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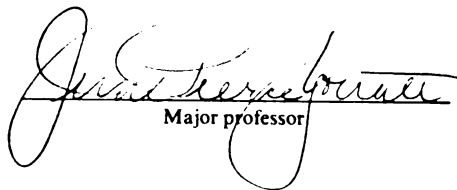AMERICAN MINISTER'S WIVES

presented by

Mark Gawaine Harden

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

__Ph.D.____ degree in _Family and Child Ecology_

_____
Major professor

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SOCIO-CULTURAL DETERMINANTS AND THE AFFECTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL
ACCULTURATION ON SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AMONG AFRICAN
AMERICAN MINISTERS' WIVES

By

Mark Gawaine Harden

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ABSTRACT

SOCIO-CULTURAL DETERMINANTS AND THE AFFECTS OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ACCULTURATION ON SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AMONG AFRICAN AMERICAN MINISTERS' WIVES

By

Mark Gawaine Harden

The two-person career concept is a sociological construct that describes the relationship between a husband, his wife, and his employer as a three-way relationship. Several studies have demonstrated that there are some common features found in this type of marital arrangement. This study sought to explore the extent to which the two-person career construct applies to psychologically acculturated African American ministers' wives. Horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism were constructs used to measure psychological acculturation among African American ministers' wives. The extent to which there are differences in the wives' level of social participation in the religious environment is examined against psychological acculturation factors. Three instruments were used in this study: the Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism Profile (Triandis, 1995); Social Participation Scale (Chaplin, 1957); and the Ministers' Wives Survey developed for this study. Telephone survey interviews were conducted with a sample (N=101) of African American ministers' wives in the major mid-western metropolitan area based on it being highly populated with African Americans churches. A theoretical model was derived from a factor analysis of the two-person career variables based on the literature. The two-person career included

encroachment, extrinsic rewards, role expectations, and obligatory contributions. Comparisons of African American ministers' wives scores with the two-person career model indicated some cultural characteristics attributed to African American culture. Horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism as categories for psychological acculturation outcomes were shown to exist with most of the wives indicating that they were horizontal individualists. A one-way analysis of variance of the two-person career variables showed there to be no differences among the ministers' wives based on these psychological acculturation outcomes. However, there were significant relationships between several of the two-person career variables and social participation. Several of the two-person career variables were shown to have a significant negative impact of social participation. The number of years the wives were married had a significant positive impact on social participation.

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CHAPTER ONE

This study seeks to identify interaction patterns among African American ministers' wives in their religious context by examining the relationship between socio-cultural and psychological acculturation factors and their influence on social participation. It is an exploration about the various patterns of social participation that may emerge among African American ministers' wives based on how much they have acculturated. Since its original conceptualization (Papanek, 1973), the two-person career phenomenon has been studied as a three-way relationship between a wife, her husband, and her husband's employer in which the wife informally contributes to the husband's career without compensation. To date, the nature of this marital arrangement has only been examined in a few instances from a sociological perspective where it has undergone some re-conceptualizations (Taylor and Hartley, 1975; Finch, 1983). The result has been the formulation of a general two-person career model. However, this model may not serve as an adequate description in specific contexts. The current model should be used only as a general framework in the development of a more contextual model. This study will attempt to examine the socio-cultural and psychological dimensions of the two-person career phenomenon from a human ecological systems perspective to derive a more appropriate two-person career model for African American ministers' wives. This means that the wife is examined as she interacts with her and her husband's social environment. The thesis of this study is that African American ministers' wives will participate socially in their two-person career environment based upon their response to the socio-cultural and psychological acculturation factors in the religious context.

Previous two-person career studies provide an opportunity for us to explore how useful the two-person career construct is by establishing some analytical boundaries that allow for different perspectives to be applied. Studies have suggested that there are "common features" that exist among all two-person career wives (Finch, 1983). Studies have also suggested that there may exist clear differences between various two-person career marriages based on socio-cultural "details" in which further investigation is needed to determine the nature and magnitude of those differences (Spedding, 1975; Finch, 1983). For instance, corporate executive wives may have a different set of circumstances to respond to than family business wives, or politicians' wives may have circumstances that differ from that of ministers' wives. The implication is not only do they have "common features," but each situation is also endowed with a complex network of interrelated socio-cultural elements of its own. This study will attempt to find out whether the suggested common features of the two-person career exist among African American ministers' wives, and whether the details expressed in socio-cultural forms are supported by the evidence presented in related African American cultural studies (e.g., (Billingsley, 1968; Gonzalez, 1970; Hill, 1971; Martin and Martin, 1978; Hale, 1980; McCray, 1980; Paris, 1985; DeVaus and McAllister, 1987; Taylor, 1988; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Dilworth-Anderson, 1993; Hatchett and Jackson, 1993; Higginbotham, 1993; Ellison, 1997; Mattis, 1997; Chatters and Taylor, 1998; Landrine and Klonoff, 1998).

In the case of African American ministers' wives, the fundamental basis for expecting different socio-cultural patterns between two-person career types is found in previous research findings revealing the distinctive characteristics of the African

American culture. Data suggest that certain themes of African American women may be reflective of the cultural dynamics we may find in a two-person career situation. When examining previous research on the two-person career ministers' wives, it is obvious that these themes are conspicuously absent in two-person career studies involving ministers' wives because only a small sample of the wives in these studies were African American (Spedding, 1975; Taylor and Hartley, 1975).

Many of the ethnic differences or themes may have been undetected. For example, African American women have been described as more religious than their cultural and Anglo-American counterparts (Nelsen and Nelsen, 1975; Greeley, 1979; Sasaki, 1979; Taylor, 1988; Ellison, 1997). This suggests that wives may be more amiable and likely to participate in the husband's career based on a deeper religious belief system than we currently are aware of or previously understood. African American women have also been described as hardworking women who built schools, orphanages, and senior citizen homes. They are described as churchwomen who worked by the ministers' side to establish clothing and food drives, and organized social welfare services and movements that were also based in the church (Higginbotham, 1997). Therefore, it is reasonable to expect them to still be engaged in a wide range of leadership positions in the religious context. African American women historically have been important economic providers for their families (Gutman, 1976), and they have been reasonably expected to continue to have a strong presence in the workforce unlike the wives in a previous study (Taylor and Hartley, 1975). Finally, African American women have been described as highly valued symbols of the community as evidenced by titles such as "mother," "big ma," "mothers' board," "first lady," and the organization of women's

groups where forms of leadership are often expressed (Gonzalez, 1970; Gilkes, 1997). The function of other themes, such as the importance of maintaining extended family ties and fictive kin relationships (Hill, 1971; Stack, 1974; Martin and Martin, 1978; Hale, 1980; Greenwald, 1984; Hatchett and Jackson, 1993; Roschelle, 1997) may become clear as this socio-cultural context is examined more closely. These are some of the details, that when added to the general two-person career scheme, present a different picture from what we have seen in other studies (Spedding, 1975; Taylor and Hartley, 1975; Finch, 1983).

The distinctive African American cultural characteristics and forms of religious participation may also be indicative of the social expectations, norms and values that define the specific or "detailed" socio-cultural forms we expect to find among two-person career ministers' wives (Spedding, 1975; Taylor and Hartley, 1975; Finch, 1983). These social expectations, norms, and values may not only facilitate social participatic.1, but may also create lifestyle restrictions where the minister's wife may, in some respects, be an involuntary participant (Mattis, 1997; Lincoln, 1990) in the husband's career. In fact, some may not conform at all to the expectations, norms, and values within this context.

Differences in psychological acculturation outcomes may explain why we might see additional differences among the group of ministers' wives. The theory of psychological acculturation provides us with a model for explaining and understanding changes that result from cultural contact and interaction. Psychological acculturation is an outcome of changing values that result from two cultures coming into contact. It is expected that there may also be subtle differences among the two-person career wives who share similar circumstances (such as ministers' wives who are viewed as a

homogeneous ethnic subgroup) where psychological acculturation is a factor (Triandis, 1994; Triandis, 1995).

This study assumes, overall, that we can only know the extent to which the socio-cultural context shapes the wives' individual behavior by examining both the socio-cultural and psycho-cultural elements together. The psycho-cultural factors in this case refer to the "cognitive orientation" (McDonald, 1981) of a group of individuals resulting from a developmental process that has shaped their cultural beliefs, values, expectations, norms, and attitudes. The socio-cultural factors refer to the social structures that contribute to regulating and governing one's behavior formation in given situations. The degree to which the wives participate will depend on how much they are influenced by these socio-cultural factors and choose to respond to these factors.

This is a descriptive study that uses a cross-sectional approach and focuses on identifying contextual factors that influence to what degree African American ministers' wives interact with their religious environment. Other variables, such as the number of years married, denominational affiliation, and socio-economic status, are also considered because of their presence in the literature. This researcher's point of view is that further in-depth study is needed in order to understand the dynamics of the two-person career relationship more fully. It is believed that a qualitative approach may be appropriate to answer more in-depth questions. Therefore, this is an empirical-analytical approach that puts to test a theoretical framework based upon empirical data cited throughout this document, and one that can serve as an impetus for further studies with other modes of inquiry.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to identify interaction patterns among African American ministers' wives within their religious context by examining the relationship between socio-cultural and psychological acculturation factors and their influence on social participation. Although sociologists have provided us with evidence to describe some common features of the two-person career phenomenon (Spedding, 1975; Taylor and Hartley, 1975; Finch, 1983), recent research on African American women also indicates that additional differences in socio-cultural patterns among two-person career ministers' wives is likely to exist (Billingsley, 1968; Gonzalez, 1970; Hill, 1971; Martin and Martin, 1978; Hale, 1980; McCray, 1980; Paris, 1985; DeVaus and McAllister, 1987; Taylor, 1988; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Dilworth-Anderson, 1993; Hatchett and Jackson, 1993; Higginbotham, 1993; Ellison, 1997; Mattis, 1997; Chatters and Taylor, 1998; Landrine and Klonoff, 1998). Wives participating in their husband's career are influenced by differences in individual socialization and contextual histories. Therefore, it is reasonable to suspect that psychological acculturation factors may also explain further differences that may exist between the wives. This study investigates the validity of the two-person career construct and the impact of psychological acculturation in the African American religious context. It also investigates the relationship of socio-cultural and psychological acculturation factors, and the extent to which they influence social participation among African American ministers' wives within their religious environment.

Significance of the Problem

This study is significant for many reasons. First, the two-person career in the African American religious context, consisting of ministers and their wives, has never been explored. This study presents an opportunity to test the validity of using the two-person career construct to study African American ministers' wives, and also to explore whether there are different patterns that emerge based on unique socio-cultural characteristics.

Secondly, recent criticism has been that there is no comprehensive theoretical model for studying ethnic families and individuals beyond the development of ideologies such as "Africanism" or feminism (Dilworth-Anderson, 1993). Because this study seeks to explain and understand behavior related to social structures and cultural dynamics using a human ecological systems approach, it may bring us closer to developing a theoretical framework for studying ethnic minority groups and individuals.

Thirdly, this study examines whether or not individualism and collectivism can be used to describe differences in African American cultural characteristics. Recent findings in cross-cultural psychology indicate that individualism and collectivism are useful constructs in any context because they coexist in all societies (Triandis, 1987; Triandis, 1988; Kim, 1994; Sinha, 1994; Triandis, 1995). This study may further validate the need to examine individualism and collectivism among ethnic groups in America and may encourage more intercultural ethnic research within the field of cross-cultural psychology.

Finally, this study will measure horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism because of their possible correspondence with the concept of "psychological

acculturation" (Berry, 1980). Currently, there is an interest in testing Berry's model of psychological acculturation with an integrated model using horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. In addition, the instruments designed to measure these constructs have only been tested in a few studies (Triandis, 1995; Gelfand, 1998). This study will provide further validity for their use.

Moreover, extensive empirical research on horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism among African Americans using quantitative techniques does not exist. More research may help us answer questions such as, why do some ethnic minorities successfully interact within certain enclaves and others do not? Or, how do ethnic minorities react to certain socio-cultural conditions within their ethnic environment? This study will provide additional information to what has been presented in the literature (Wooddell, 1989) as a basis for further investigation.

Conceptual Framework

Description

This conceptual framework rests upon the idea that the interactions over time between cultural and individual level variables within a human ecosystem have produced intermediary socio-cultural structures in a social environment. The two-person career human ecosystem's social environment is conceptualized as a multidimensional environment that consists of the psychological, socio-cultural, and human built environments (Griffore and Phenice, 2001). Thus, the individuals and groups in Figure 1 constitute a self-regulating human ecosystem, for the system as a whole and for its parts,

that facilitates the development of structural outcomes and processes in this socio-cultural environment.

The focus of this human ecosystem study is on the structural components (Griffore and Phenice, 2001) and the socio-cultural environment (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993). The interrelatedness and interdependencies of the socio-cultural structures define the characteristics and interactions in the two-person career phenomenon. Structures, processes, and outcomes related to the complexity of this socio-cultural phenomenon can be described using a human ecological conceptual structure that is provided in general systems language (Griffore and Phenice, 2001). The socio-cultural structures, processes, and outcomes can be simplified analytically into a coherent "pattern of explanations" at the process level of analysis.

In this study, the structural components consist of the minister, the wife and individuals members of the church in a socio-cultural environment. These structural components prescribe functions that are important in a human ecosystem. The structural components of a human ecosystem are typically individuals, roles, statuses, social arrangements, positions and functions within the rubric of the social demographic characteristics and the like as long as they have a "structural effect" (Griffore and Phenice, 2001). Additionally, there are several other functions served by the structural components in this conceptual framework. Figure 1 is intended to depict the presence of these other components with the interaction of socio-cultural and acculturation factors.

First, there are cognitive structures that can be described as governing components. These cognitive structures are individual and shared concepts, beliefs, and

meanings, and values that are influenced by socio-cultural and acculturation factors. Cognitive structures are the "governing components" of the system (p. 28). A major premise for this conceptual framework is that cultural structures influence how humans think, feel, act, communicate, and make decisions. It influences how, what, where, when and why humans interact with environments. Socio-cultural structures are linked by shared governing components, but they are also independent. As self-governing components, each subsystem's individuality is possibly defined by a unique set of norms, values, and goals. The individuals in this marital arrangement and members of the church construct their own "unique microenvironment" (p.5), and as a group, they share a particular dimension of the same environment.

There are also "dynamic components" influenced by the interactions between individuals and groups within this social environment. Dynamic components represent the external flow of resources, energy, information and money. The internal processes occur within and among the system components to sustain uninterrupted interaction within the system as a whole (pp. 26-27). The structure created by the two-person career precipitates the activity in the development of the system's dynamic component. The dynamic components facilitate and initiate the process of transforming and producing cultural resources for the system.

The system's components are "life process" components because they refer to the changes that occur as a result of the patterns of interactions that help to transform and produce cultural resources. Cultural resources exist in the socio-cultural environment and

External Environment

Cultural Resources

Ethnic Group's Socio-cultural Context

Cultural Resources

Interaction

Socio-Cultural Factors

Individuals & Groups

Acculturation Factors

Interaction

Legend:
White arrows indicate the direction of cultural resource influence.
Black arrow indicates the where interaction occurs.
Broken line area indicates ethnic group's socio-cultural context.

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework

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the external environment. Cultural resources produced must be transformed so that the structural components in the human ecosystem can increase quantitatively and qualitatively. These resources in the socio-cultural context include human resources, information, money, food, artifacts, and spirituality sustained by ritual, tradition, worship, and religious ideas to perpetuate the development of the system. Cultural resources are transformed and regulated by individual subsystems based upon availability of cultural resources and the capacity of the system and its subsystems to reproduce them.

Acculturation factors influence the adaptation of structural components as a life process component. Therefore, the structural components are also "information processing components" because the structural components process cultural information when coming into contact with different value systems (p. 28). Acculturation involves cultural changes in individuals and groups when they come into contact with a different culture. Over time, acculturation factors may be responsible for the differences observed between the individuals and groups. Acculturation factors are also the influencing socio-cultural elements in a social and external environment that individuals and groups come into contact with as indicated in Figure 1. However, acculturation outcomes are primarily the result of cultural influences in human relationships. Acculturation outcomes for each subsystem provide stability for the subsystems that function cohesively within a range of conditions that allow it to maintain dynamic equilibrium.

The type of change that occurs is dependent upon whether the interacting components require some adjustment or a fundamental change because of socio-cultural structures. Change occurs when positive feedback is provided by the structural component (negative feedback may cause some adjustments, but not change as is stated

here). This change can be referred to, respectively, as morphostasis or morphogenesis (p.23). What will determine the magnitude of change is the level of feedback indicated by component interaction. Change may be more internal without necessarily resulting in behavior change.

Life process and information processes are achieved through a complex array of negative and positive feedback loops. Negative feedback loops will occur when the subsystem receives adequate input from the other subsystems. This adequacy is conceptualized in the case of approval for the wife's contributions made in a role that is defined according to beliefs and religious tradition. Positive feedback will occur when the wife receives input that requires her to change to accommodate to the system's needs. This can be thought of as patterns of social interaction influenced by what is needed to maintain a relationship or status. Feedback allows different values to co-exist without disrupting the system.

Research Objectives

In order to carry out this study, the researcher developed several objectives:

- The researcher will examine the extent to which the two-person career construct reflects the socio-cultural dimensions in the African American ministers' wives' context.

- The researcher will examine the extent to which the constructs horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism exist among African American ministers' wives as psychological acculturation outcomes.

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- The researcher will examine the extent to which there is a relationship between two-person career traits and social participation based on horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism attributes.

Research Questions

The overall question this study seeks to answer is: "What are the socio-cultural and acculturation factors that influence the extent to which African American ministers' wives participate within their social environment?" The main questions that this study uses to address the question are as follows:

1) To what extent do horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism (i.e., psychological acculturation outcomes) exist among African American ministers' wives?

2) Is there a difference between African American ministers' wives in the two-person career based on horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism (i.e., psychological acculturation outcomes)?

3) What is the relationship between the two-person career traits and social participation among African American ministers' wives based on horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism (i.e., psychological acculturation outcomes)?

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations in this study that pertain to the scope of the family ecosystem, the concept of acculturation, the purpose of the factor analysis, and the methods for interpreting the results.

Scope of the Family Ecosystem

According to Bubolz and Sontag (1993), to conduct a family ecosystem study would require a comprehensive study that would include the individuals of the family interacting with the "totality of their environments." This study limits its focus to the patterns of interactions related to only one individual: the minister's wife. It also focuses on the wife's interaction with the socio-cultural environment according to criteria that the family ecosystems model is based upon (pp. 432-433 and 442-443). Many important features of the physical-biological, human-built, and socio-cultural environments will not be examined. The husband and church members will be examined only through an analysis of the wife's perceptions. The physical structures or artifacts of the environment that relate to resources used in the environment such as money, instruments of worship, sacred documents, and religious policies will be examined.

Scope of Acculturation

This study focuses only on "acculturation" as changes in values (Feather, 1979; Smith, 1999) as may be manifested in individual reactions to the socio-cultural environment. Changes in values as acculturation is not comprehensive in nature as it relates to the psychological acculturation outcomes investigated in this study (horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism). A thorough examination of acculturation as a phenomenon ideally involves identifying particular cultural values, social cultural competence, and characteristics of a shared environment. A comprehensive approach to achieve this type of study requires a complex theoretical framework and a combination of methods. However, it has been suggested that examining values is the most theoretically sound approach for investigating cultural differences (Kagitcibasi, 1994). Thus, this

study on acculturation is limited in scope to individual value orientations rather than the complete spectrum of characteristics that reflect acculturation.

Factor Analysis

The objective of the factor analysis was limited to producing results that would be useful for theoretical purposes such as identifying the dimensions of the two-person career. Hypothetical factors are identified based on the literature. However, only a few items for each factor emerged in an item selection process that included ministers' wives as a panel of judges. This is less than what is usually required (Kline, 1994), and may limit the use of the results. Because the factor analysis was primarily used to provide insight for modeling purposes, there is a limitation in using this information to draw definitive conclusions.

Methodology

Finally, African American ministers' wives were not included in the analysis to interpret the findings of this study. To adequately represent a critical science perspective, such an inclusion of the wives in the interpretation of the data would be ideal. It was decided to rely on personal observations in addition to what is in the literature as a basis for these interpretations. It is reasoned that this study should still provide important information by presenting the implications of the study based on the researcher's experience as a participant in this context.

CHAPTER TWO

Theoretical Perspectives

This conceptual framework is developed from a human ecological systems

perspective, more specifically, family ecosystems. Human ecology refers to the study of

individuals and families interacting with their environment. Therefore, family ecology is

a sub-discipline of human ecology where individuals are viewed as sub-units of a family

system that interact with their environment. The family ecosystem perspective has an

established history of being an ecological approach for studying families and individuals

(Bubolz & Sontag, 1993). To illustrate how and why the human ecological perspective is

essential in this study, a brief description of what is meant by a human ecosystem, family

ecosystem, and two-person career clergy family ecosystems is presented. The task of this

study is to include selected constructs and models that can provide the conceptual

elements from several disciplines to adequately describe the phenomenon in a coherent

theoretical scheme. To emphasize the importance of incorporating and expanding on

concepts to clarify the framework developed for this theoretical perspective, a brief

description of the principle strengths and some limitations of the human ecological

systems and family ecosystem perspective is also given.

A Human Ecosystems Perspective

It is essential to understand the concept of "ecology" as it is used in the field of

family and child ecology. Ecology is defined as the study of organisms within the

environment as "inseparable parts of a greater whole" (Bubolz, 1993). The term was

primarily applied to the biological and physical sc. .ces u. ..i the i ./30s wher. the term

ecology was again discussed in relation to human interactions (Tangsley, 1935). Implied

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with this notion of ecology is the "systems" perspective. The systems perspective developed concurrently with the human ecosystem perspective because of emerging and prominent social scientists' interests in pursuing the ecological concept to explain phenomena (Bubolz & Sontag, 1993). As an application of a human ecological systems approach, general systems theory is used to examine processes and relationships between component parts of a whole system (Griffore & Phenice, 2001).

Human ecology combines the ideas of general systems theory with an ecology perspective. Like all living ecosystems studied in the biological sciences, human ecosystems are dynamic, self-regulating systems. Fundamental to systems functioning is the flow of energy and matter within a system with information feedback loops. Human systems require energy and matter and feedback loops of information for survival and adaptation in their environment according to natural and human laws. In order to exist, there must be an uninterrupted flow of resources and feedback information from the environment. There is a degree of interdependence between the object and the environment that depends on how "open" or "closed" the system is. Another basic feature of the systems approach is time and space. Energy and matter exist in a three-dimensional space in which events, actions and processes occur (Griffore & Phenice, 2001). Therefore, any analysis of systems must take into account that the phenomenon exists over time (i.e. past, present, and future).

Ecosystem theory uses highly abstract theoretical concepts such as organism, environment, interaction, interdependence, perception, organization, technology, and adaptation to explain phenomena (Bubolz & Sontag, 1993). This enables human ecologists to develop an ecological framework that incorporates concepts and models

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across disciplines. The human ecological perspective is a powerful framework for understanding and explaining human systems and the relationship between parts of that system. In fact, the perspective allows one to look at one or more dimensions at a time. Furthermore, the approach forces one to examine the context wherein the individual or group is an active participant (Griffore and Phenice, 2001).

