Emotional Expression and Adjustment of Adolescents Who Have Experienced a Military Parent Deployed

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Abstract

Gender is a context by which males and females are socialized. Social stereotypes based on gender influence emotional expressions. This study examined the emotional expression and adjustment of male and female adolescents who have experienced military deployment. Group interviews were held and transcripts were analyzed for gender differences in frequency and adherence to social display rules. The relationship of emotional expression and adjustment was also analyzed. Findings support the existence of gender differences in frequency of emotional expression, specifically that males had lower frequency of emotional expression in the interview. However, this study did not support adherence to social display rules. Males and females in the study expressed emotions that were both typical and atypical of display rules. Gender differences in adjustment were not found in this study. Clinical implications, limitations to research, and future research suggestions are also given.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Gender intensification suggests that adolescents not only identify with their gender, but conform more intensely to gender roles and stereotypes (J. P. Hill & Lynch, 1983). In terms of emotional expression, adolescent boys tend to express less emotion than adolescent females according to gender stereotypes and display rules. Relationships between emotional expression, adjustment and mental health have been reported in civilian contexts. This paper will examine the relationship between emotional expression and adjustment among adolescents who have experienced a military parental deployment to an active combat zone. Following will be an explanation of the problem and its setting, significance, theoretical framework, rationale and purpose of the study.

The questions that this research will address are:

1. Are their gender differences in the frequency of emotional words used in the interviews?
2. Are their gender differences in the types of emotional words that are used by the adolescents?
3. What is the relationship (if any) between the amount of emotional words used and adjustment?

Problem and setting

When a child is born, one of the first questions that people ask is, “What is it?” The “it” that they are referring to is the sex or gender of the child. Differences between sex and gender are differences between biology and social constructs. When people ask the “What is it?” question, they want to know how to interact with the child, which is influenced by its sex or gender.

In a story by Lois Gould (1972), "X: A Fabulous Child," a child is born into a family and nobody knows what the child's sex or gender is except the parents. Any time a person asks, "What kind of baby is it?" The parents reply, "It's an X." This discourages people and causes them to think that something is wrong with the child. For the people with whom the child interacts, knowing whether or not it is a boy or a girl plays a major role in how they treat the child. The parents make a special effort to keep the sex of the child secret as a type of social experiment.

The story examines the difficulty that others have in knowing exactly how to interact with the child, X. There are no outward signs like clothing or hair styles that make it clear to others the child's gender--whether or not the child is a boy or a girl. Not knowing the gender of the child makes it unclear for those who interacted with X as to what games the child should play, what other children X should play with, or what is appropriate behavior for X to have.

Gould's story may not make the sex or gender of the child clear, but what it does make clear is how gender plays a large role in shaping how people interact with each other. As Crawford (1995) states, "The process of creating gendered human beings starts at birth….The pink or blue blanket that soon enfolds the baby represents gender. The blanket serves as a cue that this infant is to be treated as boy or girl, not as a 'generic human,' from the start"(p.13).

Gender identity begins at an early age as a social construct within a family and in interactions with the models around a child. A child begins to identify with his/her own gender around three years old (Slaby & Frey, 1975). Around this age is the time when a child recognizes differences between how his/her friends act. A child will begin to

identify with one of the genders and will generally be socialized through this gender lens throughout his/her lives. This gender identification solidifies for most children around middle childhood, ages six or seven (Egan & Perry, 2001). Throughout the developmental process and gender identification, rules for how boys and girls act and show emotion are taught and learned. Some of these rules influence how the child expresses emotion.

As a child grows older, gender and identity continue to influence the life of the adolescent. Adolescence begins with the onset of puberty and spans the changing life of an individual until maturation. During this time, a number of changes take place. Some of these changes are physiological—changes that accompany puberty such as body growth, maturation of reproductive organs, and changes in hormones. In addition to these physical changes, cognitive and social changes also develop (see Erikson's psychosocial theory and Piaget's Cognitive Development theory in Berk, 2004; Piaget, 1952). The ability to think abstractly develops which influences how the adolescent views and interacts with the world around them.

Social development creates changes in relationships as well. The process of individuation and separation from the parents begins and the influence of friends becomes more central in terms of social support (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992; Jones & Costin, 1995). The sense of gaining an identity begins to intensify. Some researchers have explained this as "gender intensification," meaning as adolescents continue in their development, they move closer towards the gender-typed norms of masculinity and femininity. Hill and Lynch (1983) suggest that this move towards gender-typed roles and characteristics is due to peer interactions and socialization pressures. Meeting these

cultural expectations and social pressures is particularly prominent at adolescence (Basow, Rubin, Johnson, Roberts, & Worell, 1999). These developmental changes and experiences are part of maturation and aging process.

In addition to these normative experiences and tasks, non-normative stressors can complicate adolescence as well. Adolescents whose parents are in the military often encounter non-normative stressors. In addition to frequent moves, adolescents in military families also experience times when a parent or both parents are deployed for military duty. Wiens and Boss (2006) explain that deployments are "one of the most widely recognized and documented stressors for military families" (p.13). Active military deployments to Iraq and Afghanistan have fluctuated from nearly 300,000 in March of 2003 (the beginning of Operation Iraqi Freedom), to nearly 200,000 in 2005 and 2006. The numbers from 2005 and 2006 combine the active military personnel from both theaters, Operation Iraqi Freedom in Iraq and Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan. The troop surge between 2006 and 2007 increased the number of soldiers deployed in both operations. From the last report of June 30, 2008, the Department of Defense reported nearly 215,000 troops engaged in active military duty in those two Operations (Center, 2008). With the number of troops still deployed in active military duty, the stress on the families left behind is still being felt.

Each family member of a deployed soldier is affected by the deployment in various ways (Amen, Jellen, Merves, & Lee, 1988; Huebner & Mancini, 2005; Jensen, Lewis, & Xenakis, 1986; Jensen, Martin, & Watanabe, 1996; Jensen, Shaw, Ursano, & Norwood, 1996). The spouse remaining at home has a new role in the family, basically functioning as a single parent. The added stress on the "single" parent, compounded by

the reality that a spouse is in a possible combat situation, can bring more stress on the spouse of a deployed service member. Researchers find that the adjustment of the parent left at home impacts the adjustment and stress on the rest of the family.

Children also have a difficult time with having a parent deployed (Amen et al., 1988; Ender, 2006; Huebner & Mancini, 2005; Huebner, Mancini, Wilcox, Grass, & Grass, 2007; Jensen, Martin et al., 1996; Jensen, Shaw et al., 1996). Researchers find that children are affected in a number of ways, both positively and negatively, to having a parent deployed. Some children are able to respond well with resilience and strength. On the other hand, along with feelings of sadness, fear, anxiety, and guilt, the feelings of separation from a loved one can be very stressful for some children.

Adolescents often feel stress when a parent is deployed. Extra responsibilities and roles may be added to the already stressful experience of adolescence. Teens may also have difficulty with the ambiguity of having a parent deployed (Huebner et al., 2007). This uncertainty about the situation that they are in can lead an adolescent to different feelings and behaviors that may or may not be helpful in adjusting to and coping with having a parent deployed.

In attempts to understand the experience of deployment for the different members of the military family, researchers provide pieces to a complex, multi-contextual puzzle. Gender is one piece of the puzzle that has traditionally received little attention in research on deployment. Although some research shows that young boys have a more difficult time with having a parent deployed than young girls, seemingly little has been done to examine similar gender differences in adolescence.

Significance

Families will likely continue to deal with deployments to active combat zones for some time. With the troop surge for the Iraq War in 2007, and the continued fight against global terrorism, military families will continue to experience separations due to deployment for some length of time. These deployments impact each member of the military family. Understanding how the family members adjust to having a loved one absent on military service is important for providing appropriate support services for each member of the military family members. Different parts of the family are studied—spouse and children—as well as different subsets within those groups—younger children and adolescents. Continuation of these studies will lend professionals more information to provide support.

As helping professionals work with military families, cultural competence is gained and the professional understands more of the experience of each member of the military family. Gender is a context that can help create a more specific type of competence—an understanding that the differences between genders may necessitate different strategies in working with males and females. In addition, with the varying ages of military family members, different strategies may be helpful for particular members of the military family, namely adolescents.

Rationale

This study will explore the verbal emotional expression of adolescents who have experienced a parental military deployment. Relationships between emotional expression and adjustment will also be examined. Understanding more about gender differences, particularly in emotional expression can help professionals work with adolescents of both

genders. Although research has been conducted that examines coping, adjustment, and attachment issues with adolescents from military families, this study will broaden the research to include issues of gender.

This study will analyze data gathered through focus group interviews with adolescents. Focus groups are a useful tool in research because they provide a forum with which to understand the experience from multiple participants at the same time (Kress & Shoffner, 2007). Although focus groups routinely have small sample sizes, they provide opportunity for more people to be interviewed at one time. If multiple focus groups are held, the chance to see how participants respond across groups can help to counteract the small sample sizes.

With focus groups, participants are able to share their experiences in their own words, as in an interview. The group format with other adolescents in a similar life experience can provide a safe setting for some adolescents who would not feel comfortable with a one-on-one interview. The group setting provides the opportunity to clarify answers to questions asked by the interviewer. The ideas that are raised in the focus group can help to stimulate conversation that may or may not have happened without some of the positive group encouragement.

Theoretical framework

Emotion theory provides a framework for this study. The study of emotion and the human experience dates at least as far back as Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals* (1872). Since then, researchers have been engaged in learning and trying to understand human emotion, how it is elicited, processed and displayed. For this study emotion regulation, a model that stems from the basis of

emotion theory, gives a structure for understanding the process of how emotions are generated and how people respond to them. For this study, the emotionally generative event is the experience of having a parent deployed to military combat duty. The adolescent's experience of/response to the event of deployment were the focus of this study. Specifically, the words that were used by the adolescents when describing their experience were analyzed along with any relationship to the adolescent's adjustment to having a parent deployed.

Purpose

The purpose of the current study is to examine the language used by adolescents in sharing their experience about having a parent deployed in the military. As mentioned previously, gender is a very fundamental piece of identity in the lives of human beings. Identity through gender begins early in life and some researchers believe intensifies at adolescence. With intensification toward more strict stereotypical gender behaviors, the assumption would be that gender differences would be evident in the expression of the adolescents being studied. Do adolescents in military families conform to gender stereotypes of emotional expression as researchers suggest? Are their relationships between emotional expression and adolescent's adjustment to having a parent deployed?

Along with understanding adolescents who are experiencing a deployed parent, this study also endeavors to further the knowledge base of understanding gender differences in emotional expression. As the similarities and differences among genders are clarified, ways to provide gender specific service for adolescents may be made more evident as well. If males and females express themselves differently, perhaps particular programs may be better suited for the adolescent based on their gender.

This study hopes to accomplish a variety of tasks. First, by studying the language used by adolescents who are a part of military families, this study attempts to further the knowledge base of emotional expression and understanding. Brody (1997) argues that gender differences of emotional expression are culturally specific. Examining the military family culture will expand the research to include military families. Second, this study hopes to further the research in gender and emotional expression of adolescents by exploring gender intensification theory or possibly encouraging further research. The hypothesis was that gender intensification would be supported by the data. Boys and girls would express their emotions in conformity to gender stereotypes by describing their experiences of having a parent deployed. It was anticipated boys would show lower levels of adjustment than girls due to their lower amounts of expression of emotion. It was also anticipated that lower levels of adjustment would related to less emotional expressiveness.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This literature review will explore some of the current and salient research on emotional expression. First, emotion theory and emotional regulation will be described in more detail. Second, research on emotional expression will be presented beginning with gender differences in emotional expression followed by familiar contexts (family, friends) and their influence on emotional expression

Emotion Research

Emotions and emotion theory. Levenson (1994) provides one explanation of emotions and what they do for us. He explains: "Emotions are short-lived psychological-physiological phenomena that

> represent efficient modes of adaptation to changing environmental demands. Psychologically, emotions alter attention, shift certain behaviors upward in response hierarchies, and activate relevant associative networks in memory. Physiologically, emotions rapidly organize the responses of disparate biological systems including facial expression, somatic muscular tonus, voice tone, autonomic nervous system activity, and endocrine activity to produce a bodily milieu that is optimal for effective response. Emotions serve to establish our position vis-a-vis our environment, pulling us toward certain people, objects, actions and ideas, and pushing us away from others. Emotions also serve as a repository for innate and learned influences, possessing certain invariant features, and others that show considerable variation across individuals, groups, and cultures" (p. 123).

