Parenting and Military Children’s Behavior: Preliminary Findings in Military Families of New Order Era and Post-Reformation

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Abstract
Parenting styles within military families had implications towards their children’s behavior. Previous studies discussed on the parenting pattern but few has associated it with the fundamental change of Indonesian military organization post Reformation era. Therefore, this article discusses the difference of parenting pattern in the military family before and after the Reformation, and its impact towards children’s behavior. The argument is based on that change of fundamental values in the Indonesian military in New Order and post Reformation era is aligned with the changing of parenting in the military family. Those changes most likely affected the children’s behavior indirectly. In this article we use the case of parents from the military family who joined military in the New Order and post Reformation era who live in Depok City. This article shows that parenting style in the New Order and post Reformation military family in between democratic and authoritarian style.

Keywords: parenting; child’s behavior; military family; new order; post-reformation
INTRODUCTION

The military in Indonesia has experienced at least two major periods. The first was the military in the era of the New Order regime with their dual functions of the Indonesian Armed Forces (Dwifungsi ABRI) which enable the military forces in that era to dominate many aspects of Indonesian society (Kardi 2014). The second was the post-Reformation military era, which is dominated by civilian supremacy, greatly affecting the lives of Indonesian society in a more democratic atmosphere (Soesilo 2014).

The militaristic culture is a unique one (Luby 2012) that influenced both military and family members. The military does not only exist in the professional working sphere, but it extends even to the private sphere, influencing their lifestyle as an individual and as a military family (Cole 2014). These impacts should not be viewed not as a negative influence but as a new opportunity for social transformation. It has become a special experience for military families: wives and children inevitably have been influenced (Halvorson 2010).

The transformation of the Indonesian military from New Order regime to the Post Reformation era has diminished authoritarian values into a democratic one, influencing families to military members. This condition implies that changes in the level of military institutions have indirectly affected parenting styles in military families (Prameswari 2004). Based on these statements, this article would like to explore how different parenting styles are applied to military families in the New Order and post-Reformation era, which affect their children’s behaviors.

During war period, Chandra (2010); Creech et al. (2014); and Moeller et al. (2015) stated that children who were left behind by their parents are more likely to have an increased of emotional, behavioral, and social interaction problems, as well as the impact of declining academic ability. The study also confirmed that schools play a significant role in controlling the behavior of children. This gave a very significant effect on children who are left by their parents, requiring more attention (Lester 2010; Osofsky and Molinda 2013; Trauttman et al. 2015).

Although other factors, such as the role of schools are considered important, the author argues that the formation of children’s behavior is dominantly affected by their parents. The school’s role according to the author is relatively limited, as compared to the role of parents. In situations of war or peace, the role of parents remains the most important.
Several other studies have shown that the social environment, family, friends and neighbors also influenced the children development in military families (Lee et al. 2013; Paley et al. 2013; Stepka and Callahan 2016). Prior studies showed the similarities that environmental factors (external and internal) have a large portion in the formation of the nature and behavior of children, shaping the children mindset. We agree on that and try to complement it by looking at the implications on the parenting pattern applied by parents to the children who grew in the military family’s parenting.

In this article, we have two arguments. First, the change of fundamental values in the Indonesian military, that was initially more authoritarian and then shifted into more democratic one, would indirectly affect the changing of parenting in the military. Second, those changes of parenting will have an implication on the behavior of military family children (anak kolong) that are becoming more democratic as compared to the New Order era. Nevertheless, changes in values of military institutions do not necessarily encourage the process of changing parenting patterns in military families. This is due to the ability of family institutions which internalize external values, also not an exception for the values of the military institutions brought by the parent, particularly the father. As a result, there emerged a process of contestation in the military family, leading to the birth of different parenting responses and behavior patterns.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article is written based on a research which applies a qualitative approach. The data is collected by primary data collection technique that isthrough in-depth interview from families of Army, Navy, and Air Force. Characteristics of each family’s informants consist of father, mother, and children. The children who are interviewed were in the range of age 10-22 years (Santrock 2012). It is necessary to collect information from both the parent and child’s point of view in order to portray the information objectively.