Bubolz and Sontag (1993) suggest that the limitations involved in using human ecosystem abstract concepts require the development of common terminology. However, another major concern with using only human ecology concepts is evident when examining very complex phenomenon. The consequence of using only human ecology concepts to explain complex phenomena would lead to repetitiveness and may result in the loss of clarity. General systems language (Griffore and Phenice, 2001) and family ecosystems concepts (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993) bring greater clarity for the purposes of studying families. For instance, there are specific and unique organisms, environments and interactions that can be differentiated within and between human ecosystems. More concrete elements and constructs that would promote a "common terminology and understanding" (p.442) would also help to produce a more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon under investigation.

A Family Ecology Perspective

The Bubolz and Sontag (1993) family ecosystems model serves as a primary source for the model developed in this study. Family ecosystem theory converges human ecosystem theory concepts into a set of useful theoretical concepts for studying families (pp.429-442). Key concepts in family ecosystem theory include family, needs, values, goals, resources, artifacts, management, decisionmaking, sustenance activities,

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communications, human development, quality of life and a multidimensional environment within a human ecosystem framework. It is evident that every family ecosystem is a human ecosystem, but not every human ecosystem is a family ecosystem.

In a family ecosystem, each member of the family is considered a subsystem or component of the family ecosystem. The family and its component parts interact with their environment. Bubolz and Sontag (1993) have described a family ecosystem as the following:

> We define families in an inclusive sense to be composed not only of persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption, but also sets of interdependent but independent persons who share some common goals, resources, and a commitment to each other over time (p. 435).

The model uses more precise concepts compared to human ecology theory and appears to be inclusive of all family types. Several families can be represented as a family rather than one family. We commonly refer to these families as extended families. In the African American tradition, fictive kin are included in these kinds of families (Hatchett, 1993; Hill, 1999; Martin, 1978; Roschelle, 1997; Stack, 1974). This definition of family opens the way for a two-person career marriage system that interfaces with many individuals to be defined as a family ecosystem. The minister, the wife, and the members of the church may function as family where individuals "share some common goals, resources, and a commitment over time" (Bubolz and Sontag, 1993). Implications are not that all two-person career marriages constitute a family, but that the socio-cultural characteristics in the African American context make this conceptually plausible. The family model in family ecosystem theory is "so broad and inclusive" (p.442) that

theoretically the two-person career components in the African Am rican religious context can constitute a family ecosystem.

Furthermore, the conceptualization of the natural physical-biological, socio-cultural, and human-built environments in the family ecology model is appropriate for this study. Bubolz and Sontag (1993) describe the natural physical-biological components as the unaltered things in the natural world. The human-built environment includes "alterations and transformations made of the natural physical-biological environment" (p.432). The socio-cultural environment is described as consisting of human beings, abstract cultural constructions such as norms, values, and patterns, and social institutions. The "material and symbolic culture permeates the totality of the environment" where the natural physical-biological, socio-cultural, and human built environments are embedded" within each other (p.443). Interactions with these environments are possible within all human ecosystems, particularly the family ecosystem.

A Two-Person Career Clergy Family Ecosystem

In the literature, the two-person career concept has been mainly described as a sociological phenomenon (Papanek, 1973; Taylor & Hartley, 1975; and Finch, 1983). The concept refers to a three-way relationship between the husband, his wife, and his employer (i.e., the church members who employ the husband). Figure 2 illustrates the main components of the family system and their relationships based on the literature in

INTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

Wife

Goals

Church Membership

Husband

EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT
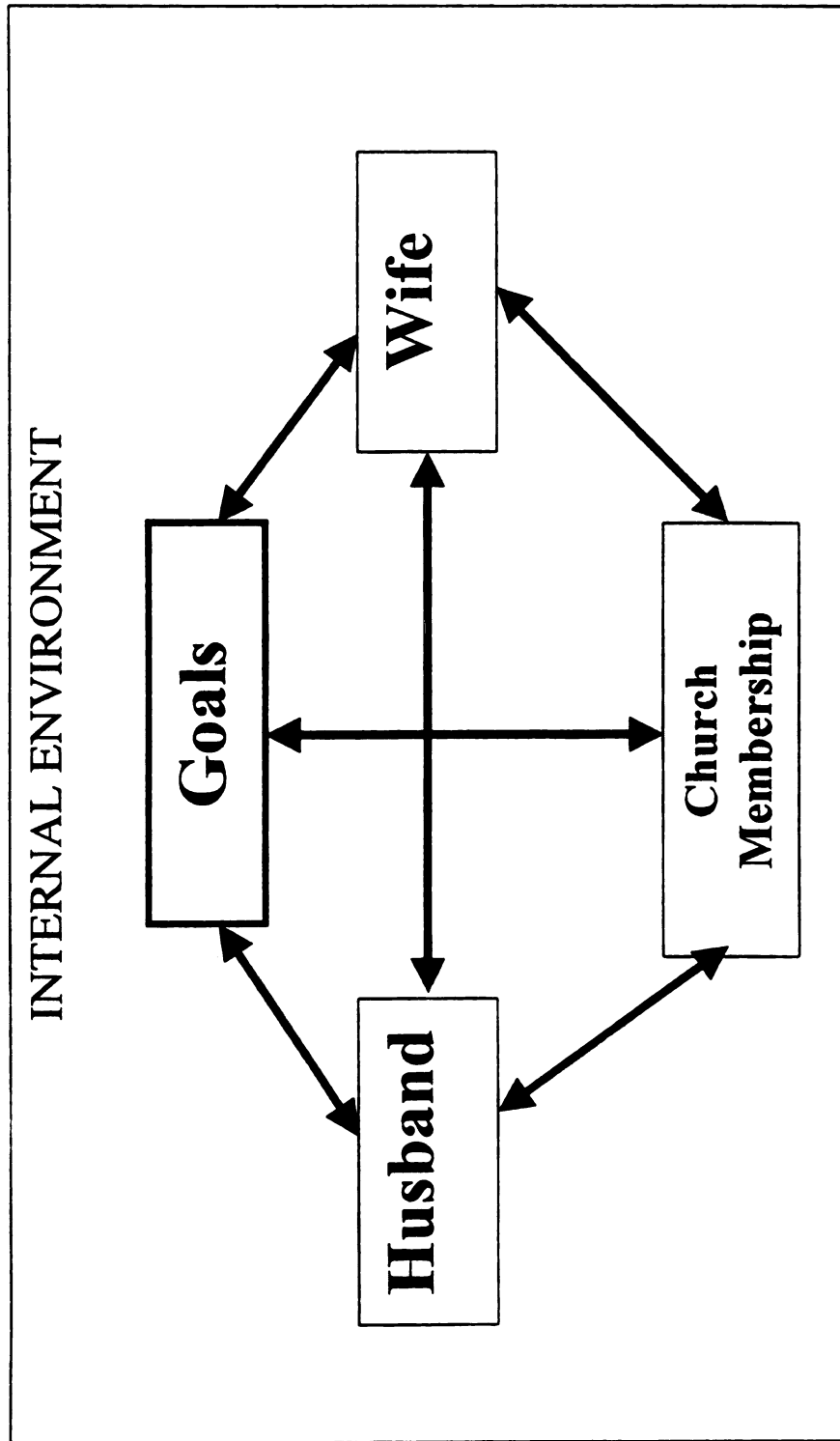
Figure 2 The Two-Person Career Family
Illustration of Finch's Two-Person Career Model (Finch, 1983).

Legend

Boxes   Indicates the component of the Two-Person Career Model.

Arrows   Indicates the direction of influence on each component.

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the field of sociology (Finch, 1983; Spedding, 1975; Taylor, 1975). Accordingly, the two-person career family can be defined as a husband having a wife who informally contributes in varying degrees to her husband's career because of the norms, expectations, and values of that context to which she is inextricably connected by a vicarious identity through marriage based on shared goals.

Although the goals are unstated in this model, goals are implied in the overall model because goals serves as the core reason for the relationships. Just as any human ecosystem functions to achieve its goals, these three components of this human ecosystem interact to achieve their goals. Because this is also a formal social organization, one common goal is institutionalization. Institutionalization refers to a "system of actions" that evolves into a common set of normative standards and value patterns performed by the actors (components) within the system (Scott, 1995). The black two-way arrows in Figure 2 indicate the interdependencies of the individual components and bi-directional influences. The processes important in this model include rewards that the wife may receive and contributions she may make to support her husband's career. More about the system components and processes can be described using the family ecosystem model that is illustrated in Figure 3.

In Figure 3, the wife, the husband and the church members are the individual structural components of this family ecosystem. Each structural component can also be discussed with a general description as an interacting system component as discussed in a human ecosystem framework. They all function as interacting dynamic components to maintain dynamic equilibrium within this family ecosystem. Each structural component receives and provides sustenance resources for the system to achieve its goals.

THE MULTI-DIMENSIONAL SOCIO-CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

GOALS

Husband (Clergy)

A Two-Person Career Family Ecosystem

Church Members

Minister's Wife
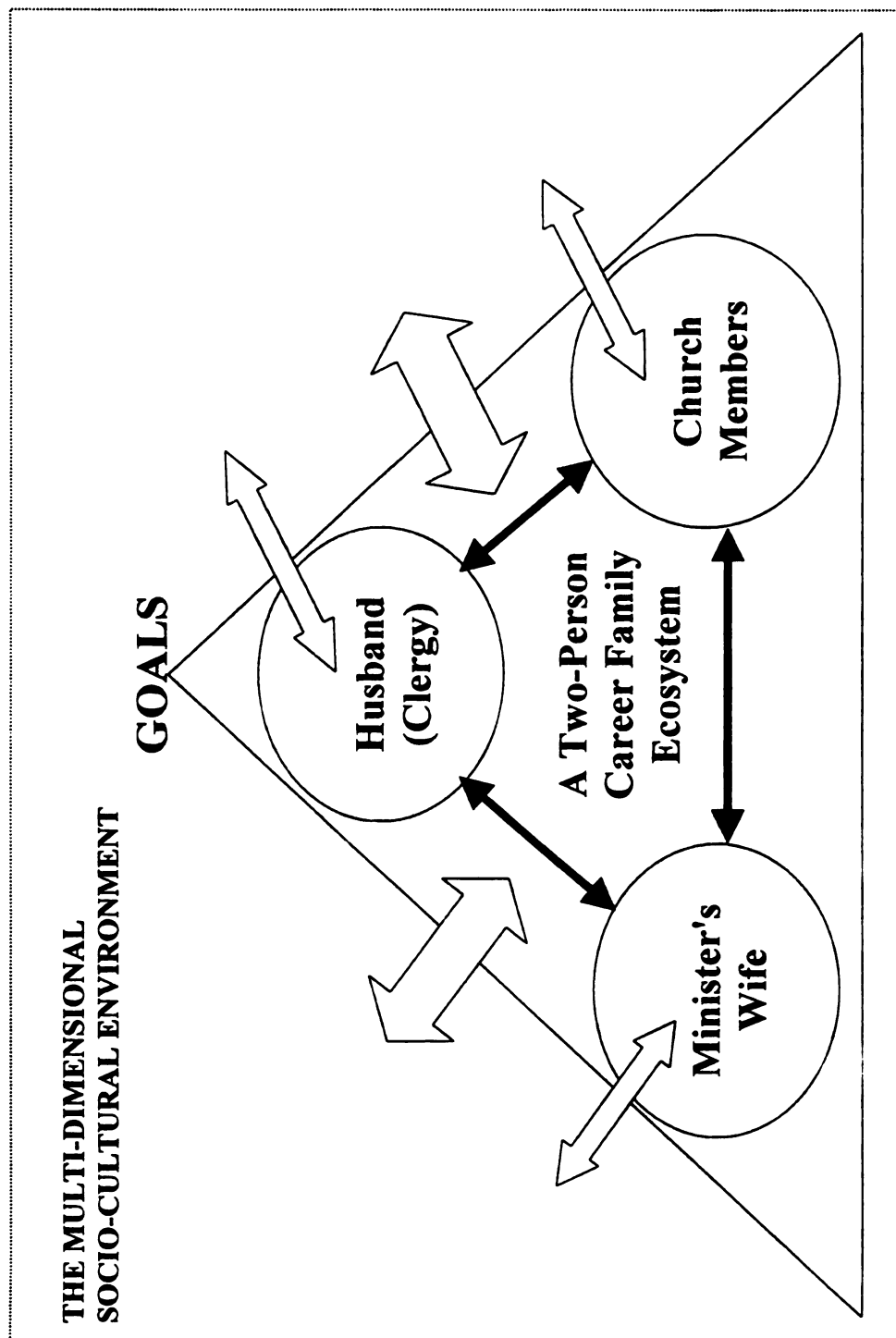
Figure 3 A Two-Person Career Clergy Family Ecosystem

Legend:
The triangle is a family ecosystem that contains subsystem components.
Heavy black two-way arrows indicate relationships and interactions.
Three-D Circles are individual subsystems within the family ecosystem as acculturating components.
White arrows indicate interaction between the family system and its components with their socio-cultural environment.

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Symbolically and by social arrangement, the structural components represent the controls and standards that govern social and individual interactions. As governing components they individually and collectively shape rules, policy, and procedures for social interaction. The more complex the interactions, the more active the governing components are expected to be. The relationship between the structural components will determine how each structural component places constraints, restrictions and expectations on the other structural component.

In Figure 3, there are several combinations of interrelationships and interactions that can be depicted by the two-way arrows. There are several different relationships that the wife can have in this situation. Black two-way arrows indicate that the wife and the husband influence each other in this family ecosystem. Through social interaction feedback is received by both of these structural components to inform the other about the others' needs. The wife may have several highly interdependent relationships with members of the church as well as less interdependent relationships with others. This also means that the wife and husband's interaction collectively influences the church members. The husband's and church member interactions collectively influence the wife, and the wife and church members' interactions collectively influence the husband, and the wife and husband's relationship may collectively change from member to member or subgroup to subgroup, and so on.

In Figure 3, the white two-way arrows indicate the interaction between the individual structural components and the whole family ecosystem with the socio-cultural environment. This individual and collective interaction also allows each structural component to develop independently and collectively. Their interactions and

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interdependencies with their environments are critical and are needed to produce cultural resources for the family ecosystem to achieve goals. The wife interacts with her social environment in unique ways. For instance, the wife interacts with her peers as a source of support and group identity. This is an independent relationship the wife has within her social environment that serves as a resource for her development.

The structural components also function independently and collectively as information processing and life processing components. Cultural resources are made available in the socio-cultural environment by the structural components because they regulate, transform, and reproduce cultural resources. Each structural component transforms cultural resources into products that can be consumed by structural components within the system. This type of activity occurs through a series of complex feedback loops. For instance, the wife may increase social participation based on how receptive she perceives the members to be based on their reactions to her contributions of time and resources. Or, the wife may increase the flow of cultural resources for the system based upon how she perceives the needs within the system. Cultural resources would be the activities that provide input in the form of religious satisfaction, appreciation, experience, and improvement in the quality of social interaction within the family ecosystem.

There may be strong expectations for the ministers' wives to participate in a traditional religious context based on the wife's perceptions and knowledge of traditions. For example, researchers have pointed out that there are (1) strong kinship bonds that often appear as an extended family structure, (2) fluid family boundaries, (3) fictive kin practices, and (4) the adaptability of family roles (Martin and Martin, 1978; Hatchett and

Jackson, 1993). Based on family-like ties, these practices may easily translate in traditional settings as expectations for ministers and their wives.

African American women in general increase in levels of religiosity when higher levels of education and occupational status are achieved (DeVaus, 1987; Greeley, 1979; Mattis, 1997; McAdoo, 1992). Normally, this kind of status would mean that there are constraints on how much time they can devote to social participation in their religious context. However, African American ministers' wives have traditionally demonstrated a high degree of religious participation (Paris, 1985; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Findlay, 1993; Higginbotham, 1993; Gilkes, 1997; Higginbotham, 1997). This suggests that the wives value their role as a minister's wife and may not sacrifice participating in the two-person career while experiencing increased socio-economic status.

This family ecosystem model gives us the conceptual elements to help us explain the patterns that are described by the socio-cultural characteristics. However, there are some other conceptual refinements to the family ecology model's environment that need to be made for this study. First, it is difficult to conceptualize a multi-dimensional environment with the three components that have been identified without conceptualizing a multi-dimensional socio-cultural dimension also. In reality, not only does culture permeate the totality of the environments, but there may also be variability in the cultural dimensions. There may be variability in meanings of symbolic and material artifacts, institutions, human functions, patterns of interactions, norms, and values on several dimensions.

Acculturation is one example of cultural variability that may be present. For instance, one family member may acculturate in an economic sense through assimilation

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without acculturating with respect to values (Berry, 1990). Some individuals may be bi-cultural and others may not. These acculturation patterns would develop over time dependent upon the extent, location and kind of interactions that take place with each individual in the family. Thus, we have uneven development or multi-dimensional acculturation that can occur within and between individuals in a family ecosystem. To address this conceptual issue, acculturation patterns must be taken into account.

Psychological Acculturation

An Acculturation Model

Another key aspect of this theoretical perspective is the concept of psychological acculturation (Berry, 1990). Berry (1990) advanced this idea through his model of acculturation. According to Berry, the study of psychological adaptation is a relatively new area of study in the field of cross-cultural psychology that seeks to understand the "continuities and changes in individual behavior that are related to the experience of two cultures through the process of acculturation" (p. 232). Berry's model was adopted for this study because it was determined to best characterize acculturation based on value change rather than personality or social competence (Smith, 1999). Berry's theory of psychological acculturation is augmented to include another dimension and culture group (see Figure 4). First, however, the basic principles of Berry's theory are elaborated and summarized and the modifications to his theory are proposed for this study.

There are several important distinguishing features in Berry's theory (1990). Berry argues that there are two levels of acculturation one must consider: population level and individual level. The population level of acculturation is a change in social structures, economic base, and political organizations. Individual level acculturation

involves a change in behavior, identity, values, and attitudes -- psychological acculturation. Psychological change occurs when individuals come into contact with other cultures. Individuals may or may not participate in changes at the group level (Berry, 1990).

The second distinction is that there are antecedents to and consequences of change. Berry states that the goal is to understand that there are consequences in relation to antecedents at the population and individual level. The third distinctive aspect of psychological acculturation is between external and internal sources. External sources of change infringe on groups from outside the culture and can lead to cultural diffusion or acculturation. Internal sources of change emerge from within through dynamics based on the context. Individuals and communities can differ greatly in how they deal with acculturative influences. Key elements in the acculturation process include the following: (1) contact and interaction between cultures based on it being first and continuous, (2) a result in some change, and (3) distinguishable as a state or process (pp. 234-236). It is important to note that Berry's theory supports the principle of "symbiosis" in operation. However, in reality one culture is usually dominant over the other. Much of Berry's theory is discussed in detail as to the consequences and results of cultures coming into contact and the characteristics of acculturating versus acculturated groups. Yet, it should be further noted that these characteristics correspond to many of the environmental variables chosen when conducting research as to the effects of acculturation.
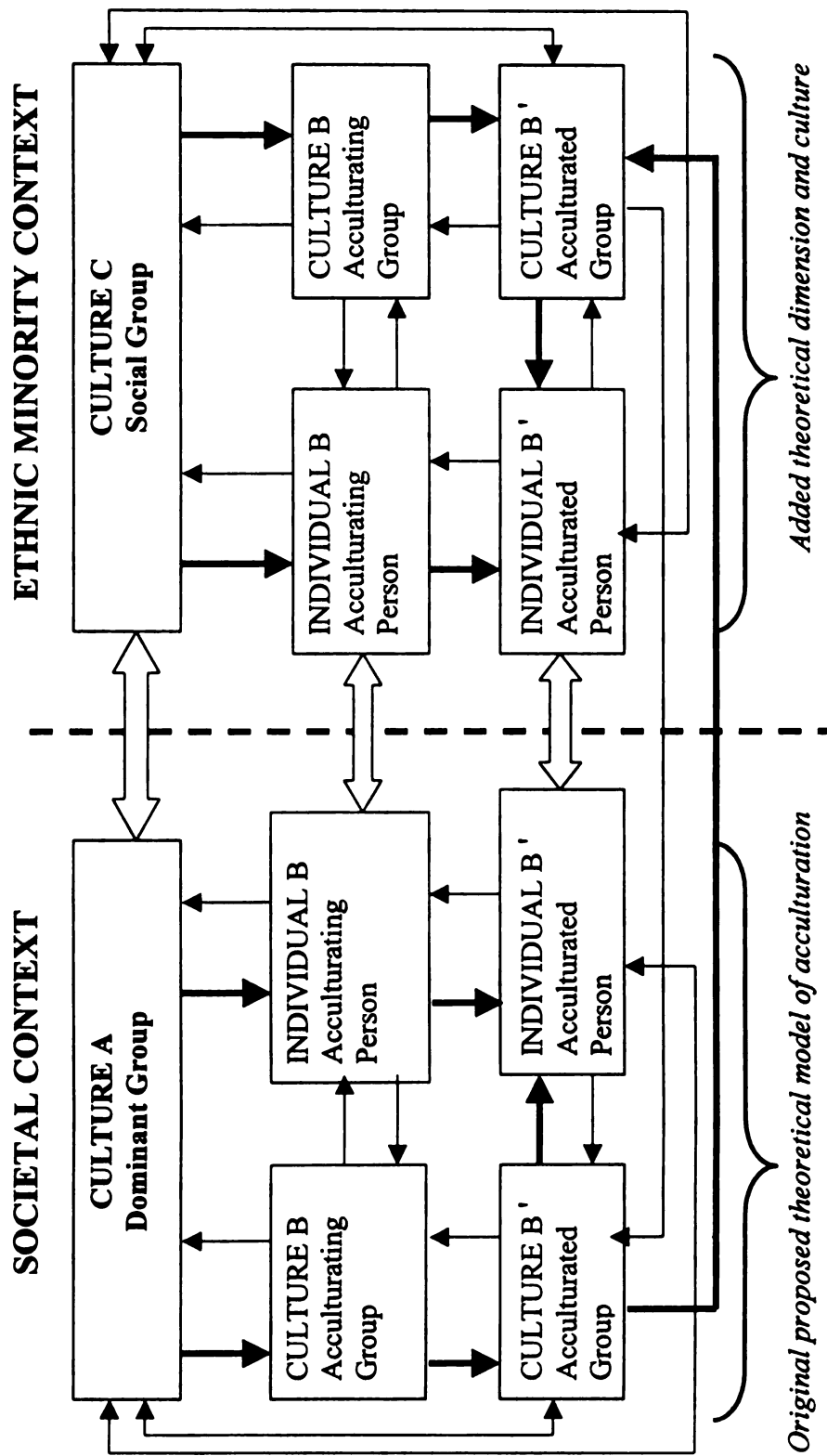
Figure 4 Modified Theoretical Framework of Acculturation

A modified theoretical framework of acculturation.

The source of original portion: Berry, Trimble, and Olmeda (1986).

Legend notes:

Arrows indicate the direction and strength of contact influence between cultural system components.

White arrows indicate duplication of dynamics for each context.

' symbol indicates a distinction between the acculturating group or individual and the acculturated.

