

# PARITY for **PATRIOTS**

The mental health needs of military personnel, veterans and their families



June 2012



Find Help. Find Hope.

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NAMI, the National Alliance on Mental Illness, is the nation's largest grassroots mental health organization dedicated to building better lives for the millions of Americans affected by mental illness. NAMI advocates for access to services, treatment, supports and research and is steadfast in its commitment to raising awareness and building a community of hope for all of those in need.

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#### Introduction

The long wars are winding down and the troops are coming home, but thousands of military service members, veterans and their families must tend to the psychological wounds of battle for years to come. Mental health disorders, signature injuries of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, affect one in five active duty service members and are the most common cause of hospitalization.<sup>1</sup>

Spouses and children, particularly among the National Guard and Reserves, develop mental health conditions at about the same rate as service members yet many have scant health care coverage and scarce access to military-informed care.<sup>1,3</sup>

Too often, once a war is over, the mental health needs of those who have served are forgotten. They struggle with stigmatizing attitudes that surround mental health care and must navigate as many as four disjointed health care systems.

"He just said he thinks he should walk out into traffic on Interstate 5 and end it all. That life is not worth living."

- 911 Call Center Counselor<sup>4</sup>

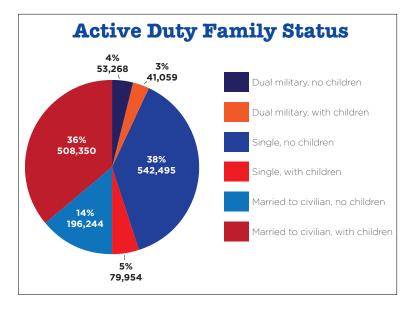
As a nation, we can learn from the past. Investment in the mental health of the active duty military, veterans and their families is integral to the cost of war. Early identification and military-informed care, specifically tailored to war experiences, can successfully return those who have served to full civilian life—and prevent escalating long-term costs of untreated mental disorders. Federal and state leaders need to ensure mental health parity for warriors and their families so they can access services when and where they are needed.

#### Our Armed Forces

The active duty military is about 2.2 million at any one time<sup>5</sup> with the National Guard, at 800,000 strong, representing over one-third of the force. Twenty-three thousand troops will come home by the end of August, of the 91,000 troops deployed in Afghanistan as of April, 2012. The 68,000 who remain will gradually return through December, 2014.<sup>6</sup>

# Military Families

While resilience and self-sufficiency are woven through military culture, the weight of repeated deployments has fallen heavily on the estimated three million spouses and children who support Iraq and Afghanistan veterans. Today's service members are more likely to have families than veterans from previous eras. Over half (56 percent) of today's active duty military are married, 17 percent are women and 44 percent have children.<sup>7</sup> Care for children is an especially critical concern for 76,000 service members who are active duty single parents and 41,000 who are dual military parents.<sup>8</sup>



Hidden Wounds

The current wars have required longer and more frequent deployments than at any other time since the military became an all-volunteer force in 1973.

- One in five (20 percent) active duty service members experienced symptoms of posttraumatic stress (PTS),<sup>9</sup> depression and other mental health problems.<sup>10,11,12</sup>
- Rates of PTS in veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars range from five to 37 percent, while rates of depression were found to be as high as 27 percent.<sup>13,14</sup> The Veterans' Administration has treated more than 400,000 post 9/11 veterans for a mental health problems.<sup>15</sup>
- About one in five active duty service members engage in chronic heavy drinking.<sup>16</sup>
- Drug abuse, including prescription drugs, increased from five percent in 2005 to 12 percent in 2008.<sup>17</sup> Drug or alcohol abuse was involved in one-third of the Army suicide deaths from 2003 to 2009.
- Military suicide is a national crisis with one active duty soldier taking his or her own life every 36 hours and one veteran every 80 minutes.<sup>18</sup>
- Suicide has increased within the National Guard and Reserve, even among those who have never been officially "activated" and are not eligible for care through the Veterans' Administration.<sup>19</sup>

Veterans returning home often live in remote areas or do not have the transportation necessary to get to appointments. Many experiencing mental health issues simply do not have the energy or resources to travel several hours each way to have "face-to-face" visits with mental health professionals and are not approved to seek local care on a fee-basis from the Department of Veterans' Affairs (VA), Veterans Health Administration (VHA). The VHA has increased telehealth capacity for mental health treatment,<sup>20</sup> but many veterans have little access to the technology that a distance delivery system can offer.

