

Working Them Out...Working Them In: Ideology and the Everyday Lives of Female Military Partners Experiencing the Cycle of Deployment

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ABSTRACT

This paper reports the findings of a feminist qualitative research study which involved interviews with seven heterosexual female military partners experiencing the cycle of deployment. The daily work of deployment was revealed as well as the paradoxical yet reinforcing character of the military and gender ideologies embodied in that work.

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article rapporte les conclusions d'une recherche qualitative féministe constituée d'entrevues avec sept femmes hétérosexuelles partenaires de militaires qui vivent le cycle du déploiement. Le travail quotidien du déploiement fut révélé ainsi que le caractère paradoxal qui toutefois renforce les idéologies militaires sur les hommes et les femmes qui sont incarnées dans ce travail.

INTRODUCTION

Periodic separations characterize life within military families. Some military personnel experience these separations because of regular deployments. A deployment refers to a military tasking which requires a military unit to leave its home base for either training exercises, peacekeeping duties, or less frequently, war-related duties. This paper presents the findings of a study explicating the experiences of a group of female military partners' experiences with deployment. The study evolved in response to an off-hand comment overheard during an activity at a Military Family Resource Centre. One of the participating women was discussing with other participants the impending departure of her husband on a six-month deployment. As she shared her feelings in this regard, she commented: "Well, this is all about working them out and then working them in."

This seemingly innocuous comment precipitated questions regarding the ways in which deployment is accomplished within military families. This pondering was prompted by the woman's use of the word "work," which suggests that deployment may not be just a discrete event or a period of time which periodically punctuates the lives of female military partners, but a process

involving purposive activity and practices. Conceptualizing deployment in this way enables one to see that deployment may not just be a military phenomenon that "happens," but may actually be accomplished in part through the work of female military partners. This study was designed to reveal the practices which "accomplish" deployment. The purpose of the analysis of key themes was to develop an exploratory depiction of this aspect of military spouses' experience. The study addressed particular questions: specifically, can deployment-related work at the individual level of partners of military members be articulated to the overall work of the military institution?; and, to what extent is this work, or the accomplishment of deployment, constituted by and constitutive of ideologies characterizing the military?

LITERATURE REVIEW

Military families are regularly challenged by conditions that test their capacity for healthy functioning. Forced relocations, the risk of injury or death, family separation, residence in foreign countries, and normative constraints on the behavior of spouses and children are inevitable aspects of the military lifestyle (Bowen 1989). These realities combined with the isolation from traditional sources

of support such as extended families, close friends and stable community relationships are associated with emotional and interpersonal stress for some military families.

Dominant theoretical models used at present to understand family life within the military reinforce the focus on the individual. For example, the Logan (1987) model, entitled "The Emotional Cycle of Deployment," stands as the preeminent model used by theoreticians and practitioners alike as a means to understand the overall cycle of deployment. This model presents a linear, chronologically-ordered depiction of the deployment experience. However, it does not outline specific practices enacted by female military partners at each of the stages of deployment. Logan's labels for each stage represent a unique experience, but she does not elucidate the particulars of that experience. As a case in point, the Logan (1987) model identifies stage four as a time of "recovery and stabilization" but does not provide the details to understand how "recovery and stabilization" are accomplished. One does not gain a sense of the work that is involved as female military partners endeavor to "recover" and stabilize." This imparts a superficiality to deployment which belies the complexities inherent in the experience.

A significant exception to the dominant theoretical trend in military family research is a feminist Canadian study conducted by Harrison and Laliberté (1994). Their study systematically examined the relationship between military wives' routine unpaid work and the military institution. The methodology employed in their study was influenced by the feminist sociological method developed by Dorothy Smith (1987) - institutional ethnography. As such, it assumes that, as women, military wives have been excluded from the "production of knowledge, ideology and culture" within the military institution (Harrison and Laliberté 1994). As a corrective, Harrison and Laliberté's study began within the everyday lives of participating women rather than from an ideological standpoint, and, in so doing, revealed the ways in which the daily work of military wives is embedded within a system of broad social processes that constitute a component of the "relations of ruling" (Smith 1987) particular to the military institution.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The research described in this paper was also designed in accordance with the theoretical assumptions and principles developed by Dorothy Smith (1987; 1990). In particular, Smith's notion of the "line of fault" was of central importance.

