Systematic Review of the Military Career Impact of Mental Health Evaluation and Treatment

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ABSTRACT

Introduction:

Military leaders are concerned that active duty members' fear of career impact deters mental health (MH) treatment-seeking. To coalesce research on the actual and perceived consequences of MH treatment on service members' careers, this systematic review of literature on the U.S. Military since 2000 has been investigating the following three research questions: (1) is the manner in which U.S. active duty military members seek MH treatment associated with career-affecting recommendations from providers? (2) Does MH treatment-seeking in U.S. active duty military members impact military careers, compared with not seeking treatment? (3) Do U.S. active duty military members perceive that seeking MH treatment is associated with negative career impacts?

Materials and Methods:

A search of academic databases for keywords "military 'career impact' 'mental health'" resulted in 653 studies, and an additional 51 additional studies were identified through other sources; 61 full-text articles were assessed for eligibility. A supplemental search in Medline, PsycInfo, and Google Scholar replacing "career impact" with "stigma" was also conducted; 54 articles (comprising 61 studies) met the inclusion criteria.

Results:

As stipulated by the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses guidelines, studies were summarized on the population studied (U.S. Military Service[s]), sample used, intervention type, comparison group employed, outcome variables, and findings. Self-referred, compared with command-directed, service members appear to be less likely to face career-affecting provider recommendations in non-deployed and deployed settings although the data for the latter are not consistent. Of the two studies that tested if MH treatment actually negatively impacts military careers, results showed that those who sought treatment were more likely to be discharged although the casual nature of this relationship cannot be inferred from their design. Last, over one-third of all non-deployed service members, and over half of those who screened positive for psychiatric problems, believe that seeking MH treatments will harm their careers.

Conclusions:

Despite considerable efforts to destigmatize MH treatment-seeking, a substantial proportion of service members believe that seeking help will negatively impact their careers. On one hand, these perceptions are somewhat backed by reality, as seeking MH treatment is associated with a higher likelihood of being involuntarily discharged. On the other hand, correlational designs cannot establish causality. Variables that increase both treatment-seeking and discharge could include (1) adverse childhood experiences; (2) elevated psychological problems (including both [a] the often-screened depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress problems and [b] problems that can interfere with military service: personality disorders, psychotic disorders, and bipolar disorder, among others); (3) a history of aggressive or behavioral problems; and (4) alcohol use and abuse. In addition, most referrals are self-directed and do not result in any career-affecting provider recommendations. In conclusion, the essential question of this research area—"Does seeking MH treatment, compared with not seeking treatment, cause career harm?"—has not been addressed scientifically. At a minimum, longitudinal studies before treatment initiation are required, with multiple data collection waves comprising symptom measurement, treatment, and other services obtained, and a content-valid measure of career impact.

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INTRODUCTION

Rationale

Despite the awesome power of the F-22 fighter jet, the M-1 Abrams tank, or the Ohio-class submarine, the most valuable and complex weapon in the U.S. Military's armament is the human weapon system. The human weapon system "shares common features with all other weapons. It is fallible, influenced both positively and negatively by external factors, and requires periodic maintenance. "

However, the human weapon system has some unique features that make it exceptionally challenging to maintain.

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First, military leaders primarily rely on each human to maintain himself or herself. Second, humans have the autonomy to choose avoiding needed maintenance unless performance is so degraded that commanders order them to specialized services (e.g., mental health [MH] treatment). Third, humans have self-awareness and may conclude that the needed maintenance may result in their being excised, thus leading to active avoidance.

Thus, despite U.S. Armed Forces' leadership making human resources risk management top priorities in the 21st century,³ suicide and MH problems continue to be crucial concerns in maintaining operational readiness.⁴ To this end, both public health campaigns⁵ and research^{6–8} have been conducted on reducing MH treatment stigma.

Yet stigma is only of many barriers in service members' (SMs) complex and multi-faceted decisions about pursuing MH treatment. Part of the calculus is whether there are actual career ramifications of pursuing treatment (and what they are). This is not an idle threat to military members; in 2014, a RAND report identified 203 U.S. Military policies that contribute to MH treatment stigma and to direct negative career consequences. Furthermore, direct career implications vary by military career field. For example, in the U.S. Air Force, duty restrictions related to MH treatment pursuit can be incurred by those with jobs involving nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons (i.e., the Personnel Reliability Program), pilots of both traditional and remotely piloted aircraft, and security forces.

Furthermore, the perception that there are career consequences may ultimately guide behavior, regardless of whether there truly are career ramifications for pursuing MH treatment among active duty members experiencing psychological or behavioral problems. Thus, any investigation of the career impacts of instigating MH treatment must consider both the actual and the perceived consequences.

Finally, the earliest studies in this area focused on active duty members receiving MH treatment and investigated whether being self- versus command-referred was associated with career-impacting recommendations. The DoD Psychological Health Center of Excellence's guidance on career concerns⁹ has used this literature to stress the importance of seeking treatment early.

Thus, we conducted a systematic review of research on the career impact of receiving MH treatment. Given that policies differ across time, historical context, country-based policies, and active duty versus National Guard, Reserve, or veteran status, we limited our search to the literature on the active duty U.S. Military published since January 1, 2000.

Objectives

This systematic review sought to synthesize and critically evaluate studies addressing the following three research questions:

- 1. Is the manner in which U.S. active duty military members seek MH treatment associated with career-affecting recommendations from providers?
- 2. Does MH treatment-seeking in U.S. active duty military members impact military careers, compared with not seeking treatment?
- 3. Do U.S. active duty military members perceive that seeking MH treatment is associated with negative career impacts?

METHOD

Search Strategy

We conducted a systematic search of Google Scholar for relevant studies from January 1, 2000 through December 15, 2020. Search terms were "military" and "career impact" and "mental health" or "behavioral health" (The search was later replicated in Medline and PsycInfo.). A supplemental search in Medline, PsycInfo, and Google Scholar replacing "career impact" with "stigma" was conducted in April 2021. The review protocol can be found in Online Supplement 1. Relevant articles located from (1) the reference lists of included articles, (2) those citing included studies, and (3) content-area expert suggestions were also reviewed.

Study Selection

Articles were selected for inclusion based on the following criteria: (1) published in English, (2) published or released between 2000 and 2020, (3) reported findings on U.S. active duty SMs, and (4) empirically studied actual or perceived career impact of MH treatment. Exclusion criteria included (a) findings on National Guard, Reserve, veteran, or military dependent populations and (b) failure to separate results for active duty participants from other participants. The search was conducted December 2020–January 2021.

Two researchers (E.L.P. and A.M.P.) reviewed titles and abstracts for eligibility (n = 703). Full-text articles (n = 61) were assessed for eligibility: 27 clearly met inclusion criteria, 23 did not investigate career impact and were excluded, and 34 were labeled as "maybe" being eligible, so two Ph.D.-level researchers (R.E.H. and A.M.P.) independently coded these articles on the eligibility criteria (agreement = 100% regarding eligibility). Thirty-eight articles met eligibility criteria, plus an additional 16 from the supplemental search, for a total of 54 studies.