On the home front, spouses and children have been left to manage the fallout from intensified deployment cycles. In fact, mental health conditions such as depression and PTS are as prevalent in families as in service members.<sup>21</sup> A study of over 250,000 military spouses showed that more than one-third (37 percent) were diagnosed with at least one mental disorder, most frequently anxiety, depression or sleep disorders. Rates of depression rose dramatically with deployments longer than 11 months.<sup>22</sup> More than a third (34 percent) of Michigan National Guard spouses met criteria for mental health problems such as PTS and depression, according to a 2011 study.<sup>23</sup>

PTS can combine with financial and interpersonal stress to make home life difficult. Service members and veterans living with PTS, especially if co-occurring with other mental or substance abuse conditions, are at extremely high risk for domestic violence—up to 58 percent. Military spouses are often isolated from their extended family and may not report abuse for fear of retaliation or inadequate protection by authorities.<sup>24</sup> Divorce, which had been lower in the military than in the general public, has climbed steadily since 1999.<sup>25</sup>

Although most of the 776,000 children with active duty parents adapt and thrive despite the challenges of parental deployment,<sup>26</sup> one-third of children with at least one deployed parent have had psychological challenges such as acute stress reaction, depression, anxiety and behavioral disorders,<sup>27</sup> which intensified with longer deployments.<sup>28</sup> Older children and teens can be at greater risk for behavioral issues and are more likely to have difficulty reconnecting with parents after long deployments.<sup>29</sup>

#### National Suicide Prevention Hotline

Includes Military and Veterans

#### 1-(800)-273-TALK (8255)

The National Suicide Prevention hotline is a confidential lifeline for all callers, including active duty military personnel, National Guard members and veterans.

Anyone who is feeling distressed or hopeless, thinking about death or wanting to die—or is concerned about someone else who may be suicidal—is encouraged to call the lifeline at 1-(800)-273-TALK (8255) anytime, day or night.

Callers will be immediately connected to one of over 150 local crisis centers nationwide or to the national Military and Veterans Crisis Lines. For more information, please visit www.suicdepreventionlifeline.org or www.veteranscrisisline.net. Calls are kept confidential.

# Service System

To get help, service members, veterans and their families must navigate the rocky terrain between four health care systems:

- *Department of Defense (DoD), In Theater*: During deployment chaplains provide supportive counseling. Embedded mental health specialists engage service members in treatment for intensive psychological wounds.
- *Department of Defense, Stateside*: Community-based and hospital mental health care are available at military installations. Online counseling, information and referral can be accessed at any time through resources such as Military OneSource. TRICARE, the military health insurance program, contracts with a network of mental health providers in communities nationwide.
- *Veterans Health Administration (VA)*: The VHA provides inpatient and outpatient care through a network of health facilities and community clinics. Individual, marital, group and grief counseling are available through community based vets centers.
- *Civilian health system*: Those who do not qualify, or do not wish to access care, through the DoD and VHA systems, rely on employer sponsored health coverage and public community mental health systems.