The "line of fault" is a geological metaphor (Smith 1987) depicting a point of rupture between prevailing ideologies and the everyday worlds that those deemed to be subordinated through the social relations of race, class, gender or sexual orientation experience directly. Smith and other feminist scholars (Campbell and Manicom 1995; DeVault 1990; Harding 1991) who employ this metaphor to inform their research with women assume that this rupture opens up a space in women's lives between their experiences and dominant ideologies.

The line of fault can be experienced as a "bifurcated consciousness" (Smith 1987). Where women are concerned, the experience of a bifurcated consciousness means that their views of their lives may contain two separate, dichotomous, sometimes conflicting perspectives. One of these is framed in the concepts and categories which embody ideological relevances and the other is informed by the more immediate realities of everyday life. When experience does not fit within the concepts and categories, alternate concepts may not be readily available. As a consequence, women may, sometimes subconsciously, mute their own thoughts and feelings when they perceive a "lack of fit" between what they know about their everyday lives and what ideology dictates they should know and think and do.

The concept of the "line of fault" as well as the related concept of bifurcation have methodological and epistemological implications for this research. Existing research (Harrison and Laliberté 1993; 1994) supports the contention that particular military and gender ideologies are embedded within the everyday lives of female military partners. Assuming that there is a silencing or a muting of voice in the face of a lack of fit between these ideologies and the practices constituting the everyday lives of female military partners, it is reasonable to conclude that, as a result, little would be known about what happens in their everyday worlds - with respect to deployment experiences as well as other aspects of their lives.

This research used the participating women's experience in their everyday worlds as the starting point. It was located within and proceeded from the "local and particular" (Smith 1987) worlds that the women experienced directly rather than from a broader ideological standpoint. In so doing, absent voices and absent meanings were recovered and rendered visible.

MILITARY, GENDER IDEOLOGIES AND EVERYDAY PRACTICE

The ultimate ideological imperative of the military is combat readiness; it is the basis for every operational function ongoing within the institution (Grossman 1995; Harrison and Laliberté 1994; Morris 1996; Rosen et al. 1999). The phenomenon of combat is increasingly becoming a reality for military institutions in contemporary times as the Cold War preoccupation with preparedness has been supplanted by a commitment to service in war-torn areas of the globe.

One of the ways that combat readiness is maintained is through unit cohesion (Grossman 1995; Morris 1996; Rosen et al. 1999). If a unit is deployed, cohesion is considered critical for survival. Solidarity and bonding are inherent to unit cohesion and engendered through military socialization. Submission to military discipline, geographical mobility, the suspension of civilian ties, and the insular nature of military social life reinforce unit cohesion (Grossman 1995). Military members, thus, develop close bonds to each other and to the institution. Consequently, when the institution requires it, sailors can be easily and readily disengaged from other aspects of their lives, such as family and civilian society.

The "cultural homogeneity" (Harrison and Laliberté 1997) that emerges from the intensity of unit cohesion creates and sustains the denigration and devaluation of categories of people deemed to be "different." This intolerance for difference is tacitly upheld by the military institution because it serves as preparation for the dehumanizing of the "enemy" in combat (Grossman 1995; Rosen et al. 1999).

Spouses and family members, by virtue of their lack of official membership within the institution, are positioned in accordance with the hegemonic ordering upheld through unit cohesion.

As a result, military wives learn that they are in second place as their husbands' loyalties and energies are appropriated by the institution in the interests of combat readiness. The primacy granted to institutional bonds results in the relegation of female military partners to a subordinate position within their families and within the military institution. Thus, the ideologies of combat readiness and unit cohesion pattern the attitudes and experiences of military personnel and their families.

Second-place status does not mean, however, that female military partners are disassociated from the military. Rather, the principles of unit cohesion are extended to military spouses to the extent that they are incorporated within the institution (Enloe 1983). Incorporation is experienced as spouses learn that they are expected to be cooperative, to "get along" with the institution and to identify with their husbands' careers. In some ways, military spouses' incorporation within the military is similar to that in other work environments (Papenek 1973). Finch (1983), in her study of the women married to clergymen, policemen and others, envisages a wife's relationship to her husband's work as a "career" in itself. She refers to this as the "wife-of career," one which both structures her life and elicits contributions to it (158).

While other work environments also incorporate family members, the level of incorporation within the military is so high that it can be thought of as a "greedy institution" (Coser 1974). A greedy institution imposes expectations and demands on workers and family members that exceed those normally associated with other institutions and organizations. The intensity of military incorporation is accomplished through the real or imagined use of sanctions that affect the member's career if appropriate behavior is not enacted. For example, through the creation of the image of the "good" military member, family or wife and the use of institutional constraints such as frequent relocation and deployments, military members and their families remain closely tied to and integrated with the military.

