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**TELEVISION, VALUE CONSTRUCTS, AND
REPRODUCTIVE BEHAVIOR IN BRAZILIAN “EXCLUDED”
COMMUNITIES**

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TELEVISION, VALUE CONSTRUCTS, AND REPRODUCTIVE BEHAVIOR IN BRAZILIAN “EXCLUDED” COMMUNITIES*

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Introduction

This paper is motivated by the unintended consequences hypothesis, developed by Faria (1988) and Faria and Potter (1990). They argue that the policies implemented by the Brazilian government after the military coup of 1964, combined with fast economic growth in the seventies -- which enhanced the consolidation of a consumer society -- played a major role in the fertility decline in Brazil. The argument is based on the fact that the military regime developed some state policies which did not intend to control population growth or establish a family planning policy. Yet, the main unintended consequence of these policies was a sharp decline in fertility. Four state policies were relevant in this process: telecommunications, consumer credit, “medicalization”, and social security coverage. The first two policies are more important to this paper.

The development of a telecommunication policy aimed the country’s geographic integration through satellite signals. This policy was crucial to the geographic diffusion of television in Brazil. The prices charged to the TV networks for the transmission of signals were highly subsidized. The most important commercial television network, Globo, benefited from this process. It became competitive, modern, and a long time leader in audience ratings. Due to this policy, almost all localities in Brazil received TV signals at some point between 1965 and 1990.

The so called “Brazilian economic miracle” is marked by high rates of annual GDP growth between the mid-sixties and the mid-seventies -- around 7% a year. This growth was accompanied by growing income inequality and the diffusion of luxurious goods consumed by the upper middle class. In spite of the poors’ low income, the consumption of some durable goods such as color TV sets and refrigerators trickled-down to the lower class segments of the population. The

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consumer credit policy was crucial to the diffusion of these goods among the poor Brazilian households.

Telenovelas are the most popular genre in Brazilian television. Three characteristics of Brazilian telenovelas are particularly important to the process of ideational change. First, telenovelas have always had some degree of romanticism. They began as melodramas and have never lost their connection with romanticism, even after they became more realistic, with the portrayal of modern lifestyles and social reality .

Second, Brazilian telenovelas have always been commercial. In the early stages, similar to American soap-operas, they were aired to advertise soaps and toothpaste to housewives. Later on, after the audience became more diversified (including males), the brands associated with a more sophisticated and non-female oriented line of products such as banks, cars, cigarettes, and beers started airing ads during telenovela commercial breaks. Another commercial strategy launched by Globo Network was what they called “merchandising” – a product placement marketing strategy devised by the display of services and goods (and/or their purchase) within the plot rather than during the commercial break.

A third feature of telenovela is that authors have played a very important role in displaying messages with new values and ideas. Several of them were having political problems with the military government. They saw the opportunity of employment in the cultural industry not only as a means to make money, but also as a way to fight dictatorship through the reinforcement of freedom values in their plots. In addition to freedom, other values and ideas were presented -- such as criticisms to religious and traditional values, the consumption of luxurious goods, the portrayal of life among wealthy families, the display of new lifestyles, the circulation of modern ideas such as female emancipation in the work sphere, the female pursuit of pleasure and love even if through adultery, display of homosexuality, criticisms to machismo, emphasis on individualism, etc. These messages were repeatedly displayed in the telenovelas.

The line of research mentioned above tries to avoid being naive with respect to the impact of media on values and demographic behavior.. In the short run, media effects tend to be moderate and of short duration. In the long-run, after a continuous pattern of repetition, there may appear stronger behavioral effects, but it is difficult to capture causality in this process..

There are several ways in which television may enhance ideational change. Television may affect values and tastes through its impact on socialization. The effect may come from the role model effect by means of behavioral imitation in which characters or actors would play the role model. Another similar line stresses not the individual role model, but the situational interaction among characters in the plot -- this interaction would work as a learning tool and provide scripts to be used in real life. The display of characters in disagreeable roles or with unconscionable attributes may also develop in the audience a stereotype to assess real life and

images. Television may also affect a personal assessment of the consequences of some actions to the extent it affects the formation of subjective probabilities in terms of the outcome of certain actions. Television may also have some impact on day-dreaming, romanticism, consumption aspirations, religiosity, and machismo – these are the aspects that will be discussed below and they will be the main focus of this paper.

The paper initiates with a discussion of conceptual aspects. It will argue that the mass media (particularly television) and the culture of consumption are two important aspects neglected by the literature linking values and ideational change to demographic behavior. This literature is generally focused on the role of secularization and individualism. Although these are two important aspects to be considered, the incorporation of the other two dimensions associated with the media and the culture of consumption may ground the debate on a more institutionalized context. The institutional aspects associating the media institution and consumerism in the context of a specific society is the grounding aspect to be stressed in this paper.

The empirical analysis is based on a survey applied to three sites: Montes Claros, Vila Feliz, and Macambira. These three sites are characterized by a high prevalence of poverty. They were considered as “excluded communities” not only because of their socioeconomic characteristics, but also due to the fact that the households living in the sites are excluded from the media reception studies (survey ratings, focus groups, etc.) conducted by the TV networks and the advertising agencies. Their exclusion from the marketing and reception research mechanisms makes their opinions irrelevant to a feedback in the production mechanism -- flowing from the audience to the producers. This fact ends up being important for the evaluation of the consequences of ideas broadcast for all Brazilian viewers, while the target of that broadcast was a specific segment of another class or regional area.

The empirical analysis is not aimed at a causal connection, the absence of a longitudinal survey or time series data undermines any attempt along this line. The application of a different methodology (Grade of Membership) in the empirical analysis will help to clarify the connections between the media and values in two types of analyzes: the analysis of ideal types incorporating several dimensions, and the clustering of women in a multidimensional perspective. Thus, the empirical analysis is highly descriptive. The main purpose with the analysis is to describe thoroughly the heterogeneity available in data set. The data set was obtained from a survey specifically tailored for the research, the survey combines data on several aspects: socioeconomic variables, reproduction related variables, media viewing habits variables, and “attitudes, interests, and opinions” (AIOs) statements that contributed to the production of scales that became value constructs in the analysis. By describing the heterogeneity in the data using GoM, it will be possible to ground the connection between the media, consumerism, secularization, individuation, and value constructs. This connection will be the main finding of the

paper, the grouping of several dimensions can clarify the interaction of the components.

Conceptual Aspects

The discussion about changes in tastes is often associated with ideational changes or changes in the value system. The references on the process of secularization and rise of individualism are essential to the study of changes in taste, specially in the case of tastes associated with reproductive behavior. Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (1988) and Simons (1986) are the main references on the topic in demographic studies.

Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (1988, p.9) see secularization as the decline in traditional religious and beliefs such as heaven/hell, salvation/damnation, etc. Secularization is also measured by the decline in the adherence to institutional religion. The two classical "proxies" for institutional religion are church attendance and religious denomination. The authors review the criticism about the use of statistics associated with institutional religion, the reviews suggest an overestimation of the secularization process, based on the idea that religions is undergoing a process of privatization. This privatization process would be associated with an increasing "invisibility" of religion. The authors stress that despite the fact that there may be other aspects of religions not associated with institutional religion, they are highly correlated. The important point made by the authors is that religion is important for family formation and procreation because churches regulate individual behavior and norms, thus controlling individualism. The authors recognize that the individuation process has emerged in other domains, the domain "matters of love" is an important one mentioned. They recognize that the individuation process may not be linear.

Institutional regulation and individualism are opposite processes. The emphasis on institutional regulation is associated with the so called lower order needs while individualism is associated with higher order needs. These aspects can be captured on several value dimensions such as religion, qualities of education, family values, sexual values, parenthood, etc (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 1988, p.14).

Simons (1986) relies on Durkheim's framework to propose a shift from the analysis of specific types of religion in the process of secularization, with its impacts on fertility, to the analysis of human society as a form of religion. Religion is taken as a system of belief associated with society and its institutions (sacred). He reviews Luckmann's view on the emergence of a private sphere, religion becomes non-institutionalized and part of a private belief system. Thus, for Luckmann secularization would not imply a decline of religion but a shift from the religion dominance of all spheres to its limitation to the private sphere. Simons also reviews Bellah's notion of "civil religion", associated with Durkheim's notion of religion as societal phenomena. Civil religion is a phenomena captured on special occasions, associated with patriotism and/or nationalism. He uses the sociology of

religion to study human reproduction. Simons defines two dimensions to evaluate attitudes that see reproductive behavior as a matter of obligation. One dimension of obligations is associated with the acceptance (absolutism) of rules and norms or not (relativism). Another dimension of obligation is associated with conformity to the group (collectivism or holism) and personal preferences (individualism).

According to Simons, the combination of the two dimensions of obligations described above would lead to four attitude syndromes. Fundamentalism is the combination between absolutism and collectivism, leading unavoidably to a high fertility attitude. Pragmatism is the other extreme with the combination of relativism and individualism, leading to a low fertility attitude. The combination of relativism and collectivism lead to conventionalism, associated with attitudes in conformance with the group (fertility may be high or low depending on the conventions). Revisionism is the last quadrant, associated with the combination of absolutism and individualism, fertility is associated with changes in convictions. Simons identifies Lesthaeghe's analysis as suggesting a transition from absolutism to relativism and from collectivism to individualism, so that secular individualism coincides with pragmatism. He sees Luckmann's thesis also as a change towards revisionism and pragmatism, since the dominant movement is towards individualism – family sentiment is encouraged in this process. He sees his view based on “civil religion” as one that recognizes the move towards pragmatism as a consequence of modernization, but it recognizes the continuity of a commitment to societies' meaning system, which is associated with taking into account the importance of fundamentalism in reproductive behavior. Simons argues that his view is along Lesthaeghe's against Luckmann's to the extent that locates religion on the public sphere. It is along Luckmann's against Lesthaeghe's to the extent that accepts the view that religion changes form rather than loses influence. It is critical of both views to the extent that it continues to accept the importance of societal aspects on individual behavior (Simons, 1986, p.264).

Culture and religion are central aspects to the development of modern western societies. Secularization is understood as a crucial process in the formation of modern societies, associated with the move from a society where religion (sacred) dominated nearly every sphere of social life to a society dominated by material and technological values that are more secular (profane). Inglehart (1997) states that secularization and modernization are linked processes. Secularization is associated with the spread of cognitive interpretations, although he also emphasizes the role of the welfare state on secularization, spreading a sense of security. Traditional forms of religion are declining in several world regions: “church attendance rates have been falling and adherence to traditional norms concerning divorce, abortion, suicide, single parenthood, and homosexuality have been eroding – and continue to erode” The transition from traditional to modern societies can be seen as the transition at three levels. At the level of core societal project, the transition is from survival in a steady-state economy to a maximize economic growth society. At the individual value, the transition from traditional religious and communal norms to achievement motivation. At the level of authority

system, the transition is from traditional authority to rational-legal authority (Inglehart, 1997, pp. 72-76).

The secularization hypothesis, associated with the process of modernization, seems to be appropriated to several levels of analysis. The growing importance of rationality, individualism, bureaucracy, civilization is undeniable. On the other hand, the costs associated with this process are also stressed by the same authors of modernization. Marx deals with alienation, Weber talks about disenchantment and the iron cage, Durkheim defines anomie associated with the sacred sphere, Freud talks of discontent individuals, etc. These costs of civilization are linked to other processes of modernization that have been overlooked by the authors of modernization and secularization (Bocock, 1996). Thus, Rojek (1995) argues that the roots of order and rationalization associated with modernity, as well as its discontents, are part of a process named modernity 1. But he quotes Berman to say that the production of "an enveloping rational order of things is sheer folly" (Rojek, 1995, p. 79). Modern life is marked by constant change and not stable order of things. He calls modernity 2 a process associated with the popular experience, emphasizing phenomenology and experience. The emphasis on experience, characteristic of modernity 2, is associated with the disorder of things as opposed to the order of things observed in modernity 1 (Rojek, 1995).

With reference to the secularization and religiosity debate mentioned above, the distinction between the public and private spheres is an important aspect deserving some reasoning. Lesthaeghe sees secularization as a decline of religiosity in the public sphere, replaced by institutional secularization and increasing individualism at the private sphere. Simons' view about Luckmann on religiosity says that he stresses a change towards private religion instead of secularization. Simons' view emphasizes a change in religion towards civil religion at the societal level. Other authors see this rigid divide between the public and private sphere as problematic.

Thompson (1990) reviews the distinction between the public and private domains as developed in the last two centuries. The private domain includes private firms that are profit oriented and personal/ familial relations. The public domain includes state-owned organizations and other state institutions. A corollary of this division was the western idea that the public domain is visible or open while the private domain was invisible or private. Two lines of challenge to the public/ private duality deserve to be mentioned. Thompson (1990) mentions the development of mass communications, an aspect ignored by most of the literature on secularization. Mass media can publicize events taking place in both private and public domains, altering the reception of mediated events. Thus, the mass media dimension is overlooked in the secularization debate, in comparison with the emphasis given to religion and education.

In this first line of challenge, Rojek's (1995) view on Sennet also deals with the public/ private duality in two contrasting views on homelessness. The first view derives from the move from rootedness found in traditional societies to the uprootedness of modern societies. The privatization of society with the fall of the

public man is seen as a process leading to the withdrawal of social interaction. The second view is more positive, indicating that transport and communication systems increase the availability of life-worlds opening up new public spaces.

The second aspect mentioned by Thompson (1990) has to do with the dominant ideology view associated with the "metanarrative" of modernization. Again, the media is an important aspect overlooked by the mainstream. He argues that the grand narrative of modernization, focusing on the processes of secularization and rationalization, overlooked the "mediation" of modern culture. The preoccupation with secularization and rationalization reduced the analysis of the development of institutions associated with the mass production and distribution of symbolic goods.

Another line of criticism to the dominant ideology view is based on Foucault, as mentioned by another Thompson (1996). The notion of a single dominant ideology (meaning system) is questioned, to the extent that macro discourses were associated with power at the individual level, therefore blurring the public/ private spheres distinction. Foucault saw integration in society only through power, mediated by the dominant discourses of the period, as it was exemplified by Foucault's works on discourses and discursive practices on sex and confessions (Thompson, 1996, pp 407-409). Following Rojek's review of Foucault, his sociology deals with the organization of subjects. Three types of power organize the subjects: institutional power (ethnic, social, and religious forms of domination), economic power (class system), and subjective power (personal struggles against subjectivity and submission). All three forms of struggle are prevalent in contemporary societies, but subjective power is replacing more and more the two previous forms (Rojek, 1995, pp. 59-60). The issue of personal identity is associated with this point, as it will be mentioned below.