The research focuses on the military families who live in the city of Depok, West Java, using purposive techniques based on knowledge and characteristics in accordance with research objectives. The purposive technique was chosen because of the limited access to information from and to the military institution, thus this may also imply that there may
not be a wide variety of informations to be collected through in-depth interviews. This article is supplemented by secondary data by collecting data relevant to previous research and research results (Babbie 2010).

There are several limitations in this study. First, the majority of the informants came from the rank of officers, both first and middle officers, and a few others were noncommissioned officers. The selection of officers as the main sample in this study is based on the theory presented by Janowitz (1960), where officers have a central role in the military that is, its position as a heroic leader, military manager and the ability to adapt to technological developments. Still according to Janowitz, on the officer strata, the link between professionalism and career pattern of soldiers is formed. Here, officers are required to be able to appear competent and in accordance with the tasks in his responsibility. In addition, selection of the noncommissioned officer as a sample although in small numbers, is because as a direct subordinate of officers; the non-commissioned officer still had the small portion of personnel. Private was not included in the research, due to the difficulty of finding children of 10-22 years old who grew in private families. Secondly, there are similar interview questions, aimed at child informants from the New Order era military families and children of post-Reformation military families. The scope of the research is limited to military families, which focuses on the parenting styles towards the children behavior. Discussion on civil and military political relations is not a major topic in this article.

MILITARY FAMILY PARENTING AND CHILDREN’S BEHAVIOR

Military Family Parenting

Children who grown up in the military family are different from children who grown up in the civilian family. According to Janowitz (1960), the United States post-World War II military environment is an environment build up on the basis of solidarity. The strengthening of social solidarity among post-World War II military families is due to the separation of the military environment with the civilian environment so that the military environment does not need the public service as it does in the civilian environment.
Unlike the civilian that separates very clearly between work and personal life, the military world is an environment where the boundaries between work and personal life are exceptionally thin. This is caused by the absence of differences between residence and workplace within the military organization itself. Such conditions make the values that exist in military life permeate more easily into family and social life. Examples of military values indirectly internalized into military family institutions include authoritarian attitudes and values of social hierarchy. This is also in line with Moelker and Kloet’s (2006) explanation that the spouses and children of military personnel are involved in all sorts of military activities. Thus, if there is a change in the military it will have an impact on each of them, which in this case is the military family itself. According to Moelker et al. (2008), families in the military is positioned as a “problem solver” within the military institution itself. This is why families become very important in the military institution.

On the other hand, changes of technology and political system have challenged the military in various countries, including Indonesia, to undergo fundamental changes. The most obvious impact is the negotiation of military and civil values. The massive increase in the number of US post-World War II military personnel also led to a lack of shelter for the local soldiers. This caused many military personnel who later lived in civilian neighborhoods. At this point, this intensified the interaction between military personnel and their families with civil society groups, bringing many sociological consequences where civil values are later absorbed into military families (Janowitz 1960).

Sociologically, Parsons (in Klein and White 2002) describes that there are two family functions. The first functions as a primary socialization site to produce individuals who carry cultural values and norms that allow them to be integrated into the social system as actors. Second, the family functions as an arena of personality stabilization for the children as they grew to become an adult in the society.

The transition of military values from the authoritarian to more democratic, further influenced the interaction within the family (Janowitz 1960). Interaction itself is the part of the parenting pattern given by military parents to their children. According to Santrock (2002), there are four groups of parenting, namely authoritarian, democratic, permissive, and ignorant parenting.
There are three major influences in parenting according to Brooks (2008), first is the characteristics of individual children as social beings who need other individuals to meet their needs. Second is the historical and psychological characteristics of parenting that are related to the experience of parenting skills of their parents. Third is the social context which causes support or pressure towards children living in families, and families living in larger environments. Thus, the culture of how parents educate their children will determine which value is invested and internalized into the children’s social character (Setianing 2015).

By referring to the theory mentioned above, and compared with the findings by Hurlock (in Princess and Yani 2015), we find that the role of the father has indirect influence in educating his children. The shift of Indonesian military values, from the authoritarian to the more democratic values, has influenced the family, and its parenting style towards the children’s behavior.