This explanation provides insight into the multiple contexts and systems that emotion and emotional expression influence. Biological systems, cognitive systems, and even social systems are all influenced by emotions.

Emotion regulation. Levenson's (1994) definition of emotion presents the idea of an adaptive process for a person in regards to changing environmental conditions. He explains that multiple networks are activated to help a person know how to respond in certain situations. How a person responds when they are feeling joy, sadness, anger, fear, can be helpful or hurtful to that person. Imagine a person who, when feeling joy, responds by jumping up and down and shouting with excitement. In some situations and environments, this response behavior may be perfectly appropriate and acceptable. In others, however, this response may be detrimental. How a person regulates their emotion and their display of the emotion is an important process to understand.

Gross has done extensive research and has been one of the leaders in the field. His recent *Handbook of Emotion Regulation* (Gross, 2007) gives evidence of the influx of attention that emotion regulation has received in research literature. From one citation of emotion regulation before 1981, to over 2,000 citations in between 2001 and 2005, researchers have shown great interest in elucidating this topic.

Levenson (1999) suggests a process model of emotion regulation. His is a two-system design that incorporates ideas from previous theories. As an event (antecedent) takes place, the fundamental/core system of emotion processes the event and connects the event to an emotion, nearly automatically. The response from that "'situation-emotion' pair" generally aligns with our innate desire for personal well-being or survival, making the response almost automatic as well. Some responses are typical for the emotions that

are elicited and there are various elements for how a person responds. These elements of response include physiological processes, cognitive processes, expressions, actions and behaviors. The process leads from the antecedent to a response almost automatically.

For example, if a car were to be traveling toward us, the processing would match the prototypical "danger" situation and would attach the emotion of fear. Our reaction would then be to get out of the way of the speeding vehicle to preserve our life. In addition to the motor skills involved in jumping out of the path of the car, other elements of response may include an increased heart rate, heightened awareness of surroundings, and possibly a startle response on the face.

Levenson (1999) describes a second, more advanced and intricate control system where emotions can be regulated based on a similar process to that core system. This system inputs an antecedent, scans it to see if it matches one of the prototypical situations, but rather than automatically going to the response, an appraisal of the situation happens. The person can inhibit or enhance the response and behaviors based off of different desired outcomes or common rules of behavior. From appraisal to response, the control system can regulate emotion. According to the author, emotion regulation is a lifelong process of balance between allowing the core system to perform its emotional functions while also allowing the control system to manage some of those emotions.

Gross's (1998) model of emotion regulation is somewhat different than Levenson's (1999). Gross suggests that emotion regulation can happen at any time during the emotion generation process, not just during appraisal to response. Gross (1998) suggests five different strategies for emotion regulation. Each of these strategies

is connected with a step of the emotion generation process. The five strategies will be briefly explained, with more emphasis on the fifth strategy, response modulation, as it relates to this study.

The first strategy Gross (1998) suggests is the situation selection strategy (p.238). Referring back to Levenson's (1994) explanation of emotion, emotions tend to help us to understand relationships—whether to go towards or away from people, places, or things. The situation selection strategy works in conjunction with this idea, helping people towards people, places, or things that will be more likely to elicit a positive emotional experience.

The second emotion regulation strategy is situation modification (Gross, 1998, p. 283). This strategy is similar to the first, but happens as a situation is taking place. A direct modification of a situation takes place in order to change the predicted emotional experience. Gross uses the example of getting a flat tire on the way to a work meeting as a creation of a situation. The situation can be modified by changing the meeting to a telephone conference, so as to change the possible emotional experience of anger.

Attentional deployment is the third strategy Gross suggests (1998, p. 284). This strategy takes place as attention is given during a situation that is eliciting an emotional response. A person's focus of attention can change without having to change the environment like the first two strategies. A person can use distraction, concentration, or rumination to focus their attention in a different way during an event to change the emotional experience.

During the appraisal phase of an emotion eliciting situation, cognitive change is a strategy that Gross explains (Gross, 1998, p. 284). Appraisal is the point in the process

where we make meaning out of the experience or the emotion. Cognitive change refers to the ability to change our appraisal of a situation. Whether or not a person believes that they can manage the situation is part of the appraisal process. Cognitive change suggests that this process can indeed be changed, thus eliciting a different emotional response. Gross explains that "defenses such as denial, isolation and intellectualization" all fall under this category (p. 284).

The fifth strategy, response modulation, happens at the end of the emotional situation, connected to the response (Gross, 1998, p. 285). Gross explains that "response modulation refers to directly influencing physiological, experiential, or behavioral responding" (p. 285). A person can decrease their heart rate by using relaxation techniques, exercise to increase endorphins when sad, or even use drugs to modify their emotional experience. Gross suggests that another common form of response modulation is regulation of emotion-expressive behavior. Because the adolescents in this study were interviewed after the situation of having their parent deployed, it is upon this section that the analysis will take place. The adolescent's verbal expression of the experience of having a parent deployed is their response to an emotional experience.

Emotion regulation provides a solid framework for this study in a number of ways. First, because this study is focusing on the verbal expression of the adolescents, we are analyzing the response to an emotional experience. In addition, various display rules which influence those responses are at play for the adolescents in this study. Although not examining the causes of or actual processing for the adolescents, we will attempt to explore the relationship between the observable response from the adolescents and their adjustment to having a parent deployed in military combat.

Emotional Expression Research

Gender differences. An abundance of research exists that supports the idea of gender differences in emotional expression. The breadth of the research shows that males and females express emotions differently. There are even studies that show gender differences in instant messaging communication on computers (Fox, Bukatko, Hallahan, & Crawford, 2007). Brody's (1985) review of gender differences is cited in multiple studies as a definitive explanation that gender differences exist. In this review, Brody points out that there are various explanations for gender differences in emotion and emotion expression. She reviews ideas that suggest there may be biological reasons for gender differences as well as suggests that there are several other contexts that influence how emotion is expressed.

Another review of research by Guerrero, Jones, Boburka, Dindia, and Canary's (2006) also supports the multi-contextual influence on gender differences in emotional expression. The socialization that takes place for males and females are different, a conclusion evidenced in both reviews. Both reviews support the claim that males are socialized to inhibit and restrict their emotional expression, and that they are taught to be less verbal but more instrumentally expressive. Females are socialized to express emotion verbally, to maintain relationships, and to seek after social support. Gender specific socialization is a major piece to understanding emotional expression. Gender differences exist for a variety of reasons, as these reviews suggest, because multiple contexts influence and perpetuate differences through socialization based on gender.

One of the shortcomings of much of the research on emotional expression is that many studies often target children and adults as their sample populations for research.

Adolescents seem to be an under-represented population in research on emotional expression. An attempt to find studies that involved adolescents yielded very few articles. Therefore, articles found in a literature search specific to adolescents as well as a few articles that were included due to their sample's proximity to adolescence (10 and 11 year olds as well as late adolescents, 17,18, and 19) are presented.

Familiar contexts: parents, family and friends In an attempt to understand the relationship of parental influence and emotional expression, Balswick and Avertt (1977) examined emotional expression and perceived parental expressiveness of a sample of 523 college students. Participants in this study were asked to answer questionnaires regarding their personal emotional expressivity and their perceptions of their parents' emotional expressions. Results from this study demonstrated gender and parental expressiveness were strong factors in explaining the emotional expressiveness of the participants. As the authors state, "Parents are the key socializers of their children; it can be expected that their personality will be reflected in their children. Our evidence suggests that expressive children come from expressive parents, or at the very least, from parents who are perceived as expressive" (p. 126). Children learn from their parents how to express emotion. In this study, the parents of the adolescents are in the military, a very masculine, traditional gender role culture.

In another study regarding parental influence on 1st, 4th, and 6th grade children, Fuchs and Thelen (1988) examined the expected outcome of children expressing their emotions to a parent. In regards to expression of males and females, no sex differences were found in overall expression until 6th grade; at this grade data suggested females expressed emotion more than males. Results also indicated that as age progressed, males

were less likely to express emotions—6th graders were less likely to express emotion than 4th graders, and 4th graders were less likely to express emotion than 1st graders. For both males and females, researchers reported that children were more likely to express their emotions to their mothers. In terms of socialization, data from this study suggests that females were discouraged from expressing anger, while boys were discouraged from expressing sadness. This socialization was within the parent-child relationship context.

The authors of this study support the multiple contextual influences of socializations as well. Speaking of gender display rules Fuchs and Thelen said, "While these rules may be transmitted initially by parents, they are likely to be shaped and reinforced throughout childhood by other individuals, including teachers and peers " (1988, p. 1321). Fuchs and Thelen support the idea that gender display rules are based on the sex of a child. For males, decreased amounts of emotional expression were indicated as year in school increased. This trend is consistent with gender intensification for males, specifically that males conform to gender stereotypes of restricted emotional expression.

In a longitudinal study, Bronstein, Briones, Brooks, and Cowan (1996) examined the socialization of emotion in families. This study originally began by examining the emotional expressivity of families of 5th graders. Results from the beginning stages of the study suggest that families who were more emotionally expressive and accepting of emotions aided their 5th grade children in transitioning into middle school. Likewise emotionally expressive families acted as a buffer against psychological, behavioral and social problems. Follow up to the original data checked for the effects of consistency of socialization over time and how that socialization effected the emotional expression of the late adolescents, the same sample of 5th graders at the end of their 12th grade year. Of

the 43 children that participated in the first wave of the study, 40 participated in the second wave as well. Results from the longitudinal data are consistent with gender differences in emotional expression—girls were more expressive than boys overall. As Brody's (1985) review suggests, children are socialized differently—which is reported in Bronstein, et al (1996) as well. Girls in this sample reported feeling more emotional support from their parents and family than did the boys in the sample.

Males and females differed in how they experienced and dealt with certain emotions. These differences were also present in the findings from second wave of the Bronstien, et al.(1996) study, the late adolescent interview. Findings revealed females talked about their fear to alleviate it, whereas boys worked to change situations or problem solve, keeping the fear to themselves. Distraction was also coping mechanism reported by males. This is consistent with stereotypical display rules as the females in the study dealt with emotion in a relational way, whereas boys seem to work on and cope with their fear on their own. In regards to anger, no significant differences were reported in the frequency of feeling the emotion, but gender differences were evident in the ways boys and girls dealt with the emotion. According to the authors, over half of both groups reported that they talk about their anger to someone else, a smaller portion mentioned raising their voices or yelling, and a smaller portion said that they would not say anything. Over a third of the boys in the study mentioned they would act out behaviorally with insults or violence, whereas no girls reported they would act likewise. Gender differences were evident in expressions of warmth and affection. 88% of the girls in this study report that they often showed warmth or affection to friends, whereas only 47% of males reported this. Results from this study are generally consistent with

social display rules. However, children who expressed emotions that were atypical of social display rules reported feeling more accepted in families who with high support. In addition, positive relationships were found between adolescent emotional expression and overall social and psychological adjustment. The more children were able to express, the higher the overall social and psychological adjustment was reported. This study also investigates relationships between emotional expression and adjustment.