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Two issues are central to Berry's theory on psychological acculturation. First, is the degree to which one wishes to remain culturally unchanged instead of becoming part of another cultural environment by giving up one's culture identity. Second, is the degree to which one wishes to have their daily interactions with those of the other groups in society (rather than avoidance from other groups and relating to one's own group). A possible third issue is when a group has no power to choose how they must respond to these two stated issues (p. 244).

Figure 4 is an illustration of the modifications made to expand on Berry's theory so that it can be included as a part of a family ecological perspective. There are two dimensions of culture indicated in Berry's theory: Culture A and Culture C. In the first dimension, culture is conceptualized in the Societal Context as Culture A, the Dominant Culture. Culture A influences groups and individuals at the acculturating and acculturated levels. The thicker arrows indicate that the Dominant Culture (A) and the culture groups have stronger influence even though there are arrows in both directions that indicate reciprocal influence. This dimension is distinguished from the Ethnic Minority Context where there is Culture C for the Social Group. These two dimensions (separated by a broken black line) are connected with heavy white arrows to illustrate interdependence. As indicated, the dominant group, acculturating and the acculturated individuals, are the same in both contexts, but from different perspectives. This allows for these entities to be seen according to the situation. The only difference in this ethnic minority context is that the acculturating and acculturated groups and individuals are in interaction with Culture C instead of Culture A. Culture C represents the ethnic social group's in-group. The acculturated group and person is marked B ' to indicate that

acculturation has taken place in relationship to both contexts. However, the change is unknown. For example, an individual may become acculturated as bi-cultural and can function in either context. More specific to this study, an individual may show patterns of social interaction indicative of their acculturated state. The acculturated level is the primary focus in the study. Focus is on the individual (wife) in relationship to the social group in ethnic minority context. The outcomes of acculturation are of concern here and not the antecedents embedded in the historical development of the acculturated individual.

Individualism and Collectivism

In the field of cross-cultural psychology, much progress has been made with respect to two empirically determined culture level constructs referred to as individualism and collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Kim, 1994). Individualism is defined as:

...a social pattern that consists of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of collectives: are primarily motivated by their own preferences, needs, rights, and the contracts they have established with others; give priority to their personal goals over the goals of others; and emphasize rational analyses of the advantages and disadvantages to associating with others.

(Triandis, 1995, p.2)

While collectivism is defined as:

...a social pattern consisting of closely linked individuals who see themselves as parts of one or more collectives (family, co-workers, tribe, nation); are primarily motivated by the norms of, the duties imposed by those collectives; are willing to

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give priority to the goals of these collectives over their own personal goals; and

emphasize their connectedness to members of these collectives.

(p.2)

Although, one of these is characteristic of a culture in a particular country, research has

established that individualism and collectivism coexist in all societies (Kagitcibasi, 1994;

Kim, 1994).

Cultural patterns can be detected at the culture level using individualism and

collectivism as constructs. However, this is a problem when applying culture level

constructs to individual members of a culture to draw inferences. Using culture level

constructs to describe members of a culture at the individual level is ecological fallacy.

This is one of the criticisms for using individualism and collectivism to study individual

cultural characteristics (Smith, 1999). To avoid ecological fallacy with the application of

these constructs for individual level analysis, other related constructs were

conceptualized to solve this problem. These constructs include independent and

interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991), and allocentricism and

idiocentrism (Triandis, 1985).

Triandis (1995) proposed the use of four constructs such as horizontal and vertical

individualism and collectivism at the individual level for describing members of a culture

who subscribe to culture level values (individualism and collectivism). Several studies

have followed along these lines (Singelis, 1994; Singelis, 1995; Triandis, 1995; Gelfand,

1998). There have been some refinements in the instruments used to measure horizontal

and vertical individualism and collectivism (Singelis, 1994; Singelis, 1995; Triandis,

1995; Gelfand, 1998). Singelis (1995), Geland (1998), and Triandis (1995) have

suggested that these constructs may correspond to Berry's (1990) outcomes of

psychological acculturation. Researchers have confirmed the validity of the constructs

and their reliability (Singelis, 1995; Triandis, 1995; Gelfand, 1998). This study will use

the constructs horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism to measure

psychological acculturation. Other categorical terms that capture the essence of these

constructs are also useful for conceptualizing the difference between them such as

achievement oriented, cooperative, dutiful, and unique (Triandis, 1995). Psychological

acculturation is defined as outcome equivalents of horizontal and vertical individualism

and collectivism as indicated in the matrix (Triandis, 1989, 1995; Gelfand, 1998;

Singelis, 1995).

Matrix 1 Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism

	Horizontal	*Vertical*
Individualism	Unique Wives Self is viewed as separate. Personal goals come before the group's goals; the emphasis is on equality as an important value.	Achievement Oriented Wives Self is viewed as separate and personal goals come before group's goals; inequality is acceptable.
Collectivism	Cooperative Wives Views self as a part of a group, but sees all members of the group as equal. No one should be privileged above the group.	Dutiful Wives Views self as a part of group, and is accepting of existing inequality.

Singelis' (1995) study suggests that achievement oriented wives (vertical

individualist) can be characterized as having attributes that generally describe them as

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being adept at seeing themselves as autonomous and placing individual goals above the goals of the group. Usually this person's behavior can be predicted from their attitudes and contractual relationships. When relationships begin to exceed benefits, this person will reassess the relationship and probably drop it. Sometimes this person will show conformity, even when it seems distasteful. If expected to take action, this person has been shown to accept the responsibility. Triandis (1988, 1989) states that this person accepts the status quo legitimacy and will not resist inequality because they understand rank as having privileges. Even though the person accepts inequality, they do not endorse norms that perpetuate it, and guilt is associated with obedience.

Singelis' (1995) study suggests that unique wives (horizontal individualist) can be defined as those who see themselves as autonomous from the group. The goals of the unique wives often take priority over the goals of the group. Their behavior is also predictable based on attitudes and contractual arrangements. Relationships are weighed according to cost and benefits with emphasis on benefits as the deciding factor. The unique wives will not likely conform to the degree that the other wives will because of the desire to be free even though there is some level of participation. They, also, do not believe in dependency on the family for sustenance, are at ease among strangers, and are not excessively modest when making a public presentation. Unique wives also emphasize equality between people and will work to keep everyone at the same level (Triandis, 1989).

Singelis' (1995) study suggests that dutiful wives (vertical collectivist) can be seen as defining themselves as part of or an aspect of a group. The group's goals take priority over their own goals whether or not they overlap. Their social behavior usually

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can be predicted from norms, duties, and obligations of the group, and relationships are of the greatest importance, even when cost exceeds benefits. These individuals within collectivists groups conform to the pressures and resist inner forces to break ranks. They too accept ranking arrangements believing that rank has its privileges and will show responsibility to accept a task if it is expected. This is further constrained with guilt. Showing modesty in public appearances is preferred. This person is not just a part of the group, but they are willing to make additional sacrifices for the in-group. Also, behaving appropriately according to group norms is important, and the more rewards they receive, the more likely these attributes will emerge (Triandis, 1989).

Singelis' (1995) study suggests that cooperative wives (horizontal collectivist) can be seen as defining themselves as part of or with aspects of the group with their goals either overlapping or being subordinated to the group's goals. Like dutiful wives, these wives' behavior is usually predictable because of group norms, duties, and obligations. Relationships are important, and the costs of relationships will often outweigh benefits. The pressures to conform are usually greater than those to deviate from them. Cooperative wives will not side with the rank and file as their counterparts and are seldom modest when making presentations. These wives also value equality more strongly and would rather not stand out in the group, and have a sense of social cohesion and of oneness with the members of the group (Triandis, 1989).

A Socio-Cultural Perspective

More discussion of the socio-cultural dimensions is necessary to further clarify how the theoretical perspectives constitute a human ecosystems model. Discussed are various concepts and models that relate both to cultural and structural components in the

family ecosystems model. The main features converge with the theoretical perspective presented in this study.

Defining Culture

Although difficult to define, culture has been defined in many ways by the disciplines. Culture has been defined as: (1) the man-made parts of the human environment (Herskovits, 1938); or (2) a set of human-made objective (visible and tangible) and subjective (invisible and the taken-for-granted) elements in the human environment (Triandis, 1994); (3) that make up an organized system of meanings (Rohner, 1984); or (4) a "relatively" organized system of shared meanings (Smith, 1999). Many agree that it is collective action that creates culture (Herskovits, 1938; Rohner, 1984; Triandis, 1987; Smith, 1999). This study defines culture in a way that reflects all of these definitions to some extent. That is, culture is theorized as having subjective and objective (as well as concrete and abstract) elements in an organized system of relatively shared meanings manifested in human ecosystems and their environments (i.e., human-built, socio-cultural, and bio-physical). Organizational theorists have conceptualized some of the cultural dynamics examined in this study from similar perspectives

Organizational Culture Theory

There are several aspects of the two-person career as an African American family ecosystem in the context of the religious environment in which a schema perspective is useful. Schema models are useful because they are based on a systems perspective. Organizational theorists who view social organizations as open systems and a "loose coupling" of systems (Scott, 1995; Scott, 1998) provide useful conceptualizations for examining the cultural dimensions of a human ecosystem. As in the human ecosystem

perspective, theorists argue that organizations are cybernetic systems that carry out activities through subsystems (Scott, 1998). The subsystems are loosely connected components that are capable of autonomous actions where individual goals or intentions may be weakly linked to actions but help in the adaptability of the whole. This means that an enhancement in one component does not necessarily translate into an increase in production for the whole. Such conceptualization is compatible with human ecosystems thinking (pp. 82-88).

Furthermore, some organizational culture theorists have argued for a schema-based perspective (Harris, 1996) that provides helpful ways to conceptualize culture. This perspective argues that organizational culture influences the individual's "sense-making" processes, and is manifested in the "dynamic patterns developed in organization-specific schemas (p.283)." Schemas refers to what Harris (1996) argues are cognitive structures in which cultural knowledge is retained and organized allowing for knowledge repositories to develop, information to be directed for acquisition and processing, and generation of an appropriate response through sense-making. Accordingly, it is shared sense-making and social cognition that constitute organizational cultural dynamics (pp. 284-85). Schema processing through sense-making conceptually converges with human ecosystems concepts of information ordering and the valuing process. Harris (1996) argues that there are "in-organization" forms of individual schemas that are key toward developing a schema-based understanding of organizational cultural dynamics. These forms are influential schema structures organized into five categories. Because these categories and the requirements for culture and information

processing are influential in the conceptualization of this study, it is necessary to describe them before proceeding to other important and useful concepts.

The five categories of schema described by Harris (1996) include: (1) self-schema, (2) person schema, (3) organizational schema, (4) object and concept schema, and (5) event schema. Self-schemas are theories that individuals have about themselves in an organizational context that includes values, roles, and behavior. Another is a person schema that refers to memories, impressions, and learned expectations regarding traits, goals, and behavior patterns, preferences of particular individuals or groups and roles. Organizational schema is a subset of individual schemas for "generalized others" that are in an organizational context. "Object" or "concept" schemas are stimuli that are not inherently social, but are relevant for cultural understanding to guide interpretation of physical and verbal cultural artifacts. Finally, there are event schemas that are relevant to the social context, situations, encounters, and events. This schema is described as not only a guide for interpretation but also for behavior to reinforce meanings. Schemas enable individuals to capture and make sense out of the array of informational elements that enter a system.

Harris (1996) also argues that there are four requirements in using schemas in an organizational context. First, he states that there must be sharing of the categories. This is more likely to occur when individuals share experiences. Second, there must be a context for sharing to occur. Thirdly, "relative salience must exist among members" of the organization. The strength of the schema depends on information processing facilitated through social interaction. Some schemas among individuals are more salient than others and may be activated because individuals share basic schema patterns through

a matching process. Schema-guided sensemaking occurs both consciously and unconsciously. Meanings are negotiated and individuals do not have to be present to participate in the process. Harris characterizes much of this process as "mental dialogue." This makes it possible for input received from multiple time and space dimensions to help conceptualize stimuli domains such as spirituality and traditional sources.

Harris (1996) states how schema processes attribute meaning to physical artifacts and individual roles and activities. However, he only partly explains how schemas translate into action, and does very little to explain how contextual skills (cognitive and physical) are learned to facilitate the schema building or matching process. Sense-making processes explain how meaning is constructed, and salience explains motivation for social behavior, but there is little explanation of why individuals will choose to respond to the outcomes of mental dialogue. The environmental influences and constraints are issues that need to be discussed to develop a more adequate schema model. What cultural organizational theorists offer is a conceptualization of processes involved in constructing shared cultural elements or resources in the human ecosystem, and explain how differences and similarities co-exist through human social interaction.

Shared schemas are conceptual because of common ethnic experiences, religious beliefs, symbols and activities, and economic realities that make the family and church members' goals common and complementary. For example, the wife may have values based on a shared "person" schema with the members. The interaction between the wife and the members can result in high exchanges with less negotiation over the meaning and role of the minister's wife. In this case, the values reflected in the shared schema would

function to motivate and guide human interaction. Over time this would lead to need fulfillment and goal achievement quicker than it would if there was little that was shared or if the schemas did not match. Therefore, schemas function within a family ecosystem to sustain progress as well as facilitate growth for the components and the whole. A look at organizational theorists who view cultural resources as schema should illustrate this point.

Culture Power

While understanding how the husband, wife and members of the church increase in value by functioning as co-producers of human capital, it is also essential to take the next step toward understanding how and why these system components transform cultural resources for sustenance. Neo-institutional organizational theorists who emphasize the "taken-for-granted" aspects of organizational life and the ways environment shape organizational structures and processes also argue that "cultural power" is a valuable commodity (Williams and Demerath, 1998). Williams and Demerath (1998) argue for an approach to culture that understands both its implicit and explicit features that are important for the study of religious institutions. Williams and Demerath (1998) state that the way to do this is to use culture as a "frame" and incorporate the concept "collective identity." Cultural power is described as the capacity to use cultural resources for change. Cultural resources are contextually dependent with logic of its own in importing and exporting differing degrees of meanings. Once a rationale is developed, it is difficult to switch to another. Cultural resources are cooperatively constructed in this model with shared meaning for effectiveness. The correctness of interpretation of a symbol is not always important in the system. It is the

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effective use of an interpretation that makes a symbol powerful in this context. The husband and wife as leaders in this environment cooperate or collaborate with each other for the power to change or control the dynamics of the situation through the transformation and production of cultural resources that represent important symbols. In this environment the husband and wife don't simply accept the norms, values, attitudes, and expectations that are present in the ecosystem, but they take an active role in shaping these subjective elements based on their own needs, values, goals and the availability of cultural resources related to those symbols.

Cultural resources are difficult to control because of competing interpretations, so skill is associated with the idea of cultural power. Strong cultural appeals usually raise moral issues because morality is embedded in the religious discourse and "internal logic" that matches the perceptions of an ideal world. Implied is a model of how cultural resources are manipulated and controlled for systems maintenance or change. Important to this application with this model is the hierarchical arrangement within the two-person career because it indicates who has greater access to cultural resources. Salience is another important factor that affects cultural power. Power is relative to time and place and one must be at the right place at the right time. Openness is another important factor that relates to the range of possible interpretations. A final factor is the legitimacy of the beneficiary population because it reflects social ordering.

The system in this model is dynamic because of the effective use of cultural power by "moral entrepreneurs" in both the internal and external environments. This concept is useful for an integrated ecosystem model. In cases where there are differences in values among the structural components of a human ecosystem, the question of who

dominates is an important one. Understanding the political dimensions of culture dynamics will help us to explain the behavior patterns and responses of each subsystem.

Synopsis

The two-person career family ecosystem has three interrelated structural components. The structural components consist of the minister, his wife, and the church members. This family ecosystem's goal is the transformation, institutionalization, and production of cultural resources for the development of religious human capital through human interactions within environments. In ecosystems theory terms, schemas are energy and information sources that govern and regulate the extent to which structural components interact within the socio-cultural environment. The family ecosystem model that incorporates the models and concepts presented in this section can be used (with some modifications) to describe both the interactions within and between the subsystems as well as the interactions of the whole with its environment. Culture is a major factor throughout the human ecosystem and an understanding of the cultural dynamics as described in these models should help us to better understand, predict, and explain the social patterns revealed in this study.

Definitions

Ministers' Wife

Theoretical. This is an African American woman who is married to a minister.

Operational. The respondent who completes the Ministers' Wives Survey that is married to an African American minister (see Appendix).

Two-Person Career Wife

Theoretical. A wife who informally contributes in varying degrees to her husband's career because of norms, expectations, and values of that context to which she is inextricably connected by vicarious identity through marriage and based on shared goals.

Operational. The item scores on theoretical traits as indicated on the African American Ministers' Wives Survey Instrument.

Psychological Acculturation

Theoretical. Acculturation is the flow of cultural elements between two or more groups of people at the population level due to different cultures coming into contact. Psychological acculturation is the attitude of an individual as a result of contact with another culture (Berry, 1990). In this study, psychological acculturation refers to changes in cultural values that have resulted from some interaction with one or more different cultural value systems.

Operational. The highest score obtained from one of four scales based on forced choices on the Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism Profile (Gelfand, 1998). See Appendix.

Social Participation

Theoretical. The number and extent of religious activities related to the wife's role as a minister's wife.

Operational. Score indicated by responses on the Social Participation Scale (Chaplin, 1955). See Appendix.

Socio-economic Status

Theoretical. The social and economic status one achieves based on a combination of his or her employment classifications and educational level obtained.

Operational. The average of the combined scores based on occupation and education level measured with items on the African American Ministers' Wives Survey and the Social Participation Scale.

Theoretical Assumptions

1) African American ministers' wives are in a two-person career marital arrangement (Spedding, 1975; Taylor and Hartley, 1975; Finch, 1983).

2) Horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism are equivalent to psychological acculturation (Berry, 1990) outcomes at the individual level (Triandis, 1995).

3) African ministers and their wives share some religious beliefs, values, expectations, norms, and goals with the church members.

Propositions

1) Traditional socio-cultural characteristics among African American ministers' wives will include the following:

   a) Significant religious leadership that will enable them to produce cultural resources within the system.

   b) Social interaction with other ministers' wives as a traditional form of social support and group identity.

   c) Shared expectations, norms, and values with church members as a communal institution or kinship network family ecosystem.

d) Ministers' wives will demonstrate a willingness to make personal sacrifices in order to support their husband's ministry.

2) Based on psychological acculturation, African American ministers' wives who are collectivist will participate more than those who are individualist.

Operational Map

Figure 5 illustrates the relationship between the variables in this study. The independent variables include the two-person career wife traits, other independent variables that have been shown to be a factor either in the two-person career marriage or African American culture, and psychological acculturation as an intervening variable. Social participation is the dependent variable as indicated by the heavy outlined box. The two-person career is an index composite of those characteristics that comprise the general features of the two-person career as it pertains to the wife (Finch, 1983; Spedding, 1975; Taylor Hartley, 1975). These include intrusiveness, expectations, personal sacrifice, expectations, and contributions to the husband's career. Other independent variables include the number of years married, denomination, socio-economic status, and age as possible influential factors that have also appeared as possible factors that may influence social participation (Spedding, 1975; Taylor and Hartley, 1975; Finch, 1983; Taylor, 1988; Taylor and Chatters, 1989; Triandis, 1995). Psychological acculturation is the intervening variable that influences the effects of the independent variable on the dependent variable. The arrows indicate the bi-directional nature of the influence the variable has within this system.

Social Participation

Psychological Acculturation

Years Married

Denomination

Two-Person Career Traits
Intrusiveness
Expectations
Rewards
Personal Sacrifice
Contributions

Socio-economic Status

Age

Independent Variables

Intervening Variable

Dependent Variable
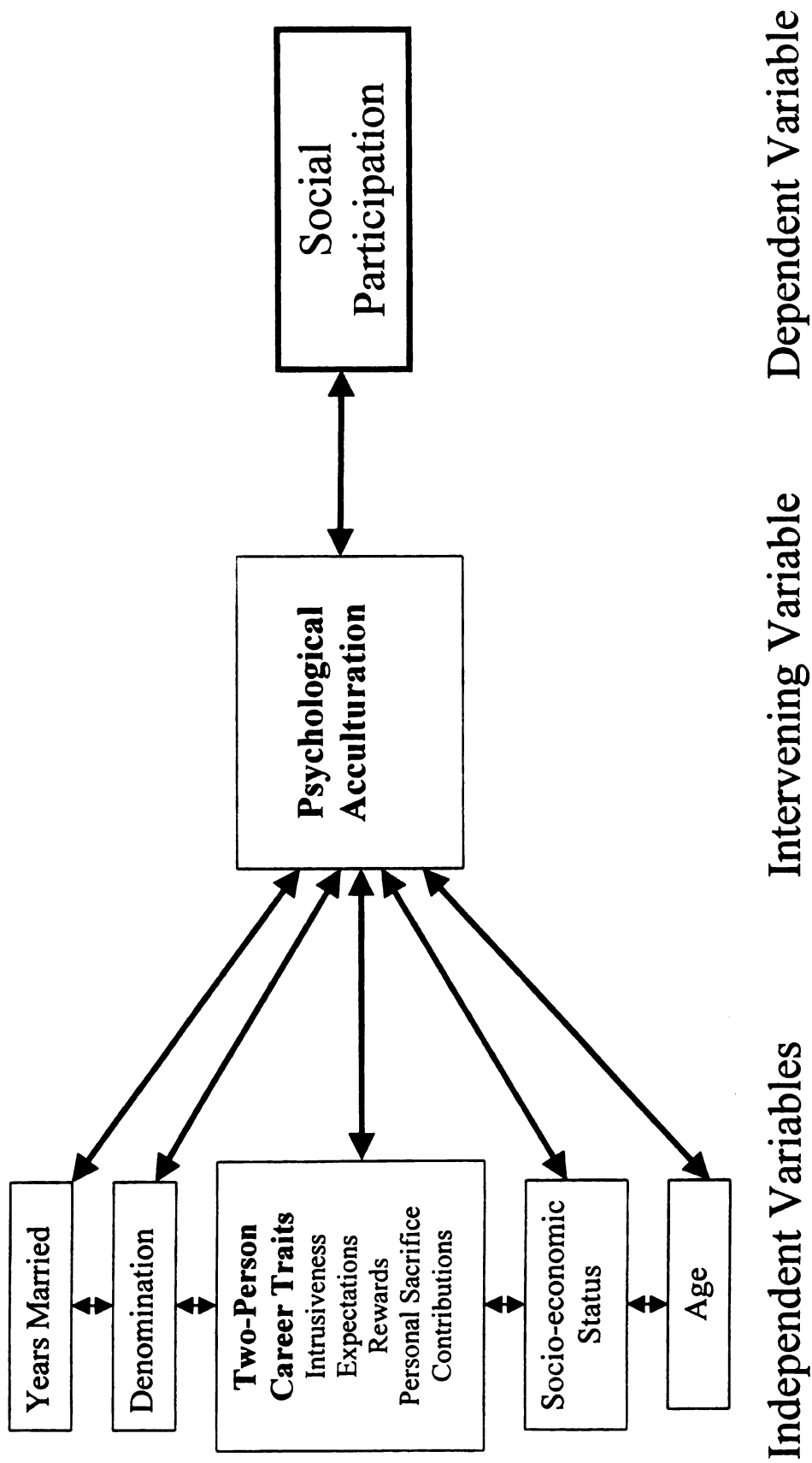
Figure 5 Operational Map

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CHAPTER THREE

Review of Literature

The number and complexity of variables and their relationship within an ecosystem requires an in-depth review of the research in the fields of sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and cross-cultural psychology in order to demonstrate the conceptual basis for the theoretical framework proposed in this study.

