

Changing Family Demographics and the Impact on Accession, Trainability, Motivation, Character, and Performance

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New Family Structure

By the summer of 1995, the youngest of the 2010 troops will be out of diapers. Many of the oldest can read and thus, have mastered one of the most difficult tasks of their lives. These children are challenged by technology such as the big wheel, bicycle, Nintendo, telephone, and TV remote control. Their heroes are the Power Rangers, Barney, and Big Bird. Their mother and father are the most important people in their lives. Unfortunately, a large percent live without their father. Fatherlessness¹, either through divorce or illegitimacy, is the major demographic family change influencing the 2010 recruitment pool. Adult males are increasingly unwilling to invest in their offspring.²

There has been a dramatic growth in the proportion of female-headed families. In 1962, less than 10 percent of all families with children under 18 were headed by women. By 1993, this had more than doubled to 23.3 percent (Bureau of the Census, 1993). A close examination of the family structure of the boys and girls that will be 18 to 22 years old in 2010 reveals that (in 1993) 70 percent lived with both parents (See Table 8.1). Approximately 24 percent lived with their mother only. The remaining either lived with their father or neither parent. The overall percentages mask large racial

variations. For example, only 32.4 percent of black children (ages 1-5 in 1993) live with both parents. These proportions are expected to rise because over half of all marriages will dissolve before 2010. Hence, by 2010, at least half of the recruitment pool would have lived a substantial portion of their first 18 years apart from their biological father.³

Table 8.1 Family Structure of the Force XXI Recruitment Pool (Children Ages 1-5 in 1993 and 18-22 in 2010)

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF CHILDREN 1-5 YEARS OLD (1993)	TOTAL	BLACK	WHITE	HISPANIC *
BOTH PARENTS	70.2	32.4	77.5	64.3
MOTHER ONLY	23.9	57.3	17.5	28.3
FATHER ONLY	3.6	3.4	3.7	5.1
NEITHER PARENT	2.2	6.8	1.3	2.3
TOTAL **	100	100	100	100
NUMBER (000)	(19,605)	(3,187)	(15,430)	(2,444)

* includes all races

** may not add to 100 due to rounding

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports. Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1993. Table 4 pp. 26-29. P20-478.

Causes of Fatherlessness

There are many causes for the increase in fatherlessness. First, a larger proportion of women are having babies outside wedlock and choosing to raise these children and remain unwed.⁴ In 1993, nearly 30 percent of all births were to unwed mothers. This compares to 18 percent in 1980. There are variations by race. Twenty-two percent of white births are to unwed mothers. The comparable figures for Blacks and Hispanics are 68 percent and 38 percent (National Center for Health Statistics, 1993 and 1982). It should be noted that the absolute number of illegitimate births has not grown significantly; rather, the proportion of unwed births has grown because there has been a decline in marital fertility (Garfield and McLanahan, 1986, p. 76; Cherlin, 1988).

Divorce is another major cause in the rise of female-headed households. Bumpus (1990) estimates that 60 percent of all marriages will end in divorce.⁵ Again, rates differ by race. Bray and Hetherington (1993) estimate that 75 percent of Black children will experience their parents divorce before they are 16 (40 percent for whites). Divorce and remarriage make statistical analysis of fatherlessness more complicated. Simple incidence of divorce overstates the extent of fatherlessness because it does not tell how long the children were without their father or stepfather. Demographers use lifetime duration which measures the numbers of years a child lives in a single parent household to calculate the extent of fatherlessness.

The median numbers of years a child spends in a mother-only family is six. Again, this is longer for Black children. The number of years for Black children is close to ten (Garfield and McLanahan, 1986). Unfortunately, remarriage does little to reduce the consequences of divorce. In most ways that count, children in step families perform similarly to those in mother only families (Blankenhorn, 1995; Etzioni, 1993). Bumpus (1990) attributes the increase in divorce rates to secular individualism. This has led to a decline in the willingness of parents to put the best interest of the children first.⁶

Finally, sociocultural changes also influence the rate of single-parenthood. First, over the last decade or so women have gained increased economic independence vis-à-vis men. This independence makes divorce/unwed motherhood a more viable option. Upper and middle income women have entered the labor force and are able to support themselves and their children (Cherlin, 1992). Social welfare programs such as AFDC, Food Stamps and Medicaid provide income for poor women (Garfield and McLanahan, 1986).⁷ In addition to increased economic independence for women, changing sexual norms and mores also influence the rate of single parent family formation. There is an increased tendency for teens to have sex outside marriage and at an earlier age (Zill and Rogers, 1988).