The discussions above entail partial conclusions. The discussion started with the debate about secularization and individuation as applied by the demographic literature on the role of values. Integrating this debate with broader sociological views on secularization, it was found that the issues discussed were located within the limits of a process named in this review as modernity 1. The role of culture, value, and ideational change were discussed within a special focus, that of the religion and education. Now, new points not incorporated in the previous analysis should be mentioned.

Although the previous emphasis is seen as necessary to the analysis on value and demographic behavior, it misses points associated with the impact of modernity and culture on individual behavior. The first point overlooked was the role of the mass media. Media is often mentioned by the traditional modernization literature, along with education, urbanization, industrialization, religiosity, etc. However, the incorporation of this variable in the literature missed a central point: the role of the media in the dislocation of traditional dualities such as public/private, micro/macro, etc. Along with the institutional development of the media in western societies, there is the development of a consumer culture also somewhat ignored by the secularization and modernization literature.

An exception on this point is Caldwell's (1976) reasoning about the impact of "westernization" on family emotional nucleation. Caldwell stressed the role of the mass media diffusing a different ethnocentric western culture. The roles of consumption and material culture are not mentioned by Caldwell. The argument about the operation of the mass media effect is not fully developed, but it is clearly a pioneer reference regarding the impact of mass media on demographic behavior.

Two important interrelated aspects are associated with the media and consumer culture: the production of symbolic goods and the phenomenology of modernity 2 mentioned above. The latter point has obvious implications to the important notion of self-identity, which is a different way to see the individuation debate in demography.

Next, in the context of these new aspects, the following topics will be discussed:

- The importance of symbolism and cultural consumption, linking it with the former discussion on religion.
- Romantic love and the role of the "romantic ethic" to the development of hedonism, imagination and infinity of wanting.
- Consuming the romantic utopia.
- Spectacle, narcissism, and self-identity in the discussion of individualism.
- Values and lifestyles in modern consumption societies.
- Concluding remarks about changes in tastes and ideational change.

Symbolism

Douglas and Isherwood (1996) highlight the symbolic aspect of consumption. They deal with the grid/ group concepts. The modernization process is associated with a transition from strong to weak grid, as well as a transition from group (typical of the traditional societies) to individualistic environment. The analysis of emulation in consumer behavior can be seen in terms of this process. As the insulation of group declines with the weak grid, there is an incentive to emulate the behavior of others. This is the typical view developed by Veblen (1899/1979) with his notion of conspicuous consumption, or by Simmel with the "trickle-down" model applied to fashion, or by all sorts of diffusion models discussed by demographers. Douglas and Isherwood disagree with the emulation hypothesis. They stress another hypothesis stating that consumption is a mode of communication. The consumption of goods is necessary to bring stability and visibility to the categories of culture. Goods are markers of social relations. Goods are sources of social identity. Goods carry social meanings. The ownership of goods give concrete sense to beliefs and values that are dealt in ideational terms. Rituals are important to give meanings to goods in a system of symbolic exchange. Goods are accessories to these rituals. Individuals develop strategies not only to control and to access goods, but also to control the meanings of these goods. The symbolic meaning of goods is characteristic of societies with different levels of development, from tribal to modern societies. Douglas and Isherwood were mentioned here

because they provide a good example on how consumer societies can carry meaning systems associated with changes in values. This aspect has been previously neglected by the secularization debate.

The discussion about symbolism and culture has another dimension, associated with symbolism and "mediation". This is somehow related with the societal level discussion on civil religion, advanced by Simons in the first part of the review. The connection of this debate with Durkheim is obvious. Instead of the patriotism and nationalism highlighted by Simons, an "imagined community" is proposed by Benedict Anderson (1983), quoted by Thompson (1996). The issues of nation-state versus tradition at the local level were typical of the classical modernization/secularization hypothesis or Rojek's modernity 1. While it is possible that nationalism and patriotism may play a civil religion role in the way suggested by Simons, the globalization process (including "mediation") reinforces the diffusion of similar values and lifestyles across different state-nations. In this respect, the sense of community associated with globalization becomes an "imagined community". Discussing Anderson's "imagined community" thesis, another author argues that the nationality and nation-ness are cultural artefacts. It is impossible for the members of a small nation to know all fellow-members, so that they are left with an image of their community. The kind of nation representation developed by Anderson is associated with the emergency of two cultural forms: the novel and the newspaper (Storey, 1999, p. 137). Thus, instead of a common culture comprised by the universal values of the secularization view, one would find "a common *ethie*, that is, a common set of symbols, myths, memories, events, cults figures, landscapes and traditions which penetrate popular consciousness. People living in Tokyo or Toronto, Melbourne or Manchester may be perfectly au fait with this common *ethie* without necessarily reading it or using it in uniform ways" (Rojek, 1995, p. 94). This common *ethie* mentioned by Rojek resembles, but it is not, Simons' civil religion. It is definitively associated with a type of consumer culture that operates similarly in different places. A major difference from Simons' view is in its behavioral demographic implication. The lifestyles are probably more correlated with low fertility as well as the decline of traditional family values.

Both points reviewed above -- namely, the reference to the symbolic aspect of consumption proposed by Douglas and Isherwood and the "imagined community" suggested by Anderson -- are related with the model of displaced meaning. Displaced meaning is a cultural meaning deliberately removed from the every day life of a community and relocated in a distant cultural domain (Storey, 1999, p. 141). Storey mentioned displaced meaning reviewing McCracken (1990), who primarily developed the concept. Traditional studies on ideals and values do not treat the displacement of meanings. Traditional anthropological studies deal with the role of totems (inanimate objects) to recover/ represent cultural meanings. McCracken argues that culture must deal with the gap between the real and the ideal. A community must displace the ideals from reality into another universe in order to keep it out of damage. The "imagined community" is the "golden age tradition" or the "other world". At the micro level, individuals also develop a

strategy to displace meaning, in order to keep the ideals away from the here and now of reality. Like nations, individuals often rely on a golden past to displace meaning. Goods may serve as bridge between the real and the ideal in the individual strategy of displaced meaning. When the individuals do not possess a good, goods serve as a bridge between the real and the ideal represented by that good. This object relation can be past or future oriented, in the former case, an object may represent a happier past. Good ownership is not a barrier to displaced meaning, although this concept is better represented by goods beyond the reach of an individual's budget constraint (McCracken, 1990, pp. 104-117).

In summary, the discussion about macro and micro level applications of the displaced meaning hypothesis is a critique to the traditional value orientation approach to the secularization and modernization models. At the macro level, the traditional model does not emphasize the role of the media in the creation of a distant ideal. At the micro level, it ignores the symbolic role of consumer goods and the importance of consumerism in the cultural development of modern societies.

Romantic Love, The Romantic Ethic, Hedonism, and Imagination

Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (1988) mentioned Macfarlane to suggest that individualism may have preceded capitalism and Protestantism by a few centuries, romantic love and marriage were aspects associated with this rise of individualism. In other words, instances of individualism may have preceded secularization. Macfarlane (1987) discussed the relationship between love and capitalism. Romantic love endangers the traditional order of peasant society to the extent that individuals' desires contradict group control. He contradicts the hypothesis that this rupture was associated with the development of industrial capitalism in the eighteenth century. He argues that romantic love was diffused in England well before the fifteenth century. Discussing romantic love, Macfarlane (1986) mentions Caldwell to indicate that romantic love is part of an emotional process favoring fertility control. Thus, the rise of individualism associated with romantic love is associated with the emotional nucleation highlighted by Caldwell in his formulation of the "westernization" hypothesis.

Giddens (1992) also discusses the importance of romantic love in another context. He goes along with the view that romantic love only became important with the rise of capitalism in the late eighteenth century. The idea of the self and the other making individual decisions was a new one to society. The romantic love has clear gender implications. Romantic love affected the notion of home and altered the relations between parents and children. It was feminized confining women to the private space (home), although contradictorily asserting her autonomy. In this first phase, the association of love with marriage and motherhood reinforced the idea that marriage was unique and forever, keeping romanticism confined to the feminine realm. He argues that romantic love was developed and partially dissolved by women. Its fragmentation was the result of a pressure for female sexual emancipation and autonomy. The contradiction between the egalitarian

view behind romantic love and the skewed gender difference led the upsurge of what Giddens called “confluent love”. Confluent love is more egalitarian in terms of gender relations, more compatible with the notion of reciprocal sexual pleasure, and less compromised with the idea that marriages last forever – thus, compatible with rising trends in divorce and other types of living arrangements (Giddens, 1992, chapters 3 and 4).

Campbell (1987) tried to explain the consumption revolution that accompanied the industrial revolution in England. He argues that the English eighteenth century was marked by a cluster of cultural aspects associated with the consumption revolution: the growth in leisure activities (theater and horse races, for example), the new habits of reading romantic (and gothic) novels, the growing prevalence of romantic love as the basis for marriage, and the creation of a fashion system. According to Campbell, it is almost paradoxical that the consumption revolution takes place within the middle class, precisely the segment with stronger puritan tradition. The puritan values are clearly in opposition to luxury and indulgence, with its emphasis on asceticism. He argues that religion is an important sphere in culture, having to deal with emotions. Protestantism and the puritan ethic were very important to the control of emotions. Protestantism was associated with individualism while Catholicism was group related. The puritan ethic has to do with the control of emotions. This control of emotions was very important to explain modern hedonism, an important component of the consumption revolution.

According to Campbell (1987), the romantic ethic was crucial for the understanding of the modern culture of consumption. The romantics believed in the role of experience and the importance of feelings. The romantic novels demanded imagination, the exercise of imagination through fantasy was a major characteristic of the readers of these novels. Reality would not limit the mental images generated by imagination. Traditional hedonism was associated with sensations, searching pleasure in practices such as eating, drinking, dancing, etc. Modern hedonism was associated with emotions, with the search of pleasures in experiences. Contrary to traditional, modern hedonism has to do with self-control of emotions and self-discipline. There is a shift from controlling the objects to controlling the meaning of the objects. Some of the self-control abilities were developed within the puritan ethic, that emphasized the control of emotions. Before the enlightenment individuals placed emotions in the outside world – nature and the sacred. The loss of the sacred brought by modernity shifted the realm of emotions from the outside world to the individual level. This disenchantment with the outside world led to a relocation of emotions in the inner world (self or individual level).

Campbell explains this ethic of consumption through modern hedonism in order to understand consumers’ desire for novelty and infinity of wants (insatiability). His model draws on the notion of “day dreaming”, which is the anticipation of pleasure before its consummation. Imagination and fantasy lead to day dreaming, the longing for an object of desire gives pleasure. The consummation of the desired object through actual consumption generates a disillusionment with consumption.

This generates a cycle with infinity of wanting and ever search for novelty. Thus, Campbell creates an alternative explanation for consumerism that lies outside the realm of emulation (Veblen, Simmel, diffusion theories, among others) or that of capitalist manipulation with the creation of "false needs" through advertising (Frankfurt School, among others). The important point here is not to discuss whether Campbell scores better than the other theories, but to indicate that Campbell presents an ideational theory associated with the development of consumption, the values associated with this modern hedonism are compatible with an individuation process along the lines suggested by Lesthaeghe.

Campbell did not combine media development and hedonism. The importance of melodrama in the media helps the formulation of a new hypothesis. Nowadays the romanticism characteristic of soap operas or telenovelas diffuses modern hedonism in traditional societies of developing countries. The aired telenovelas play a role similar to the one of the romantic novels in England -- developing hedonism and individualism. Thus, while the level of literacy in England was compatible with the diffusion of book novels in the English eighteenth century, low levels of literacy characterize some contemporary traditional societies that are receiving romantic messages from televised media rather than books. The connection between this mediated romanticism and consumerism will be discussed below.

- Consuming the Romantic Utopia

Illouz (1997) studies romanticism in the historical context of American consumer culture throughout the twentieth century. Capitalism is expanding. It incorporates all social groups to the market in a process connected with the mass media. Romantic love is extremely important in the culture of capitalism. She argues that love has a utopian dimension similar to the experience of the sacred. Illouz argues that romantic love plays the Durkheimian displacement effect of the sacred in secular societies, in ways that are similar to the ones previously discussed in other contexts.

She tries to connect the intersection between romance and the market, controlling for class. This intersection has to do with "commodification" of romance and "romanticization" of commodities. The eighteenth century ideal of marriage stressed friendship instead of the unstable feelings of passion, the notion that love lasts forever was predominant. The new romantic ideal stressed intensity and the pursuit of leisure. The Victorian narratives of love stressed a introspected family life while the new romantic ideal stressed outward orientation towards leisure. Thus, the "romantic utopia" became the new ideal in the beginning of the twentieth century. "A utopia is a realm of the imagination within which social conflicts are symbolically resolved or erased through the promise and the vision of ultimate harmony, in both political and interpersonal relationships. A utopia utilizes powerful emotional symbols, metaphors, and stories that infuse both the group and the individual imagination; it has binding power in that it orients individual and

collective action" (Illouz, 1997, p. 48). Illouz argues that this utopia mixed "love for everyone" with "consumption for all".

If Campbell's modern hedonism was the main ideational aspect of modern consumerism, Illouz's "romantic utopia" is the commodification of romance. The demand for the new goods associated with leisure and entertainment were interlinked with romance. The contradiction between modernity 1 and modernity 2 discussed by Rojek at the macro level is similar to a contradiction that Illouz finds at the family level. She finds the contradiction between the "protestant work ethic at the production side" and the "hedonist ethic at the consumption side". She relates this contradiction with a cultural one, operating at the macro level and mentioned by Daniel Bell. The Victorian family was dominated by a sort of production orientation, while the romantic narrative associated with the mass media and consumption culture of the twentieth century was dominated by a leisure orientation. After World War II, a middle class type of culture brought up a new aspect to family and marriage, less romantic, somewhat associated with what Giddens named "confluent love". She argues that this new contradiction has to do with Bourdieu's cultural capital. This is a concept that will be developed below.