Fuchs and Thelen's (1988) study highlighted the familial context and also reported on peer interactions. Peer interactions are an important part of adolescence, as explained earlier. Generally the amount of social support given by peers increases with age (Furman & Buhrmester, 1992; Jones & Costin, 1995). It is likely that the talk between peers reflect some of this influence. Rafaelli and Duckett (1989) studied the talk of young adolescents. Their research showed that as adolescents increased the amount of time they spent in talking with their peers, the amount of time they spent talking with their family or parents seemed to stay the same. Interesting to note, male affect seemed to decrease as age increased, suggesting that the amount of emotion reported in conversations with friends decreased as age increased. This study focused on participants who were the earlier ages of adolescence. In regards to gender stereotypical expression—namely how girls communicated about and participated in talk that was geared towards social relationship building while boys continued to participate in communications about instrumental-type activity and task orientations. Will these types of gender stereotypes be existent in this study? Given that the interviews are in mixed groups with same age peers, it may be that the adolescents in this study will feel social support for expressing their experience.

Larger contexts: military culture, societal display rules. Military families have been a focus of study for many years (R. Hill, 1949). As the make up of the traditional armed services shifted and men started making careers in the military, the benefits and burdens put on the military family have been explored by researchers. Few studies have been conducted with adolescents from military families. However, fairly recent studies have highlighted some of the unique characteristics and experiences that adolescents face by being in a military family culture, (see Segal, 1989).

In their report to the Military Family Research Institute, Huebner and Mancini (2005) examined adjustment issues for adolescents who have had parents deployed for military service. Interviews of adolescents explored the various stages of deployment and their impact on the adolescents. In addition to the life changes, the emotional experiences of the adolescents were studied. Huebner and Mancini focused on the use of various support systems/strategies that the adolescents used during the different phases of deployment. One aspect not reported was gender differences in the answers that were given to the interview questions. Are males and females similar to each other in what supports they use? Are there differences in the types of expression between males and females?

The adolescents in this study live and operate not only in a military culture where traditional gender stereotypes have and still exist (see Segal, 1989) but they also live in a more broad society which influences how adolescents learn, live, and grow. Various studies show the impact of societal trends or rules for males and females and how they express emotion.

For example, Saarni (1979) investigated children's use of emotional display rules. 60 school-aged children were interviewed regarding social interactions that elicited emotions. The answers revealed that children were not only aware of their emotions, but often chose to display those emotions according to socially prescribed display rules. As the children increased in age, their use of display rules increased as well as their ability to show an emotion that was socially appropriate even if it was not the emotion that they were feeling. Interestingly, the boys and girls in this study shared different reasons for choosing their emotional displays. Females chose to maintain appropriate interpersonal relationships more than males across each age group. Males chose to maintain social norms more than females. This study is one of the most often cited studies in literature on sex and gender differences in emotional expression. It is a groundbreaking study that suggests children have the cognitive ability to understand contexts and situations where emotional expression could maintain, damage, or elevate their social situations. These findings seem to fit well into the model of emotion regulation. Emotional display response comes after appraisal and through a filter of social display rules.

Fabes and Martin (1991) studied gender stereotypes in relation to emotional experience and expression. They were particularly interested in understanding more about age and gender differences in experience and expression. Results suggest socially prescribed ideas in how different ages and genders display emotion. When analyzing the data, Fabes and Martin (1991) found that, based on the perceptions of the participants, both males and females seem to experience and express basic emotions (fear, anger, sadness, happiness, surprise, and love) more than they experience or express non-basic emotions (more complex emotions such as depression). Non-basic emotions increased in

frequency as age increased. Another difference found in this study is that adolescents seemed to express less emotion than both children and adults. Results show that females expressed, but not necessarily experienced, both basic and non-basic emotions significantly more than males. Females are also perceived to express fear more often than males, particularly in adolescence. This trend of expressing more fear and sadness fits with gendered stereotypes of emotional expression. Because data from this study are based on perceptions of emotional expression for different ages and sexes, it supports the views that are held for gender display rules. The influence of stereotypical emotional expression creates the social 'norm' about how to express emotions for different ages as well as different sexes. Rather than rely on the perceptions of adults regarding emotional expression, this study will relies on the data produced by adolescents themselves to explore their use of emotional expression

Polce-Lynch, Myers, Kliewer, and Kilimartin (2001) examined adolescent self-esteem and gender. Using cross-sectional design, researchers explored age and gender patterns across the span of adolescence. 209 students (93 males, 116 females) from seven private religious schools were given self-report questionnaires concerning their self-esteem and how various influences impacted their report of self-esteem. One of the predictor variables of self-esteem was emotional expression. Researchers found main effects for gender, stating that based on the self-report items, boys reported more emotional restriction than girls in emotional expression. In addition, results indicated that emotional expression became more restricted for boys as they aged, and girls became more expressive as they aged. The researchers suggest that these findings were likely a reflection of "culturally prescribed norms regarding gender display rules" (p.240).

In a related study, Polce-Lynch, Myers, Kilmartin, Forssmann-Falck and Kliewer (1998) performed qualitative research to examine more about emotional expression, self-esteem, and body image across adolescence. Using the same population as the previously reviewed study, the participants were given surveys with four open-ended questions where they wrote in their responses. The question, "Is it easy or hard to tell others about your feelings—tell why" relates particularly to emotional expression (Polce-Lynch et al., 1998, p. 1029) . The results of this qualitative study mirrored the results of the quantitative data previously (see Polce-Lynch et al., 2001) reported. Results from this study revealed that boys were generally less expressive with emotions than girls; and that as age increased, expressivity decreased for males while increasing for females. In addition, the researchers examined the overall process the children used to answer the questions as emotional expression—not just the words that they used, but how they responded. The data revealed that females used more words in expressing answers to the questions than did their male counterparts in each of the three grade groups. Expression of emotion in this study may be similar. Girls may be more expressive than males. If so, this may be in part to gender intensification, the social prescription to be more like masculine males and feminine females.

Anderson and Leaper (1998) and Leaper conducted a study using conversation dyads between friends to understand more about "emotion talk". The authors defined emotion talk as "the actual words and emotion terms people use" (p. 420). Suggesting that the context of friendship may influence the type of emotion that was expressed, friendship pairs, which consisted of same-gendered pairs (male with another male, female with another female) and mixed-gendered pairs (males with females) were observed and

taped having conversations with each other. Participants were first given the directive to have a five minute conversation on any topic they chose to discuss. Another five minutes were given to the pairs with the directive to discuss a specific topic that researchers targeted as an emotion eliciting experience. Researchers found that in the unstructured conversation, neither sex expressed much emotion. When they analyzed the self-disclosure discussions, both males and females used much more emotion talk. This finding differs from the commonly held belief about gender differences in ability do express emotion. The males in the study used just as much emotion talk as did the females. Given the directive, one would imagine that emotion talk would increase for both sexes, but how much emotional disclosure could be mediated by the context or closeness of the friendship. The results show that experience of emotion and expression of emotion are two different items. Socially, the expression of emotion according to gender display rules imposes upon both males and females to express, not experience, emotions in certain ways. It is anticipated that responses by the males and females in the current study will be consistent with the gender display rules.

O'Kearney and Dadds (2004) examined the use of emotion language in a study of adolescents in Australia. They were particularly interested in changes across adolescence in the nature of the language used, the changes that may take place with age, and gender differences. The participants for the study were adolescents from two secondary schools in Brisbane, Australia. The sample was in three cohorts based on grade in school. In all, 303 youth participated in this study. The sample consisted of 182 females and 121 males ranging in age from 12-18 years. As with other studies, affect-eliciting vignettes were used to target specific emotion experiences. In this study fear and anger were used. The

instruction for the participants was to listen to an audio recording of each vignette. After the vignette was presented, the adolescents were asked to write down their response to three questions regarding the vignette. The three questions used were, "(a) Describe how you felt. *'I felt…'*; (b) What was making you feel that way? *'I felt that way because…'*; and (c) What were your feelings about? *'I was feeling that way about…'*" (p. 919). Responses to the questions to each vignette were transcribed and edited for misspelled words. The responses were broken into measurable units which were analyzed. These researchers found that there were age-related differences or developments. As age increased, the ability to have more varied and complex representations of emotion increased. In this study, the fear vignette most exemplified these differences. The results reported that as age increased, so did the variability in references as to what caused their emotions. The data reports that as age increases the amount of references to external causation for the emotion occurs for both boys and girls. Though the authors did not examine why this finding was occurring, they posited that gender stereotypical display rules were a possible explanation; using situational avoidance in the face of undesired emotional experiences was noted as an explanation as well.

Findings in this study are relatively consistent with gender display rules. For example, this study found that girls were more fluent in their verbal emotional referents than boys. Similar to Anderson and Leaper's (1998) study, the girls in this study reported more inner-directed emotional terms than the boys. O'Kearney and Dadds (2004) report that the girls produced more "sad" referents than boys (inner-directed emotion). The descriptions of emotions in this study were also consistent with the idea that boys represented their emotional states in more behavioral ways. Gender intensification

suggests there would be shift to express more in gender specific ways. Some of the data aligns with the theory; however there are too many contextual influences that are unreported in this study to support the theory. In addition, because this study used participants from Australia, there may be cultural discrepancies that exist which are different from the participants in this study.

The literature regarding emotional expression is clear on gender differences. What is not as clear is how these differences may or may not change in different contexts. Gender intensification theory suggests that males and females become more polarized towards their genders, especially when in a society that prescribes display rules that influence a person (in this study, adolescent) on what they should or should not express. From early contextual influences in family, and interactions between friends, to more macro levels of society and culture, multiple contexts influence how emotions are expressed. By conforming to social "norms" adolescents attempt to complete the task of identifying with their gender and avoid extra difficulty that comes from being judged differently, according to Lobel, et al (2004). This study attempts to provide a fuller picture in understanding emotional expression and its relationship to adjustment in adolescents.

Emotional expression and adjustment

Adolescents are engaged in the process of identity development. According to J.P. Hill and Lynch (1983) identifying with same-sex/gender peers becomes more salient in adolescence. Thus, as males and female adolescents are more identified with masculinity and femininity, respectively, it is projected that they will report a sense of identity of self within the context of gender. Massad's (1981) research focused on sex-

role identity and adjustment for adolescents. Male and female adolescents were given instruments that measured sex-typing (how masculine and/or feminine they were) and adjustment (based on self-report of self acceptance and peer nominations for social acceptance). Massad hypothesized that adolescents with high masculinity and high femininity would rate higher in self-esteem and peer acceptance than those who were cross-sex typed (high masculinity/low femininity males, high femininity/low masculinity females). Massad also hypothesized that, due to more strict masculinity conformity rules, males who did not conform to those rules would have lower adjustment scores. The results of the study are interesting. Males who were sex-typed scored higher than their classmates, as hypothesized. This finding is consistent with gender intensification theories tenet of adhering to masculinity for males. Finding for females, however, did not fit with gender intensification theory. Females who were high in femininity and high in masculinity rated higher in both adjustment scales. Adjustment levels seemed to be related to sex-role adherence for males, but not for females. These findings are partially consistent with gender intensification. Will adjustment reports from adolescents in this study be similar to Massad's study—displaying differences for males and females adherence to sex-role type display rules?

Reflecting back upon a previously reviewed study, Bronstein and colleagues (1996) examined their data for relationships between emotional expressivity and adjustment. The authors report that there was a positive relationship between 12th grade emotional expression and psychological adjustment. Participants that reported feeling comfortable expressing emotions scored higher on overall adjustment measures. Although there was not a direct relationship between fifth grade family expression/family

support of emotion to the 12th grade adjustment scores, inferences were made by the authors to explain possible reasons. Chief among their reasons was the developmental stage of life of the adolescent. Adolescents generally feel more support from their peers than their family as they age. The amount of support felt in fifth grade may have conditioned the adolescent to incorporate emotional expression into their lives, thus having an impact on their 12th grade reports of emotional expression. For the adolescents in this study, adjustment scores may be related to how and who the adolescents go to for support. Perhaps adolescents that incorporate peers and other supports will express emotion more and report higher adjustment than those who do not express as much emotion and who report lower adjustment.