The importance and meaning of responsible fatherhood and family are being redefined through the popular culture. David Blankenhorn (1995) points out that current cultural messages subtly change the way "we" view the father and family. They diminish the importance of fatherhood. In the process we are losing our idea of "fatherhood." For example, many families depicted in the popular media do just fine without Dad.⁸ Lastly, Blankenhorn credits radical feminist theory with deconstructing the family.

Radical or gender feminist theory questions the traditional family. These radical models transform the traditional family into "gender factories" which enslaves women and lead to a "motherhood cult" (Epstein, 1988).⁹

Consequences of Fatherlessness

Loss of income is the single greatest problem facing children that grow up in fatherless homes. For many children this means poverty. Most prominent social scientists cite poverty as the single most problematic consequence of the father's withdrawal from the family. Only 8.4 percent of two-parent families with children under 18 are below the poverty line, while 45.7 percent of female-headed families live in poverty. (See Table 8.2). These differences are even greater when taking into account race and ethnicity. Over 57 percent of all Black and Hispanic female-headed households with children under 18 are below the poverty line. Children living in female-headed households also experience a longer duration of poverty and are more likely to be poor as adults (Garfield and McLanahan, 1986).

Table 8.2 Percent of 1992 Families with Children under 18 that are Below the Poverty Level

TYPE OF FAMILY	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC
ALL FAMILIES	17.7	13.7	39	32.4
MARRIED COUPLE	8.4	7.6	15.4	22.5
FEMALE-HEADED	45.7	39.1	57.2	57.4
MALE-HEADED	22.1	19.3	33.3	37.1

Source: Bureau of the Census, Poverty in the United States: 1992 Current Population Reports, Series P60-185, 1993

Using "families in poverty" as the base to calculate percentages (not family structure), the size of the poverty problem looks even worse. Sixty percent of all poor families (with children under 18) are headed by women. Further, this fraction has doubled over the last 30 years. (See Table 8.3.) In other words, if you were a poor five year old 30 years ago, you were likely to live with both parents. Today you would be poor and fatherless. Teen unwed parenthood is the major reason for this rise. Unlike many poor chil-

dren of the past who were subject to spells of poverty, the children of unwed mothers are often chronically poor. These families are the new and growing underclass (Angel and Angel, 1993). Indeed, Harrell Rodgers (1990) attributes the increase in poverty over the last three decades to the growth in female-headed families. This trend is commonly referred to as the "feminization of poverty."

Table 8.3 Percent of all Families with Children under 18 that are below the Poverty Line that are Headed by a Female.

YEAR	TOTAL	WHITE	BLACK	HISPANIC
1992	60	50.4	80.0	45.9
1982	53.6	42.7	77.0	48.8
1972	53.2	43.3	70.0	NA
1962	29.5	NA	NA	NA

Source: Bureau of the Census, Poverty in the United States: 1992 Current Population Reports, Series P60-185, 1993

Middle income children of divorce generally avoid poverty. They, however, experience a lower standard of living. If their parents had stayed together they would probably have had a nicer home, nicer clothes, more frequent vacations, and less time in front of the TV since other types of entertainment would have been affordable. When these children reach their late teens and early twenties, they often experience a bumpy transition from high school to college or the labor market. Young adults in two-parent households generally continue to receive financial support into their mid-twenties. Parents contribute to college expenses, help with the first car, or a down payment on a house. There is less to go around in disrupted households. Aside from the increased expense of two domiciles, divorce disrupts the accumulation of wealth that occurs over a 20-year marriage. In addition, child support redefines parental duty into a time-limited legal and financial obligation. Like a car payment it stops. (Blankenhorn, 1995; Bum-pus, 1990). Given the greater financial uncertainty, this group of young adults might find the armed forces "necessarily" attractive.

Children in female-headed households also have problems with academic performance and achievement. Sara McLanahan (1985) found that living in a female-headed household reduced the

likelihood of graduating from high-school by 5 percent for whites and 13 percent for Blacks. These children are also more likely to repeat a grade, score more poorly on achievement tests, have lower grade point averages and have a lower occupational status as adults.¹⁰

Ronald and Jacqueline Angel (1993), in their study of the health effects of growing up in a fatherless environment, found that "emotional and behavioral problems as well as violence and neglect, have replaced acute illness as the major threats to the well-being of children" (p. 3). For example, children living with their mother are more likely to exhibit delinquent behavior, have discipline problems in school, have trouble getting along with teachers, cheat, tell lies, run away from home and engage in violent behavior. Angel and Angel attributed these problems to lack of parental supervision and the greater susceptibility of fatherless children to peer pressure. Behavioral problems often escalate. Fatherless children are more likely to be violent, be criminals, and use illegal substances.¹¹