**Children’s Behavior**

The formation of children behaviors determined by the parents through different parenting, and has a different impact on the character formation of the child. The development of military children behavior has different issues compared to children from civilian families (see Kelley et al. 2001; Cantwell 1974; La Grone 1978; Werkman 1992). Although military children are proud of what their parents do, but periodical length and condition of their duty in the military cages the children constant anxiety. (Kelley et al. 2001; Chandra et al. 2008). Environmental factors (internal and external) greatly affect the child’s behavior. Children behavior patterns are built on the interaction of parenting patterns so that the background of parent as members of the military will greatly dominate the formation of attitudes and behavior of children in the future (Herawati 2015).

The “good or bad” behavior of children can be analysed from the “generation gap” between children and parents, as it is stated by Hurlock (2008). This happens because of radical changes in the values and standards of existing behavior such as social norms made in the family. The formation of the character of a military children is more or less determined by the military culture owned by their parents, such as the strict disciplinary values arising from the military (Setianing 2015).
DIFFERENCES IN THE PARENTING OF THE NEW ORDER AND POST-REFORMATION ERA

The changing in parenting in the military family, from the authoritarian to the democratic is due to changes in fundamental values in the Indonesian military institutions, from the New Order and Post Reformation. The father, who is a member of the military and head of the family, became an important medium for the internalization of military values in the family. Later, this internalization of the process influences the interaction pattern.

Referring to the four groupings of parenting according to Santrock (2002), namely, authoritarian, democratic, permissive, and ignorant, this research shows there are only two tendencies, namely authoritarian and democratic. The other two, permissive and neglect were not relevant in this study. In military families whose children were born and grew during the New Order period, as informants explained, parents tend to have strong, firm, and disciplined parenting patterns to their children. Informant A, who both father and mother work as members of the military, also explains similar thing. The father, according to him, has a much more assertive parenting pattern to children with very strict rules.

On the contrary, when compared to parenting in military families with children are grown in the post-Reform era, their parenting patterns tend to be more democratic. According to informant M who revealed about his parents who are members of the military, they provide more space of openness and freedom to his children. Similarly, JW informant who is a father and an officer in the TNI (Tentara Nasional Indonesia/Indonesian National Military), said that the democratic parenting become a choice of military families, because the fact is social conditions of society have indeed changed.

The technological advances, especially information technology, make children who grown in the post-reform military family able to directly express what they want. This situation allows parents to adapt to these changes by applying an attitude of openness to the child. Nevertheless, the characteristic of authoritarian or democratic parenting, theoretically should have followed the New Order and Post-Reformation value, but in practice, we did not discover any heavy leaning towards one of its value, whether it is authoritarian or democratic. In fact, the limits and strict control of the military’s parents remain interspersed with certain degrees of freedom on the child, especially in expressing opinions. Interactions
in the military family continue to exhibit patterns that are inherently negotiable, so a completely authoritarian situation does not occur. So even with the democratic military families, parents still apply limitations and social control towards and children. This research claims that there are no military families which fully apply an authoritarian parenting style, or vice versa. The common situation reveals that the parenting patterns are negotiated between the democratic and the authoritarian continuum.

This phenomenon occurs because of the contestation of values in the family. Values derived from the profession of parents are not necessarily be the main factor that will shape the character of the child. This situation arises because of the dynamic family conditions; the child exposed from values outside the family such as his/her peers, school environment, etc. In terms of education, both in military families in the New Order era and in post-Reformation, the parents provide freedom related to the choice of children’s education. These conditions reflect a pattern of parenting that is not entirely authoritarian but still gives space to democratic values. This was stated by the informant TM, who said that the children should not have the same education and profession as his father as a member of the military. Nevertheless, some children still put their father as a role model or figure in decision making, especially in the aspect of education.

The research also found two variations in the context of parenting in the military family, related to the closeness of the child to the father, or to the mother. Children who do not have much time to communicate with their father, will have difficulty in communicate fluidly to parents, especially the fathers, thus causing children tend to be closer to their mother. This situation was seen in some military families of the New Order Era. The intensity of social interaction with the mother is greater as compared to the father. On the other hand, there is also an interaction pattern in which children tend to be closer to the father in the military family after the Reformation, it because the mother figure is considered more assertive by the child so that the child is more comfortable to communicate and interact with their father. In this case, a more assertive pattern of interaction is actually found on the mothers instead. At this point, the idea that the father figure of the military is a firm figure becomes a generalization; not all fatherhood figures of military background are a tough, hard-faced father in the family environment.
My wife has a military attitude, it is quite funny (ironic) that she is more assertive than me to the children. When is something going to be happened, she already prepared anticipated from hours before. With the kids, she is very strict to stick with the rules, so I counter it with some different, because “negative meets with negative”, it won’t be good for parenting. Discipline is important, responsibility, honest, and trust that must be managed, then the importance of communication with the child’s wife’s family is important so we know what they feel, not busy with each business. (Interview with TM, father, April 1, 2017)