Two-Person Career Ministers' Wives

This study is like previous studies on two-person career wives in that ministers' wives are the focus of the study rather than the husband or the husband's employer. The concept of the two-person career is a sociological term in the literature that describes wives who support their husband's career through social interaction (Papanek, 1973; Taylor & Hartley, 1975; Kanter, 1977; Finch, 1983; and Toliver, 1998). Papanek (1973) was the first to conceptualize the "two-person career" as the phenomenon that describes a three-way relationship between a husband, a wife, and the employing institution where the wife's contributions or participation is expected and informally required. Papanek contended that wives were co-opted into the background by the educational system. Taylor and Hartley (1975) shortly followed with a study that was the first to apply this concept to ministers' wives and test Papanek's contentions. As they had pointed out, the literature pertaining to ministers' wives is mainly focused on how to be a minister's wife (p. 357). Other literature on the minister's wife is concerned with marital and occupation stressors (e.g., (Henry, 1991; Blanton, 1994).

The two-person career concept is particularly useful for examining ministers' wives because it builds on previous studies of two-person career ministers' wives (Taylor

& Hartley, 1975; and Spedding, 1975; Finch, 1983). Other studies that deal with this marital arrangement (Kanter, 1977; Toliver, 1998) were not completely considered as an appropriate model because they employed a deficit approach to examine wives in a corporate business context. Kanter (1997) and Toliver (1998) were two that differed slightly in their application of this deficit approach. Toliver (1998) looks specifically at African American families. Wives, at best, are depicted as either subordinate components of a family system or as victims of lost opportunities to live their own lives as they choose. However, the problem with applying a deficit model to examine this phenomenon is that it may inhibit our understanding of how the family system may function to ensure family survival and adaptation to the environment. Therefore, there are three sociological studies that are heavily relied on to study the dynamics involved in the African American religious context: Taylor and Hartley (1975), Spedding (1975) and Finch (1983).

Although the Taylor and Hartley (1975) study failed to consider more deeply the socio-cultural influences and constraints, their study provided some evidence on how the ministers' wives phenomenon relates to the two-person career concept (Papanek, 1973). Papanek's model, as Taylor and Hartley applied it to Protestant ministers' wives (1975), has the following components: a) it usually involves middle-class and highly trained men; b) it is an occupation that is male dominated; c) the women participate in the early development of the career (i.e., training and education); d) contributions to the husband's career may include status maintenance, intellectual contributions, and public performances, and failure to participate may jeopardize his career; and e) the wife's contributions are "formally unacknowledged and unremunerated." There were no

modifications in its application by Taylor and Hartley at the outset of their research. Taylor and Hartley applied the concept in the context of ministers' wives without any fundamental changes. In general, as a result of this application, Taylor and Hartley's study of Protestant ministers' wives confirmed Papanek's earlier reasoning that women receive fulfillment through their husband's career by vicarious achievement. However, Taylor and Hartley's findings did not confirm Papanek's earlier contentions that a skewed educational system aids in derailing women from pursuing their own careers.

New findings emerged with the isolation of education and seeking participation in the work force as an independent variable (Taylor and Hartley, 1975). However, controlling for education did not address the socio-cultural issues such as held beliefs and cultural norms germane to African American culture and may make generalizing their results to African American ministers' wives somewhat problematic if specific dynamics are taken into consideration. For example, Taylor and Hartley's new component for the model involves the following variables: 1) higher levels of education; 2) more participation in the labor force; 3) more participation in the two-person career; and 4) more part-time employment. The correlation was said to be positive and statistically significant between higher education and less participation in the two-person career; higher levels of education and less participation in the labor force; and more participation in the two-person career and increased part-time employment (pp. 362-370). A statement, according to these findings, could be presented in the following manner: Ministers' wives will more likely choose to sacrifice higher levels of education and full participation in the labor force in order to participate in the two-person career. Since Taylor and Hartley's study, African Americans have been shown to increase in their level

of religiosity as higher levels of education are attained (Taylor, 1988). Moreover, African American women have also been shown in another subsequent study to increase in all dimensions of religiosity with higher levels of education (Mattis, 1997). If these studies prove consistent for African American ministers' wives, then a two-person model based on Taylor and Hartley's findings would be an inappropriate model to adopt because an important cultural dimension would be missing. If these findings are inconsistent among African American ministers' wives, then we can assume that a new two-person career model is needed. Furthermore, the most important issue of variation with control variables strengthens the fact that this family ecosystem is context dependent.

Spedding's (1975) study of ministers' wives from four denominations showed that variation in social patterns was inevitable because of a number of factors that exist in the ministers' wives context. Ministers' wives who were middle-class rarely returned to their secular careers. Although the Baptist wives were the least likely to be involved in outside work and Methodist and Congregationalists were inclined to work, denomination was generally a meaningful factor. Spedding stated, "Variations in participation relate to denominational allegiances, personal religious beliefs, and stage of one's husband's career, among other factors" (p.581). According to Spedding,

> The questions of just how and why clergy wives become so involved in their
>
> husband's work are a matter of interpretation and theory, rather than fact; but what
>
> is beyond dispute is that they are a group with a distinctive style of life, which
>
> might well be seen as increasingly anachronistic, in society which apparently
>
> places increasing importance upon women's independence of their husbands
>
> (p.581).

It is apparent that Spedding's development of a model is intended for application in different contexts. Therefore, this may indicate that variation may be due to contextual factors that cannot be readily captured without an in-depth understanding of the situation.

Finch's (1983) approach to the conceptualization and application of the two-person career contributes more as an in-depth comparative sociological study with a symbolic interactionist perspective on the phenomenon (Finch and Spedding are the same person). In "Married to the Job: Wives Incorporation in Men's Work," Finch views the husband's work as a structuring force in the wife's life that elicits her contributions. In this study Finch seeks to capture key characteristics that may be reflected in all situations. Finch uses incorporation to denote the two-sidedness of the two-person career. On one side, a set of structures constrains choices and set limits as organizing themes, and on the other, the wife contributes to the work (Finch is careful to avoid being deterministic in her description). On conceptual issues, Finch strongly disagrees with Papanek's conceptualization. Finch finds that it is not a middle-class phenomenon as Papanek proposes but extends to the working class and professional and bureaucratic settings (also in a previous study) as well. Finch draws heavily from her studies of clergy wives and compares a variety of forms of this phenomenon. In these forms, there were many instances of employed wives as indicated in Taylor and Hartley's study (1975). Finch states that Papanek is really describing a "two-person single career." Unlike Papanek (1975), Finch (1983) argues that the two-person career concept must include working women who exhibit the same characteristics.

Finch also argues that two-person career wives are defined within the specific and the larger societal cultural context. Wives are defined by what their husbands do as

conferred upon them by marriage such as: 1) the level of material possession, 2) living in the house of the employer, 3) incorporation in occupational hierarchy, and 4) as a public figure through "vicarious identity". Their contributions are situational in that "the detailed content of their activities reflect cultural designation of behavior appropriate to different settings." In a systematic analysis, Finch concludes that there are common "features" in instances of the two-person career that have "special importance both for structuring a wife's life and for eliciting her contributions." These include flexibility of work hours, possibility of work being done at home, living in an institutional setting, work that is intrusive to the family life or socially contaminating, and self-employment. In her earlier work (Spedding, 1975), Finch places emphasis on how the husband's work is intrusive. Work is "almost always" centered at home, and it is "overwhelmingly true" in many cases regardless of the social class among ministers' wives. She states,

> As far as role in the descriptive sense is concerned, it is clear that most clergy
>
> wives are making active contributions to their husband's work. As to the range of
>
> activities which they undertake, the distinctive feature is that they very largely
>
> confine themselves to those activities traditionally undertaken by clergymens'
>
> wives. (p. 581)

Finch (1983) distinguishes detailed "forms" as context specific rather than denoting a different phenomenon all together. Features in addition to status of work may lead to differing forms. She believes that these features need to be tested based on her findings.

In arguing for a focus on "forms," Finch implies that each context is different and that there are dimensions to this phenomenon that need examination in order to

understand it. She points out how social life forces constrain and influence outcomes. According to Finch there is a "scheme of priorities" that provide for social ordering such as husband's-work-family-work with her work as having the last priority. She notes pervasive patterns of the wife being relegated to domestic and nurturing roles and states, "...it is important to examine the structural and cultural supports which serve to sustain this pattern, in order to understand its pervasiveness" (p. 140). Supported patterns in her studies are both structural (e.g., labor markets and social policies) and cultural (e.g., ideological, socially approved). Although Finch's analysis emphasizes the importance of socio-cultural forms beyond "features" that constrain and influence the wives' behavior, she is careful not to be deterministic in that she argues,

> To imply simply that wives have little choice but to accept this scheme of
> priorities, leaving them with little room to maneuver either practically or
> ideologically, would be to offer an exclusive alienated and passive model of
> women merely on the receiving end of a system to which they are powerless to
> change. (p. 150)

The two-person career construct, defined by Finch, would include elements beyond sociological dimensions and incorporate them in order to understand this phenomenon.

Therefore, the construct has the following elements based on what we find in the literature. The two-person career wife makes contributions to the husband's career (Papanek, 1973; Taylor & Hartley, 1975; Spedding, 1975; Kanter, 1977, Finch, 1983; and Toliver, 1996); and the type of contributions the wife makes will vary depending on the cultural context (Taylor & Hartley, 1975; Finch, 1983). Second, there are some rewards for the wife that include an identity she inherited by virtue of marriage (Taylor & Hartley,

1975, and Spedding, 1975). Third, it is expected that the wife will participate based on how she is elicited to do so and/or by self-imposed pressures (Papanek, 1973; Taylor & Hartley, 1975; Spedding, 1975; Kanter, 1977, Finch, 1983; and Toliver, 1996). Fourth, the husband's employer is intrusive in the family life (Spedding, 1975; Finch, 1983). Finally, education and work force status may influence the wife's level of participation (Taylor & Hartley, 1975; and Finch, 1983). Since the most substantial work from which we draw this empirical data is qualitative, no instruments are available for quantitative research. Therefore, an instrument must be developed that includes these features.

These characteristics support the examination of multiple levels to identify possible factors that may influence the "form" the two-person career may take in a specific cultural context. What we minimally have in this conceptualization is a symbiotic relationship between three components. This emphasizes the importance of the two-person career construct as a family ecosystem that includes the work environment, but taking on a form that reflects a specific cultural context.

African American Women and the Church

There exists a dearth of research on ministers' wives (Taylor and Hartley, 1975), and this is also the case with the research on African American ministers' wives in particular. However, the addition of some related research on the history of African American women in relationship to the church provides some idea of the type and extent of religious participation that is likely to emerge in this context (Frazier and Lincoln, 1974; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Findlay, 1993; Higginbotham, 1993; Higginbotham, 1997). The historical data must be considered in order to appreciate the uniqueness of African American social patterns. While striving against gender and doctrinal issues

during the 19th and 20th century, African American ministers' wives also were faced with racial issues of disenfranchisement and self-determination (Frazier and Lincoln, 1974; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Findlay, 1993; Higginbotham, 1993). From the slavery era to the end of the Civil Rights era surviving Africanisms were uniquely expressed in churches, making them "communal institutions" where there was a social network of extended fictive kin relationships, extensive religious participation, and "church mothers" (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990). This context brought about a variety of forms of religious participation and the fulfillment of needs among African American ministers' wives.

The evidence of ministers' wives having a tradition of religious participation is consistent throughout African American history. During the period of slavery in the United States, ministers' wives were themselves preachers of the "invisible church" (Blassingame, 1972; Wilmore, 1973; Raboteau, 1978) and "religious abolitionists" (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Higginbotham, 1993). When it was unfashionable for women to assume the role as ministers, many ministers' wives engaged in strategic participation by organizing as religious community leaders during the Reconstruction era (Frazier and Lincoln, 1974; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Higginbotham, 1993). During the 1880s and the 1890s ministers' wives participated in the establishment of Spelmen Seminary for women missionaries in the spirit of self-help and determination (Higginbotham, 1993). This signaled what eventually became a traditional form of religious participation. According to a study conducted by the Association of Theological Schools (Lonway, 1999), the number of African American women attending seminary is currently almost equal to that of African American men. Among other ethnic

groups and Anglo-Americans the ratio of men to women is much higher ranging between four to one and six to one (Lonsway, 1999).

The life of religious participation among African American ministers' wives in the 20th century formulated strategies to overcome social barriers against women taking a definitive active role (Higginbotham, 1993). While men and women discussed and debated over strategies on how to best utilize women's talents (pp. 47-49), the convention movement provided a "critical mediating function -- uniting women with men in the struggle of racial self-determination" (pp. 150-53). During the formidable years of the conventions, the ministers' wives "carved out leadership positions" for themselves and started numerous organizations to combat lynching, seek gender equality, and achieve social and economic justice (Paris, 1985; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Findlay, 1993; Higginbotham, 1993).

While conventions and new organizations provided ministers' wives and other women with a mediating force for men and women to work for a common cause, it also facilitated ways for them to fulfill social and personal needs. Ministers' wives were able to develop a national identity by re-defining their purpose and by representation (Higginbotham, 1993). It allowed for ideological consistency for social cohesion through a support network (pp. 15-53). On a personal level, it allowed ministers' wives to be with their husbands who were active in the struggle for social and economic justice (Findlay, 1993). It also allowed them to fulfill a need to serve the community (Lerner, 1972; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Findlay, 1993; Higginbotham, 1993).

The evidence suggests that African American ministers' wives have a set of unique cultural characteristics based on historical circumstances; some were possibly

remnants of their African cultural heritage (Billingsley, 1968; Herskovits, 1941; Lincoln, 1990; Gonzalez, 1970; Gilkes, 1997). Given the characteristics found to be pertinent to African American culture, what is reasonable to assume is that cultural variation can also be expected. African American women undoubtedly have integrated into the mainstream of society in a variety of ways. Social, economic, and political barriers have been removed in recent decades, and this makes it logical to assume that acculturation has occurred. Thus, acculturation is an important factor.

Psychological Acculturation

Acculturation is generally regarded as a dynamic phenomenon resulting from the contact between two or more cultures. Anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists have grappled with the meaning of this term for over a century (e.g., Herskovits, 1938; Gordon, 1964; and Berry, 1990). Therefore, its use in the literature has been inconsistent. For example, acculturation and assimilation are sometimes used interchangeably to mean the same thing. In fact, many models of acculturation have been developed in an attempt to clarify its conceptual usage (Gordon, 1964; Teske, 1974; Berry, 1980; Landrine and Klonoff, 1998). Because this term is central to this study, it is necessary to first briefly discuss its historical development, conceptual properties, and use before exploring the merits of an alternative theoretical approach that includes cultural dimensions of the two-person career context.

The term acculturation first appeared in 1880 in reference to anthropological studies first conducted by R. Powell in order to understand Native American culture (Herskovits, 1938). Powell's first use of the term was only an approximation of its meaning before it became formally defined and eventually reflected the definition soon

adopted by the social science community near the turn of the century. The significance

of the term for scientific research on cultural phenomena was indicated when it became

published in *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, 1928 (Herskovits, 1938). In 1934, the

term became ethnologically understood in the United States as "the approximation of one

social group of people to another in culture or arts by contact; the transfer of cultural

elements from one social group of people to another . . ." (Herskovits, 1938). In Europe

the same meaning was termed "culture-contact." According to Herskovits, two

statements clarified the term:

> Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspects is
>
> taken into a culture and adjusted and fitted to it. This implies some relative
>
> cultural equality between the giving and receiving cultures. Assimilation,
>
> however, is the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed
>
> culture into a status of relative adjustment to form of the ruling culture.

and,

> In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal
>
> relationship. Both give and take. As a result, it is a valid problem to consider
>
> what is adapted and what is not, and the whys and wherefores. In assimilation the
>
> tendency is for the ruling cultural group to enforce the adoption of certain
>
> externals, in terms of which superficial adjustment seems to be attained, the
>
> adopting culture is not in position to chose. (Lesser, 1933).

It is important here to note the distinction by earlier anthropologists between

acculturation and assimilation.

Herskovits (1938) also raised several other issues about formal emerging

definitions that departed from the use and understanding of the term acculturation in the

"field." According to Berry (1980), in 1954 the sub-committee of the Social Science

Research Council defined acculturation as:

> Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of
>
> individuals having different cultures come in continuous first-hand contact, with
>
> subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups. . .

Herskovits pointed out that there were three things wrong with this definition. First, he

stated that acculturation as a term had a broader use in its application. For instance, the

term was often synonymous with "education" among individuals who acquired skills

from their own culture. Secondly, it ignored those situations where only a single aspect

of a culture is transmitted. Thirdly, the definition did not take into account the

complexity and dominance that may be characteristic of the two cultures involved.

Herskovits saw the failure to see individuals within a cultural group as a culture of

"considerable importance" in their "own right" a serious mistake. On the matter of

assimilation, Herskovits stated:

> [Assimilation]. . . lies deeper than the superficial adoption of similar traits of a
>
> common culture by a number of groups of different origin; fundamentally,
>
> assimilation is not achieved until a people have attained unity of thought that
>
> underlies the "veneer" of acceptance of traits of a material nature. It is pointed
>
> out that there are "grades and grades" of assimilation, and that the process is not
>
> restricted to historic cultures alone, . . . the repercussions of contact also involve

the assimilation of the culture introduced by those to whom it has been presented. (p. 13)

Herskovits argued that before data can be analyzed to ascertain that acculturation has occurred, historical controls must be set up. He suggested two ways of doing this. The first is to reconstruct the life of the individual or group as best as one can before the cultural contact occurs and then analyze for change. The second is to examine as much documentary evidence as possible to further validate acculturation. This suggests that acculturation cannot be studied without the elements of time and space considered.

A variety of acculturation models have been presented since Herskovits' contribution to the discussion of acculturation. However, there have been some shifts in the meaning of the term acculturation that have led to the development of various ot.er models: (1) An assimilation model of acculturation proposed by Milton Gordon (1964), (2) a cultural pluralistic model attempted to return to earlier anthropological conceptualizations of acculturation and assimilation (Teske & Nelson, 1974), and (3) an innovative approach that conceptualized acculturation in the African American context as a "circular" process (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996) were among major shifts and variations that developed.

Milton Gordon (1964) conceptualized several sub-processes of assimilation that viewed acculturation as a "melting pot" phenomenon. In essence it was a progressive model of assimilation where minorities, to some degree, strive to achieve all of the levels in the process of assimilation. These levels include behavioral, structural, material, identificational, attitude receptional, behavioral receptional, and civic assimilation. This view of acculturation assumed that all cultures would eventually subordinate to the

dominant culture and become non-existent. It proposed that the goal of cultural groups

was to assimilate rather than adapt. This melting-pot view gave way to a cultural

pluralist perspective (Glazer, 1963; Teske, 1974; Greeley, 1979).

Teske & Nelson (1974), particularly, argued that assimilation was a change that

took place within the acculturation process. They saw acculturation as a bi-directional

process that did not necessarily mean a change in a group's values. Assimilation, on the

other hand, is a one-way process towards the dominant host culture that requires changes

in values. They outlined eight characteristics within their framework. Teske & Nelson's

model seemed to move back in the direction of Herskovits' conceptualization of

acculturation and assimilation. It is important to note here that their model did not

present assimilation as necessary or inevitable compared to Gordon's melting-pot model

of assimilation.

Because of the lack of research conducted on African American acculturation,

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) departed more drastically from the general conceptual path

followed in the social sciences. Landrine and Klonoff argued that acculturation was a

process that,

> ...loosely refers to the "extent to which ethnic-cultural minorities participated in
>
> the cultural traditions, values, beliefs, and practices of their own culture versus
>
> those of the dominant "White" society. (p. 1)

They viewed acculturation as a process on a continuum between traditional culture

(culture of origin) and highly acculturated into the dominant culture. Acculturation is a

bi-directional process where most African Americans move toward the traditional point

on the continuum depending on several factors. Landrine and Klonoff argue that African

Americans may begin at any point in the continuum before acculturating. Change is often away from the dominant culture. They also argue that individuals may develop two distinct cultural orientations or a blended-bicultural orientation. According to Landrine and Klonoff, a more appropriate theoretical model to study African American acculturation would include four principle elements. First, it should include "duplicate institutions" that reflect the mainstream as evidence in ethnic communities. Secondly, it should include "ethnic enclaves" that ensure consistency of cultural socialization and refers to the "voluntary or involuntary physical and spatial segregation and concentration" of its ethnic members. Third, it should include parent groups that serve as highly traditional community elders, and last, "ethnic socialization" whereby "messages" are communicated about the context in which African Americans live that affect the nature, speed, and outcome of acculturation. These four principle elements can be summed up as social-cultural structures that resulted from historical developments or as outcomes of population-level acculturation. This also seems to suggest that we must look beyond socio-cultural structures.

Most of the recent models of acculturation are based on the idea that identifying the outcomes of acculturation are key in explaining the intra-cultural dynamics of a phenomenon (Padilla, 1980; Berry, 1990; Tropp, 1994; Landrine and Klonoff, 1998). A model proposed by John Berry (1980, 1990) has had the broadest acceptance. His outcomes of psychological acculturation would include assimilated, integrated, separated, and marginalized (Berry, 1990) which are somewhat expected to correspond to horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism in this study. Berry based these outcomes on two dimensions. The first dimension is an individual's desire to maintain their original

cultural identity, and the second is an individual's desire to maintain relationships with other groups. Berry termed these psychological acculturation strategies or acculturative attitudes (1990). Berry developed his concept of the four outcomes of psychological acculturation based on these dimensions consistent with previous research (Herskovits, 1938; Herskovits, 1941; Graves, 1967). Although Berry's work has gained prominence and has been considered conceptually sound (Ward and Rana-Dueba, 1999), he has made several statements about his theoretical framework on psychological acculturation that appear to undermine the use of psychological acculturation outcomes to explain and predict individual behavior (Berry, 1990).

Most studies of psychological acculturation have been conducted with immigrants, sojourners, and indigenous populations (p. 242). Although it has been suggested that any ethnic group, including African Americans, can be examined using acculturation models (Triandis, 1994; Berry, 1990; Landrine & Klonoff, 1998), few studies have been conducted on African American acculturation exclusively. Berry (1990) leaves room for the development of new "classifications" given the unique situations of certain ethnic groups (i.e., African Americans). Berry states in some instances "the classification of groups may take different forms, based upon different histories and ideologies" (p. 243). Berry also supports another idea that makes using the outcomes of psychological acculturation problematic. He states,

> It should also be noted that acculturation may be "uneven" across domains of
>
> behavior and social life; for example, one may seek economic assimilation (in
>
> work), linguistic integration (by way of bilingualism), and marital separation (by
>
> endogamy) (p. 245).