	Military/Veteran Health S	ystems <sup>1</sup>		
System	Services Offered Through (or By)	Population		
Department of Defense, In Theater	<ul> <li>Embedded mental health providers</li> <li>Chaplains: supportive counseling</li> <li>Treatment facilities in theater</li> </ul>	• Active duty forces in theater		
Department of Defense, Stateside	<ul> <li>Embedded mental health providers</li> <li>Chaplains: supportive counseling</li> <li>Military Treatment Facility (TRICARE)</li> <li>Military OneSource</li> <li>Community providers in TRICARE network</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Active duty</li> <li>Guard/ Reserve<sup>a</sup></li> <li>Retired military</li> <li>Dependents of active duty, military retirees and Guard/Reserve</li> </ul>		
Veterans Health Administration	<ul> <li>VHA health facilities and clinics</li> <li>VHA polytrauma centers<sup>b</sup></li> <li>Vet Centers</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Combat veterans</li> <li>Individuals with service- connected disability<sup>c</sup></li> </ul>		
Community	• Private physicians or clinics	<ul> <li>Veterans with non service- connected mental health needs</li> <li>Guard/Reserve and their dependents, based on duty status</li> </ul>		
services to assist recovery. Re <sup>a</sup> Based on duty status and TF	s with multiple combat-related injuries may reco k to DoD upon recovery.	/2008/RAND_MG720.pdf		

Access is based on priority rating system and enrollment; for those without rating, depends on time since separation from service.

# Parity Barriers: Policies

Despite sustained effort to improve screening, assessment and treatment capacity, the DoD and VA have a long way to go. Recovery for service members, veterans and their families is complicated by onerous eligibility requirements for services and benefits, lack of continuity between health care systems, inadequate private health care coverage and too few practitioners qualified to provide military-informed treatment. The need is particularly critical for returned National Guard and Reserve members and their families who have endured the same stresses of multiple deployments as the regular armed forces, yet often live in remote areas away from military bases with far less access to effective care.

Veterans who seek mental health care can find the VA medical system hard to penetrate. More than 1.3 million working-age veterans have no health insurance with those under age 35 least likely to be covered.<sup>30</sup> While veterans with service-connected conditions officially qualify for up to five years of free care through the VA, delayed onset of PTS and depression complicates eligibility. A recent study by the VA Inspector General found that more than one-half of the veterans seeking mental health care for the first time waited 50 days for an assessment. The VA had a backlog of over 897,000 claims for disability benefits with two-thirds pending more than 125 days.<sup>31</sup>

"Getting our veterans timely mental health care can quite frankly often be the difference between life and death...What's particularly disappointing is that...the VA is failing many of those who have been brave enough to seek care...Once a veteran takes the step to reach out for help we need to knock down every potential barrier to care."

- U.S. Sen. Patty Murray (Washington)<sup>32</sup>

In 2008, President George Bush signed into law the landmark Paul Wellstone and Pete Domenici Mental Health Parity and Addiction Equity Act. This mental health parity law requires employersponsored group health insurance plans to cover mental illness and substance use disorders on the same terms and conditions as other medical disorders, *i.e.* at "parity." Since then, discriminatory limits on mental health benefits such as higher deductibles, higher co-payments as well as shorter limits on the length of hospital stays and the number of outpatient visits have become a thing of the past. At the same time, more subtle forms of insurance discrimination, such as increased prior authorization restrictions for specific mental health benefits, exclusion of entire categories of services and more aggressive restrictive management of benefits, have kept the law from achieving its full, intended potential.

The parity law affects veterans and their families, as well as other Americans. It is a major component for ensuring that those veterans who do not rely on the VA system, but are in the nation's work force, get the help they need when they need it for mental health conditions. End-ing discrimination in insurance coverage is also a means of changing the broader culture of stigma and discrimination that traditionally has surrounded mental illness—and for too long has created barriers of silence and discouraged veterans and others from seeking help in the first place.

On the plus side, the Obama Administration issued an "interim final regulation" to implement the parity law in 2010. However, "publication" of the final regulation has not yet occurred. This technical, seemingly obscure bureaucratic process has immense legal significance. Until the final regulation is in place, limits on restrictive management of benefits and "scope of services" will not be legally binding on insurance plans. Until action occurs, veterans and their families, as well as others, will find that equitable coverage of mental health care falls short—at a time when, in the aftermath of war, it is greatly needed.