Illouz does not take a negative view on the role of money and commodities. They are not viewed as undermining modern romantic love, as one would expect from the critical theory or Frankfurt school. On the contrary, she argues that consumerism provides meaning and pleasures to romanticism. Romance can be regarded as a secular behavior. Previously, we have seen authors suggesting aspects removed from daily life to revive religion. Illouz will rely on Durkheim to ask whether the profane and the sacred can be applied to the analysis of romance. The basic point is to search for everyday (profane) and ritual aspects (sacred) in the romance. She argues that romance is fully experienced when ritual meanings are incorporated. Four symbolic boundaries to ritual meanings are mentioned: temporal, spatial, artifactual, and emotional (Illouz, 1997, p.113).

Temporal boundaries derives from the ideal that romantic times are leisure oriented, the experience is like a celebration (wedding, anniversary, Valentine's Day, etc). Spatial boundaries indicate that the ritual component of romance is private, but the public space is privileged for this special moment. Artifactual boundaries stress ritual objects such as elegant clothes, expensive meals, jewelry, etc. Emotional boundaries indicate that romantic feeling has to be special. Going out for a dinner is a typical cliché associated with the modern romantic ritual. Luxury goods are part of the construction of romantic ideals and important for the seduction games. Travel is very important for the ritual of a very special romantic moment. This ritual aspect associated with the romantic utopia in a "romance-ritual-consumption" connection brings the role of affluence and inequality to reach the goals, which ends up favoring a process of distinction (Illouz, 1997, p.151).

Another dimension stressed by Illouz cross all social classes and economic segments: the experience of liminality. This experience happens when one separates from the environment through symbolic behavior. The spontaneity and

sense of freedom of liminal experience is completely non-institutionalized. She mentions that “the transgression of social constraints, the release of an authentic self, and the lovers’ fusion in an organic bond, the experience of liminality provides a temporary access to the egalitarian utopia most often associated with pastoral and wilderness” (Illouz, 1997, p.151). Liminality enables partners to access the romantic utopia. Everyday life problems, class divisions, economic hardships, and gender divisions are eliminated under this experience.

The role of the media in this process is associated with the notions of love. Illouz points that television and film replaced the novels in western culture. They affect fantasies and daydream in the representation of love. Her interviews in the American case show that the “Hollywoodian” narrative structure is the same used by interviewees to describe their romantic stories. Asked to recount their most memorable love story, interviewees stressed more non-institutionalized moments associated with the fantasy-base than realistic experiences associated with daily life. Thus, the romantic narrative stemming from the media reinforces the liminality of love. The autobiography of the interviewees show an aesthetic experience associated with the signs provided by the media. The romantic narratives portrayed by the media play against daily experience, the former is not seen as realistic while the latter is considered authentic. Illouz argues that everyday life can not be taken as an antidote to the romantic utopia, because the latter is associated with the sphere of consumption, while the latter with the sphere of production – along Daniel Bell’s hypothesis about a major contradiction in the culture of capitalism. She argues that this division is part of a single cultural practice: romantic love. A more instrumental and utilitarian view of a romantic relationship has not disappeared, self-criticism and control are promoted in the realm of the new type relationship also stressed by Giddens in his “confluent love”.

A major conclusion advanced by Illouz is associated with the bonds of social classes and the romantic utopia. Although the romantic ideals affect all segments of the population, both the consumerism of the romantic utopia and the more utilitarian view associated with Giddens’ “confluent love” or a therapeutic ethos will benefit the middle class. The middle class will have economic affluence and cultural capital (education) to benefit more effectively of these trends. This study will analyze the case of a population mostly deprived of income and education, where both the televised media and romanticism might play a major role.

- Spectacle, Narcissism, Self-identity, and Individualism

Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) discuss diffused audience by arguing that in contemporary society everyone becomes an audience all the time. Individuals in the households spend a lot of time consuming the mass media both at home and at the public sphere. The mass media become constitutive of everyday life. A major feature of this diffused audience is the idea that the world is treated as a spectacle to be attended. The landscape and tourism are basic references of the world as spectacle in several periods. The commodification of society creates the basis for the generalization of the spectacle society in modern times. Modern

society is a consumer society surrounded by commodities. The gaze becomes a major characteristic of this society. The consumption society evolves first from being to having, a second evolution is from having to appearing. The spectacle is associated with the aestheticization of everyday life, which will be associated with the growing importance of style.

The other side of the spectacle society is the narcissistic society. A major tenet of narcissism is that people behave as if they are the center of all attentions. The basic reference on narcissism is the work of Lash (1979). Rojek (1995) sees it as a state of "self-absorption". Narcissism favors immediate gratification. The individuals regard the outside world as extension of their self – private fancies and fantasies. The spectacle of the consumer society provides the mean for the diffusion of narcissism. Preoccupations with beauty, the body, and fashion become generalized. Narcissism and performance are linked by the importance of appearance and style (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998). Narcissism is not to be confused with self-love, leading to social passivity. It is associated with a society that emphasizes impression management and appearance (Rojek, 1995). Modern narcissism is not passive because the notion of the self is associated with the others. Narcissism is clearly associated with individualism. It can be found in different types of societies, but it flourishes with secularism and capitalism. Secularism and capitalism help the erosion of the belief in the external experience of the self (Abercrombie and Longhurst, 1998).

The issue of identity is important in modern societies, contrasting with traditional societies when individuals had defined roles. Defined roles contributed to the traditional view that individuals had fixed identities. Hall (1996) reviewed three conceptions of the human subject or identity. His review is rather sketchy and simplistic, but it gives an idea on how the notion of individualism developed in human sciences. The first moment is associated with the rise of individualism in modern age (the enlightenment subject). This moment is the birth of sovereign individuals. In this moment the individual brings two meanings: the subject is an unified entity (indivisible) and it is a singular (unique) entity. This first conception is associated with the works of Descartes (the duality between matter and mind), Locke, Hobbes, among others. The second moment is marked by the rise of a social conception of the subject (the sociological subject). This moment marks the location of the individuals in the context of the great support structures and institutions of society. The rise of the new social sciences occurs during this moment – modern economics keeps the idea of sovereign individual with the duality between needs and objective structure, psychology becomes specialized in the analysis of mental processes, and sociology criticizes the rational individualism with the duality between the outside and the inside. The sociological tradition deals with the internalization of the outside (subjectivity affected by group memberships) and the externalization of the inside (social action and participation). Interactive sociological models of the self are developed in this context. The third moment is marked by the de-centering of the subject in late-modernity. Hall reviews five processes that according to him will contribute to the final de-centering of the Cartesian subject. He mentions the role of Althusserian Marxism dislocating

human agency. The contribution of Freud and Lacan with the emphasis on the unconscious contributing to the contradictory origin of identity and the development of symbolic representation. The contribution of linguistics in the work of Saussure will stress identity structured as language. Under this view the meaning system is not closed, there is always a different meaning being developed. Foucault's genealogy of the modern subject is the fourth process mentioned. The main issue for Foucault is disciplinary power, the institutions at the macro level develop regulating mechanisms that are applied to individuals that become more isolated. The fifth process is the impact of feminism. Feminists questioned two major dualities: inside/outside and public/private. They also questioned the idea that as subjects, man and women should have the same identity. The fragmentation of identity on this third moment favor a new moment to deal with individualism.

This third moment of de-centered identity is somewhat related with post-modernism. A major tenet is that personal identity is becoming fragmented, not-fixed, and developed by individuals' practices and discourses. Giddens (1991) understands self-identity as a reflexive process of one's biography. Foucault criticizes the idea that individuals have an inner essence. Identity is a way to talk about the self via discourse. Individual power is important, but power has to be exercised by a technique. Technologies of the self are ways that people present themselves in society, using different techniques by discourses. Butler (1990) also questions the notion of an unified identity. This argument criticizes feminism with the notion that identity is constructed by performance. The question is then to choose the type of performance, a complete non-essentialist view of identity. Although recognizing the advances associated with this third moment of identity, this review will focus identity with a more sociological approach, associating this notion with values and lifestyles.

- Values and lifestyles

There are several ways to deal with lifestyles, from a more sociological perspective to value oriented approach. It is also possible to deal with the categories developed by the marketing literature. Miegel (1994) reviews lifestyles, linking it with identity and values. A review that helps to clarify important concepts. He argues that three levels are important to study lifestyles: structural, positional, and individual. At the structural level one studies different "forms of life" associated with different societal configurations. The structural level is aimed to study different societies or different historical periods in which forms of societies and cultures are compared. At the positional level one studies the life aspects relevant to broad categories (social class, status groups, and groups) in the social stratification sphere. At the individual level one studies the ways that individuals express their personalities and identities. The lifestyles are ways that individuals articulate their own identity within a structural and positional context.

Sociological studies on lifestyles traditionally stressed the positional level. This tradition goes back to Weber with the analysis of status groups. Simmel and Veblen also work in this tradition. Consumption is the expression of social

hierarchy in this sociological tradition. Bourdieu (1984) is the best representative of the contemporary positional view on lifestyles. The mechanisms of socialization are responsible for consumption behavior when class cultures are homogeneous. Bourdieu's "habitus" is a system of dispositions that organizes individual action linking the individual's socioeconomic position with the universe of lifestyles. Habitus is acquired by the mechanisms of specific family and group socialization. Positional consumption is associated with a process marked by the decline of functional use of goods as opposed to the rising of expressive use. Social classes have different resources (symbolic, economic, and political). Taste is key to the organization of the symbolic resources of social classes. Bourdieu defines social field as the place where social groups affirm their superiority in terms of tastes and lifestyles. The distinction between social classes in the social field is marked by differences in lifestyles. The class or group differences in lifestyles are measured by the proper consumption, determined by the stocks of economic and cultural capital. Economic and cultural capitals determine both the economic discretion and the aesthetic judgment necessary for class distinction. Education is a major determinant of cultural capital, which is associated with the Kantian aesthetic. The dual distinction between high and low culture (high brow and low brow) is differentiated with the mediated mass society, where cultural intermediaries develop a middle brow culture. The consumption culture widespread by the media is more a middle and low brow type of culture.

Some critics argue that Bourdieu gives little room to the role of individual choice in consumption. This line of criticism considers that individual conditions are becoming more important in contemporary societies. Miegel argues that identity is made of three components equally important: personal, societal, and cultural. Personal identity is associated with the individuation process. Individuals live and think autonomously with respect to the groups. It consists of experiences, thoughts, dreams, desires, etc. Social identity is linked to socialization in a similar way to Bourdieu's habitus described above. Cultural identity is associated with individuals' ability to express their uniqueness within the group and their group characteristics in comparison to other groups. Identity interacts with values to fulfill several psychological functions to the individuals: the function of cultivating the personal self with respect to the others, the function of being part of a society or a culture, the function of integrating the desire of distinction and the desire to belong (Miegel, 1994).

Warde (1997) also compares Bourdieu's social view on consumption with other contemporary views. The later advocates that consumption is the area for individuality. They argue that the penalties for individual behavior in the area of consumption are small compared to the other spheres of life. They see the consumption of goods as a central component of self-identity. Warde thinks that both views are extreme. Social groups still play a regulation role while individuals are already dislocated from collective control.

The value dimension is very important to the study of lifestyles. Alternative formulations on values are widely used by the marketing literature on consumer

behavior. The famous VALS (values and lifestyles) marketing typology relies on a combination of the Maslowian hierarchy of needs with the inner and outer directed value orientation. Miegel (1994) indicates that lifestyle can be studied at three different levels: value, attitude, and action. Four different values are distinguished at the value level: material, aesthetic, ethical, and metaphysical. The two former values are outer-directed while the two latter are inner-directed. The values are associated with specific types of attitude and of action. The material value is associated with interests at the attitude level and actions of interest. The aesthetic values are associated with tastes at the attitude level and style at the action level. The ethical values are associated with principles at the attitude level and moral behavior at the action level. The metaphysical values are associated with convictions at the attitude level and actions of conviction. This framework indicates how values are associated with lifestyles. The lifestyle analysis combines structure, positional, and individual levels with the different levels described above. All types of values have to be related in the discussion of identity and lifestyles. In contemporary societies all types of values are combined with consumer goods and the mass media.

- Concluding Remarks: Changes in Tastes and Ideational Change

Inglehart (1997) deals with the change from materialist to post-materialist values in advanced societies. The value change is measured by a movement from material values associated with scarcity and safety needs to post-material values associated with self-expression and quality of life. Two hypotheses are advanced for this change: the scarcity and the socialization hypotheses. The scarcity hypothesis derives from Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Only after scarcity is replaced by affluence that physiological needs are replaced by non-material values such as self-esteem, self-fulfillment, and aesthetic satisfaction. In this hypothesis ideational change derives from economic development towards affluence. The socialization hypothesis advocates that changes in value present lags because socialization acts during childhood and adolescence, but they only mature during adulthood.

Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (1988) also discuss the importance of Maslow's hierarchy of needs to understand changes in preferences. Although the argument favoring affluence is a compelling one, other authors dispute the idea that income changes are a necessary condition for changes in tastes from materialism to post-materialism. Douglas and Ney (1998) call this a "bread and belly" hypothesis. They argue against the idea that the poor are too pressed by the material needs to have higher needs. They use anthropological evidence to say that one can find affluence and higher needs without the benefit of technology, many of people studied are poor but have interests in art and metaphysical speculation. They argue in favor of the idea that consumption is a communication mechanism, consumption is for other people.

Lesthaeghe and Surkyn's discussion about the "embourgeoisement theory" entail two possibilities for changes in tastes: the "trickle-down" diffusion and the social

stratification. The diffusion from higher to lower social classes or groups is a mechanism associated with social emulation that has been used in the context of fashion (Simmel), consumption (Veblen), and demographic or fertility behavior. The social stratification hypothesis will not lead to cultural mobility in a closed system, but once social mobility is entailed then downward cultural mobility occurs. The diffusion theories depend on the idea of interpersonal comparison and are criticized by the literature on two points. First, some theorists argue that this type of diffusion can also be of a “bottom-up” nature, rather than a “trickle-down”. Second, changes in taste may be caused by a broader cultural process, such as the one presented by Campbell in the case of modern hedonism. Finally, in the sphere of interpersonal comparison, the logic of imitation has to be contrasted with the logic of distinction.