Fatherlessness carries with it greater risk for health and emotional problems. Children born to unwed mothers are at higher risk of low birth weights and premature birth. Regardless of whether a child's parents divorce or were never married, they are prone to emotional problems such as anxiety disorders, depression, lower self-esteem, hyperactivity, and poor social relations. In addition, because boyfriends and stepfathers are more likely to be abusive than biological fathers, these children are at higher risk for physical and sexual abuse. Unfortunately many of these behavioral and emotional problems stay with the children into their adult lives.¹²

Finally, the effects of fatherlessness are intergenerational. Children of divorce are more likely to get divorced. Girls born to teen unwed mothers are more likely to be teen unwed mothers themselves. Kahn and Anderson (1992) attribute this to direct biological factors such as age at menarche. Intergenerational transmission of attitudes, values and preferences also act indirectly. In addition, lack of supervision is related to early sexual activity and premarital birth. Two-parent households are better able to supervise early dating behavior (McLanahan and Bumpus, 1988).¹³ For a summary of the major consequences of fatherlessness see Table 8.4.

Table 8.4 Consequences of Fatherlessness**Poverty**

Fatherless children are more likely to ...

- live below the poverty line
- experience longer duration of poverty
- be poor as adults

Academic/Achievement Problems

Fatherless children are more likely to...

- drop out of high school
- score more poorly on achievement tests
- have lower grade point averages
- have lower occupational status as adults

Behavioral Problems

Fatherless children are more likely to...

- exhibit delinquent behavior
- have more discipline problems in school
 - run away from home
 - engage in substance abuse
 - be criminals
 - engage in violent behavior

Emotional/Health Problems

Fatherless children are more likely to...

- be born with low birth weights
- be born premature
- experience physical and sexual abuse
- have anxiety disorders
- experience depression
- have lower self esteem
- have problems with social relations

Intergenerational Family Problems

Fatherless children are more likely to..

- get divorced
- (girls) be unwed teen mothers

There are a few more summary issues to consider. First, most of the behavioral, emotional, and achievement consequences mentioned above fall the hardest on boys. Secondly, most of the problems associated with fatherlessness are true regardless of whether the child was born out of wedlock or experienced a divorce. Thirdly, these negative consequences are most serious for children where a cluster of disadvantages exist, such as poverty, an unwed teen mother, a mother with limited education and several siblings (Zill and Rogers, 1988). Fourth, there are many different varieties of “fatherless” families. Factors such as the degree of parental conflict, degree of involvement of the biological father, age of the mother at birth, whether the children are well supervised as teens and pre-teens, involvement of extended family, degree of promiscuity of the mother, and the child’s age at divorce can all mitigate or intensify the negative outcomes. These different types of families create different adaptation paths and outcomes. The future of the fatherless child is not inevitably troubled.

For example, children who do not share co-residence with their father will adjust better if they see their father regularly, receive adequate income from their father, are well supervised as teens and pre-teens,¹⁴ were full term and normal weight at birth, their mother was at least 18 when they were born, they see an extended family regularly, their unmarried mother’s sexual activity is limited¹⁵, and there is little or no conflict between parents.

Clearly, the picture is not completely bleak—divorcing parents can do a lot to help their children through a rough transition. Sometimes children are better off after a divorce. This is particularly true if the level of conflict between parents is high or if child abuse is severe and frequent.¹⁶

The array of problems mentioned above is almost overwhelming and will have a negative impact on the soldiers and recruitment pool of 2010. It would, however, be easy to overstate the negative repercussions. This is because the literature uses the epidemiological notion of risk to describe the consequences. For example, fatherless children have a greater “risk” of dropping out of high school or becoming criminals. The majority of these children complete school and go on to be effective adults.¹⁷

Direct Effects on the Army

Quality people, soldiers and civilians remain our cornerstone imperative. They are our most important resource—our smartest and best weapon.
— Gen. Gordon Sullivan, 1994

Over the last three decades the Army has experienced the benefits of high quality recruits. High quality recruits, which are often defined as high school graduates and those in the top half of the AFQT distribution, are more efficient soldiers and out perform lower quality recruits.¹⁸ Further, low quality soldiers are problematic. Negative experiences with Project 100,000 and the miscalibration of test scores test between 1976 and 1980 have confirmed this.