These two statements may support Berry's overall theoretical scheme; however, they seem to raise some critical issues when applied to the African American context. The first issue deals with whether or not African Americans can be marginal or separated. Landrine & Klonoff (1998) attempt to resolve this issue by stating that African Americans may be posited anywhere on the continuum of acculturation. Landrine & Klonoff argued for another acculturative model that accounts for the heterogeneity among African Americans. They seemed to have understood this when they conceptualized various ranges of psychological acculturation outcomes such as "blended-bicultural" and "alternating-bicultural" concepts. African Americans can not be classified as sojourners or immigrants without distortions because of their unique history and cultural patterns indicative of the American mainstream. Furthermore, African American's cultural elements were transmitted to some extent to the descendants of African captives who adapted to the New World. There are lingering questions: Are African Americans integrated? Can African Americans become truly separated? An ecosystem perspective does not support the concept that an individual system be literately "closed" to the influence of another system, much less the dominant cultural system. To some degree individuals are interdependent on the dominant system as reflected in the case of African Americans.

The other problem in applying these constructs of psychological acculturation is implied in Berry's statement (quoted above) that psychological acculturation may be "uneven." If individuals can assimilate in varying degrees in multiple dimensions in their lives, can they also integrate, marginalize and separate in varying degrees? This appears to open another conceptual door that may undermine an application of the outcomes in

the African American context. It can be reasonably concluded that individuals may have varying degrees of each of the acculturation outcomes in various dimensions of their life. To disregard this logical use of all of the outcomes within Berry's framework may pose serious limitations in understanding acculturation in the African American context. It may also be an oversight of many aspects of an individual's life that may be pertinent to understanding this phenomenon. What can be assumed from the possibilities is that African Americans may be more "situational" than the present outcomes suggest. Besides the psychological acculturation outcomes being too arbitrary for use in the African American ethnic context, a new approach appears to be needed beyond these constructs.

Again, what is consistent among these models is the focus on the socio-cultural forms promulgated by Melville Herskovits (1938, 1941) and cultural relativists in recent decades (Billingsley, 1968; Hill, 1971; Staples, 1976; Allen, 1978; Sudarkasa, 1981; Hill, 1999). Some researchers of acculturation have argued a distinction between psychological and social acculturation (Ward, 1994; Ward and Rana-Dueba, 1999). In an attempt to explicitly link Berry's modes of acculturation with psychological and socio-cultural adjustment, they found troublesome issues in "measuring" these acculturation outcomes and stated that the issues "clearly warrant greater attention." Others (Ward and Rana-Dueba, 1999) also found reasons to further scrutinize these acculturation strategies. It was suggested that the items on the instrument should tap into "broader domains" than those specified in Berry's model. Furthermore, Colleen Ward and Arzu Rana-Deuba, in reference to the measures, stated,

Although this is still in keeping with the spirit of the acculturation model, it raises

questions about the precision of the measurement in relation to the guiding

questions and has implication for the development of alternative assessment

instruments. (p. 4).

It appears that socio-cultural forms (i.e., specific cultural patterns) may be too imprecise

to generalize if measured using Berry's approach of developing an index for the

construct.

Some scholars (Mintz & Price, 1976) have suggested that there are "underlying

consistencies" within an orientation among varying socio-cultural forms that Berry and

others seem to focus on. If this is true, then a bette. lterna. ve ma; be to "tap" into

"broader" domains that make generalizing more theoretically plausible. Mintz & Price

(1976) argue this option at length. Rather than focusing on measuring specific socio-

cultural forms such as Africanisms, they state:

An African cultural heritage, widely shared by the people imported into any new

colony will have to be defined in less concrete terms, by focusing more on values,

and less on socio-cultural forms, and even by attempting to identify unconscious

principles, which may underlie and shape behavior response. (p. 9).

What they proposed is a focus on broader categories that reflect cultural orientation. For

them, similarities between cultural groups are sometimes real. If so, there must also exist

underlying principles that are often unconscious but amenable to "identification,

description and confirmation." They state that Herskovits did not advance far beyond

explicit cultural forms and argue against only making "historical connections" to Africa

based upon a few similarities which appears to be the path cultural relativists limit themselves to.

Mintz and Price (1976) present a case for looking beyond socio-cultural forms in their book: *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective.* African Americans, they argue, are an ethnically heterogeneous aggregate of individuals (others also: Taylor, 1988, etc.). But this was always characteristic of African Americans and their African parents who were captive in the New World. Africans from a diverse set of sub-African cultures were captured; and from this, we deduce that Africanisms have survived. This has been aptly pointed out in recent decades through the examination of African American song, art, dance, behavioral patterns, and so forth (Herskovits, 1941; Billingsley, 1968; Hill, 1971; Allen, 1978; Surdaska, 1981). However, there are other cultural forms that exist beyond Africanisms that are uniquely African American such as "duplicate institutions" in African American communities (Stack, 1974; Van Den Berghe, 1978; Landrine and Klonoff, 1998). According to Mintz and Price (1976), the problem is,

> [a] holistic concept of culture" will conceal the process that is "implicit in both the continuities and discontinuities between Africa and the Americas...and mask the central issue of how cultures change. (p. 16)

Although their concern is on how cultural change occurs, a central premise is that situations forced African slaves to create "institutions." It is what social institutions as structures embody, and what embodies social institutions that we should be concerned with. Smith (Smith, 1957; Smith, 1962) who studied West African heritage in the Caribbean is quoted as stating,

Thus, if acculturation, rather than the simple identification of elements as African or other, is the aim of such study, we must study the relevant social conditions equally and simultaneously. (p. 19)

(This would have merit in an ecosystem framework because of the understanding that the context places constraints on development and individual change strategies for adaptation.)

Mintz and Price's socio-cultural contact theory provides a viable alternative to solely generating variables out of specific socio-cultural forms which may lead to inaccurate conclusions about cultural change due to contact with another group. Their attention is on finding broader concepts that are implicit in socially created "institutions." They define institutions as "any regular or orderly social interaction that acquires a normative character, and can hence be employed to meet recurrent needs" (p. 23). Institutions were created by African slaves in the U.S. to help them adapt to the "most ordinary and important aspects of life" within socio-cultural constraints in their environment. Although their remedy is an in-depth historical research approach to understand ethnic social interaction, they provide us reasons to explore higher levels cultural or cognitive dimensions to explain acculturation outcomes. They propose "cognatic descent" rather than the unilineal transmission of Africanisms in arguing, "...neither social context nor cultural traditions alone can explain an African-American institutional form" (p. 68).

Nonetheless, this historical approach toward understanding "cognitive orientations" among African Americans to explain the process of acculturation appears to be limited in getting at underlying themes related to socio-cultural forms. The level of

precision is dubious with a high degree of variability within and across groups. Yet, we must also be cautious not to reduce the importance of socio-cultural forms. Socio-cultural forms are "real" structural attributes of physical, social and cognitive dimensions. Researchers who focus on these forms have produced some evidence that structures such as age, gender, and time in a new cultural context is associated with acculturation (Szapocznik, 1980; Triandis, 1989; Triandis, 1995). Some have found them to influence how individuals adhere to cultural norms and traditional roles (Torres-Matrullo, 1980). Padilla (1980) found that levels of acculturation were significantly higher among individuals living in neighborhoods with few members of their own communities, while acculturation was much lower for people living among others from the same cultural community. Others have taken Berry's two dimensions, where he derives four possible acculturation outcomes, and conceptualized another single outcome. This outcome, called accommodation, refers to the individual's ability to function between cultures in varying degrees because of "feelings about their involvement" in the host or dominant culture (Tropp, et al., 1994). The point seems clear that socio-cultural forms such as the two-person career family are important because they give us analytical boundaries and conditions that shape social interaction. However, other factors must be considered because they, too, are influenced by other "level" (Griffore and Phenice, 2001) factors. A resolve for this shortcoming should involve understanding what "underlying" factors influence socio-cultural forms in a socio-cultural-specific context.

Some research suggests that acculturation is based on two dimensions: behavior and values (Szapocznik et al., 1980). It seems plausible to think that we can keep the "spirit of the acculturation model" given research that strongly suggests we tap into the

underlying currents that exist in the cognitive realm beyond the socio-cultural structures such as value-based constructs such as individualism and collectivism. Some findings have supported that "intermediary structures" function based on the same assumptions as cultural-level variables (Kim, 1994). Cross-cultural psychologists (Berry's field of study) have empirically relevant constructs: Individualism and Collectivism (Hofstede, 1980; Triandis, 1987).

Hofstede (1980) found that individualism and collectivism exist as cross-cultural values in the work environment of United States multi-national organizations in 53 countries. Two problems were identified with Hofstede's original conceptualization and results: (1) individualism was a concept developed in Western culture when most of the world's population is found in predominantly collectivist countries, and (2) the concepts were measured as cultural level constructs making it limited for individual level analysis (Smith, 1999). Several important studies followed in recent years that update Hofstede's original study (Chinese Culture Connection, 1987; Smith, 1996; Fernandez, 1997; Merritt, 2000). These studies supported his original research on individualism and collectivism as culture level variables.

Individual-level variables have been found to correspond to these cultural-level variables: idiocentrism and allocentrism (Triandis, 1988; Triandis, 1989). Reliable ways to measure these variables were developed (Triandis et al., 1989). Others (Kluckhohn, 1961; Mead, 1967; Rokeach, 1973) found them in similar forms with individualism as a predominant characteristic of people in the United States (However, this is a general view that doesn't take into account Hispanic, Native, and Asian Americans who have been found to be collectivists (Triandis, 1995).)

There are characteristics that have been found to make distinctions between individualists and collectivists. Although these constructs have undergone a number of "conceptualisations and operationalisations" over the last four decades, a group of anthropologists and psychologists were able to establish convergent and discriminant validity while testing these constructs (Triandis, 1995). Collectivism generally refers to "a social pattern consisting of closely linked individuals who see themselves as parts of one or more collectives" (p. 2). Individualism refers to a

> ...social pattern that consist of loosely linked individuals who view themselves as independent of collectives; are primarily mo ivated by their own preferences, needs, rights, and contracts they have established with others; give priority to their personal goals over the goals of others; and emphasize rational analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of associating with others (p. 2).

Collectivism has been found in a sample of African Americans in Detroit among large families (Wooddell, 1989). It has been suggested that African Americans, as descendants of Africans exposed to 400 years of individualism, may still show high variance on the collectivism-individualism continuum and that there may be an inverse relationship between social class and individualism (Triandis, 1994).

Hofstede (1980) argues that individuals and cultures need to be examined as two distinct units of analysis reflecting different levels of analysis. He also argues that it is the interaction between these two levels where we find differences manifested in what we generally see as cultural patterns. Consequently, they are functionally related because their interactions shape "intermediary structures" such as institutions, norms, and beliefs. Hofstede further states that it is the uniqueness of individuals that enables them to

regulate how culture shapes their attitudes, beliefs, emotions and behaviors. This leads to variations in adaptation outcomes.

Kim (1994) discusses important "facets" of individualism and collectivism that can give meaning to the interaction of individual influences by these cultural dimensions. As distinct groups, collectivists have less fluid boundaries between them than individualists. Kim proposes that the fluid boundaries denote facets of individualism that can sometimes appear as solid boundaries because of the cohesion of individuals in a defined group (e.g., medical associations). In collectivism, there are firm and explicit boundaries where distinction can be made as to whether one is a part of the in-group or not. It is important to note that there is a continuum of individual distinctiveness within a group that does not exclude the overlapping of individual boundaries. Kim describes an "undifferentiated mode" that is also worth mentioning (p. 33). In this mode, individuals may fail to define themselves and give up their distinctive identity. "Porous boundaries" can exist between individuals in the in-group situation where there is an energy flow of thoughts, ideas and emotions so one can know how the other thinks or feels. Finally, Kim points out that individualism and collectivism co-exist in all regions of the world, and thus, reflects the notions of "private" and "public" self. He states,

> The public self becomes enmeshed with collectivist values, such as family
> loyalty, in-group solidarity, and national identity. It coexists with the private self,
> which maintains individualist values of self-cultivation and personal striving.
> (p. 36)

The dynamics of in-group versus out-group relationships are essential to understanding how social interaction is limited and possible. Triandis (1989) examined

the relationship between the "self" (i.e., public, private and collective selves) and social

behavior according to different contexts and found individual patterns indeed reflect

individualism and collectivism where patterns were greatly situational. It is the

"situations" that determine how the self is sampled in a given environment. Triandis'

findings strengthen the vast amount of literature that supports the connections made

between "self" and behavior (e.g., (Kraut, 1973; Miller, 1975; Wicklund, 1982;

Greenwald, 1984). Markus and Kitayama (1991) provided a strong theoretical basis for

an independent and an interdependent "self- construal" as determinants for individual

experience. This further supported the idea that one's actions are more than likely to be

situational bound. The integrated nature of their theoretical synthesis supported by

empirical research in psychology and anthropology is stated in the following,

> With respect to recognition, for example, for those with interdependent selves, in
>
> contrast to those with dependent selves, some aspects of knowledge
>
> representation and some of the processes involved in social and nonsocial
>
> thinking alike are influenced by a pervasive attentiveness to the relevant others in
>
> the social context. (p. 225).

and,

> We extract from these descriptions many important differences that may exist in
>
> the specific content structure, and functioning of the self-systems of people of
>
> different cultural backgrounds. (p. 225)

and,

...the sense of belongingness to a social relation may become so strong that it

makes better sense to think of the relationship as the *functional unit of conscious*

reflection. (emphasis added, p. 226)

The strong correspondence between the independent self and the interdependent

self with individualism and collectivism enables researchers to formulate and use four

constructs that may reflect the dynamics found in different social contexts.

Consequently, we have vertical and horizontal individualism and collectivism as the new

individual level constructs. Triandis (1995) provides arbitrary terms to describe

constructs: achievement oriented (vertical individualism), cooperative (horizontal

collectivism), dutiful (vertical collectivism), and unique (horizontal individualism). Each

of these psychological acculturation outcomes represents a degree to which a minority

individual has acculturated within the dominant culture. The fact that individualism and

collectivism have been found to exist in varying degrees across cultures (Triandis, 1989;

Kagitcibasi, 1994; Kim, 1994; Triandis, 1995) makes them useful constructs in

acculturation studies. These constructs have been studied and distinguished as two kinds

of acculturation (Ulaszek, 1990; Lalonde, 1993; Schmitz, 1993; Triandis, 1995).

Collectivists usually acculturate as "whole" groups (e.g., Japanese generational

differences), and Individualists acculturate as individuals attain higher social status

(Triandis, 1995). The heterogeneity found characteristic among African Americans

(Taylor, 1988) may be reflective of groups acculturating differently because of

differences in their socio-cultural environment.

Individualism and Collectivism

The major concerns surrounding measuring individualism and collectivism were bias, coming to tautological conclusions, and ecological fallacy. According to Berry (1989) instead of using imposed etic measures (from outside the culture), we should repeatedly develop emic measures (from inside the culture) to avoid forcing "metric equivalence." Studies that have been emic in nature, resulted in a non-imposed-etic application to give a firm basis for a theoretical approach to identifying values across cultures (Schwartz, 1985; Schwartz, 1987; Schwartz, 1990). To claim that culture can explain behavior simply by defining cultural differences by the variations in behavior is circular reasoning. To avoid the danger of reaching a tautological conclusion, characterization of values or social patterns must used to explain the variations that reflect a particular culture (Smith, 1999). Many researchers have studied value changes as a measure of acculturation to identify variations within a culture (e.g., Feather, 1979). Individualism and collectivism are culture level variables that, if applied to individuals, would result in ecological fallacy. If a nation is described as individualistic in general, it would not follow that an individual or group is individualistic. Therefore, individual level concepts have been used to measure individualism and collectivism (Triandis, 1988; Triandis, 1989; Singelis, 1995; Triandis, 1995; Gelfand, 1998).

Instruments have been developed and used in several cross-cultural studies to measure individualism and collectivism with some modest results and partial success (Triandis, 1995; Singelis et al., 1995). Some concerns were that these two constructs were too broad (e.g., large bandwidth) and sometimes produced low reliability at the individual level (Singelis et al., 1995). Others have recently refined these constructs by

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developing instruments to include vertical and horizontal elements to make the constructs more concrete with additional items and increased alpha reliability range levels for the scales from .67 to .74 (Singelis, et al., 1995).

Social Participation Scale

Social participation is an important construct that has been used to examine the degree to which individuals participate in organizations (Martin, 1952; Chaplin, 1955; Evan, 1957; Erbe, 1964; Nelson, 1968; Parker, 1983). Social participation has been defined as a measure of "the number of affiliations with volunteer organizations" to denote social status according to its original conceptualization (Evan, 1957). According to Parker (1983), the concept has been seen as an indicator of social status, a means of self-fulfillment, a vehicle for community integration, a substitute for familial ties with church and family, an "agent" for political socializati n, and a means for ini ating social change among other things. Social participation is a generic term because the scale for its measurement has been adapted to measure participation in business and volunteer organizations (Erbe, 1964; Nelson, 1968). It has been suggested that this instrument could be used to measure participation with many organizations, including religious organizations (Parker, 1983). Evan (1957) proposed that the instrument used to measure social participation covers three dimensions: (1) decisionmaking, (2) activity, and (3) value commitment. However, Parker (1983) is the only sociologist to use a confirmatory factor analysis to determine the actual number of dimensions represented in the instrument. According to Parker, the scale has two dimensions: official and unofficial participation in a voluntary organization (p. 871). The literature supports several

methods of scoring the instrument such as a composite of scales based on dimensions, as discrete categories, or as a single scale (Evan, 1957; Parker, 1983; Miller, 1991).

Summary

The two-person career serves as a contextual model on which there can be superimposed a cultural dimension based on the dynamics of acculturation. Because many issues of applying current acculturation models to the African American context seem valid, an alternative of using cultural constructs that reflect the cultural- and individual-level factors is plausible given the situational nature of different contexts. The research in sociology, psychology and anthropology provide ample empirical data to which we can construct an ecological systems theoretical framework that captures the interaction between the factors at both levels. These studies provide a basis for socio-cultural forms that reflect normative orientations. They provide some insight on how cultural-level factors might interact with individual-level factors made evident by the psycho-cultural orientation of the wives in the two-person career situation. Finally, this information helps in the ordering of variables in a coherent fashion based on ecosystem principles so that the structures and processes in the phenomenon can be explained.

CHAPTER FOUR

Research Methodology

Research Design

This is a non-experimental study with primarily a quantitative cross-sectional

design survey using telephone interviews for data collection. The unit of analysis is

African American ministers' wives who were randomly selected using a systematic

sampling method. The target audience consisted of ministers' wives from traditional

African American denominations in the Detroit area such as the Baptist, Apostolic,

Pentecostal, and Methodist (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990).

Data Sampling Procedures

Ministers' wives from a major metropolitan area in the U.S. were selected for this

study. The city of Detroit, as a major mid-western city, is estimated to be one of the

largest predominately African American cities in the United States. Detroit area churches

were selected based on the demographic history of Detroit as a major urban area where

African Americans migrated in great numbers (Lemann, 1991). Every major African

American denomination was represented in the Detroit area as has been demonstrated in

previous research (Lenski, 1961). Based on this information it was decided that Detroit

constituted a major concentration of African Americans from all socio-economic levels

and would provide an adequate sample representative of most populated African

Americans communities.

The wives were identified using a process that involved several steps to obtain a

random sample. African American ministers' wives were selected from several

directories that included the Abatenjwa International Ministers' Wives and Widows

Association and the Christian Communication Council of Metropolitan Detroit Churches. The churches were coded numerically from 1 through 1,627 based on an alphabetical listing of the churches. A two-step process was implemented in order to randomly select a starting point in the list according to the alphabetical listing of the churches and numerical value given to each church. An alphabet letter was first randomly selected based on numbers 1 through 26 and the number 21 was selected. A number from 1 through 100 was randomly selected: 25. Accordingly, the first church listing beginning with the letter u was the starting point. Every 25th church was selected for the sample of churches until 300 churches were selected from the Detroit metropolitan area where a minister's wife could be interviewed.

One hundred and one ministers' wives were sampled from African American churches whose husbands were actively engaged in the ministry of the church as pastors, co-pastors, associate pastors, and ministers, or assistant ministers. In some cases, some of the ministers' wives included in this study were from the same church context.

Data Collection

Before collecting the data from the random sample of 101 ministers' wives, approval from Michigan State University, University Committee for Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) was obtained (see Appendix), research assistants were recruited, informed about the study, and then trained in telephone survey interviewing practices.

There were three research assistants hired from the community after responding to an announcement in a church bulletin. The announcement included detailed information explaining who was conducting the research, the topic, and the amount of compensation

available for anyone interested in participating by conducting telephone interviews.

Three research assistants were offered two hundred and fifty dollars to conduct telephone surveys that would result in at least 50 interviews from a list of contacts provided by the investigator. After the three research assistants were hired, each research assistant was given 100 contact names and telephone numbers. The research assistants were not able to complete 50 interviews, but were compensated for their time according to the original agreement. The investigator then made follow-up calls from this same list until 101 interviews were completed.

The assistants were used to collect data from a sample of 300 contacts after approval was granted for one year to collect data by UCRIHS. Each respondent was interviewed in a 25 to 35 minute telephone interview using a script and the three listed instruments until all of the contacts listed were exhausted. The script introduced the interviewer, provided a brief description of the study, a confidentiality and anonymity statement, UCRIHS authorization, and contact information for follow up or concerns. The research assistants were trained in the methods and procedures for conducting telephone interviews in September 2001. This involved providing a demonstration, an overview of the study, reviewing UCRIHS policy, instructions for conducting telephone interviews (Frey, 1995), and giving written instructions for completing each instrument (Miller, 1991; Triandis, 1995; Gelfand, 1998).

The respondents answered almost all of the questions in the instruments used, except for some questions on the Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism Profile, usually because they did not feel comfortable answering the question. Many refused for a variety of reasons including religious beliefs, mistrust, and no desire to

participate. The response was for this study was only at 36 percent. There were eight

sets of incomplete surveys not counted in the sample because of insignificant

information. The data collection process was completed in approximately four months,

from September to December 2001. Responses were recorded on the instruments by the

interviewers and then scored by this investigator for analysis.

Instrumentation

The researcher used three instruments to collect the data. These included the

Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism Profile, the Social Participation

Scale, and the Ministers' Wives Survey developed for this study (see sample instruments

in Appendix). Socio-economic status and demographical data such as number of years

the wives' are married, age, employment status, and denomination were collected using

the Social Participation Scale and the Ministers' Wives Survey (MWS).

Horizontal and Vertical Individualism and Collectivism

The Horizontal and Vertical Individualism :d Col. :ctivism Profile ‹Singelis,

1995; Triandis, 1995) consisted of four scales based on one of four responses to vignettes

in an item format label with letters *a* through *d* (i.e., a multiple choice format). One point

per item chosen was given for each vignette based on the response category with 32 to 34

being the highest possible points obtained per scale. The respondents took approximately

30 minutes to complete this instrument in a telephone interview. Although many of the

vignettes did not apply to the respondents, they were instructed to imagine that they were

in the situation described. The greatest number of points scored among the four

categories indicated the most dominant value orientation among the respondents. All

scales were scored and recorded for analysis as discrete and continuous variables. These

constructs have undergone several tests for validity and reliability (Miller, 1991; Triandis, 1995; Gelfand, 1998). The instrument with these four dimensions has been shown to be reliable with alpha coefficients for horizontal individualism .67, vertical individualism .74, horizontal collectivism .74, and vertical collectivism .68 (Triandis, 1995).