RESULTS

The number of studies screened, assessed for eligibility, and included in the review, with reasons for exclusions at each stage can be found in the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA)¹⁰ flowchart in Figure 1. Following PRISMA guidelines, ¹⁰ a table structure was created with the following elements: authors, population, sample, intervention type, comparison group, outcomes, and study findings. Data were extracted from the original

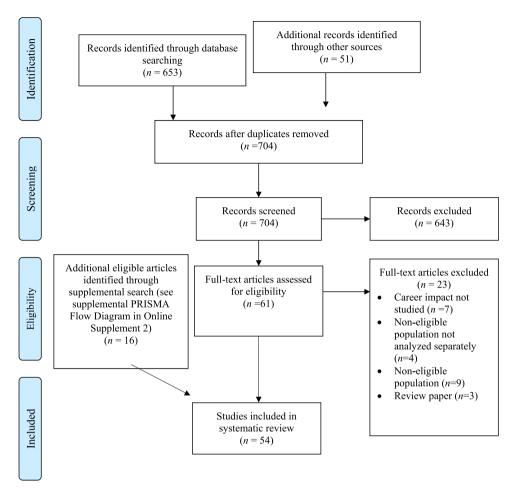


FIGURE 1. PRISMA Flow Diagram for Systematic Review of Military Career Impact of Mental Health Treatment.

reports by E.L.E. and reviewed by R.E.H. Table I provides the complete study characteristics.

Research Question #1: Is the Manner in Which U.S. Active Duty Military Members Seek MH Treatment Associated with Career-affecting Recommendations from Providers?

Five of the eight studies investigating research question #1 used Rowan and Campise's¹¹ operationalization collapsing MH provider recommendations in two overarching categories. First is "career-affecting recommendations" from MH treatment providers: (1) temporary change of duty, including duty restrictions; (2) occupational changes, including career retraining or loss of special statuses such as flight status and Personnel Reliability Program; and (3) discharge. Second is non-career-affecting recommendations: (1) no contact with commanders required, (2) return to duty, (3) recommendations that commanders provide small adjustments or support, and (4) recommendations for additional treatment outside of the outpatient MH clinic.

Treatment not during deployment

As shown in Table I, three studies used outpatient MH treatment records to investigate this research question with non-deployed SMs. The two studies with the best statistical power^{11,12} found that airmen who were commanddirected to MH treatment were significantly more likely to receive career-affecting recommendations from providers (39%-86%) than were airmen who were self-referred or command-encouraged (3%-28%). In addition, self-referred, compared with command directed, airmen were more likely to be treated for something other than a psychiatric problem (i.e., a V-code—"Other Conditions That May Be a Focus of Clinical Attention"). The third, small (N=35)study¹³ found that career-affecting recommendations were not related to Marines' demographic, military, and clinicalpresentation characteristics. An additional study by Hoge¹⁴ studied the career impact of inpatient hospitalization, with soldiers treated for psychiatric problems significantly more likely to be separated than those treated for non-psychiatric problems.

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TABLE I. Studies of the Association between Mental Health Treatment Seeking and Career Impact/Perceptions of Career Impact

Authors	Population ^{65a}	Sample ^{65b}	Intervention type ^{65c}	Comparison group ^{65d}	Outcomes ^{65e}	Findings
Research Question MH-Treatment Sou Ghahramanlou- Holloway et al. (2018) Study 1 ¹³	Research Question #1:1s the manner in which UMH-Treatment Sought Not During Deployment Ghahramanlou- USMC N=3 Holloway et A=3 (2018)— B=1.2018)— B=1.2018	S. active-duty military S. Population of outpati 10 S: S: 5: 33.3%	treatment associated Outpatient MH treatment	with career-impacting reconwithin MH-treatment seekers: Self-referral vs. other recommended vs. other mandatory	members seek MH treatment associated with career-impacting recommendations from providers? ent MH in 2009 Outpatient MH Within MH-treatment • Career-affecting recommendations seekers. Self-referral tions 651 vs. other recom- • Non-career-affecting mended vs. other recommendations 652 mandatory	Career-Impact Findings • Career-affecting treatment recommendations (44.7% of sample) not related to demographics, rank, referral source, or clinical factors (including suicidality)
Ghahramanlou- Holloway et al. (2019) — Study 1 ¹²	USAF	N=370; Random sample of MH seeking personnel from 9 outpatient MH clinics representative of each Air Force major command (except U.S. Air Forces in Europe — Air Forces Africa) in 2010 Ranks: El-E4: 50% E5-E9: 40.4% O1-O6: 9.6%	Outpatient MH treatment	Within MH-treatment seekers: Self-referral vs. other recom- mended vs. other mandatory	Career-affecting recommendations ^f Non-career-affecting recommendations ^g	Referral source significantly related to outcome Commander-directed SMs were more likely to receive career-affecting recommand-encouraged SMs Contextualizing Findings 17.8% of sample excluded because of medical provider referral wouth, higher rank, command-encouraged referral, more symptoms at intake, and history of psychiatric inpatient treatment all accounted for unique variance in predicting career-affecting recommendations. Self-referred, vs. commander-directed, more likely to receive V-code diagnosis (30.7% vs. 0%) and less likely to receive an adjustment disorder diagnosis (29.9% vs. 71.4%).
Hoge et al. (2005) ¹⁴	USA	N=13.971; population of hospitalized soldiers in 1998 (Ranks not provided)	In-patient MH treatment	Inpatient non-MH treatment	Remaining on active duty Separation	 Separation was higher for SMs primarily hospitalized for MH disorders (45%) and secondarily for MH disorders (27%) vs. non-MH illnesses (11%). MH hospitalization strongly associated with separation due to AD-related disability and to conditions predating service.

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Rowan & Campsie (2006) ¹¹	USAF	N=1068; Population of all AD members served a USAF outpatient MH clinic in 2002 Ranks: E1-E4: 54% E5-E9: 37% O1-O6: 9%	Outpatient MH treatment	Within MH-treatment seekers: Self-referral vs. other recom- mended vs. other mandatory	Career affecting recommendations Non-career-affecting recommendations [®]	 Career-Impact Findings Career-affecting recommendations were least likely for self-referred SMs (3%) and most likely for commander-directed SMs (39%) Conextualizing Findings Self-referred Airmen more likely to be younger, female, and single. Self-referred, vs. command-directed, more likely to receive a V-code diagnosis (42% vs. 9%) and less likely to receive a non-adjustment disorder Axis I diagnosis (28% vs. 42%).
MH-Treatment Sou Christensen & Yaffe (2012) ¹⁵	MH-Treatment Sought During Deployment Christensen & Sample 1: USAF F Yaffe (2012) ¹⁵ (93.8%); USA (3.0%); USA (3.0%); Sample 2: USAF (86.2%); USA (11.8%); USA (11.8%); EUSN/USMC F (2.0%)	Population of deployed SMs at Al Udeid Air Base, Qatar in 2005 (n = 246) and nondeployed SM in 2002 (n = 1,367) from 8 USAF bases. Non-deployed sample is the same as that in Rowan & Campise (2006) but included non-USAF SMs excluded from that study. Ranks: El-E4: 52.4% E5-E9: 38.1% Ol-O6: 9.5%	Outpatient MH treat- ment during deployment	Deployed vs. non-deployed	Duty restrictions No restrictions	 Career-Impact Findings Deployed SMs were more likely to receive duty restrictions (16%) compared with the non-deployed SMs (10%). Same result when examining only self-referred SMs (15% vs. 4%). Contextualizing Findings Non-deployed sample had higher rates of no diagnosis (18.7% vs. 12.7%) and lower rates of Major Depressive Disorder (8.0% vs. 19.1%). Non-deployed also had higher rates of "Other Axis! (not Adjustment Disorder, Major Depressive Disorder, or anxiety disorder, Major Depressive Disorder, or anxiety disorder, 14.7% vs. 14.8.)
Conway et al. (2016) ¹⁶	USA USN USMC	SMs deployed to Operation Iraqi Freedom combat theater January 2006–January 2007 (N=9037). Population of SMs treated for MH (n=964) or noncombat injury (n=853) and a random sample of nontreated deployed SM controls (n=7220). Ranks for SMs treated for MH; noncombat injuries; and non-treated controls: E1-E3: 48.2%; 49.6%; 34.7% E4-E9: 47.6%; 42.1%; 51.1%	Outpatient MH treat- ment during deployment	Non-combat/non-MH treatment and no treatment	Remaining on active duty Early separation	Caree-Impact Findings • MH treatment during deployment associated with early separation for medical and punitive reasons. Contextualizing Findings • SMs receiving in-theater MH treatment also more likely to receive pre-deployment and post-deployment MH diagnosis
Rowan et al. 2014 ¹⁷	USA	N=1640 Population of SMs seeking outpatient MH treatment while deployed in Afghanistan (year of survey not provided) Ranks: El-E4: 59% E5-E9: 33% O1-O6, W1-W4: 7% Missing: 1%	Outpatient MH treat- ment during deployment	Within MH-treatment seekers: Self-referral vs. other recom- mended vs. other mandatory	Career-affecting recommendations ⁶ Non-career-affecting recommendations ⁸	Career-Impact Findings Career-Affecting recommendations were least likely for self-referred SMs, more likely for command-encouraged, and most likely for commander-directed SMs Contextualizing Findings Severity of diagnosis associated with career-affecting recommendations

