Status Inconsistency and Consumption in Canadian Dual Earner and One Earner Families

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ABSTRACT

The economic contribution of wives to the family well-being is not secondary and double income constitues an important factor of economic stratification in contemporary societies. Social stratification is defined as an interaction process in the marital dyad. In a society which encourages married women to work outside, a woman's decision to work inside the home rather than taking a salaried job may be the cause of status inconsistency in the marital dyad. The inter-individual status inconsistency is especially important in modernday society characterized as it is both by the extension of market exchanges into all spheres of human activity and by the income revolution, particularly since the social status of families is more closely associated with consumption. The analysis focuses on ten family budget components and points out that status inconsistency affects household consumption but shows up differently in different social situations, specified by life cycle and mode of occupation. One form of inconsistency appears to be particularly important: that which arises between a woman earning a high income and a man having a relatively low paying job. This form of inconsistency significantly affects six different budget components. Another form of incongruence between two partners, which is very close to the preceeding one, also influences several components of consumption; we are referring here to the incongruence between a wife who is in a prestigeous profession and a husband whose profession is of little prestige. In short, the tendency to spend on one budget component rather than the other seems to be affected above all by the fact of the woman having a higher social or economic status than her husband.

In the majority of western industrial societies, more than half the married women hold salaried jobs, and this proportion reaches an even higher level among young wives. Double incomes in the family unit now constitute an important aspect of economic stratification in contemporary societies, and it is important to accord as much attention to this as to the analysis of other factors of social stratification, be they individual (educational inequality, etc.) or macrosociological (segmentation of the job market, etc.). In fact, the socio-economic status of the family can no longer be considered to be mainly determined by the characteristics of the husband alone (Aldous, 1983). Several economists maintain that the salaries earned by the wives have a levelling-out effect, particularly because they allow low-income households to raise their standard of living (Smith, 1979; Horvath, 1980). Sociologists have demonstrated that the woman's occupation affects the position of the family in the social stratification system in two ways. First of all, it produces mobility for certain marital dyads by facilitating their rise to a higher economic stratum. It also prevents others (especially in the middle class) from dropping in the social hierarchy in the event of the husband's inability to maintain their position (Paulson, 1982; Oppenhiemer, 1977).

The double income must be considered as a factor of social stratification for two reasons. When the second spouse enters the work force, a significant gap appears between single-income and double-income households, which may otherwise be socially homogenous. Family units having an identical social and cultural position according to the classi indicators (education, the occupation of the head of the household, etc.) will be able to attain a higher standard of living if the wife works full-time, regarless of other characteristics. A growing number of women married to men belonging to middle an upper socio-economic strata is entering the job market; this could very well further increase salary differences between families, differences which were already considerable because of the wide variance in the men's incomes. Above all, this phenomenon will likely neutralize the levelling-out effect observed in the sixties, when women married to men earning low salaries tended more often to work outside the home. Some authors go as far as maintaining that the increased rate of participation of married women in the work force will cause an increase in the disparity between families (Thurow, 1980; Rivlin, 1975). In this way, the double income can be considered as an important source of status differences between families, viewed as units in the social stratification system. However, double-income can also be the source of another type of stratification of dual-earner marital dyads themselves, depending on what forms of aggregation the characteristics of the partners take. If both active partners have the same characteristics, the socio-economic level of the household they make up will be much higher than that of another household where one of the partners has a lower status. In other words, the aggregation of salaries and of social positions in couples that are active in the labour force can also create a new hierarchy of status for double-income households. Thus, an executive who has married a woman who is also an executive will have a higher standard of living than an executive who has married a secretary; a nurse who is married to a doctor will also have a standard of living higher than that of a nurse married to