A relatively small amount of research in military families has focused on the adjustment of adolescents. The following studies were found that support the need for continued research on adjustment in military families.

A study by Jeffreys and Leitzel (2000) reported briefly on the mental health and well-being of adolescents in military families. The findings from their research indicate that adolescents from military families are similar to civilian peers in relation to self-esteem, depressed moods, and anxiety. The authors report on a number of aspects that influence the life of the adolescent, with specific attention to experiences that are particular to military family, but they do not seem to make the clear connection between these areas and adjustment. This study examines the relationship between emotional expression and adjustment, not just report on the well-being of the adolescents.

Although Huebner and Mancini's (2005) study has already been reviewed, their report drives the research for this study. It is one of the most current studies to approach

the experience of deployment in military families. This study will expand the research by examining relationships between emotional expression and adolescent adjustment. For example, the authors found that during the pre-deployment phase, communication between the adolescent and the deploying parent was an important factor in adjustment for the adolescent. The study will examine possible relationships between emotional expression and adjustment.

In summary, emotional regulation is a process by which individuals interact with their surroundings and themselves to determine the appropriate expression of emotion. The literature on emotional expression suggests that socialization and gender display rules influence how males and females express emotion. In addition, the literature suggests that more work can be done to understand the experience of adolescents in military families, particularly in the area of adjusting to a parental deployment.

Chapter Three: Methods

Design of study

This study used existing data from previous research by Huebner and Mancini (2005). Due to the nature of the study, qualitative methods were employed to gather the original data. Qualitative methods were chosen to gain a more rich description of adolescents going through the experience of having a parent deployed in the military. This study will use the data from those focus group interviews to explore emotional expression and adjustment in adolescents.

Study Participants

The current study used existing data from participants in the study conducted by Huebner and Mancini (2005). Participants for the original were selected from adolescents who attended a summer camp in 2004. The camps were sponsored by the National Military Family Association (NMFA) and State 4-H Liaisons (a partnership between USDA Cooperative Extension and the United States Military.) Participants in the camps had a parent (most cases the parent was the father) that was deployed to high conflict areas (Iraq, Afghanistan). The camps were voluntarily attended by the adolescents, and participation in the study was voluntary. Participants were given the explanation that they could end their participation at any point during the process of the study, including during the focus group interviews. Consent for each adolescent was obtained prior to participation in the focus group interviews with a signed parental consent form.

Male and female adolescent subjects (n=107) participated in over 14 groups from multiple sites in the United States where the camps were held, thus providing a more

diverse representation. Ethnicity of participants consisted of "White" (61%), "African American" (17%), "Hispanic/Latino" (7%), "Pacific Islander" (3%), "Native American" (1%), and "Biracial" (10%). Adolescents who participated in the study represented the Air Force, Army, Marines, and Navy as well as the National Guard (all branches) and Reserves (all branches). The majority of these different service groups were from the Army (39%), National Guard (23%), and Reserves (13%).

Two groups from the original 14 were chosen for the purposes of this study. These groups were chosen for a variety of reasons. First, the groups were chosen based on the sex of the group members. One group, Group A, consisted of nine males and one female (n=10). The other group chosen, Group B, consisted of eight females. These groups were chosen (rather than the other focus groups in the original study) due to their composition of being nearly equal and opposite of each other—one group of nearly all males, the other all females. The group sizes were similar and a balance of males to females existed with the numbers of participants (9 males, 9 females). Of these two groups, all participants were "White" with the exception of one "Hispanic/Latino" and one "African American." Being among same-sex peers (with the exception of the lone female in one of the groups), it was expected that the adolescents would be more likely to use gender display rules while discussing their experience of having a parent deployed. It was also anticipated that the emotional expressions would conform to gender display rules and that expressions that were atypical of gender display rules would be easily recognizable. In this study, it was anticipated that those males and females that have higher frequencies of verbal emotional expression would also have higher adjustment scores than those who have lower.

Procedures

After obtaining proof of consent from parents, the subjects participated in focus group interviews. Participants were aware of their ability to remove themselves from the study at any time without consequences at the camp. Groups were put together based on ages of participants, grouping like ages together. Group size was generally about eight to ten members. Group interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes and were audiotaped and transcribed afterwards to preserve data.

The focus groups started with the participants entering the interview. On the walls of the rooms were large pieces of paper used to initiate the adolescents into thinking about their experiences. These "graffiti walls" had the beginnings of sentences on them, and the participants were encouraged to write on the walls and finish the sentences according to their own experience.

After the warm-up exercise, the youth engaged in a semi-structured interview. Interview questions focused on the youth's experiences of having a parent deployed, elements of the deployment cycle, and support systems—formal and informal—employed or known about by the adolescents. In the interview, each participant was given the opportunity to talk. The group format was used to encourage discussion (Wellings, Branigan, & Mitchell, 2000). The interviewer also used probing questions when appropriate to get a richer description of the answers to the questions. The responses to the interview questions were recorded and transcribed. The original data was coded and themes emerged regarding the adolescents experience with deployment (Huebner & Mancini, 2005). It was not within the scope of this study to examine the

transcripts for those themes, but rather to examine the verbal emotional expressions and self-report adjustment scores employed by the participants.

Instruments

The original study employed focus group interviews as the primary instrument to gather data. A list of open ended questions on various aspects of dealing with a parental deployment was employed by the interviewer (see Appendix). The questions were arranged to encourage the adolescents to speak to their own experiences. Questions were not gender specific nor were they written and asked to elicit a particular response other than the personal experience of the adolescent.

Adjustment measures were also given to each participant. The measure was a self-report, scaling question regarding how well the adolescent thought they were doing in their life at that time. Scaling was from one to ten where one was "really bad" and ten was "really good." The scaling question was the measure for how well the adolescent had adjusted or was adjusting to their parent's deployment at the time of the interview.

Analyses

This study explores relationships between emotional expression and adjustment. Emotional expression refers to the outward display of emotion or feelings. For this study, verbal expressions were analyzed. Brody and Fischer (2000) explained that the emotional displays conform to rules that are based on gender stereotypes. For females, "feminine" gender display rules allow for various expressions of emotion including warmth, affection, fear, vulnerability, sadness, helplessness, shame, anxiety, envy, and depression. For males, the "masculine" stereotype is to be less expressive of emotion. Restricting emotion display according to stereotypical display rules, such as boys not

crying, not showing sadness or vulnerability, not showing fear, are all part of this "masculine" stereotype .

As this study was particularly interested in exploring the relationship of emotional expression and adjustment, the scaling question during the group interview was used as the instrument to measure adjustment.

The first phase of analysis was to analyze the transcripts from the focus group interviews. Responses from each participant were analyzed for emotion words. Emotion researchers have been trying to enumerate the multiple emotions that humans have, however, consensus has not been reached (Ekman, Dalgleish, & Power, 1999; Izard, 1992). Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, and O'Conner (1987) discuss their suggestion of a "prototype" approach to emotions. Out of their work came a list of emotion prototypes of 'love,' 'joy,' 'anger,' 'sadness,' 'fear' and 'surprise.' They found that these prototypes created categories wherein numerous (135) related emotion words could fit. For example, under the prototype of fear were words such as anxiety, nervousness, tenseness, uneasiness and a number of other emotion or feeling words that connect to the prototype of fear. These emotions were clustered based on a hierarchy, where each prototype emotion included a number of basic categories with sub-categorized emotion words in them as well. Using this list as a guide, responses to the interview questions were analyzed. Analysis for emotional expression was also influenced by the analytic strategy of pattern matching (Yin, 2003). Yin explains that pattern matching "compares an empirically based pattern with a predicted one" (p.116). The empirical evidence of stereotypical gender display rules for emotional expression served as the pattern for this study's comparison.

The next phase was to examine the adjustment scores reported by the participants. Of particular interest were those participants that responded with high adjustment scores (eights, nines, and tens on the scaling question) and those with low adjustment scores (ones, twos, and threes) in both the male dominant group and the female dominant group. Would the high adjustment scores relate with higher frequency of emotional expression? The hypothesis was that the male participants would have lower adjustment scores than female participants.

After several reviews of the transcripts, I met with my advisor to discuss the findings and the process of analysis. It was determined that I should read through additional interviews from the similar interviews as those in Groups A and B to determine whether or not there were marked differences in the interviews themselves or in responses by other adolescents. The additional interviews were very similar in procedure and no distinct differences were apparent other than a few participants in one of the other group interviews who seemed to be very vocal and willing to respond as much as they could. Having read through these additional interviews and seeing consistency in the interview process (same graffiti wall questions and general interview questions), I refocused back to the transcripts of Groups A and B. The results of the analyses follow.

Chapter Four: Results

The analysis process that took place for this study will be presented. In addition, the results of analyses will be reported. As the experience was somewhat individual, this process will be told from a first person narrative by the researcher in order to provide the most descriptive account.

I began the analysis by immersing myself in the data. I read each transcript in completion multiple times. As I read through them, I became more familiar with the form of the interview—how the questions were presented, how the responses came about, etc. Each read-through provided me with a better sense of the interview experience. Because I was not involved in the interview process, reading and re-reading the transcripts allowed for me to become familiarized with the interviews and the data.

The purpose of the interview was to inquire about the personal experience of each of the adolescents in attempts to further explore how deployment affected them as individuals, as well as their age group/cohorts. It was evident that some adolescents were very well versed in the experience of deployment, while others were experiencing it for the first time. I observed that the interviewers tried to offer variety in who started the discussions after a topic or question was presented, encouraging participation from each member of the group. While it was true that I made the attempt to keep the emotion language analysis at bay while I became more acquainted with the transcripts, after a number of reviews I observed that specific emotional words were in the transcripts, which was encouraging.

As I began the process of analyzing the transcripts for emotion words, I used a list of emotions that had been generated by Shaver, Schwartz, Kirson, and O'Conner (1987)

This list consisted of emotion prototypes—love, joy, surprise, anger, sadness, and fear. These prototype emotions are listed with subcategories/types of emotions as well. These subtypes of emotions were various forms of the prototype feelings (see Appendix for list). The list provided a repository of feeling words which connected to the prototype feelings. I kept this list next to me as I read through the transcripts as a ready reference. When a specific emotion word from the list (either prototype or subtype) was used, I highlighted it and added it to a master list (see Tables 1a and 1b in Appendix). When responses seemed to refer to feelings but did not explicitly use emotion words from the list, I highlighted them as well. The context of the text around the reference suggested that the youth were expressing emotion, but not using specific language that identified which feelings they were expressing. I labeled these references as implied emotion references and created a list of the expressions (Tables 2a and 2b in Appendix). I also distinguished whether a male or a female gave the response and noted that on the list as well. This process was also repeated with Group B. After compiling the list of quotations I reviewed the transcripts again and noted the questions that were asked to solicit those responses.

It became evident that some of the questions provided much more opportunity than others in eliciting emotional expression. The questions from the graffiti wall, which were used by the interviewers to guide most of the interview, provided opportunities for the youth to express emotion. These questions were:

- When I first found out my parent was going away I felt…
- The worst thing about having a parent deployed is…
- What worries me the most when my parent is deployed is…

- What worries me the least when my parent is deployed is…
- The best thing about having a parent deployed is…
- The worst thing about having a parent deployed is…

Responses to these questions and to some additional probing questions elicited emotional expressions.

The graffiti wall question, "What worries me most about having a parent deployed is…"produced a number of the emotion expressions. Worry was a common word used by participants. A few illustrative quotations are listed, and a complete list of quotations is provided in Tables 1a and 1b (see Appendix).