Fortunately, Force XXI should not feel the harshest effects of the societal trend toward fatherlessness. Assuming current recruiting practices are maintained, the most dysfunctional individuals will be removed by the high school graduation requirement and screens for criminal records and drug use. These restrictions help ensure a quality force. One would expect them to continue. Over the life of the all volunteer force, Army personnel policies and practices have been driven more by Army demand than labor market or demographic conditions (Segal and Verdugo, 1994). On the other hand, in the event of a draft, the full impact of family disruption would be felt by the institution. Thus, the Army will never be fully insulated from this major societal change.

Although policy restrictions should eliminate “problem” youth, the 2010 “mom only” recruits will come without the beneficial effects of the two parent environment. Compared to similar youth from two parent households, they will have somewhat lower test scores, poorer grades, more emotional baggage and be less disciplined. All of these problems will have a dampening effect on their performance, morale and trainability.

Fatherless children generally grow up in a more chaotic, less disciplined household. In addition, as young men reach adolescence, single mothers have increased difficulty controlling their bigger and stronger sons (Blankenhorn, 1995). This lack of parental discipline should have negative implications for performance.

Earlier, the financial problems associated with divorce were discussed. The generally lower discretionary family income and the legal end of child support (age 18) often makes the transition from high school to work/college more tenuous. For many “college bound” children of divorce, college will be more difficult to attain.

Some will forego college, those who do go will have a marginal status because they often will need to work longer hours and take fewer credits. They are more likely to drop out. This unavailable or unstable attachment to college may lead many otherwise college quality youth to the Army. These young men and women may view the military as a way to get started and pay for college. To the extent that they score relatively higher on achievement tests, it will have a positive effect on accession, trainability, and performance.

Family Background of Current Recruits

What of today's recruits? Examining the family of origin of this group may be suggestive of the Army's ability to assimilate recruits who were raised without fathers. Is the Army drawing disproportionately from the fatherless? Yes. Compared to the civilian group as a whole — Army Non Prior Service (NPS) recruits are more likely to have a "disrupted" family background. In 1993, only 72.5 percent of the recruits mothers were married at the time they joined. (See Table 8.5.) This compares with 79.7 percent for the nation as a whole. The 72.5 percent actually understates the proportion that were raised without their biological father. The survey examined their family status as they entered the armed forces. Stepfathers and fathers were treated as identical.

Table 8.5. Marital Status of Parent by Gender of Parents as of FY 1993 Active Component NPS Recruits with Civilian Comparison Group (Percent Married)

GENDER OF PARENTS	ARMY	DoD	CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY
Male	89.4	89.2	92.3
Female	72.5	74.2	79.7

Source: Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy), Population Representation in the Military Services, Fiscal Year 1993, (1994).

Hence, if the recruit's mother had divorced and remarried, she would have been counted as married. Given this, it is reasonable to speculate (given divorce rates of 50 percent) that anywhere

from 30 to 45 percent of today's recruits spent at least five years in a home without their biological father.

If one considers the current greater likelihood of the current Army to draw from children of divorced families and demographic trends such as increased unwed birth rates and higher divorce rates, I predict between 50 and 75 percent of the 2010 recruits to have disrupted family backgrounds. Further, since divorce is now more likely to occur when the child is younger and the average time between marriage and remarriage has lengthened, the 2010 recruits will have had longer periods of fatherlessness during their youth. In addition, these trends differ along racial and ethnic lines. Taking into account general demographic trends, one would expect 75 percent of the Force XXI black recruits to have disrupted family backgrounds.

Since 1986, DoD has collected information about the background of new recruits. Measures of socioeconomic status (SES) including an SES index is included in the survey. The findings have consistently shown that the socioeconomic status of the Army NPS recruits is fairly representative of the nation. Although the Army is under represented at the top and somewhat over represented at the bottom, most new recruits come from the middle (Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, 1994). Parental education, another measure of socioeconomic status also illustrates that today's recruits are drawn from the center of the distribution. Approximately 80 percent of the mothers and fathers of 1993 NPS recruits graduated from high-school. This compares with 85 percent for the general population. The Army parents were also less likely to have completed college. (See Table 8.6.) Thus the biggest problem of fatherlessness, childhood poverty, is not a particular problem for current recruits. It will probably not be an issue for Force XXI either.

The Army of the 1990's is of the highest quality. Clearly, that the Army's education requirements, drug policy and screen for criminal records contribute to its success. In addition, the institution itself appears to be well equipped to socializing middle class high school graduates that often come from broken homes (the unwed motherhood rate was much lower 20 years ago).