# Parity Barriers: Attitudes

Active duty service members tend to be reluctant to seek mental health treatment because they live in a warrior culture of "toughing it out." Although trends are improving, service members resist seeking professional help believing it will delay their return home or will limit career advancement. Military leaders have been instructed to encourage those under their command to get help at the earliest opportunity, yet too many remain mired in the perspective that asking for mental health care is a sign of weakness.

"Our post-deployment mental health screening took place with the entire unit sitting down with the chaplain, and the chaplain asking if we had any problems, and the commanding officer saying that no one had any problems."

- Dan West retired, noncommissioned Army officer<sup>33</sup>

The Department of Defense has invested significant resources in mental health treatment and suicide prevention programs for troops. However, it is hard to imagine that these efforts will succeed until attitudes and environmental barriers that too often discourage soldiers from seeking help when they most need it are overcome. A recent statement by Major General Dana Pittard at Ft. Bliss is an example of these attitudes:

"I have now come to the conclusion that suicide is an absolutely selfish act. I am personally fed up with soldiers who are choosing to take their own lives so that others can clean up their mess. Be an adult, act like an adult and deal with your real-life problems like the rest of us."<sup>34</sup>

Families also resist seeking care for themselves for fear of embarrassment within tight-knit military communities and out of concern for the professional prospects of the service member. Although the military and veterans' health systems are promoting help seeking as a sign of strength, change is slow.

"Spouses tell me all the time that they want to get mental health assistance. As incorrect as this is, they really do believe if they seek help it will have a negative impact on their spouse's military career."

- Deborah Mullen, wife of Admiral Mike Mullen, former chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff<sup>35</sup>

### Call to Action

The **U.S. Department of Defense** must move more forcibly to end discrimination associated with invisible wounds of war. Reducing the stigma of mental illness will enhance opportunities to deliver prompt, effective treatment to military service members and families who live with PTS, depression and other mental health conditions. Examples of immediate steps that can be taken to eliminate stigma and barriers to seeking help include:

- *Military leader accountability for stigma and suicide*: Military leaders throughout the chain of command should be required to focus on preventable psychological injuries and deaths, which should be part of their efficiency reporting process. Suicides are preventable just as are the heat and cold injuries of service members for which leaders are routinely relieved of command.
- *Purple Heart for psychological wounds*: Posttraumatic stress and other mental health injuries, that are the result of hostile action, including terrorism, should be eligible for award of the Purple Heart with the same level of appreciation and recognition as those awarded to warriors with visible wounds.

The **Veterans Health Administration** must increase service capacity by expanding provider networks to include community mental health agencies and private practitioners. The VHA should monitor the degree to which contract providers accept veterans and families as clients and should adjust networks to make care available when and where it is needed. Ongoing training in military-informed mental health treatment should be a basic requirement for contract providers. Improved distance delivery through technology should be implemented to remove the travel burden from veterans and improve the use of professional care giver time.

The **U.S. Department of Health and Human Services** must move immediately to fully implement and enforce the federal parity law enacted four years ago.

The American people must reach out, listen and care. We must support those who have shouldered the burden of our longest war. Simple things will make the difference. Neighbors, friends, family and employers can relieve emotional pressure or make it possible to get to treatment by watching the children, providing a ride or granting time off work. We can applaud the strength it takes to recognize a problem and seek help. We can support veterans and military families as they reach back to help others heal. Most importantly, we must seek them out, because military families will not generally come to us. Saying "call me if you have a problem" is not enough. We must nurture the bond and maintain communication.

"In every community, every day, we can find concrete ways to show our military families the respect and gratitude the each of us holds for them in our hearts. They deserve our support long after welcome home ceremonies are over...Every American can do something." - First Lady Michelle Obama and Dr. Jill Biden<sup>36</sup>

## Conclusion

Just as warriors do not forsake wounded comrades in battle, our nation must leave no service member, veteran or their families behind.