Based on that explanation, the polarization of the parenting style, which is democratic or authoritarian, does not occur in the military family context. When a mother/father has applied authoritarian parenting pattern then the spouse will balance by applying a democratic parenting. Eventually, the patterns of parenting in the military families are not as rigid as what is described in the theory of parenting by Santrock (2002).

The environment of military families can also influence the pattern of parenting in military families, as Janowitz (1960) explains that the military environment (the military complex) is an environment where the separation between workplace and residence is so thin that so many values are adopted from the workplace toward the house where the military family lived. Parents are expected to differentiate their attitude at home and at work. One of the examples is to be able to control the emotions, as an effort so the problems that come from the workplace is not carried over to the family. Some informants explain that, when there is a problem that gets carried away to the home and affects the emotions of parents, this will be very dangerous for the child’s emotional growth, so should be greatly avoided. On that basis, then, the role of the father in interacting with the child becomes very important in influencing the pattern of family care. This is in line with what has been stated by Hidayati (2011), the pattern of interaction that the father has will shape and determine how the family’s condition, the father’s professional value may impact on the pattern of care within the family.

In the end, the factors that led to differences in the military family’s care pattern in the New Order and post-Reform era can be legitimated by the family development theory in Klein and White (2002), where changes in the family can be seen from inter-institutional relationships
affected by certain historical events. What is meant by certain events in this case is the change of military values of the New Order era towards the post-Reformation that influenced the pattern of parenting within the family. Although the effect is quite strong, but these values, do not completely dominate the parenting pattern changes. There are other factors that also dynamically influence parenting in the military family.

THE ROLE OF WIVES IN MILITARY FAMILY

Families have a very important role and may support the spouse who work in the military. The role of wife in the military becomes very crucial given her position in the military environment. A military wife must be able to recognize the husband’s work environment both socially and professionally (Janowitz 1960). The role of military wives was to bridge communication between father and children. What the military wives need to understand is that it is probable their husbands need to move to another region, requiring the father to leave his home and family for a certain period of time, making their role in the family very central (Handayani 2008).

The role of the wife in the family cannot be separated from the support of organizations within the military. According to Widiastuti (2002), the husband’s union with the military indirectly places the wife as a subordinate to the military institution itself. From these organizations, they receive various socialisation and knowledge about the role and functions of wives in the military family, as well as a tool of the state in socializing government programs to the community. For example, the KB (Keluarga Berencana/Family Planning) program in the New Order era. The TNI wives, then called ABRI (Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia), became the spearhead of the state program implementation. Wives also make use of this military organization as a forum to exchange ideas with other members. As the informant S said, KB is one of the government programs which in the New Order era was intensified to the military wives. The military wife organization became one of the parts supporting the success of the program, so other families outside the military modeled the program.

The life of a military wife is certainly very different when compared with non-military wives. Wives, inevitably, have to follow the dynamic of the military. This certainly has implications especially towards their relationship with their husbands, children, and their social life.
The wife of the army is more independent and stronger and flexible, anything can be done, whether it is a job of men or women, we do it by ourself and must has a fast thinking. Because that’s part of our support for husband and its already be a risk, and yes because we choose to accompanying a husband who is actually as an army, then also before we marry military wife is given the test. I counts that I passed nine people for exams until i achieve the highest level of officers, we are interviewed in written test as well, the struggle is also to be a military wife so we must also be wise when dealing with children as well. (Interview with CD, mother, April 15, 2017)

Based on the above explanation, military wives must have an independent attitude. Performing functions and roles as wives and mothers or even playing multiple roles as mothers and fathers, making military wives able to survive with all the resources available. Thus, the role of the wife in the military family can ease the husband’s burden during his military duties. This is where the importance of adaptation and socializing among military wives in order to support the profession of the husband.