Table 8.6. Education of Parents by Gender of FY 1993 Active Component NPS Recruits with Civilian Comparison Group (Percent at each Education Level)

YEARS OF SCHOOL	ARMY		DoD		CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY	
	Mother	Father	Mother	Father	Mother	Father
0-11	20.6	19.8	18.4	18.5	15.2	15.0
12	38.1	33.2	39.1	33.4	39.2	32.7
13-15	25.8	24.8	27.0	26.5	26.1	24.3
16+	15.6	22.2	15.6	21.6	19.5	28.1

Source: Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Force Management Policy), Population Representation in the Military Services, Fiscal Year 1993, (1994).

Home Trainin'

Linda Kageff and Janice Laurence discuss some problems with current youth as they enter the labor market/armed forces. They describe a lack of 'job-getting' skills. These include how to communicate effectively, how to dress, and how to work without constant supervisor attention. They maintain that some of the deficiencies can be addressed through classroom experiences. There are, however, a large group of behaviors difficult to pinpoint but something akin to home trainin', missing from the present group of entry-level workers. That humble phrase probably covers a lot of what children of the 1990's are missing— those behaviors and values, instilled mostly at home, that help social situations to work smoothly. The military service often have to dispense their own brand of home trainin' and this situation will certainly not improve in the near future (Kageff and Laurence, 1993).

One would expect that youth from single parent homes will need more home trainin'. Ideally, the army is looking for recruits that are easily socialized. Young men and women who have mastered the content of a high school curriculum, are disciplined, motivated, patriotic, technologically literate, and know how to learn. Ideal recruits have had proper 'home trainin.' Children from two-parent households are likely to be closer to this ideal.

The Army is fully capable of socializing young men and women who fall short of this ideal. Socialization is aided through recruit screening mechanisms, well designed initiation programs (e.g., boot camp) and effective leadership. The Army is also aided by other more well socialized recruits. They are peer models for the "difficult to socialize." In fifteen years, the "easy to socialize" group that is closer to the ideal may shrink. This would leave fewer peer models and more recruits in need of effective models.

Boot camp is part of a long military socialization process which turns kids into adults, youth into soldiers and boys and girls into men and women. This job is easier when recruits have been exposed to a disciplined, loving, two-parent family. As the proportion of fathered to unfathered recruits shifts in favor of the unfathered, the Force XXI should expect greater challenges with morale, motivation and performance of its soldiers. There will also probably be implications for unit cohesion.

Implications for NCO Training

Frank Pittman (1993) maintains that boys learn about masculinity primarily from their fathers. When Dad is not available, boys search for their masculinity in unrealistic places (the movies, the nearby gang). These unrealistic models lead to pathologies. Boys also seek father substitutes/mentors to learn about manhood. The recruits of 2010 will probably look to noncommissioned officers to meet this need. To the extent these Army leaders succeed in modeling an effective, realistic masculinity, the Army can reduce some of the problems associated with a predominantly "fatherless" force. This doesn't necessarily mean that the Army should make major changes (although that is a possibility), rather the Army leadership should seriously consider the implications of this demographic trend and have a deliberate plan. Given the current and future dimensions of the problem, NCO Academies should include this subject in their curriculum soon. It is in the Army's best interest to address this need in a timely and systematic fashion.

Indirect Effects

Many of the ill effects associated with marital disruption and fatherlessness are intergenerational. Fatherless children are more likely to get divorced, have children outside marriage, and be

single parents. While married, they are more likely to have family adjustment problems. The military requires special sacrifices of its members and their families. Army families face the stress of frequent separations, demanding work schedules, and the threat of injury or death in the event of a national crisis.¹⁹

Given the dual stress of intergenerational family maladaptation and job related demands, one would expect the soldiers of 2010 to have more family problems. Families that stay together would probably have more internal and external adaptation problems. In the severest cases the intergenerational legacy would manifest itself as higher rates of single parent families and divorce.²⁰

Both intact family adaptation problems and single parenthood/divorce have negative implications for readiness. Single parents have higher rates of absenteeism for alerts and deployment (12.6 percent single parent with accompanying children versus 4.4 percent married with accompanying children) (Burnan et al., 1992). Soldiers' emotional well being is linked to their confidence that their spouse can handle problems in their absence. If as expected, the 2010 families are less stable, one would expect future soldiers to have less confidence in their spouses ability to cope during absences. This has negative implications for performance because increased emotional well being is linked to fewer job related problems and a drop in missed alerts (Burnan et al., 1992). Also, while deployed, the soldier that has little confidence in his/her family's self-sufficiency is more worried about them and less attentive to duty (Burnan et al., 1992). These problems suggest that the Army may need to expand family services in the future.