a worker. In short, it is impossible to analyse social inequality and mobility as strictly individual phenomena, since the status of the actors depends partly upon the characteristics of the concrete social system (the family unit) in which they participate and which results from their interaction with other actors. In other words, the standard of living and the socioeconomic status of the actors are largely dependent not only on their individual property and in particular their personal incomes, but also on the aggregation of these individual characteristics with those of others. From this point of view, marital relationship is highly relevant to the processus of social stratification, defined as an interaction process (see Max Haller, 1981). The importance now assumed by the phenomenon of double-income in post-industrial societies is likely to have an impact on research concerning status inconsistency. We know that this concept was first used to characterize inconsistency between personal dimensions of the status of individuals (Lenski, 1959, 1966). If the question of integration of different aspects of personal status of social actors remains relevant, both theoreticaly and empirically, it is also important to expand it somewhat, keeping in mind that the social status of actors also depends upon their belonging to a particular social unit, the household or marital dyad.

The distinction between intra-individual and inter-individual status inconsistency has already been put forward by certain researchers, but the number of studies which it has inspired is very limited compared to those which have dealt with individual status inconsistency. Hornung and McCullough (1981) have studied the effect of intra-individual and inter-individual status inconsistency (they refer to the latter as incompatibility) within dual-earner couples upon marital satisfaction. On the whole, the effect of status inconsistency was shown to be of little significance, but not within the subgroup of couples concerned with achieving a higher status in society. This analysis points in the same direction as the hypotheses advanced by Laumann and Segal in 1971, that status inconsistency is more likely to affect the attitudes and behaviour of people already preoccupied by their social status.

Mueller, Parcel and Pampel (1979) have shown that inter- and intraindividual status inconsistency in the couple have an effect upon wive's attitudes towards equal rights for non-traditional women and for young under the
age of 30. As in the preceding analysis, the effect of status inconsistency
shows up more clearly in subgroups which are relatively homogeneous according
to certain variables pertinent to the study of the phenomenon. Furthermore,
earnings inconsistency effects were demonstrated to be more significant than
the effect of occupational status inconsistency, which leads us to believe
that income is probably one of the most important dimensions to be considered
in the study of status inconsistency within the couple.

Status Inconsistency in the Family and Consumption

At the time that Parsons was writing his famous essay, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States" (1942), few married women held paying jobs, and even if it was accepted, it was neither valued nor encouraged by society as it is today. Parsons' emphasis on sex-role segregation within the couple can undoubtedly be explained by the normative context of the period: the man was considered to be the main breadwinner of the household and the woman to be oriented towards performing tasks in the home. It was in this context of extreme sex-role segregation that Parsons defined dual careers as threatening or dysfunctional for the stability of the family unit,

especially in view of the competition that the wife's presence in the labour force would create within the couple.

Twenty-five years later, Oppenheimer reformulated Parsons' theory, showing that he had undoubtedly emphasized the internal problems raised by the preservation of the family's stability too exclusively; the family unit should be defined not only as a group seeking to cope with its internal tensions, but above all as a group which tends to maintain its place in the society as a whole (Oppenheimer, 1977). The reversal in perspective suggested by Oppenheimer is important in that she proposes to analyze status inconsistency between partners by first taking into account the position of the marital dyad in the social stratification system. From this perspective, the entry or the greater involvement of women in active life is motivated by the need to maintain or the probability of improving the socio-economic status of the family unit. If the contribution of the wife to the household's welfare is likely to be fairly low, or if her status is distinctly lower than that of her husband, it is less likely that she will hold a job, because the contribution which her position and salary would make towards achieving the objective of maintaining or improving the external status of the household would be relatively insignificant. Thus, the wife's participation in the labour force will be affected by her marital dyad's relative socio-economic status and by the real impact her job would have on it, rather than, as Parsons led us to believe, by a possibility of a status conflict with her husband. From this perspective, the inability of the husband to adequately fulfill his role as breadwinner (and therefore his incapacity to confer a certain social and economic status upon the household) is a potential source of problems and tensions within the couple.

