout are puzzling only until we lift the trap-door and discover a well-known engine driving the thing".

Rosser and Harris comment:

"The trouble is that as members of the society we hardly find the motion of the social roundabout puzzling at all; we just take it for granted that things work this way".

The quality of detachment so essential to a study of society is more difficult to retain when the people and events are connected by close contact and bonds of friendship.
CHAPTER I

The Relationship between the Occupational System and the Family

The relationship between the Royal Australian Navy and the families of its members may be conceptualised on two levels: as the articulation between two systems or subsystems of society, the occupational system and the family; and at the role-person level as the relation between the occupational and family life spheres of individuals.

Sigmund Freud is reported to have been asked what he thought a normal person should be able to do well, and his answer was: "Lieben and Arbeiten" (to love and to work), (Erikson, 1965: 256). Freud's "simple formula" demonstrates the centrality of these two activities in people's lives, but it does not say how they are to be combined. Profound as Freud's statement may be, the crucial questions raised in this study are unanswered: How are the spheres of work and family life adjusted to one another? What mechanisms exist, and what adaptations are made to enable both systems to function and survive? How is it possible for accommodation to be made to both systems?

The thesis put forward is that there is a broad pattern of fit between the family and the modern industrial system but a further and not inconsistent proposition
directs the analysis. This is that there are tensions and contradictions contained within this relationship, and the interaction between the harmony and the strain, the congruence and the conflict, leads to adaptations in social institutions which contain seeds of instability and potentiality for change.  

Historical Orientation

The historical record suggests that the family as an institutionalised social structure has existed in all known societies, although

"how these families are organised, what is done in terms of them, and how they interrelate with other membership units and aspects of social structure are all subject to extremely wide variation" (Levy, 1965: 13).

In primitive societies the family is a multipurpose organisation (Ogburn, 1964: 175) that "procreates, educates, prepares food, eats together, with members working for it".

In a complex modern society these various human activities become functions of specialised institutions:

"thus, factories produce cloth and clothing; restaurants serve food; churches are places of worship; and schools educate". (Ogburn, 1964: 175).

In this process of specialisation, the family is described by Ogburn (1964: 185) as having lost or "sloughed off" functions to other sectors of society. Taking a dynamic view, Burgess and Locke (1953: vii) are widely quoted for their description of the transition of the family from an institution to a companionship. By this they mean that the family in the past was unified by external, formal,
and authoritarian factors, while in the new emerging companionship family, unity inheres more and more in such interpersonal relations as the mutual affection, sympathetic understanding, and comradeship of its members (Burgess and Locke, 1953: vii). The same trend is seen by Zimmerman (1947) as one from "familism to atomism". For Hill, the change is from a familistic-patriarchal to a person-centred democratic type of family (Hill, 1947: 129).

Structurally the movement has been away from the extended family and towards the conjugal or nuclear family (Goode, 1964: 50-51). Specifically, Parsons has characterised the American family as an open, multilineal, conjugal system (Parsons, 1949: 175).

The association between these changes in the family and the forces of industrialisation have been traced by Weber (1947), Smelser (1959), and Goode (1961). There is general agreement that there is apparent theoretical harmony between the conjugal family system, the modern world, and the modern industrial system (Goode, 1968: 115), but there are differing orientations towards the question of whether the family has been used by the industrial system (Harris, 1969: 120) or has facilitated its progress (Goode, 1968: 116). Goode insists that the theoretical relations between a developing industrial system and the conjugal family are not entirely clear:

"we have not assumed that the amount of change is a simple function of one or the other, or even of combinations of both" (Goode, 1968: 114).
The crucial points of pressure from industrialisation on the traditional family structure are geographical mobility, which decreases the frequency and intimacy of contact among kin members, although this can be counteracted by greater ease of communication; class-differential mobility, which creates discrepancies in life style among kin; a proliferation of agencies which handle problems previously catered for in large corporate kin groupings; a value structure which recognises achievement more than birth; and the creation of a large number of specialised jobs which differentiate kin occupationally (Goode, 1968: 115).

There is no certainty, in Goode's view, that these forces have served the needs of the family pattern, even though it is clear that the conjugal system has served the needs of the industrial system (Goode, 1968: 116). The tension which is reflected in this issue appears to be symptomatic of opposition between purely materialistic values and human needs. The family is seen as the repository of human values and satisfactions, focussing attention upon the happiness and companionship of mates and on the rearing of little children (Ogburn, 1964: 185); and the industrial situation is seen as the materialist stronghold. The role of ideology in cementing the two sets of values has been stressed by Goode (1968: 114), and by Parsons (1947: 80), who comments on Weber's views in the following words:

"In many societies there are deep-seated sentiments opposed to carrying such specialisation too far, above all those which oppose treating a human being merely as an
instrument of impersonal ends. Particularly in a society which places so unprecedentedly high valuation on human life and personality as such, willingness to fit into specialised instrumental roles requires explanation. An element of this explanation Weber found in the Protestant orientation, in that in this process of active mastery over the world the individual was an instrument of a higher instance, of God's will, and was working in the service of an impersonal end beyond his own personal interests".

Although the two worlds of the family and industrialisation may appear to represent different sets of values which have been mediated by the Protestant Ethic, it is clear that fundamentally they are dependent on one another, and to function efficiently our society is dependent on both of them. The family needs an income for survival, and this income is obtained through participation in the system of production; on the other hand, the economic system depends on the family's role in educating, stabilising and motivating its members for participation and achievement in the occupational world. In an industrial society organised on the lines of modern western nations, primacy must go to the industrial system, and this rests on the fact that

"the irreducible base of family life as we know it is economic" (Turner, 1970: 263).

The institutionalised subordination of family to economic life in our society is the basis for the traditional authority of the husband in the family, and

"without the removal of this economic base, as by some hypothetical universal family pension scheme, it is difficult to see how being a breadwinner can fail to convey authority in the family". (Turner, 1970: 263).
This subordination of the family to the occupational sector is reinforced by the comparative lack of political power available to the family as an institution. The family is not organised to represent its interests directly, and its position in society may be to furnish recruits for public roles with a family reason for their being allocated where they are; family members participate in outside groups on behalf of the family unit, the father's occupational role being something that is due to the family from the father and is therefore part of his family role (Fallding, 1957: 74-75). These orientations lead Fallding to the view that the family is a group that underlies other groups rather than one that stands beside them, and is separable from them.

"It is a basic unit of society in the literal sense that the part played elsewhere by members of a family is as much a function of their position in the family as it is a function of their position in the other parts of the social structure. Thus there is a fusion of roles" (Fallding, 1957: 75).

This theoretical position relies on the recognition by the economic system, and the family, that the relationship serves their mutual interests. It tends to ignore the possibility that both institutions could define the situation differently. It is not clear that bureaucratic institutions do recognise the family's role and rights, and in view of the domination of economic interests and the comparatively greater political power of the economy, it is not certain that Fallding's orientation is consistent with the social situation.
That there is a pattern of fit between the family and the occupational system is a central feature of Parsons' theory, which is based on the premise that both systems are crucial for society, but the dominant patterns of each are in sharp contrast and in order to reach a delicate adjustment their different patterns must be segregated and yet articulated. This problem of structural compatibility is solved by making sure that only one member of the family, the husband/father, plays a full competitive role in the occupation system (Parsons, 1949: 191).

Parsons' theory rests on a set of propositions: first, the patterns of behaviour institutionalised in the two areas are disparate; secondly, they are potentially in conflict; thirdly, they are and have to be institutionally segregated in order to avoid getting in each other's way; and fourthly, articulation is achieved by allowing only one participant to enter fully into both systems (Parsons, 1949: 191). The validity and logic of these propositions are in question, but as the theory is systematic and coherent, it is used as a framework within which to discuss the worlds of work and the family.

The case that there is a sharp contrast between the two sectors is made on a number of dimensions. The polarity between human and material values has already been mentioned. The preserve of the family after it has "sloughed off" other functions is the socialisation of children and the stabilisation of the adult personalities of the population
The specialised areas in which the family operates means that the marital partners are thrown on each other in a

"structurally unsupported situation" (Parsons and Bales, 1956: 19).

The marriage relation is placed in a far more strategic position, and the parent role has enhanced significance for the emotional balance of the parents themselves as well as for the socialisation of the children. The family's nurturance of the individual and his emotional needs means that the individual is supposed to find satisfaction in his family role rather than in the big impersonal world outside.

Another distinction made is that the occupational system gives priority to functional achievement as an ideal pattern, which implies that roles are organised about standards of competence, and their criteria are used in selection of personnel as well as employed by them on the job. Parsons contrasts the universal standards of objectivity and competence used in the bureaucratic and other employment agencies with the particularistic basis of role and status in a kinship group. Associated with this distinction is another; that occupational roles are achieved, or stress achievement, whereas family roles are ascribed.

The nature of ascribed family roles is depicted in the following extract from Robert Frost's poem:
The Death of the Hired Man

"Home is the place where,  
When you have to go there,  
They have to take you in.  
I should have called it,  
Something you somehow haven't to deserve".

(Frost, 1956 : 58)

The difference between the family and the occupational world may be stressed by references to the concepts of primary group and bureaucracy. The family is a primary group

"characterised by face-to-face associations and co-operation" (Cooley, 1965 : 315), and the bureaucratic organisation is defined by Weber, (1964 : 324-341). The essential characteristics are that it is an organisation composed of a number of positions or offices hierarchically arranged in terms of authority, occupied by people appointed on the basis of their technical qualifications, who are promoted according to achievement and earn fixed salaries in money with a right to pensions. The office is the only, or at least the primary occupation, and constitutes a career. Only under certain circumstances does the employing authority, especially in private organisations, have the right to terminate the appointment, but the official is always free to resign.

The term of appointment to a marriage and to the status of child is not always so prescribed, but marriage does involve a legal contract and there are laws and norms governing family relationships and the disposal and inheritance of property. Although the family is seen as
an example of a primary group, it is also clear that primary groups exist within bureaucracies and the work situation, so that for an individual participating in both spheres, face-to-face associations may be formed in each. On the other hand, the wife at home has little experience of bureaucracies as a result of her housewife role and may have to look outside the family for additional face-to-face relationships.

Although Parsons' theory consists of a series of propositions, it is proposed to discuss it as a whole rather than piecemeal. While not disagreeing with the basic assumption that the two spheres represent the polarisation of different aspects of society, the statement that the segregation is pervasive and essential to the delicate adjustment of the two sets of values and patterns of behaviour is questioned.

The norm that private and public life should be kept apart is a platitude in our social milieu, but the tension between this belief and the reality has been demonstrated by the pervasive fear of the incursion of "Big Brother" into our private worlds. George Orwell's "Nineteen Eighty Four" raised this problem. It was discussed by Edward Shils (1956) in his study of the McCarthy era in the United States and again in the Boyer Lectures delivered by Professor Zelman Cowen in 1969. The tension lies between the legitimated needs of society or sectors of it, and the expectation of the individual that he will have areas of privacy in which he can be "an island
entire of itself". The adage that an Englishman's home is his castle reflects this sentiment. His problem is to make sure that the moat and armoury protect him. The experts are not very optimistic:

"By taking a certain amount of trouble", Aldous Huxley wrote in Tomorrow and Tomorrow and Tomorrow, (1956 : 142) "you might still be able to get yourself eaten by a bear in New York State .... but solitude is receding at the rate of four and a half kilometers per annum" . The ordinary man may not have as much trouble as the public figure in keeping his private life apart. The public expects the private lives of judges, politicians, clerygmen, not to mention royalty, to be open to public inspection, and beyond reproach. Film stars, on the other hand, may openly seek exposure of their personal affairs and this may increase their commercial value, if not their productivity.

An incident which occurred in Australia early in 1973 illustrates the pitfalls of public office. Several ministers of the newly installed Labour Government were reported by the media to have appointed sons and relatives to their personal staffs. A cartoon appeared in a national newspaper recording the discomfort which these appointments created. The scene pictured was reminiscent of the days of cottage industry, and the caption read:

"Dr. Cairns? ... this is the Department Secretary's Auntie. My cousin by marriage will bring round that report when his sister's finished correcting grandpa's typing errors. O.K?" 8

Subsequently the ministers concerned defended their
selections on the grounds that the relatives fulfilled the functional requirements for the positions; no Public Service rules were broken, and presumably several happy ministerial families survive! The same justifications for using kin as employees in preference to strangers are advanced by farmers and owners of small businesses. Their sons and nephews are often more knowledgeable about the farm or the firm than other candidates for the job could possibly be. This coalescence of interests may enhance the productivity of the business, and also ensure its continuity by inheritance.

Ascriptive and achievement roles may be combined. There may be merging between the two areas of family and occupation. Bureaucracies are more and more acting to guarantee an employee's career by providing a permanent position and a pension. The tendency then is to regard this situation as ascribed and not needing to be deserved by performance. Family positions are less ascribed than may be thought, at least the roles of husband and wife have elements of achievement patterns in them, not only at the selection stage, but also by virtue of their performance. It is by no means certain that home is the place where "they have to take you in".

The effectiveness of institutional segregation may be influenced by the degree of visibility between the two areas. Presumably some of the value of the separation for the individual is that he can act inconsistently in
either area, so that the other area is not necessarily able to scrutinise his behaviour. The "boys' night out", when heavy workloads are used as an excuse for absence from home is a familiar comedy routine. The gulf between the two worlds may also be used as a device to screen behaviour, especially in occupations where the male is absent from home, where the technical component is obscure to the wife, or where there are restrictions based on security or confidentiality.

Even if segregation is achieved, Whyte (1951) has revealed mechanisms other than the man's role for articulating the two worlds. This mechanism consists in a conscious effort by the business organisation to bring the family within its own orbit. Devices are used to bridge the gulf between the wife's family-centred role and the husband's corporation-motivated career. The take-over tactics used are very imaginative. Wives are scrutinised before their husbands are appointed to key positions, and the selection procedure may consist of the boss having breakfast with the family in an informal wife-screening process. The selection is made on an excessively personal basis. To help them spot key indicators many executives rely heavily on their own wives:

"My wife is very, very keen on this", says one president, "she can spot things I might miss, and if the gal isn't up to par with her, its no go".

The dossiers compiled as a result of these personal forays are then available when a man's name comes up for promotion, and the company has the answer to such questions as:
"What is the health of the family?"
"What is their attitude to parenthood?"
"How does the wife run her home?"
"Does she dress with taste?"
(Whyte, Nov. 1951 : 109)

In the face of this evidence, Parsons' statement that

"criteria of effective performance in a role and of selection to perform it must be predominantly universalistic, and must be attached to impersonally and objectively defined abilities and competence through training" (Parsons, 1949 : 190),

may not be contradicted, but the corporation is certainly applying personal and particularistic standards as well.

Not only do companies sell themselves to the wife, but they try to integrate her into their organisation:

"When a man comes to work for us .... we think of the company as employing the family, for it will be supporting the entire family, not merely the breadwinner" (Whyte, Nov. 1951 : 109),

and all this activity is justified in the philosophy of democratic paternalism:

"It is not imposing something on its members; it is only responding to what they themselves want" (Whyte, Nov. 1951 : 111).

This view is reciprocated by the wives, whose image of the company is beneficent, impersonal and warm -

"in a nice kind of way, Big Brother" (Whyte, Nov. 1951 : 158).

The coalescence of interests created by bridging the gulf between the family and the occupational world is contrasted with the sharp segregation between coalminers and their wives and children in Ashton in the North of
England. Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter (1958 : 228) comment:

"Here in the Ashton family is a system of relationships torn by a major contradiction at its heart; husband and wife live separate, and in a sense secret lives".

Not only are the two areas of work and family life segregated, but so are the roles of husband and wife. A man's centres of activity are outside his home, and the activities and groups in which he participates "are separate from and fundamentally opposed to the family" (Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, 1958 : 220).

The wife's position is different. In a very consciously accepted division of labour, she must keep the house in good order and complete her day's work - with a meal ready for her husband - before he comes home:

"Housewives boast of their attention to the needs of their husbands, and how they have never been late with a meal, never confronted a returning worker with a cold meal, never had to ask his help in household duties" (Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, 1958 : 181).

Life with the corporation, and life in Ashton, are two very diverse situations. They are used to illustrate the fact that institutional segregation between the two worlds of work and family may represent different outcomes in different occupations and societies. The two worlds may remain distinct and separate and hardly articulate at all, or there may be a fusion of interests and an attempt to integrate the family with the occupational world, so that they appear to move closer together.

The relations between the Navy and the family appear
to incorporate elements of both types of adjustment, and the task in the following chapters is an effort to explain the interaction between the two spheres, both at the subsystem and the role-person level. This explanation is governed by three general statements which have been extracted from the foregoing discussion. The first of these insists that the occupational system in our society dominates the family because it has control over the family's source of income; the second states that the two subsystems are differentiated in society but may or may not be completely segregated from one another; the third general assertion is that the male member of the family commonly belongs to both systems and is the mediator between the two. These statements underlie much of the discussion in the following chapters, but the first two are more relevant to the analysis of the relationship between the Navy and the family at the subsystem level which forms the subject matter of the following chapters, while the third proposition concerns the boundary role of the member/husband, and forms the basis of the empirical study.

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CHAPTER II

The Navy and the Family

The territory inhabited by the two institutions of the Navy and the Family is largely uncharted, and understanding beyond the general theoretical level of the statements made in the previous chapter proceeds in a somewhat hazardous and eclectic fashion. Theorists have commented on the absence of a general body of literature which traces the relationship between the occupational system and the family (Rapoport, 1971; Pitts, 1964; Litwak and Meyer, 1967), but these statements are mainly negative and suggest that attention has been paid to both spheres separately, but not to their interaction:

"The relations between work and family life have seldom been studied explicitly, for specialists in family sociology, kinship, industrial sociology, and occupational psychology have tended to treat each of these areas as a relatively closed subsystem. It is as though family structure, organisation and functioning depended entirely on factors associated with the family and the individual personalities within it, while the organisation and functioning of work groups could be explained exclusively in terms of the work situation" (Rapoport, 1971: 273).