	Population ^{65a}	Sample ^{65 b}	Intervention type ^{65c}	Comparison group ^{65d}	Outcomes 65e	Findings
	USA	N=1639 SMs; Population of all SMs seeking MH treatment from 2006-2007 while deployed in Afghanistan (Ranks not provided)	Outpatient MH treat- ment during deployment	Prior MH treatment vs.	Career-affecting recommendations ^f Non-career-affecting recommendations ^g	Career-Impact Findings Prior MH treatment (vs. not) reduced odds of receiving career-impacting recommendations by 58% (even after controlling for demographics and number of previous deployments). Contextualizing Findings Career-impacting recommendations associated with being deployed at least once, but not after controlling for demographics.
Research Question # Ghahramanlou- Holloway et al. (2018) —Study 2 ¹³	2: Does MH treatm USMC	Research Question #2: Does MH treatment seeking, compared in U.S. active-duty military members impact military careers, compared with not seeking treatment? Chahramanlou- USMC N=178 Outpatient MH Non-treatment seeking • Still on AD Outpatient MH Treatment seeking • Still on AD Treatment seeking seeking reatment seeking on treatment seeking solutions included and military occupational specialty) followed for \$567 years (January 1, 2009 – August (Ranks not provided)	members impact mili Outpatient MH treatment	Non-treatment seeking Marched controls matched controls	Still on AD Still on AD Scurity clearance changes Legal action, including non-judicial punishment Discharged Completion of service Voluntary separation Involuntary separation	MH-treatment seekers and controls did not differ on changes in security clearance over time. MH treatment-seeking SMs, compared with matched controls, were More likely to be dischanged (95.0% vs. 63.0%), but no more likely to be involuntary separated. More likely to have legal action (45.0% vs. 23.9%) Less time in military following initial MH encounter (1.5 vs. 2.1 years). Even after controlling for treatment, legal
Ghahramanlou- Holloway et al. (2019) — Study 2 ¹²	USAF	N=1479 (n=332 Population MH treatment-seeking SMs; controls: N=1147 random sample non-treatment-seeking SMs matched on rank, time in grade, and occupational specialty) followed for 3.5 years (January 1, 2009 – June 30, 2012). (Ranks not provided)	Outpatient MH treatment	Non-treatment-seeking matched controls	Still on AD Security clearance changes Discharged Completion of service Voluntary separation Involuntary or force adjustment separation	 action predicted separation. MH-treatment seekers and controls did not differ on changes in security clearance over time. MH-treatment seekers were more likely than controls to receive a medical board evaluation (16% vs. 6%) to to be discharged for any reason (24% vs. 15%) Receive an involuntary or forceadjustment separation (4.5% vs. 15%) 1.5%)
Research Question # Quantitative Studies: 2002 DoD Health Related Behav- iors Survey of AD Military Personnel ¹⁹	3: Do U.S. active-d : General Populatio : USAF USN USMC	Research Question #3: Do U.S. active-duty military members perceive that seeking MH treatment is associated with negative career impacts? Quantitative Studies: General Population Samples, Not During or Immediately on Returning from Deployment 2002 DoD Health USAF N=1.2756 Random sample AD SMs in 2002 N/A NA Related Behav- USA EI-E3: 19.72% B4-E9: 60.57% B4-E9: 60.57% AD Military USMC W1-W5: 3% Personnel 19 OI-O10: 16.71%	eatment is associated v ng from Deployment N/A	with negative career impacts'	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	 48.1% agreed that seeking MH treatment definitely or probably would harm their careers Agreed that MH treatment would harm their careers: SMs who perceived a need for MH treatment but did not seek it: 66.9.0% SMs who perceived a need and sought treatment: 50.4%

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 27.80% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers. Soldiers who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: Screening positive for an MH disorder: 49.6% Screening negative: 30.1% 	 25.20% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers. Soldiers who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers Screening positive for an MH disorder: 42.8% Screening negative: 26.5% 	 18.20% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Soldiers who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers Screening positive for an MH disorder: 37.8% Screening negative: 19.5% 	 44.1% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Agreed that MH treatment would harm their careers: SMs who perceived a need for MH treatment but did not seek it: 63.2% o SMs who perceived a need and sought treatment 47.9% 	 19.20% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Soldiers who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers Screening positive for an MH disorder: 31.0% Screening negative: 20.0% 	 18.00% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Soldiers who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers Screening positive for an MH disorder: 33.6% Screening negative: 17.7%
Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	Perception of career impact: "It 'definitely or probably would damage my career."	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"
N/A	K.	Y.Y.	N. A.	K.	N/A
N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
2003 N= 3,986 E1-E4: 63.6% E5-E9: 29.8% Officer: 6.5%	2004 <i>N</i> = 10,334 E1-E4: 63.8% E5-E9: 29.8% Officer: 6.4%	2005 N=260 E1-E4: 53.1% E5-E9: 40.2% Officer: 6.6%	N=16.146 Rando sample AD SMs in 2005 El-E3: 16.1% E4-E9: 59.4% W1-W5: 2.5% O1-O10: 22%	2006 N = 1120 E1-E4: 49.5% E5-E9: 39.9% Officer: 10.5	2007 N = 1,389 E1-E4, 58.2% E5-E9: 35.9% Officer: 5.9%
USA	USA	USA	USAF USA USMC	USA	USA
2003 Amy Land Combat Survey ³²	2004 Army Land Combat Survey ³²	2005 Army Land Combat Survey ³²	2005 DoD Health Related Behav- iors Survey of AD Military Personnel ²⁰	2006 Army Land Combat Surve ³²	2007 Army Land Combat Survey ³²

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TABLE I. (Continued)