The discussions about Maslow’s hierarchy of needs and the social stratification/diffusion of tastes are ambiguous. The arguments are plausible and consistent with some empirical realities. On the other hand, the criticisms previously mentioned are well taken and should not be discarded. It is possible to conclude that although affluence (income dynamics), social mobility, and intergenerational differences in socialization may account for changes in tastes, these are by no means the only mechanisms for cultural changes. The study of lifestyles and changes in taste have to incorporate the culture of consumption and the mass media. In this context, it is possible to derive a non-linear dynamics of changes in taste. Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (1998) themselves acknowledge that the history of individuation may not be linear, there may be periods of collective normative assertion and others of individual freedom.

Relying on the Durkheim, Warde (1997) presents an interesting framework for the dynamics of tastes in the realm of consumption. He points two trends associated with the declining importance of social class in late modern societies: individualization and informalization. These two trends may be countervailed in specific settings. He develops a two axis analysis similar to the one presented by Simons (1986) and analogous to Durkheim’s analysis of suicide. He points individualization (low group regulation) versus “communalization” (high group regulation) on the vertical axis, and stylization (high regulation) versus informalization (low regulation) on the horizontal axis. Complete individual diversity is reached when there is a combination of individualization with informalization. This is the context of complete individualism characteristic of post-modern risk societies. Market segmentation in different lifestyles is reached when there is a combination of individualization with stylization. This is compatible with the decline of mass consumption society and chosen group identities associated with the so called “neo-tribes”. Mass market is reached when there is a combination of “communalization” with informalization. The homogeneous mass society characterized by this context is the so called “Fordist” society associated with homogenization of tastes. The Frankfurt school criticism of the so called low culture is associated with this context. Finally, the structural division society is reached when there is a combination of “communalization” with stylization. This is the context of societies with strong class divide, where Bourdieu’s habitus operates

strongly. This is also the context when local, regional, or national identities are recreated. Thus, in consumption societies, when individualization is privileged in comparison to secularization, the possibilities of identities and lifestyles are much diverse depending on the historical context of a specific society.

Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (1995) performed a demographic analysis of family formation, sex preferences, attitudes towards gender relations, and religious dimensions. The analysis was applied to Turkish and Moroccan women in Belgium. The approach did not assume a synchronized way to capture changes in the private and public domains of life. The analysis points to a completion of fertility transition without secularization. They captured a pattern of “heteropraxis” captured by a balance between new aspirations and older rules. Heteropraxis is marked by different speeds of change in several dimensions of life. Dealing with cultural identity, Hall (1996) talks of a similar aspect: hybridity. He states that cultures of hybridity are novel types of identity produced in late-modernity. These hybrid cultures can be exemplified by migrants that have links with their places of origin, but that have no illusions of returning to the past. They have to translate and negotiate two cultures and languages. Hybridity and syncretism (the analogous of hybridity at the religious realm) are powerful forces that are found not only in migrant communities living in late-modern societies, but also in former colonized nation states spread everywhere in the developing world.

This conceptual analysis suggests that the analysis of secularization and individuation will benefit from the incorporation of two other dimensions: consumerism and the mass media. These two dimensions are totally related with romantic love. The analysis of secularization benefits because new spheres of sacred are taken into consideration. The individuation process is seen on concrete links with family life and consumption. The role of consumption, media, and romantic love on an individual’s life will bear implications on gender constructions, attitudes with respect to aesthetics, sexual behavior, family, fertility, etc. Although a cross-section survey of individuals can hardly prove these connections, the clustering of these dimensions may indicate that they are interconnected.

Methodological Aspects

The main technique applied in this paper is “grade of membership” (GoM). This technique is a multivariate pattern recognition procedure that make assignments to partition that are fuzzy. The technique is alternative to cluster and latent class models. A nice feature of GoM is that it provides pure profiles of the variables, these profiles can interpreted as ideal types. Another important feature of GoM is that individuals’ membership to any sort of partition (ideal type) are fuzzy, that is to say, unlike cluster analysis, individuals do not fully belong to a cluster group or latent class, they have grades of memberships to these groups. Fuzziness is a property to be compared with crispness, the latter is characteristic of cluster and latent class models. A classical reference on this methodology is Manton, Woodbury, and Tolley (1994). Berckman, Singer, and Manton (1989) provide a good demographic application of the methodology.

If n individuals "i" have "j" categorical variables, and each variable takes variables from 1 to L, then X_{ij} will be the response variable of the i th individual to the j th categorical variable.

If $X_{ij} = l$, then

$$Y_{ijl} = 1$$

Otherwise,

$$Y_{ijl} = 0$$

The probability of a l response for j th categorical variable and i th individual is:

$$\Pr(Y_{ijl}=1) = p_{ijl}$$

Given that,

$$p_{ijl} = \sum_{k=1}^K g_{ik} \lambda_{kjl}, \quad \sum_{k=1}^K g_{ik} = 1, \quad \sum_{l=1}^{L_j} \lambda_{kjl} = 1$$

p_{ijl} is defined as the grade to which the i th individual belongs to the k th group (g_{ik}) times the probability that an individual entirely belonging to the k th group will give response l to question j . (λ_{kjl}). The set of vectors λ_{kj} is the pure type profile for pure type k . K is the number of groups needed to explain the heterogeneity in the data. The set of vectors g_{ik} is the grade of membership.

The likelihood function of the GoM technique is

$$L = \prod_{i=1}^N \prod_{j=1}^J \prod_{l=1}^{L_j} \left(\sum_{k=1}^K g_{ik} \lambda_{kjl} \right)^{Y_{ijl}}$$

The logarithm of the likelihood function below is maximized in order to obtain the estimations:

$$\ln L = \sum_{i=1}^N \sum_{j=1}^J \sum_{l=1}^{L_j} Y_{ijl} \ln \left(\sum_{k=1}^K g_{ik} \lambda_{kjl} \right)$$

Subjected to the following constraints:

$$\sum_{k=1}^K g_{ik} = 1$$

$$\sum_{l=1}^{L_l} \lambda_{kjl} = 1$$

Once the estimations are obtained, two types of analysis are generally performed. The first step is the analysis of the pure type profiles. The pure type profiles are the characteristics of all j categorical variables and l options (λ_{kjl}) that are typical of an individual that is one hundred percent type k ($g_{ik} = 1$). The more important characteristics of that pure profile k are the ones where the ratio between the lambda and the marginal probability of that option is high. A second step is the analysis of the estimated grade of membership (g_{ik}) of all individuals. The basic idea there is to build a grouping of individuals comprised by combinations of the pure profiles and based on the individuals' grades of membership to all pure profiles.

The Three Sites

The surveys were conducted in three sites: the city of Montes Claros, in the state of Minas Gerais; a *favela* (shanty town) in the city of São Paulo; and a rural village in the state of Rio Grande do Norte. The idea was to contrast three different settings: a mid-sized city not very close to or directly influenced by a metropolitan area of Brazil (Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais in the case of Montes Claros), a large metropolitan area (Vila Feliz in the city of São Paulo), and a small community (Macambira) in the Northeast -- the poorest region of the country. The enclosed map indicates the location of the sites.

Montes Claros, the most important city in northern Minas Gerais, is 260 miles North of Belo Horizonte, the state capital. It had 250 thousand inhabitants in 1991 and its economy is based on cement and biomedical industries, as well as cattle grazing, sugarcane, and commercial forestry for industrial fuel. It plays an important role as a regional commercial and medical center, yet it has relatively low socioeconomic status vis-à-vis other cities of the same size in the state and has a large proportion of its population in poverty. Vila Feliz¹, the second largest *favela* in the city of São Paulo with an estimated population of about 33 thousand inhabitants, was selected on the basis that its poor live side by side with the rich. Vila Feliz is surrounded by a very upscale neighborhood where the upper-middle class lives in mansions and highly guarded skyscraper condominiums with a view of the *favela*. The two worlds are separated by an avenue, and meet when the *favela* inhabitants "cross the border" to work in the rich neighborhood as security guards, nannies, cooks, cleaning ladies, chauffers, gardeners, and other domestic jobs. Macambira² is a village of two thousand inhabitants (in 1991) located in *the sertão do Seridó*, an arid region 190 miles West of Natal, the state capital, and 16

¹ Following the anthropological tradition to assure that participants will not be identified, the real name of the *favela* will be omitted.

² Once again, because of confidentiality problems, the real name of the village will not be used.

miles from Caicó, the fifth largest city of the state with approximately 50 thousand inhabitants. The main streets of Macambira are paved and the city owns a bus that goes to Caicó three times a day during the week.

The survey was conducted between January and March, 1997. The respondents included males 20-59 years of age and females 20-49 years-old in 866 households in Montes Claros, 295 in Vila Feliz, and 200 in Macambira. In the case of Montes Claros and Vila Feliz, a probability proportional to sampling size strategy was applied weighting by the households located in the census tracks. The sample in Macambira includes roughly one in every four households. In the three sites, females age 20 to 49 were interviewed in every household sampled, whereas males were included only in every fourth household.

Poverty is evident in the three sites. During the period of data collection, the Brazilian minimum wage was next to 100 dollars a month. The proportion of household heads earning less than three minimum wages per month corresponded to 51.2% in Montes Claros, 31.9% in Vila Feliz, and 78% in Macambira. The proportion of household heads that had less than four years of study completed corresponded to 32.3% in Montes Claros, 61% in Vila Feliz, and 57% in Macambira.

The Grouping of Variables for the GoM Analysis

The empirical analysis will focus on 970 women that are either spouse or household heads in the three sites. The variables included in the estimation were grouped into several conceptual sets. The **site of research** was comprised by variable local, distinguishing the three sets: Montes Claros, Vila Feliz, and Macambira. Several variables were included in the **socioeconomic** group. This group of variables try to capture the power of class, economic power, and cultural capital. The age group (agegr) captures the differences between three cohorts of women. The schooling variable (aest) indicates women's cultural capital, knowledge, power within family and other dimensions. The household's economic power is captured by its head income stratification (incstrat). The presence of a maid working as permanent employee (maid) within the household is an indicator of household status and economic power. Finally, female labor force participation captures woman's market ability.

The group of variables named **urban and housing infra-structure** captures aspects of housing quality. Households may have the same level of income and women the same level of schooling, but they may have different access to public services. The availability of piped water (pipedwat) and sewerage system (sewerage) at the household level are two variables associated with this aspect. The availability of bathroom at the household is an indicator of housing quality. At the level of private consumption a set of variables is named durable goods at the household. The set of **durable goods** captures the spread of consumption among the households sampled. The variables indicate the ownership of a set of goods, for instance, car, color tv, video recorder, washing machine, refrigerator, mixer, cd

disk player, satellite antenna, telephone. Two variables about the financial system (banking account and credit card) are added to this set because they are very important in a consumption society. Thus, the two group of variables treated in this paragraph deal with the consumption of urban services associated with citizenship and of private goods associated with the spread of consumption.

The group of variables entitled **media viewing habits** tries to capture the consumption of televised and print media. The variable age of TV initiation (ageftv) is intended to capture the role of TV in women's socialization and habit formation. It can be considered a measure of TV long run effect. The current pattern of TV viewing is captured by three variables: seven o'clock telenovela (seventel), eight o'clock telenovela (eightel), and prime time news (nnews). The telenovela variables are important due to the obvious popularity of this variable in Brazil. The news program captures the role of TV news in the spread of knowledge and information. Five variables capture reading ability and the consumption of print media in the sample. Women report if they read newspaper (newspap), magazine in general, weekly magazine (weekm), TV magazine (tvm), and woman magazine (wm). Two other variables deal with the importance of the eight o'clock telenovela: priority to watch the eight o'clock telenovela (eightpr) and the importance of eight o'clock telenovela as entertainment (enter08).

Reproduction is the title for five variables associated with women's reproductive behavior: children ever born (cbalive), knows correctly the period of menstrual cycle to get pregnant (cycle), woman had a gynecological exam (gyne), woman has ever used contraception (everuse), and the desired number of children (desired).

Religiosity captures the women's religious practice in the sample. The first variable indicates if the woman is catholic, the second captures the woman's church attendance, and the third variable captures if the woman reported going to church as her preferred leisure activity. The **value constructs for religiosity** dimension is captured by two scale variables: religiosity associated with sin and punishment (relig1), and religiosity associated with the importance of religion and pray (relig2).

The **value constructs for beauty** are comprised by two scale variables: acceptance of cosmetic surgery (beauty1), and recognition that beauty is essential (beauty2). Concern with appearance and personal care associated with beauty is a characteristic of consumer societies interacting with the mass media. It is suggested by the popular press that the Brazilian women are highly concerned with beauty standards.

The **value constructs for sexual behavior** are comprised by two scale variables: liberal position with respect to different types of sexual behavior (sex2), and positive view of sex using contraceptives, in other words, sex without reproductive concerns (sex4).

The **value constructs of adultery** include three scale variables: acceptance of adultery (adult1), acceptance of adultery only in thoughts or in a disguised form (adult3), and punitive thoughts about women that practice adultery (adult4). Adultery is an important theme in the telenovelas. It is also an indicator of concerns with normative behavior and group control.

The **value constructs of machismo** are three scale variables: high machismo with traditional women's submission to their husbands' (macho1), negative view about women's public display either smoking or drinking (macho4), and egalitarian view on women's role towards gender equality (macho7). Machismo constructs internalized by women are indicators of traditional values favoring gender inequality in the households.

The **value constructs for marriage** are two variables: critical view about marriage with acceptance of non traditional behavior such as cohabitation and abortion (marriag1), and traditional view on marriage and virginity (marriag2). These two variables capture traditional and modern behavior associated with the rise of individualism with respect to group control.

The **value constructs for children** are two variables: children seen as the most important aspect of marriage (kids1), and the spoiling behavior of parents that accept to give all sorts of material goods to their children, not valuing authority (kids3).

The **value constructs for contraception** are two variables: the women's embarrassment on talking about contraception with their husband (contrac2), and a positive view on family planning (contrac1). These two variables are associated with the acceptance of contraception among the women in the sample.

Empirical Analysis

The Analysis of the Lambda/Marginal Probability Profiles

The first part of the analysis is comprised by a description of the three pure profiles obtained by the GoM analysis. The description will stress only the significant variables and options, obtained in accordance with the following criteria: the ratio between λ_{kjl} and the marginal probability of option "l" and question "j" is above a constant (1.5 in our case). The description of the pure profiles will be performed comparing the profiles by the group of variables selected. The data are presented in Table 1. The significant variables for the profile are squared.