The literature which does throw some light in this area may be divided into three streams. One of these consists of studies of specific occupations which include a discussion of family life as part of the total picture. The life of coalminers in Ashton by Dennis, Henriques and
Slaughter (1956) has already been mentioned; Hollowell's study of lorry drivers (1968); Tunstall's of fishermen (1962), and Whitaker's volume on the police (1964) all contain references to family life. A second way in which the subject is approached is to select attributes of the occupational system and of family life and relate them to one another. The proposition which Aberle and Naegele (1968) consider is whether a connection can be established between the particular satisfactions and strains of the middle class father's occupational setting and his behaviour towards his wife and children. They conclude that these fathers do not perceive any such connection and attribute this outcome to the segregation between family and occupational roles, which permits men to feel that their actions in one area have no direct bearing on their behaviour and attitudes in the other one. Edgell (1970) considers the husband's orientation to success at work as the key variable among upwardly mobile professional men in the early stages of the family life cycle; while Gold and Slater (1958) attempt to formulate explanations about the relationship of family life to employment in mass and bureaucratic occupations. The third stream in the literature is mainly oriented from the family's angle, and discusses relationships with the husband/father's occupation from that point of view. Middle class family life styles are examined by Bell (1970); the lives of managers and their wives by the Pahls (1971); the lives of blue-collar workers by Komarovsky (1962), while Turner (1971)
refers to the male occupational role in the general context of family interaction.

While this body of literature is useful and contains insights which are drawn on and quoted in this and in succeeding chapters, it does not provide the frame of reference within which the relationship between the Navy and the Family can be explored and explained. In the absence of guidelines, an attempt was made initially to construct a classification of occupations according to their effect on family life, but this attempt proved abortive for a number of reasons. One of these is that the traditional classification of occupations used in census collection and in studies of class, status and prestige, have been fruitful for those purposes (Hughes, 1959: 443-444), but conceal many attributes which differentiate occupations when the effects of work and non-work life are considered (Edgell, 1970: 515). This problem is reflected in the fact that within one occupation, such as medicine, men are employed in a diversity of situations which have very different consequences for family life.

An attempt to overcome these difficulties by extracting the attributes of occupations which influence family life reveals further drawbacks because of the difficulty of classifying such attributes as the geographical location of work and family spheres; family participation in work roles; visibility and comprehensibility between work and family areas; the regularity or irregularity of work schedules and absences from home for long or short periods or on a regular or intermittent basis; residential mobility or stability;
the danger or risk involved in the job; and the
commitment or casual nature of the work role. Not only
are these occupational characteristics difficult to
classify, but even if they are classified, the problem of
relating them to one another remains.

The Navy as a Military Institution

The main difficulty in the case of the Navy and the
family is that the Navy itself employs men at professional,
skilled and unskilled levels; its members are located
ashore and at sea in situations which are sociologically
diverse; the patterns of work schedules vary from the
shore-based to the sea-going situation; and in addition
the Navy has control over the member's time and location
and the period of his service. It is, therefore, proposed
to take the specific case of the Navy, which is both a
military institution and an occupation, and to anticipate
that by examining the way in which the Navy sets about its
task it may be possible to throw some light on its
relationship with the families of its members. In order
to do this, it is necessary to consider the common features
of military organisations, and according to Levy (1966 : 581)
one of their most fascinating aspects is the literal degree
of the isolation of their members from members of other
organisations in society. Military forces are normally set
apart from other social institutions and are little
understood by them unless, of course, citizen forces are
involved in total war or the military itself takes on
political or social roles in society. It is the quality of segregation defined as

"an institutionalised form of social distance expressed in physical separation" (Kuper, 1968: 144)

which demarcates military institutions from other sections of society. This demarcation stems from the nature of the military assignment and has been reinforced, in recent years, by society's attitudes towards the use of war or aggression as a means of settling conflict whether national or international. These social attitudes have exposed a fundamental conflict between war and moral values, which has been expressed by Zahn (1969: 226) in the following terms:

"War being perhaps one of the clearest and most serious occasions of open contradiction between the two (the powers of this world and the Christian's moral or spiritual guides) the tension would be at its greatest in a war setting - or so it would seem, at least assuming that the spiritual commitment is consciously present".

The devaluation of war is intimately connected with changes which have taken place in community attitudes towards the armed forces, and the changes are reflected in Morris's discussion of the Royal Navy (1973: 13). He says that before and during World War II:

"The Royal Navy was Best. The Royal Navy always Travelled First Class. It was the Navy which made Britain Great, guaranteeing the island immunity ..... a generation of children grew up with the names of British battleships on their sailor hats", - but now - "The Royal Navy no longer commands these passions. Disillusioned with power, immune to romance, profoundly averse to every association of war, the British nation has forgotten, even disowned its Navy".
These social attitudes towards the military are accompanied and reinforced by academic attitudes, which are reflected in the reluctance of sociologists to become involved with military institutions. This reluctance is explained by reference to the personal values of sociologists who are linked to the liberal tradition and have sought to handle the problem of military institutions by denial:

"There has been an understandable but fundamental tension between the professional soldier and the scholar who seeks to apply the scientific method to the human side of military organisation and armed conflict. The professional soldier often sees the social scientist as naive, even though he must defer to him because of professional courtesy. The social scientist sees the professional soldier as dogmatic" (Janowitz, 1959:15).

The scarcity of literature and academic understanding of military institutions and personnel is aggravated by the fact that social scientists who are employed by the military may be subject to sanctions and controls which prevent objective reporting, or else they may consider that this would be the case, without having tested the situation.

Significantly, the co-operation of social scientists was sought during World War II, and some were personally involved in the Services. This period produced several general contributions to the literature, notably from Stouffer and his colleagues (1949, and from Turner (1947), Homans (1946), and Rose (1946). Writing in 1959, Janowitz
pointed out that social research in the military area had mainly resulted in studies of attitudes and morale, and this orientation did not result in understanding of the "coercive force of bureaucratic organisations, especially of military formations as they operate in combat" (Janowitz, 1959 : 12).

Bowers (1967 : 264) states that Janowitz' monograph on The Professional Soldier, published in 1960, which uses sociological analysis to cast light on the past history and present status of the military profession, has "enjoyed phenomenal sales in military circles" and "has become an essential part of the educational curricula of a great variety of military educational institutions" (Bowers, 1967 : 265).

Levy (1966) and Janowitz (1959) have taken a broad approach to the military as a social system, but other studies tend to have specific frames of reference, which include role conflict for military chaplains (Burchard, 1954; Zahn, 1969); the study of military and civil relations (Andrzejewski, 1954; van Doorn, 1968); the education of officers (Partridge, 1969), and the process of military socialisation (Dornbusch, 1955; Jones, 1968).

Although the role of the military has been devalued on moral grounds, society still requires that it performs a national defence function, as indicated by the expenditure incurred by the defence forces. Bowers (1967 : 234) states that the armed forces in the United States of America:
"wield by far the greatest economic power in the nation, with one half the federal budget under their control, and constitute the largest employer of the nation's manpower, with some four million military and civilian personnel on their payrolls".

The Australian expenditure on the defence forces, and the rise in the number of personnel in the Services are reflected in the following extract from the Report of the 1970 R.A.N. Sailor Structure Committee (Sailstruc PAR 0112):

"In eight years the Navy has almost doubled its manpower, it has participated in two conflicts; it has witnessed the introduction of guided missiles, submarines, minesweepers, patrol boats, and afloat support ships; and it has manned merchant ships under its new Australian White Ensign".

The Military Institution

Military institutions still pervade modern society (Janowitz, 1959: 13) and reflect the character of that society (Levy, 1966: 593), but in the absence of any definitive work on the military system it is proposed to discuss the Military and the Navy within the context of prevailing theory, and to refer to empirical and documentary evidence available in the concrete case of the Royal Australian Navy. The isolation of the military from society, which is the feature of the armed forces most commonly noted by observers, is represented in a stereotypical form by the military ghetto; and the theoretical model which this suggests is Goffman's total institution (1968). Goffman refers to the encompassing tendencies of these institutions which are symbolised by
the barrier to intercourse with the outside, so that the separation of the three spheres of life - sleep, play and work - does not exist, and all three activities are carried out under a single authority, and under the same roof. Goffman specifically lists army barracks and ships as total institutions:

"purportedly established the better to pursue some worklike task and justifying themselves only on these instrumental grounds" (Goffman, 1968:16).

The model has been developed in the case of a ship by Aubert (1965), but the use of the total institution as a theoretical framework for the military organisation as a whole is not appropriate because Goffman emphasises the physical barriers to communication with the outside world, and the military establishment is not necessarily physically separated from the community. Goffman's total institution ignores the element of social distance which may characterise the armed services, because they typically develop a sense of community which binds members to each other and unites the group in spite of physical dispersion. The affective bonds built up as a result of close association in primary group situations are a marked feature of service life, and are reflected in the life of the Mess, the spirit of mateship, and are retained after discharge into civilian life. Social relationships of this type are:

"based on a subjective feeling of the parties, whether affectual or traditional, that they belong together (Weber, 1964:137), and examples are to be found in religious orders, erotic
relationships, national feeling, and in the type case, in the family.

The geographical isolation of some military units and the affective ties which bind members together, tend to make the military a world of its own. This tendency is enhanced by the degree of control which the Services are able to exert over their members, and this is reflected in a Royal Australian Naval Regulation (R.I.0901):

"Every Officer subordinate to the Captain, and every rating, is to be on board his ship, in his establishment, or otherwise at his place of duty at all times, unless approved by superior authority to be absent on other duty or on leave".

The machinery available to maintain this control exists within the Services and is reflected in the Military Code of Law carried out by summary trial and Court Martial, and enforced by sanctions which consist in fines, stoppage of leave and military detention. Levy (1966 : 581) has also commented on the significance of the uniform in distinguishing members of the armed forces from other members of society, and its symbolic importance within the Service. The socialisation of members and the inculcation of military values also serve to place the member apart from civilian associations (Levy, 1966 : 594). Military values such as comradeship and mateship, obedience, loyalty, and honour are commonly referred to in colloquial literature, but have rarely been formally enunciated. Walmsley (1972 : 401) has recently made an effort to capture these elusive qualities in the following form:
(1) Acceptance of all-pervasive hierarchy and deference patterns.

(2) Extreme emphasis on dress, bearing and grooming.

(3) Specialised vocabulary.

(4) Emphasis on honour, integrity, and professional responsibility.

(5) Emphasis on brotherhood.

(6) Fighter spirit marked by aggressive enthusiasm.

(7) Special reverence for history and traditions.

(8) Social proximity for dependants.

Levy also stresses the hierarchical nature of armed forces organisations, their rationality, and their bureaucratic character (Levy, 1966: 588-589). Within the Services, these characteristics are complemented by the informal aspects of the organisation, which are discussed by Turner (1947), and these activities emanate from primary group associations and from the concept of the Navy as a family. A ship at sea is commanded by the Captain, who is commonly known as "father"; recently recruiting advertisements in Australia have depicted a senior sailor as "mother" to young recruits, and this image is supported theoretically by Cooper (1972: 6) whose critique of the family is based on the notion that:

"the family provides a highly controllable paradigmatic form for every social institution".

The Royal Australian Navy

Aspects of the organisation of the Royal Australian Navy which have particular relevance to this study consist
of the engagement system, which is a contract signed by
the member to serve for a prescribed period, and

"is a feature of the manpower policy favoured
by nearly all military powers, even though
it is wholly without parallel in any other
walk of life" (Sailstruc, 0601 : 6-1).

Historically, the engagement system was introduced into
the Royal Navy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries
to replace the press gang, and was considered to be a
liberal step forward because the contract is a voluntary
one. This system is justified today by the military's
view that the investment of resources in training personnel
would be lost if they were permitted to leave the Service
at will. Behind this defensive attitude is a fear that
members would in fact leave the Services in large numbers
if there were no contract and no sanctions for breaking it,
but ultimately, the rationale lies in the military's values
and goals, which require that its members are loyal, immersed
in the military life style, and cohesive as a group.

The posting process is:

"the most important element governing the
lives of naval personnel and the well-
being of the Navy. It is the focus of
the whole effort, of personnel management"
(Sailstruc, 2101 : 21-1).

This system is based on a sea/shore roster which involves
the rotation of personnel from sea to shore and back to
sea. The principal aim of the posting system is to fill
and maintain correct complements afloat, and the operation
of the system is a crucial aspect of the individual
sailor's life, and is one point at which the human and
technical components of the system are integrated. The centrality of the posting system is illustrated by the range of influences which may affect the operation, and these include promotions, course requirements, medical categories, welfare cases, changes in re-engagement intentions, unexpected discharges, changes in ships' programmes, and transfers of branch or category. It is in the posting situation where the needs and values of the individual and the system are apt to be in conflict, and this is the main arena in which the values and priorities of the Navy are affirmed, so that the boundaries of the group are defined and group cohesion maintained. The process has been described by Erikson (1966: 13):

"Like an article of common law, boundaries remain a meaningful point of reference only as long as they are repeatedly tested by persons on the fringes of the group and repeatedly defended by persons chosen to represent the group's inner morality".

Theoretically, the morale\(^2\) of the member is associated with his private life (Litwak and Meyer, 1967: 541; Janowitz, 1959: 88-92) and theoretically, the Service is concerned with the member's morale, so that logically the interests of the Service are involved with the member's satisfaction in his family life. In practice, the conflict between the particular needs of the individual and the universal values of the system tends to be resolved by excluding the individual who does not conform to the system's values.\(^3\) The individual is dispensable, and the system continues to reaffirm its boundaries and maintain its fitness, moral character, and leisure time activities.
cohesion by indicating to all its members that they are expected to put the goals and tasks of the Service before their own or their family's specific needs.  

Relationship between the Navy and the Family

The Navy is able to exercise direct control over the member's time and location, and it is also able to put pressure on him to make his family conform to Service requirements. If he is unable to do this, then he is liable to be in conflict with one or other system, or he may seek a way of avoiding his commitment to the Navy or to his family. The relationship between the Navy and the family is partially explained by the degree of control which the Navy is able to exert over the member's movements. But the relationship is also governed by the Navy in other ways which are fundamentally associated with its tasks and the manner in which these tasks are performed. It has already been pointed out that the Navy is more than a total institution because it does not rely on geographical boundaries to maintain its inner cohesion; and that it has an hierarchical, bureaucratic, organisational structure which is accompanied by primary group and informal associations giving rise to the idea that the Service represents a large family encompassing many of the activities of the family within its own structure. It is a total organisation which socialises educates, trains, employs, houses, feeds and clothes its members, and it looks after their health, physical fitness, moral character, and leisure time activities. In
fact, the Service carries out a range of activities which might satisfy all the needs of an individual who does not wish to marry and have children. The significant feature of the naval institution is that it is required to house, feed, clothe, employ, educate, and train its recruits at the point of entry in order to ensure that they are socialised into the military lifestyle and military values. In this way, the Navy reverses the institutional segregation of the employment sphere from the private lives of its members, and this arrangement is justified on the grounds of achieving its tasks. The recruits are the social input into the military system which processes them in the same way that raw material is in a factory. The task is to train, educate, and employ these members so that they are in a state of efficiency and readiness to operate the technical components of the system at any time.

Housing and Mobility

The range of activities which is provided for its personnel by the Service and justified by its tasks, is also dictated by the situation of ships at sea, when the Navy is required to care for its members. These activities, therefore, continue even after the member is married, and are an inevitable consequence of the way in which the technical system operates. Because the Navy needs to move its members from place to place, it is forced to assume responsibility for the member's family, and to provide housing in the new location. The way in which removal of
the family and housing in the new area are delivered vitally affects family life. For instance, the degree of choice available to the family in selecting where to live in the new area and the standard of housing it would prefer are circumscribed by the geographical location of service facilities; the scales and standards laid down for service housing, and the length of the waiting list or roster for housing in the particular area. If a family should elect to remain in the old area or in an area of its own choice, then service rental subsidies may not be available, even though there is no certainty that if the family moves to the new area the husband/member will remain there for the length of his posting; and even though family needs, such as stability in children's education, predict that a change of location would be unwise for the family at that time. Many wives do choose to remain in one place and be separated from their husbands rather than unsettle the children or risk isolation and deprivation in a new community. In the case of the Royal Australian Navy, the extent to which wives may be separated from serving members can be estimated from the comparison between the numbers of wives who are resident in each State, and the numbers of married personnel who are serving in the same State. In South Australia, where there are only 32 married serving personnel, there are 139 wives, so that it may be assumed that at least 107 wives are separated from their husbands, who are probably among the number of men serving on ships at sea. The same comparisons may be made for
Queensland, Tasmania and the Australian Capital Territory, but in New South Wales, Victoria and Western Australia, the comparison is not so distinct because ships deploy from ports in these States, and wives may be close to their husbands when the ships are in port.

**TABLE I**

Location of Wives and Married Members of Royal Australian Navy, at 28 December, 1972

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>No. of Wives</th>
<th>Married Naval Members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New South Wales</td>
<td>5120</td>
<td>2724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>1204</td>
<td>834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queensland</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Australia</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Australia</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tasmania</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian Capital Territory</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Territory</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ships</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2612</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>7821</strong></td>
<td><strong>7598</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These statistics are obtained from two separate sources. The figures for naval members come from the Statistics of Personnel at 28 December, 1972, issued by the Statistical Unit, Department of the Navy; and the location of wives was supplied to the author on request by the EDP Unit Department of Navy. The discrepancy between the two sets of figures is attributed to the fact that the EDP statement depends on changes being recorded immediately, and it is clear that this does not always happen as it is partially dependent on the member notifying his wife's residence voluntarily.*
The Naval Allotment

An interesting aspect of naval service is the allotment system, which permits members to authorise the Navy to make payments to their wives, to insurance companies, hire purchase firms, banks, and so forth. The unique feature of this facility is that if the member states that he will pay his wife a prescribed fortnightly amount then the Service contracts to increase this amount by a subsidy on condition that the total allotment is paid directly to the wife. The impact of this allotment on the husband and wife relationship is difficult to assess and will be discussed in subsequent chapters, but it is obvious that the assurance of a regular and prescribed fortnightly income which is directed by the Navy to the wife in her own right gives her a degree of security which is not available to wives in other sectors of the community, unless they are in receipt of some form of government assistance, which is usually associated with loss of income by the husband or the loss of the husband. This payment direct to the wife by the Navy provides the wife with an income when the member is away at sea, so that it prevents trouble to the Navy, but the consequences for the marital relationship may be to lessen conflict over the allocation of the husband's income, and this may deprive him of authority in the home and permit him to consider that he is absolved of some of his responsibilities as a breadwinner. 5
Fringe Benefits

The naval system also provides the family with a variety of fringe benefits, some of which are sponsored officially, and others delivered in a semi-official capacity. Among these are the naval social work service, which is seen to be an integral part of the system's method of legitimating individual requests for special consideration, and for patrolling its boundaries so as to define the deviant from the non-deviant members of the group. An extension of the social work service is the provision of a range of support facilities provided by Personal Services Offices located in capital cities so that they are easily accessible, and visible to members and their families. These services include reception and assistance with accommodation for families arriving in new areas; advice concerning a range of service entitlements and facilities, and an educational and legal advisory service. The semi-official fringe benefits available to naval members and their families include a contributory Health Benefits Scheme, financial loans repayable on easy terms without interest, a subsidised housekeeper service, and holiday centres where naval families can stay at very reasonable rates.