Social Participation Scale

The Social Participation Scale (Chaplin, 1957) was used to measure the degree of social participation indicated by a total score. The instrument consists of two parts and is designed to be a self-administered instrument. The first section includes a fill-in-the-blanks portion for age, education, race, occupation and income. All of this data was collected except for the income information during the telephone interviews. The second section was organized into ten rows and five columns. The rows allowed the respondent to list social activities, and the columns allowed the respondent to place a check in the column that reflects the level of involvement in that activity. The level of involvement consists of five components: (1) member; (2) attendance; (3) financial contributions; (4) member of committee; and (5) offices held. Scores are assigned points according to the column checked ranging from one to five, respectively. These components were checked for consistency with related answers given for the MWS by the research assistant and/or investigator. Scores reflect the intensity of involvement of the participants and the extent of social participation in different activities. Scores usually ranged from 4 to 20 points, but higher scores ranged to 53 points with the respondents. Reliability of this instrument has been estimated at .92 to .97 (Miller, 1979). The first section was also used to collect occupational data for socio-economic status determination and scoring.

Socio-economic Status

Socio-economic status was measured with a combination of two one-dimensional measures, each based on a 7-point rating scale: Educational Scale (Miller, 1991) and Occupational Scale (Warner et al., 1949). Hollingshead's educational scale is based on the assumption that men and women with similar educational backgrounds will possess similar taste and attitudes and will tend to have similar behavioral patterns. The categories include graduate professional training, college graduation, partial college training, high school graduation, partial high school, junior high school, and less than seven years of education. The scoring gives graduate professional training the highest possible score of seven (Miller, 1991). The occupational scale has been found to be the best predictor of social class positions using the same 7-point scale format and producing a reliability coefficient of .91 (p. 360). The scale is based on an index of seven categories (columns) and rating scores (rows) of one to seven that is assigned to each occupation as it is matched within a category according to rating descriptions. This means that a short classification is selected based on the occupation reported where each classification is assigned a rating score (pp. 360-62). Both instruments were selected because of their established use as socioeconomic status measures (e.g. Lawson, 1960; Levinger, 1964; Slomczynski, 1981; Swinehart, 1963), and the flexibility of the scales when used with other data collection instruments such as the instruments described above.

Ministers' Wives Survey

This instrument was developed with ten items based on a frequency composite index scale to measure two-person career traits. The item response choices in this

instrument include always, very often, fairly often, sometimes, almost never, and never with zero (0) to five (5) possible points for each item. Educational level data were collected with this instrument to determine socio-economic status, the number of years the wife was married, age, and denomination. This scale was developed because no other scales were available. The contents of the scales were based on characteristics found in the literature on the two-person career (Spedding, 1975; Taylor and Hartley, 1975; Finch, 1983) and African American culture (Billingsley, 1968; Gonzalez, 1970; Hill, 1971; Gutman, 1976; McCray, 1980; DeVaus and McAllister, 1987; Taylor, 1988; Taylor and Chatters, 1989; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Hatchett and Jackson, 1993; Higginbotham, 1993; Ellison, 1997; Gilkes, 1997).

Instrument Development and Testing

Twenty-one items based on five anticipated factors were developed initially. A panel of ministers' wives was organized and ten items were selected for the instrument. The principle factor analysis revealed existing underlying dimensions based on the participants' responses. Several steps were taken to ensure that the instrument reflected the characteristics mentioned in the literature.

Face Validity

Two-person career (TPC) categories were first identified through a review-of-literature process that drew heavily from Taylor & Hartley (1975), Spedding, (1975), and Finch (1983). As determined from the review, Finch (1983) argued that there were several features that could be tested as "forms" with wives. This study formulated five objectives to generate survey question items that would reflect the literature as indicated in Table 1.

Table 1 Research-Based Objectives for MWS Measures

1. Measured perceptions of received extrinsic and intrinsic rewards or benefits for being a ministers' wife.
2. Measured perceptions of expectations on the minister's wife to participate in her husband's ministry according to beliefs and practices.
3. Measured perceptions of restrictions and limitations placed on family's life because of husband's ministry.
4. Measured perceptions of personal sacrifices made in order to support ministry and meet the demands of being a minister's wife.
5. Measured perceptions of the extent to which the minister's wife makes contributions to support her husband's ministry.

For instance, the literature suggests that the two-person career wife makes contributions to support the husband's career (Papanek, 1973; Taylor & Hartley, 1975; Spedding, 1975; Kanter, 1977, Finch, 1983; and Toliver, 1996). The type of contributions the wife makes will vary depending on the cultural context (Taylor & Hartley, 1975; Finch, 1983). Second, there are some rewards for the wife that include an identity she inherited by virtue of marriage (Taylor & Hartley, 1975, and Spedding, 1975). Third, it is expected that the wife will participate based on how she is elicited to do so and/or by self-imposed pressures (Papanek, 1973; Taylor & Hartley, 1975; Spedding, 1975; Kanter, 1977, Finch, 1983; and Toliver, 1996). Fourth, the husband's employer is intrusive in the family life (Spedding, 1975; Finch, 1983). Education and work force status may influence the wife's level of participation (Taylor & Hartley, 1975; and Finch, 1983). This also includes some acceptance of "vicarious identity" on the wife's part indicating satisfaction with the supportive role and benefits (Finch, 1983). Furthermore, research suggests that African American wives that increase in socio-economic status may also increase in religiosity (Taylor, 1988). This suggests, that in

some cases, personal sacrifices may be made on the part of the wife. Therefore, objectives were generated to reflect these empirical findings to measure intrusiveness, expectations, rewards, personal sacrifice, and contributions as features of the two-person career construct.

Construct Validity

Twenty items were initially developed and reviewed based on five objectives for content validity before attempting to measure the two-person career (TPC) construct. Ministers' wives served as a panel of judges to check items for ambiguity, accuracy, appropriateness, and then independently matched the items with the objectives. Items were also rated based on a scale from one to five with five indicating the best fit between the item and the objective selected. The set of objectives were given equal value. The highest scoring items were selected for the two-person career construct instrument. Each objective consisted of at least one scale of items: intrusiveness with two; rewards with four; expectations with two; personal sacrifice with one; and contributions with one. A total of ten items resulted from this process.

The initial subscales of the TPC traits (expectations, rewards, personal sacrifices, intrusiveness, and contributions) were measured using a ten-item survey: Ministers' Wives Survey (MWS). The MWS instrument with the initial five subscales was used to collect data from a systematic random sample of 101 African American ministers' wives. However, only four subscales were supported in a principal component factor analysis as indicated in Table 2.

Table 2 Ministers' Wives Survey Items Based on Factors

Item I.D.	Two-person Career Factors and Items
Restrictions	**Encroachment** As a minister's wife, how often do you feel that there are restrictions or limitations placed on how you or your family live?
Sacrifice	As a minister's wife, how often do you feel that you make personal sacrifices in order to support your husband's ministry?
Home	My home is one of the places where church business or matters are handled to some extent.
Role rewards	**Extrinsic Rewards** Even though I am not paid for fulfilling my role as a minister's wife, I receive some rewards (i.e. gifts, donations, acknowledgements, recognition, or tributes).
Consideration	How often do people give you special consideration because you are a minister's wife?
Satisfaction	**Role Expectations** I get satisfaction in being a minister's wife.
Traditional	As a minister's wife, it is expected that I fulfill my traditional or customary role.
Members	I believe that there are church members who want to see me support my husband's ministry.
Contributions	**Contributions** How often do you make contributions (of any kind) to your husband's ministry or church?
Comfort	I feel comfortable when I receive special treatment as a minister's wife.

As indicated in Tables 2 through 4, the items were subjected to a principle

component factor analysis (as one composite of indices) to identify the TPC dimensions

that define the TPC construct. This resulted in the extraction of four unrotated factors

validated with the use of the Cattell Scree test and based on the eigenvalue greater than 1

rule (Kline, 1994). To reach an orthogonal simple structure, the factors were rotated

using the Varimax procedure with the Kaiser Normalization. Factor loadings were also

rotated using the Direct Oblimin method with the Kaiser Normalization. No items were

eliminated because the communalities ranged from moderately high (.47) to high (.85).

The number of factors was consequently reduced to four. As a result of the

principle component analysis, four rotated factors were assessed and named accordingly:

encroachment, extrinsic rewards, role expectations, and obligatory contributions.

Table 3 Initial Extraction: Results of TPC Factor Analysis

Components	Eigenvalues	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	2.302	23.018	23.018
2	1.695	16.949	39.967
3	1.292	12.922	52.888
4	1.124	11.235	64.123
5	.854	8.538	72.661
6	.833	8.329	80.990
7	.691	6.910	87.900
8	.607	6.066	93.966
9	.396	3.964	97.929
10	.207	2.071	100.000

Table 4 Communalities of Factored Items

Item	Initial	Extraction
Satisfaction	1.000	.518
Traditional	1.000	.568
Restrictions	1.000	.683
Sacrifices	1.000	.771
Role Rewards	1.000	.853
Members	1.000	.594
Home	1.000	.484
Consideration	1.000	.769
Comfort	1.000	.702
Contributions	1.000	.471

Table 5 Two-Person Career Principle Components Extractions & Rotations

Factors	Initial Extraction Sum of Squares			Rotation Sum of Squares		
	Sum of Squares	% of Variance	% Cumulative	Sum of Squares	% of Variance	% Cumulative
Encroachment	2.302	23.018	23.018	1.908	19.079	19.079
Extrinsic Rewards	1.695	16.969	39.967	1.835	18.352	37.431
Role Expectations	1.292	12.922	52.888	1.427	14.275	51.705
Contributions	1.124	11.235	64.123	1.242	12.418	64.123

Factor loadings based on orthogonal and oblique rotations and the component

communalities are also listed in Table 6 for comparisons. There was no correlation

indicated between the factors for the oblique solution. Both solutions (as shown in Table

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6) indicated that the variables restrictions, sacrifice, and home loaded primarily on factor one. Role rewards and consideration loaded primarily on factor two; satisfaction, traditional, and membership loaded primarily on factor three; and contributions and comfort loaded primarily on factor four. The general patterns of both rotation results were highly similar for a four-factor solution indicating a basis for formulating and strengthening the theoretical model in the study (see Tables 5 and 6). The reproduced communalities were also highly similar ranging from .47 to .85 (Table 7).

Factor one indicates a central concept of encroachment based on the factor loadings. The restrictions scale in this factor is an item that attempts to measure the wives' perception of the limitations or constraints placed on the wives' or family's life. This variable had the strongest correlation to factor one (.69). The sacrifice scale in this factor is an item that attempts to measure the wives' perception of the extent to which they make personal sacrifices for the husband's ministry. Sacrifice correlated with this factor (.60). Finally, home in this factor was a measure of the extent to which the household is used for the husband's work. It correlated with factor one at .55. To a large extent these items in factor one not only indicate that they can form a basis for a central concept of encroachment, but that the wives indicate that life in the two-person career situation places constraints and demands that call for sacrificial adjustments.

Factor two indicates a central concept of extrinsic rewards. The role rewards scale attempts to measure the fact that there are some rewards received when one is a minister's wife. Extrinsic rewards correlated with factor two at -.71. The scale for consideration is a measure about special consideration that is given to the wife by virtue

Table 6
Initial TPC Factor Solutions

Item	Encroachment	Extrinsic Rewards	Role Expectation	Contributions
Encroachment				
Restrictions	**.69**	(.25)	(.35)	(.12)
Sacrifices	**.60**	(.59)	(.24)	(.06)
Home	**.55**	(.12)	(.39)	(.12)
Extrinsic Rewards				
Role rewards	(.55)	**.71**	(.01)	(.20)
Consideration	(.64)	**.56**	(.10)	(.20)
Role Expectation				
Satisfaction	(.34)	(.12)	**.47**	(.40)
Traditional R	(.54)	(.32)	**.39**	(.15)
Membership	(.19)	(.01)	**.74**	(.11)
Contributions				
Contributions	(.02)	(.55)	(.14)	**.36**
Comfort	(.13)	(.14)	(.03)	**.82**

Coefficients are shown in bold type. Parentheses indicate potential loading of an item on a factor other than what is specified in the model.

Table 7
TPC Scales, Items with Factor Loadings & Communalities

| | | | Factor Loadings | | | | | | | |
| | | | Orthogonal Factors[a] | | | | Oblique Factors[b] | | | |
Scale	Item	Communalities	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Encroachment										
	Restrictions	.68	**.81**	(.15)	(.04)	(.12)	**.81**	(-.10)	(-.01)	(.02)
	Sacrifices	.77	**.83**	(-.15)	(.13)	(.06)	**.84**	(.19)	(.08)	(-.14)
	Home	.48	**.56**	(.12)	(-.12)	(.12)	**.56**	(-.31)	(-.16)	(.17)
Extrinsic Rewards										
	Role rewards	.85	(.03)	**.92**	(.02)	(.20)	(.00)	**-.92**	(.01)	(.00)
	Consideration	.77	(.13)	**.85**	(.16)	(.20)	(.08)	**-.85**	(.15)	(-.07)
Role Expectation										
	Satisfaction	.52	(.16)	(.00)	**.67**	(.40)	(.12)	(.02)	**.68**	(.24)
	Traditional R	.57	(.40)	(.10)	**.55**	(.15)	(.28)	(-.09)	**.53**	(-.35)
	Membership	.60	(-.20)	(.11)	**.73**	(.11)	(-.25)	(-.12)	**.75**	(-.02)
Contributions										
	Contributions	.47	(.20)	(-.24)	(.16)	**.36**	(.20)	(.24)	(.14)	**-.55**
	Comfort	.70	(.13)	(-.12)	(.20)	**.82**	(.14)	(.16)	(.21)	**.82**

a. Orthogonal factors were a result of a Varimax rotation method with Kaiser normalization that converged in 8 iterations.
b. Oblique factors were a result of Oblimin rotation methods with a Kaiser normalization that converged in 11 iterations.
Parentheses indicate potential loading of an item on a factor other than what is specified in the model and those iems loaded on a factor are in bold.

TABLE 8
TPC Item Correlation Coefficients & Reproduced Communalities

Item	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
Restrictions (A)	**.52**	*212	.100	.106	.058	*197	.117	.080	.102	.080
Sacrifices (B)		**.57**	*239	*328	.051	*213	.073	*208	-.084	*176
Home (C)			**.68**	*568	.161	-.022	*305	*225	.046	.062
Role Rewards (D)				**.77**	-.121	.010	*265	.090	-.004	*257
Considerations (E)					**.85**	.075	*323	*702	.005	-.106
Satisfaction (F)						**.60**	.057	.103	.013	.000
Traditional R (G)							**.49**	.162	.013	-.057
Membership (H)								**.77**	.028	-.086
Contributions (I)									**.70**	-.131
Comfort (J)										**.47**

Reproduced communalities are in bold in the diagonal spaces.
* Symbol indicates one-tailed significance (p < .05).

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of her position. It also had a negative correlation with factor two at -.56. To reverse these two items would suggest that the factor is conceptually the opposite: few extrinsic rewards or no rewards. The variables for factor two for this model suggest that there are few tangible and intangible rewards and privileges bestowed on ministers' wives from the husband's employer. The model in this analysis suggests that extrinsic rewards as a descriptive term would probably be more precise because it possibly refers to incidental rewards.

Factor three indicates that the central concept that captures this dimension is role expectations with the husband being the essential object of focus. Satisfaction is a scale that measures feelings of satisfaction the wife has as a minister's wife. A correlation of .47 was indicated for this item. Traditional is a scale item that attempts to measure perceptions of the religious environment's expectations that the wife behave customarily or according to the norms and traditions of the group. Traditional had a moderate correlation of .39 with factor three. Membership is a scale that measures perceptions about how the religious environment expects the wife to support her husband's ministry. Membership had the highest correlation with factor three at .74. The strength of the correlations and the number of items about how the role relates to the husband reflect a value in living up to the expectations on the basis of the marital relationship.

Factor four has bipolarity and is defined as a central concept by two items that can be described as a measure of obligatory contributions. The contributions scale was intended to measure contributions of any kind made by the wife to support her husband's ministry. This correlated with factor four at .40. Comfort was a reverse scale measure for how uncomfortable the wife feels about receiving special treatment because of her

position. It was highly correlated at .82 indicating that the wife's feelings are an important element for factor four. These measures considered in one direction (i.e., with the comfort scale item in the converse), would suggest that the more obligation the wife feels, the more inclined she is to contribute to her husband's employer, thus, suggesting that obligatory feelings are related to the contributions defines factor four.

As Table 3 indicates, the principle components account for 64 percent of the variance among the TPC variables. As was initially thought, the factor analysis shows that all of the expected variables are present but differ slightly in scale composition. For instance, the personal sacrifice item correlated with the factor described as encroachment when it was expected that the subtest would be an additional factor; the satisfaction item correlated with role expectation when it was expected to correlate with extrinsic rewards; and the comfort item correlated with contributions made for the husband's career when it was expected to also correlate with extrinsic rewards.

The principal component factor analysis provides evidence that suggests that the two-person career construct is valid in the ministers' wives context. It suggests that the items reflect the theoretical dimensions discussed in the literature. All the items validated in the process to develop the MWS instrument are organized into four useful scales. The scales provide a useful measure for determining whether African American ministers' wives' interaction patterns reflect the cultural characteristics gleaned from the literature.

Scoring Ministers' Wives Survey Factor

The principal component factor analysis provided this study with a framework for developing scales using the variables identified in the factor loadings. As stated above, two of the factors consisted of two variables, while the other two consisted of three. Each

factor was given the same weight as a Likert scale with a possible scoring range of 0 to 15. Where there are three items per factor, each item response has the following values: (1) Always is 5, (2) very often is 4, (3) fairly often is 3, (4) sometimes is 2, (5) almost never is 1, and (6) never is 0. Factors with three items could receive the highest score of 5 points per item and 15 total points for the factor. Where there are only two items within one factor, each of the item responses is given a value increment of 1.5 points, scores ranging from 0 to 7.5 per item. The highest possible score per item among factors with two items is 7.5 points and 15 total points for the factor. Therefore, respondents could receive as many as 7.5 points per item with extrinsic rewards and obligatory contributions. And, respondents could receive as many as 5 points per item that fall under encroachment and role expectations.

Data Analysis

This study used several quantitative statistical methods for data analysis. Statistical analysis included descriptive statistics to describe the percentages, means, standard deviations, and totals. Chi-square was used to test expected frequencies. Binomial distributions were analyzed to test proportions related to horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. Analysis of variance tests were used to check for mean differences. Correlations and coefficients of determination were examined to test the strengths of relationships. Some content analysis was conducted to examine the data collected using the social participation instrument.

CHAPTER FIVE

Results of the Study

Respondents and Procedures

Data were collected from a sample of 101 African American women during

telephone interviews conducted with the wives of pastors, co-pastors, associate pastors,

and ministers, or assistant ministers. Social demographic information was collected

using the MWS and the Social Participation Scale, as intended. Several denominations

were represented from the Detroit metropolitan area including Baptists (n = 56),

Methodists (n = 11), and Pentecostal (n = 34) churches. Other social demographic

information was collected to further describe the subjects in this study.

As indicated in Table 9, the sample consists of 101 respondents. Most of the

acculturation outcomes were identified as unique (71). The other categories were much

less: dutiful (14), achievement oriented (9), and cooperative (7). Eighty of the wives

were identified as individualist and 21 were identified as collectivist. Most of the

respondents were Baptist (56) with a substantial number of Pentecostal (34). There were

11 Methodist. Employment status was measured in four categories: employed, self-

employed, homemaker, and retired. There were seventy, seven, nineteen, and five

respectively. The ages of the respondents were grouped according to the following:

twenty to twenty-nine (3), thirty to thirty-nine (31), forty to forty-nine (35), fifty to fifty-

nine (24), and sixty to sixty-nine (8).

Content analysis of the data collected using the Social Participation Scale

instrument indicated the types of positions held as well as the internal and external

Table 9 African American Wives Characteristics

	Frequency	Percentage
Acculturation Outcomes		
Cooperative	7	6.9
Dutiful	14	13.9
Unique	71	70.3
Achievement Oriented	9	8.9
Individualist	80	79.2
Collectivist	21	20.7
Denomination		
Baptist	56	55.4
Methodist	11	10.9
Pentecostal	34	33.7
Employment Status		
Employed	70	69.3
Self-Employed	7	6.9
Homemaker	19	18.8
Retired	5	5.0
Age Cohort		
20 to 29	3	3.0
30 to 39	31	30.7
40 to 49	35	34.7
50 to 59	24	23.8
60 and higher	8	7.9

Percentages are based on a sample size of 101 participants.

religious activity of the wives. As indicated in Table 10, the majority of positions held

included roles related to religious education, various church group leadership

responsibilities, and administrative functions (96 percent). Church group involvement

was largely in women's groups, Bible study, and evangelism/mission with involvement in

service, prayer, and choir groups following next (99 percent). External involvement

largely included ministers' wives and district/local associations (46 percent).

Table 10 Ministers' Wives Social Participation Activities

Type of Participation	Frequency	Percentage
Positions Held		
Religious Educator	24	24
Church Group Leader	21	21
Administrative Function	17	18
Youth Leader	12	12
Musician/ Choir Leader	10	10
Church Officer	8	8
Denominational/Association Leadership	7	7
(Percentages are based on 97 observations)		
Total holding Leadership Positions		96
Church Group Involvement		
Women's Group	20	20
Bible Study	20	20
Evangelism/Mission	16	16
Service Groups	10	10
Prayer Group	9	9
Choir	9	9
Youth Group	8	9
Special Committee	5	5
Fellowship Groups	2	2
(Percentages are based on 100 observations)		
Total Involved in Group Activities		99
External Religious Involvement		
Ministers' Wives Association	19	41
District/Local Associations	10	21
State Level Associations	9	19
National Associations	9	19
(Percentages are based on 47 observations)		
Total Involved in External Activities		46

Findings and Analysis

Research Question 1: To what extent do horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism (i.e., psychological acculturation outcomes) exist among African American ministers' wives?

In this study African American ministers' wives have all of the psychological acculturation outcomes in varying proportions. There were seven wives who scored as cooperative, fourteen who scored as dutiful, 71 who scored as unique, and nine who scored as achievement oriented. As indicated in a binomial test in Table 11, a chi-square statistic ($\chi^2 = 111.55$) showed that there was an asymptotic significant difference from the expected frequency value of 25.3 among the acculturation categories with a probability of .000. Wives in the unique category indicated a substantial residual difference in frequency of 45.8.