The Army's Intergenerational Legacy

In the early 1980's, Faris (1984) found that a father's military career and family values influenced his son's likelihood of enlisting. Sons of career military men are approximately twice as likely to enlist as their peers. The relationship between parental military experience and a child's likelihood of enlistment continues into the 1990's. Over 56 percent of the current junior enlisted ranks have had a father who served (or is serving) in the military. This percent is roughly the same for NCO's and over 70 percent for officers. Charles Moskos and John Butler (forthcoming) have identified a hopeful intergenerational trend among black military families. These families tend to be strong and have successful children. To

the extent that these children enlist, the proportion of fatherless black recruits in Force XXI will be substantially less than the black population in general. This is obviously good news for the Army.

One would expect the Army to continue "growing its own." Thus, if you seek the Army of 2010 look around today's Post. Look at the kids riding tricycles and small bicycles. Look at the day care, cub scouts, and Pee Wee baseball games. To the extent that these children come from strong families, they will be better soldiers. We can strengthen the Army of tomorrow by fortifying the Army family of today. Indeed strengthening the Army family of today brings a twin blessing. Both current and future soldier performance will be enhanced (See Table 8.7).

Table 8.7 Active Duty Service of Father/Male Guardian by Rank

Active duty status of Father	Total	Junior Enlisted	NCO	Compay grade officer	Field Grade Officer
Now serving	1.4	1.9	1.0	1.0	0.1
served less than 8 Years & Left	39.6	38.5	38.9	45.6	45.1
Served 8 years or more and left /retired	17.4	16.2	16.5	26.5	24.4
Never served	36.9	38.6	37.8	25.6	29.7
Don't Know	4.7	4.7	5.8	1.1	0.6
Total*	100	100	100	100	100
sample size	10,872	4,636	2,836	1,725	1,466

* May not add to 100 due to rounding.

Source: Soldier Survey Data Book, Research Triangle Institute, Caliber Associates, Human Resources Research Organization ARI (1990) (Contract No. MDA903-87-C-0540)

Although the Army can mitigate the problems of fatherlessness by strengthening its own families, it cannot insulate itself entirely from the generational legacy of fatherlessness. The spouses of future soldiers are more likely to come from disrupted homes. Further, the Army recruits children of both veterans and non veterans. Since there is a link between family adaptation and readiness, the family problems of the future should have negative

implications for trainability, motivation and performance (Segal and Harris, 1993). The Army should be prepared by continuing and enhancing current family programs.

There is also a link between leader support for (sensitivity to) families and family adaptation (Bowen, 1994). When unit leaders show an interest in a soldier's family both soldier well-being and readiness improve. The influence of leadership support "cuts across all levels of command from unit leadership to installation leadership to Army leadership" (Burnan et al., 1992, p. 73). The unit, since it is closest to the soldier, is the most critical.

Currently the Army is experimenting with ways to enhance leader support. In one promising model the unit has a human service support professional who attends to family problems and facilitates communication between the soldier and the unit leader. Bowen (1994) suggests that the Army continue to experiment with these techniques in order to be ready for the challenges of the future.

Character

Moral elements are among the most important in war. They constitute the spirit that permeates war as a whole, and at an early stage they establish a close affinity with the will that moves and leads the whole mass. — Clausewitz, On War.

We fought to preserve what our forefathers had died for . . . to protect faith., to preserve our liberty . . . to save our way of life, for our parents and siblings . . . for our children and . . . their children.— Walter D. Ellers, Medal of Honor recipient 18th Infantry, 1st Infantry Division (Sullivan, 1994)

As Clausewitz notes, moral elements are at the heart of an effective war effort. The citizen soldiers of our Army are sworn to protect this country and to uphold ideals like "duty, honor, country." Attachment to country and notions of duty and honor rest on attachment to kin. Walter Ellers makes this point eloquently. Family loyalty is the basis of patriotism. The citizen soldiers of the Army risk their lives for a free nation. A nation tied to both their forefathers and their children's children. Implicit is the assumption that parents of this country invest in their offspring. To the extent that this stops, the Army is protecting a nation that is eroding at the base.

Moral life begins with the formation and maintenance of family. Early moral traits are reinforced and modeled by parents (Wilson, 1993). The best way for parents to develop a moral sense within their children is to expose them to both love and discipline. Character is shaped in the early years. All in all, two-parent families are better equipped to instill moral values (Etzioni, 1993 and Wilson, 1993). Hence, current trends in family demographics have negative implications for the character of the 2010 recruits.