Proliferation of Services to Families

There is another way in which the inclination of the military organisation to involve the families of its members is enhanced, and this arises from the fact that the need to house, clothe, feed, and care for its members means
that specialised personnel must be recruited to perform these activities, and these personnel are not always fully occupied, so that they seek to fill the space which their expertise or services can provide. An example of this process is seen in current discussions concerning the possibility of extending the medical services to the families of servicemen. The case for providing medical services to families from Service sources rests partly on the argument that naval doctors require a wider range of experience than is available to them in attending to the health of the servicemen alone, so that the Forces will retain more highly trained and motivated doctors if this wider range of experience is available to them. A similar logic has been observed in the case of lawyers, psychologists, and social workers who are employed by the Services, so that the inclination to fill spaces and extend the range of the organisation's activities derives from the fundamental requirement to attend to the needs of the total person.

Summary

The relationship between the Navy and the Family is explained by the nature of the task of the naval organisation and the way that it sets about performing this task. Members are seen to be commodities who are processed by the Navy and brought to a state of technical efficiency which permits the Navy to be ready to carry out its military role at all times. The member marries after he is socialised into his naval role, and he is only able to be with his
family at times permitted by the Service. The Service continues to house, feed, clothe, train, educate, and employ him, and it houses his family and makes sure that his family has an income when he is away. Because there is spare capacity within this comprehensive organisation, the tendency is to proliferate facilities to support and provide for families, and these support facilities are justified by the need to offer members and families compensations for the deprivations involved in Service life.

The tendency is, therefore, for families to be brought within the naval orbit as the activities of the two spheres overlap in all areas except those of procreation, the upbringing of children, and the inner organisation of the marriage and family unit. The two institutions are intimately related in ways which tend to deprive the family of autonomy and privacy, and suggest that there will be conflict between the two areas unless the family conforms to the naval requirements.
CHAPTER III

The Families of Naval Members

The theory put forward by Parsons (1949: 189-191) that the occupational and family systems are institutionally segregated and in a state of delicate adjustment, which is mediated by the husband/father's boundary role as a member of both systems, is consistent with his argument that the isolated nuclear family has become a more specialised agency, and that society is dependent more exclusively on it for the performance of certain vital functions or functional imperatives. These are the primary socialisation of children, and the stabilisation of the adult personalities of the population (Parsons, 1971). It has already been suggested that the institutional segregation of work and family life may not be as pervasive as Parsons' theory maintains, and that the physical and social distance between them may be minimal or non-existent in the case of farm families and family businesses, or diminished by the long arm of the corporation, which sees its success in the competitive world of business to be intimately related to creating harmony between its own interests and the families of its personnel.

It has been pointed out that the Navy is closely involved with the families of its members as the distance between the two spheres is bridged by the logic of the Navy's
tasks and the way it sets about the performance of its tasks. The degree of interest which the Navy has in the lives of naval families suggests that it would be difficult for the families to remain apart, and that this encroachment by the Navy into areas of family life, normally considered to be private, may be a source of tension and strain between the two areas. This proposition is supported by prevalent myths within the Service. One of these, that the Navy should consist of orphaned eunuchs, is used in joking situations; another, that the Service would prefer to select wives and allocate them to its members, is usually raised in anger by the wives themselves.

A particular phenomenon which has stimulated the author's curiosity was noticed during a research study in which she participated at a naval establishment in 1969. This study was concerned with the payment of rental allowances to married personnel, and was conducted by a team of four civilian staff of the Department of the Navy, who each became aware of the fact that the sailors they had interviewed were sharply divided into two groups. One group expressed a strong preference for living in naval housing, and said they derived positive satisfaction from association with other naval families during off-duty hours. The other group said the opposite, and wanted to live apart from other naval families in a place and a house of their own choice. These observations, which were an unexpected outcome of the research project, do suggest that families differ in the distance which they wish to
put between themselves and the Navy, and that closeness may be valuable for some, but results in tension for others. In this chapter an attempt is made to understand the attitudes of naval families and to explore the ways in which they organise themselves to fit the conditions of naval service.

The Family - Conceptual Orientation

The family is defined as:

"a structural unit composed as an ideal type of a man and a woman joined in a socially recognised union, and their children";

and it is also conceived as a social system which sustains relationships with other systems in the total transactional field (Bell and Vogel, 1968 : 1). The particular orientation adopted in this study lays emphasis on the analytically distinct units of the conjugal relationship, which results from interaction between husband and wife, and the roles of husband and wife. The concept of role is used as an analytical tool, and defined by Nadel as:

"a mode of acting allotted to individuals by the norms of society" (Nadel, 1956 : 35).

Particular emphasis will be placed in subsequent chapters on the role of the husband, who is also a naval member, and further aspects of the concept of role will be discussed in that context. It is important to emphasise at this point that this study precludes specific consideration of the parent-child relationship, and the
interests of the children.

The purpose of establishing the separate identities of the conjugal relationship and the husband and wife roles within the family system, is to permit discussion of the ways in which these separate units may be combined or opposed, and how there may be a coalescence or opposition of interests between these units and the Navy. It is proposed that these units are like cards in a pack, and may combine or be separated in various permutations. For instance, the husband identifying with his role of naval member may act in opposition to his wife's wishes, and so create a situation in which the marital relationship is under strain. Again, the husband and wife may give primacy to their marital relationship, which might unite them in opposition to the Navy and the husband's role of naval member. Failure to make these distinctions may result in discussion which lacks conceptual clarity because it fails to distinguish whether it is the family which is relating to the occupational situation, or whether it is the husband and wife who are acting separately, or in unity.

Kinship Networks

One aspect of Parsons' theory is that the nuclear family is increasingly isolated from the families of both wife and husband, so that the conjugal unit is in a "structurally unsupported" situation. As the ties of both marriage partners with their own families are
weakened, so they are thrown upon each other, and a critical burden is placed on the conjugal relationship. This theory receives support from studies such as that of Young and Willmott (1957), who studied the kin networks of families in the East End of London and in a new Housing Estate at Greenleigh in Essex. In the East End the nuclear unit is scarcely differentiated from the families of the marriage partners, the relationship between the wife and her mother being particularly close, as illustrated by the following description of the Wilkins family:

"One of the wife's sisters, Joyce, lives with her husband and children in the same block, another of her sisters, Joan, and one of the husband's brothers in the same turning, and her mother and father in another nearby street. Mrs. Wilkins is in and out of her mother's all day, she shops with her in the morning and goes round there for a cup of tea in the afternoon" (Young and Willmott, 1957 : 44).

In the new Housing Estate in Greenleigh, distance, cost, and the weather prevent intimate association between families who live in the new and old areas, and "people's relations are no longer neighbours sharing the intimacies of daily life. Their new neighbours are strangers and they are as we have seen treated with reserve" (Young and Willmott, 1957 : 147).

Underlying this theory is the assumption that geographical mobility prevents the maintenance of a close relationship between the marriage partners and their families, but other studies have tended to modify this assumption and suggest that the extended family offers
more support than had been recognised even when geographical distance intervenes. Sussman (1953) and Litwak (1960) have discussed the patterns of help given by the extended family; and Martin's (1967) study of families in Adelaide concluded that the great majority of the families functioned as part of a wider network, and this

"helped to preserve families of all classes and areas as effective autonomous units and cushioned the effects of mobility, sudden crises and long-term hardships" (Martin, 1967: 63).

More recently, Bell (1971) referred to the previously unrecognised ways in which the families of spouses do assist them in furthering their careers, but he points out that the degree of assistance available varies significantly according to the family's resources.

Theoretically, therefore, the nuclear family may be supported by the extended family in spite of geographical mobility, but there is some dispute as to the inclination of families to accept substitute support from other than familial sources, including neighbours, the community, and bureaucratic organisations.

The impression gained from the literature is that as families move geographically and are upwardly mobile socially, then there is a tendency to seek privacy from neighbours. This attitude is described as "polite curtailment" (Fallding, 1957: 57) or "distant cordiality" (Klein, 1965: 257); although at times of crisis
relationships may be more intimate, which gives rise to Mogey's (1956: 93) prescription that there are "reserves of friendliness" or "latent neighbourliness" (Klein, 1965: 141). Bryson and Thompson (1972: 117) point out that the establishment of friendships is related to the length of time people have lived in a new estate; but Whyte (Nov. 1951: 155) suggests that wives who move frequently make friends more readily. Bell (1971: 473) suggests that there may be class differences associated with the readiness of wives to accept help, and that wives from solid middle class backgrounds are more independent of the bureaucracy than wives from lower middle and working class backgrounds, who value fringe benefits as opposed to familial aid, and these organisational supports are more appreciated when the children are young and the family's financial needs are most pressing.

The thesis that the nuclear unit relies more heavily on extended family support than is suggested by Parsons' statement indicates that there may be strains associated with the geographical movement of wives away from their parents after marriage, unless the family is able to maintain strong ties at a distance, or unless the wife is able to utilise and accept social support from other sources. As naval wives do not necessarily move by choice, there is a sense in which their mobility is a result of a push factor, and there may be a problem of choosing between familial support and the husband's support.
if his presence is problematic due to naval requirements.

There is one category of naval wife who is not able to function adequately without support from her parents, particularly her mother, and who therefore is unwilling to move away from her own home. This category of naval wife suggests that there is a section of the community who have strong family and local orientations and have no inclination to have wider experiences, so that geographical mobility for them is painful and anxiety-making. This wife may be immature and dependent in a psychological sense, and may have failed to develop a firm sense of ego identity, or become a liberated personality (Erikson, 1965: 253). The naval experience suggests that the young naval wife is often heavily dependent on the close support of her family, and the inability of the wife to function without this support may result in her husband having to seek a discharge from the Navy.

Social Networks

What remains problematic are the sources of support which the wife may utilise if her husband is at sea, particularly at times of crisis. In some cases she may elect to return to her home town in order to be near her family, but this may not always be desirable or possible, so that the tendency may be for the wife, when alone, to depend on friends, neighbours, or community or naval support. Bell's findings (1971: 473) indicate that naval support would be most readily sought by, and acceptable to,
wives of sailors rather than officers, and that this assistance would be most favoured when the children are young. As the family is most vulnerable financially when the children are little, the tendency would be for the husband and wife to regard the naval situation favourably during this period.

A link between the social networks of families and the degree of closeness in the marital relationship has been proposed by Bott (1957: 60) in the following hypothesis:

"the degree of segregation in the role-relationship of husband and wife varies directly with the connectedness of the family's social network. The more connected the network, the greater the degree of segregation between the roles of husband and wife; the less connected the network, the smaller the degree of segregation".

Bott defined a segregated role-relationship as:

"one in which complementary and independent types of organisation predominate. Husband and wife have a clear differentiation of tasks and a considerable number of separate interests and activities. They have a clearly defined division of labour into male tasks and female tasks; they expect to have different leisure pursuits and the husband has his friends outside the home" (Bott, 1957: 59).

This description of the conjugal relationship sounds very similar to the pattern of coalminers' marriages in Ashton, (Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, 1956) or of the marriages observed in Bethnal Green (Young and Willmott, 1957), and is a pattern which could be predicted for the naval marriage, particularly if the husband's major interest lies in the Navy, and the wife derives satisfaction
from association with her own family. The opposite type, or joint conjugal relationship, would be difficult to attain in the naval marriage, since it involves joint participation in many activities and a minimum of task differentiation and separation of interests. The couple not only plan the affairs of the family together, but also exchange many household tasks and spend much of their leisure time together. The closest the naval marriage could come to achieving this pattern would be when the husband is at home during his period of shore service, but this pattern would need to be replaced by a more segregated one when he is away, and this alternation could create strains. However, there is a more fundamental problem, because if the conjugal relationship tends towards segregation, then according to Bott's hypothesis, the family's social networks will be close-knit, and the difficulties of sustaining a close-knit network within the naval situation are considerable. However, the Pahls (1971:219) have suggested that it might be important to distinguish between the social networks of husband and wife, so that in the case of the naval family the proposition might be put forward that the husband will have ready-made close-knit networks provided in his naval service, but the wife may be isolated and feel deprived of social satisfactions unless she can find close networks among family, neighbours, and friends.

Conjugal Tasks

The strains associated with the alternating pattern
of the husband's absence and presence at home have been discussed by Hollowell (1968 : 145), who studied the situation of long distance lorry drivers. He sees the family as a system which moves to and from a state of equilibrium each time the husband leaves, and returns home. As long as adjustments are made at each point, then the stability of the family is assured, but there are strains associated with these movements which may result in a state of disequilibrium, and subsequent breakdown of the marriage. For instance, the husband may feel that he has neglected his family responsibilities while he has been away, and attempt to compensate by bringing home presents, and involving himself more heavily in family tasks on his return. The threat to both marriage partners of infidelity by the other is a source of tension, even if the infidelity does not take place, as both partners are aware of the opportunities available to each other to seek satisfaction, both sexual and social, outside the marriage. A potential source of disruption is presented by the substitute form of social activity or interests that a wife may need to take up to keep herself occupied in her husband's absence. These substitutes can become permanent sources of interest for the wife, and she may be reluctant to give them up on her husband's return, particularly if they give her a sense of identity which may be lacking in the housewife role. Through these initially compensatory interests the wife may become independent financially and emotionally, and unless this development is recognised and accepted by both
partners in the marriage, then the state of disequilibrium in the marriage may become permanent. Failure to readjust after the husband's return may also result from the fact that the wife has had to undertake more tasks while he has been away than she would do if he were at home, and she may be reluctant to hand these back to him; and he may either welcome this relief from domestic tasks, or else resent his wife's adequacy, and feel excluded from his family life. As the Navy provides the member with ready-made social satisfactions of a cohesive nature, the husband may find it easy and natural to involve himself in the naval world instead of the family one. This pattern of adjustment to separation has been recorded in the psychiatric literature (Isay, 1968; MacIntosh, 1968; Pearlman, 1970), as a result of observing the reactions of military wives to their husbands' absences. This psychiatric literature suggests that separation may be a developmental task which is more difficult for wives early in life, and becomes easier with practice (MacIntosh, 1968: 158); but is also associated with ego development. Wives who react adversely to separation may have unresolved dependency and old oedipal conflicts, and these dependency needs may be transferred from mother to husband (MacIntosh, 1968: 263). This evidence points to the importance of personal maturity among naval wives. The tendency for the naval member's marriage relationship to be segregated from that of his wife, and for him to be the titular head of the family without being deeply involved in family tasks, is a
pattern which conforms to commonly held views about the way Australian life is conducted. Whether this popular thinking is supported by facts is not clear, but some research evidence suggests that the belief in male dominance masks the reality of pervasive female leadership described as a condition of matriduxy (Adler, 1965: 153; Conway, 1971: 80-108). Power (1966: 113) argues that the condition in Australia is "Mumism", and that the Australian Mum is quite prepared to:

"grant large areas of autonomy to her males in the relatively unimportant spheres of public and economic life", and that

"Australian society is a loose federation of sovereign and equal household-states" (Power, 1966: 114).

Intimate Relations

The inclination to limit the relations between husband and wife to the tasks which are accomplished by each and to deduce from this distribution which partner makes more decisions or has more power (Herbst, 1957; Taft, 1957; Blood and Wolfe, 1960)\(^5\), ignores a central problem of marriage and family life which Simmel (1963) has included in the sociology of intimate relations. The problem, in Simmel's words, centres around:

"the question whether the maximum of common values can be attained under the condition that the personalities reciprocally relinquish their autonomies altogether, or under the condition of reserve; the question whether, perhaps, they do not belong more to one another qualitatively if, quantitatively, they do so less" (Simmel, 1963: 322).
The same problem has been identified by Hess and Handel (1959: 4) as:

"establishing a pattern of separateness and connectedness".

This fundamental duality of family life is the matrix of interaction in which a family develops its way of life, and every family gives shape to these conditions in its own way. Simmel (1963: 322-324) discusses the mechanical type of marriage, where the psychic centre is put out of function because the marriage relationship is not an erotic, but in principle only a social and economic institution. He illustrates the differentiation achieved by the Greeks, who according to Demosthenes, had hetaerae for pleasure; concubines for their daily needs; and wives to give them legitimate children and take care of the interior of the house. In our society, the expectation is that all these activities will be embraced by the marriage relationship, and Parsons' view (1971: 60), that there is a critical burden placed on it, would seem to be substantiated. However, Simmel observes that many contemporary marriages do consist in a mechanical type of relationship:

"there probably exists in it neither the need for any intimate, reciprocal, self-revelation, nor the possibility of it. On the other hand there is probably an absence of certain reserves of delicacy and chastity which in spite of their seemingly negative character are yet the flower of a fully internalised and personal intimate relation" (Simmel, 1963: 323).

The problem for the young married couple is to achieve
an emotional balance, which will avoid withdrawal into a dyadic relationship of such intensity that it absorbs all their emotional energies, and because of its abandon has within it the seeds of its own destruction (Simmel, 1963: 323); and yet to maintain a satisfying emotional adjustment to each other. This problem is particularly acute in the early stages of marriage when the relationship is being worked out. Turner (1971) has discussed the formation of person bonds within marriage which are distinct from task bonds, and are realised through the identity-oriented aspects of social interaction. He identifies two types of bonds - identity bonds that depend on identity and bind because they reinforce or improve the self concept, and crescive bonds that develop in connection with the ongoing interaction between persons who have already been brought together because of some other bond.