The acquiescence inherent in incorporation serves a useful purpose for the military. If spouses are integrated within the system, they are readily accessible and available to do the kind of work that sustains the institution. Moreover, incorporation is

considered to be a vital factor affecting the military member's performance on the job and retention. However, despite their incorporation and the contribution this makes to the military institution, these women are only granted "dependent" status (Harrison and Laliberté 1994) and thereby a particular location within the institution that lies outside the relations of ruling. As Enloe states, military wives are "fundamentally marginal to the publically articulated meaning of the military, even while they are integral to that same institution's day-to-day maintenance" (1983, 56).

Research clearly indicates that spouses who are integrated within the military institution accommodate the realities of the military lifestyle. They will cope with frequent relocations even when the burden of moving falls on their shoulders, willingly participate in the bonding activities which are an extension of the unit cohesion central to their husbands' lives, and will be less likely to be a burden during deployments (Harrison & Laliberté 1994). Essentially, incorporation serves as an instrument of social control for the military.

The military champions the wives who live up to these expectations and upholds the idea that these women possess a unique and particular character imbued with stoicism and strength. Out of this has evolved the image of the self-reliant military spouse, an image that has assumed ideological significance within the institution.

The ideology of self-reliance is embodied within the everyday lives of female military partners (Harrison and Laliberté 1994). During deployments, in particular, these women know that they are expected to take care of both the mundane and problematic concerns that inevitably arise in the day-to-day course of family life. For these reasons, a military spouse who does not "bother" her husband with problems at home is highly prized, even though, paradoxically, the self-reliance ideology positions these women within the institution in such a way that they lie outside the circles of power.

Spouses who do not or cannot assume these responsibilities represent an instability that the military characterizes as "turbulence" (Harrison and Laliberté 1997). To the military, turbulence is a serious threat because it is perceived to distract serving members' attention away from the combat objective. Thus, the self-reliant spouse will not

disrupt the homogeneity and exclusivity of the unit.

While it is certain that the military imposes ideological expectations upon military spouses, in so doing, it not only structures these women's lives but also provides some compensatory benefits. The military offers many benefits including family resource centres which deliver social activities and support during difficult times. The benefits are components of "the military as happy family" ideology (Harrison and Laliberté 1994), one which conveys the idea that the military always takes care of its own. The chain of command is in full view as this ideology is played out in everyday life, with commanding officers and their wives assuming the patriarchal roles of "father" and "mother" dispensing advice and practical assistance to members of the unit and their families (Harrison and Laliberté 1997). While it is hard to imagine that the practice of this ideology in everyday life is devoid of caring and compassion, it is also about containment insofar as it works to ensure that problems remain within the institution, removed from public scrutiny. Additionally, the "military as happy family" ideology reinforces the solidarity of the unit. If the military is "taking care of its own," then ties to those who are "different" are minimized and the exclusivity and homogeneity of the unit - central imperatives for combat readiness - are preserved.

The "military as happy family" ideology is predicated on the model of the patriarchal family, a gendered organization. Other aspects of the institution, including other military ideologies, also support the gendered division of labor. Military men in the public sphere hold the social power while their female counterparts do the invisible work within the private sphere that is often denigrated and devalued even though it is essential to the sustenance of the institution. For example, military wives, like other women in our society, assume responsibility for family cohesion. For these women with children, the burden is acute, especially when the father is absent due to military-related work (Wertsch 1991). However, the military depends upon the daily cohesive work of female military parents, even while seemingly taking it for granted (Harrison and Laliberté 1994). Problems at home that have the potential to distract attention away from the mission threaten combat readiness.

The expectations for family cohesion and

other gendered aspects of the daily lives of military spouses results from socialization which encourages women to assume responsibility for creating and sustaining connections to others (Kaschak 1992; Miller 1986). Military wives report that they place high priority on activities which support family cohesion, especially when the father is absent due to military-related work. However, these activities are largely invisible and devalued, as are other aspects of their daily lives (Harrison and Laliberté 1994). This creates a gender hierarchy which systematically supports inequalities between military men and their spouses and leads to the subordination of the women. This experience with gender is not unique to military spouses. However, these women live with the socially constructed inequalities and subordination in a particularly acute way as the military co-opts and makes use of traditional gender ideologies to organize their lives.