Moreover, the present normative context is generally favourable to the participation of married women in the work force (Rallings and Nye, 1979), regardless of the husband's characteristics. The advent of the symmetric family, to use Young and Wilmot's term (1972), well describes the transition which has taken place from sex-role segregation to role homophily between the sexes. In this context, the participation of married women in the labour force is no longer motivated only by the need to maintain or improve the household's relative status; their participation has now been legitimized for its own sake. In a society which values and encourages married women to work, both through positive action and, more generally, through an increasingly accepted ideology in which equal opportunities for both sexes assume a key position, a woman's decisions to work inside the home rather than taking a salaried job may be the cause of status inconsistency in the marital dyad which will affect both the internal stability of the couple and its external stability (its place as a unit in the social stratification system). A married couple formed by a construction worker and a nurse, both working fulltime and having two children, can afford a winter vacation in the south, whereas their neighbours cannot if the woman does not work outside the home, even if they are socially identical in other respects. In a case such as this, the absence of an income earned by the wife may cause inter-individual status inconsistency in the couple seeking to maintain its position in society or before others, even more so if the ideological context encourages symmetric families.

Status inconsistency whithin the couple and the stratification of marital dyads resulting from the participation of both partners in the labour force are especially important in modern-day society, characterized as it is both by the extension of market dealings into all spheres of human activity

(Scardigli, 1983) and by the income revolution (R. Collins, 1979); particularly since the social status of families and households is more closely associated with consumption, making the social position of the household exhibited. Many sociologists hold that occupation, education and class membership differentiate or distinguishe between social actors primarily because they provide access to different styles and levels of consumption (Sobel, 1981; Bourdieu, 1979). "Consumption... locates the family in the stratification system" (Rainwater, 1974: 23). Oppenheimer has put forward a hypothesis along the same lines: the community allocates a social position to its lifestyle) than on the basis of the source of the income which makes this consumption possible.

Furthermore, since market consumption is closely dependent on income, can we say that income inconsistency between spouses has a specific effect on the household's consumption?

Methodology

- Data

The data we will analyze come from a survey on the spending of families in the province of Quebec conducted in 1982, which provides us with a broad representative sample. Complete families made up of one man and one woman and possibly including other people (children, and relatives or non-relatives) were extracted from the survey; we then retained households whose head was between 18 and 64 years of age, whether or not he or she was active in the labour force. The analysis will focus on 1 350 family units1. Unlike other researchers, we have not restricted our analysis to families where both spouses are active in the work force; we intend to analyze the effects which status inconsistency between spouses has on consumption, whether both partners are active or not. We grouped the expenses of the households according to the needs they help satisfy and this functional classification groups complementary goods and services contributing to the achievement of the same end.

- Measuring Status Inconsistency

Operationally, in order to measure status inconsistency between spouses, we must take into account the asymmetrical distribution of characteristics between men and women in society as a whole. Women's salaries are lower than men's, particularly because women work part-time more often than men and because they are concentrated in a limited number of jobs. In other words, disparities and differences which, in a way, are socially structured exist between men and women, and we must not confuse these with status discrepancies. We shall adopt the procedure put forward by several authors which consists of characterizing inconsistency between the status dimensions of the spouses as an inequality on relative scales, rather than as an absolute difference between two characteristics (Hope, 1975; Hornung and McCullough, 1981). There will be inter-individual status inconsistency between the man and the woman not only if her income is markedly lower than his, but also if it is markedly lower than that of other women married to a man having a given social position, the difference being measured from standard deviation. This way of defining status inconsistency takes into account the value expected in a given

¹ For a presentation of the sample and other informations related to the 1982 Survey of Family Expenditures, see Statistics Canada, Family Expenditures in Canada, Ottawa, 1984, cat.: 62-555.

social context, so as to neutralize the uneven distribution of the characteristics between the sexes. The same consideration applies to the measurement of intra-individual status-dimension inconsistency. Discrepancies between occupation and income cannot be defined in the same way for women as for men, and they show up differently in the various occupational categories as well. We will also find the relative differences between individual status elements by examining the distribution of characteristics in the various classes of a variable; thus, the inconsistency between occupation and income will be measured from the distribution of income observed in each occupation.