The assumption underlying these considerations is that the couple will develop their relationship together on a day-to-day basis, as this mutual interaction is necessary if strong and consistent personal bonds are to be created and to grow, and as Klein (1965: 385) says:

"when the conjugal bond is satisfying and strong it matters less that kin are living away".

But naval couples do not necessarily have the opportunity to be together in the first months of their marriage, and it seems reasonable to conclude that the formation of mutual bonds, the management of the psychic centre of
their relationship, and the arrangement of separateness and connectedness in their lives, will not be smooth and natural processes, but will be disturbed or interrupted by the husband's absences. Even the possibility that he might have to go away can upset a relationship which is based on strong erotic ties rather than identity and crescive bonds. The potential disruption which the naval conditions of service impose on the marriage in its early stages is therefore severe, and it is the emotional aspects of naval marriages which present more serious problems than the allocation of tasks, or the extra burdens placed on the wife. The couple who expect to be together in a close and intimate union will find this difficult to achieve, and while the naval intervention may serve to prevent dyadic withdrawal, it may also delay or prevent essential emotional adjustments to marriage. The naval marriages which are most likely to be stable and satisfying to both partners are those where the couple have been together in the early stages of marriage; where there is a low emotional and high instrumental content in the relationship; or where both partners have strongly-formed ego identities and are able to function adequately without the need for the presence of each other to maintain their stability. A stable adjustment in any of these conditions presupposes that both partners are interacting in areas apart from the marriage relationship, so that their marriages:
"do not carry the immense social and economic burdens which the socially isolated couple may have to bear"
(Klein, 1965: 161)

and these couples conform to Parsons' (1971: 59) prescription, that:

"the family must be a differentiated subsystem of a society, not itself a 'little society' or anything too closely approaching it".

The Naval Wife

Theoretically, at least, the naval member's wife is dependent on her husband, who is in turn dependent on and controlled by the Navy; and this subordination of the naval wife is similar in kind, if not in degree, to the position of other wives in the community. The Pahls (1971: 236) have observed this source of tension in the lives of managers and their wives:

"Many wives are in an ambiguous position, in that the relationship which is most salient to them is one in which they are the less powerful partner, and one in which their roles as wives are dependent on and determined by their husbands. Yet the husbands, too, are in the position of having their most salient role under the control of others; the competitive nature of their work situation means that they, and so indirectly their wives, must accept such constraints as frequent mobility and a commitment to work of most of their time and energy".

The role adopted by the ideal-type corporation wife in America permits the gap between the family and the corporation to be bridged to some extent. The model wife, according to the corporation, is highly adaptable, highly gregarious, and realises that her husband belongs to the
corporation (Whyte, Oct. 1951: 86). The corporation wife sees her role in terms which harmonise with this ideal-type. The good wife is good by not doing things, by not complaining when her husband works late, by not fussing when a transfer is coming up, by not engaging in any controversial activity. Whyte sums up the wife's role as conservative - a "good low-key stabilising" role, but more actively, a social operator, a gregarious, other-directed personality. The Pahls (1971: 183) have commented on the fact that wives of British managers do not conform to a pattern as the American wives appear to do, and they suggest that in America there are fairly clear norms which are widely shared, and upon which there is to a large extent agreement, whereas in England there is a plurality of different "good" types. Another difference that the Pahls observe is that in America it seems as though the company is in league with the wife to make a man work harder, while British firms respect the privacy of the home, and the clear separation of home and work - even though they may affect each other, the two worlds do not often meet (Pahl, 1971: 182-183). The tension associated with this gap or schism between the two worlds epitomises the polarity observed by Parsons between the universal values of the occupational system and the particularistic world of the family:

"A typical wife was not interested in the work situation in general but rather in her husband's work situation as he experienced it. Many a wife felt a degree of antagonism towards her husband's firm, resenting the demands of the work and the inevitable conflicts between her husband's occupational and family roles, yet welcoming the material
advantages the work brought to her family and the satisfactions it gave her husband" (Pahl, 1971: 196).

Central to the wives' dilemma is that ideally they want their husbands to be successful without too much effort; they want to have their cake and eat it too (Pahl, 1971: 248-249).

How does the naval wife adjust to the strain which is implicit in her role because of the encroachment by the Navy into areas of family life? The easiest adaptation would be the one taken by the American corporation wife, which has been called supportive (Pahl, 1971: 226), or collaborative (Blood and Wolfe, 1960: 194). At the officer level the pressures to be involved in the naval world are strong, and the role of the naval wife is most explicit. Wives who do not wish to be collaborative may find that they are subjected to pressures from career-oriented husbands; or if they take an independent view and engage in work themselves there may be conflict with their own commitment to work in one place, while their husband is expected to be in another State. However, when the children are older, or the husband is at sea, then the working wife may be able to opt out of close involvement with the Navy. The risk to the marriage in this case is that the wife's career satisfaction may eventually become more salient than her role as wife, or the marriage may survive, but in a state of low-key and high segregation of marital roles.

Certainly the naval wife at any level will need to
be an efficient housewife, and socially adaptable, if not gregarious, and she will need to be personally supportive to her husband.

The Navy's expectations of naval wives are as high as those of the corporation, and there are few concessions made in the system's thinking to immaturity, inexperience, and human frailty. The ethos that prevails for the model naval wife fits the system's needs admirably, as she is expected to adopt the "stiff upper lip", and to insist that "the show goes on" in spite of her personal feelings or needs \(^8\) (Isay, 1968 : 648).

The tendency for the naval family to come close to the naval situation and to harmonise with it will be greater when the children are young, when the wife is unable to rely on her family or her husband's family for support, and when the wife is an adequate manager in the home, and socially gregarious.

The pattern of naval marriages would appear to lead to a high degree of segregation of tasks between the husband and wife, and this could imply a low-key mechanical type of marriage bond, but on the other hand, it may be that only strong mutual bonds would enable the relationship to continue in the light of the Navy's expectations, that the family will be geographically
mobile, as well as husband-less for substantial periods.

The two worlds of the left-at-home and the husband-at-work are mediated to each other through the person of the husband (Fahl, 1977: 178), so that the occupational role of the husband is an example of the phenomenon of "interpenetration", and is both a role in the occupational system, and in the family; it is a boundary role between them (Parsons, 1971: 53). Although these statements provide a conceptual framework within which the married man's role in the occupational system and the family may be considered, they do not explain how the man handles the membership of two structures with such different patterns (Parsons, 1949: 191). Does he straddle uneasily across both systems trying to succeed in one and then the other, is he torn between his concern for satisfaction in both, or does he decide that one or other is more important, and so concentrates all his efforts in one area at the expense of the other? The possibilities seem to be legion, but if, as Parsons (1949: 191) suggests, the man's role is a critical one for the maintenance of the delicate adjustment between the two systems, then it is clearly important to consider the options available to the man within the structural situation.

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CHAPTER IV

The Boundary Role of the Married Naval Member

The two worlds of the wife-at-home and the husband-at-work are mediated to each other through the person of the husband (Pahl, 1971: 176), so that the occupational role of the husband is an example of the phenomenon of "interpenetration", and is both a role in the occupational system, and in the family; it is a boundary role between them (Parsons, 1971: 53). Although these statements provide a conceptual framework within which the married man's roles in the occupational system and the family may be considered, they do not explain how the man handles the membership of two structures with such different patterns (Parsons, 1949: 191). Does he straddle uneasily across both systems trying to succeed in one and then the other; is he torn between his concern for satisfaction in both; or does he decide that one or other is more important, and so concentrate all his efforts in one area at the expense of the other? The possibilities seem to be legion, but if, as Parsons (1949: 191) suggests, the man's role is a critical one for the maintenance of the delicate adjustment between the two systems, then it is clearly important to consider the options available to the man within the structural situation.

It has been argued that the family is institutionally subordinate to the occupational system, because the family
is dependent on the male breadwinner's earnings for its income. The husband/father is therefore the instrumental leader of the family (Parsons, 1971: 53), and his authority is much more than simply adherence to a traditional belief in male authority, but is a product of the institutionalised subordination of family to economic life (Turner, 1971: 263).

These arguments suggest that the man will need to give priority to his occupational role and yet, as the Pahls suggest, there is an inherent paradox in the man's position, as:

"He is expected to view his wife and children as the most important thing in his life and yet get most of his satisfaction away from them working on his job" (Pahl, 1971: 260).

Although institutionally the work role has priority, society's expectations that a man will also invest himself fully in his family role leaves him in an ambiguous and potentially stressful situation.

As the naval member has more demands made on him by the Navy than would apply in other occupations, it would be logical to assume that he will be in the position of having to pay more attention to his work role than to his family roles, so that in addition to the institutional subordination of the one to the other, there is an added factor in favour of the occupational system in the naval case. If this logic is correct, then the naval member may be in a less stressful situation than other male workers.
if he does give priority to his naval role, and if his family accepts this subordination. However, the opposite could also occur, as the member who wished to invest more in his family than his work life would be in a greater state of conflict than other members, because he would be prevented from fulfilling his husband/father responsibilities owing to the demands of naval service and the sanctions which the Navy is able to bring to bear on him.

Theoretically, therefore, a naval member could respond to his membership of both the Navy and the family in a number of ways, varying from identifying with his role and subordinating his family role to the naval one, or putting his family responsibilities first and adopting a casual attitude towards his naval membership. It is proposed to discuss the member's attitude towards his boundary role within the framework of role theory, as studies of the role of the military chaplains (Burchard, 1954; Zahn, 1969); of teachers, (Gross, Mason, McEachern, 1958); and of military instructors, (Getzels and Guba, 1954), suggest that the concepts of role conflict and role conflict resolution employed in these studies could illuminate the situation of naval members.

As already stated, roles are defined in Nadel's terms (1956 : 35) as modes of acting allotted to individuals by the norms of society. The studies mentioned above refer
predominantly to the position of an actor who experiences conflict in the performance of one role - that of teacher, actor, instructor - rather than with the way an actor handles two roles, as in the case of the naval member who is also husband and father.

Merton (1965 : 369) refers to a role-set to describe the complement of role relationships which apply to the performance of one role, while he uses the term multiple roles to refer to the complex of roles which adhere to persons by virtue of their membership in differing institutional spheres. The married naval member is, therefore, seen to perform multiple roles in his roles as naval member and husband/father, and the concern of this study is to consider how he combines the two roles, or handles his multiple role system.

The role of either naval member or husband may itself be difficult for the individual to perform, and each role may contain strains and conflicts for him. If there is no role strain felt by the actor, then the position is defined as role congruence (Gross, Mason, McEachern, 1958 : 248). The polar opposite is role conflict, which is:

"the exposure of an actor to conflicting sets of expectations such that complete fulfilment of both is realistically impossible" (Parsons, 1966 : 274).

Gross, Mason, McEachern (1958 : 249) make a further distinction between intra-role and inter-role conflict.
Intra-role conflict exists when an individual perceives that different expectations are held for him as the incumbent of a single role; while in inter-role conflict the individual perceives that others hold different expectations of him as the incumbent of two or more roles. The naval member who is also a husband therefore may experience inter-role conflict when he perceives that others, in the Navy or in the family, hold conflicting sets of expectations, and he is unable to fulfil the expectations from both sources.

This definition of inter-role conflict implies an important analytical distinction between role conflict which is perceived by the person who is involved in the situation, and role conflict which is ascribed by the observer (Gross, Mason, McEachern, 1958: 244-246). The studies of role conflict already mentioned maintain this distinction by identifying the objective sources of role conflict; in the case of military chaplains, the conflict emanates from the incompatibility of military goals and moral values; in the case of school teachers, from decisions based on the criterion of merit as opposed to decisions giving personal preference to candidates nominated by the school board; or in military instructors, from education based on military skills as opposed to civilian-oriented knowledge and education. In each of these cases the observer has identified the sources of conflict and made the assumption that all persons who are expected to perform roles in this situation of conflict, will be exposed to the
conflict, but will react differently according to criteria which the research study has been designed to identify. Before discussing these criteria, the sources of objective role conflict need to be identified, as Goode (1960), for instance, bases a theory of role strain on the assumption that in general the individual's total role obligations are over-demanding, and that role strain is inherent in every individual's management of his role relationships:

"The individual's problem is how to make his whole role system manageable; that is, how to allocate his energies and skills so as to reduce role strain to some bearable proportions. For the larger social structure, the problem is one of integrating such role systems - by allocating the flow of role performances so that various institutional activities are accomplished" (Goode, 1960 : 485).

Theoretically, therefore, Goode insists that role strain is a feature of all role situations, but that strain-reducing mechanisms exist to permit the individual and the social system to function harmoniously.

Parsons' view (1966 : 274), is that there may be two sources of role conflict; one may arise at the societal level because of the malintegration of the social system, and in this case the role conflict may be imposed on the actor, whereas there may also be role conflict which is ego-made because the actor is applying his own personally deviant expectations to the situation.

As far as the Navy and the family are concerned, it is maintained that there is conflict between the two spheres
at the subsystem or societal level, and that the Navy has institutionalised power over the family because of the pre-eminence of the occupational system in our society, and because of the particular attributes of the Navy as a military institution. At the role level it is therefore possible to state that the naval member is, from the observer's point of view, subject to inter-role conflict; but having adopted this position, the concern of the study is to consider the ways in which members handle their roles in both systems in order to reduce the conflict which is inherent in their position.

Attention has been paid to the means which are available to actors to assist them to resolve role conflict, and priority among these methods is given by Parsons (1966:274) to adjustment by:

"an ordering or allocation of the claims of the different role expectations to which the actor is subject. This ordering occurs by priority scales; e.g., time and place, and by distribution among others".

Toby (1952:327) has suggested that:

"institutionalised techniques exist for preventing role conflicts from arising",

and these include role obligation hierarchies (excuses), an actor's claim that his lack of fulfilment of an obligation is involuntary (unavoidable accidents), etiquette rituals and legitimate deception like "the white lie". When these techniques fail the actor has only a limited number of alternatives. He can eliminate his role in one group, or he can play one off against the other. or he can "escape" from both, either by physical absence
or through illness. Goode (1960: 486) puts forward a range of mechanisms which may be used by actors for reducing role strain:

"those which determine whether or when he will enter or leave a role relationship; and those which have to do with the actual role bargain which the individual makes or carries out with another".

According to Goode, the individual is likely to make role bargains because he has limited resources to be allocated among alternative ends; but he also has available several ways of manipulating his role structure, which are called compartmentalisation, delegation, elimination of role relations, extension, obstacles against the indefinite extension of ego's role system, and barriers against intrusion (Goode, 1960: 486). This list of mechanisms, although interesting theoretically, presents problems of classification and empirical verification, so that the simpler typology proposed by Gross, Mason, McEachern (1958: 284) has greater appeal in the research situation. Gross, Mason and McEachern suggest that when an actor perceives his exposure to role conflict involving incompatible expectations, A and B, there are four alternative behaviours available by means of which he can resolve the conflict. The actor may conform to expectation A; he may conform to expectation B; he may perform some compromise behaviour which represents an attempt to conform in part to both expectations, or he may attempt to avoid conforming to either of the expectations. It is proposed to use these alternatives as a basis for discussing the options available
to the married naval member, who would have the choice of conforming to the expectations of the Navy, or to those of the family; of trying to conform to both sets of expectations or attempting to avoid conforming to either. He could, therefore, select as his major role either his naval or family one; he could alternate in the priority he gave both of them, attempting to successfully perform in both roles, or he could try to avoid his responsibilities in both spheres, which might mean eliminating both roles.

There is, in the literature, an assumption that a married man is unlikely to be successful in both work and family areas because investment of resources in one sphere means a corresponding lack of commitment in the other. This theoretical position is put forward most cogently by Oeser and Hammond (1954: 246-248), who conclude from their research data that:

"high potency of the job results in low potency of the family and vice versa",

and they therefore support the hypothesis of complementary satisfactions in the work and family situations. Special emphasis is placed on this theme by theorists who are interested in career-oriented men (Pahl, 1971; Edgell, 1970; McKinley, 1964; Bell, 1968), and who underline the influence that success in his career will have on the family life of the business manager, the professional, or the middle class achievement-oriented individual. Edgell (1970: 319) has used the term "compensation theory" to describe this general orientation. There is little support throughout the
literature for the view that a man may be successful in both family and occupational roles (Edgell, 1970: 319); although Blood and Wolfe (1960: 253) do find that high status husbands rate high with wives, which means that:

"the higher the husband's standing in the community the better he is able to play the role of husband".

Conforming to the Navy's Expectations

In view of the legitimacy of the Navy's expectations towards the member, and the sanctions which are available to ensure that he conforms to these expectations, it seems logical to suggest that the married naval member needs to give priority to his naval role if he wishes to reduce role conflict. This option would also be more likely if his personality needs and the expectations of his wife fitted with the naval situation, which would involve the family overlapping with the Navy.

One factor which would assist this outcome would be the member's attitude to his work in the Navy; and the other would be his wife's attitudes to his naval commitments. If the member is committed to the Navy in an expressive and traditional sense, he would regard it as a vocation or calling, which is defined by Gross (1958: 202) as an occupational situation:

"in which the person's work is felt to be his whole life. He identifies with his work as a burden and feels an obligation to try to be especially good or proficient".

The member who views his naval role in this way is more
likely to select it as his major role, and to expect his wife to conform to this priority than is the member who adopts a casual or instrumental attitude to his naval service. He would see it as a job like any other, and be more interested in the material rewards he gains from it than the committed member, who is compensated by the satisfactions he derives from his dedication and loyalty.

The Pahls (1971: 223) have distinguished between men who are work-oriented and see their work as an end in itself; and those who are non-work-oriented, and see their work as a means to an end. In other words, the work-oriented man would say:

"A man ought to get the main meaning in his life from work",

and the non-work-oriented man would feel that:

"A man's a fool to drive himself only in order to achieve a moderately greater income and vastly greater responsibility".

The naval member who adopts the work-oriented or vocational attitude to his work would be most successful if his wife agrees with this commitment and is prepared to support and endorse her husband's interest in the Navy. In this case it is likely that the wife and children would come close to involvement with the Navy, and thus role strain for the member would be minimised.

However, the committed member whose wife does not support his preoccupation in his naval role would find that he is in conflict with his family; his wife would be resentful and feel neglected, putting great pressure on
her husband to leave the Navy, or adjust his naval service to the family's needs. This pressure could result in the member retreating further into the naval area, and so a high degree of segregation in the conjugal relationship would be likely; but if the member fails to adjust to his wife's pressure, the result could be the breakdown of the marriage.