> *"I'm just worried of what's going to happen next. Whether he's going to have to stay for longer than they say he would."*

> *"I worry about my mom mostly."*

> *"But the only thing that worries me about his position is like everyone—like the commander and stuff and the whole camp—have been telling them they have to wear BDU's [Battle Dress Uniform] and stuff. Because like a car bomb went off and no one knew about it and then they figured that's why they have to be wearing BDU's."*

Although the question contained a feeling word, the directive was open and did not require that the participants use the feeling word in their response. Some responses to the "What worries me most" question contained the word worry, and some did not. Some

just explained the details of what worries them. The following interchange provides an example of this. The interviewer (I) used the words that were written on the graffiti wall from the question "What is the worst thing about having a parent deployed?" The response was from the female in Group A. (Names have been changed throughout this study to preserve confidentiality.)

> *"I: Okay. Afraid that something really bad might happen to him? That's the worst thing about having your parent deployed. Is that yours?*
>
> *"'Sally': Yeah.*
>
> *"I: Well what would that be? What kind of things go through your head?*
>
> *"'Sally': Like two people from his battalion have already been killed because they had to go out on missions or something. And he was supposed to be in both those missions that were ambushed."*

The adolescents had opportunities to share emotional expressions but did not always choose to do so, even though they may have written emotional words on the graffiti wall. This pattern of the youth writing the emotional words on the wall, the interviewer using them in eliciting responses, and the youth not using emotional words in their verbal response was particularly observed in Group B.

The Group B Interviewer followed similar protocol to the interviewer in Group A. The interviewer read the information from the graffiti wall to introduce a discussion. This is exemplified in an interchange between the interviewer and "Heather" from Group B. In this example the interviewer reads what was written on the board, finds out which participant wrote the response, and follows up to find out more.

"I: Upset or sad because I know I would miss him a lot. Is that what you wrote? Sad or upset or scared because I felt like I was losing my best friend and I didn't have anyone to talk to about things. Is that you?

"Heather': Yeah.

"I: Because it's your brother?

"'Heather': Yeah."

This interchange exemplifies a similar pattern found throughout the Group B interview. The adolescents had their feeling words on the graffiti wall. When the interviewer read them, and the question was opened up for discussion, it seemed that the interviewer read the words and asked for the details about the feeling. The adolescents did not readily respond by restating the specific feeling words that they wrote on the graffiti wall, however they did elaborate on what elicited the concern.

Some of the other interview questions provided opportunities for the adolescents to share emotional experience. One particular question regarded changes that the adolescents experienced or noticed in themselves. The interviewer in both groups asked a question about behavioral changes that the youth experienced. Some of the responses shared about emotions in addition to their behavioral change. For example, when asked about changes that he noticed while his dad was deployed, a young man in Group A responded with feeling "stressed out." He particularly mentioned that dealing with his brothers and sisters had made him feel more "irritated." Another male participant in Group A responded to the question about behavior by saying, "Sometimes I get sad." The female in Group A responded by explaining that her interactions change because she gets mad.

"'Sally': I have…I've always had trouble sleeping, but now I sleep a whole lot lighter and whole lot less. And like I get mad at everybody real easily if they just say something wrong.

"Interviewer: What do you do when you're mad? How does that work for you?

"'Sally': I just start mouthing off. It's really bad.

"Interviewer: So teacher, a friend, or a relative, does it matter?

"'Sally': It doesn't matter."

Similarly, a female participant in Group B explained her situation about her behavior and added her feelings about it as well. Since her parent was deployed, she had to take on more responsibilities. She explained that with her dad being gone and her mother working more, she and her brother were given more responsibilities for taking care of younger siblings. She stated,

"'Debby': …And then I get frustrated with my little sisters just because, you know, they're missing Dad, too. Just because I'm suffering because my dad's gone, I mean, my sisters are going to be, too. So I can't just be like leave me alone, you know, because I'm not doing well because Dad's gone. I can't say that. I can't do that. I have to, you know, deal with it and help them deal with it because they're younger."

This participant's emotional experience was expressed in response to a question about behavioral changes.

The interview questions provided opportunities for the youth to share feelings, and some of the youth expressed those experiences with feeling words and some did not. The interview questions spanned the stages of deployment from the beginning (finding

out that the parent was leaving) to the end (a parent coming home). The adolescents in these interviews shared their experiences using specific emotion words and implied emotion references regarding various stages of their parent's deployment. It was evident that many points across the deployment cycle were antecedents in the emotion generation process and that certain questions elicited the expression of emotion with specific feeling words.

Results and Hypotheses

Through the analysis process, the results of this study were used to assess the hypotheses. Each of the three hypotheses will be reviewed here with the results of the analysis.

Hypothesis one. The first hypothesis for this study was that males would use fewer emotion words than the females. Group A consisted of nine males and one female. The total number of specific emotion words used by Group A participants was 19 (see Table 1a). Of these 19 specific emotion words used, 14 (73.68%) of the expressions were made by males; 5 (26.32%) were from, "Sally," the lone female in Group A. The specific words used by members of Group A express a range of emotion. Words such as "hate," "angry," "sad," "worried," "mad," as well as "happier," "joy," and "liked" were all found in the transcripts. There were several questions that elicited responses with specific emotion words in them. Analysis for implied emotion references found similar numbers. The total number of implied emotion references from Group A was 16. Of the 16 references, 13 were by males (81.25%), while 3 (18.75%) were expressed by "Sally." Group A combined for 35 total emotional words and references.

Group B totals show a lower amount of specific emotion words. Group B consisted of eight females. Only 9 specific emotion words were expressed by the participants in Group B. These words were similar to some found to be expressed by members of Group A. They include feelings of "worry," "frustrated," "annoyed," and "relief" (see table 1b for complete list). However, the number of implied emotion references was higher for Group B, at 24. Group B combined for 33 emotion words and references.

When comparing the two groups, it appears that Group A has more emotional words and references than Group B. However, since Group A had a female participant, these numbers do not reflect the differences between males and females. To compare between sex, the words and references by "Sally" were combined with the words and references from Group B. Based on this modification, the numbers tell a different story. Total specific emotion words used for both Groups A and B combined were 28. Those 28 words were split equally between the sexes. The more distinct difference lies in the numbers of implied references. The total implied emotion references were 40; 13 by males and 27 by females. Collectively, 68 total emotion words and implied emotion references were found. Males produced 27 (39.70%) of the total. Females expressed 41 (60.30%). Based on these findings, hypothesis one is supported. Males used fewer emotional expressions than females in this study.

Hypothesis two. Analysis with pattern matching (Yin, 2003) was employed for determining whether or not hypothesis two was accepted or rejected. This hypothesis was that males and females would conform to stereotypical gender display rules. Typical gender display rules for males are to be less emotionally expressive. Display rules also

limit the types of emotions that are appropriate to display for males. Typically, aggression or anger is appropriate, while expressions of sadness, worry, or fear are not. (Brody, 1985, 1997; Brody & Fischer, 2000; Brody, Hall, Lewis, & Haviland, 1993; Guerrero et al., 2006). Similarly, display rules for females allow for the expression of sadness, worry, and fear but not anger. To determine whether or not the males and females in this study matched those stereotypical patterns, the specific emotion words found in the transcripts were used.

The males in Group A expressed words such as "mad," "angry," and "irritated" when sharing about their experiences related to their parent's deployment. These fit with the gender stereotypes. There were also some expressions by males that are atypical of gender display rules. A number of the responses expressed specifically feeling "worry" and "sad." More than half of the male's specific emotions responses were atypical to the display rules, with sadness, worry, and scared as eight of the total 14 male expressions. Of note is that these atypical expressions for males were shared in a predominantly male group of adolescents.

The females in Group B also expressed feeling words that fit the pattern of gender display rules. These participants also used words such as "worry," "suffering," "loved," and "relief." Some of the specific words that were expressed by females in Group B were "frustrated," and "annoyed." According to the prototypes from Shaver et al (1987), these are connected to the prototype feeling of anger. Anger does not fit with the general pattern of display rules for females. The lone female from Group A also expressed feeling words that were typical (sad, scared), but used some atypical words as well (hate,

angry and mad). Based on these findings, hypothesis two is not supported as both males and females expressed fe*elings* that were typical and atypical of gender stereotypes.

Hypothesis three. Adjustment scores were hypothesized to be lower for males than females. In addition, it was hypothesized that total emotional expressions would relate with lower scores for males than for females. The scores for Group A ranged from 4 to 9 (n=10). The median average score for Group A was 7. Scores for Group A are listed in Table 3a (see Appendix). No self-report scores were below a four and no participant in Group A gave themselves a score of 10.

Group B ranged in self-report scores from 5 to 9 (n=8). The median average score for Group B was also 7. Scores for this group are also listed in Table 3b. Comparing score averages at this point between Group A and B reveals no difference. Because of such a small sample size (n=18), no statistical analyses were performed. When comparing scores according to sex, males ranged from 5 to 9 (n=9). Females ranged from 4 to 9. The median average score for males was 7 and the median average score for females was also 7 (see Table 3b in Appendix).

The responses from "Sally" and "Josh," (who reported the lowest scores of 4) were analyzed and compared to those who scored themselves with a 9. Both "Sally" and "Josh" had specific emotion words in their responses. "Sally" also had implied emotion references in her responses. Those who scored 9, "Ryan," "Jonathan," "Maria," and "Chad", did not have a significant amount more. In fact, some of the 9s did not have any instances of emotional expression in their responses. With no distinct differences between the lowest scores and the highest scores in regards to expression amounts, this portion of the hypothesis was rejected. Males that scored low did not score any lower

than females. The relationship between emotional expression and adjustment is unclear. Based on the median average scores, males and females both scored 7 on self-adjustment, thus rejecting the third hypothesis.

In summary, males used fewer emotional expressions than females in this study. In addition, males and females used emotional expressions that were both typical and atypical of gender display rules. Males and females had the same self-report score for adjustment (based on median averages).

Chapter Five Discussion

Results from analysis show that hypothesis one was supported. Males used the same amount of specific emotion words as females, but overall, females used more emotional expressions (specific and implied combined). Hypothesis two was that males and females would express emotion in line with gender stereotypes. This hypothesis was not supported. Both males and females expressed emotion typical to the patterns suggested by gender stereotypes, however, there were instances from both males and females of emotions expressed that were nonconforming to patterns suggested by display rules. Hypothesis three, that males would have lower adjustment scores than females was not supported. Adjustment scores were within similar range and more males reported scores of 9 than females. Following will be a discussion regarding these results. Each hypothesis will be discussed as well as the factors that may have influenced the expression or lack of expression of emotion in the interview.

The first hypothesis, that males would use fewer emotion words than females was supported. Previous research indicated that emotional expression rules are influenced differently by culture (see Brody & Fischer, 2000). As this study was focused on adolescents from military families, the seemingly obvious conclusion regarding this hypothesis was that those differences would exist in this study as well. Military culture is known to be more masculine and traditional in stereotypes, so it seemed logical that results would follow the patterns of traditional stereotypes as well. In addition the culture of the participants was predominantly white. Of note, though, is the amount of difference between males and females. Recalling the specific emotion words used, males and females in this study used the same amount, both with 14 instances when compared by

sex. The difference existed in the implied emotion words where males where doubled in amount used, 13 compared to females 27, when compared by sex.

What factors may have influenced this finding? Display rules and patterns could likely hold a large amount of influence. Socialization for males and females to display emotions according to social rules begins early on in a child's development (Fuchs & Thelen, 1988). This socialization, according to some researchers, intensifies at adolescence with male and female adolescents becoming more like their sex-group's gender stereotypes (Galambos, Almeida, & Petersen, 1990; J. P. Hill & Lynch, 1983). However, the differences between male and female total expression was not as disparate as I hypothesized it would be, given the contexts for the adolescents in the study. I had considered that given the military culture and the predominance of participants being Caucasian (similar in cultural display rules), the males would be far less expressive than the females. Though 27 to 41 seems like a large difference, the percentages do not seem as intense. Out of the 68 total expressions, the 39.70% males expressions compared to 60.30% female expressions appear to be closer proportions than what I hypothesized would come from the data.