Gender inequality also emerges from traditional military conceptions of masculinity. The military exaggerates notions of masculinity (Enloe 1983) to the extent that men are considered to be fundamentally different from women. This creates a "patriarchal dichotomy" (Harrison and Laliberté 1997) within the institution. This dichotomy sustains images of the tough male warrior and the supportive and dependent female spouse, images which prevail as ideological symbols of militarism (Weinstein and Mederer 1997). Furthermore, the emphasis on unit cohesion and the intolerance for "difference" exaggerates and amplifies the effects of gender stratification experienced by all women in our culture.

THE STUDY METHOD

A group of seven heterosexual women participated in this study. The male partners of these women were all deployed for a seven month period on a Canadian Navy destroyer serving in the Adriatic Sea as part of the United Nations peacekeeping force. The women were interviewed at three different points in time - before the ship left (pre-deployment), during the actual deployment and upon the return of the ship to home port (post-deployment). In this study, participating women maintained that pre-deployment work began two months before leave-taking and were therefore interviewed during this time. The post-deployment

interviews were conducted two months after the return of the ship, and although recovery and stabilization had transpired for some, for others this process was still ongoing.

The interviews were conducted in accordance with a pre-tested interview guide. The interviews were lengthy and intensive and were designed to elicit the daily practices and experiences of the women as they managed the cycle of deployment. Transcriptions of the interviews were reviewed and analysed thematically. The emergent relationships between various themes and sub-themes are the substance of this paper.

The research design also included a context in which the participants came together as a support group. The focus of each meeting was decided by participating group members, not by the researcher, although I, as researcher, did facilitate the meetings. One purpose of the support group was to use the dialogical process inherent in such a group as a means of gaining a deeper understanding of the women's experiences in relation to the deployment. Following each meeting, I recorded detailed field notes which were included in the analysis.

IDEOLOGY AND DEPLOYMENT FINDINGS

Family Cohesion and Unit Cohesion

Results of the study support the supposition that the enactment of practices associated with family cohesion can be articulated to practices embodying the overall military ideology of unit cohesion. The women indicated that as they enacted practices designed to keep their families together, they were also making a contribution to the ongoing cohesion of the "unit." For example, Charlotte explains:

Well...I guess if the families are not working well, then the guys on the ship can't do their job and that means that the military is affected seriously. Their job is to keep the peace or whatever and our job is to keep our families together...even though it is hard...but the two go together.

At some point in their socialization as

military wives, these women have learned that the military institution depends upon the smooth functioning of the family unit. As they learn to view practices associated with family cohesion as embodiments of unit cohesion and as they make the link between these practices and combat readiness, these women are, in effect, acknowledging that the overall unit only functions well if individual family units are also functioning well. They know that serving members, their husbands, cannot concentrate on the work of the institution if they are worried or distracted by family problems.

Self-Reliance

A number of women participating in the study affirmed that authority shifted from the male to the female partner during the course of the deployment. The women indicated that they learned to act in an independent and autonomous fashion, competently handling such familial and personal challenges as car repairs, repairs to household appliances, the illnesses of themselves and their children, financial problems, a miscarriage, the fears and anxieties of their children, their own fears about the dangers posed by the deployment, loneliness, despair, rumours of infidelity on the part of their deployed spouses and an event which resulted in the total loss of household possessions for one woman. In the following quote, Charlotte speaks about her miscarriage:

Well, things were getting really bad just before he [her husband] left. So the day before, I went to the doctor and he said it was happening and that it would take about three or four days...Anyway, Matt left while it was happening.... I told him I would be OK. I know I could have called the padre on the ship and said, you know, "could my husband stay home?...this is what is happening to me." But I really didn't think about that at the time. This deployment is too important to his career.

Charlotte's words are infused with a sense of stoic resolve as she discusses her miscarriage. Obviously, the ideological relevances surrounding this deployment have been absorbed and internalized not only by her husband, but by

Charlotte herself. At this time, she is making choices that support these military relevances, even when to choose otherwise might be of benefit to her. In so doing, Charlotte is enacting practices of accommodation.

If Charlotte had made the other choice resulting in her husband being sent home, the military would have incurred a substantial monetary as well as ideological cost. On the ideological level, to send her husband home would mean that the "unit" would be disrupted posing a threat to combat readiness. Therefore, in enacting accommodative practices, Charlotte's choice supports the interests, aims and objectives of the military institution.