It could be assumed that the incidence of divorce among naval members compared to the general population would indicate that naval marriages are more unstable and liable to breakdown because of the effect of naval service on family life, and the need for the married member to conform to the naval expectations rather than his family ones, but comparison of the statistics which are available suggests that this may not be the case. In the age group twenty-four to forty-nine years, 1.44 percent of Australian males were divorced at 30 June, 1971; while 0.30 percent of members of the Royal Australian Navy were divorced in December 1971. In January 1973, when a further statistic was made available for this study, 74 members, or 0.45 percent of male naval members were divorced. (See Table 2):
TABLE 2

Divorced Males in Australian Population and in Royal Australian Navy at 30 June, 1971*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number Divorced</th>
<th>Total Number</th>
<th>Percentage Divorced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australian Males</td>
<td>31,651</td>
<td>2,200,272</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aged 24-49 yrs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Members of R.A.N.</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>15,994</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The danger of drawing conclusions about family instability from divorce statistics are, in Noble's words, "notorious" (Noble, 1970: 138; Gibson, 1972: 322-325), but in any case, these comparisons are crude, because the naval married population is concentrated in the twenty-four to thirty-year age group, and personnel can leave the Navy at the end of their initial engagement, which falls in the twenty-six to thirty-year age span. In the general Australian population the peak age for divorce is thirty years and above, so that naval personnel whose marriages are liable to breakdown may have already left the Navy. It has also been suggested that a special factor deterring naval members from divorce may be the conservative climate of opinion within the Service, so that members, and particularly officers, might fear that divorce action would affect their careers even if, objectively, this would not be the case.

The interpretation of the apparently lower divorce
statistic in the Navy which has the greatest cogency, is that the naval situation permits members to avoid their family roles, and the financial security afforded to the wife may mean that she will be content to accept her husband's "vestigial" role in the family. This argument would suggest that naval marriages are liable to be more stable than others in the community because the partners in the marriage are able to live highly segregated lives, and do not require or expect that the marriage relationship will provide them with all their emotional and social satisfactions.

Compromise and Avoidance Behaviour

This discussion has proposed that the naval member may, when faced with inter-role conflict, select some form of compromise behaviour which allows him to satisfy, partially at least, the expectations of his family and the Navy. The institutional segregation of the two spheres of work and family life is one mechanism which prevents visibility between the two areas, and so increases the opportunities for the member to compromise, or avoid scrutiny of his behaviour.

The lack of visibility between work and family life, and the separation of the two areas physically and socially may be regarded as a mechanism which prevents or reduces role conflict, and in its normal manifestation is a positive factor which induces harmonious relationships between the two subsystems. The degree of visibility between roles has been discussed by Merton (1957: 341-353), who argues that
The "need for privacy" is explained by the fact that some measure of leeway in conforming to role-expectations is presupposed in all groups; and that there is some functionally optimum degree of visibility (Merton, 1957: 344) which is required by different social structures for their efficient operation:

"Correlatively, it is being suggested that differing social structures require arrangements for insulation from full and uninhibited visibility if they are to function adequately; arrangements which, in the vernacular, are described as needs for privacy, or as the importance of secrecy".

The structured separation of work and family areas of life may, therefore, serve the needs of the person who is involved in both areas, and act as a means of reducing role tension. This idea is expressed by the Pahls (1971: 189), who say:

"It seemed that many of the men wanted to keep work and home separate, perhaps in order to have a place of escape from the tensions of each, and in particular to be able to spend at least part of their time away from their work identity".

The naval member who is oriented towards his naval role may be able to legitimate his neglect of family roles by referring to the demands of the Service, and he may deliberately use his work role to protect him from involvement in family life. This use of the work role to escape from family life is facilitated if the member's family is not living in the naval area, or close to other naval families. Babineau (1972: 15) has pointed out that some occupations, especially those where secrecy and
confidentiality are stressed in the work situation, provide the opportunity for the husband/father to avoid his family roles and to use the work role to reinforce his own personality needs.

The domination-absence pattern in marriage is a technique for coping with masculine role strain which is also readily available to the naval member. In this pattern, the husband asserts his domination whenever he is present, and then absents himself at times when he might not be able to maintain control (Turner, 1971: 301-302):

"His effective domination is punctuated by a contrived unpredictability. By being late for dinner on frequent occasions, he notifies his wife that he has accepted no obligation to conform to her schedule. By absenting himself physically, or socially by sleeping and absorbing himself in television or book, he frees himself from give-and-take relationships".

Conforming to Family Expectations

Faced with inter-role conflict, the naval member who wishes to conform to the expectations of his wife when these are conflicting with the Navy's expectations, will be in a difficult position. He can seek to make adjustments in his naval service by asking for special posting consideration, or he can seek to eliminate his naval role altogether. The problem for him is that the Navy has control over the situation, and will recognise his family problems only if they are legitimated by naval social workers. There is a scale of legitimacy of family needs which is unwritten,
but which can be classified in the following way, and in a
descending order of legitimacy:

(1) Physical illness or death of wife or children, and in certain circumstances, a parent.

(2) A threat to the marriage, including the infidelity of the wife or break-up of the marriage when the member is legally entitled to care of the children.

(3) Mental illness of the wife or parent when the member's presence is essential to the continuing existence of the family unit.

(4) Emotional inadequacy or immaturity of the wife, including her tested inability to move away from the locality where her parents live.

A member who is faced with conflict between naval and family roles and wishes to resolve the conflict in favour of his family commitments, is commonly regarded as deviant by the Navy, which brings sanctions to bear on him in the future if he remains in the Navy. The conflict between the Navy's needs and the personal situation of the individual member usually culminates in the member being censored by the Navy because he has put his particular needs before those of the system, and the outcome is frequently to dismiss his request as manipulative or frivolous, or else to discharge him from the Service because of his deviant, and by implication disloyal, behaviour. The discrepancy between the attitudes of the Navy and those of wives is illustrated by a recent research study on naval families who had received special posting consideration at a time of family crisis. The wives, who were interviewed after the crisis, accepted the Navy's action in posting their
husbands as a right which the Navy owed to them, and they displayed no inclination or obligation to feel grateful for this consideration.

The feelings of a sailor who is exposed to conflict between his family and work roles, and wishes to resolve them in favour of his family by obtaining a discharge from the Navy, are expressed in the following statement which is typical of the sailor's viewpoint:

"My wife (ever since we first met) is very emotional and has cried whenever I had to go back from leave. She would like me to come home and stay there and live like most normal people. Knowing all this has me at my wit's end, very depressed and unable to cope with my work. I cannot leave home knowing the depressing state of mind she is in and also the way I feel, which is that my wife's happiness comes first no matter what the circumstances. It would be regarded by me to be an extreme punishment if we were to be separated any longer".

The statement by this member that his efficiency in his naval role was reduced because of his concern for his wife conforms with the hypothesis examined by Gross, Mason, McEachern (1958 : 275), that:

"position incumbents who perceive that they are exposed to role conflict will derive less gratification from the occupancy of their position than position incumbents who do not perceive they are exposed to role conflict".

If this hypothesis is accepted, then it seems wise policy for the Navy to allow members who are experiencing inter-role conflict to leave the Navy. One objection to this argument is that the intensity of the conflict may fluctuate according to the nature of the crisis, the length of
marriage, or the stage of the family life cycle. However, the more general consideration is that in this field of discharges the Navy maintains its boundaries, and by declaring deviant, and excluding those members who are considered to be disaffected, it re-states the system's values and reinforces the cohesion of members. The social worker who legitimises the member's exit from the Navy is therefore acting as an agent who patrols the Navy's boundaries, and assists in the maintenance of the group's cohesion.

Summary

The preceding analysis of the position of the married naval member proceeds from the assumption that he is faced with inter-role conflict arising from the institutional relations between work and family life, and that he will be able to reduce role strain if he is oriented towards the Navy in an expressive way, and his wife supports this identification. Inter-role conflict will exist for him if his wife resents his involvement in the Navy and expects that he will devote more time and energy to his family life. One mechanism for reducing inter-role conflict is the institutional segregation of work and family life, and this "need for privacy" is supported by societal norms, so that the inclination to keep the naval and family worlds separate may represent a positive adjustment to the boundary role position of the naval member. However, he can use his naval role to avoid family responsibilities, and this
separation of family and naval life may be conducive to family stability if not to a companionship form of marital relationship. Finally, the member who experiences inter-role conflict because he wishes to give priority to the needs of his wife and children may be unable to resolve this conflict, unless the Navy recognises the legitimacy of the family's needs, but in the course of asking for the Navy's consideration he runs the risk of being declared deviant by the Navy because he has placed the family's particular needs before those of the naval organisation, and so has come into conflict with the values of the military institution.
Methodology of the Research Study

At the time the research study was formulated the author was convinced that married naval members do experience inter-role conflict, and although this might be contained and reduced during the period of their service in the Navy, they would express this latent conflict when they were free to leave the Navy by deciding to take their discharge rather than remain in the Service. This statement is applicable to sailors rather than officers, because a different Service contract applies to the two groups; sailors sign an initial engagement for a specified number of years, whereas the officer's appointment is for the duration of his career unless he himself wishes to submit his resignation. The contention that married sailors would leave the Navy at the end of their initial period of service was supported by the age specific statistics of the sailor population, which shows a marked decline in the numbers of married members at the ages of twenty-seven and twenty-eight years, when sailors would be free to leave the Navy after having completed nine or twelve years service.

It was therefore considered that the decision of sailors when they were free to make a calculated choice between the Navy and civilian life, would indicate that they were experiencing conflict between their role in the Navy and their family roles, and this would be reflected in their
decisions. A research study was planned with a view to examining the thinking of the sailors at this time so that their attitudes, rather than those of the observer, might be established and some insight gained into their feelings and orientation towards naval service and their families.

**Hypothesis**

In accordance with the author's initial bias, a research hypothesis was formulated which states that married sailors experience inter-role conflict because the conditions of naval service prevent them fulfilling their husband/father roles, and therefore they decide to leave the Navy rather than stay in it at the time when they are free to make their own decision. The null hypothesis therefore states that married sailors experience inter-role conflict because the conditions of naval service prevent them fulfilling their husband/father roles, but this experience of inter-role conflict does not make any difference to their decision to leave the Navy, or stay in it, at the time when they are free to make their own decision.

**Variables**

Inter-role conflict is defined as the situation where an individual perceives that others hold different expectations for him as the incumbent of two or more positions (Gross, Mason, McEachern, 1958 : 249), and is regarded as the independent variable. It is experienced by the sailor in response to his felt inability to carry out
the expectations held for him by the Navy and by his wife and children. The dependent variable is the sailor's decision to stay in the Navy or to leave it at the time when his engagement or contract with the Navy expires. It was also decided to introduce questions which would examine a range of attitudes towards the Navy in order to assist in locating those members who identify with the Navy in an expressive and traditional way, from those who regard it as a job like any other; and also to distinguish the members who wish to bring their private lives close to the Navy, and those who wish to keep the two spheres separate.

The research design was also calculated to provide additional data which could be used to describe the characteristics of those members who re-engage, and those who leave the Navy.

Research Plan

At the outset the main problems confronting the researcher were to avoid a research programme which would unduly interfere with naval work schedules; and to arrange for the sailors, who were widely dispersed geographically, to be interviewed in ships and shore establishments, bearing in mind that the interviewing resources were limited, and travel would cost time and money.

Some time was spent in examining official records of those sailors who are due to leave the Navy at any one
time, and the Statistical Unit of the Department of the Navy was consulted with the object of selecting, in the most efficient manner, a sample population of sailors, taking into account the limited resources and the desire to fit in with the naval work schedules.

Finally, it was agreed that a suitable method of selecting a group of sailors for the study would be to take the members who are due to make a decision in one month, but as the members fluctuate from month to month, the researcher was advised that it would be important to select either January or July, since these are not only the peak months in numbers, but provide the most diverse group of sailors. This diversity is explained by the fact that January and July are the months when sailors initially enter the Navy at all recruiting establishments; so that a number of junior recruits, adult entries, and apprentices, would have entered in January or July, and so be due to complete their initial engagement during these months.

As the initial planning took place in May 1972, it was decided to select January 1973 as the month when sailors' decisions would be examined, but this meant that interviewing of the selected sailors would need to be undertaken at some point prior to that time. One difficulty in selecting the sailors was that they are able to make their decisions at any time prior to the due date, and therefore records of those who are due to leave the Navy in any one month vary according to the date when a list is
compiled, and those who have already signed a contract of re-engagement will not be included in this list. The consequence is that the sailors who are recorded as leaving the Navy in any one month represent those who have not already re-engaged, and in this respect, as the month approaches, only those who have not yet decided, or who are not disposed to re-engage, remain on the list.

For the purposes of this study a list was made in June 1972 of those sailors who were due to make a decision regarding the continuation of their naval service, in January 1973, so that any sailors who had already decided to remain in the Navy were not included. It may therefore be assumed that there is a bias among the sailors whose decisions were examined, towards the sailor who is less favourably disposed towards continuing his naval service.

The month of January did, however, provide a discrete population which, although not stratified according to rank or category of service, could be considered representative of a sample of sailors who were due to leave, or re-engage in the Navy. An advantage of using a month as a representative sample is that it is naval policy to interview all sailors six months before they are due to make a decision, and again three months before this date, if they have not already decided to remain in the Navy.

The total number of members who were listed in June 1972 as due to make a decision in January 1973, was 158, and
of these, 168 were married. The initial intention was to interview all of these married members, but only forty-three questionnaires were finally completed, as an event outside the control of the researcher intervened to prevent interviews with more members. This outside interruption came in the form of a prolonged transport strike which gripped the Southern Australian States during July and August 1972, and prevented movement both by air and car. As the sailors were scattered geographically, it became necessary to concentrate the interviewing at the most accessible places, and to abandon any intention to cover a wider sample. The same problem prevented the researcher interviewing a sample of wives of members, as had originally been planned, as these wives were even more widely dispersed geographically than the sailors.

Interviewers

During 1972 the Navy, following the example of the Army, appointed Re-engagement Counsellors, who are senior sailors themselves and are charged with the responsibility of interviewing all sailors who are due to make a decision regarding their service in the Navy, and they do this at the six-month and three-month points, as mentioned above. As these Re-engagement Counsellors have access to sailors during working hours, and make routine arrangements to interview them, it was decided to seek approval for the Re-engagement Counsellors to assist in carrying out this research project, and to incorporate the questionnaire in
their routine interviewing schedule. This request was granted, and the two Re-engagement Counsellors carried out thirty-one interviews, while the researcher was able to see twelve sailors herself. The use of the Re-engagement Counsellors was partly dictated by necessity, as their interviews are fitted into service time schedules, and they also frequently board ships and interview sailors in Messes or in dockyards, where it would be difficult for a female social worker to accompany them. The Re-engagement Counsellors, although not trained in interviewing, are carefully selected by the Navy on the basis of personal qualities such as their standing among sailors, and their ability to maintain their confidence and respect. These qualities were very marked in the interview situation, and the researcher would wish to pay a tribute to these senior members whose co-operation was freely given, and was vital to the outcome of the project.

**Interviewing Method**

The method used in the interview was to explain to the sailor the purpose of the research, and request his co-operation in filling in the questionnaire, but he was then given the form to complete himself. The interviewer was present to answer any queries which arose concerning the questions, or to discuss any specific points raised, but no comments were made unless the sailor raised the issue himself. On completion of the questionnaire the researcher usually engaged the sailor in a general discussion, and in
this way some insights additional to the written answers were gained.

There were no refusals to respond to the research questionnaire, and in the researcher's own experience the sailors did not appear to resist, or be reluctant to fill in the questionnaire, nor did they have difficulties in answering the questions. Although from the researcher's point of view this response is gratifying, and suggests that the questions made sense to the sailors and that they were really interested in them because they touched on matters about which they feel keenly, there is also a lingering suspicion that perhaps the sailors in the Service situation consider their private lives are open to public scrutiny, and passively go along with Service requirements. There may be a methodological problem involved in this issue, as it has been noted that Zahn (1969) provoked open hostility among military chaplains in the Royal Air Force by asking probing questions which were deliberately designed to confront chaplains with the conflict which Zahn considered to be inherent in their role. In this study of sailors, no attempt was made to provoke the sailors nor probe deeply into their feelings, so that they may have been able to avoid thinking seriously about the issues which the questions attempted to raise.² Another significant aspect of the responses made was the way in which sailors who were asked to record their wives' attitudes to naval service indicated that they realised that their wives said
one thing, and meant another. When asked if their wives wanted them to stay in the Navy, a number of sailors ticked the box which said that the wife let her husband make his own decision; at the same time they said (with a quick glance at the researcher) that at least that was what their wife said. The realisation that they and their wives were playing games with each other was unmistakably conveyed. Although it was not intended to use this response to indicate the wife's view, but only the sailor's understanding of her attitude, the need to be cautious about accepting statements made in the interview situation at face value was demonstrated by these responses.

The Questionnaire

The form was designed in three parts, containing firstly the objective data such as length of service, of marriage, and ages of children. Some of these details are available in Service records and could be checked if necessary, but the recording of marriage dates and ages of children is known to be inaccurate, so that it was necessary to ask the sailor to give this information. The second part of the questionnaire sought the member's attitude towards his employment in the Navy and in civilian life, culminating with the question which was designed to indicate whether the member was experiencing inter-role conflict. This question asked the member to say whether he found it difficult or easy to be both a sailor and a good husband. The third part
of the form concerned the member's family roles, and included a question asking him whether he preferred to live in naval or private accommodation. This preference was considered to discriminate sharply between sailors who identified with the Navy and who wished to bring their families close to the Navy, and those members who wished to keep their family and naval roles separate.

A pilot test of the draft questionnaire was carried out by the author with three sailors and one officer, who were volunteers, and the final version of the form was then given to the Re-engagement Counsellors, who were also briefed by the author in the method of presenting the form to the sailors.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the transport crisis prevented the full coverage of sailors due to make their decision in January 1973, and when the final count was made, forty-three forms were available for analysis. As these sailors were not selected by random sample or any other systematic process, they are a biassed sample of the population of sailors due to make a decision in January 1973, and it is necessary to remain aware of the limitation of the responses obtained from the forty-three members who completed the questionnaire.