As we analyze the effect of status inconsistency on consumption, we will accord greater importance to two dimensions of spouses' status: occupation and income, which is one of the main determinants of consumption, as has been shown by a number of authors since Engel's classic works (see Tremblay and Fortin, 1964; Scardigli, 1983). The same two dimensions have been used by Mueller, Parcel and Pampel (1979) and, according to Oppenheimer, income inconsistency between husband and wife is one of the principal forms of inconsistency within the marital dyad.

- Model

We shall use a model based on the classic notion of interaction. The status dimensions are: X₁, the husband's occupation; X₂, the wife's occupation; X₃, the husband's Income; X₄, the wife's income. The variables measuring status inconsistency between the spouses have been defined in such a way as to characterize extreme discrepancies in two dimensions. This calculation enables us to avoid considering all the non-additive effects as inconsistency effects (House and Harkins, 1975). Thus, X₅=1 if the man has a low occupation and the woman a high one (0 otherwise); X₆=1 if the man has a high occupation and the woman, a low occupation (0 otherwise); X₈=1 if the man has a low income and the woman has a high income (0 otherwise); X₈=1 if the man has a low income and the woman has a high occupation (0 otherwise); X₁=1 if the man has a high income and the woman, a low occupation (0 otherwise); X₁=1 if the man has a high income and the woman, a high income (0 otherwise); X₁=1 if the man has a high occupation and the woman, a low income (0 otherwise); X₁=1 if the man has a high occupation and the woman, a low income (0 otherwise); X₁=1 if the man has a high occupation and the woman, a low income (0 otherwise); X₁=1 if the man has a high occupation high and his income low (0 otherwise); X₁=1 if the man's occupation low and his income high (0 otherwise); X₁=1 if the man's occupation is high and her income low (0 otherwise); X₁=1 if the woman's occupation is high and her income low (0 otherwise); X₁=1 if the woman's occupation is low and his income high (0 otherwise). Incom¹⁶ sistency effects will be demonstrated if adding all the X₁ inconsistency terms to the equation significantly increases the variance explained in the dependent variables.

Our analysis will be carried out first among the set of family units as a whole, then within the most homogeneous subgroups, where inconsistency effects may show up differently. According to many authors, it is important to pay attention to the context and to the conditions in which status inconsistency has an effect (Meyer and Hammond, 1971; Mueller, Parcel and Pampel, 1979; Hornung and McCullough, 1981). From this perspective, status inconsistency itself does not necessarily produce the expected effects; they may appear only in certain cases or only in a given context. Thus, women who have a high level of education and low occupational status may experience stress due to this inconsistency, but only if their husbands have high status (Berger et al., 1972).

Results

The analysis of the expenditures of the set of family households shows that the variables measuring status inconsistency between spouses add a statistically significant part to the explaned variance of five out of ten consumption components (table 1). Intra-individual inconsistency seems to have turned out to be less relevant to analysis of consumption, since only three budget components are affected by the terms measuring this form of interaction in the set of family households. As we have already remarked, however, it is impossible to analyse the effect of inconsistency independently of the situation in which the actors live. Two variables will serve to define this: life-cycle and the form of occupancy (tenant/homeowner). The importance of the life-cycle no longer needs to be proven in studies dealing with consumption, as the structure of expenditures changes in function of one's obligations, which vary from one point of the life-cycle to the other (Waite, 1979; Sobel, 1981b). Likewise, the form of occupancy is closely associated with the family lifestyle (Langlois, 1983). Tenants have a much more mobile lifestyle than homeowners; they spend more on leisure and on transportation, where as the budgetary coefficient of the housing component is lower in their budgets. We will set tenants apart from homeowners with mortgages, leaving aside homeowners whose house is paid for. The housing component leads the family budget for homeowners with a mortgage, ahead of the food component, which comes first in the average budget for the population as a whole; the structure of the budget for families who own their housing is quite different from that of families who are tenants, primarily because of the sizeable amount allotted to housing. We should also point out that homeowners more often have dependent children than tenants: having a mortgage as well as dependent children means that their lifestyle is neither as mobile nor as oriented away from the home as is the case with tenants.