Authors	Population ^{65a}	Sample ^{65b}	Intervention type ^{65c}	Comparison group ^{65d}	Outcomes ^{65e}	Findings
2008 Army Land Combat Survey ³²	USA	2008 N = 1,874 E1-E4: 62,7% E5-E9: 31.5% Officer: 5.8%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	 18.30% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Soldiers who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers Screening positive for an MH disorder: 32.3% Screening negative: 21.2%
2008 DoD Health Related Behaviors Survey of AD Military Personnel ²¹	USAF USA USM USMC	N=28,546 Random sample AD SMs in 2008 E1-E3: 20.1% E4-E9: 59% W1-W5: 3% O1-O10: 17.9%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It 'definitely or probably would' damage my career"	36.1% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Among respondents with no MH disorders, career impact concerns not related to racefethnicity. 68 Among respondents perceiving career impact of seeking MH treatment, Asian SMs were less likely to seek treatment.68
2009 Army Land Combat Survey ³²	USA	2009 N = 1,077 E1–E4: 57.6% E5–E9: 34.3% Officer: 8.1%	N/ A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	 13.0% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Soldiers who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers Screening positive for an MH disorder: 27.4% Screening negative: 17.6%
2011 Army Land Combat Survey ³²	USA	2011 N = 2,587 E1-E4: 56,1% E5-E9: 33,6% Officer: 10.3%	N/ A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	 23.7% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Soldiers who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers Screening positive for an MH disorder: 41.5% Screening negative: 20.9%
2011 DoD Health Related Behaviors Survey of AD Military Personnel ²²	USAF USA USN USMC	N=34,416 AD Random sample non-deployed SMs in 2011 El-E4: 31.2% E5-E9: 44.5% W1-W5: 4.2% O1-O10: 20.1%	SMs seeking help for a for an MH disorder in the past year	SMs not seeking help for a for an MH dis- order in the past year	Perception of career impact: "It would damage my career"	 37.7% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Agreed that MH treatment would harm their careers: SMs who perceived a need for MH treatment but did not seek it: 53.0% o SMs who perceived a need and sought treatment: 40.5% of SMs seeking MH treatment in the past year, 21.3% reported it had a negative effect on their careers; highest in USMC (26.2%) and USN (24.3%).

Related Behaviors Survey of AD Military Personnel ²⁷	USA USN USMC	AD SMs in 2014 El-E4: 10.8% E5-E9: 42% W1-W5: 5.1% O1-O10: 42.2%			would damage my career"	disorder, % who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: • High depressive symptoms: 55.0% o High anxiety symptoms: 54.4% o High post-traumatic stress symptoms: 65.6% o High perceived stress: 46.6%
2015 DoD Health Related Behaviors Survey of AD Military Personnel ²³	USAF USA USN USMC USCG	N=16,699 randomly selected non-deployed AD SMs in 2015 El-E4: 44.5% E5-E9: 38.3% WI-W5: 1.4% Ol-Olfo: 15.9%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would damage my career"	 35% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Of SMs who perceived a need for MH treatment but did not seek it, 34.5% did not do so because of the perception that it would damage their careers
2016 Status of Forces Survey of AD Members 35	USAF USA USN USMC	Phase 1: N=14,088 randomly selected AD SMs in 2016 Enlisted: 52.3% Officer, 47.8%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact	Likelihood of seeking MH treatment associated with concern about career impact.
2018 DoD Health Related Behaviors Survey of AD Military Personnel®	USAF USA USN USMC	N=17,166 randomly selected non-deployed active component SMs in 2018 E1-E4: 42.6% E5-E6: 29.7% E7-E9: 9.8% W1-W5: 1.4% O1-O3: 10.1% O4-O6: 6.3%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would damage my career"	34.3% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Of SMs who perceived a need for MH treatment but did not seek it, 40.1% did not do so because of the perception that it would damage their careers.
(2015) ²⁸	USA	N=1324; random sample AD soldiers (year of data collection not provided) El-E4: 65% E5-E9: 29% O1-O4: 7%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: Three items: "It hurt my chances of getting promoted;" "It might affect my security clearance;" "It Would lead to me getting discharged	 SMs who screened positive for an MH problem had significantly higher career impact perceptions (M = 2.79 vs. 2.46 per item on 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) scale. Career impact perceptions were associated with treatment seeking and dropout.
iritt et al. (2016) ⁶⁹	USA	N=1725; random sample of AD soldiers (ranks and year of data collection not provided)	N/A	N/A	Perception of career stigma and negative and positive views toward MH treatment	Career stigma had moderate effect size relations with both positive $(r=32)$ and negative $(r=0.41)$ views toward MH treatment.
(2004) ³⁹	USA USMC	N=6201 Populations of an Army and a Marine brigade. AD SM (n=2530 predeployment, n=3671 post-deployment in Iraq or Afghanistan) E-E4: 63;60;69% E5-E9: 29;32:29% O1-O4: 8;8;3% Marines – after deployment to Iraq E1-E4: 84% E5-E9: 12% O1-O4: 4%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	Among SMs screening positive for an MH disorder, % who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: Screening positive for an MH disorder: 50% Screening negative: 24%

TABLE I. (Continued)

Authors	Population ^{65a}	Sample ^{65b}	Intervention type ^{65c}	Comparison group ^{65d}	Outcomes ^{65e}	Findings
Kim et al. (2010) ³⁰	USA	N=8118 (n=4502 at T1, n=3616 T2) Random sample AD soldiers returning from combat at 3- and 12- months post-deployment from Iraq Data collected from December 2003 - October 2007 T1 Rank E1-E4: 63.2% E5-E6: 25% E7-E9: 4.1% Officer = 7.7% T2 Rank E1-E4: 54.4% E5-E6: 34.4% E7-E9: 5% Officer 6.2%	V, ∀	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	Among SM meeting criteria for MH problems, 31% believed seeking MH treatment would harm their careers (at T1 and T2)
Kim et al. (2011) ³¹	USA	N=2653 Random sample AD soldiers previously deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan at least once since 9/11/2011. Data collected in Nov-Dec 2008 and June 2009. E1-E4: 54% E5-E9: 39% Officer: 7%	۲ ۲	Z/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	 Soldiers agreeing that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: Screening positive for an MH disorder or reporting frequent aggressive behaviors, problems in relationships, stress, or alcohol: 23.8% Screening negative: 11.9%
Mental Health Advisory Team-Korea (8th Army) ³⁴	USA	N=1613 Random sample soldiers stationed in Korea in 2015–16. El-E4: 68.2% E5-E9: 23.8% O1-O6: 8.1%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	12.5% of soldiers agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers.
Momen et al. (2012) ²⁴	USMC	N=553 Random sample enlisted Marines (year of survey not provided) El-E4: 14.3% E5-E9: 51.6% O1-O4: 31.4%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "Fear of negative impact on career"	36.5% of Marines agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers
Navy Behavioral Health Quick Poll, 2010; Cited in Acosta et al. 2014 ²⁵	USN	N , ranks, sampling methods not provided in Acosta et al. 2014^{26}	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would have a negative effect on my career"	 37% of officers agreed that MH treatment seeking would harm their careers 86% of officers and 91% of enlisted sailors believe that they would lose their clearances if they received MH treatment
Navy Behavioral Health Quick Poll, 2011; Cited in Acosta et al. (2014) ²⁶	USN	N, ranks, sampling methods not provided in Acosta et al. (2014) ²⁶	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would have a negative effect on my career"	 33% of officers agreed that MH treatment seeking would harm their careers 82% of officers and 87% of enlisted sailors believe that they would lose their clearances if they received MH treatment
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TABLE I. (Continued)