The three pure profiles are differentiated with respect to the site of research. The women with pure profile K1 and K3 are typical of Montes Claros, while the women with pure profile K2 are typical of both Vila Feliz and Macambira.

Analyzing all socioeconomic variable loads in the pure profiles, the women pure type K1 are in the oldest age group (40-49). They have low schooling (1-4 years of

study). These are the only two socioeconomic features characteristic of the pure profile K1. The women pure type K2 are in the youngest age group (20-29). They are predominantly illiterate. The income stratification of the K2 household's head is low (roughly below the first quartile). Finally, the women pure type K3 present high level of education (high school and college). The household's head belongs to the two highest strata of income. This type has the presence of maid working at the household.

The urban and housing infra-structure group of variables are not characteristic of the pure types, except for the women pure type K2. This type has non-availability of piped water and sewerage system at the household. Compared with Montes Claros, Vila Feliz and Macambira present lower infra-structure with respect to sewerage system.

Moving the analysis to the sphere of consumption of household durable goods, this dimension does not differentiate the women pure type K1. The pure type K2 is differentiated by the lack of ownership of color TV, washing machine, refrigerator, and mixer. The pure type K3 is differentiated by the ownership of car, video recorder, washing machine, cd disk player, satellite antenna, banking account, credit card, and telephone. If the ownership of goods indicates women's wealth, it is clear the pure type K3 is the wealthiest segment, while pure type K2 is the most deprived of durable goods. It is important to notice that the marginal probability on the ownership of fancy durable goods is quite low, this is due to the fact that this sample is comprised by a large number of poor households. Pure type K1 follow the marginal probability in the ownership of durable goods, in other words, they do not differentiate from the sample average in the consumption of durable goods.

The three ideal types present different media viewing habits. The pure type K1 does not present different media habits different from the overall marginal probability of televised or print media. The women in this group are more predominant watching the eight o'clock telenovela some times. They watch prime time news rarely. They do not to read newspapers. The women in pure type K2 watch telenovelas (seven and eight o'clock) more frequently than the average probability of the sample, while they are not likely to watch prime time news ever. They are more likely to give high priority to watch the eight o'clock telenovela and to consider it a basic source of entertainment. They are not likely to read newspapers. The women in pure type K3 are more likely to have a pattern of early TV socialization. They watch the eight o'clock telenovela rarely. They watch the prime time news frequently. The main difference between women type K3 and the others is due to the consumption of print media. Type K3 women are more likely to read all types of print media than the sample marginal probability. Type K3 women are not only more educated (analysis above on socioeconomic dimensions), but also this richer cultural capital endowment (in Bourdieu's sense) converge into media habits of reading more print media than the marginal probability -- newspapers and magazines (Bourdieu, 1984).

The reproductive dimension has some interesting features for the survey sample of women. Roughly half of all the women had more than three children ever born, nearly eighty percent do not know correctly the period of menstrual cycle to get pregnant, more than eighty percent had ever used contraceptives, and forty percent desired three or more children. Type K1 women are singled out for presenting a desire for zero or one child, a fact that may indicate unwanted births, since more than half of them had three or more children. Type K2 women are only different from the marginal probabilities by presenting a higher share of women not having had a gynecological exam. Type K3 women have a higher share of women with low fertility (0-1 child ever born) than the marginal probability of the sample. They also know the period of menstrual cycle to get pregnant twice as much than the marginal probability of the sample. In sum, K1 women tend to present a higher number of children ever born than the other pure types. They also tend to present a higher share of unwanted births, due to their lower than average desired number of children. Type K2 women do not differentiate from average sample in most of the reproductive dimensions. Type K3 women clearly differentiate with respect to knowledge in this sphere and also with respect to the number of children ever born. Clearly, education is playing a key role in the reproductive dimension.

The first way to capture the religiosity dimension is by religious practices. Type K1 women present a share of non-catholic higher than the sample. At the same time, they present the highest prevalence of women going to church at least once a week. Probably type K1 women present a higher share of evangelical protestant (a conservative fundamentalist dimension that is growing among the Brazilian poor) than the average in the sample. The type K2 women present a share of women reporting going to church rarely or never higher than observed in the marginal probability. Type K3 women are in accordance with the marginal probability in this dimension, except from the fact that a higher share of them report going to church as their preferred leisure activity. This result about type K3 may seem at odds with other profiles for this ideal type, given the fact that these are the most educated women in the sample. Nevertheless, it is important to notice that the richer and more educated women in the sample tend to live in Montes Claros, which is a conservative city with strong influence of the catholic church.

The second way to capture the religiosity dimension is by value constructs. The first construct capture a fatalistic religious view associated with sin and punishment to behavior. The second construct captures the importance of pray and religion in one's life. Type K1 women do not differentiate from the marginal probabilities in none of these dimensions – they are more kin to religious practices in daily life rather than constructs. Type K2 women present a highest share of a fatalistic view on religion (mythical view on religion). They place less importance on prays. Type K3 women present a lower than marginal probability fatalistic view on religion, a fact compatible with high education and cultural capital. No pure type considered the importance of pray differently from the marginal probability, the majority of the sample had a mid-view on the subject.

The value constructs on beauty stress the acceptance of cosmetic surgery and the view that beauty is essential to life. Type K1 women follow the average opinion found in the marginal probability, except that they present a higher share of a negative view on the idea that beauty is essential to life. Type K2 women value beauty more than any ideal type in the sample. They present a higher share of women endorsing cosmetic surgery and recognizing beauty as essential to life. Type K3 women do not differentiate from the marginal probability stands on the beauty dimension. It is important to notice that, in other sites in Brazil, one would expect a high aesthetic value on beauty for the middle to high class. Montes Claros is probably different from what one would find in the metropolitan areas of Brazil, which is reflected in the type K3 women. The surprising finding is the high view on beauty by the type K2 women. Although type K2 women have low cultural capital (education and reading), they are very much tuned into the televised culture of telenovelas which may explain their position on this dimension.

Opinions on sexual behavior are captured in two value constructs: liberal view on different sexual behavior and positive view about sex without reproductive concerns. Type K1 women are conservative on the two constructs of sexual behavior, they present a higher share than the marginal probability for the low view in both constructs. Type K2 women are not different from the marginal probability in this dimension. Type K3 women rank high in the liberal view on different sexual behavior. Thus, the “liberal” view on sexual behavior follow the importance of education and reading abilities.

Adultery is a general theme in the content of the telenovelas. Negative views about this dimension may be an indicator of women under strong group (normative) control. Three value constructs were measured to capture this dimension. Type K1 women differentiate from the sample because they present a low view on the acceptance of adultery in thoughts and a middle view on punitive thoughts about women practicing adultery. Type K2 women present a high acceptance of adultery and adultery in thoughts. Paradoxically, they also present a high load on punitive thoughts about women practicing adultery. This is an ambivalent pattern of type K2 women. Type K3 women do not differentiate from the marginal probability in the sample, except from the fact that they present a higher share of low punitive thoughts on women practicing adultery. The pattern on adultery is clear. Type K1 women are some group control and they reject adultery. Type K3 women do not accept group control but they ignore the adultery issue. Type k2 women present an ambivalent pattern, they accept adultery but they also have punitive thoughts on that.

Three value constructs were measured to capture the machismo dimension. Type K1 women do not differentiate from the sample's marginal probability, except for presenting a higher prevalence of middle on the machismo view on traditional women's submission to husband. It is important to notice that the marginal probability of the sample is more favorable to machismo. Type K2 women are also ambivalent on the machismo dimension. They present a high prevalence on the acceptance of traditional women's submission to husband, but they also favor an

egalitarian view on women's role (anti-machismo). Type K3 women have a negative view on machismo. They have a more prevalent than the marginal probability low assessment of traditional women's submission to husband. They also have a negative view on women's public display smoking or drinking (group control). In sum, type K1 women do not differentiate from the sample, type k2 women are ambivalent on machismo, and type k3 women are clearly against machismo.

Family life values are partially captured by the two value constructs for marriage: criticism to traditional marriage via positive cohabitation/acceptance of abortion and traditional view on marriage/virginity. Type K1 women are clearly conservative on the two marriage constructs. They load low on positive cohabitation/acceptance of abortion, and they load high on traditional marriage/virginity. Type K2 women load high on criticism to marriage and average on traditional marriage/virginity. Type K3 women load low on traditional marriage/virginity and average on criticism to traditional marriage. The main point in these two family value constructs is that type K1 women are clearly traditional.

Family life values are also captured by the two value constructs for children: children are the most important aspect of marriage and the spoiling of children with the provision of material goods and low parental authority. Type K1 women are not different from the marginal probability in the two constructs. Type K2 women are high on the spoiling of children. Type K3 women are low with the idea that children are the most important aspect of marriage, they are also low with the spoiling of children. These two value constructs indicate that type K3 women are against the view that a marriage needs children and they are also against the spoiling of children. The type K2 women try to be altruist through spoiling of their children.

Finally, two value constructs of contraception are analyzed: embarrassment talking about family planning with husband and positive view on family planning. Type K1 women are low on the positive view on family planning, which favors the view that they are conservative. Type K2 women are high on the both value constructs, an ambivalent position. They rank high on feeling embarrassed talking about contraception with their husbands, but also rank high on a positive view about family planning. Type K3 women rank low about the embarrassment about contraception with husbands, which is coherent with a group of more educated women.

In conclusion, it is possible to summarize about the three pure or ideal types in the following way:

- The women in the pure type K1 are typically resident of Montes Claros, older, low educated, with no difference from the sample in terms of the consumption of durable goods, no major difference from sample in terms of media viewing habits, with great religiosity in terms of church attendance but less catholic than the sample, overall conservative in most value constructs dimensions analyzed – including a negative valuation of beauty.

- The women in the pure type K2 are typically resident of Vila Feliz or Macambira. They are more representative of the younger age group (20-29). They are more representative of the low income segments. They typically lack piped water and sewerage system. They also lack more than sample average ownership of durable goods such as color TV, washing machine and even refrigerator. They are the pure type women more representative of the consumption of telenovelas, also being the segment that gives more weight to this type of cultural consumption. They lack any type of reading skills, captured by the habits of print media consumption. These women are not religious in terms of church attendance. They also give low importance to religious life and pray. On the other hand, they present a highly fatalistic view of religion. This group value beauty more than the sample average. They are ambivalent in several value dimensions. They accept adultery and disguised adultery, but they also favor punitive thoughts about women practicing adultery. They favor ideas about tradition submission of women to their husbands, but they also approve egalitarian view on women's role. They are critical to the marriage institution and endorse the spoiling of children. They have a positive view on contraception but feel embarrassed to discuss these matters with their husbands. It will be suggested in the analysis below that this is the most interesting matrix for value change outside the realm of the education effect.
- The women in the pure type K3 are typically resident of Montes Claros. They constitute a segment of highly educated and high income status women. They have maids in a proportion higher than in the sample. They own car and other durable goods at a higher proportion than all women in the sample. They do not watch telenovelas as frequently as the other women in the sample. They watch prime time news more frequently than the other women in the sample. They read newspaper and all sorts of magazines at a higher proportion than all women in the sample. These women own higher stocks of both economic, human, and cultural capital. They do not differ from the average women in the sample in terms of religiosity, although they present a higher proportion going to church as their main leisure activity than the women in the sample – this is a behavioral typical of the traditional city of Montes Claros. They displayed a low view on religious fatalism. They tend to be more liberal on sexual behavior, less favorable of machismo, against traditional view on marriage, against the view that children are the most important aspect of marriage, and less embarrassed to discuss contraception with their husbands than the average women in the sample. This a type more associated with the rationalism dictated by higher education in combination with the traditional values dictated by living in a traditional city (Montes Claros). In spite of tradition, their stock of information and reading skills are quite high which fact generates a great deal of “liberal” positions.

GoM Scores, Typology of Profiles, and Analysis of Characteristics

The analysis of the GoM scores (g_{ik}) for the three pure types and all observations is presented in Table 2. Roughly more than twenty percent of the women interviewed present a g_{i1} equal to zero, while in the case of g_{i2} and g_{i3} , around thirty percent of all women have a zero score. The ninetieth percentile is somewhat above seventy percent (0.7) in the case of all the three grade of memberships. Thus, all women scoring more than 0.7 in the grade of a membership for profile k (g_{ik}) will be considered a pure type k in the analysis that follows.

A typology of profiles is presented in Table 3. In addition to the three pure profiles as defined above (not in the previous section), three additional profiles combining two pure types are created. The two GoM scores for the profiles K_i and K_j have to add more than 0.7, while at the same time the GoM score on each K pure profile has to be greater than 0.2 and lower than 0.7. The data in Table 3 indicates that the three pure profiles together describe more than forty percent of all women in the sample.

The six typologies developed (three pure types and three combinations of two profiles) describe together almost all women in the sample. This result is a good case for the application of the GoM methodology, because the typology clusters describe the majority of the cases only with two level combinations of the pure types. The profile that describes the highest share of women in the sample (25.6%) is a combination of pure profiles 1 and 2 (K1-K2). The second profile more prevalent (19.4%) is a combination of pure profiles 1 and 3 (K1-K3).

In the previous section the analysis of lambdas (λ_{kjl}) was focused exclusively on the pure types. Now, the analysis will be based on a typology of women by grade of membership (g_{ik}). This analysis describes the actual heterogeneity of the sample as indicated by the six clusters of women. The heterogeneity will be captured by the differences with respect to the descriptive relative frequencies of the variables that were input in the GoM estimation. The Tables 4 to 60 describe how the heterogeneity is clustered in six groups. The row percent frequencies in the tables are in boldface when they are more than 1.5 of the row percent for the all women in the sample. The boldface gives the specific characteristics to be analyzed for each cluster of women.

Table 4 indicates that dispersion of the types (pure and mixed) in the three sites studied. Pure types 1 and 3 are representative of Montes Claros, while pure type 2 is representative of Vila Feliz and Macambira. The K1-K2 combination is equally representative in the three sites. The K1-K3 combination is more representative of Montes Claros. The K2-K3 combination is prevalent in the three sites, but it is relatively more representative of Vila Feliz and Macambira.