The effect of status inconsistency between spouses on the various components of consumption changes in the subgroups retained for analysis, primarily because it shows up in different items when we distinguish between ages or between forms of occupancy. Thus, status inconsistency affects only one budgetary component for tenants (transportation) and four components for homeowners (housing, leisure, insurance, miscellaneous expenses). Likewise, interindividual status insconsistency explains an additional portion (ranging from 2 to 4%) of the explained variance in five components of consumption in the subset of households whose head is older (45 years of age or over) while only three components are affected in younger households. Let us note here that the fact that we have distinguished between four different subgroups in our analysis allows us to see that only two budgetary components are completely unaffected by inter-individual status inconsistency: food and personal and health care. The effect of intra-individual inconsistency tapers off somewhat if a distinction is made between the form of occupancy. In the homeowner subgroup, only the insurance and the household appliance components are affected by this type of inconsistency and in the tenant subgroup, only one component (furniture and household appliances) is affected. Moreover, the terms measuring this form of inconsistency do not seem to influence the same functions when we single out the age of the head of the household: in the under-45 category, they increase the portion of explained variance of the furniture and household appliance and insurance components, and in the other age group, the components that are significantly affected are food, clothing and education.

In short, this initial analysis shows clearly that both status non-congruence between spouses and the intra-individual status inconsistency of each spouse are pertinent to the analysis of the allotment of household resources

TABLE

Regression Estimates of Effects of Two Forms of Status Inconsistency (Inter-individual and Intra-Individual) on Ten Components of the Family Budget, Family Households Only, Head Between 18 and 64, Québec, 1982.

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to the budgetary components. Furthermore, it seems indispensable that we distinguish between the more homogeneous subgroups in which status inconsistency shows up differently.

Table 2 sets out the diverse forms of interaction between the variables measuring status. They do not all affect the propensity to spend on the various budget components in the same way. One form of inconsistency appears to be particularly important: that which arises between a woman earning a high income and a man having a relatively low occupation. This form of inconsistency significantly affects six different budget components. Another form of incongruence between two partners, which is very close to the preceeding one, also influences several components of consumption; we are referring here to the incongruence between a wife who is in a prestigious profession and a husband whose profession is of little prestige. In short, the tendency to spend on one budget component rather than the other seems to be affected above all by the fact of the woman having a higher social or economic status than her husband. It should be noted here that the effect of the forms of status incongruence between spouses is usually in the opposite direction. If the woman has a high profession and the man a less prestigious one, the propensity to spend will not vary in the same way that it would if the wife's status were lower than her husband's. For example, if the woman's status is markedly higher than her husband's, the expenses for insurance will lessen, but they will increase if his status is higher than hers. Moreover, intraindividual inconsistency seems to be more pronounced among women who earn high incomes while occupying a less prestigious position. This form of inconsistency tends to promote the consumption of food, clothing and household appliances and furniture, but tends to lower the miscellaneous expenditures.

Discussion

Status dimension inconsistency between spouses affects household consumption as well as (and independently of) the specific effect which can be attributed to these dimensions. It has also been demonstrated that inconsistency between status dimensions does not produce the same effect on all the dependent variables, as was seen in the study of the more homogeneous household groups. This result confirms that status inconsistency shows up differently in different social situations and that it may be subgroup specific.

There are several limitations to our research; we sould now like to point some of them out.

The components of consumption were defined at an aggregate level. Let us take the food component as an example. It includes both food consumed at home and meals eaten in restaurants. These two types of expenditures are of a very different nature, even if they fulfill the same function. Moreover, certain expenses are less easily out down than others and it is quite possible that status inconsistency could have a different effect on disaggregated components.

Obviously, the contexts and situations in which status inconsistency effects arise need to be more precise and clearly defined. We have simply outlined the value of this approach by distinguishing between two broad age groups and between two types of occupancy for housing. It would be much more profitable if we were to delineate the life-cycle more clearly, particularly in order to see how status incongruence can affect consumption, especially in the subgroup of older households whose members were socialized at a time when sex roles were highly differentiated.

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