Olmsted et al.	USA	N=1.436 soldiers from two U.S. posts	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It	Soldiers agreeing that receiving MH treat-
(2011) ⁷⁰		October 2009 - February 2010. E1-E3: 9.4% E4-E6: 77.7% E7-E9: 5.4% W1-W5: 0.8% O1-O3: 6.1% O4-O10: 0.6%			would have a negative effect on my career"	ment would harm their careers $M = 2.24$ (on 1–4 scale), $SD = 0.86$.
VanSickle et al. (2016^{71})	USMC	N=1,758; Marines participating in a suicide prevention training for E5-E9s in April-October 2009 (April-October). (Specific rank breakdown not provided.)	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm a Marine's career"	Marines rated belief that receiving MH treatment would harm careers $M = 2.81$ (on 1–4 scale), SD = 1.12.
Wamer et al, 2008 ³³ Ouolineting Sundions	USA	Warner et al. USA Random sample N=3.294 SMs N/A 2008³³ pre-deployment in 2007 BI-E4: 60.2% EE-E9: 34.2% WO/O1-O3: 5.3 OA-O6: 0.3% OA-O6: 0.3% OA-O6: 0.3%	N/A	N.A	Perceptions of impacts: "It would harm my career"	18.5% of SMs agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers. 20.9% of SMs perceived that evidence of MH care in their medical records would harm their careers
Westphal, 2007 ³⁶	USN	Samples, During or infinedately off Returning from Convenience sample A=19 leaders (8 commanding officers, 7 executive officers, and 4 command master chief petty officers) (Year of interviews not provided)	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact elicited during focus groups.	In a qualitative study, leaders said that MH problems early in a career have minimal impact Possible career impact increases as rank increases Officers believed MH treatment has a negative impact on officers' careers; NCOs did not believe the same for NCOs.
(2017) ³⁷	USA	Convenience samples General Sample: $n=78$ soldiers B-E4: 24.35% E5-E7: 24.35% O1-O5: 51.3% Treatment Sample: $n=32$ soldiers who had received MH treatment. (Ranks not provided)	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact elicited during focus groups. Codebook definition comprised: lack of advancement; discharge; differential treatment (e.g., different duties, held on location longer/shorter, not trusted by other unit members); interference with job duties	In the general sample focus groups, all 6 enlisted and 6 officer groups listed career impacts as a barrier to MH treatment. In the treatment-receiving focus groups, 11 of 17 junior enlisted SMs and 9 of 15 senior enlisted SMs/officers listed career impacts
Quantitative Studies Gould et al. (2010) ³⁸	s: General Population USA	Quantitative Studies: General Population Samples, During or Immediately on Returning from Deployment Gould et al. V=2241 Sample of Brigade Combar Team N/A within a week of their return home following a year-long deployment to Iraq. (UK and New Zealand data excluded) Rank Junior: 55% Senior: 37% Officer: 7%	m Deployment N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would have a negative effect on my career"	SMs agreeing that that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: Screening positive for an MH disorder: 28% Screening negative: 18%
Mental Health Advisory Team I: Operation Iraqi Freedom ³⁹	USA	N=577 Random sample of soldiers deployed to Iraq in 2003 El-E4: 63% E5-E6: 28% E7-E9: 2% WO/O1-O6: 7%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	Among soldiers screening positive for an MH disorder, 36% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers
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Authors	Population ^{65a}	Sample ^{65b}	Intervention type ^{65c}	Comparison group ^{65d}	Outcomes ^{65e}	Findings
Mental Health Advisory Team III: Operation Iraqi Freedom 04-06 ⁴⁰	USA	 N=1123 Random sample of soldiers deployed to Iraq in 2004–2006 El-E4: 60% E5-E6: 31% E7-E9: 3% WO/O1-O6: 6% 	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	Among soldiers screening positive for an MH disorder, 31% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers
Mental Health Advisory Team IV: Operation Iraqi Freedom 05–07 ⁴¹	USMC	N=1,767 Random sample of SMs in Iraq (n=1320 soldiers, n=447 Marines) in 2005–2007 For USA and USMC: El-E4: 57%; 85% E5-E6: 37%; 12% E7-E9: <1%; <1% WO/O1–O6: 5%; 2%	Y.Y	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career."	Among SMs screening positive for an MH disorder, 35% of soldiers and 36% of Marines agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Contextualizing Findings Among SMs screening positive for an MH disorder, 42% of soldiers and 38% of Marines received treatment from a behavioral health provider, primary care provider or chaplain.
Mental Health Advisory Team IV: Operation Enduring Free- dom 2005 — Afghanistan ⁴²	USA	N=699 Random sample of soldiers deployed to Afghanistan in 2005 El-E4: 45.1% E5-E9: 48.4% WO/OI-O6: 6.2% Unknown: 0.3%	Z/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career."	Among male E1–E4 soldiers in theater for 9 months screening positive for an MH disorder, 37.4% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers
Mental Health Advisory Team V: Operation Iraqi Freedom 2006–2008 ⁴³	USMC USMC	<i>N</i> =2994 Random sample of deployed SMs (<i>n</i> =1320 soldiers, <i>n</i> =447 Marines) in 2006–2008 E1-E4: 59.9% E5-E9: 32.8% O1-O6: 6.8% Unknown: 0.5%	N.A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career."	Among male E1–E4 SMs in theater for 9 months screening positive for an MH disorder, 29.1% agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers
Mental Health Advisory Team V: Operation Enduring Freedom 2008 — Afghanistan ⁴⁴	USA	N=610 random sample of soldiers deployed to Afghanistan in 2008 El-E4: 57.1% E5-E9: 35.9% Ol-O6: 7.0% Unknown: 0.3%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career."	Among male E1–E4 soldiers in theater for 9 months screening positive for an MH disorder, 31.2% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers
Mental Health Advisory Team VI: Operation Iraqi Freedom 2007-2009 ⁴⁵	USA	N=2442 Random sample of solders deployed to Iraq (n=1260) Maneuver unit platoon, n=1182 Support/sustain unit platoon) in 2007–2009. ■ B-E4: 61.4% □ E5-E9: 35% □ O1-O6: 2.9% □ Unknown: 0.6% ■ Support/sustain platoon SMs: ■ E1-E4: S8.9% □ D1-C6: 4.4% □ O1-O6: 4.4% □ Unknown: 1.4%	∢ Ż	N. Y.	Perception of career impact: 'It would harm my career.''	Among male E1–E4 soldiers in theater for 9 months screening positive for an MH disorder, 34.4% in maneuver platoons and 26.2% in support/sustain platoons agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers

Among E1–E4 soldiers in theater for 9 months screening positive for an MH disorder, % who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: Soldiers Screening positive for an MH disorder: 29.2% Screening negative: 15.4% Marines Screening positive for an MH disorder: 27.5% Screening positive for an MH disorder: 27.5%	Among E1–E4 soldiers in theater for 7 months screening positive for an MH disorder, % who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: Soldiers Screening positive for an MH disorder: 39.5% Table Marines Marines Screening positive for an MH disorder: 37% Screening negative: 14.7% Screening negative: 14.7%	Among E1–E4 soldiers in theater for 7 months screening positive for an MH disorder, % who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: • Screening positive for an MH disorder: 38.4% o Screening negative: 18.6%	Marines who agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: I month pre-deployment: 16.8% I month post-deployment: 13.0% S-months post-deployment: 11.8% - 7-months post-deployment: 13.3%	16.2% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers Among soldiers completing the survey anonymously, % agreeing that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: • Screening positive for an MH disorder; 32.9% o Screening negative: 14.0%
Perception of career impact: "It • A would harm my career." dd d	Perception of career impact: "It • A would harm my career." d	Perception of career impact: "It • 1 would harm my career."	Perception of career impact: "It Mari would harm my career:" MI	Perception of career impact: "It • I would harm my career." • 1
N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
N=1246 random sample deployed maneuver unit SMs (n=911 soldiers, n=335 Marines) in Afghanistan in 2010 USA Sample: El-E4: 65.6% E5-E9: 30.4% O1-O6: 3.5% Uknown: 0.4% USA CSample: E1-E3: 69.9% E4: 16.1% E5-E9: 11.6% Unknown: 0.3%	N=1363 Random sample of maneuver unit SMs (n=994 soldiers, n=369 Marines) in Afghanistan in 2012 USA Sample: E1-E4: 65.4% E5-E9: 30.7% O1-O6: 3.6% Uknown: 0.3% USA Sample: E1-E3: 59.9% E4-E9: 36.3% O1-O6: 1.9% Unknown: 1.9%	N=849 Random sample of soldiers in N/A Afghanistan in 2013 El-E4: 64% E5-E9: 31.6% O1-O6: 4.0% Unknown: 0.5%	N = 768 from 4th wave of the Marine Resiliency Study ¹² , assessing ground- combat Marines deployed to Iraq or Afghanistan 2008 – 2012. (rank not provided)	N=3502 Population of SMs from a single brigade combat team following deployment to Iraq or Afghanistan (n=1712 completing an additional anonymous survey) General sample E1-E4: 51.6% E5-E9: 39.9%% O1-O3: 6.8% Anonymous sample E1-E4: 49.9% E5-E9: 41.8%% O1-O3: 7.2% O4+: 1.1%
(Joint) Mental USA Health Advi- USMC sory Team 7: Operation Enduring Freedom 2010 — Afghanistan ⁴⁶	(Joint) Mental USA Health Advi- USMC sory Team 8: Operation Enduring Free- dom 2012 — Afghanistan ⁴⁷	Mental Health USA Advisory Team 9: Operation Enduring Freedom 2013 — Afghanistan 48	Steenkamp et al. USMC (2014) ⁴⁹	Warner et al. USA 2011 ⁵⁰