Anthropologists maintain that unlike motherhood, which is biological, fatherhood is cultural. A successful culture creates "social" fathers. Indeed, one mark of civilization is a society's ability to socialize its young men. One of the best ways to do this is through fatherhood or a man's commitment to the mother of his children and his willingness to invest time and resources in the raising of his offspring. The less men invest in caring for their children the more they are disposed to violence. Thus, fatherhood is not only good for the child, it is good for the man. Married fathers live longer and have lower homicide rates (Wilson, 1993). One needs only look to the inner city to see the consequences of "social" fatherhood lost. Here physical prowess and sexual conquest define manhood. It may be no accident that the "quality" of the Army has risen as the proportion of fathers in the Army has grown.

David Blankenhorn (1995) argues that fatherlessness is the engine driving our most pressing social problems. He fears that these will grow because our culture sends the message that fatherhood is superfluous. "A decultured fatherhood is a doubtful manhood" (p. 17). Norms of effective paternity anchor masculinity. Clearly, men who visualize a future as "good fathers," or who work at being "good fathers," will have higher moral characters than men that accept the cultural message which dismisses the importance of fatherhood.

The Army, as a "masculine" institution of moral authority, with tens of thousands of men in their twenties, is well poised to address the concerns raised by Blankenhorn. Note, Blankenhorn is not implying that all men must be fathers. Men not wanting children should not have them. Men who have children should invest time and energy in their offspring. Manhood and responsible fathering are connected. The military knows how to socialize its members and challenge cultural trends. Integration and race relations are good examples. The Army could raise the consciousness of its members about this issue. It could take up the message which links manliness and responsible fatherhood. I am not sug-

gesting that the Army get involved in a "social program;" rather than that it use its institutional leadership position to address a moral issue. Unfortunately, this moral issue, if left unattended, will have profound negative implications for both the nation and the institution.

Conclusion

The families of 1995 will influence the quality of the soldier of tomorrow. This chapter examined one aspect of family life—female-headed households and their impact of Force XXI. Key predictions and policy prescriptions are summarized below.

Major Predictions

- The Army of 2010 will draw over half of its recruits from the ranks of the fatherless.
- Since the consequences of fatherlessness are negative and touch every aspect of a child's life, this trend has negative implications for the trainability, motivation and performance of Force XXI.
- Since family problems are intergenerational, many of the problems of fatherlessness will be transmitted to the next generation of Army families. Thus, Force XXI will have more single parents and less stable marriages. This will have negative implications for trainability, morale and performance.
- Since two parent families are better equipped to instill moral values, the increased proportion of recruits from single parent families has negative implications for the character of Force XXI troops.

Policy Prescriptions

- To ensure quality, the high-school graduation requirement along with the drug and criminal record screen should be retained. Since most of the problems associated with fatherlessness surface (often in school and in the courts) before age 18, the children most seriously affected by their father's absence will be screened out.
- Young men and boys learn about manhood from their fathers. To the extent that this part of their education is lacking, the male recruits of 2010 will look to NCOs as models. The Army should begin NCO training on this issue.
- Since many of the recruits of 2010 are the offspring of current soldiers, the Army should continue programs that strengthen current Army families.

- The problems of family disruption are intergenerational and have negative implications for readiness. Hence, the Army should continue research on military families and expand programs aimed at facilitating family adaptation.
- The Army should use its position as a male dominated institution of moral authority to raise the consciousness of its members about the problems and consequences of fatherlessness.

End Notes

¹The term fatherless is used to refer to children who do not reside with their biological or adoptive father. This does not refer to work related separations. Much of this article was influenced by the arguments of David Blankenhorn (1995), in *Fatherless America*. He makes a good case that stepfathers, grandfathers, uncles, etc. are a poor substitute for a biological father. His sometimes controversial arguments emphasize the benefits of two-parent families.

²This paper concentrates on fatherlessness because it is the single most problematic demographic trend. Another important demographic change is the increased incidence of women working and the concomitant increase in the use of day care. There is little consensus about the consequences of this trend. For example, Cherlin (1988) finds few problems. There are even benefits. Perhaps because employed, low-income mothers are better able to communicate the benefits of education, their children do better in school than children of unemployed, welfare mothers. On the other hand, scholars such as Etzioni (1993) are concerned with the reduction in time that parents spend with their children that often occurs when both parents work full time. He is concerned that we are developing a parenting deficit. Aside from day care, the lack of supervision of preteens and early teens is a concern.

³Ironically, among another segment of society, the family background and the lives of children are very different. Many new mothers of the early 1990's had their first child in their thirties. These women are likely to live in the suburbs, be well educated, and have employment experience. They are also more likely to have above average incomes, stable marriages, and fewer children. Most important, their children usually have fathers that are involved in their lives. These men were at their child's birth, changed diapers, read bed time stories, and coached little league. It seems likely that the officer corps would draw heavily from this

cohort of young men and women. In contrast, the children in female-headed households often live in poverty in the inner city, have several siblings, and have an unmarried teen mom who has little education and no work experience. Finally, they have little contact with their father. Many scholars predict that the US will become a dangerously polarized society with fatherhood as its basis. For a discussion of this issue, see, for example, Angel and Angel, 1993; Blankenhorn, 1995; Cherlin, 1992; Garfield and McLanahan, 1986.