NAMI calls upon the Department of Defense, the Department of Veterans' Affairs and the Department of Health and Human Services to eradicate barriers to mental health care and increase service capacity through use of technology and local care. Our country must do what it takes to encourage service members, veterans and their families to get help when and where it is needed. As citizens—neighbors, employers and friends—we must reach out, listen and care.

Because military culture is about service and heroism, service members, veterans and their families have much to teach us. Once they have the tools necessary to heal from the hidden wounds of war, they can reach back to help others and, in the process, will help strengthen our nation.

# Appendix I

Military/Veteran Population by State					
State	Regular Armed Forces	National Guard/ Reserve	Veterans	State Totals	% of National Total
California	117,806	57,792	1,594,873	1,770,471	9.09%
Texas	131,548	56,367	1,290,655	1,478,570	7.59%
Florida	42,642	34,653	1,310,403	1,387,698	7.13%
New York	29,553	30,362	784,310	844,225	4.34%
Pennsylvania	5,215	32,297	781,136	818,648	4.20%
Ohio	8,261	28,523	704,861	741,645	3.81%
North Carolina	116,073	22,542	575,069	713,684	3.66%
Virginia	63,160	25,109	608,919	697,188	3.58%
Georgia	73,988	29,358	565,955	669,301	3.44%
Illinois	10,111	25,084	625,532	660,727	3.39%
Michigan	2,858	17,618	561,364	581,840	2.99%
Washington	46,161	19,470	482,031	547,662	2.81%
Arizona	21,343	13,728	427,264	462,335	2.37%
Missouri	17,925	23,769	392,387	434,081	2.23%
Tennessee	3,511	20,606	379,172	403,289	2.07%
Indiana	3,108	21,073	376,510	400,691	2.06%
New Jersey	6,673	17,312	373,749	397,734	2.04%
Maryland	29,160	16,000	352,466	397,626	2.04%
Colorado	35,404	12,491	321,623	369,518	1.90%
South Carolina	32,518	19,102	306,758	358,378	1.84%
Alabama	11,896	22,099	310,808	344,803	1.77%
Massachusetts	3,205	15,335	326,004	344,544	1.77%
Wisconsin	2,046	15,833	325,371	343,250	1.76%
Minnesota	1,897	19,256	301,562	322,715	1.66%
Kentucky	43,138	13,126	257,910	314,174	1.61%
Oklahoma	21,673	15,640	258,475	295,788	1.52%
Louisiana	17,398	18,011	246,743	282,152	1.45%
Oregon	1,615	10,470	262,662	274,747	1.41%
Kansas	25,482	11,479	179,415	216,376	1.11%
Arkansas	6,717	13,051	195,182	214,950	1.10%
lowa	1,296	12,390	190,761	204,447	1.05%
Nevada	10,034	6,087	180,970	197,091	1.01%
Connecticut	1,914	6,369	186,934	195,217	1.01%

Continued...

# Appendix I (continued)

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State	Regular Armed Forces	National Guard/ Reserve	Veterans	State Totals	% of National Total
Mississippi	9,895	17,332	162,506	189,733	0.97%
New Mexico	11,038	5,199	134,528	150,765	0.77%
West Virginia	1,199	9,303	132,943	143,445	0.74%
Hawaii	40,874	9,276	88,661	138,811	0.71%
Utah	6,237	11,999	120,415	138,651	0.71%
Nebraska	6,845	7,498	117,530	131,873	0.68%
Idaho	4,967	5,892	104,933	115,792	0.59%
Maine	730	4,153	105,586	110,469	0.57%
New Hampshire	675	4,251	95,906	100,832	0.52%
Montana	3,623	4,748	78,610	86,981	0.45%
Alaska	23,178	4,747	55,548	83,473	0.43%
Delaware	3,870	4,881	59,124	67,875	0.35%
South Dakota	3,910	4,982	56,487	65,379	0.34%
Rhode Island	1,490	4,438	59,320	65,248	0.34%
North Dakota	7,209	4,669	44,018	55,896	0.29%
Wyoming	3,407	3,218	43,307	49,932	0.26%
D.C.	13,424	6,378	28,794	48,596	0.25%
Vermont	565	3,952	39,825	44,342	0.23%
US Total	1,088,465	819,318	17,565,876	19,473,659	100.01%