TABLE I. (Continued)

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Authors	Population ^{65a}	Sample ^{65b}	Intervention type ^{65c}	Comparison group ^{65d}	Outcomes ^{65e}	Findings
Quantitative Studie Chapman et al. (2014) ⁵¹ Elnitsky et al. (2013) ⁵²	es: Specialized Populal USA	Quantitative Studies: Specialized Population Samples or Topics Chapman et USA $N=799$ sample of Army combat medics al. (2014) ⁵¹ stationed in (a) Europe or (b) Fort Hood. Elnitsky et al. Surveyed at 3- or 12-months post-deployment ($n=543$) or never deployed ($n=256$). Ranks: E1-E4: 62% E5-E9: 38%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would have a negative effect on my career"	 21% of medics agreed that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers;⁵¹ 20.8% men, 21.6% women⁵² SMs agreeing that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers;⁵¹ Screening positive for an MH disorder: 24% o Screening negative: 19%
Hernandez et al. (2014) ³³	USAF	N=211; Respondents to USAF Nursing personnel survey (year unknown) Officer: 53% Enlisted: 47%	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career."	46% agreed that seeking MH treatment would harm their careers.
Holland et al. (2016) ⁵⁴	All branches	Secondary analysis of 2010 DoD Workplace and Gender Relations Survey of Active Duty Members. SMs who had experienced military sexual trauma (n=542) and those who felt unsafe from sexual assault (n=1,016) were included in the analyses.	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact: "It would harm my career"	 SMs agreeing that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: Military sexual assault survivors: 34.4% Non-assaulted SMs who feel unsafe from assault: 31.6%
Reger et al. (2013) ⁵⁵	USA	N=174; Convenience sample of soldiers deployed to Iraq. Data obtained June 2009 – April 2010. Rank: E1-E4: 49% E5-E9: 37% Officers/warrant officers: 14%	N/A	N.Y.	Perception of career impact via four items: "If this type of treatment was in my record, I would have fewer career opportunities," "Receiving this treatment would harm my career," "my unit leadership would treat me differently if they knew I was receiving this treatment," "If I were receiving this treatment," "If I were receiving this treatment, it would be OK with me if my NCO knew about it	Soldiers responded based on a hypothetical situation in which they had PTSD symptoms. Receiving prolonged exposure treatment and virtual reality treatment both evoked significantly lower predictions of career impact than medications did. O There were no significant differences between prolonged exposure and virtual reality treatments.
Zinzow et al. (2015) ³⁷	USA	N=927 soldiers who received MH treatment in the past year or screened positive for an MH problem	N/A	NA	Career stigma subscale ²⁸	Agreement that receiving MH treatment would harm their careers: o Military sexual assault survivors: $M = 2.69$ (on 1–4 scale), $SD = 0.91$ o Non-assaulted SMs: $M = 2.83$ (on 1–4 scale), $SD = 0.94$
						(continued)

TABLE I. (Continued)

Qualitative Studi	ies: Specialized Popul	Qualitative Studies: Specialized Population Samples, Not During or Immediately on Returning from Deployment	ing from Deploymer	nt		
Adler et al. (2020) ⁵⁶	USA	N=12; Inpatient Sample of inpatient previously deployed soldiers having recently experienced a suicidal crisis (ranks and year of data collection not provided)	Inpatient MH treatment	N/A	Perception of career impact elicited during focus groups.	Soldiers feared that voicing MH concerns might result in loss of rank or career. Soldiers were also concerned about involuntarily commitment to psychiatric inpatient units and the career harm that would result.
Gibbs et al. (2011) ⁵⁷	USA	N=270; Sample of soldiers receiving alcohol interventions, MH treatment, and no treatment interviewed in 48 focus groups at six posts June – December 2009; Ranks not provided	N/A	N/A	Perception of career impact elicited during focus groups.	Soldiers believed both commanders and unit members would Ieam about their receiving MH treatment, despite assurances about confidentiality; o MH treatment would lead to them being seen as weak or malingering; o medications may disqualify them from normal job responsibilities; o command support would be limited.
Tanielian et al. (2016) ⁵⁸	USA	N=76; n=38 patients, 31 health care providers, and 7 care managers randomly selected from 18 Army primary care clinics from six large posts, July 2012 – June 2014. Ranks (of the patients): Enlisted: 50%; Officers: 42%	MH Treatment	Patients vs. Health care providers vs. Care managers	Perception of career impact	Perceptions that receiving MH treatment could harm career: o Patients: 39% o Providens: 39% o Care managers: 86%

^aAbbreviations: AD=active duty, DoD = Department of Defense, E= enlisted, MH = mental health, NCO = non-commissioned officer, O=Officer, SM = service member, WO=warrant officer Population—USAF = U.S. Air Force; USA = U.S. Army; USCG=US Coast Guard; USN = U.S. Navy; USMC = U.S. Marine Corps.

^bSample—N (n of major subgroups); population, random, convenience; describe how obtained.

*Mental health evaluation and treatment from services that document contact. Note where services received: during deployment or at duty station (Excluded: chaplains, military family life counselors, embedded support technicians.).

⁴Comparison: Those not receiving MH evaluation and treatment; within MH-treatment seekers.

requirements, flight status limitations, and other profiles; (b) security clearance denial; denial of Permanent Change of Station locations/ deployments; (c) other; (4) Perceptions of impacts (i.e., outcome *Outcomes: (1) Separation / discharge; (2) Career change; (3) Job limitations: (a) duty limitation (including Personnel Readiness Program disqualifications, arming use of force [weapons carrying] is not of job limitation but instead the assessed personnel's perception of career impacts); (5) Other.

Career-affecting recommendations from mental health treatment providers: (a) temporary change of duty, including duty restrictions; (b) occupational changes, including career retraining or loss of special statuses such as flight status and Personnel Reliability Program; and (c) discharge.