Analysis of the Data

The forms were checked for non-response, and comments given to open-ended questions were recorded on cards. The
The forms were numbered, and a code book compiled so that the forty-three sailors' responses could be recorded in coded form. After the end of January 1973 it was possible to consult naval records and establish which members in the study had decided to leave the Navy, and which members had decided to remain in the Service. In view of the critical nature of this decision for the analysis of the data, the records were consulted manually by the researcher, and each of the forty-three members' records checked individually.

The analysis of the data showed that some of the questions were more discriminating than others, and the responses to each question were compared in order to see whether any patterns or relations between responses could be established. One line of analysis which had not been anticipated developed from this in-depth study of the data. It was observed that some sailors gave consistent responses to a set of questions, and a case study approach was adopted which proved to be useful, as will be explained in the following chapter. Sailors who exhibited consistently positive responses to a series of questions were compared with those who gave consistently negative answers to the same questions, and these profiles suggested that a cluster of questions could be considered to represent an index of attitudes towards naval service.

**The Civilian Employment Situation**

A factor which influences the decisions of all
sailors is the current state of the civilian employment market. During the period when the sailors who were able to leave the Navy in January 1973 were making up their minds, the level of unemployment in the Australian male population was high, and was generally considered to be rising. In this atmosphere of gloomy predictions about the availability of jobs "outside", it could be anticipated that all sailors might be afraid that they would be without a job if they should leave the Service. But the effect need not be the same for all sailors, because those with recognised civilian trade skills would be less uncertain of their prospects and more able to test their chances beforehand, than members who had been employed in the Navy in positions where the skills used on the job had no civilian counterpart. The member who had been trained to be a Quartermaster gunner would, for instance, be unable to find a civilian equivalent for this job training, and so would be more inclined to remain in the Navy if the prospect of obtaining other types of employment was not encouraging. In addition, married sailors with children might consider it wise to remain in the Navy and so retain a secure income.

One other factor which influences all sailors to some degree is their relative inexperience in civilian employment; and those who had entered early and not been employed before entry would be most seriously handicapped. Some sailors do test out their capacities while they are still in the Service by taking part-time employment, particularly during shore postings, and in this way they
may prepare themselves for entry into the civilian labour force. Others may be lured by the desirability of the unknown, and decide to leave the Service because they want to experience the hitherto untried civilian employment situation. In order to assist sailors who are due to leave the Navy after twenty years service, resettlement seminars and retraining programmes are provided, and the Service actively seeks to keep them informed of opportunities for employment in the civilian sector.

Analysis of the Data

When the questionnaires were collected and the responses coded, the results were studied at some length in order to identify the variables which proved to discriminate between members. Some of the data which was collected did not prove useful, and therefore is ignored in the description and explanation of the research findings. For instance, those wives who had been members of the Women's Royal Australian Naval Service before marriage were not different in their attitudes to the Navy and their husband's service, from other wives. The member's length of service in the Navy did not have any relevance to the research findings, and the numbers of members employed in different Branches of the Service were too small to permit any comparisons to be made between those employed in each Branch.

The analysis is therefore limited by the small number of sailors who were interviewed, and the size of this population means that only tentative conclusions may
be drawn about members who perceive that they are exposed to inter-role conflict, and those who do not.

Analysis of the Research Study

The research hypothesis is designed to provide a basis for examining the attitudes of married members towards their naval and family roles, and it is put in such a form that it represents the author's view that there is institutionalised conflict between the Navy and the family, and that at the role-level this conflict is incorporated in the boundary role of the naval member who is also a husband/father. The research hypothesis is, therefore, a statement of the extreme view taken by the researcher at the outset of the study. And it consists of two propositions; firstly, that married members do experience inter-role conflict; and secondly, that these members leave the Navy at the point when they are free to make their own decision because they feel unable to adjust to the requirements of both roles. The assumption made is that as long as the Navy is able to bring sanctions to bear on the member to ensure his conformity to naval expectations, then the member will find a means of adjusting to the situation, but that the latent inter-role conflict implicit in the member's position will become overt and will be expressed in the member's decision to leave the Navy at the time when he has completed his Service obligations.

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The analysis of the research data reveals that thirty
members, or 70 percent of those interviewed, stated that they are aware of conflict between their naval and family roles, while the remaining thirteen members, who comprise 30 percent of the total group, consider it easy to combine both roles. It is concluded that those members who do not perceive that they are exposed to inter-role conflict have found some satisfactory means of adjusting to membership of both the Navy and the family and, therefore, in accordance with the conclusions of Gross, Mason and McEachern (1958 : 259-261), they are in a state of inter-role congruence.

This division of the group of forty-three members into those who are, and those who are not, aware of their exposure to inter-role conflict, does not fulfil the research expectation that a greater proportion of married sailors would have difficulty in adjusting to both roles. It is, however, consistent with the theoretical view that there are mechanisms available to actors for resolving or reducing inter-role conflict. Before speculating on the mechanisms used by these sailors for adjusting to inter-role conflict, the decisions of all the members interviewed regarding the continuation of their naval service need to be considered. When the records were checked it was established that of the thirteen sailors who were not exposed to inter-role conflict, eleven, or 85 percent, decided to stay in the Navy, while eighteen, or 60 percent of the conflicted group stayed in the Navy, and twelve, or 40 percent, left the Service.
These decisions suggest that there is a significant correlation between the experience of inter-role congruence and the decision to remain in the Navy; so that those members who find some means of reducing inter-role conflict are liable to continue in the Service. But the members who perceive that they are exposed to inter-role conflict do not decide to leave the Navy to any significant extent, and the research hypothesis could, on the basis of these figures, be rejected, and the null hypothesis be accepted.

Before rejecting the research hypothesis and accepting the null hypothesis, consideration has been given to errors which might arise from conceptual and theoretical sources, or from inadequate or faulty methodology. One source of error which has become increasingly apparent to the researcher is the failure to conceive inter-role conflict as a quantifiable variable rather than a discrete one. It is also possible that the mechanisms adopted by members to resolve inter-role conflict are more or less effective, so that in some individuals the experience of conflict is reduced by the member's adjustment, while in others it is almost entirely eliminated. It could also be proposed that the question which was designed to establish inter-role conflict was not sufficiently austere or probing, and did not convey the meaning which was intended. It has already been pointed out that other research studies have provoked hostility or anxiety in the respondents when role
conflict has been established, but judging by the researcher's own interviewing experience, naval members reacted in a passive manner to the questions asked in this study.

An alternative explanation of the research data is that the dependent and independent variables are not related in the manner proposed by the research hypothesis, as other variables may intervene to influence the decisions of members who are experiencing inter-role conflict. Among the reasons why these members may decide to remain in, or leave the Navy are their perception of the opportunities available to them in civilian life for a greater income, greater satisfaction in their work, or for upward mobility. The same factors might account for a decision to remain in the Navy in spite of conflict with their family roles, as the members might be uncertain of the civilian situation, lack confidence in their own abilities, or lack the desire to achieve a higher level of occupational and social satisfaction. These explanations are all considered to carry some degree of validity, and have been kept in mind when the research data has been analysed. In view of the suggestion that inter-role congruence and conflict represent a continuum, this conceptual position has been maintained in the analysis, and the decisions of the entire group of forty-three members taken into account, rather than only those of the members who are aware of inter-role conflict. This study of the research data indicates that some of the responses are more discriminating than others, and the
factors which distinguish some members from others form the basis on which the explanation of the data proceeds.

**Group Characteristics**

The forty-three members who responded to the questionnaire are divided into four groups according to their responses to the dependent and independent variables, as shown in Table 3.

**TABLE 3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision of Members and Inter-Role Conflict and Congruence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Inter-role Congruence</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision to remain in the Navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decision to leave the Navy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those members who decide to stay in the Navy and experience inter-role congruence form one group of eleven members; the second group consists of eighteen members, who stay in the Navy but perceive exposure to inter-role conflicts; twelve members form the third group, who leave the Navy and experience inter-role conflict; and the fourth group is made up of only two members, who leave the Navy although they do not perceive exposure to inter-role conflict.
In addition to asking whether members found it easy or difficult to be a sailor and a good husband, the members were all asked to give their reasons for their answer, and these statements reveal that those members who find it easy to combine both roles attribute this ability to the personal qualities of themselves and their wives. Six sailors in Groups 1 and 4 made remarks such as:

"It depends on the wife's ability to cope", or "the wife understood when we were married";

while one of two members in Group 4 said he thought the question itself was shallow, and added:

"to be a good husband is easy at any time where the partners of a marriage are compatible".

The other member in Group 4 said:

"I think any man worth his salt should find it easy to be a good husband no matter what his form of employment".

These comments contrast markedly with those of Groups 2 and 3, none of whom mentioned the personal qualities needed by sailors and their wives, but stressed objective factors such as separation, the effects of the father's absence on children, and mobility and uncertainty of postings. The difference between these two Groups, both perceiving difficulties in combining the two roles, lay in the greater proportion in Group 3, who made comments, and the vehemence with which they stated their views. One member in Group 3 (those who left the Navy and experienced inter-role conflict) listed the following reasons for his problems:
(103)

(1) "You're away from home too much";
(2) "Wife has got to make major decisions";
(3) "No notice (enough) given before drafts, and how long you'll be there".

Another member of Group 3 who did not find it easy to be a sailor and a good husband wrote:

"Not whilst long periods on board ship and being forced to live in a flat, or home other than one's own, if you own a home in another State. But duty weekends, and definitely long periods at sea are bad for families".

These comments reflect a range of attitudes towards the family and naval roles by members in the four Groups, and these relate to their decision to leave the Navy or stay in it. At one end of a continuum are the members who consider it is easy to be both sailor and husband/father, mention no objective problems, but attribute their ability to perform both roles adequately to the personal qualities of their wives and themselves. At the other end of the continuum are the members who consider that conditions of naval service, such as absence from home and uncertainty about the future prevent them performing their role as husband/father to their satisfaction; while in the middle of the range are those members who perceive objective difficulties, and are particularly concerned about the effect of naval service on their children, but nevertheless stay in the Navy.

When the responses of the four groups of sailors to other items in the questionnaire are examined, the
characteristics which distinguish the groups from one another are seen to be their preferences for naval or private housing; their statements regarding their wives' attitudes to the Navy; the length of their marriages, and the number of children; and the degree of satisfaction which they experience in their work in the Navy. The ways in which each group of sailors responded to these items in the questionnaire are set out in Table 4, and will be discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

**TABLE 4**

Characteristics of Members expressed in Percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N = 11</td>
<td>N = 18</td>
<td>N = 12</td>
<td>N = 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-engaged in Navy</td>
<td>Re-engaged in Navy</td>
<td>Discharged</td>
<td>Discharged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-role Congruence</td>
<td>Inter-role Conflict</td>
<td>Inter-role Conflict</td>
<td>Inter-role Conflict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefer Naval to Private Housing</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like their work very much</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives are proud of Service in Navy</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married less than one year</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No children</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two children</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It should be noted, however, that none of the differences set out in the Table has a level of statistical significance which would permit general statements to be made about them with confidence.

Naval and Private Housing

During previous research it had been noted that sailors are sharply divided by their preference for living in naval or private housing, and a question asking members to state their preference was included in this questionnaire. In Group 1, 64 percent of sailors preferred naval housing; in Group 2, 24 percent, while there were none in Group 3 who wanted to live in naval housing, all of them expressing a preference for private accommodation. In Group 4, one sailor preferred naval accommodation, and the other private housing. These preferences suggest that those members who find it easy to be a sailor and a good husband prefer to live in naval housing, and those who find it difficult, do not; and the preference for private accommodation is stronger among those who decide to leave the Navy. This relationship suggests to the researcher that the first group of members bring their family life close to the Navy and so make the relationship between the two spheres more harmonious; while the groups who find membership of both areas difficult want to put some distance between the two. The desire to keep the two roles separate from each other may also be an attempt to reduce inter-role conflict, as the lack of visibility between work and family lives may provide an
opportunity for members to seek relief from role strain in the privacy of family life, or to immerse themselves in naval life and escape the demands of their husband/father roles.

Wives' Attitudes

As might be expected, the sailors' statements regarding their wives' attitudes to their service in the Navy are consistent with their own experience of inter-role conflict, and decisions to leave the Navy. Members of Group 1 record a greater percentage of wives favourable to their continued service and proud of their membership in the Navy, than members of Group 3, whose wives are more inclined to want them to leave the Navy, and to regard naval service in an instrumental way. Members of this group, when asked if their wives were proud of the fact that they were in the Navy, commented:

"She is indifferent, as long as the pay packet is full".

"She looks at it as just a job".

"She is impartial".

Length of Marriage, and Children

There is also a correlation between length of marriage, and the number of children among the groups of members. Group 1, who re-engaged, have all been married more than a year, and 46 percent have two children; in Group 2, 11 percent have been married less than a year, and 34 percent have two children, while in Group 3, 25 percent have been married less than a year, and 25 percent have two
children. The conclusion seems to be that inter-role conflict is high during the first year of marriage; but the presence of children, which is also associated with length of marriage, tends to be correlated with less inter-role conflict. However, members who are married with two children express less inter-role conflict, and tend to stay in the Navy more frequently than members who have been married for the same length of time but have no children. The implication is that members with children are more stable, and less free to take employment risks than their counterparts who have no children. This conclusion is consistent with Parsons' view (1971: 60) that the family acts to stabilise the personalities of the adult members of the population, and that parenthood acquires:

"an enhanced significance for the emotional balance of the parents themselves".

It also supports the contention that a man acquires purposefulness in life through his family roles:

"If a man has a purpose in life, he feels steadier, while without it he drifts and grows restless. A single man has more freedom, but less purpose, and we often underrate those of purpose" (Klein, 1965: 154).

Work Satisfaction

All members in the study were asked whether they liked their work in the Navy very much, moderately, or whether they disliked it. The responses are shown in Table 5.
## TABLE 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Satisfaction of Members</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sailors who liked their work very much</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailors who liked their work moderately</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sailors who disliked their work</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one sailor disliked his work, and as may be predicted, he left the Navy. Twenty-five sailors, or 58 percent of those interviewed, liked their work very much, and seventeen, or 39.5 percent liked their work moderately. Analysed by groups according to inter-role conflict and their decisions, these responses show that 78 percent of those in Group 1, who stayed in the Navy and did not experience inter-role conflict, liked their work very much; 56 percent in Group 2 did so, and only 42 percent in Group 3.

Work satisfaction of Groups is shown in Table 6:
TABLE 6

Work Satisfaction of Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Sailors who:</th>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Liked their work very much</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liked their work moderately</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disliked their work</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results are consistent with the hypothesis concerning role conflict put forward by Gross, Mason, McEachern (1958: 275), that:

"Position incumbents who perceive that they are exposed to role conflict will derive less gratification from the occupancy of their position than position incumbents who do not perceive that they are exposed to role conflict."

In this case, the incumbents experienced less satisfaction with their work role when they perceived that they were exposed to inter-role conflict, and more satisfaction with the work role when they do not experience inter-role conflict.

A comparison of the levels of job satisfaction expressed by these sailors, and the levels revealed in
other studies, indicates that the sailors rate as high, if not higher than, for instance, blue-collar workers in Newtown (Bryson and Thompson, 1972: 38), of whom 22 percent were very positive, 40 percent mildly positive, 25 percent generally positive but qualified, and 13 percent negative. American studies quoted by Blauner (1969: 226) show that 54 percent of factory workers said their jobs were very interesting, and Super's study (1939) found that the percentages of satisfied workers ranged from 85.6 for professionals to 55.9 for skilled manual workers, and 47.6 for semi-skilled workers (Super, 1939: 547-564).

An explanation of levels of job satisfaction involves accounting for the factors contributing to it, and the principal ones identified by Blauner (1969: 229-245) are occupational prestige, the presence or absence of integrated work groups, the worker's control over the use of his time, and physical movement and freedom from hierarchical authority and the influence of occupational communities. As the Navy cannot be assumed to rate highly in occupational prestige especially at the sailor level, and as the pervasiveness of naval control must be a negative factor in terms of Blauner's theory, it seems likely that the presence of integrated work groups, and of the occupational community, which are present to a high degree in the Navy, must be the factors which counteract the other features in the naval work situation to produce the level of job satisfaction recorded by the naval members in this study. Blauner (1969: 245) explains
the way in which the occupational community operates to increase job satisfaction:

"First, when workers know their co-workers off the job, they will derive deeper satisfactions on the job. In the second place, an effect of the isolation of the occupation is that workers are able to develop and maintain a pride in and devotion to their line of work; at the same time, isolation insulates them from having to come to grips with the general public's image of their status, which is likely to be considerably lower than their own".

Efficiency and Job Satisfaction

The forty-three sailors who completed questionnaires were considered to be highly satisfied with their work, in comparison with similar occupational groups, and those who stay in the Navy are inclined to be more satisfied than those who leave the Navy. These conclusions do not imply that sailors are more efficient than other workers, nor that those who stay in the Navy are making a greater contribution to the Service than those who leave; and the relationship between inter-role conflict and performance on the job is also unclear. One way of measuring the value of sailors to the Service is to consider the rank they have attained, as it is generally true that the more able sailors are promoted faster than those who remain at the lower rank levels. A comparison of the rank of sailors in each group is shown in Table 7:
TABLE 7

Rank of Members in each Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Chief Petty Officer</th>
<th>Petty Officer</th>
<th>Leading Rank</th>
<th>Able Rank</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 1</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>54.5</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 2</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 3</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>33.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Group 4</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures suggest that the sailors in Group 3, who experience inter-role conflict, and leave the Navy, are more inclined to be Chief Petty Officers than the other groups; while Group 1 sailors, who do not experience inter-role conflict and stay in the Navy, have a higher percentage of members at the Petty Officer level. The numbers involved in each group, when classified by rank, are low, and the observed tendencies have only limited significance. The distribution of the members by the six Branches in which they are employed in the Navy, as shown in Table 8, also means that the numbers in each cell are so small that no conclusions of any merit can be drawn from them.
### TABLE 8

**Distribution of Members by Groups and Branches of Employment in the Royal Australian Navy**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Branch</th>
<th>Group 1</th>
<th>Group 2</th>
<th>Group 3</th>
<th>Group 4</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sea</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supply</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: There were no members of the Submarine Branch in the research population.*

#### Profiles

The outcome of the research data which has interested the author is that one sailor exhibited what is termed a positive profile, and another a negative profile. These sailors gave consistent, but opposite answers to a cluster of questions which it is considered, represent attitudes towards naval and family roles.