Another factor that could have an influence on this finding is the questions that were used in the study. As Anderson and Leaper's study suggested, males and females, when given the directive to talk about a personal experience that elicited an emotion for themselves, used nearly the same amount of emotion language (Anderson & Leaper, 1998). When the adolescents in this study were invited to share their experience about their parental deployment, a well documented stressful event that elicits emotion (as evidenced by the current study), both males and females used emotional language in the

telling of their experience. The amount of emotional language for females and males was fairly similar as well. Given the prompt to talk about their emotional experience, males and females both seemed to express their emotions.

The second hypothesis regarding adherence to gender display rules in expressing emotion was not supported. With both sexes expressing emotions that were in accordance with and contrary to display rules for their sex, what was it that allowed these youth to share emotions that challenged the display rules? In the face of being judged poorly by their peers (see Lobel et al., 2004) by going against display rule "norms," what made it acceptable to share these emotions?

Anderson and Leaper's (1998) study may again offer some perspective. Both males and females, when asked about their experience can share emotions. This study incorporated certain questions that may have normalized the feeling of worry or fear by asking questions directly about it. The question arises about males expressing fear, worry, and sadness in their predominantly male group. What could have made it acceptable for them to go against typical male display rules to express those feelings? Could it have been that it was due to the context of peers going through the same experience/situation? Was this their only opportunity to discuss it? Could it have just been the questions that were asked or is it something else? These questions could encourage future research.

The third hypothesis was regarding the adjustment scores and their relationship to emotional expression. This hypothesis was not supported by the data. As explained in the results, the adjustment scores were similar in range and the median averages for males and females were 7. The hypothesis was based on data that suggested that

emotional expression and adjustment were related. Previous studies suggest that more emotional expression was related to higher adjustment scores (see Bronstein et al., 1996). However, the results of this study do not completely fit with that idea. Huebner and Mancini's (2005) study suggests a number of factors that may influence adjustment. It is possible that those other influences (such as support of the at home parent, nature of the relationship with the deployed parent) have more of a relationship with adjustment than emotional expression. Again, future research may explore this possibility.

After the phases of analysis regarding the search for emotional words and pattern matching, I met with my advisor and discussed the findings of this research. Both of us agreed that the volume of emotional expressions in the transcripts seemed rather low. Given that research has shown that this deployment event is a major stressor for families in the military (R. Hill, 1949; Huebner & Mancini, 2005; Huebner et al., 2007; Jensen et al., 1986; Jensen, Martin et al., 1996; Jensen, Shaw et al., 1996), was it possible that this seemingly low amount of expression frequency was a part of the story that the data was telling? Could there be influences that kept the youth from expressing more emotion in their telling of their experience?

Having a journal as I reviewed the transcripts through the different phases provided me the opportunity to write down thoughts and impressions about the process as well as the data. Some of these ideas evolved into possible explanations why higher frequencies of emotional expression could have been employed by both the males and the females in the interview.

Possible Explanations

Timing/proximity. Most of the youth that participated in the study had experienced a parental deployment. While a number of the youth's parents had returned from combat duty, most had not yet returned. At the time of the interview, many of the youth's parents had been gone for a number of months. The timing of the interview and its proximity to the emotional event of having a parent deployed may influence the use of emotion words in the interviews. Would more emotion be expressed if these interviews were earlier on in the deployment process? Future research could compare expression at different times during the deployment process.

Coping strategies Closely related is an idea that may expand upon the timing/proximity idea. Could it be that the youth are not expressing emotion due to employment of coping strategies? Gross (1998; Gross, 2007) discusses emotion regulation as a subordinate strategy for affect regulation. He also explains that coping is similar subordinate. He suggests that the boundaries between coping and emotion regulation are fairly permeable and similar. Gross also contends that given time from the initial event, a person employs more coping strategies rather than emotion regulation as a way to regulate affect. The youth in this study may be employing a coping strategy to help regulate their affect.

Research on coping strategies lends support to the idea that the youth may be employing coping strategies. Adolescents have been reported to employ emotion-focused coping strategies to combat stressors (see Blanchard-Fields & Irion, 1988). Emotion-focused coping strategies attempt to reduce the negative emotion feelings associated with stressors (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Some of these strategies involve avoidance and distraction from the stressor so as not to avoid feeling stress and emotions

related to it. Other researchers label similar strategies as avoidant or disengaged (Blanchard-Fields & Irion, 1988; Compas, Connor-Smith, Saltzman, Thomsen, & Wadsworth, 2001). Particularly with stressors that are uncontrollable (such as having a parent deployed), avoidant and emotion focused strategies of coping have been shown to be salient with adolescents (Altshuler & Ruble, 1989). Avoidant coping strategies have been found to be maladaptive and as a risk factor for unhealthy outcomes, psychopathology (such as depression), and poor adjustment (Compas et al., 2001; Seiffge-Krenke, 2004). However, some researchers have found that avoidant coping strategies during situations that are high stress and uncontrollable have shown to be connected with positive outcomes for some adolescents (see Kazak & Meadows, 1989) . Avoidance and emotion-focused coping strategies appear to be employed by a number of the youth in this study in how they are dealing with deployment stress.

Although beyond the scope of the current study, it is important to note that participants did comment on how they handled stress. Responses seem to suggest that avoidant coping strategies were being employed when thoughts or discussions about deployment were introduced. Responses also suggested that this strategy was not employed by the youth at all times and in all situations. The interview was one of those situations where the youth seemed to be somewhat open to talking about deployment. Though given the opportunity to talk in the interview, there still seemed to be a relatively small amount of emotional expression by the adolescents. Perhaps avoidance of discussing their emotions and feelings kept some of the participants from sharing more about their experience.

Questionable questions. Another possible explanation for not finding more emotional expression in the interviews could be problems with the questions that were asked. The questions in the interview were designed to understand the experience of having a parent deployed. However, they were not necessarily designed to find out about the emotional experience that comes along with the event. Many of the studies of emotional expression reviewed previously in this study employed questions that were directly designed to explore emotional expression. However, a number of these studies were done in very controlled settings rather than in the context of real life situations, as was the case in the present study.

For example, Zeman and Garber's (1996) study of how children displayed feelings of anger, sadness, and pain utilized questions concerning 12 stories developed for their study. After reading the story, with its suggested feeling that they would feel if they were in the situation related in the story, the children were asked five questions with scaling-type answers. Shipman, Zeman and Steggall's (2001) study regarding regulation of emotional expressions employed four vignettes where the participants were invited to pretend that the story happened to them. After reading the stories, participants would then answer five questions, also with scaling or rating-type answers. O'Kearney and Dadd's (2004) study analyzed responses to open-ended questions, but the questions were in regards to vignettes concerning a made-up event. Anderson and Leaper's (1998) study analyzed communications between dyads for emotional expression tendencies, but the conversations of the participants happened in a laboratory setting and were only 5 minutes long.

In contrast, the present study utilized open-ended questions in a semi-structured interview regarding their personal experience of having a parent deployed. They were not asked to pretend or fill out a questionnaire. They were asked to participate by sharing their own real life experience. The graffiti walls utilized emotion-eliciting questions—how the participants felt when they learned their parent was being deployed, what their worried them most, what worried them least, and others. These questions were found to elicit emotional language; however, other questions in the interview were not. Some questions that were not designed to elicit emotional response include questions about how often the youth talk with their deployed parent, what types of change do they see in family members while the parent is deployed, and unique probing questions asked by interviewers to find out more detail regarding certain responses from the adolescents.

Certain questions were not designed to elicit emotions, but did. These questions asked about behavior changes and actions that the youth noticed while their parent was deployed. Responses to these questions included emotional expressions of sadness, annoyance, and references to loneliness and frustration. Would a more designed set of questions solicit responses with more emotional expression? It is likely. However, the variety of questions and responses designed for this interview were to learn more about the experience of deployment from the perspective and personal responses of the adolescent, not just the emotional expression.

Just not talking. The interview questions allowed the youth to share their own experiences about having a parent deployed. However, at no time during the interview were the youth forced to talk about their experience. A number of responses to probing questions were answered with one or two words. However, there were a few adolescents

who spoke out much more than others. There may be some who just decided not to talk during the interviews. It may be that the group interview was not a comfortable setting or that the youth just did not want to talk. It is important to note that in most of the interviews, the interviewers seemed to invite all of the participants to talk when a new topic was started or when one of the youth would share their experience. Interviewers would ask if there were any other participants that had similar or different experiences, but there were some youth that would just not talk.

Not talking could serve a purpose. As mentioned earlier, coping strategies of distraction or not talking about the emotional event are ways of coping with situations that are beyond one's control. This fits for the youth in this study. Having a parent deployed is beyond their control. However, not talking may not always be just a coping strategy. Not talking could be a lack of desire to participate in the interview. Many of the youth explained in their interview that they had certain people that they would talk with about deployment and others they would not. Some only felt comfortable talking to closest friends, some with groups, while some decided to not talk about deployment with anyone. As a matter of preference or comfort, some youth may just have decided not to talk in this forum. The fact that some youth chose not to talk about their experience, even in a group of peers with similar deployment experience, underscores the difficulty or the situation.

Limitations

This study was designed to examine the emotional expression of adolescents who have experienced having a parent deployed for military combat. It was also designed to examine the possible relationships between emotional expression and adjustment.

However, a number of limitations exist. First, this study uses secondary data. Secondary data limits the researcher to what has already been collected. Although the interviews allowed the participants to share their own experience about deployment, opportunities to probe more with emotion eliciting questions may have given the participants the chance to share more. In addition, observations regarding the interview process may have been helpful for this study. For example, I observed that the interviewers did not always say the name of the participant who was talking during the interview. Were this observation made before the interview, some of the questions about who was speaking would have been answered. Interviewers could have been given the instruction to probe more regarding emotions, or even encouraged to have the youth share their own emotion language rather than reading it off of the graffiti wall for them. Consequently, secondary data use limits this research.

In addition to limitation due to secondary data use, the results of this study are not generalizable to a larger population. This study focused on emotional expressions and adjustment of adolescents from military families; more particularly this study focused on the experience of only 18 adolescents. The sample size is very small. In addition, the sample was predominantly "White," which makes generalizeability limited. Though there may be some ideas or concepts from this research that my influence professionals who work with civilian adolescents, this study was particular in its sample and population. Professionals who work with adolescents in military families may find that this research could enhance their work. These suggestions will be discussed further in a section of clinical applications.

Interviews were conducted by two different people. This may be a limitation that influenced how the interviews were conducted. The structure of the interview was basically the same in these two interviews, as discussed earlier. However, with two different interviewers, the consistency between the two interviews regarding how the questions were asked may have been an issue.

Another possible limitation exists in the measure of adjustment. The self-reported scaling question asked participants to share how well they thought they were doing at that point in the context of the deployment. Could this question be tapping into something other than adjustment? Are there possibilities that this question could have been misconstrued by the participants? Although set up in the context of how well they are now doing with the situation, some of the participants had already had their parent return from duty. Could this have impacted the score based on the memory of the experience rather than the actual experience? May this have been different when actually experiencing the event? Could there be differences in adjustment based on the stages of the deployment cycle? Perhaps the addition of other measures such as peer-report, parent-report, or a questionnaire could help strengthen the reliability and validity of the measure of adjustment.

This research was focused on the verbal emotional expression of the adolescents. There are other ways that people share emotion that may account for emotional expression that was not picked up in this study. In addition, limitations in this study exist because of problems with the interview recording and transcription. A number of times in the interviews the person talking is not identified in the transcript. Similarly, when adjustment scores were given, not all of them were attributed to a specific participant.

Not having people identifiable limited how the data could be used. Analysis could have included being able to track which person was speaking and all of their references to or specific uses of emotion words. This could have provided an opportunity to be more clear and descriptive when comparing the emotional expressions and adjustment scores.