Through the process of explicating concrete practices of accommodation as well as general coordinative and problem-solving work enacted by the women throughout the course of the deployment, I was able to discern a unifying theme associated with each of the practices. Specifically, it became apparent to me that these practices embody the ideology of self-reliance. In an effort to find out more about the extent to which female military partners are encouraged by the institution to be self-reliant, I introduced this topic at a number of support group meetings and I also discussed self-reliance with women in subsequent interviews. In particular, when Jane was asked about whether or not she believed that the military expected her to be self-reliant, she responded in the following way:

Oh for sure...they do expect you to handle anything that life throws at you, especially when he's away. It's too much for some girls, but the expectation is definitely there. If a guy in the military doesn't have a spouse who can handle everything, he's got a problem.

The importance of self-reliance was also apparent in the support group meetings as the women openly employed this quality as a criterion for assessing the behaviour of other military wives. This emerged as they discussed the ways in which other wives were handling the deployment. They regularly discussed how other women "were doing" - all the time using characteristics they associate with self-reliance as benchmarks. Evidently, the ideology of self-reliance is internalized within military wives to such an extent that it not only

affects their perceptions of self, but it also shapes how they view each other. From this, it is evident that wives are instrumental in reproducing the military culture, and, in so doing, are complicit in reinforcing and sustaining ideological imperatives of the military.

The assumption inherent in Jane's words that all female military partners must possess this trait works to trivialize efforts expended in the endeavour to be self-reliant. Instead of being considered as a set of practices requiring effort and skill that are acknowledged and valued as vital to the effective functioning of the military institution, self-reliance is merely presented as a trait that military wives ought to have. This works to denigrate and devalue the work involved and also hides from view its importance to the military institution (Harrison and Laliberté 1994).

Analysis of the words of the women participating in this study supports the claim that expectations regarding self reliance change during the post-deployment phase of the cycle. Charlotte describes these changes: "I learned through the deployment that I can go it alone so to speak. But now I have had to turn over the reins to him. And I really resent that...him wanting all of me again and being in charge of everything again."

Despite the apparent frustration and resentment associated with "turning over the reins," women participating in this study changed routines and habits to accommodate the wishes of their husbands during the post-deployment period. Some women also relinquished responsibility for household management, even when they managed these responsibilities very capably. Consequently, these women are living a life characterized by the bifurcation (Smith 1987) between their own self-development needs and the ideological priorities of the military.

MILITARY AS HAPPY FAMILY

Military family resource centres across the country instigated and facilitated the formation of networks for the wives of the sailors deployed at the beginning of the Gulf War. These networks acted to link the partners of deployed personnel to each other through social events and a telephone line. Sometimes the telephone line serves as a means of receiving support and assistance during the

deployment. The women who were part of the network attached to the unit forming the focus of this study used the telephone line to bring their concerns to the senior officer's spouse coordinating the network. This woman decided which of the problems were channelled up through the military system, and as such, acted as a gatekeeper. The spouse of a senior officer is in a good position to fulfill this role given that she is able to access other levels of the military institution. Essentially then, the gatekeeping practices enacted in coordinating networks mediate the everyday worlds of female military partners experiencing the cycle of deployment and the military institution.

Although significant, gatekeeping practices are about more than mediation. Results of this study support the idea that such practices also embody the relations of ruling (Smith 1987) that are so vital to the way that the military institution does its work and accomplishes its objectives. It is doubtful that the wife of a serving member positioned differently within the hegemonic structure of the military would be able to assume leadership of the network and all that this role entails. However, the partners of senior officers are aptly suited for the job given their relative ease of access to the power structures within the institution. Indeed, it appears that the ranking structure that systemizes and orders the work and perspectives of serving members is transposed to the environment and experiences of the female military partners.

As women participating in the study discussed their experiences with networking, it is possible to gain an understanding that networks function to reinforce bonds which are similar to family bonds. This is evocative of the military ideology discussed previously as the "military as happy family" ideology (Harrison and Laliberté 1994). The tendency to portray the military as an unflinchingly supportive "family" fosters acquiescence to some of the less palatable realities of military life. Any sacrifices or frustrations that have to be endured in the interests of the military institution are that much more endurable if military family members know that the military will always be there for them.

CONTRADICTIONARY IDEOLOGIES

Through the analysis of particular practices

embodying military ideologies within the context of this study, significant contradictions emerged. For example, with respect to the practices associated with the ideology of self-reliance, it was possible to glean a picture of these women as strong, resourceful and independent in the face of both day-to-day difficulties as well as more traumatic circumstances. The words of the participating women also illuminate how such practices support and sustain the related ideology of combat readiness.