Furthermore, the daily interaction of military wives cannot be separated from their interaction in the family. In parenting, there is a division of labor between husband and wife. The lack of time to gather with family, making the wife in the military family has a different parenting style compared to her husband. As informant S explained, that her mother is more democratic than her father. This happens because the mothers acting as a counterweight when the father has a firm parenting and discipline. Mother gives more space to their children. This shows a good complement between mother and dad parenting. If this is applied to the same parenting in children, then the result on the formation of child behavior will not good. However, not all mothers have a relaxed parenting pattern. In other families, there is a pattern of parenting where the mother becomes more dominant and even more assertive to the child. For example, the informant SDK who stated that the role of the mother is much more assertive than the father. This happens because the mother chooses a very protective attitude to the child when the father is on duty.

The mother bridges the communication between the father and child. Therefore, a wife in the military family is encouraged to have positive attitudes and thoughts and be able to make the right decisions.
in certain situations. This article shows that, a large number of children in military families, both in the New Order and Post-Reformation era are closer to mothers than fathers. The attitude of the children’s openness to the mother is seen from the intensity of the family time compared to their father. This makes the wives have a special room within the military institution. This is also explained in Siregar (2013), that the duties and roles of military wives are very different when compared with non-military wives. The dual roles as a housewife and as a husband’s companion as well as a member of the military wife’s union organization go hand in hand with one another. Their form of support can be seen as a reflection of the integration of family issues within the military institution.

RELATION BETWEEN PARENTING AND MILITARY CHILDREN’S BEHAVIOR

There are two basic aspects in parenting according to Baumrind (1991), namely a parental control that refers to the child’s behavior and a form of affection in which parents can accept the child’s behavior in a responsive manner. The alteration of parenting styles within military families has implications for the children’s behavior whom grown up in military families. The process of development in the family group is strongly influenced by all levels of analysis, including the norms that exist within the military family. These norms include discipline, responsibility, and thoroughness. These norms are finally emerging and influenced by some social factors. The norm then leads to individual actions related to the child’s behavior in the military family. The results of this research indicate that the behavior and self reliance of grown children in the military family is not only influenced by the issue of parenting that applied in the family, but also the social factors in the school environment, peers, and the availability and limitations of resources which surrounds a family. The issue of the availability of these resources is much more important to the formation of child behavior in the military family.

The child as an agent in the family has a certain degree of freedom to determine decisions and behaviors for what actions will be done. Some informants in the post-Reformation family explained that one of the rights to freedom in the family is in determining education. In addition, the fulfillment of facilities is one of the important resources
obtained from parents. However, resources provide a strong foundation for generating power, thus, an individual with power can control other individuals. In other words, the parents exercise control over the child indirectly through the provision of resources, whose management must be fully responsible. That will eventually foster the values of responsibility for the child.

Another factor that has affected the children’s behavior in military families is maturity in the thinking process, which implies the child’s behavior in the family and social environment. In practice, the existing parenting in military families tends to be in the space between authoritarian and democratic categorized situations. In this article, not all children raised with authoritarian parenting environment tend to have negative behaviors and cannot open themselves to their social environment, as described in the parenting theory. This article shows how children who are grown in the authoritarian tendencies, was able to control themselves in the social environment. This article also shows that the grown children in the military family of the New Order era, are much more independent than the large children in the post-Reformation families. Grown children in the military family of the New Order era saw that resource constraints were not a barrier to become independent. They have more opportunities to learn decision making from their parents.

My dad always have to detail, always ask for example for Eid, for what to be given at Eid, for buy clothes or money for school if we want to buy clothes, then we should do ourself an effort for school money, but if we want to get money for school, then we dont have a new clothes for Eid. Finally, we choose for the the priority. That makes we learn to be more able to know what is first needed, which gradually carried and internalized over until now. (Interview with PA, child, April 8, 2017)

Excerpts of the interviews above, aside of showing how resource relations occurred in the military family environment of the New Order era, actually also show how military values are internalized in family institutions. One of the important values in the military context is the detail in carrying out the task. The value of this detail is related to their necessity to be able to strategize in the combat. Each battle plan must consider all sorts of risks that may arise, so that detail becomes one of
the most calculated. Internalized values on the importance of detail have an impact on the norms applied in setting individual behavior standards within family members. The rule ultimately affects the parenting that the informants PA apply to their children.