This study may have also been limited due to researcher bias. Stereotypes are pervasive social constructs that influence society. This research was influenced by stereotypes regarding gender and display rules based on gender. Researcher bias has been shown to influence mental health trainees, of which I am one (Vogel, Wester, Heesacker, Boysen, & Seeman, 2006). Acknowledgement of personal biases and awareness of them in supervision can help mediate effects of personal biases. As this study progressed, I would reflect upon my biases in order to keep them from influencing the work that was done.

With these and likely other limitations, this study provides additional insight into the experience of adolescents who have experienced deployment. The current study also provided information regarding adjustment issues and possible relationships between emotional expression and adjustment for this population. Further, clinicians who work with military families and adolescents may benefit from applying some aspects of this study.

Clinical Implications

Clinicians that work with adolescents from military families may find that this study offers some suggestions for clinical work. First, as this study focused on emotional expressions. These expressions were elicited by questions prepared and asked by interviewers. As mentioned earlier, there were certain questions that elicited more

response than others. Some of these questions were presented to the participants via the graffiti walls and then were used during the interview as well. These questions asked about specific worries that the youth had regarding their parent's deployment. The overt use of worry in the question may have normalized the expression of that feeling. It may be that as clinicians normalize the variety of feelings, the adolescents will feel more free to express those emotions regardless of gender display rules.

Clinicians may also want to be aware of how these social stereotypes could influence their work with different genders. As this study suggests, gender differences exist in volume of emotional expressions, but not always in what emotions are expressed. Males expressed feelings of sadness, worry, and fear, and some females expressed feelings of anger. As Vogel et al (2006) suggest, clinicians may overestimate gender differences, being influenced by stereotypes that exist in society regarding what and how emotions are expressed. Even in this adolescent sample, males and females expressed similar emotions that were both typical and atypical of gender display rules. Clinicians that are aware of the stereotypes may be able to work around the stereotypes to find that males and females can express emotion that may not always fit with stereotypes.

Several more general applications for clinicians working with this population can be found in Huebner and Mancini's (2005) report, where the data for this study originated. Their report offers multiple applications for working with families and adolescents in providing positive support for adolescents and families who are experiencing military deployment. Given the number of families and adolescents that experience military deployment, application of this study and others regarding this population would serve clinicians well to learn and understand their experience.

Future Research

A recommendation for future research would be to add questionnaires to the study (Zeman, Klimes-Dougan, Cassano, & Adrian, 2007). As was the case, many of the participants wrote down feeling words on the graffiti walls. There may be differences between what they said and what they wrote. Also, this may help to pick up the experience for those youth who did not participate as much in the interview. It was clear in some of these interviews that certain people talked more than others, and being able to have written accounts may have given more of a voice to the adolescents who may have been uncomfortable sharing their experiences and emotions.

As most of these adolescents have experienced having a parent deployed, future research should be conducted at different stages of the deployment process. As discussed earlier, Gross (2007) suggests that over time emotional regulation turns to coping strategy. There may be differences in emotional expression earlier in the stages of predeployment. Huebner and Mancini (2005) suggested that discussions early in the predeployment stages may be beneficial for adolescents. Could it be that the opportunity to be open about some of their fears and concerns could be addressed and heard then to assist in adjustment to the deployment? The study showed that, for at least one of the adolescents, the adjustment score was higher and his parent was back. Perhaps time can be a mediator for adjustment. Future research could look at possible mediators of adjustment.

Future research could involve connecting this research with attachment. In the interviews, many of the adolescents expressed feelings about their relationships with their parents, whether at home or on deployment. Perhaps the attachment relationship may

have a mediating effects on the experience, and thus on the expression of emotions. Perhaps this may influence the intensity with which some of the adolescents experience and express their emotions regarding the deployment.

Future research could also examine the intensity of the emotions that were being shared. Could there be relationships between the intensity of emotions expressed and adjustment? As a number of the youth expressed feelings of anger, perhaps some expressions were more intense than others, which may influence their ability to adjust. Though not assessed in this study, future research may examine the intensity with which adolescents express their emotions rather than the frequency of emotions.

Though limitations exist, this study provides an avenue into the discussion about emotional expression and adjustment for adolescents in military families. As a growing population, adolescents who have experienced a parent deployed for military combat can benefit from additional research and application of research to provide support in such a stressful time. With so many factors influencing their lives—gender stereotypes, developmental issues including puberty and change, changes in support systems—adolescents who also experience military deployment can use support to bolster their own ability to adjust.

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Appendix A
Focus Group Interview Questions

How has/does your life change when your parent(s) is deployed?

What is different in day to day tasks or activities? What is the same? (e.g. Roles at home, afterschool activities, Relationship with parent/siblings)

Has your behavior changed since your parent has been deployed? If so, how? (e.g. changes in sleeping, eating, fights with parents or siblings, grades etc.)

When talking to friends who aren't familiar with the military, how do you describe what your parent is doing?

How do you feel about what he/she is doing?

How much influence does the media/news coverage have on your opinion?

There are many changes that go along with being a teenager. What kind of stressors (both good and bad) do you have in your life right now (e.g. school, friends, work, home, activities, siblings)?

How do these change during deployment?

Appendix B

List of emotion words by prototype and subcategories
(from Shaver, Schwartz, & O'Connor, 1987)

Prototype: Love
Subcategory listings: adoration, affection, love, fondness, liking, attraction, caring, tenderness, compassion, sentimentality, arousal, desire, lust, passion, infatuation, longing

Prototype: Joy
Subcategory listings: amusement, bliss, cheerfulness, gaiety, glee, jolliness, joviality, joy, delight, enjoyment, gladness, happiness, jubilation, elation, satisfaction, ecstasy, euphoria, enthusiasm, zeal, zest, excitement, thrill, exhilaration, contentment, pleasure, pride, triumph, eagerness, hope, optimism, enthrallment, rapture, relief

Prototype: Surprise
Subcategory listings: amazement, surprise, astonishment

Prototype: anger
Subcategory listings: aggravation, irritation, agitation, annoyance, grouchiness, grumpiness, exasperation, frustration, anger, rage, outrage, fury, wrath, hostility, ferocity, bitterness, hate, loathing, scorn, spite, vengefulness, dislike, resentment, disgust, revulsion, contempt, envy, jealousy, torment

Prototype: sadness
Subcategory listings: agony, suffering, hurt, anguish, depression, despair, hopelessness, gloom, glumness, sadness, unhappiness, grief, sorrow, woe, misery, melancholy, dismay, disappointment, displeasure, guilt, shame, regret, remorse, alienation, isolation, neglect, loneliness, rejection, homesickness, defeat, dejection, insecurity, embarrassment, humiliation, insult, pity, sympathy

Prototype: fear
Subcategory listings: alarm, shock, fear, fright, horror, terror, panic, hysteria, mortification, anxiety, nervousness, tenseness, uneasiness, apprehension, worry, distress, dread

Appendix C

Table 1a

Questions that elicited specific emotion word responses with quotation and sex of speaker (Group A)

Question	Sex of Speaker
Introduction question: "…I'm asking people to just go around the room and introduce themselves and talk about your deployment experience."	
Hate."'Sally': (after describing her parent that is deployed). And I *hate* it since he's been gone."	*F*
When I first found out my parent was going away I felt:	
Angry: "I wrote that. I: Who were you angry at, 'Steve'? 'Steve': At the Army. I: Angry at the Army for sending him away? (?):-- 'Steve':Because then my mom, she doesn't spend a lot of time most of the day because he's been in a lot of wars. I: Okay. 'Steve': And I get *angry* at that."	*M*
Angry, sad, scared: "I: and 'Sally', what were you going to say? 'Sally': I was *angry* at everybody. I'm like a big daddy's girl, so I was rally *sad* that he was going away. And I was *scared* that something bad might happen to him."	*F*
What worries me the most that my parent is deployed?	
Worried: "'Ryan': I'm just *worried* of what's going to happen	*M*

next. Whether he's going to have to stay for longer than they say he would."

Worry: "'Blair':Yeah. I *worry* about my mom mostly." *M*

Scary: "I:When he just gets there, ___when he just gets there? 'Josh'? 'Josh': One time when they were just getting into Iraq, he, before he even checked them--they have to be like, you know, really cautious and everything. So like before any of them even checeked them, one ___ had their guns on them just to make sure in case they tried pulling anything. So, I mean, like it's pretty *scary*." *M*

What worries me the least about having a parent deployed?

Worries: "I: Okay, what worries you the least? 'Greg', tell me about that. 'Greg': His safety. I mean, he's in a…he's so far away from the action, he's probably in the back of a C130 and __ and stuff. So really he's not in harms way or anything. But the only thing that *worries* me about his position is like everyone--like the commander and stuff and the whole camp---have been telling them they have to wear BDU's and stuff. Because like a car bomb went off and no one knew about it and they figured that's why they have to be wearing BDU's." *M*

Worries: "'Greg': I also want to say something about what *worries* me the most is sometimes like after something happens. Like once a missile hit on the outskirts of the base, and they turned off all the telephones and all the email and all the stuff for maybe three days, I think. They weren't getting any emails or anything. I:That's pretty scary." *M*

Does your behavior change? Did you see changes in yourself when he's gone?

Sad: "I: Okay. And tell me about you. Does your behavior change? Did you see changes in yourself when he's gone? 'Steve': Yes. I:Like what? Tell lme what. 'Steve': Sometimes I get *sad.* You know, sometimes I wish he'd be here because he's better….I can say this, but I like..I dislike my mom more than like ___, I like my mom, my dad, my step-dad more because my mom, she is more evil." *M*

Mad: "I: And what do you do when you're stressed out? How's that work for you? 'Greg': I just get *mad* and want to be left alone. I: Do you like to be by yourself when you're mad? 'Greg': Yeah." *M*

Irritated: "I: Anything, 'Chad', do you see changes when your dad's gone? 'Chad': Yeah, I've seen a lot of changes. I usually get a lot of stressed out, more stressed with my brother and ___. I: ___? 'Chad': Yeah. ___. I go to sleep with the lights on now. I used to not have ___, now I'm starting to get ___. I: Irritated? 'Chad': Yeah, *irritated*." *M*

Mad "I: Got you, got you. 'Sally', what about you? 'Sally': I've always had trouble sleeping, but now I sleep a whole lot lighter and whole lot less. And like I get *mad* at everybody real easily if they just say something wrong." *F*

Outside of the camp, have you ever participated in something where you were able to talk with people about the fact that your parent was deployed?

Liked: "'Ryan': My dad was gone my friends asked about it. I: Did you like that or not like that? 'Ryan': I *liked* it." *M*

What would be helpful to you? If you were trying to come up with resources or, you know things that would be helpful to you, what would be another idea that would make this whole experience a little easier?

Sad. "I: __ "Steve"? "Steve": Just not think about it because if you think about it, sometimes you get *sad* and stuff. So you just like try not to forget it completely, just like not think *M*

	about it as hard as some people do."	
	Sad: "Chad": I think mainly people don't need to feel sorry for us because, I mean, it's *sad* but it's not that bad."	*M*
What it's like when a parent comes back?		
	Happier, joy: "Steve": Okay, my step-dad he just got back from emergency leave and it's been great because I can spend more time with him and I'm more *happier* and he makes *joy* in my life. And because I know he's safe with me and my mom"	*M*
	Total instances	19 (14M, 5F)

Appendix D

Table 1b

Questions that elicited specific emotion word responses with quotation and sex of speaker (Group B)

Question	Sex of Speaker
What worries you most about having a parent deployed.	
Worry: "I: This says he gets hurt or killed or ___. If he's hurt or ___. The worst thing is just worried about him, it sounds ike and not knowing what's going on over there. (?): Well like, we had cousins that were stationed in Kuwait up there. And they had a four year old daughter and ten year old daughter; and the dad went missing [from the family], like none of us knew where he was for almost three weeks. Didn't hear from him after hearing from him every like two days. And the military knew where he was the whole time, they just didn't give that information to us. And that was right as they were moving in and getting hit and everything. And so that's another *worry*."	F
Worry: "I: And so 'Caroline', do you worry about that, too? The changes that yo're going through? 'Caroline': I *worry* about that a lot because slowly…[like if my dad doesn't change, he used to lay on the couch,]___different responsilbilities I have aorund the house. And ever since the	F

new school year started, I've made new friends, I'll hang out with him less during the school year. And I think that will…that change will change how he thinks of me or something."