However, when one compares practices of self-reliance with those embodying the ideologies of "military as happy family" and unit cohesion, a discrepancy emerges. It seems as if on the one hand, the military expects and reinforces self-reliance, but on the other hand, also fosters dependence upon the military community as evidenced by practices embodying the "military as happy family" ideology in particular. This raises the question of whether or not female military partners are aware of such contradictions, and if so, how they handle them. Upon raising these queries as topics for discussion at a support group meeting, it was possible to see that participating women know that they were expected to be both dependent and independent. They intimated that the military does indeed expect them to be self-reliant, but that they knew that they "can only take this so far." This means that self-reliance is only encouraged and reinforced to the extent that it is compatible with the ideological priorities of the military. As long as self-reliance supports and upholds the ideological imperative of combat readiness, it is encouraged. Otherwise, it endangers it. The limits to self-reliance are imposed from within the institution, often by the military spouses themselves who are socialized to act as agents for the reproduction of military culture. Military spouses learn to walk the tightrope that demarks the place where self-reliance is ideologically relevant. Their socialization within the institution which amplifies gender hierarchies present in the lives of all women in our culture helps them to recognize that place and walk accordingly.

Despite the ideological significance of self-reliance, a paradox emerges from the analysis of the relationship between this ideology and the "military as happy family" ideology. Women participating in the support group meetings attested

that the institution also expects female military partners to rely upon it as part of the "family." Evidently, female military partners are expected to manage the ideological paradoxes that pervade their lives. They are expected to discern when it is appropriate to practise self-reliance and when to engage in practices embodying the "military as happy family" ideology. That they manage this process means that institutional cues must be present within their everyday worlds in a particularly intense way. Undoubtedly, sensitivity to these cues and the compliance with military ideologies inherent in responding to them in an institutionally appropriate fashion requires a certain amount of daily and ongoing work. This also reinforces an essential dependence upon the institution thereby sustaining the relations of ruling (Smith 1987) and unit cohesion so fundamental to combat readiness.

Contradictory ideologies also emerge upon analysis of other aspects of the deployment experience. A number of women experiencing psychological stress or physical illnesses during the deployment noted that their difficulties were unacknowledged by the military even when these difficulties were disclosed through the network. In comparison, when Darlene lost her household possessions, the military "family" rallied around and came to her aid. This contrasting response raises the question of whether or not the military is reluctant to acknowledge emotional fragilities and vulnerabilities associated with deployment. But does this not run counter to the ideology of the military as a "happy family"? Do not "families" help care for those in difficulty?

The paradox which emerges when one compares the institutional responses to Darlene's circumstances and the lack of response to other difficulties such as emotional stress or illness associated with the deployment experience implies that the "happy family" ideology is only enacted when the military institution can benefit as well. Replacing household goods in the aftermath of a catastrophic event reflects well on the military. This kind of activity helps to bolster the image of the military, something that is particularly important at this time when the institution is on the receiving end of a considerable amount of public criticism.

Reflecting on this leads me to conclude that this particular ideology is only activated within

the everyday world when the military desires or needs the benefits accrued by the image of a bountiful, caring and generous institution. As far as the military members and their families are concerned, however, the application of this ideology within their lives binds these individuals ever more tightly to the institution.

CONCLUSION

Through this study, the work that is involved on the part of female military partners in the accomplishment of deployment is displayed. Bringing this daily labour into view is a corrective to the invisibility of actual work processes in most previous studies of military wives. Instead of producing accounts of the experiences of military wives that fall away along a "line of fault" (Smith 1987) separating what women know about their daily lives and what ideological forms of expression claim to be "knowable," this study has recovered and revealed the daily practices that serves to accomplish deployment.

The everyday practices implicated in the accomplishment of deployment embody military and gender ideologies. In relation to military ideologies, the daily work of the women participating in the study is both constituted by and constitutive of these ideologies. This means that the work of the institution is accomplished through the coordination and organization of practices enacted by these women within the everyday world. Concomitantly, these practices are ordered in accordance with the ideological priorities of the institution. Ideologies of gender in society link with particular military ideologies. The military institution co-opts traditional gender ideologies to organize the lives of these women. As a result, military wives exemplify the gender hierarchies embedded in society. Moreover, the explication of practices which "work them out and work them in" brings into view the paradoxical character of the gender and military ideologies embedded in the daily lives of military spouses.

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