⁴Angel and Angel (1993) attribute this trend to a shortage of marriageable males (particularly among minorities). Men without good employment prospects are less likely to marry and if married, unemployed men are more likely to divorce. In addition a significant number of these men are incarcerated for criminal activity.

⁵Note that Bumpus (1990) is the most frequently cited source on the incidence of divorce.

⁶Parents self-interest are increasingly considered legitimate in dissolving a marriage. The proportion of respondents indicating that a "couple should not stay together for the sake of the children" rose from 51% in 1962 to 81% in 1982 (Bumpus, 1990, p. 486).

⁷Most scholars maintain that the effect of increases in benefits on increases in out of wedlock births is minimal. The influence is on the base (Duncan and Hoffman, 1990 and Garfield and McLanahan, 1986).

⁸Movies are good examples. *The Cure* (1995) depicted two middle school boys who lived with upper-middle class, single mothers. In neither case did the father appear, the audience knew none of the history of the fathers except that one had run away with a younger woman. *ET* is another example. In *Mrs. Doubtfire*, Daniel Hillard had to transcend his masculinity and become a woman to be with his children.

⁹While Epstein (1988) does not hold the radical views herself, she does a good job of presenting their arguments. Epstein quotes Rayna Rapp, a noted radical/gender feminist: "One of the more valuable achievements of feminist theory has been its efforts to 'deconstruct the family as a natural unit, and to reconstruct it as a social unit' —as ideology, as an institutional nexus of social relationships and cultural meanings" (p. 161).

There is another type of feminism known as equity feminism. Seventy five years ago equity feminists were fighting for women's right to vote. Currently, equity feminists are concerned with equality of opportunity such as equal pay for equal work. Equity feminists support and are part of traditional families.

¹⁰See for example, Astore and McLanahan, 1991; Blankenhorn, 1995; Bray and Hetherington, 1993; Dawson, 1991; Garfield and McLanahan, 1986; Hoffman et al., 1993; Wojtkiewicz, 1993. It should be noted that these findings are not always consistent across race and gender lines.

¹¹ See for example, Angel and Angel, 1993; Blankenhorn, 1995; Bray and Hetherington, 1993; Mott, 1993; Smith and Jarjoura, 1988. It should be noted that these findings are not always consistent across race and gender.

¹²See for example, Angel and Angel, 1993; Blankenhorn, 1995; Bray and Hetherington, 1993; Mott, 1993; Zill et al., 1993. It should be noted that these findings are not always consistent across race and gender.

¹³Other sources that deal with these issues include Blankenhorn, 1995; Cherlin, 1988; Garfield and McLanahan, 1986; Glenn and Kramer, 1987.

¹⁴This is particularly problematic for single mothers because both grandparents and fathers decrease their involvement as the child reaches the teen years.

¹⁵A promiscuous mother tends to produce anger in her sons and daughters that are teen mothers. Probably both boys and girls are more likely to be angry and sexually active at an earlier age. Social scientists have focused on the anger in boys because it often leads to violence. Promiscuous girls tend to have and raise their babies. Clearly, the sexual activity of male teens/young adults is an important (and understudied) factor in the "fatherless" problem. In many ways irresponsible male sexual activity cuts to the heart of the matter.

¹⁶ See for example, Angel and Angel, 1993; Blake, 1981; Cherlin, 1988; Mott, 1993.

¹⁷ See for example, Angel and Angel, 1993; Cherlin, 1992; Garfield and McLanahan, 1986; Haveman et al., 1991.

¹⁸ See for example, Gillroy, Phillips and Blair, 1990; Horn, 1987; Scribner, Baldwin and Phillips, 1986.

¹⁹ See for example, Segal, M., 1986; Bowen, 1989; Segal and Harris, 1993; Bowen and Orthner, 1986.

²⁰ Because the Army is disproportionately male, it has a relatively large proportion of single fathers. The effects of motherlessness are less studied. Difficulty in forming lasting attachments has been associated with the loss of a mother. One would expect behavioral problems. In addition, there are the problems associated with reduced adult supervision. Single-fathers seem to get more help from

extended families. They also remarry sooner. For a discussion of single-fathers in the military see Orthner and Bowen, (1985).