Table 5 indicates that pure type K2 and K2-K3 are the clusters more representative of the 20-29 age group (the youngest). The K1 pure type is clearly the most representative of the oldest age group. Table 6 display the groups of women by

education. The women in the K1 and K2 groups are predominantly low educated. The K3 group is predominantly high educated. The women in the K1-K2 group are predominantly low educated. The women in the K1-K3 group are more concentrated in the group of middle education: upper level of basic school and high school. The women in the K2-K3 group are also predominantly in the group of middle education. Table 7 shows that pure types K1 and K2 are low income households, while the women in pure type K3 are high income households. The women in the K1-k2 group are more representative of the low income households. The women in the mixed clusters that combine with K3 type (K1-K3 and K2-K3) tend to present higher income than the average sample. Table 8 indicates that only two clusters present the distinctive pattern of having maids performing their household chores: the pure type K3 and the K1-K3 women. Table 9 indicates that female labor force participation do not differentiate most of the women's clusters. Pure type K1 women are less likely to be in the labor force, while pure type K2 women are more likely to be in the labor force. In conclusion, the socioeconomic variables indicate that the new findings come from the combinations of the pure types. The types K1-K3 and K2-K3 are upward in income and education, due to their combination with the more elite type of women K3. On the other hand, the K1-K2 women are in a low income and education cluster.

Table 10 indicates that the types of women K1-K2 and K2-K3 are more deprived of piped water than the average sample. The situation is worse in terms of sewerage system available in the household: types of women K2, K1-K2, and K2-K3 are deprived (Table 11). This study focuses on poor areas of the country, sanitation is a clear dimension of citizenship deprivation in Brazilian poor or "excluded" communities. Although in a small proportion, it is remarkable that two types of women (K2 and K1-K2) present a relative deprivation in terms of bathroom availability at the household level (Table 12). This dimension of urban and housing infra-structure is important to differentiate some segments of the poor, it is another dimension that adds to the heterogeneity of the sample.

Tables 13 to 23 describe the pattern of consumption among the several clusters of women analyzed. An important overall pattern from the data on consumption is that the K2 cluster of women lacks ownership of several goods when compared to the ownership in the total sample. Another finding is that the K3 cluster of women presents overall higher rates of good ownership. The mixed clusters present a positive ownership in the case of the K1-K3 cluster and a negative ownership in the case of the K1-K2 cluster. The K2-K3 cluster combine positively in the ownership of two goods: compact disk players (CDs) and satellite antennas – this is an important point for arguments to be developed below, because these two consumption goods are associated with the media and the culture industry.

The patterns associated with the media viewing habits are presented in Tables 24 to 34. The sample is not differentiated by TV socialization. The cluster of K1 women is characterized by late age first watching TV, while the cluster of K3 women is marked by early age first watching TV. Overall, thirty percent of the sample first watched TV before age nine. Only the cluster K2 deserves to be

mentioned in terms of presenting a high proportion watching the seven o'clock telenovela frequently. The cluster K2 also presents a higher proportion of women watching the eight o'clock telenovela frequently, a pattern that carries over for the mixed cluster K2-K3³. It is important to notice that the clusters K1, K3, and K1-K3 also reported a high load of women watching the eight o'clock telenovela sometimes. The prime time news is the televised program more associated with the print media. The cluster K3 presents a high proportion of women watching it frequently, a pattern that is followed by the cluster K2-K3. The proportion of women never watching prime time news is relatively high in the clusters K2 and K1-K2. The pattern of reading print media (newspapers and several varieties of magazines) is about the same: Type K3 women are the ones with greater proportion of women reading this type of media, followed by the two mixed clusters combined with K3 pure type (K1-K3 and K2-K3). In sum, the media viewing pattern display a clear pattern: the K2 pure type dominates the combinations associated with entertainment (telenovelas) and the K3 pure type dominates the cognitive realm of news. Both dimensions will be important in the associations with values. The pure type K1 is more traditional, it does not have a domination in the media viewing habits. This duality between the cognitive dimension of type K3 and the emotional dimension of type K2 clusters of women is displayed in Tables 33 and 34. Type K2 women give high priority to the eight o'clock telenovela, with that pattern carrying over to types K1-K2 and K2-K3. On the other hand, type K3 gives low priority to the eight o'clock telenovela with that pattern carrying over to the type K1-K3. The results are partially corroborated with the idea that the eight o'clock telenovela is a major entertainment.

The dimension associated with reproduction is considered in Tables 35 to 39. Table 35 presents data on children ever born, type K1 women have high fertility while type K3 women have low fertility. Type K2-K3 women follow a pattern similar to K3. The children ever born pattern is similar to the one found in education. The knowledge dimension is captured by Table 36, only K3 and K1-K3 women present a higher proportion of knowledge about the period to get pregnant – again a clear correlation with education and rationality. The clusters K2 and K1-K2 present a higher proportion of women that did not have a gynecological exam. In terms of ever use of contraception (Table 38), only the women in the K1-K2 cluster differentiate with a lower prevalence. The desired number of children (Table 39) does not match the pattern of children ever born. Women in cluster K1 present a low desired number of children and K2 a high, while the combination K1-K3 also have a low desired number of children. The clear pattern from the reproduction dimension is one indicating that education (cultural capital) is the main sphere associated with children ever born and knowledge.

The religiosity dimension is captured by Tables 40 to 44. Only the cluster K1 of women present a lower proportion of women declaring themselves as catholic (Table 40). The data is not available here, but this is probably due to a higher

³ The eight o'clock telenovela is very important in the media consumption pattern because it is the prime time telenovela, the one with greater coverage by the media.

share of evangelical women in this cluster. Church attendance is high for the cluster K1 of women, a pattern that also carries over to the cluster K1-K3. On the other hand, the cluster K2 of women is comprised by low church attendance, a pattern that carries over to the K2-K3 cluster of women. This information from Table 41 indicates that the cluster K3 of highly educated women does not differentiate in terms of church attendance, on the contrary, the combination patterns show that K3 follows the two other ideal types. A different dimension of religiosity captured is the spontaneous statement that going to church is the preferred leisure activity. The clusters K2 and K3 of women have a higher than average load on this dimension (Table 42). Table 43 captures a religiosity construct associated with fatalism (sin and punishment), the clusters K2 and K1-K2 are high on this dimension and the K3 is low. Only the cluster K3 present a high proportion of middle agreement with the idea that religion is an important dimension in life. The clusters K2, K3, and K2-k3 have a low agreement with this view (Table 44). The data indicates that religiosity can be captured by several dimensions, the dominant forces for these dimensions are associated with different clusters. Thus, the secularization dimension is highly heterogeneous among the Brazilian women considered in this study.

Beauty is an aspect clearly associated with a narcissistic society. The acceptance of cosmetic surgery is not differentiated among the several clusters of women, except for the K2 cluster. The women in the K2 cluster present a bi-modal pattern: they are more representative in the acceptance and rejection of cosmetic surgery (Table 45). The clusters K2 and K2-K3 of women are the only ones loading high on the idea that beauty is essential in life. The clusters K1, K3, and K1-K3 load low on this dimension. (Table 46). The data clearly indicates that education does not associate with beauty values, but media viewing habits associated with telenovelas are correlated with beauty ideals. The clusters K2 and K2-K3 of women are the ones who carry the beauty value. This reinforces the importance of the K2 pure type and the potential combination of this type with K3 (increasing the cultural capital stock).

The liberal view on sexual behavior is assessed in Table 47. The K3 cluster of women presents a share of high agreement with a liberal view. The K2 pure type amplifies the preferences of K1 and K3 when they are in the clusters of combination types. Thus, the cluster of K1-K2 women is the most conservative and the cluster of K2-K3 women is the most liberal on sexual behavior. The positive view on sexual behavior without reproductive concerns (Table 48) is not much differentiated among the clusters, except by the cluster K1 of women who present a negative view on this dimension. The view on sexual behavior follows the polarity between types K1 and K3, while type K2 operates as amplifier of the two basic vectors. The K1 cluster is comprised by typically older, low educated, and religious women. The K3 cluster is more characterized by high educated women.

The opinions on adultery are presented in Tables 49 to 51. Table 49 presents the acceptance of adultery. The clusters of women K2, K3, and K2-K3 present a

higher proportion than total sample accepting this construct. This is a result similar to the one obtained on sexual behavior. The cluster of women K2 and K2-K3 have higher share of women accepting adultery disguised, while the women K1-K2 have the lowest acceptance (Table 50). The women clustered in K2 have a higher share of acceptance of punitive thoughts on adultery than the sample, while the K3 cluster of women has a higher share of rejection of punitive thoughts than the sample. The K1 women have a strong middle view on this construct. The cluster K2-K3 follow the pattern dictated by K3 (Table 51). The ambivalence of the cluster of women K2 is present on the adultery constructs, in spite of that, they tend to go along the K3 women more often than it is the case of K1 women. Other than the ambivalence pointed, the pattern found on adultery constructs is similar to the one found in constructs about sex.

The construct on traditional view about women's submission to husband (macho1) is presented in Table 52. The cluster K1 of women hold a strong middle view on this construct compared with the total sample. The cluster K3 of women hold a negative view on the construct, while the K2 women hold a large share of favorable view on machismo. Again, the K2 women present a conservative view on women's submission to husband. The cluster K2-K3 of women is dominated by the trends observed among K3 women. A similar pattern is found in another machismo construct, associated with a negative view on women smoking or drinking in public (Table 53). The clusters of K1 and K2 women present a favorable view to this conservative construct, while the K3 women are negative on that. Again, the cluster K2-K3 of women follow the more liberal view on machismo. The ambivalence in the cluster of K2 women comes with the construct associated with egalitarian view on women's role (Table 54), the K2 women are one of the few clusters that differentiate in this dimension and they differentiate favorably. It is possible that this construct did not capture well the dimension. Overall, considering machismo as a gender construct among the women interviewed, K1 women rank middle to favorably with respect to a conservative view, K2 women also rank favorably in machismo but with ambivalent positions, and K3 women are clearly against machismo. The K3 profile dominates in the K2-K3 cluster of women. It seems that acceptance of machismo is more dominated by the education dimension.

The family value constructs are presented in Tables 55 to 58, comprising constructs on marriage and the importance of children. A construct capturing the acceptance of cohabitation and abortion (Table 55) is negatively evaluated by the K1 cluster of women and positively evaluated by the K2 cluster of women. The K3 cluster of women do not differentiate on that construct. The K1-K3 cluster follows the pattern found in K1, while the K2-K3 cluster follows the pattern found in K2. In the case of the construct about the traditional view on marriage and virginity (Table 56), the two important poles are the K1 and K3 -- the clusters of women in opposite sides. K1 and K3 clusters dominate the pattern that combines with K2 cluster of women. The constructs dealing with the role of children in marriage (Table 57) are seen positively by the clusters K1 and K2, but negatively by the cluster K3. The ambivalent position of the ideal type K2 is that it follows the

negative view in the case of K2-K3. Table 58 indicates that the cluster of women K2 are favorable to the construct about giving material goods to their children. The K3 women are completely against that construct. In sum, the cluster of women K3 is clearly against traditional values in marriage while the cluster of women K1 is clearly in favor. The cluster K2 of women is ambivalent, only in the case of cohabitation and abortion that K2 plays a dominant role.

The last two constructs (Tables 59 and 60) deal with contraception and family planning. The first construct (Table 59) is associated with embarrassment talking about contraception with husband. The cluster of women K2 is more associated with a positive view on that construct, while the cluster of women K3 is less associated with that view. The ambivalent character of ideal type K2 is reinforced. It is positive in the cluster of women K1-K2 and it is negative in the cluster of women K2-K3. With respect to a positive on family planning the cluster of women K1 presents a negative view, while the cluster of women K2 presents a positive view. The cluster of women K3 do not differentiate from the sample. The cluster of women K2-K3 follows the lead of K2, presenting a positive view. The first family planning construct deals with dialogue between partners in the family, the K3 type is correlated with that probably due to its high education and cultural capital. The view on family planning is polarized by the negative view of type K1 and the positive view of type K2.

- Concluding Remarks

It is now time to link both sections of the paper: the conceptual aspects with the empirical analysis. The theoretical section does not describe a model with comparative static predictions. There are issues described there that were not measured or analyzed in the empirical analysis. Nevertheless, the empirical analysis could not have been performed without being preceded by that review.

The review situates macro and micro processes associated with the study of two processes related with modernity: secularization and individualism. These are the two dimensions generally stressed by the literature dealing with the impact of ideational change in demographic behavior (fertility and family arrangements). The focus on secularization and individualism is correct, but it is clearly associated with one dimension of modernity: the dimension associated with order and the spread of rationalism in society (modernity 1). The other dimension associated with modernity is clearly experiential and against the order of things by being subject to constant change (modernity 2)⁴. Phenomenology and experience are characteristics of this other dimension. The mass media institution was overlooked by the first dimension mentioned. Two important aspects associated with the mass media deserve to be mentioned. First, the mass media dislocated two dualities associated with the order of things: the public/private and the macro/micro. Second, the mass media contributed to the development of a strong meaning

⁴ The modernist art movement is marked by the “avant garde” characteristic, with constant transformation of the new against whatever precedes it.

system associated with consumerism: romantic ethic linked with hedonism and self-identity. A consumer society amplified by the mass media effects will entail a “romantic ethic” that is not associated with the “order of things” typical of rationalism. The experience of “romantic utopia” in the United States during the twentieth century shows that consumerism and ritual elements, although economic power and education also play an important role. Indeed, the review points to a cultural contradiction between the rational/ production and the emotional/ consumption ethos. Several possibilities of lifestyles can develop in society, depending on how these forces are combined.

The empirical analysis could not be performed without the reliance on the GoM methodology. The use of this methodology was very productive in terms of exploring the wealth of variables captured by the survey. Traditional socioeconomic and demographic variables were combined with data on consumption, media viewing habits, and value constructs built from a series of AIO⁵ statements.

Linking the empirical analysis with the conceptual aspects, the analysis of secularization and individuation in terms of the modernity 1 process was associated with the following variables: age (standing for different generations), education, and household’s head income strata. The analysis of modernity 2 was captured by the media viewing habits. Data on household’s infra-structure and consumption of durable goods were included. The reproduction dimension was captured by a set of variables. Ideational differences were compared by a set of constructs (built from the AIOs statements) on the following areas: religion, beauty, sexual behavior, adultery, machismo, marriage, children, and family planning. Deriving from three pure types generated by GoM, five clusters of women were analyzed with respect to differences in all variables.