The positively oriented member stated that:

1. His wife wanted him to stay in the Navy.
2. He liked his work very much.
3. He considered he had been promoted fast enough.
4. He would stay in the Navy if he were single.
5. He preferred to live in naval housing.
6. He found it easy to be a sailor and a good husband.
The sailor with the negative profile said exactly the opposite:

(1) His wife wanted him to leave the Navy.
(2) He disliked his work.
(3) He considered he had not been promoted fast enough.
(4) He would not stay in the Navy if he were single.
(5) He preferred to live in private housing.
(6) He found it difficult to be a sailor and a good husband.

In these cases the positive sailor belonged to Group 1 and stayed in the Navy, while the negative sailor was in Group 3 and left the Navy. A further distinction is that the positive sailor had been married for seven years and had two children, while the negative sailor had been married only four months at the time of the interview. It is interesting to note that this sailor, so newly married, said that his wife (who had little experience of Navy life), most disliked separation from him, the effect of naval service on the children, uncertainty about postings, and the inability to have a settled home. The sailor married for seven years selected only uncertainty about postings as the feature of naval service disliked by his wife.

These two profiles show remarkable consistency in attitudes, and are considered to represent the polar cases of inter-role congruence and inter-role conflict. Other sailors in the study gave responses which varied in consistency between these two poles, but the members in
Group 3 responded more closely to the negative pole, while the members in Group 3 gave responses at the positive, or congruent, end of the continuum.

Case Studies

One sailor, who eventually decided to leave the Navy, gave a series of answers which were highly inconsistent, and which suggest that at the time of his interview he was very ambivalent about his naval and family roles. He had always wanted to join the Navy, but this ambition was opposed by his parents, so that he did not join until he was twenty-two years old. He married a year later and he now has three children. However, it is known that he has not been able to assist his wife as much as she has expected, although financially she is secure. The sailor's distance from his family roles is accompanied by an inability to articulate his feelings, and when his wife put pressure on him to pay more attention to her and the children he appeared to want to avoid the situation by behaving in a passive and evasive manner. His responses to the questionnaire indicate that he liked his work in the Navy very much, that he knew his wife wanted him to stay in the Navy, that she is not proud of the fact that he is in the Service, and that her attitude is not important to him in making his decision. He had no clear idea of what work he would do in civilian life, and was not even sure that he would get a job. This respondent said he found it difficult to be a sailor and a good husband, and his responses suggest
that he is a confused, disorganised, and anxious person. As his decision to leave the Navy would not have been predicted by his work situation, it can only be assumed that he left in order to try and resolve the conflicts he was experiencing.

One upwardly-mobile sailor had made a decision to leave the Service at the time of the interview, and had already tested out his employment opportunities by taking on a part-time job as a salesman during his naval service. In anticipation of his discharge he had applied for employment with an international food marketing firm, and was appointed to the position subsequent to the interview; he obtained a premature discharge from the Navy in order to take up the offer. This member had positive attitudes towards his naval service. He had been a junior recruit, enjoyed his work very much, and considered he had been promoted fast enough. He preferred to live in private housing and said his wife and children were proud of the fact that he was in the Navy. This member's decision to leave the Navy was based on an objective appraisal of his own ability, and was taken irrespective of family roles. The fact that his new job will entail time away from home, and geographical mobility for his family, suggests that the family is prepared to adapt to his career needs, and recognise that greater rewards may be expected in the new situation even though a similar set of conditions may exist for family life.
Conclusions

In general, the research data suggests that there is an association between work satisfaction and attitudes towards family life, and that the two are related symmetrically and not in a complementary way, as suggested by Oeser and Hammond's findings (1954: 246-247). Satisfaction in one area leads to satisfaction in the other, and a situation of harmony between the two results. In the case of the members studied it is apparent that this state of congruence is enhanced if the family and the member identify with the Navy in an expressive way, so that they wish to associate closely with the Navy and other naval families, and derive satisfaction from this involvement.

The middle group of members, who perceive the difficulties associated with membership of both areas more objectively than the congruent group, aim to keep their naval and private lives separate to some extent, and this is consistent with community norms. The attitudes of these members also suggest that they are less dependent on the Navy and more confident of their own qualities and skills in the civilian market. They are, however, aware of their responsibilities as fathers to maintain an income for their families, and it is probably this consideration which prevents them leaving the Navy and trying out their skills elsewhere.

Members of the third group, who left the Navy, are less
satisfied with their work, and less inclined to identify with the Navy. This may be because they are newly married (when inter-role conflict is more intense), or they may have been married for some time and have no children. They may also be upwardly-mobile career oriented individuals who consider they have reached the limit of their opportunities in the Navy, and wish to attain a higher level in another occupation. These men are work-oriented, as they put their careers before family roles, and are leaving the Navy for this reason.

Inter-Role Conflict

The evidence of the research data suggests that inter-role conflict and inter-role congruence are quantifiable variables which can be arranged on a continuum, and could be measured and quantified if the appropriate instruments were devised. This research did not permit the measurement of inter-role conflict, so that it is only possible to speculate that the sailors who feel they are exposed to inter-role conflict and stay in the Navy are less conflicted than those who experience inter-role conflict and leave the Navy. An intervening variable which may account for some members' decision to leave the Navy is their orientation towards success in a career. The mechanisms used by members to reduce inter-role conflict may consist in bringing their naval and family roles closer together, so that they overlap to some extent. An alternative mechanism is to maintain distance between the
two provides the member of both systems with some relief from the pressures of one or the other. The "need for privacy" is considered to be a strain reducing mechanism, and the community norm that private lives should be kept apart from work is consistent with this view. The evidence suggests that members seek to maximise their satisfaction in both areas of work and family life, and that all members are obliged to consider their work role first although they will seek another work situation if they consider that this change will result in greater satisfaction in one area, or both.

Although the research hypothesis must be rejected, the acceptance of the null hypothesis would not be supported by this analysis, as it is considered that the experience of inter-role conflict does influence the decision of some members to leave the Navy.

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CHAPTER VII

Implications for Theory, Research, and Policy

This thesis aims to clarify the relationship between the occupational system and the family, using the Navy and the families of its members as the specific focus of the study. The argument proceeds from the fundamental premise that in our society the family is subordinate to the occupational system because the family is dependent for its income on the participation of the husband/father in the occupational sector. The inferior position of the family is enhanced in the military case by the fact that the Armed Services in democratic nations are subordinate to, and controlled by, the political system, and in addition they are segregated from other sectors of society on account of their particular tasks, and the way they set about performing them.

The segregation of the Armed Forces from society is accompanied by an inclination for the military to bring the families of its members into its sphere of activity, so that the two systems come together rather than remain separate, and are jointly isolated from society. The tendency for these two spheres to coalesce is explained by the way in which the military sets about its tasks, and the relationship is governed by the military organisation through the control which it is able to exercise over the time, and
location, of its members, and the sanctions it can bring to bear on them to ensure their conformity. The subordination of the family to the occupational system is, therefore, increased in the military case by the isolation of the family and the military organisation from the scrutiny of other members of society, and by the control exerted by the military over its members and their families in the interests of efficient task performance.

The family is obliged to adjust to the control exercised by the Navy, but can negotiate its position within certain parameters so that it can choose to come closer to the Navy, or to set itself further apart. The position which affords maximum satisfaction to the member who is also a husband/father is the one which also appears to suit the Navy's interests, that is, one of close proximity of the family to the Navy. Other members prefer to establish a degree of separation between the two areas and to seek privacy from naval roles in the family, - and from family roles in the Navy, - while maximum separation is sought in the case of members who are experiencing inter-role conflict and wish to give priority to family, rather than naval, roles. This position is more likely to be adopted in the first year of marriage; but the reverse is true in the case of the married member with young children, whose attitude towards the Navy is likely to be favourable presumably because the family is heavily dependent on the member's income for its security at this stage in the family's life cycle. The transition to
the role of husband, and again to that of father, is therefore associated with unfavourable and favourable attitudes towards the Navy.

The emphasis which has been placed on the subordinate position of the family contrasts with the stress laid on the importance of the family as a basic unit of society which furnishes recruits for public roles, (Fallding, 1957 : 75), and on the family's basic and irreducible functions, which are the primary socialisation of children, and the stabilisation of the adult personalities of the population (Parsons, 1971 : 57). The view that society is becoming more exclusively dependent on the family for the performance of these vital functions stands in sharp contrast with the observation that:

"the family has become, on the 'macroscopic' levels, almost completely functionless" (Parsons, 1971 : 56).

"It does not, itself, except here and there, engage in much economic production; it is not a significant unit in the political power system; it is not a major direct agency of integration of the larger society" (Parsons, 1971 : 56).

The family is expected to supply the manpower and furnish the recruits for the occupational system, but it has no means of directly representing its interests in the wider society, and is required to adjust and adapt to social change in a flexible manner. The current debate about the future role of the family in society, and the changes which are taking place in the internal organisation of the family,
reflect the problem which these inherent contradictions pose for society.

The present discussion suggests that the family may continue to adjust to society's requirements by altering the way in which husband and wife tasks are allocated within the family, so that the joint conjugal role system observed by Bott (1957) develops broadly into a flexible interchange of tasks between husband and wife in all areas of domestic organisation, with the exception of the childbearing function. This adaptation of the family is associated with the emergence of women into the work force, and perpetuates the subordinate position of the family in the wider society, because wives as well as husbands are then enmeshed in the occupational system, and subordinate to it.

Another outcome which could have a more profound influence on the relationship of the family and other social institutions is the realisation by women that if they are united and organised they can wield political power, and influence the course of events in both national and international spheres. The power of women's organisations as pressure groups is a marked feature of society at present, and the ability of the occupational system to continue to make demands on the family could well be diluted by the direct representation of the family's interests in this manner. If this is the case, then the corporation and the military organisation may not find the wives of their members quite so
malleable in future, and they may be forced to pay more attention to the family's interests.

It has been apparent to the author that the naval organisation recognises - if only in a subliminal way - the potential threat which wives do present to the naval system, and strategies to ensure that wives do not have the opportunity to intervene in the way the Navy performs its tasks include the employment of social workers to protect the system from such inroads, and to cushion the hostility and aggression of individual wives against the demands of the Navy. The ambivalent attitudes of members towards the formation of wives' groups suggests that they are potentially afraid that wives will form pressure groups and try to invade their exclusive male world. Naval wives have been socialised to consider that they, like corporation wives, must avoid causing trouble, and the propensity of the naval organisation to apply sanctions to the husbands of wives who criticise the Navy's decisions reinforces this traditional attitude. The fact that the wives of senior officers usually take a leading role in the wives' organisations serves to inhibit the growth of militant attitudes, and the relative ease with which recalcitrant wives may be identified because of the small size of the naval group reduces the chance of social action by wives.

The tension which is inherent in the position of the family vis-a-vis the occupational system at the societal
level is worked out in the ambiguities and contradictions of the roles of husbands and members and their wives and families. One theme suggested by this study of the member's boundary role is that conflict and congruence may not be evaluated in simple terms. The absence of conflict may represent human alienation or domination, and harmony may be achieved at the expense of quality in human relationships. The condition of the coalminers and their families in Ashton is considered to be one of extreme alienation, and the segregated lives of the husbands and wives contain a form of cognitive poverty (Klein, 1965 : 173), but high marital stability. Stability and harmony in social life do not necessarily provide the most fertile ground for the cultivation of human values, and conflict (as Coser has argued), may be "positively functional" for the social structure (Coser, 1965 : 151). The important factor is to take into account the existence of both conflict and consensus in social relationships, and to consider the way in which they influence the structural properties of society, and its value system.

Another major theme which permeates this study is the tension between private and public life; between privacy and secrecy, autonomy and integration, or separateness and connectedness. Hess and Handel (1959 : 1-4) consider that the resolution of the relationship between separateness and connectedness is one of the fundamental problems which the family must solve. There is evidence of a great deal of
uncertainty about neighbourliness and sociability between families, particularly in suburban living, and the norms are not clearly defined. The assumption might be made that this ambiguity is important because it permits families to select the position which suits them best at any particular time, moving from distant cordiality to close intimacy according to their needs. At the societal level, the pluralist society is contrasted with dictatorship, and "openness" with secrecy by Shils (1956) in his discussion of background and consequences of American security policies. He is concerned to point out that "a pluralistic society", which he favours:

"while not an 'open' society, is nevertheless largely so. It offers opportunity of movement from occupation to occupation, depending on capacity. It permits free communication within spheres and between them to the extent that there is the desire for such communication. It grants freedom of personal association across the boundaries of institutions; it forbids prescription or proscription in the selection of associates" (Shils, 1956 : 206).

If the model proposed by Shils is to be achieved in our society, it is important to avoid the situation where the military and military families are segregated from other social institutions by impenetrable barriers, and by public indifference, so that the Defence system forms a segment of society apart from others. But the integration of the Defence Forces with society is rendered problematic because the relationship between the Services and Service families, and their mutual isolation from society, is controlled in a way which presents both a paradox and a conundrum from the
policy point of view. In the naval case, the paradox is that as the Navy responds to family needs by providing a comprehensive range of support services to them, it tends to make the family more dependent on the Service, and to segregate it more and more from society. Moskos (1970: 175) has evaluated this tendency in his prophecy that the family may well become encapsulated with the member through the "umbrella" type services provided to the families by the military organisation in order to assist them to function adequately within the military situation. From the policy point of view it is difficult to see how families can be assisted, without at the same time isolating them from civilian society. The provision of services to families is justified in the military context, not only on human grounds, but is related to the military's concern in peace time to retain personnel by offering material rewards rather than by appealing to moral values, and under these conditions the military is obliged to compare the rewards it offers with those available in civilian life. The tendency to encapsulate families within the military system seems inevitable, but consideration has been given to ways in which the degree of dependence between the two might be reduced. One of these is that the services which are delivered to military families should permit them a wide range of choice, rather than present them with a situation determined by the military or the polity. For example, housing policy could be directed towards allowing families maximum freedom in their choice of where to live, so that they could be given a rental allowance and allowed to
select their own accommodation, or else provided with service housing scattered throughout the civilian community rather than concentrated in purely military housing estates. The delivery of housekeeper services to naval families is an example of a support service which is integrated with the civilian situation, as civilian housekeeper services are employed wherever possible for naval families, and their cost is subsidised.

A different approach to the problem of the isolation of military members and their families within the military system is to lower the intensity with which the military maintains and patrols its boundaries so that members are permitted to leave more freely. The vehemence with which the system's values are reiterated and enforced is most apparent in the posting and discharge system, where the conflict between the Navy's values and those of the family is acted out. Concern is felt because this action by the Service appears to ignore other Service goals such as technical skills and efficiency. The inclination to declare deviant and to exclude members who request consideration by the Service on account of family problems, does not usually take account of the member's skills and efficiency, but is applied universally on the basis that any member who puts his own or his family's particular needs ahead of the Service requirement is behaving in a disloyal manner, and acting contrary to military values. The over-riding consideration in these situations is the perceived needs of the system, especially
if the vacancies created by the discharged members enable other members to be promoted, and permit movement in the rank structure. Although much stress is placed on retaining sailors, and turbulence and wastage are regarded as the main manpower problems, the system acts in contradictory ways, as the discharge of deviant members prevents dissatisfaction in the lower ranks by providing opportunities for promotion.

If the integration of the military in the social system is to be promoted it will be necessary for other sections of society to display more interest in the Armed Forces, and to reflect with Levy (1966: 593), that they are as much a mirror or general social structure as any other subsystem in our society. Levy proceeds to make a plea which could well be directed towards sociologists generally:

"For those students of public affairs who feel that it is important that Armed Force organisations be kept under strict control and guidance, the importance of non-Armed Force responsibility for the behaviour of the members of Armed Force organisations cannot be ignored" (Levy, 1966: 593).

The absence of any authoritative body of literature which purports to analyse and document the nature of the military system is a symptom of academic indifference to the military situation, and has considerably hampered this study. It would have been useful to have had an analysis of the military as a social system based on the model of the open socio-technical system employed by Emery and Trist (1969) in their work on the industrial enterprise. This
model emphasises the social and technical components of the system, and considers the way these components are inter-related, and also takes into account the system's relations with the external environment.

Although the role of the social worker has only been mentioned peripherally, there has been an opportunity throughout this study to assess and evaluate the position of the social worker in the naval system. Perhaps the most persistent thought which emerges is that the social worker is an agent for the Navy in its relations with the family, and although the social worker may wish to act on behalf of the family, the parameters within which this action may take place are set by the Navy. The social worker acts for the Navy in maintaining its boundaries, and cannot go far outside these boundaries without danger of exclusion by the system because the social worker, like the member, may be considered to be disloyal. The theoretical position which directs this thinking has been set out by Erikson (1966), who considers that the group maintains its boundaries through the machinery of control over deviants. He says:

"Deviant behaviour is not a simple kind of leakage which occurs when the machinery of society is in poor working order, but may be, in controlled quantities, an important condition for preserving the stability of social life. Deviant forms of behaviour, by marking the outer edges of group life, give the inner structure its special character and thus supply the framework within which the people of the group develop an orderly sense of their own cultural identity" (Erikson, 1966: 13).
The social worker, therefore, must take account of the system's values and needs while aiming to take up a position which is on the liberal edge of the system's boundaries, and presents the family's point of view as far as possible. This conclusion may appear to be pessimistic because it suggests that the social worker's ability to stimulate change is limited. However, the position has been clarified by Donnison (1973: 10), who confronts the dilemma faced by professional social workers who wish to serve the needs of particular groups:

"Should they continue to work in big organisations and abide loyally by their rules even when they feel they are being asked to manage, placate and regulate the behaviour of people who would perhaps do better to revolt against their condition and the society that tolerates such things? Or should they abandon the authority, the resources and payroll of these organisations and advocate their clients' needs without inhibition, relying only on the authority which their supporters loyally give them?"