Source: Department of Defense. (2010) Demographics 2010: Profile of the military community. Retrieved from www.militaryhomefront.dod.mil/12038/Project%20Documents/MilitaryHOMEFRONT/Reports/2010\_Demographics\_Report.pdf

## Appendix II

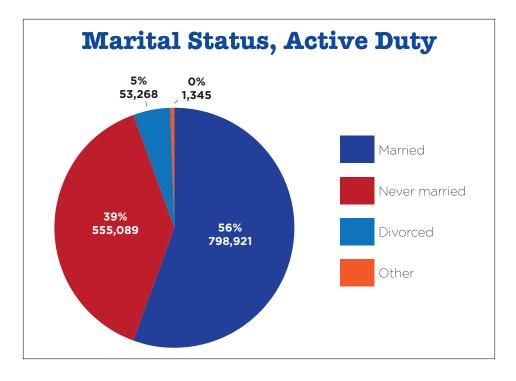
Military Families by State			Military Families by State Ranked highest to lowest		
State	Dependents at Installations	% All States	State	Dependents at Installations	% All States
Alabama	16,541	0.98%	Virginia	193,479	11.41%
Alaska	30,553	1.80%	Texas	183,166	10.80%
Arizona	29,669	1.75%	California	174,617	10.30%
Arkansas	7,702	0.45%	North Carolina	153,036	9.03%
California	174,617	10.30%	Georgia	109,662	6.47%
Colorado	61,654	3.64%	Washington	86,274	5.09%
Connecticut	7,462	0.44%	Florida	75,713	4.47%
Delaware	4,699	0.28%	Kentucky	72,780	4.29%
D.C.	21,901	1.29%	Hawaii	66,963	3.95%
Florida	75,713	4.47%	Colorado	61,654	3.64%
Georgia	109,662	6.47%	Kansas	43,265	2.55%
Hawaii	66,963	3.95%	South Carolina	40,162	2.37%
Idaho	5,141	0.30%	Maryland	38,667	2.28%
Illinois	20,172	1.19%	New York	37,009	2.18%
Indiana	1,742	0.10%	Oklahoma	34,402	2.03%
lowa	393	0.02%	Alaska	30,553	1.80%
Kansas	43,265	2.55%	Arizona	29,669	1.75%
Kentucky	72,780	4.29%	Louisiana	26,996	1.59%
Louisiana	26,996	1.59%	Missouri	22,782	1.34%
Maine	923	0.05%	D.C.	21,901	1.29%
Maryland	38,667	2.28%	Illinois	20,172	1.19%
Massachusetts	3,079	0.18%	Alabama	16,541	0.98%
Michigan	2,476	0.15%	New Mexico	16,365	0.97%
Minnesota	1,390	0.08%	Nevada	13,853	0.82%
Mississippi	12,945	0.76%	Mississippi	12,945	0.76%
Missouri	22,782	1.34%	Ohio	12,413	0.73%
Montana	3,936	0.23%	Nebraska	9,460	0.56%
Nebraska	9,460	0.56%	New Jersey	9,022	0.53%
Nevada	13,853	0.82%	North Dakota	8,190	0.48%
New Hampshire	1,510	0.09%	Arkansas	7,702	0.45%
New Jersey	9,022	0.53%	Connecticut	7,462	0.44%
New Mexico	16,365	0.97%	Utah	7,413	0.44%
New York	37,009	2.18%	Pennsylvania	5,570	0.33%