In terms of socioeconomic variables the polarization of two dimensions was captured. The main polarization was between high and low educated women: dictated by the characteristics of K3 and K1 or K2 women. A second polarization was between the oldest and youngest generations: dictated by the characteristics of K1 and K2 women. The K1-K3 were old and mid-educated women, while the K2-K3 were young and mid-educated women. The K1-K2 women were simply low educated. In terms of citizenship captured by household infrastructure, the worse situation is that of K2 women. The K3 women are clearly the one with more access to consumption due to their higher income strata. The K1-K3 and K2-K3 women are the second clusters in terms of consumption power, but they present a major difference: while the K1-K3 women consume goods that are functional, the K2-K3 women differentiate in terms of good associated with the cultural industry (satellite antennas and CD disk players).

⁵ AIO stands for “Attitude, Interests, and Opinions”. These kind of statements are widely used by the marketing literature.

A final situational dimension is the consumption of media. In this dimension the important poles are the K2 and K3 women. The K2 women are dominant in the consumption of telenovelas, they belong to the representative group of the modernity 2 trend. The K3 women are dominant in the consumption of TV news and print media, they belong to the representative group of the modernity 1 trend. The K1 women are completely passive in the media viewing habit dimension. The media viewing dimension was crucial for the argument of the paper. While K1 women were low educated, they had a strong endowment of romanticism. K3 women were highly educated, they had high cultural capital and strong endowment of rational order's way of thinking. .

The main point in the analysis was to evaluate how these situational components (age, education, and media viewing habits) were important with respect to the ideational differences observed in the sample of women. It is important to notice that the GoM technique does not allow any sort of causal inference, the interpretations portrayed here are just suggestive.

A general conclusion from the empirical analysis is that several ideational dimensions are polarized by the differences between the K1 and K3 group of women, for instance, sexual behavior, adultery, machismo, and marriage -- the reproduction variables could also be included in this finding. Two major situational characteristics differentiate this group: education and household's head income strata. It is interpreted that education is the main situational variable behind these differences. It is impossible to disentangle the latent dimensions behind education. Economists tend to see it as an indicator of marketing power, this does not seem to be the case in this sample, since the educational differences are not carried for major differences in female labor force participation. It is possible to suggest that educational differences are associated with women's cultural capital, to the extent that these differences carried for media viewing habits -- favoring the consumption of print media and information in general. The K2 women are characterized by the consumption of telenovelas associated with a romantic ethic. They played an ambivalent role on most of these ideational dimensions. They could rank favorably in one variable construct and unfavorably in another variable of the same ideational dimension. More importantly, they would play a reinforcing role with the basic polarization between K1 and K3, when the K1-K3 and K2-K3 women were considered in the analysis. Almost all ideational dimensions mentioned in this paragraph have some association with both individualism and gender differences in realms of family life. It is clear from the analysis that romanticism, as captured by the K2 women, is not a substitute for education in the process of enhancing individualism. Nevertheless, the ambivalence of K2 women indicates that their romantic ethos may play a complementary amplifier role in the diffusion of individualism, as the responses of K2-K3 women suggested.

News coverage and other common sense literature regard beauty as an important ideational dimension in the lives of Brazilian women. The K2 women were the ones valuing more this dimension. This value is probably correlated with the consumption of telenovelas characterized by the media viewing habits. This

positive view on beauty is carried for the K2-K3 women, indicating the secondary and complementary role of education in this dimension. The results for education in this sample are highly suggestive, because the more educated women in the sample tend to live in Montes Claros – a hinterland city that is regarded as traditional.

The most complex results are the ones with respect to secularization as measured by religiosity. Type K1 women are clearly religious in terms of church attendance. They are low in terms of catholic denomination, which may indicate the growth of evangelical religion among the Brazilian poor. Type K2 women present low church attendance. Education does not seem to be an important factor in church attendance, K3 women do not differentiate from the total sample in this dimension. The passive role of education in church attendance is indicated by the high church attendance of K1-K3 women and the opposite in the case of K2-K3 women. Thus, education does not lead to secularization in terms of church attendance. The romantic ethic portrayed by the telenovelas may favor a decline in church attendance. Indeed, telenovelas and consumerism are two major evils combated by the catholic and other institutional churches in Brazil. Although K2 women rank low on church attendance and do not regard religion as an important factor in their life, they have a fatalistic view of life by believing in sin and punishment. The K3 women do not differentiate in terms of church attendance, but they have a less fatalistic view of the world – coherent with their individualism.

Finally, the analysis of five groups of women captured the sample's heterogeneity. The result indicates that hybridism and heteropraxis are characteristic of this cross-section analysis. Education is an important dimension for the spread of individualism, in this study the role of education for the spread of secularization is less clear. The media impact of telenovelas is captured by the K2 ideal type, an ambivalent romantic type associated with secularism in church attendance, valuation of beauty, and amplifier effect on individualism by interacting with education – that is to say, the speed of the impact of education on individualism increases with the romantic ethic diffused by the telenovelas.

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TABLE 1
PURE PROFILES (LAMBDA)/MARGINAL PROBABILITIES

SITE OF RESEARCH		K1	K2	K3	MARG. P
local	Montes Claros	1,580	0,000	1,580	0,633
	Vila Feliz	0,000	2,675	0,000	0,219
	Macambira	0,000	2,799	0,000	0,148

SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES		K1	K2	K3	MARG. P
agegr	Age group				
	20-29	0,201	1,830	1,172	0,322
	30-39	1,042	0,881	1,082	0,397
	40-49	1,856	0,217	0,686	0,281
aest	Schooling				
	Illiterate	0,814	2,124	0,000	0,087
	1-4 years	1,584	1,328	0,000	0,377
	5-8 years	1,169	1,107	0,681	0,284
	9-11 years (high school)	0,000	0,000	3,135	0,197
	12 more (college)	0,000	0,000	3,379	0,056
incstrat	Household's Head Income Stratification				
	Monetary income not reported or zero (8.6% of sample)	0,558	1,531	0,986	0,086
	Income below 150 reais (around 150 dollars – 19.1%)	1,155	1,698	0,000	0,191
	Income between 151 and 493 reais (44.3%)	1,467	0,958	0,462	0,443
	Income between 494 and 1120 reais (22.9%)	0,356	0,523	2,324	0,229
Income above 1120 reais (5.2%)	0,000	0,000	3,427	0,052	
maid	Maid at the household				
	No	1,105	1,105	0,735	0,905
	Yes	0,000	0,000	3,526	0,095
lforce	Female labor force participation				
	No	1,453	0,696	0,734	0,540
	Yes	0,469	1,357	1,313	0,460

TABLE 1 (CONTINUATION)

		K1	K2	K3	MARG. P
Urban and Housing Infra-structure					
pipewat	Piped water availability at the household				
	No	0,000	3,074	0,000	0,080
	Yes	1,087	0,820	1,087	0,920
sewerage	Sewerage system availability at the household				
	No	0,000	3,050	0,000	0,313
	Yes	1,456	0,066	1,456	0,687
bath	Bathroom availability at the household				
	No	0,577	1,806	0,683	0,047
	Yes	1,021	0,960	1,016	0,953
		K1	K2	K3	MARG. P
Durable Goods at the Household					
car					
	No	1,107	1,346	0,442	0,743
	Yes	0,690	0,000	2,612	0,257
colortv					
	No	0,861	2,073	0,000	0,188
	Yes	1,032	0,752	1,232	0,812
videoc	Video Recorder				
	No	1,255	1,255	0,357	0,797
	Yes	0,000	0,000	3,523	0,203
washmac	Washing machine				
	No	1,024	1,513	0,380	0,661
	Yes	0,953	0,000	2,209	0,339
frige	Refrigerator				
	No	0,153	2,927	0,000	0,159
	Yes	1,160	0,636	1,189	0,841
mixer					
	No	0,809	2,156	0,000	0,160
	Yes	1,036	0,780	1,190	0,840
cd	CD disk player				
	No	1,200	1,200	0,529	0,833
	Yes	0,000	0,000	3,347	0,167
satellit	Satellite antenna				
	No	1,079	1,052	0,832	0,927
	Yes	0,000	0,337	3,130	0,073
chec	Bank account				
	No	1,107	1,107	0,721	0,903
	Yes	0,000	0,000	3,594	0,097
credcar	Credit card				
	No	1,121	1,121	0,685	0,892
	Yes	0,000	0,000	3,598	0,108
phone	Telephone				
	No	1,200	1,200	0,487	0,833
	Yes	0,000	0,000	3,558	0,167

TABLE 1 (CONTINUATION)

		K1	K2	K3	MARG. P
Media Viewing Habits					
ageftv	Age of TV Initiation				
	0-9 years	0,655	0,546	1,967	0,300
	10-14 years	0,863	1,195	0,960	0,299
	15-17 years	1,420	0,860	0,583	0,124
	18 or more	1,334	1,344	0,183	0,277
seventel	Seven o'clock telenovela				
	Never	1,335	0,697	0,905	0,504
	Rarely	1,178	0,385	1,451	0,086
	Some times	0,962	0,752	1,359	0,181
	Frequently	0,225	2,094	0,757	0,229
eightel	Eight O'clock telenovela				
	Never	1,137	1,231	0,572	0,216
	Rarely	1,290	0,000	1,744	0,059
	Some times	1,557	0,000	1,413	0,239
	Frequently	0,630	1,510	0,896	0,486
nnews	Prime Time News				
	Never	0,941	1,990	0,000	0,219
	Rarely	1,702	0,287	0,851	0,093
	Some times	1,359	0,523	1,081	0,340
	Frequently	0,498	1,033	1,590	0,348
newspap	Read Newspaper				
	No	1,563	1,563	0,000	0,640
	Yes	0,000	0,000	2,778	0,360
magazine	Read Magazine				
	No	1,373	1,471	0,000	0,680
	Yes	0,207	0,000	3,125	0,320
weekm	Read Weekly Magazine				
	No	1,309	1,309	0,000	0,764
	Yes	0,000	0,000	4,237	0,236
tvm	Read TV Magazine				
	No	1,218	1,218	0,412	0,821
	Yes	0,000	0,000	3,695	0,179
wm	Read Woman Magazine				
	No	1,181	1,181	0,561	0,847
	Yes	0,000	0,000	3,428	0,153
eightpr	Priority to watch eight o'clock telenovela				
	Low	1,328	0,065	1,650	0,301
	Middle	1,359	0,321	1,367	0,368
	High	0,303	2,605	0,000	0,331
enter08	Consider the eight o'clock telenovela entertainment				
	Low	1,253	0,379	1,385	0,310
	Middle	1,008	0,706	1,344	0,312
	High	0,788	1,756	0,401	0,377

TABLE 1 (CONTINUATION)

		K1	K2	K3	MARG. P
Reproduction					
cbalive	Children ever born				
	0-1 child	0,337	1,064	1,810	0,243
	2 children	0,738	1,161	1,168	0,251
	3 or more children	1,448	0,890	0,528	0,506
cycle	Knows the period of menstrual cycle to get pregnant				
	No	1,113	1,299	0,498	0,770
	Yes	0,622	0,000	2,681	0,230
gyne	Woman had a gynecological exam				
	No	0,295	2,642	0,000	0,161
	Yes	1,135	0,685	1,192	0,839
everuse	Woman has ever used contraceptives				
	No	1,085	0,968	0,921	0,170
	Yes	0,983	1,007	1,016	0,830
desired	Desired number of children				
	0-1 child	1,622	0,238	1,024	0,278
	2 children	0,776	1,084	1,220	0,311
	3 or more children	0,751	1,456	0,820	0,410
K1 K2 K3 MARG. P					
Religiosity					
catholic					
	No	1,496	0,656	0,709	0,236
	Yes	0,847	1,106	1,090	0,764
chatt	Church Attendance				
	At least once a week	1,770	0,000	1,177	0,443
	Two times or once per month	0,873	1,274	0,824	0,247
	Rarely, special occasions	0,000	2,018	1,139	0,171
	Never	0,000	2,466	0,583	0,138
gochurch	Reported going to church as preferred leisure activity				
	No	1,114	0,950	0,901	0,898
	Yes	0,000	1,436	1,874	0,102
K1 K2 K3 MARG. P					
Value Constructs for Religiosity					
relig1	Religiosity associated with sin and punishment				
	Low	0,016	0,635	2,642	0,177
	Middle	1,385	0,733	0,789	0,638
	High	0,696	2,324	0,000	0,163
	Missing	0,000	1,882	1,305	0,022
relig2	Religiosity associated with the importance of religion and pray				
	Low	0,000	2,008	1,315	0,223
	Middle	1,352	0,560	0,980	0,568
	High	1,173	1,087	0,666	0,198
	Missing	0,000	1,709	1,664	0,011

TABLE 1 (CONTINUATION)

		K1	K2	K3	MARG. P
Value Constructs for Beauty					
beauty1	Acceptance of cosmetic surgery				
	Low	1,114	1,411	0,431	0,211
	Middle	1,246	0,591	1,162	0,526
	High	0,444	1,584	1,204	0,247
	Missing	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,015
beauty2	Recognition that beauty is essential				
	Low	1,786	0,000	1,046	0,208
	Middle	1,179	0,619	1,185	0,533
	High	0,000	2,673	0,489	0,227
	Missing	0,000	1,978	1,250	0,032
Value Constructs for Sexual Behavior					
sex2	Liberal position with respect to different sexual behavior				
	Low	1,634	1,112	0,000	0,347
	Middle	0,974	0,653	1,389	0,324
	High	0,381	1,214	1,656	0,308
	Missing	0,000	1,362	1,890	0,021
sex4	Positive view of sex with contraceptives without reprod. concerns				
	Low	1,481	0,627	0,806	0,455
	Middle	0,563	1,295	1,285	0,220
	High	0,646	1,373	1,119	0,313
	Missing	0	0	0	0,012
Value Constructs of Adultery					
adult1	Acceptance of adultery				
	Low	0,662	1,322	1,111	0,270
	Middle	1,472	0,512	0,895	0,558
	High	0,000	2,096	1,138	0,156
	Missing	0,000	1,919	1,431	0,016
adult3	Acceptance of adultery in thoughts or disguised				
	Low	1,881	0,358	0,503	0,228
	Middle	0,952	0,974	1,094	0,600
	High	0,000	1,985	1,293	0,149
	Missing	0,000	1,652	1,574	0,023
adult4	Punitive thoughts about women practicing adultery				
	Low	0,037	1,002	2,328	0,296
	Middle	1,614	0,745	0,507	0,613
	High	0,000	3,128	0,000	0,079
	Missing	0,000	0,000	0,000	0,011