However, the application of the parenting has a different response because of the constantly changing situation. This change made the parenting did not have a significant impact on the children who grown after the Reformation. This is what Hurlock (2008) calls the generation gap between children and parents. These intergenerational behavioral differences are shaped from all the events and time periods and transitions that exist within the family.

Living Environment

Further findings that have a major influence on the behavior of children in interacting in the community is a residence issue. This study found the fact that children who live in military complexes tend to have an individualistic attitude and less able to blend in the public. This is because the living environment is only occupied by active members of the military. So in the process of development makes children become passive in the social environment. This different situation has also happened to the children of the New Order era. The children who grown in the New Order era family actually felt how solidly their relationship among military kids. Barracks is a place of residence for members of the military who already have a family. The place is not like a house but small rooms that are inhabited for sleeping family members. This situation coined the term “anakkolong” then attached to the children, explaining how the choice of shelter is to capable of causing differences in patterns of behavior and patterns of interaction of children in the military family.

Views of the Peers

Children who grew up in the military family experience values that exist in their parent’s occupation: the values of discipline, firm, and full of rules that are internalized into the norms of the family. Such backgrounds represents the view of the external environment, especially their peers, who see that military children have parents who imposes the code of discipline on their children. It poses a diverse military child image,
whether positive or negative. The explanations of the children who
grown in the New Order and post-Reform era families claim that they
often get negative views from their peers because of the background of
military-based parents. This condition creates a sense of social distance
from their peers.

Therefore, the interaction between members in the military family
also became diverse. There is a different pattern of interaction between
children and their parents, between the father and the mother. The posi-
tion of the mother in the military family is very important, as a bridge
of communication between father their childern. The grown children in
the military family of the New Order and post-Reform era had a higher
degree of closeness to their mother than their father. Such differences
affect the children behavior in the military family.

Based on the results of this study, informants CA explained, that the
mother has a great influence on the behavior of children. The lack of
time to meet with the father makes the mother’s role become dominant
in the house. When there is a difference of opinion between father and
son, the mother is always a bridge to minimize the friction of verbal con-
flicts between father and child. Therefore, the mother’s position within
the military family becomes a counterweight to the existing pattern of
parenting. Thus, the child is able to make adjustments to the condi-
tion. The combination of authoritarian and democratic parenting in
the military families of the New Order and post-Reformation era has
resulted in a response that shapes the character of the child, who has
an openness to the outside world and is able to control their behavior
in the environment.

Regarding a developments of military family in the New Order era
and post-Reformation, it will show the uniqueness of, where the exclu-
sivity of the military values internalized into the family and affect the
norms that are socialized to the family. Although the parents work in the
military, but in practice, they will continue to provide freedom in cer-
tain situations, so that children get the opportunity to be able to explore
the world outside of the military. This situation gives space to the child
to know and hang out with anyone regardless of his background. In the
end, parenting is located in the space between authoritarian and demo-
cratic in the New Order era military families and post-Reformation,
have a positive influence on the development of children’s behavior in
their social environment. The following is a comparison table of parent-
ing patterns and behavior patterns of children in military families of the New Order era and post-Reformation.

CONCLUSION

Although changes in military values have a profound effect on the different parenting between military families in the New Order era and the post-Reformation military milieu, it did not necessarily make it as a major factor in changing family parenting. The tendency of authoritarian and democratic parenting for military families in the New Order era and post-Reformation era, in facts are formed by various factors. The other factors that also contribute to the military values in shaping the pattern of care in the family, which ultimately affect the behavior of children.

One of the implications of the parenting resulted in child self-reliance, where the children has the ability to control and manage themself. Another implication is the emergence of children’s awareness of the existence of freedom in the selection of education. They have the freedom to follow education in the same field of the profession of their parents in the military, or instead choose nonmilitary field. With such freedom, the child has the ability to develop themself. In the context of parenting formation, the wife or mother in the family plays an important role. Aside from many other factors that influence such as peer factors and education but the role of wife or mother is dominantly in determining the functioning of a family, especially military families. this article is a relatively new study on military studies analyzed from a sociological approach. Based on our research, military institutions are expected to give more focus and attention to military families given the importance and centrality of the role of family in the realization of a professional military.

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