Table 11 Psychological Acculturation Chi-Square Results

Type of Acculturation	Observed N	Expected N	Residual
Cooperative	7	25.3	-18.3
Dutiful	14	25.3	-11.3
Unique	71	25.3	45.8
Achievement Oriented	9	25.3	-16.3

Chi-Square (p < .05) = 111.554

Degrees of Freedom = 3

Asymptotic Significance = .000

To explore the extent to which it is reasonable to collapse four acculturation categories into two dimensions (Singelis 1995), a principle component analysis was also conducted of the scores based on the four scales used in this study to determine

psychological acculturation outcomes among the ministers' wives (see Table 12 through 14). A principle component analysis resulted in the extraction of an unrotated two-factor solution reflecting the reasonableness of collapsing the four categories into two (individualism and collectivism). The total variance explained by the correlation matrix was 71.6 percent (Table 13). Communalities were very high, ranging from .57 to .89, indicating that the components were all essential (Table 14). An orthogonal rotation using the Varimax method with a Kaiser Normalization was used with up to three iterations to reach a simple structure that confirmed the dimensions. As indicated in Table 16, the correlation coefficient of the individualists' scores paired with the collectivists' scores combined was -.632. A negative relationship between individualism and collectivism was indicated as statistically significant using a two-tailed test with a probability of .001 at a .01 alpha level.

Since a principle component analysis confirmed that it is reasonable to collapse these four groups into collectivists and individualists groups, this was also done to test the second hypothesis of whether the sample proportions are a fair representation of individualist (.80) and collectivist (.20) wives rather than proportions of chance (Table 17). A one-sample nonparametric binomial test was conducted to the proportion of individualist wives with a test value of .50. As shown in Table 16, the results indicate that the true population proportion of individualist wives is greater than (rather than less than or equal to) .50 with a probability of .001. Unique wives (.70) as a single category also showed a significant difference greater than the test value of .50 with a probability of .001.

Table 12
Horizontal & Vertical I/C Initial Extractions

Components	Eigenvalues	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	1.706	42.659	42.659
2	1.159	28.963	71.622
3	.932	23.292	94.913
4	.203	5.087	100.000

Table 13
Horizontal & Vertical I/C Principle Component Extraction and Rotation

Factors	Initial Extraction Sum of Squares			Rotation Sum of Squares		
	Sum of Squares	% of Variance	% Cum.	Sum of Squares	% of Variance	% Cum.
Individualism	1.706	42.659	42.659	1.691	42.269	42.269
Collectivism	1.159	28.963	71.622	1.174	29.352	71.622

Table 14
Horizontal & Vertical I/C Communalities

Item	Initial	Extraction
Horizontal Collectivism	1.000	.762
Vertical Collectivism	1.000	.639
Horizontal Individualism	1.000	.892
Vertical Individualism	1.000	.571

Table 15
Horizontal & Vertical I/C Factor Loadings

Item	Individualism	Collectivism
Horizontal Collectivism (HC)	(.09)	**.87**
Vertical Collectivism (VC)	(.52)	**.61**
Horizontal Individualism (HI)	**.932**	(.15)
Vertical Individualism (VC)	**.746**	(.12)

Coefficients are shown in bold type. Parentheses indicate potential loading of an item on a factor other than what is specified in the model.

Table 16
Individualists and Collectivists Correlations

	Individualist	Collectivists
Individualists	1.00	-.63
Collectivists	-.63	1.00

Two-tailed significance (p < .01)

Table 17
Individualist & Collectivist and Unique Wives Binomial Test

Group[a]	N	SD	Observed Population	Test Proportion	Two-tailed Significance[b]	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Individualist	80	.41	.79	.50	.000	.71	.87
Collectivist	21		.21				
Unique	71	.46	.70	.50	.000	.62	.79
Non-Unique	30		.30				

a. N = 101 for both test.
b. Significance is based on p < .05.

Table 18
Individualism & Collectivism Correlations Coefficients

Item	HC	VC	HI	VI
Horizontal Collectivism (HC)	1.0	*-.183	*-.232	-.072
Vertical Collectivism (VC)	*-.183	1.0	*-.408	.008
Horizontal Individualism (HI)	*-.232	*-.408	1.0	*-.568
Vertical Individualism (VI)	-.072	.008	*-.568	1.0

* Symbol indicates one-tailed significance (p < .05).

This study shows that there is a difference in frequency of occurrence of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism among African American ministers' wives with unique wives being the largest psychologically acculturated proportion. We can also infer from the results that those identified as unique wives in the population significantly differ by their mean score from the other groups based on psychological acculturation factors. We can also confirm that there are at least two distinct dimensions (individualism and collectivism) that exist. These two factors each are related to factor loadings as expected based on horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism in a principle factor analysis. Although most African American ministers' wives have an individualist orientation, more than half of African American ministers' wives have psychologically acculturated as unique wives as opposed to achievement oriented, cooperative, and dutiful wives.

Research Question 2: Is there a difference between African American ministers' wives in the two-person career based on horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism (i.e., psychological acculturation outcomes)?

As indicated in Table 19 individualism and collectivism were tested for differences in mean scores in socio-economic status and the Ministers' Wives Survey item measuring satisfaction the wife has for being a minister's wife using an independent sample t-test. The results indicated that there is a significant difference in the population mean scores on satisfaction as a minister's wife between individualists (4.87) and collectivists (5.42) wives of .55 with a t value of 2.05 with a probability of .04 at the .05 alpha level. The results also indicate that there is a significant difference in the mean

score for socio-economic status between individualists (9.76) and collectivists (8.00)

wives of -1.76 with a t value equal to -2.55 with a probability of .01 at the .05 alpha level.

Table 19 Independent Sample T-Test: Satisfaction and Socio-economic Status

Groups	N	Mean	SD	SE	T	P	Difference
			Satisfaction				
Individualists	80	4.87	1.15	.128	2.05	.04*	.5536
Collectivists	21	5.42	.870	.189			
		df = 99					
			Socioeconomic Status				
Individualists	80	9.76	2.74	.31	-2.55	.01*	-1.76
Collectivists	21	8.00	3.08	.67			
		df = 99				.	

*P < .05 based on a two-tailed test.

Research Question 3: What is the relationship between two-person career traits

and social participation among African American ministers' wives based on horizontal

and vertical individualism and collectivism (i.e., psychological acculturation outcomes)?

Two-tailed correlation analyses were conducted to examine the relationships

among the TPC variables (MWS items), socioeconomic status, and years married with

social participation. The items measuring whether wives expected to fulfill a traditional

role (traditional r) and the restrictions placed on the wife's family life (restrictions) were

significantly negatively correlated with social participation as indicated in Table 20.

Restrictions was correlated at the .05 alpha level while traditional was correlated at the

.01 alpha level. The number of years married (years married) was significantly positively

correlated with social participation at .333 in a two-tailed analysis with a probability of

.01.

Table 20
TPC Variables and Social Participation Correlations Coefficients

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Restrictions (A)	1.00	**.568 .000	**.305 .002	.161 .107	*.225 .023	.100 .321	*.239 .016	-.022 .824	.062 .536	.046 .645	-.146 .144	.039 .698	*-.207 .038
Sacrifices (B)		1.00	**.265 .007	-.121 .228	.090 .371	.106 .290	**.328 .001	.010 .922	**.257 .009	-.004 .968	-.041 .682	.030 .764	-.160 .110
Home (C)			1.00	**.323 .001	.162 .105	.117 .244	.073 .465	-.057 .572	-.057 .568	.013 .900	.051 .616	-.007 .948	-.069 .494
Role Rewards (D)				1.00	**.702 .000	.058 .566	.051 .613	.075 .454	-.106 .290	.005 .957	.145 .147	-.070 .487	-.058 .564
Consideration (E)					1.00	.080 .429	*.208 .037	.103 .304	-.086 .391	.028 .778	.068 .500	-.103 .306	-.188 .060
Satisfaction (F)						1.00	*.212 .033	*.197 .049	.080 .426	.102 .312	-.077 .445	*-.231 .020	.013 .896
Traditional (G)							1.00	*.213 .032	.176 .079	-.084 .401	-.003 .977	*-.240 .016	**-.259 .009
Members (H)								1.00	.000 .997	.013 .899	-.103 .304	-.095 .346	-.158 .115
Contributions (I)									1.00	-.131 .191	-.060 .553	-.038 .704	.004 .969
Comfort (J)										1.00	.013 .901	-.094 .350	-.015 .881
Years Married (K)											1.00	.003 .977	**-.333 .001
SES (L)												1.00	.133 .186
Soc. Participation (M)													1.00

Pearson Correlation with a two-tailed significance at the .05 (*) and .01 (**) alpha levels.
N = 101

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Item Correlations with Social Participation

As indicated in Table 21, there were some significant negative relationships with some items and social participation in a one-tailed analysis at the .05 alpha level. When the sample represented all of the wives (N=101) in the study, traditional was negatively correlated at -.259 with a probability of .005. Restrictions was correlated at -.207 with a probability of .019. Consideration was significantly negatively correlated with social participation at -.188 with a proabaility of .030. The total number of significant negative correlations with social participation was three.

When individualists wives (N= 80) were examined, there were several one-tailed significant negative correlations at the .05 alpha level among the MWS items and social participation. For Individualists, as indicated in Table 22, traditional r was negatively correlated with social participation at -.266 with a probability of .009. Restrictions were negatively correlated with social participation at -.236 with a .018 probability. The item sacrifices was negatively correlated with social participation at -.249 with a probability of .013. Members was negatively correlated with social participation at -.211 with a probability of .030. Consideration was also negatively correlated with social participation with a coefficient of -.199 with a probability of .038. The total number of items significantly negatively correlated with social participation was five.

When unique wives (N=71) were examined as a sample, there were even more one-tailed significant negative correlations between some MWS items and social participation at the .05 alpha level. As indicated in Table 23, traditional r was negatively

Table 21
TPC Items, Years Married and Social Participation Correlations Coefficients

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Restrictions (A)	1.00	*.568 / .000	*.305 / .001	.161 / .053	*.225 / .012	.100 / .160	*.239 / .008	-.022 / .412	*.062 / .039	.046 / .323	-.146 / .072	*-.207 / .019
Sacrifices (B)		1.00	*.265 / .004	-.121 / .114	.090 / .185	.106 / .145	*.328 / .000	.010 / .461	*.257 / .005	-.004 / .484	-.041 / .341	-.160 / .055
Home (C)			1.00	*.323 / .000	.162 / .052	.117 / .122	.073 / .233	-.057 / .286	-.057 / .284	.013 / .450	.051 / .308	-.069 / .247
Role Rewards (D)				1.00	*.702 / .000	.058 / .283	.051 / .307	.075 / .227	-.106 / .145	.005 / .479	.145 / .074	-.058 / .282
Consideration (E)					1.00	.080 / .214	*.208 / .018	.103 / .152	-.086 / .195	.028 / .389	.068 / .250	*-.188 / .030
Satisfaction (F)						1.00	*.212 / .017	*.197 / .024	.080 / .213	.102 / .156	-.077 / .223	.013 / .448
Traditional (G)							1.00	*-.213 / .016	*.176 / .039	-.084 / .201	-.003 / .489	*-.259 / .005
Members (H)								1.00	.000 / .499	.013 / .449	-.103 / .152	-.158 / .057
Contributions (I)									1.00	-.131 / .096	-.060 / .276	.004 / .485
Comfort (J)										1.00	.013 / .451	-.015 / .441
Years Married (K)											1.00	*.333 / .000
Soc. Participation (L)												1.00

Pearson Correlation with a one-tailed significance at the .05 (*) alpha level.
N = 101

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Table 22
TPC Items, Years Married and Social Participation Correlations Coefficients for Individualists

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Restrictions (A)	1.00	*.723 / .000	*.363 / .000	*.232 / .019	*.311 / .002	.179 / .056	*.312 / .002	-.014 / .451	.070 / .268	.081 / .236	-.079 / .243	*-.236 / .018
Sacrifices (B)		1.00	*.256 / .011	.004 / .485	*.234 / .018	.080 / .240	*.373 / .000	-.036 / .375	.152 / .089	-.061 / .294	-.090 / .214	*-.249 / .013
Home (C)			1.00	*.411 / .000	*.260 / .010	.031 / .393	.092 / .210	-.106 / .174	*-.191 / .045	.063 / .288	.055 / .313	-.174 / .061
Role Rewards (D)				1.00	*.690 / .000	-.050 / .331	.023 / .419	-.034 / .382	-.024 / .417	.096 / .198	.140 / .108	-.050 / .331
Consideration (E)					1.00	*-.199 / .038	.166 / .071	-.014 / .451	-.005 / .482	.071 / .267	.038 / .369	*-.199 / .038
Satisfaction (F)						1.00	.150 / .092	.184 / .051	.048 / .337	.103 / .180	-.166 / .070	.000 / .500
Traditional (G)							1.00	.110 / .165	*.187 / .048	-.087 / .221	-.018 / .437	*-.266 / .009
Members (H)								1.00	.043 / .351	.043 / .352	-.214 / .028	*-.211 / .030
Contributions (I)									1.00	-.110 / .166	-.126 / .132	-.030 / .395
Comfort (J)										1.00	.067 / .277	-.047 / .340
Years Married (K)											1.00	*.403 / .000
Soc. Participation (L)												1.00

Pearson Correlation with a one-tailed significance at the .05 (*) alpha levels.
N = 80

Table 23
TPC Items, Years Married and Social Participation Correlations Coefficients for Horizontal Individualists

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L
Restrictions (A)	1.00	*.749	*.447	*.265	*.363	*.216	*.336	-.024	.049	.064	-.054	*-.291
		.000	.000	.013	.001	.035	.002	.422	.342	.298	.326	.007
Sacrifices (B)		1.00	*.311	-.010	*.208	.123	*.357	-.066	.131	-.022	-.060	*-.228
			.004	.466	.041	.153	.001	.291	.137	.428	.310	.028
Home (C)			1.00	*.411	*.228	.109	.070	-.129	-.184	.061	-.006	*-.255
				.000	.028	.182	.282	.142	.062	.307	.480	.016
Role Rewards (D)				1.00	*.690	.078	.015	-.057	-.144	*.193	.158	-.058
					.000	.259	.452	.318	.115	.054	.094	.314
Consideration (E)					1.00	.137	.120	-.073	-.073	*.201	.033	*-.202
						.128	.159	.272	.273	.046	.391	.046
Satisfaction (F)						1.00	.184	.188	.038	.125	-.179	-.039
							.062	.058	.377	.149	.068	.374
Traditional (G)							1.00	.068	*.198	-.090	-.021	*-.266
								.286	.049	.229	.431	.013
Members (H)								1.00	.020	.069	*-.219	*-.220
									.433	.283	.033	.033
Contributions (I)									1.00	-.082	-.078	-.017
										.250	.259	.443
Comfort (J)										1.00	.084	-.055
											.244	.324
Years Married (K)											1.00	*.413
												.000
Soc. Participation (L)												1.00

Pearson Correlation with a one-tailed significance at the .05 (*) alpha levels.
N = 71

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correlated with social participation at -.266 with a probability of .013. Restrictions was significantly negatively correlated with social participation at -.291 with a probability of .007. Sacrifices was significantly negatively correlated with social participation at -.228 with a probability of .028. Members was negatively correlated with social participation at -.220 with a probability of .033. In this case, home was negatively correlated with social participation at -.255 with a probability of .016. Consideration was negatively correlated with social participation at -.202 with a probability of .046. Unique wives had more significant correlation coefficients than individualists and all wives sample examined. There were six significant negative correlations with social participation among the MWS items for unique wives.

Collectivist wives (N = 21) were the group with a two-person career variable indicating a positive correlation with social participation. Home had a significant positive correlation coefficient of .383 with a probability of .043 at the .05alpha level.

Two-Person Career Model Factor Scores

As indicated in Table 24, a one-way analysis of variance revealed that statistically there was no difference in the population means of the TPC factors among the psychologically acculturated groups. That is, there were no differences based on the theoretical model derived from the principal component factor analysis. There were no main effects nor interactions found. Observations for differences based on denomination affiliation and employment status showed no differences in the mean scores when these factors were tested against the TPC factor mean scores.

As indicated in Table 24, the mean scores for the TPC factors as a single scale ranged from 6.17 to 13.07. The mean score for encroachment was 10.08. At a critical

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value of .05, 95 percent of African American wives in the population will score on average between 9.39 and 10.78. Based on the scale of measurement this means that wives will report a perception that their life is fairly often encroached upon. The mean score for lack of extrinsic rewards was 6.17 with a 95 percent confidence interval between 5.34 and 6.99. This means that on average, wives will report that they receive extrinsic rewards very often. The mean score for role expectations was 13.07 with a confidence interval between 12.66 and 13.47. This means that wives in the population will report on average that they very often experience role expectations. The mean score for obligatory contributions was 9.68 with a 95 percent confidence interval between 9.10 and 10.25. This means that African American ministers' wives will on average report that they only fairly often experience obligatory contributions.

Table 24 TPC Factors, Independent, and Dependent Variables Mean Scores

	Mean	SD	SE	95% Confidence Interval Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Encroachment	10.08	3.53	.35	9.39	10.78
Extrinsic Rewards	6.17	4.18	.41	5.34	6.99
Role Expectations	13.07	2.04	.20	12.66	13.47
Obligatory Contributions	9.68	2.91	.29	9.10	10.25
Social Participation	13.50	9.68	.96	11.59	15.42
Number of Years Married	18.41	12.77	1.27	15.89	20.93
Socio-Economic Status	9.40	2.89	.29	8.83	9.97

N = 101

Multiple Regression Analysis

There were three multiple regression models constructed with social participation as a dependent variable based on correlations found among all wives, individualists wives, and individualist horizontal (unique) wives. As indicated in the Table 25, years married, satisfaction, traditional, members, and consideration are the predictor variables of social participation. The multiple correlation coefficient for this equation was .468

Table 25

Multiple Regression: Two-Person Career Traits and Social Participation,
All Wives Included

Variables	B	SE B	Beta	t	P
Years Married	.017	.005	.344	3.759	*.000
Satisfaction	.068	.055	.117	1.246	.216
Traditional	-.154	.064	-.231	-2.413	*.018
Members	-.089	.107	-.079	-.836	.405
Consideration	-.078	.045	-.16⁴	-1.760	.082
Model					
R	.468				
R^2	.219				
Adjusted R^2	.178				
SE	.594				
F =	5.341	*F Significance = .000**			

*Significance at p < .05.
N = 101

and a regression coefficient of .22. Years married and satisfaction were positive predictors with slopes of .017 and .068, respectively. Traditional, members, and consideration were negative predictors, -.154, -.089, -.78, respectively. Years married and traditional were the strongest influences on social participation with significant t values with probabilities of .000 and .018, respectively. The model resulted in a significant F value of .5.341 with a probability of .000 at the .05 alpha level.

As indicated in Table 26, home was an additional variable needed for model specification for individualist wives. This model resulted in a multiple correlation

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coefficient of .56 and a regression coefficient of .31. Years married and satisfaction coefficients were slightly stronger with positive slope coefficients of .022 and .084, respectively. Traditional and consideration coefficients were also negative but slightly lower at -.151 and -.074, respectively. Beta was also slightly lower for these two coefficients. However, members as a negative slope was much higher at -.185 among individualists wives. Years married and traditional remained the only significant t

Table 26

Multiple Regression: Two-Person Career Traits and Social Participation,
Individualist Wives Only

Variables	B	SE B	Beta	t	P
Years Married	.022	.006	.406	4.044	*.000
Satisfaction	.084	.060	.142	1.412	.162
Traditional	-.151	.067	-.225	-2.252	*.027
Members	-.185	.130	-.145	-1.421	.160
Home	-.067	.045	-.158	-1.555	.124
Consideration	-.074	.051	-.147	-1.443	.153
Model					
R	.558				
R^2	.311				
Adjusted R^2	.255				
SE	.595				
F =	5.498	F Significance = .000*			

*Significance at p < .05.
N = 80

values with probabilities of .000 and .027, respectively. The F value was significant at 5.498 with a probability of .000 at the .05 alpha level.

As indicated in Table 27, the multiple regression model constructed for unique wives is stronger for explaining the variance in social participation. The multiple correlation coefficient was .61 and the regression coefficient was .37. This resulted in a significant F value of 5.3 with a probability of .000 at the .05 alpha level. Years married and satisfaction increased as predictors of social participation compared to all wives and

individualists wives with a positive regression coefficient of .020 and .100, respectively.

Although traditiona! showed a significant t value of -2.166 with a probability of .034

among unique wives, traditional continued to slightly decrease to -.145 compared to all

wives. Members and home also increased among unique wives compared to

individualists wives, -.246 and -.130, respectively. Home as a predictor variable of social

Table 27

Multiple Regression: Two-Person Career Traits and Social Participation,
Unique Wives Only

Variables	B	SE B	Beta	t	P
Years Married	.020	.006	.373	3.518	*.000
Satisfaction	.100	.065	.163	1.537	.129
Traditional	-.145	.067	-.223	-2.166	*.034
Role Rewards	.072	.064	.171	1.116	.269
Members	-.246	.129	-.201	-1.901	.062
Home	-.130	.051	-.288	-2.559	*.013
Consideration	-.142	.073	-.276	-1.938	.057
Model					
R	.609				
R^2	.371				
Adjusted R^2	.301				
SE	.571				
F =	5.300	F Significance = .000*			

*Significance at p < .05.
N = 71

participation for unique wives had a significant t value of -2.559 with a probability of

.013. Consideration showed a change in direction of influence from individualists wives

to unique wives with a much higher regression coefficient of -.142 (although

individualists was only slightly different from all wives). Consideration as a predictor

was also much higher than with all wives. Role rewards as a positive predictor was

added to the unique multiple regression model. It was shown as not a significant

partialed out predictor of social participation with the other variables being held constant.

Years married remained the coefficient with the greatest standardized Beta. In comparison to individualists wives (see Table 27), all of the standardized Beta coefficients were much higher for unique wives except for years married and traditional (traditional was about the same).

CHAPTER SIX

Discussion

Summary of Findings

The purpose of this study was to identify interaction patterns among African American ministers' within their religious context by examining the relationships between socio-cultural and psychological acculturation factors and their influence on social participation. The results support using the literature to develop a theoretical model for studying two-person career wives. A principal component factor analysis indicated that encroachment, extrinsic rewards, role expectation, and obligatory contributions exist among African American ministers' wives. It was demonstrated that horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism could be important constructs for measuring psychological acculturation. The study supports using these dimensions to examine to what extent two-person career wives differ from context to context based on psychological acculturation. When examining the two-person career wife variables in light of horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism, there were no differences found between the wives. The results showed that several of the two-person career wife variables in this study are significant predictors for social participation based on psychological acculturation factors. These results suggest the presence of many possible interaction patterns that may be explained by socio-cultural and psychological acculturation factors as they relate to social participation. Upon examining these results, many implications can be made to support focusing on socio-cultural and psychological

acculturation factors to describe interaction patterns in the two-person career wife phenomenon.

Interpretation of Findings

This study supports using four factors as important dimensions of a theoretical model for examining the two-person career wife. The first dimension identified in the factor analysis of the two-person career wife was encroachment. The literature suggests that there are imposing job structures in the two-person career family (Finch, 1983). The concept of encroachment would seem to best describe what will be an intrusion upon the private domain of the wife's life; that is, the personal sacrifices made as the husband's career imposes outside restrictions and constraints. The study would seem to confirm this while suggesting possible patterns of interaction when encroachment occurs. For instance, more encroachment may lead to the wife making personal sacrifices. The wife makes these adjustments when she receives feedback from the church members indicating that she must increase or decrease her interactions within the social environment. This also suggests that the wife may not have a choice.