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§Non-career-affecting recommendations from mental health treatment providers: (a) no contact with commanders required; (b) return to duty; (c) recommendations that commanders provide small adjustments or support; and (d) recommendations for additional treatment outside of the outpatient mental health clinic

Treatment during deployment

As shown in Table I, four studies used outpatient MH treatment records to investigate this research question with deployed SMs. Christensen and Yaffe¹⁵ found that deployed airmen, regardless of referral type, were significantly more likely to receive duty restrictions than non-deployed airmen. Nevertheless, duty restrictions were relatively rare in both settings (16% vs. 10%, respectively). Conway¹⁶ found that SMs deployed to Iraq who sought MH treatment were more likely to be separated early for both medical and legal/involuntary reasons. Rowan et al.¹⁷ also found that duty restrictions in soldiers deployed to Afghanistan were rare (10%), comprising about half of all career-affecting recommendations (19%). Replicating the previously discussed non-deployment studies, they found that career-affecting recommendations were least likely for self-referred soldiers, compared with command-encouraged and command-directed soldiers. In contrast to Ghahramanlou-Holloway et al.'s¹³ small study of non-deployed U.S. Marines, Rowan et al.¹⁷ found that the severity of deployed soldiers' clinical diagnoses was associated with the likelihood of receiving a careeraffecting recommendation. Finally, Varga and colleagues¹⁸ found that, among deployed soldiers, pre-deployment MH treatment reduced the odds of a soldier receiving a careeraffecting recommendation in theater by 58%, even after controlling for demographics and the number of previous deployments.

Research Question #2: Does MH Treatment-seeking in U.S. Active Duty Military Members Impact Military Careers, Compared with Not Seeking Treatment?

Unlike research question #1, which focused on outcomes within treatment seekers, research question #2 focuses on comparing SMs who do, and do not, seek treatment. Two studies, both "study 2" in their respective papers by Ghahramanlou-Holloway and colleagues, 12,13 investigated this question in prospective, case-controlled studies of 3.5-5.67 years. Each identified a sample of MH treatment-seeking SMs (ns = 40-332) and matched them on rank, time in grade, and military occupational specialty with randomly selected SMs (ns = 138-1,147). Outcomes for both studies were (1) remaining on active duty; (2) change to security clearance change; (3) discharge because of (a) completion of service, (b) voluntary separation, or (c) involuntary separation. The Marine Corps study¹³ also investigated legal action, including non-judicial punishment, and the Air Force study¹² also investigated medical board evaluations.

Both studies found no significant differences between MH-treatment seekers and matched controls on changes to security clearances. Both studies found that treatment seekers were more likely to be discharged; the Air Force study, 12 with more statistical power to detect differences, found that treatment-seeking airmen were more likely to receive an involuntary or force-adjustment separation, whereas the

Marine Corps study¹³ found no differences. In unique analyses, the Air Force study¹² found that MH-treatment seekers were more likely than controls to receive a medical board evaluation, and the Marine Corps study¹³ found that MH-treatment seekers were more likely than controls to (1) to spend less time in the military following their initial MH treatment visit and (2) to face legal action (including non-judicial punishment). Regression analyses indicated that legal action was related to discharge even after controlling for seeking treatment; thus, treatment-seeking and legal action contribute unique, additive influences on the likelihood of discharge.¹²

Research Question #3: Do U.S. Active Duty Military Members Perceive that Seeking MH Treatment Is Associated with Negative Career Impacts?

Forty-six publicly available studies quantitatively investigated perceptions among active duty SMs that seeking MH treatment could negatively impact their careers. Twenty-eight quantitative studies assessed attitudes of SMs at their permanent duty station, 13 studies assessed attitudes during or while returning from deployment, and 5 assessed attitudes in specialized populations (e.g., medics, nurses, and military sexual assault survivors).

First, in the non-deployed surveys of randomly selected SMs between 2001 and 2018, 19-26 the proportion believing that MH treatment-seeking would harm their careers declined from nearly half in 2002 to a fairly stable 33%-37% since 2008; endorsement rates were higher (27.4%-65.6%) for those who screened positive for an MH disorder. 19,20,27-32 Endorsement rates were lower (13.0%-27.8%) in the eight Army Land Combat Studies, 32 a pre-deployment study of soldiers at one installation published in 2008³³, a 2008-2009 study of soldiers previously deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan,³¹ and in a 2015-2016 study of soldiers stationed in Korea.³⁴ Second, a 2016 DoD-wide survey³⁵ linked the professed likelihood of seeking MH treatment associated with concern about career impact. Third, of particular note (because it involved perceptions of actual, not hypothetical, career impact), a 2011 DoD-wide survey found that one in five SMs who had accessed MH services in the previous year believed it had a negative effect on their careers. 19 Finally, two qualitative studies of sailors 36 and soldiers³⁷ found evidence convergent with the quantitative studies.

The 13 studies during or immediately following deployment produced lower proportions of perceived harm to careers. 38–50 Still, a sizable proportion (26.2%-42%) of randomly selected SMs assessed in theater in Iraq and Afghanistan (or soon after returning) screening positive for an MH disorder agreed that seeking treatment would harm their careers.

Finally, the five quantitative^{51–56} and qualitative^{56–58} studies of specialized populations produced similar results.

DISCUSSION

Summary of Evidence

This systematic review extracted results from 61 studies from 54 research reports. Studies addressed one of three research questions related to the actual or perceived career impact of military members receiving MH treatment.

Research question 1 (provider recommendations)

The research on this topic began (in 1996⁵⁹, before the period reviewed here) by investigating types of referrals to MH treatment and providers' career-affecting recommendations. The largest non-deployment studies^{11,12} showed that self-referred patients are less likely to face career-affecting provider recommendations (whereas a very small study¹³ did not find differences). This has been interpreted to mean that intervention early in the trajectory of a disorder will prevent career harm from seeking MH treatment. 9,11-13 Although this hypothesis may be correct, the studies did not isolate early help-seeking from late help-seeking, merely self- vs. command-directed referrals. In both of the larger studies, 11,12 self-referred SMs were more likely to receive a V-code ("Other Conditions That May Be a Focus of Clinical Attention") diagnosis. Although this may indicate that self-referred members get help before their problems even reach diagnosable levels, it may be that they have low-level problems that never would have reached diagnosable levels. For instance, Lorber and colleagues' study, 60 using data from two U.S. Air Force-wide randomized surveys, found that SMs' symptoms (across internalizingand externalizing-problem types) clustered into six classes five ordinally arrayed classes ("very low" to "very high" internalizing- and externalizing-problems) and an additional "extremely high externalizing" class. Although it is possible that, left untreated, some problems worsen, it is highly likely that most of the self-referred SMs are from Lorber's "very low" and "low" problem classes (constituting 83% of the population) and that their V-code or no-diagnosis problems would have never worsened into the type of problems that result in career impacts. Likewise, the finding that soldiers who were hospitalized for psychiatric reasons were four times more likely to be discharged than those hospitalized for non-psychiatric reasons¹⁴ (47% vs. 11%) may imply that MH problems need to be caught early or it may be that extremely severe psychiatric problems lead to career impacts, whereas very mild ones or non-psychiatric ones are much less likely to.

The results from studies for deployment are less cohesive. Rowan et al.'s¹⁷ study of soldiers in Afghanistan replicated the home-duty station findings that self-referred SMs were least likely, and commander-directed members most likely, to receive career-affecting recommendations. Varga et al.¹⁸ found that those who received pre-deployment MH treatment were less likely to receive career-affecting recommendations after seeking treatment during deployment, seemingly bolstering the "getting help early is career protective" hypothesis.

However, other studies are less sanguine about the career impact of seeking MH treatment during deployment. Christensen and Yaffe¹⁵ found that deployed SMs were more likely to receive duty restrictions (traditionally classified as a career-impacting recommendation) than were non-deployed members, and this held for self-referred members; likewise, Conway et al. 16 found that MH treatment during deployment was associated with early separation for both medical and legal/involuntary reasons. Thus, one possibility is that deployment is a moderator that changes how help-seeking relates to career impacts, but the findings to date are not sufficiently consistent to declare that. Other possibilities include (1) SMs self-refer during deployment for different reasons than they do at their home duty stations, including purposefully desiring early discharge, and (2) the stress of combat deployment interacts with pre-existing vulnerabilities to produce different outcomes than under less stressful, non-deployed conditions.