What changes have you noticed since your dad has been gone.

Frustrated, suffering. "'Debby': …And so he and I were closer together because we had to become like more of a team. As in like your parents are a team or whatever, but when our parents are gone, we had to take the responsibility and be in charge together. We had to be leaders together. You know, we had to be on teh same page with everything to just keep it in line and straight. And then I get *frustrated* with my little sisters just because you know, they're missing Dad, too. Just because I'm *suffering* because my dad's gone, I mean, my sissters are missing Dad, too. So I can't just be like leave me alone, you know, because I'm not doing well because Dad's gone. I can't say that. I can't do that. I have to, you know, deal with it and help them deal with it because they're younger." F

Worry: "I: How about you? Do you notice a change in your behavior? 'Caroline': I always [stay in] the house more F

because there's so many pictres of him and it just ___. I *worry* about him and pray for him and stuff but I ___ bad things. And I'll spend time with my friends mostly because they help me."

What changes have you seen with your brothers and sisters since your parent was deployed?

Loved. "'Claire': …I've just *loved* being around them a little bit more." F

What are some things that the military can do to give support to teens whose parent is deployed?

Annoying. "(?): I mean, like occasionally talk about it but not like every time—so how do you feel? You know? I: Yeah. ?: Because that just gets annoying and it's like numbing inside. Well, I feel…you know? It's like [you're tired of it,] you know?" F

What is it like to have a parent return.

Relieved. "I: what stands out in your mind if you've had a parent return about how is it like when they come back? What is that like? ?: I think it's good because I'm *relieved* that he's okay." F

Relief. "(?): I think it, you know, even though there's *relief*, it's kind of like, you know, he's been gone for a month, you know, maybe a month or two. But you know, ___ but we've got along without that person. So when they try to come back and like, you know, --I forgot who said it earlier--they try to help you do things you already know and you've been doing it. It's a ritual day after day. They come and try to change things. It's kind of difficult."	F
Total instances	9 (All F)

Appendix E

Table 2a

Questions that elicited implied emotion references with quotations and sex of speaker (Group A)

Question	Sex of Speaker
Introduction question: "…I'm asking people to just go around the room and introduce themselves and talk about your deployment experience."	
Gone for too long."'Carter': My name is 'Carter' and my dad's been *gone for too long*."	M
When I first found out my parent was being deployed, I felt…	
It was hard: "I: Tell me about that. (?): I didn't think that…I just kind of blew it off and didn't really know it was going to be that long. And then when it started happening, started sinking in, *it was hard*."	M
It was hard: "I: Tell me about that. (?): I didn't think that…I just kind of blew it off and didn't really know it was going to be that long. And then when it started happening, started sinking in, *it was hard*."	M
The best thing about having a parent deployed is...	
Good to know. "'Josh': It's just *good to know* that he's there trying to protect our nation for us all."	M

The worst thing about having a parent deployed is…

He's not there to talk to.("?): *He's not there to talk to.*"	M

What changes have you noticed in your behavior since your parent has been deployed?

Can take care of myself. "(?): Another good change is that I can kind of stay at the house when my mom's out shopping. I: By yourself? (?) Yeah, it seems like she…*I'm older now and can take care of myself*."	M
Stressed out: "I:…'Greg', how about you? Are you changed or are you just… 'Greg': Yeah, I just get stressed out sometimes."	
Stressed out, stressed: "I: Okay. That makes sense. Anything, 'Chad', do you see changes when your dad's gone? 'Chad': Yeah, I've seen a lot of changes. I ususally get a lot *stressed out*, more *stressed* with my brother and ___."	M
It's really bad. "I: What do you do when you're mad? How does that work for you? 'Sallly': I just start mouthing off.	F

It's really bad."

Really snappy. "'Sally': I get *really snappy*, yeah." F

Stressed out. "I: Okay. 'Steve', what do you do when you're stressed out? Do you sleep? 'Steve': No. I scream in my pillow. I: Okay. 'Steve': And I beat it down. I: All right. 'Steve': Well, or sometimes when I was really *stressed out,* like my mom because she was…she started cursing at me...." M

Do other people find that other's support like maybe friends and neighbors come over, like cook you dinner, other people call? What do they do?

Comfort. "I: Your friends give you what? (?): Comfort." M

Why don't you talk about it [deployment] with other people ?

Uncomfortable "'Sally': I've got one friend that will actually talk about it. He has a brother being deployed soon. But all the rest of my friends don't, it sort of makes them uncomfortable for me to talk about it, and that makes me *uncomfortable*, too." F

What do you think would be helpful for other kids your age?

	It's really bad. (?): No, not me but like some people do and that's what a lot of people…I think *it's really bad* and granted it's bad, but I mean it's not as bad as people think."	M
What was it like to have your parent return?		
	Great. "'Steve': "it's been *great.*"	M
	Total instances	16 (13M, 3F)

Appendix F

Table 2b

Questions that elicited implied emotion references with quotations and sex of speaker (Group B)

Question	Sex of Speaker
The best thing about having a parent deployed is…"	
It's just more stressful. "?:…in my family. I mean, we have like eight kids. But like I have two younger sisters and then it's me. And then, I don't know, *it's just more stressful*. Then my mom has to get, you know, another job and, you know, the money situation. And then I have all these extracurricular activities and I'm not always there, so she has to pay for childcare and all this stuff."	F
Really difficult, Stressful. "(?) And so my older brother, who's now 18 but was 16, I think, at the time, and I was 14. It just put a lot of responsibility onto us. It made it *really difficult* to get close to like anyone because it was just so *stressful."*	F
I've learned to respect him more. "'Heather': Me and my brother are really close as it is but, you know, I've learned to respect him more for everything he has done for years because my biological dad left when I was three months old,	F

and it was just me, him, my mom. And so, you know, we were really close."

Stop and realize. "Heather: But now that he's gone, you know, it's made me stop and realize, man, you know, he really was looking out for me and everything we did." F

The worst thing about having a parent deployed is…

It was really hard for me...he wasn't there. "I: Somebody else says knowing that no matter how many times your deployed family member try to reassure you that things are okay, they're not because things are a lot more stressful and money is more an issue, somebody said. I know that they can't be here for holidays and birthdays. Is that an especially difficult time? ?: Yes. I didn't know where he was on my birthday. It was like *really hard for me*. My mom lit my cake, I burst out crying because *he wasn't there*." F

What worries me the least when my parent is deployed is…

That's making me feel a whole lot better. "I:..And that he's strong and can take care of himself. . I know that I would be taken care of. I know that he will be coming home and he's F

	doing thing for our country. So that makes you feel…? (?): *That's making me feel a whole lot better.*"	
	You don't want your dad there but you do. "Like it's like, you know, *you don't want your dad there but you do*. You still have that sense [of spirit] that like he died like trying to make our country better."	F
	Comfort... doing something important."I: So ___, that makes you feel better and less worried, knowing that he's doing the right thing. ?: Yeah. ?:And for…it's a *comfort* when you know that, you know, your dad or your family member is *doing something that's important*. That, you know, someone has to do it and so someone has to make a sacrifice. And that someone just happens to be your family. But what would happen if, you know, we didn't make those sacrifices. Where would we be? You know?"	F
What worries me the most when my parent is deployed is…		
	Not everyone's going to be coming home alive."(?): ...And just, you know, for one week like I got…I, you know, my dad was homeland, so that was awesome…but, you know, seeing him one week doesn't make that big of difference,	F

especially if, you know, like if he comes home, then it's a big deal. *Not everyone's going to be [coming] home alive*."

What changes have you noticed in your relationships with your family members?

Get on my nerves more...you can only spend so much time with them. "I: What about the differences between like how you get along with your brothers and sisters or how you get along with the parent that's left? How has that changed? ?: My brother and sister *get on my nerves more*. No, because, you know, they're five and eight and I love them to death but come on now. *You can only spend so much time with them*." F

Leave me alone, it's been okay. "'Claire': I have a four and a six year old sister. And I think we've kind of bonded. Because before, you know, not that I was immature, but it's like get away you little brat. You know? But I've realized now, I need to mature, I need to, you know, talk to them more and they've just…I've just loved being around them a little bit more. But don't get me wrong, you know, after awhile it's like go over there. {laughter} *Leave me alone*. But you know, of course, little kids they're always trying to F

test you and Michelle always thinks she's my age. But, you know, overall *it's been okay*."

What changes have you noticed in our own behaviors since your parent has deployed?

I really want to talk to them. "I: You stay in the house more? F Because? ?: Because I know that either my mom, my real mom's going to call or my dad's going to call and *I really want to talk to them*. So I just stay home waiting by the phone so I know that they can call me."

Who do you talk to about deployment?

There wasn't anyone to talk to that understood. "'Debby': F And there were some pepole in my youth group at church that, you know, I could talk to if I really needed to. You know, they're like if you need to talk, then you can come to us. But it wasn't like I could just talk to them about everyday things. And so I ended up like drawing into myself and just sticking to my room whenever I wasn't doing something. Writing helps me a lot. Like I wrote tons of journals and stuff. That's one of the things I like to do. But I did, I started, you know, going back like into my shell and whatever just because *there wasn't anyone to talk to*

that understood. And like you can't really talk to my mom about it because she was stressed and doing all this stuff, and it just made her feel, you know, worse; and then made my dad feel bad because she tells my dad everything, a lot of stuff. And then my brothers and sisters, you know, they're going through the same stuff but, you know, they're still your brothers and sisters and so there's only a certain point you can talk to them."

How do you deal with stress?

It hits me, I kind of blamed him... how can you do this."(?): F ___ and denial. And I just sat there and, you know, all of a sudden *it hits me* and my grades drop really bad because I let it get to me. I was like, well, you know, probably…*I kind of blamed him*, like *how can you do this* and everything. But then I finally got over it."

What kind of resources have you used for support?

It does nothing for me. "(?): Well, my thing is that where I F am it's mostly little kids, and so they have stuff for the wives and, you know, parents of whoever's deployed, like the adults, and then they have stuff for the little kids. And most of the time, I just get dragged into baby-sit the little

kids and *it does nothing for me*."

Wanted to see my dad...don't really want to. "I: So that was hard to see him. ?: I didn't get…well, *I wanted to see my dad but like for the same reason, you don't really want to*, you know, you want to touch them and hold them."	F

What are some things that the military can do to give support to teens who's parent is deployed?

It's like numbing, like you're tired of it. "(?): I mean, like occasionally talk about it but not like every time—so how do you feel? You know? I: Yeah. ?: Because that just gets annoying and i*t's like numbing* inside. Well, I feel…you know? It's like *[you're tired of it,]* you know?"	F
Really cool. "I: So how about the camp idea? ?: I think all this is really cool. I like this because I think probably 'Heather'. and I will keep in touch and email back and forth, you know, and 'Claire'."	F

What is it like when a parent comes back?

It's kind of difficult."(?):...So when they try to come back and like, you know—I forgot who said it earlier—they try to	F

help you do things you already know and you've been doing it. It's a ritual day after day. They come and try to change things. *It's kind of difficult*."

Total instances	24 (All F)

Appendix G

Table 3a

Self-report adjustment scores by group and median averages

Group A	Group B
5	8
5	8
6	9
7	7
5	7
9	6
8	7
9	7
4*	
7	
7	7

* = Female from Group A

Appendix H

Table 3b
Self-report adjustment scores by sex and median averages

Males	Females
5	8
5	8
6	9
7	7
5	7
9	6
8	7
9	7
7	4*
7	7

*= Female from Group A