Donnison's answer is comforting, as he believes that both positions are effective and honourable, but he points to the problems which may arise if an attempt is made to play both parts at once:

"There are inevitable conflicts latent in the relationship between those who give help and those who receive it, and between those who exercise the social controls and those who are controlled" (Donnison, 1973: 10-11).
In conclusion, it is proposed to return to the initial theme inherent in the Chinese tradition, that the world abounds with contradictions which are both universal and particular, so that everything must be looked at from two angles, the whole, and the parts. Superficiality occurs when a person:

"decries the necessity of deeply probing into and minutely studying the characteristics of contradiction, but would proceed to solve the contradiction (to answer a question, to settle a dispute, to perform a task, or to direct a military operation) after only a cursory glance from a distance" (Lewis, 1963 : 48).

The final contradiction is, therefore, the attempt to probe deeply and study minutely within the limitations imposed by "the realities of everyday life".

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5. Bell and Vogel (1969 : 1-2) define the nuclear family as a structural unit composed of an ideal type of a man and woman joined in a socially recognized union with their children. The oriented family is any nuclear family by descent, marriage, or adoption that is distinct from the nuclear family.

6. Turner (1970 : 327-329) discusses the tendency for the family to become a unit in struggles between other units of society. He says:

"The shape given to the families by the functions assigned to it or assumed by the mass of families is modified by the demands made on the family as a pawn of institutional structures..."
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER I - The Relationship between the Occupational System and the Family

1. These figures were issued by the Statistical Unit, Department of Navy, in the Statistical Bulletin dated 11 April, 1973, headed "Statistics of Personnel at 28th December, 1972".

2. A proportion of these females are married to male personnel, but the exact numbers are not recorded. See Appendix A for age specific data of R.A.N. Personnel.

3. Erikson (1965 : 256) comments on Freud's statement:

   "it pays to ponder on this simple formula; it gets deeper as you think about it".

4. This general orientation is consistent with the view that the world "teems with contradictions" (Lewis, 1963 : 47), and contradictions, in the words of Mao-Tse-Tung:

   "exist in the process of development of all things, and in the process of each thing a movement of opposites exists from beginning to end"

5. Bell and Vogel (1968 : 1-3) define the nuclear family as a structural unit composed as an ideal type of a man and woman joined in a socially recognised union, and their children. The extended family is any grouping related by descent, marriage or adoption that is broader than the nuclear family.

6. Turner (1970 : 222-223) discusses the tendency for the family to become a pawn in struggles between other units of society. He says:

   "The shape given to the families by the function assigned to it or assumed by the mass of families is modified by the demands made on the family as a pawn of institutional struggles".
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER I - The Relationship between the Occupational System and the Family - contd.

7. Turner (1970: 219-221) has pointed out that there are other functions which the family is generally expected to accomplish. It is an economic unit, organising its internal production and consumption; it has an individual care function, ensuring that individuals are not lost and forgotten; a custodial responsibility towards its members; it is a unit of social and community participation and placement; it is expected to supply much or all of the allowable sex relations for its members, and it has procreation and socialisation functions.

8. This cartoon, by Bruce Petty, appeared in The Australian on Wednesday, January 24, 1973.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER II - The Navy and the Family

1. In order to illustrate cohesion, the high morale and esprit de corps of the Australian Army in World War II, the following incident is cited by Russell Braddon (1953: 126):

"When a certain N.C.O. behaved badly, the Battery concerned dropped the guy ropes of all the sergeants' tents in the middle of the night. Next morning, punctually, on the parade which was called to unmask the perpetrator of this crime, the Battery jacked up. When the order was given, 'Man who cut the guy ropes of the sergeants' tents... one pace... forward march', the Battery stepped forward to a man. Finally, all attempts to break down this unanimity of action having failed, the investigation was abandoned. The N.C.O. concerned thereafter became considerably more scrupulous in his behaviour".

2. Stouffer et al (1949: 84) distinguish between group morale and individual adjustment, and consider the individual's adjustment to be related to whether he is married or not, but their research is set in the context of war and marriage prior to enlistment or draft into the Services, so that the findings are not directly applicable to the situation of the Services in peacetime.

3. Levy (1966: 589) has emphasised the rationality of military organisations, which is accompanied by an emphasis on universalistic criteria, "despite the fact that ideally speaking, Armed Force recruitment may be overwhelmingly particularistic". In declaring those who are deviant in the posting situation, there is a particularistic element, as members may be given special consideration if the circumstances in which they are placed are seen to be beyond their control and are not considered to be the result of manipulation or lack of "moral fibre". The death of a wife or child is the most obvious instance, and in such circumstances the Service will effectively support the member.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER II - The Navy and the Family - Contd.

4. There is a contradiction inherent in the process of discharging deviant members because they have asked for special consideration for family reasons, as this often means the loss of a valuable and highly trained member. The conclusion that one of the system's goals is being achieved at the expense of another is rationalised by the Service if the discharge of the member permits other lower rank levels to be promoted. Thus, turbulence within the system may be positively promoted even though the Service regards turbulence as one of its problem areas, and retention of members as one of its goals. One suspects that there is an inherent contradiction here and that there is no real attempt to confront the two opposing forces, just as lip-service is paid to the idea that the Navy is a career for sailors, but no effort is made to retain them beyond the age of forty years.

5. The Australian Labour Government which took office in December 1972 has changed the system of paying salaries or wages to naval members and in June 1973 announced that allotments to wives would no longer be paid. It is interesting that naval wives asked the Government to continue making this allotment, so that it is apparent that they see this payment to be in their interests. There is no indication that the naval members felt strongly about the issue and no evidence that the husbands are concerned at the change. Opinion is that naval members on the whole will continue to make allotments to their wives voluntarily, but the question of how wives who are not being supported when husbands are at sea will be dealt with by the Service, has not yet been determined.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER III - The Families of Naval Members

1. Whyte (Nov. 1951: 155) also indicates that wives who move frequently and early in their marriages accept the moves more readily, and this is borne out by naval experience. Whyte also discusses the pros and cons of the company communicating directly with wives, a course the Navy has not adopted to date, as members are considered to be the mediators between the two spheres. However, it is clear that some company husbands, like naval members, aim to avoid telling their wives any unpleasant news, such as a move, until wives "drag it out of them".

2. Bryson and Thompson (1972: 114-120) found that families with children of pre-school age are most likely to help neighbours regularly, but that families tend to ask their kin for help rather than turn to institutionalised family-care arrangements or friends and neighbours.

3. C. Jansen (65-67) in J.A. Jackson (Ed.) Migration, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1969, discusses the push and pull factors in migration. The push moves are caused by necessity or obligation rather than the pull of the area of settlement. Naval wives may be involuntary migrants reacting to the push from the Navy and their husbands, and this push may be overcome by the pull of their desire to join their husbands and to settle in a new area.

4. Hess and Handel (1965: 5) refer to Erikson's concept of the liberated personality as an example of the benign meaning of separateness in marriage.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER III - The Families of Naval Members - contd.

5. Klein (1965: 177) refers to male and female dominance in their separate spheres, which are not necessarily mutually exclusive. She says:

"Sociologists who concentrate on kin, as Young and Willmott do, are more likely to concentrate on the power of the mother. Sociologists who concentrate on the men's lives, as Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter do, are likely to take less notice of the mothers. Therefore, although it seems safe to say that husbands exercise considerable power in their own sphere and wives in theirs, and that there is considerable overlap between these spheres, it is not safe to point to either as the 'ultimate' source of power".

6. Klein (1965: 157) says:

"traditionally most young married couples have a period after the official honeymoon, in which friends and relatives allow them a greater degree of privacy and freedom from interruption. This gives the young husband and wife additional opportunity to get to know each other".

An extreme case known to the author where this opportunity was not available occurred in the case of a sailor who married a Japanese girl in Tokyo. The bride came to Australia after marriage and lived in Adelaide with the sailor's parents, who were European in origin and had not been in Australia for more than ten years. The sailor was posted to a ship which operated from Sydney and so the couple were separated straight after marriage. The experience was painful for both, but eventually the wife moved to Sydney where she was able to see her husband more often, although this meant that she did not have his family support when his ship went to sea. Recent reports indicate that this marriage has survived, but the early period of the marriage would have been much less painful if the couple had been able to live together.
7. Turner (1971: 230) points out that love is perfectly commensurate with separation, so much so that the persistence of attachment during absence is often viewed as a test of the genuineness of love, but there is always a longing to interact, and a search for opportunities to restore communication.

8. Isay (1968: 647-648) refers to the fact that naval wives handle anger over deprivations by repression and denial, and any breakthrough of anger is a source of guilty preoccupation. He sees this as:

"in large part due to the Navy ethos that discourages a wife from verbalizing any feelings that might lower the morale of professional effectiveness of her husband. The Navy indoctrination in the form of lectures, written matter, and social organisations, informs them of the vital importance of their husband's work and suggests that a wife can best serve her husband by not being an encumbrance to him".
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER IV - The Boundary Role of the Married Naval Member

1. Merton (1965 : 368) uses Linton's distinction between role - the behavioural enacting of the patterned expectations attributed to that position - and atatus - a position in a social system occupied by designated individuals. On the basis of this distinction, Merton refers to the patterned arrangements status-sets, role-sets, and status-sequences, which comprise the social structure (1965 : 370). The distinction between status and role is not maintained in this study in the interests of simplicity of presentation, as it is considered that one of the disadvantages of role theory is that it provides unlimited possibility of making fine conceptual distinctions which ultimately become an end in themselves, rather than useful as analytical tools, and it is as an analytical tool that role theory is seen to be useful in this study.

2. The nomenclature used by Gross, Mason, McEachern (1958) differs from Merton, as they define "position" as the location of an actor or class of actors in a system of social relationships, and a role as a set of expectations or a set of evaluative standards applied to an incumbent of a particular position.

3. Getzels and Guba (1954 : 168) discuss the rigour with which expectations are defined within the military situation as a factor on which the severity of role conflict is dependent.

4. Tunstall (1962 : 161-163) compares the divorce rates of fishermen in the East Riding of Yorkshire with the general population, and considers that the comparison - 5 percent of fishermen compared to 2.5 percent of the population of working men are divorced - is a concrete indicator of the incompatibility of family life with the occupation of fishermen.

Hollowell (1968 : 138-163) discusses the marriages of lorry drivers and suggests that some compromises are available to lorry drivers who are away from home, and have de facto or casual relationships elsewhere.

It is apparent that the naval member does have opportunities for extra-marital satisfactions, but
it is also clear that when ships are away from Australia there is rarely sufficient time in port for members to form stable liaisons, and there is consequently a casual attitude towards extra-marital affairs which mitigates against regarding them as permanent. There is also an unwritten and unexpressed, but nevertheless very cohesive male code - which prevents members discussing each other's sexual adventures with outsiders, and particularly with wives and other females, so that male privacy in this area is well preserved.

5. Encel (1970: 290) says:

"Australian mothers have taken, or had thrust upon them, most of the responsibilities for socialising the children, and at least in this sense, the role of the father is becoming vestigial".

6. The number of discharges granted on grounds of family or compassionate circumstances has risen during recent years, due to more liberal policies and attitudes towards discharge by the Navy. Associated with this liberality is the view that the member who is dissatisfied with his naval role and inefficient in his work is a liability rather than an asset to the Service, so that there is more inclination to discriminate between the contributing and non-contributing member, but at the same time there remains a tendency to discharge a sailor from the Service rather than adjust to his personal needs when these are deemed to conflict with those of other members. The argument used is that other members would be unfairly treated if one member was granted special consideration.

7. A Study of Compassionate Postings in Victoria was carried out during 1972, by E.M. Martin, MA., Dip. Soc. Stud., for the Department of the Navy in conjunction with naval social workers, and is an unpublished Departmental document.
FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER V - Methodology of the Research Study

1. Junior recruits enter the training establishment, HMAS Leeuwin at Fremantle in Western Australia at the age of fifteen and a half to sixteen and a half years, and are required to engage for an initial period of twelve years.

Adult recruits who are initially trained at HMAS Cerberus at Westernport in Victoria may enter at seventeen years and over, and are required to engage for either nine or twelve years initially.

Apprentices enter the training establishment HMAS Nirimba at Quakers Hill in Sydney, New South Wales, at the age of sixteen to seventeen years, and engage for twelve years.

Skilled tradesmen, who are recruited at any age, may engage for only six years initially.

2. A further possibility exists, and this is suggested by Klein's comments (1965 : 242) that the status-dissenters interviewed by Mogey (1956 : 138-150) were less inclined to take interviewers for granted than status-assenters.

"The status-dissenters asked the interviewers for their credentials, tested their sincerity, wondered visibly how they could make use of them" (Klein, 1965 : 242).

The sailors in the Service environment may respond in an "assenting" way to requirements which have, or appear to carry, naval authority.

3. Unfortunately it was not possible to "match" the attitudes of the member and his wife as had originally been intended, although the risk of both partners subsequently discovering the incongruity in their attitudes might have produced hostility in the marriage and towards the researcher, so that the task would have required a great deal of skill.

4. The Pahls (1971 : 242) deal with this methodological problem, and question the validity of some of the responses given to them by managers and their wives. They suggest that some responses were those that the managers felt they were expected to give, and they explain differences in American and British managers partly by the cultural values which permeate each society, and condition the managers' attitudes in each country.

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FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER VI - Analysis of the Research Study

1. The small number of members in Group 2 makes any general statement about the Group's characteristics difficult. The only factor that the two members appear to have in common and which distinguishes them from the members of Group 1 - who also do not experience inter-role conflict, but stay in the Navy - is the attitude of their wives, neither of whom was said to be proud of her husband's service in the Navy, and both were said to want their husbands to leave the Navy. The possibility is that this Group represents members who do not perceive inter-role conflict, but are nevertheless leaving the Navy because their wives want them to do so. This explanation is, however, put forward very tentatively.

2. It has not been possible to make any statement concerning the occupational prestige of naval members, as they do not appear to be included in the standard occupational prestige scales. The Study of Status and Prestige in Australia by A.A. Congalton (1969: 145) ranks a Captain in the Permanent Army at level B, on a 4-point status scale, and level 3 on a 7-point scale, but no other ranks or members of the Armed Services are included in his Status Ranking List of Occupations in Australia.

....
Royal Australian Navy - Officers and Sailors by Age, Sex and Marital Status at 28 December, 1972

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Source: "Statistics of Personnel at 28 December, 1972" issued by the Statistical Unit, Department of the Navy
APPENDIX B
Questionnaire

Research Survey of Members due Discharge Engagement
Expired in January, 1973

All information is strictly in confidence and will only
be used in statistical form

Please tick all the boxes that apply to you.

1. Name
2. Rank and Category
3. Date of Birth
4. Date of Entry
5. D.E.E.
6. Place of Initial Training
   - Leeuwin
   - Cerberus
   - Nirimba
   - Other

7. Date of Marriage
8. Number of Children
   Sex  Age

9. Wife's present address
   - Naval Housing
   - Tra Housing
   - Your own home
   - Other

10. Is she living in

11. Can you give the reasons why you joined the Navy, such as:
   - You wanted to live away from home
   - Your family wanted you to join
   - You always wanted to join
   - For adventure, travel
   - To have a secure job
   - To be trained in skilled job
   - Other

12. Are any members of your close family in the Navy?
   Yes ☐   If so, state relationship(s)
   No ☐

13. Was your father ever in the Navy -
   Yes ☐
   No ☐

14. Was your wife a member of the WRANS?
   Yes ☐
   No ☐

15. Did your parents want you to join the Navy?
   Yes ☐
   No ☐ Neutral ☐

16. How old were you when you left school?
   Age: years

17. What educational level did you reach?
   Primary ☐
   Lower Secondary ☐
   Upper Secondary ☐

18. Did you have a job before you joined the Navy?
   Yes ☐
   No ☐

19. Is your decision, whether to sign on or not, an easy one or is it hard to decide?
   Easy ☐
   Hard ☐

20. If you got out of the Navy what type of work could you look for? Give examples:

21. Would it be similar to what you are doing in the Navy?
   Yes ☐
   No ☐

22. Do you think you would have difficulty in getting a civilian job?
   Yes □
   No □

23. Do you like your work in the Navy?
   Very much □
   Moderately □
   Dislike □

24. Do you think you have been promoted fast enough?
   Yes □
   No □

25. Do you think you would have better career prospects in civilian life?
   Yes □
   No sure □
   No □

26. If you were still a single man would you stay in the Navy?
   Yes □
   Not sure □
   No □

27. Do you think it is possible to be a sailor and also a good husband?
   Difficult □
   Easy □
   Give Reasons:

28. Does your wife want you to stay in the Navy?
   Yes □
   She says it depends on you □
   No □
APPENDIX B - Research Survey of Members due Discharge

29. What does your wife dislike most about you being in the Navy?
   - Separation from you □
   - Separation from her family □
   - Effect on Children □
   - Uncertainty about postings □
   - Unable to have settled home □
   - Other (state below if you wish) □

30. In making your re-engagement decision is your wife's attitude important?
   - Yes □
   - She leaves it to me □
   - No □

31. Do you think there is any particular period in your marriage when your wife has needed you at home?
   - Yes □  No □
   - (a) Early in the marriage before you had children □
   - (b) When your first child was born □
   - (c) When the children were little and before they went to school □
   - (d) When the children were or are teenage □

32. Were you at home:
   - (a) During first twelve months of marriage
         Yes □  No □
   - (b) When your first child was born
         Yes □  No □

33. Have you had any serious family problems or crisis since you have been in the Navy?
   - Yes □  No □

If no - proceed to question 36.
APPENDIX B - Research Survey of Members due Discharge

34. If yes - can you say what the main problem was?
   - Wife sick
   - Children sick
   - Wife's pregnancy
   - Death in the family
   - Financial
   - Accident
   - Housing
   - Other

35. How did you and your wife manage at the time?
   - Coped by yourselves
   - Family helped
   - Naval friends helped
   - Civilian friends helped
   - Asked for special posting
   - Asked for discharge
   - Asked for priority housing
   - Asked for relief trust fund loan
   - Other

36. Do you prefer to live in naval housing or in private accommodation - either in your own home or in one you can choose yourself and get T.R.A.?
   - Prefer naval housing
   - Prefer private housing

37. Do you think your wife and children are proud of the fact that you are in the Navy?
   - Yes
   - No
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