Based on this study, African American ministers' wives do not see encroachment as a very common occurrence. Although they indicate that personal sacrifices are very common, they see the factor of encroachment as a periodic consequence of being a minister's wife. This suggests that personal sacrifices are made in order to maintain the two-person career family relationship because the "job" encroaches upon the wife's family life. The wife appears to be subject to the demands that come with being a minister's wife. Some wives may perceive the demands to be unreasonable, but somewhat necessary or important enough for personal sacrifices to be made.

This is important if we consider the "communal" nature of the black church that fosters special kinship bonds (Stack, 1974; Martin and Martin, 1978; Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990). This study suggests African American ministers' wives perceive that there are moments when the church encroaches on their lives, but it is not continuous in nature. It appears to suggest that the wives are more tolerant of the fact that church life encroaches into their lives because of the strong relationship they have with the membership. This is indicated by the literature that points to "fictive kin" extended relationships, and the practice of community mothers (Higginbotham, 1993; Gilkes, 1997; Higginbotham, 1997). Ministers' wives may not perceive encroachment as intrusive but natural. This should be further explored with more research.

The second dimension identified for two-person career wives is the lack of extrinsic rewards. Although there are demands placed on the family with encroachments, this study suggests that there are very few tangible and intangible expressions of gratitude shown for the wife's contributions. The lack of extrinsic rewards suggests that there is no communal relationship between the wife and the church members. It suggests that the wife only receives minimal special treatment, acknowledgements, and gifts for her participation.

Unlike what may be suggested by this dimension for the two-person career model, extrinsic rewards are very common according to African American ministers' wives. Several explanations are possible. This common practice may be attributed to the adoration and respect that the members feel for the wife as "first lady" or as a church "mother." This, too, reflects what is presented in research on African American culture (Gilkes, 1997; Higginbotham, 1997). This would appear to be a response; for instance,

after the wife has made apparent personal sacrifices, the church responds by expressing gratitude through extrinsic rewards to the wife. This may further indicate that where family and church life overlap to the point that there is a strain in the relationship, the church responds by rewarding the wife to bring stability. Moreover, an increase in extrinsic rewards with significant encroachment suggests that this situation can be mutually beneficial for both the family and the church. It may suggest that extrinsic rewards are an indicator of approval of the wife's activities as much as an indicator that encroachment is anticipated in this culture. Again, the evidence suggests that this is more likely to be reflective of extended family kinship relations.

The possible influence that the husband has on the church as it relates to extrinsic rewards should not be underestimated. The husband may be sensitive to the need for the wife to experience some form of appreciation based on established values within the social context. For instance, the husband may insist that the wife be recognized as a "community mother" symbol as is common in the African American tradition (Gilkes, 1997; Higginbotham, 1997). Nevertheless, more research is needed to provide better insight before we are certain that the evidence demonstrates this.

The third dimension identified is role expectations. This study suggests that the literature is correct in pointing out that there are role expectations for two-person career wives. The wife appears to know that it is expected of her to support her husband's ministry, and has knowledge of how she is to provide this support to satisfy the church members. Also, the wife derives some satisfaction in providing support for her husband. This suggests that this is a shared norm, value, or expectation between the wife and the church members. Support for the husband appears to be the common goal of the wife

and the church members and defines how each family component sees her in relationship to her husband. Moreover, this would seem to illustrate the interdependence between the wife and the church members. This suggests that the wife needs to be able to support her husband based on her own values, and the church members need to see the wife functioning as a support mechanism for her husband. This would provide meaning to church members, because the wife is acting according to expectations.

African American ministers' wives indicated that role expectations are always present. This suggests that ministers' wives share the view with the church members that it is her responsibility to support her husband. It also suggests that the wife experiences satisfaction in supporting her husband's ministry and understands that the church members want the same thing. That is, if the wife feels that she is helping her husband in a way that puts him in a positive position in the church, she experiences satisfaction in being a minister's wife. The wife's successful social participation in the religious environment may provide her with the feedback she needs to experience satisfaction as a minister's wife. It would appear that when role expectations are satisfactorily fulfilled, there is stability within the family system. This kind of stability may be interpreted as one of the goals of the system.

To some extent, the husband's position defines what the wife's role is in relation to the church. Historically, African American ministers' wives accompanied their husband, and in the process, opportunities developed for them to play a supportive role (Findlay, 1993; Higginbotham, 1993). Although a more in-depth inquiry would inform the details, present evidence suggests that there is a defined "traditional role" for the wife. Whatever the details, the husband's position may be central to defining this role. The

wife derives some satisfaction in being a minister's wife. This suggests that role

expectation is a shared ideological schema between the wife and the church membership.

It supports Finch's (1983) suggestion that the wife may seek to fulfill some ideological

function that she values rather than being forced into a subordinate role.

The final dimension this study finds is obligatory contributions the wife makes to

the two-person career family. It appears to be based on feelings or reactions related to

what is provided for her in the course of participating in the two-person career family.

That is, the contributions that the wife makes to support her husband's ministry are based

on a sense of obligation. From this factor we can infer that wives give or make

contributions according to how they perceive their social standing in this environment.

The more guilt and psychological discomfort the wife experiences as a result of the

special treatment she receives as the minister's wife, the more likely she is to contribute.

Obligatory contributions are not supported as a strong characteristic among

African American ministers' wives in this study. This suggests that African American

ministers' wives may distinguish sharply between what they do as ministers' wives so

their husbands can function effectively and what or how others perceive their role. The

wife who functions adequately to support her husband's career by what she does may not

feel that it is the church's responsibility to offer her special treatment. Therefore, she may

react by making the only kind of additional contributions she can make beyond her usual

activities to equalize her relationship with the church. This would appear also to indicate

the presence of a political element in this dimension. This seems to be plausible because

the evidence indicates that the wife's level of social participation is not impacted by this

factor. Another explanation is that the wife's religious belief may be that she expects a

delayed or intrinsic reward related to her position and is simply more likely to increase contributions to offset feelings of discomfort.

Overall, the factors help determine how the two-person career construct is a valid description of the marital arrangement among African American ministers' wives. The evidence in this study support the model described in the literature. The details of this model reflect the cultural characteristics of a specific context. Although there were only a four items used in the factor analysis for each factor when a minimum of four is recommended, further research is needed to explore some of the insights this study provides. Further exploration is needed on the factors of this phenomenon among other ethnic groups and other situations where the construct applies.

This study suggests that the psychological acculturation factors represented by horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism appear be useful constructs for studying acculturation among ethnic minorities. This study also provides some evidence about the extent to which horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism exist among African American ministers' wives. It suggests that African American ministers' wives are primarily horizontal individualists or unique wives. There are some differences based on horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism related to satisfaction in being a minister's wife and socio-economic status. Social participation also appears to be dependent upon psychological acculturation factors. These findings suggest that there may be strong linkages and interaction patterns between psychological acculturation and how and why ministers' wives interact within their own ethnic social context.

This study raises some questions about previous research that indicated a relationship between socio-economic status and psychological acculturation outcomes

(Wooddell, 1989). Wooddell (1991) found collectivism as the dominant trait among low-income African American single mothers in Detroit. In the Taylor & Hartley (1975) study it was assumed that ministers' wives are generally middle-class. If both are the case, then socio-economic status could be an important factor that would distinguish this group from other African Americans. By indicating that African American ministers' wives are horizontal individualists, and that socio-economic status is most likely to be higher with these wives, this study suggests that African Americans who tend to achieve high socio-economic status will be individualistic or acculturated into the mainstream culture. If low socio-economic status proves to be a strong indicator of collectivist values among African Americans, then communities where there is a high concentration of African American people would most likely exhibit collectivist traits, particularly among ethnic enclaves, or low-income communities. Because of the disproportionate number of low-income African Americans, caution must be taken not to assume that church members are likely to be collectivist. Other implications of this study could mean that acculturated African Americans (i.e., those who are individualistic such as unique wives) may conform in their social environment or an enclave where collectivism is a dominant characteristic. This would also imply that integrated individuals could only impact their social ethnic environment over great spans of time. That is, changing the environment requires mobilizing cultural resources and increasing interaction with acculturating factors. This would support the continued exploration of these constructs as a measure of acculturation with different social classes.

Another point can be made about what the relationship between socio-economic status and psychological acculturation implies about African American ministers. It has

been suggested in other research that African American ministers in the past relied on their wives to assist them in sermon preparation, teaching, and worship because of their literary and musical skills (Lincoln and Mamiya, 1990; Mitchell, 1991). This study suggests that African American ministers remain selective in the kind of wife they need to support their ministry. That is, African American ministers' may prefer wives that can be socio-economically suited for their ministry needs. A wife that is skilled socially and possesses that ability to contribute financially to support the ministry would be ideal. This has strong implications. However, more research is needed to substantiate this as a pattern germane to the African American religious context beyond psychological acculturation characteristics.

The wives' satisfaction in being a minister's wife is another indication that horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism may be important constructs for measuring differences due to psychological acculturation. Satisfaction in being a minister's wife was significantly different among wives. This study suggests that wives who were collectivists perceived more satisfaction in being a minister's wife than individualist wives. It appears that being a minister's wife in and of itself is an idea that is dependent on personal achievement beyond the religious context. This implies that are shared notions about what characterizes a minister's wife among the wives. It also implies that many wives seek satisfaction from other sources of interaction. African American ministers' wives in general may want what mainstream women want. In general, this may be indicated historically as gender equality (Collins, 1991; Higginbotham, 1993; Higginbotham, 1997).

This study suggests that the two-person career traits indicate the presence of environmental constraints such as social norms that regulate the extent of interaction patterns. There are no differences between African American ministers' wives in the two-person career based on psychological acculturation. This may be due to the fact that this is a homogeneous group, or because the environment is such that wives simply conform based on their values. What should also be noted is that the social environments are enclaves of the same ethnic group. This enclave's culture has probably become institutionalized, and therefore, may have also confounded or supported the results of this study. More research is needed to investigate the social environment, and additional values that may be held by the wives. More probing is needed about the differences in the patterns of social interaction that may occur in the external environment among the wives.

Several other factors must also be considered as it relates to unique wives. Traindis (1995) states that in horizontal cultures, people are not expected to stand out. It does not matter whether the culture is horizontal collectivist or horizontal individualist. Although it was considered reasonable to expect that the church is reflective of a collectivist culture, it is not certain whether the church environment is reflective of a horizontal culture. Assuming that the group culture is horizontal, equality is highly valued; and that would suggest that the unique wives would avoid social participation if their lives significantly overlap with the church. This may be due to the cultural context that would value a more modest show of social interaction by a wife who is perceived to always be in the limelight. In the vertical culture environment, the opposite is the case (Triandis, 1995). The expectation would be that the individual asserts self and stands out.

However, in this study there is no evidence to support inferring that the environment is individualistic; and therefore, the former case is more plausible.

There were several variables significantly related to social participation. The findings in this study suggest that the number of years the wife is married increases the degree of social participation in the two-person career. This was true for all wives. Years married influenced social participation without regard to psychological acculturation. This suggests life stages and priority shifts overtime create opportunities for wives to increase their contributions to their husband's ministry. Satisfaction and role rewards were positively related to social participation. This suggests that incentives and/or a sense of accomplishment may increase the chances of wives participating in their religious environment. The converse would suggests that wives who do not experience some feeling of appreciation or success in their attempts to fulfill their role as ministers' wives are less likely to continue participating at certain levels. Role rewards are only important among unique wives. This suggests that unique wives may give or contribute to their husband's career, but not without some positive feedback occurring. Satisfaction appears to become more important as an influential factor for social participation among wives who are individualists, particularly unique wives.

Other than the number of years married, the satisfaction in being a minister's wife, and rewards associated with their role, are two-person career traits that are negatively related to social participation. There are some common predictors of less social participation among individualist, unique, and all wives that include the following: (1) whether the wife is expected to fulfill a "traditional" role; (2) whether the wife perceives that the members want to see her supporting her husband's ministry; and (3) whether the

wife is shown special consideration as a minister's wife. This suggests that the wives were less inclined to participate in their husband's career when they perceive that it involves giving up a sense of individuality and self-determination within the marriage. This appears to be indicative of the general values of the dominant social environment where the roles of women are changing and becoming more egalitarian. It suggests that African American women in general put personal goals above group goals. Whether their home is used as a place where church business is conducted was an additional predictor for less social participation for individualist and unique wives. This again suggests that horizontal individualists wives value their freedom as well as personal goals above group goals.

Encroachment, extrinsic rewards, role expectations, and obligatory contributions as a theoretical model indicate that the wife is an important figure and partner with the husband in this relationship. Furthermore, the activities examined suggest that the wife plays a variety of meaningful leadership roles in the church and in external religious activities. These are all connected to a symbolic figure of the minister's wife, and thus, reflects the leadership the wife provides as an individual and as a vital team member for her husband's ministry. There appears to be a balance of interaction achieved between what is required and needed for social stability in the two-person career context and the personal needs of the husband and wife. Does the husband choose a wife based on the dynamics of the religious culture to achieve this balance? Further research as to the kind of wife that best serves the minister in this context would be very helpful.

Social participation appears to be an important aspect of the two-person career wife's life. It was needed and valued historically in the African American religious

context. For instance, should African American ministers' wives be viewed as adequately supporting their husband's ministry by their leadership or by the extent to which they participate within their social environment? Ministers' wives appear to reflect the changes in the role of women in the larger environment. Future studies could include investigating this issue and comparing the current importance of social participation with the past. Personal and social needs have undoubtedly changed over time. By understanding these dimensions of social participation, insight may result for understanding what cultural resources are available and needed to sustain a two-person clergy family ecosystem.

Other future directions may include further explorations of other values. There is possibly another explanation that may have stronger implications for future investigations with a theory-driven perspective on values. Other research (Schwartz, 1985) has consistently found the structure of values to be consistent across cultures. A clustering of values into value-types (Schwartz, 1987; Schwartz, 1990; Schwartz, 1991) has been considered a refinement of studies on individualism and collectivism (Smith, 1999). Two of the values identified, tradition and conformity (Smith, 1997), have been found to correlate positively with religiosity across religious groups including Protestants. Whereas tradition means "respect and commitment to cultural or religious customs and ideas," conformity refers to "restraint of actions and impulses that may harm others and violate social expectations" (p. 86). This implies that a refinement of horizontal values may result in moderator variables such as tradition and conformity values. This means that the two-person career in a religious context would most likely result in conformity to traditional customs and ideas among African American ministers' wives. The two-person

career variables may be a part of the religious tradition, so differences between the acculturated ministers' wives would be less detectable.

Limitations

There are some limitations to what can be concluded in this study. Small sample sizes can only suggest that to some extent horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism may make a difference in the two-person career marital arrangement among African American ministers' wives. Additional research is needed to investigate differences among these traits based on psychological acculturation with larger samples for outcomes other than unique wives. Further research is needed to investigate more definitively the interactions within a religious context that may give more insight about how differences in acculturation may affect behavior.

In conducting this study several things were learned. Ministers' wives are very busy. This may be due to juggling family, career, and commitments for religious activities. Nonetheless, it would probably be best to reduce the interview time. It appears that the length of the telephone interview was key for getting their cooperation. A change in instruments would include increasing the number of items on the "Ministers' Wives Survey" to satisfy the requirements for conducting a confirmatory factor analysis. This would mean that another instrument to evaluate psychological acculturation must either be developed or substituted. Another consideration for identifying psychological acculturation would be examining additional factors that may be present in the external environment.

Implications of the Study

This study has attempted to identify and interpret the interaction patterns in the two-person career related to socio-cultural and psychological acculturation factors. As a result, there are several implications that can be identified in the findings. This study implies that the two-person career wife features provided in the literature are useful for constructing a theoretical model for further research. As expected, it implies that previous ethnic studies may be instrumental in the development of a context-specific model as well. Logically, this would imply that the two-person career factors could vary because of unique context-specific cultural dynamics. Moreover, it may be possible to identify psychological acculturation factors using horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism. Horizontal and vertical individualism and collectivism may help to explain social patterns that result from differences based on value orientation. It is also implied in this study that there may exist cultural constraints that results in what appears to be religious conformity. That is, socio-cultural norms and expectations may mitigate any psychological acculturation factors. Nonetheless, African American ministers' wives who are individualistic tend to be less likely to participate in the social environment. Socioeconomic status may be related to psychological acculturation. This study implies that individualists may be tied to higher socioeconomic status than collectivist groups. Overall, the implications of this study are that ethnic minorities are affected by the dominant social context and this may influence the degree to which they interact within their ethnic social environment.

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Structure.

Appendix

MICHIGAN STATE
U N I V E R S I T Y
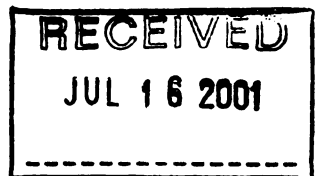
July 13, 2001

TO: June Pierce YOUATT
        14B Human Ecology

RE: **IRB# 01-442**   CATEGORY: EXEMPT 1-C
        APPROVAL DATE: July 13, 2001

TITLE: SOCIOCULTURAL DETERMINANTS AND THE AFFECTS F
         PSYCHOLOGICAL ACCULTURATION ON SOCIAL ?ARTI .?ATION OF
         AFRICAN AMERICAN MINISTERS' WIVĘS

The University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects' (UCRIHS) review of this project is complete and I am pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the human subjects appear to be adequately protected and methods to obtain informed consent are appropriate. Therefore, the **UCRIHS approved this project.**

RENEWALS: UCRIHS approval is valid for one calendar year, beginning with the approval date shown above. Projects continuing beyond one year must be renewed with the green renewal form. A maximum of four such expedited renewals possible. Investigators wishing to continue a project beyond that time need to submit it again for a complete review.

REVISIONS: UCRIHS must review any changes in procedures involving human subjects, prior to initiation of the change. If this is done at the time of renewal, please use the green renewal form. To revise an approved protocol at any other time during the year, send your written request to the UCRIHS Chair, requesting revised approval and referencing the project's IRB# and title. Include in your request a description of the change and any revised instruments, consent forms or advertisements that are applicable.

PROBLEMS/CHANGES: Should either of the following arise during the course of the work, notify UCRIHS promptly: 1) problems (unexpected side effects, complaints, etc.) involving human subjects or 2) changes in the research environment or new information indicating greater risk to the human subjects than existed when the protocol was previously reviewed and approved.

If we can be of further assistance, please contact us at (517) 355-2180 or via email: UCRIHS@msu.edu. Please note that all UCRIHS forms are located on the web: http://www.msu.edu/user/ucrihs

Sincerely,

Ashir Kumar, M.D.
Interim Chair, UCRIHS

OFFICE OF
**RESEARCH
AND
GRADUATE
STUDIES**

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Phone Interview Script

Date: _____   Phone Number: _____

Hello Mrs. _____,

My name is Mark Harden and I am doctoral student completing my research project at Michigan State University by interviewing ministers' wives in a phone survey.

Are you able to provide about 30 minutes for this phone interview?   Yes   No

When is the best time to call you back to complete this survey? _____

Let me briefly explain what my survey is about and how you may respond.

I am interested in ministers' wives within their religious environment and how their values and perceptions influence their social behavior.

More specifically, the nature of your contributions and the degree to which you interact with your husband's career will be studied in comparison to other information provided by other studies. It is believed that this information may help increase our understanding of relationships and social interaction among ethnic minorities in general.

During this interview you have the right to discontinue the interview at any time without penalty. Also, if there are any questions you do not want to answer, you are free to decline an answer.

Confidentiality will be maintained and your privacy will be protected to the maximum extent that the law requires and in accordance to Michigan State University policies. Should you have any questions about this study you may contact me (Mark Harden) by phone at (517) 353-1881, or by email at hardenm@msue.msu.edu. If you have concerns about being involved in this study, you may also contact the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects at (517) 355-2180 or ucrihs@msu.edu.

Do you have any questions?

UCRIHS APPROVAL FOR
THIS project EXPIRES:

JUL 1 3 2002

SUBMIT RENEWAL APPLICATION
ONE MONTH PRIOR TO
ABOVE DATE TO CONTINUE

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African American Ministers' Wives Survey

<u>Please</u> complete each item below. It is important that you give all of the information. Please read the instructions included at each section.

Denomination _____ Years of membership _____

Years Married: From _____ to _____ Years as Minister's Wife: From _____ to _____

Number of Children _____ Check One: Married _____ Widowed _____

Are you employed by your Church or one its ministries? YES _____ NO _____

Are you between the ages of: 20-29____ 30-39___ 40-49___ 50-59___ 60+__

Education: __Elementary __Junior High ___H.S. ___Some College ___Degree ___Graduate

The following questions are based on how much the situation applies to you as a minister's wife. It is important that you answer all of the questions on this survey questionnaire. Please read carefully and answer each one as to the best of your knowledge.

Circle the answer that most applies with each question:
always   very often   fairly often   sometimes   almost never   never

1. I get satisfaction in being the minister's wife.
   a. Always
   b. Very often
   c. Fairly often
   d. Sometimes
   e. Almost never
   f. Never

2. As a minister's wife, it is expected that I fulfill my traditional role?
   a. Always
   b. Very often
   c. Fairly often
   d. Sometimes
   e. Almost never
   f. Never

3. As a minister's wife, how often do you feel there are restrictions placed on how you or your family live?
   a. Always
   b. Very often
   c. Fairly often
   d. Sometimes
   e. Almost never
   f. Never

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4. As a minister's wife, how often do you feel you make personal sacrifices in order to support your husband's ministry?
   a. Always
   b. Very often
   c. Fairly often
   d. Sometimes
   e. Almost never
   f. Never

5. Even though I am not paid for fulfilling my role as a minister's wife, I receive some rewards (i.e. gifts, donations, acknowledgments, recognition, or tributes).
   a. Always
   b. Very often
   c. Fairly often
   d. Sometimes
   e. Almost never
   f. Never

6. I believe there are church members who _____ want to see me support my husband's ministry.
   a. Always
   b. Very often
   c. Fairly often
   d. Sometimes
   e. Almost never
   f. Never

7. My home is a household where church business or matters are handled to some extent.
   a. Always
   b. Very often
   c. Fairly often
   d. Sometimes
   e. Almost never
   f. Never

8. How often do people give you special consideration because you are a minister's wife?
   a. Always
   b. Very often
   c. Fairly often
   d. Sometimes
   e. Almost never
   f. Never

9. I feel uncomfortable when I receive special treatment as a minister's wife.
    a. Always
    b. Very often
    c. Fairly often
    d. Sometimes
    e. Almost never
    f. Never

10. How often do you make contributions of any kind to your husband's church or ministry?
    a. Always
    b. Very often
    c. Fairly often
    d. Sometimes
    e. Almost never
    f. Never

If you would like to be considered for an in-depth interview for further study in the future or to receive a summary of the results please give the following information.

Name: _____   Date: _____
            (Please Print)

Address: _____ Phone: _____

City _____   State _____

Thank you for your support!

Social Participation Scale: Ministers' Wives Indicator

Occupational Information: Type of Work: _____ Job Title: _____

Ethnicity : _____ African American _____ American Indian _____ Hispanic _____ Asian _____ White American _____ Other: _____

Please complete this questionnaire by filling in the appropriate current information and placing "yes" only in the columns that apply based on your participation in religious activities.

Name of church group, organization, or religious group activity.	1. Member?	2. Attendance?	3. Financial contribution?	4. Member of a committee?	5. Office held or leadership title. (please state position)
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
Totals					