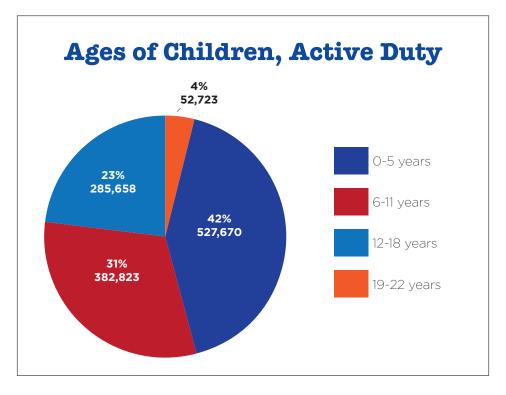
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# Appendix II (continued)

Military Families by State			Military Families by State Ranked highest to lowest		
State	Dependents at Installations	% All States	State	Dependents at Installations	% All States
North Carolina	153,036	9.03%	Idaho	5,141	0.30%
North Dakota	8,190	0.48%	Tennessee	5,057	0.30%
Ohio	12,413	0.73%	Delaware	4,699	0.28%
Oklahoma	34,402	2.03%	South Dakota	4,590	0.27%
Oregon	1,062	0.06%	Wyoming	4,050	0.24%
Pennsylvania	5,570	0.33%	Rhode Island	3,950	0.23%
Rhode Island	3,950	0.23%	Montana	3,936	0.23%
South Carolina	40,162	2.37%	Massachusetts	3,079	0.18%
South Dakota	4,590	0.27%	Michigan	2,476	0.15%
Tennessee	5,057	0.30%	Indiana	1,742	0.10%
Texas	183,166	10.80%	New Hampshire	1,510	0.09%
Utah	7,413	0.44%	Minnesota	1,390	0.08%
Vermont	146	0.01%	Wisconsin	1,136	0.07%
Virginia	193,479	11.41%	Oregon	1,062	0.06%
Washington	86,274	5.09%	Maine	923	0.05%
West Virginia	502	0.03%	West Virginia	502	0.03%
Wisconsin	1,136	0.07%	lowa	393	0.02%
Wyoming	4,050	0.24%	Vermont	146	0.01%
US Total	1,695,640	100.00%	US Total	1,695,640	100.00%
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#### Appendix III





Source: Department of Defense. (2010) Demographics 2010: Profile of the military community. Retrieved from www.militaryhomefront.dod.mil/12038/Project%20Documents/MilitaryHOMEFRONT/Reports/2010\_Demographics\_Report.pdf



<sup>1</sup> Armed Forces Health Surveillance Center. (Apr. 2012) Hospitalizations among members of the active component, U.S. Armed Forces, 2011. <i>Monthly Medical Surveillance Report</i> , 9(4). Retrieved from www.afhsc.mil/viewMSMR?file=2012/v19_n04.pdf#Page=10
<sup>2</sup> Ibid.
<sup>3</sup> Swofford, A. (May 2012) The epidemic of military suicides. <i>Newsweek</i> . Retrieved from www.thedailybeast.com/newsweek/2012/05/20/anthony-swofford-on-the-epidemic-of-military-suicides.html
*Ibid.
<sup>5</sup> The White House. (Jan. 2011) Strengthening our military families: Meeting America's commitment. Retrieved from www.defense.gov/home/features/2011/0111_initiative/strengthening_our_military_january_2011.pdf
<sup>6</sup> Ruiz, R. (May 2012) Troops returning home to strained veterans-affairs system. U.S. News. Retrieved from http://usnews.msnbc.msn.com/ news/2012/05/02/11507282-troops-returning-home-to-strained-veterans-affairs-system?lite
<sup>7</sup> The White House. (Jan. 2011) Strengthening our military families: Meeting America's commitment. Retrieved from www.defense.gov/home/features/2011/0111_initiative/strengthening_our_military_january_2011.pdf
<sup>8</sup> Ibid.
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