Research question 2 (career impact of seeking, versus not seeking, treatment)

The heart of the interest in career-impact investigations is to test if MH treatment negatively affects military careers. Air Force¹² and Marines¹³ studies by Ghahramanlou-Holloway et al. are the only studies to truly investigate this question, matching treatment seekers with demographic controls (at 1:4 ratio) and examining career impacts over 3.5-5.67 years. Although there was no impact on security clearances, those who sought MH treatment were more likely to be discharged than those who did not. 12,13 The wellpowered Air Force study found that (1) treatment-seekers had an increased likelihood of medical board evaluations and involuntary discharge, and (2) seeking treatment and being subject to legal action (including command discipline) provided unique, additive predictivity of future discharge. However sobering, as we will discuss below, these findings do not establish that seeking MH treatment caused the increase in the probability of discharge.

Research question 3 (perceptions of the career impact of seeking treatment)

In DoD-wide studies, over one-third of all non-deployed SMs, and over half of those screening positive for psychiatric problems, believe that seeking MH treatment will harm their careers. This belief is less common, but still substantial, for deployed SMs in combat theaters (26%-42%). These findings are of particular concern because fears over career impact have been shown to dissuade treatment-seeking.³⁵

Even more troubling to those promulgating the message that MH treatment will not harm careers is the finding in the 2011 DoD-wide (n > 34,000) Health-Related Behaviors Survey that over one in five SMs who sought treatment believe that it had, in fact, negatively effect on their careers. Although this is a single question in a single study, the rigor of the

study's method and its size indicate that research fleshing out impacts on those still on active duty is needed.

Limitations

As with any study, this systematic review has limitations. First, although we used multiple approaches to comprehensively locate the literature, our search may have omitted studies. This is especially likely with military research, where findings are often not in traditional journal publications or even indexed reports such as from RAND. Second, this nascent area has yet to produce a controlled study that has tested if, all other things being equal, seeking MH treatment itself causes career impacts. In the next section, we will discuss what such a study would entail.

CONCLUSIONS

Human weapon systems differ from other weapon systems in that they are both autonomous and are charged with their own monitoring and maintenance. The U.S. DoD has expended considerable effort to destignatize MH treatment-seeking⁶ and to convince human weapon systems that they will not be harmed by seeking help.

Nevertheless, Kokx and van Kempen's⁶¹ phrase neatly summarizes the 61 studies in this review: "A fact is a fact, but perception is reality." Over half of SMs screening positive for problems, and over one-third overall, believe that seeking help harms careers. Even more sobering is that over 20% of SMs who actually sought help believe it harmed their careers. Their perceptions are not wholly dissimilar from the facts amassed in this review. Seeking mental treatment is associated with a higher likelihood of having a medical board evaluation and being involuntarily discharged. This increased occurrence cannot be explained solely by behavioral problems in some members leading to both legal/command action and command-directed MH referrals because MH treatment and legal/command action each contribute unique predictive power to treatment-seekers' increased likelihood of discharge.

Yet, there are facts supporting MH treatment-seeking, namely, in the short run, most referrals are self-directed and do not result in command contact, let alone providers' career-affecting recommendations. For the vast majority of treatment-seekers, there is no risk.

So, what is the reality? Quite unsatisfyingly, the essential question of this research area—"does seeking MH treatment, compared with not seeking treatment, cause career harm?"—has not been addressed scientifically. The perception studies (research question 3) addresses opinions, not facts. The within-treatment-seekers studies (research question 1) cannot provide facts about seeking treatment because it only studies treatment-seekers.

Only the two studies addressing research question 2 can provide facts regarding the essential question. Because it would be unethical to randomly assign SMs with psychological problems to treatment versus treatment-prohibited

groups, the research designs have necessarily relied on observational, not experimental, methods. However, such correlational designs cannot establish causality because there are three possible ways to interpret their findings⁶² that seeking MH treatment predicts a greater likelihood of discharge 3.5-5.67 years. First, MH treatment may negatively impact careers. This cannot be ruled out given Ghahramanlou-Holloway and colleagues' studies. 12,13 This possibility may apply more to some career fields than others, which needs further exploration. Second, the reverse causality—negative career impact could cause SMs to seek MH treatment—can be ruled out by these studies because seeking MH treatment preceded career impacts by years. Third, other variables may be causing both MH treatment-seeking and the increased risk for discharge, thus producing the correlation between the two. This is highly likely and has not been studied or controlled. Variables that increase the incidence of both could include (1) adverse childhood experiences; (2) presence of psychological problems (including both the often-screened depression, anxiety, and posttraumatic stress problems, as well as other problems that can interfere with military service [e.g., personality disorders, psychotic disorders, and bipolar disorder]); (3) a history of aggressive or behavioral problems; and (4) alcohol use and abuse.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Four implications for future research are most salient. First, research question 1 (provider recommendations) has been thoroughly studied. However, the inference from these studies that early attention to psychological problems protects against negative career impacts must be directly tested. This question cannot be tested by examining only treatment-seekers but must be incorporated into a larger, pre-treatment longitudinal study. Second, relatedly, the essential question—"Does seeking MH treatment, compared with not seeking treatment, cause career harm?"—must be studied with research designs that can actually address the question. At a minimum, longitudinal studies before treatment initiation are required, with multiple data collection waves comprising symptom measurement, treatment and other services obtained, and a wide array of career impacts. We provide examples of research designs in Online Supplement 2. Third, fact-based investigations could learn from, and improve on, perception-based studies. Perception studies have often measured career impact with a single Likert-scaled question (e.g., agreement with "It would harm my career."). Although single items are the most practical operationalizations for large surveys, scales have superior psychometrics.⁶³ Brown and Bruce⁶⁴ created a similar construct, career worry, comprising nine Likert-scaled items created by the authors: receiving MH treatment would "hurt my ability to get promotion," "reduce my chances of being deployed," "negatively impact my security clearance," "negatively impact my job performance," "hurt my chances of getting back into the military," "negatively impact my relationships," "increase the chances of my losing my job,"

"put me under greater scrutiny," and "negatively impact my ability to increase my pay." Many, but not all, of the items in "career worry" would operationalize the "career impact" construct. Given the perception of one-in-five SMs who received recent MH treatment that it hurt their careers, ²² it is important to (1) conduct a qualitative study of SMs (from all services and with breadth regarding military career specialties and ranks) who have received MH treatment and ask them to generate ways in which they felt their careers were positively and negatively impacted; (2) cull the list of positive and negative impacts; and (3) conduct a content validity study comprising both SMs and experts (e.g., military psychologists, military MH researchers, commanders, and SMs serving on medical evaluation boards). Content validity, which is best incorporated into the earliest stages of measure creation, is a form of construct validity. Havnes et al. 65 define it as "the degree to which elements of an ... instrument are relevant to and representative of the targeted construct...." Relevance refers to how well the items match the construct's components; representativeness refers to whether the final items are proportional to the components of the construct. Participants would rate the potential item pool on relevance and representativeness. Fourth, such a content validity study could provide an evidence-based career-impact operationalization/measure that could be used in both actual- and perceived-impact studies. That is, operationalization of career-impacting MH provider recommendations, 11 operationalizations of military services' actions, ^{12,13} and single-item questions of anticipated career harm provide important, but incomplete, data on career impact.

In conclusion, the next generation of studies should (1) develop and use content-valid measures, and (2) directly test the field's "essential question." Suggestions for such studies can be found in Online Supplement 3.

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SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

Supplementary material is available at Military Medicine online.

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CONFLICTS OF INTEREST STATEMENT

None declared.

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