TABLE 1 (CONTINUATION)

		K1	K2	K3	MARG. P
Value Constructs for Machismo					
macho1	High machismo with traditional women's submission to husband				
	Low	0,000	0,349	3,030	0,178
	Middle	1,576	0,586	0,674	0,631
	High	0,000	3,183	0,000	0,161
	Missing	0,187	1,853	1,173	0,030
macho4	Negative view about women's public display smoking or drinking				
	Low	0,328	0,809	2,105	0,303
	Middle	1,245	0,849	0,840	0,318
	High	1,363	1,260	0,230	0,364
	Missing	0,547	1,767	0,753	0,015
macho7	Egalitarian view on women's role or anti-machismo				
	Low	1,057	0,728	1,222	0,355
	Middle	1,345	0,487	1,116	0,419
	High	0,261	2,430	0,365	0,210
	Missing	0,388	1,669	1,388	0,016
Value Constructs for Marriage					
marriag1	Criticism to marriage / acceptance of cohabitation and abortion				
	Low	1,628	0,199	1,065	0,316
	Middle	1,320	0,551	1,063	0,355
	High	0,000	2,392	0,781	0,290
	Missing	0,438	1,228	1,526	0,039
marriag2	Traditional view on marriage and virginity				
	Low	0,000	1,297	2,139	0,267
	Middle	1,304	0,689	0,888	0,460
	High	1,563	1,175	0,000	0,256
	Missing	0,000	2,006	1,133	0,018

TABLE 1 (CONTINUATION)

		K1	K2	K3	MARG. P
Value Constructs for Children					
kids1	Children the most important aspect of marriage				
	Low	0,000	1,313	2,034	0,261
	Middle	1,393	0,643	0,845	0,528
	High	1,377	1,445	0,000	0,192
	Missing	0,000	2,015	1,145	0,020
kids3	Desire to give material goods to children and low authority				
	Low	0,472	1,024	1,713	0,148
	Middle	1,323	0,566	1,030	0,703
	High	0,000	3,046	0,139	0,134
	Missing	0,000	3,021	0,286	0,014
Value Constructs for Contraception					
contrac2	Embarrassment talking about contraception with husband				
	Low	0,802	0,334	1,960	0,251
	Middle	1,236	0,697	0,998	0,470
	High	0,841	2,161	0,000	0,259
	Missing	0,000	1,386	1,857	0,021
contrac1	Positive view on family planning				
	Low	1,736	0,498	0,547	0,149
	Middle	1,229	0,681	1,018	0,603
	High	0,000	2,030	1,291	0,231
	Missing	0,000	2,869	0,394	0,016

Percentiles of GoM Scores by Pure Profiles

TABLE 2

		K1	K2	K3
N	Valid	970	970	970
	Missing	0	0	0
Percent iles	10	0,000	0	0
	20	9,33600E-02	0	0
	30	0,202	9,69500E-02	3,84100E-02
	40	0,288	0,183	0,118
	50	0,364	0,275	0,194
	60	0,464	0,379	0,292
	70	0,557	0,485	0,424
	80	0,666	0,612	0,559
	90	0,791	0,738	0,723

Sample Distribution by Typology of Profiles

TABLE 3

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative
Valid	k1	161	16,6	16,8	16,8
	k2	121	12,5	12,6	29,4
	k3	113	11,6	11,8	41,2
	k1-k2	248	25,6	25,9	67
	k1-k3	188	19,4	19,6	86,7
	k2-k3	128	13,2	13,3	100
	Total	959	98,9	100	
Missing	System	11	1,1		
Total		970	100		

TABLE 4
PROFILES BY LOCAL
% within PURE

		LOCAL		
		Montes Claros	Vila Feliz	Macambir a
PURE	k1	96,30%	3,10%	0,60%
	k2	4,10%	54,50%	41,30%
	k3	85,80%	8,00%	6,20%
	k1-k2	53,20%	26,60%	20,20%
	k1-k3	90,40%	8,50%	1,10%
	k2-k3	40,60%	34,40%	25,00%
Total		63,70%	21,50%	14,80%

TABLE 5
PROFILES BY AGE GROUP
% within PURE

		AGEGR		
		20-29	30-39	40-49
PURE	k1	13,70%	40,40%	46,00%
	k2	48,80%	36,40%	14,90%
	k3	29,20%	43,40%	27,40%
	k1-k2	33,10%	37,50%	29,40%
	k1-k3	28,20%	43,10%	28,70%
	k2-k3	46,90%	36,70%	16,40%
Total		32,20%	39,50%	28,30%

TABLE 6
PROFILES BY SCHOOLING
% within PURE

		AEST				
		Illiterate	1-4 years	5-8 years	9-11 years-high school	12 more - college
PURE	k1	9,30%	56,50%	31,10%	3,10%	
	k2	19,80%	45,50%	30,60%	4,10%	
	k3	0,90%	2,70%	14,20%	52,20%	30,10%
	k1-k2	14,50%	54,40%	24,20%	6,00%	0,80%
	k1-k3	2,70%	22,90%	34,00%	34,00%	6,40%
	k2-k3	2,30%	25,80%	35,90%	31,30%	4,70%
Total		8,80%	37,50%	28,50%	19,60%	5,60%

TABLE 7
PROFILES BY HH's HEAD INCOME
 % within PURE

		INCSTRAT				
		Monetary income not reported or zero (8.6% of sample)	Income below 150 reais (around 150 dollars – 19.1%)	Income between 151 and 493 reais (44.3%)	Income between 494 and 1120 reais (22.9%)	Income above 1120 reais (5.2%)
PURE	k1	6,20%	28,60%	52,20%	12,40%	0,60%
	k2	8,30%	28,90%	46,30%	16,50%	
	k3	8,80%	1,80%	26,50%	39,80%	23,00%
	k1-k2	10,50%	27,80%	51,60%	9,70%	0,40%
	k1-k3	4,80%	6,40%	45,20%	36,70%	6,90%
	k2-k3	14,10%	15,60%	32,80%	30,50%	7,00%
Total		8,70%	19,20%	44,30%	22,60%	5,20%

TABLE 8
PROFILES BY MAID AT HH
 % within PURE

		maid	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	98,80%	1,20%
	k2	99,20%	0,80%
	k3	63,70%	36,30%
	k1-k2	96,80%	3,20%
	k1-k3	86,70%	13,30%
	k2-k3	88,30%	11,70%
Total		90,40%	9,60%

TABLE 9
PROFILES BY FEMALE LABOR FORCE
 % within PURE

		LFORCE	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	70,20%	29,80%
	k2	38,80%	61,20%
	k3	40,70%	59,30%
	k1-k2	56,50%	43,50%
	k1-k3	63,30%	36,70%
	k2-k3	41,40%	58,60%
Total		54,00%	46,00%

TABLE 10
PROFILES BY PIPED WATER AT HH
 % within PURE

		pipedwat	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	2,50%	97,50%
	k2	10,70%	89,30%
	k3	1,80%	98,20%
	k1-k2	14,90%	85,10%
	k1-k3	2,70%	97,30%
	k2-k3	10,90%	89,10%
Total		7,80%	92,20%

TABLE 11
PROFILES BY SEWERAGE AT HH
 % within PURE

		sewerage	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	5,60%	94,40%
	k2	79,30%	20,70%
	k3	10,60%	89,40%
	k1-k2	44,40%	55,60%
	k1-k3	5,90%	94,10%
	k2-k3	46,90%	53,10%
Total		31,10%	68,90%

TABLE 12
PROFILES BY BATHROOM AT HH
 % within PURE

		bath	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	1,90%	98,10%
	k2	6,60%	93,40%
	k3	3,50%	96,50%
	k1-k2	7,70%	92,30%
	k1-k3	4,30%	95,70%
	k2-k3	3,10%	96,90%
Total		4,80%	95,20%

TABLE 13
PROFILES BY CAR OWNERSHIP
 % within PURE

		car	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	76,40%	23,60%
	k2	98,30%	1,70%
	k3	33,60%	66,40%
	k1-k2	87,90%	12,10%
	k1-k3	63,30%	36,70%
	k2-k3	75,00%	25,00%
Total		74,30%	25,70%

TABLE 14
PROFILES BY COLOR TV OWNERSHIP

% within PURE

		colortv	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	20,50%	79,50%
	k2	37,20%	62,80%
	k3	0,90%	99,10%
	k1-k2	29,00%	71,00%
	k1-k3	7,40%	92,60%
	k2-k3	13,30%	86,70%
Total		19,00%	81,00%

TABLE 15
PROFILES BY VIDEOCASSETTE OWNERSHIP

% within PURE

		videoc	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	90,10%	9,90%
	k2	95,00%	5,00%
	k3	30,10%	69,90%
	k1-k2	93,10%	6,90%
	k1-k3	75,50%	24,50%
	k2-k3	78,10%	21,90%
Total		80,00%	20,00%

TABLE 16
PROFILES BY WASHING MACHINE OWNERSHIP

% within PURE

		washmac	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	62,70%	37,30%
	k2	91,70%	8,30%
	k3	37,20%	62,80%
	k1-k2	83,10%	16,90%
	k1-k3	48,40%	51,60%
	k2-k3	64,80%	35,20%
Total		66,10%	33,90%

TABLE 17
PROFILES BY REFRIGERATOR OWNERSHIP

% within PURE

		frige	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	9,30%	90,70%
	k2	35,50%	64,50%
	k3	2,70%	97,30%
	k1-k2	25,00%	75,00%
	k1-k3	6,90%	93,10%
	k2-k3	14,10%	85,90%
Total		16,10%	83,90%

TABLE 18
PROFILES BY MIXER OWNERSHIP

		% within PURE	
		mixer	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	16,80%	83,20%
	k2	28,90%	71,10%
	k3	3,50%	96,50%
	k1-k2	23,40%	76,60%
	k1-k3	5,30%	94,70%
	k2-k3	14,80%	85,20%
Total		16,00%	84,00%

TABLE 19
PROFILES BY CD OWNERSHIP

		% within PURE	
		cd	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	94,40%	5,60%
	k2	91,70%	8,30%
	k3	54,00%	46,00%
	k1-k2	93,50%	6,50%
	k1-k3	78,70%	21,30%
	k2-k3	75,00%	25,00%
Total		83,40%	16,60%

TABLE 20
PROFILES BY SATELLITE ANTENNA

		% within PURE	
		satellit	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	97,50%	2,50%
	k2	99,20%	0,80%
	k3	78,80%	21,20%
	k1-k2	96,00%	4,00%
	k1-k3	94,10%	5,90%
	k2-k3	85,20%	14,80%
Total		92,80%	7,20%

TABLE 21
PROFILES BY CHECK OWNERSHIP

		% within PURE	
		chec	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	96,90%	3,10%
	k2	100,00%	
	k3	57,50%	42,50%
	k1-k2	99,60%	0,40%
	k1-k3	84,00%	16,00%
	k2-k3	93,00%	7,00%
Total		90,30%	9,70%

TABLE 22
PROFILES BY CREDIT CARD OWNERSHIP

		% within PURE	
		credcar	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	98,10%	1,90%
	k2	98,30%	1,70%
	k3	55,80%	44,20%
	k1-k2	98,40%	1,60%
	k1-k3	81,90%	18,10%
	k2-k3	91,40%	8,60%
Total		89,20%	10,80%

TABLE 23
PROFILES BY TELEPHONE OWNERSHIP

		% within PURE	
		phone	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	91,90%	8,10%
	k2	98,30%	1,70%
	k3	42,50%	57,50%
	k1-k2	97,20%	2,80%
	k1-k3	70,20%	29,80%
	k2-k3	85,90%	14,10%
Total		83,20%	16,80%

TABLE 24
PROFILE BY AGE FIRST WATCHED TV

		% within PURE			
		AGEFTV			
		0-9 years	10-14 years	15-17 years	18 or more
PURE	k1	21,10%	26,10%	18,00%	34,80%
	k2	19,00%	36,40%	14,90%	29,80%
	k3	53,10%	30,10%	9,70%	7,10%
	k1-k2	21,40%	27,80%	11,30%	39,50%
	k1-k3	37,20%	28,20%	13,30%	21,30%
	k2-k3	37,50%	34,40%	6,30%	21,90%
Total		30,00%	29,80%	12,40%	27,70%

TABLE 25
PROFILES BY SEVEN O'CLOCK TELENVELA VIEWING

		% within PURE			
		SEVENTEL			
		Never	Rarely	Some times	Frequentl y
PURE	k1	62,70%	10,60%	18,00%	8,70%
	k2	38,80%	5,00%	13,20%	43,00%
	k3	49,60%	11,50%	23,00%	15,90%
	k1-k2	50,40%	5,60%	16,90%	27,00%
	k1-k3	53,70%	11,20%	18,10%	17,00%
	k2-k3	42,20%	8,60%	21,10%	28,10%
Total		50,50%	8,60%	18,10%	22,80%

TABLE 26
PROFILES BY EIGHT O'CLOCK TELENVELA VIEWING

		EIGHTEL			
		Never	Rarely	Some times	Frequently
PURE	k1	24,20%	8,70%	34,20%	32,90%
	k2	24,80%	0,80%	5,80%	68,60%
	k3	19,50%	12,40%	31,90%	36,30%
	k1-k2	27,40%	2,80%	20,60%	49,20%
	k1-k3	17,00%	8,00%	34,00%	41,00%
	k2-k3	14,10%	2,30%	14,10%	69,50%
Total		21,80%	5,60%	24,10%	48,50%

TABLE 27
PROFILES BY PRIME TIME NEWS VIEWING

		NNEWS			
		Never	Rarely	Some times	Frequently
PURE	k1	23,60%	16,80%	42,20%	17,40%
	k2	38,80%	6,60%	24,00%	30,60%
	k3	4,40%	10,60%	37,20%	47,80%
	k1-k2	29,80%	8,10%	32,30%	29,80%
	k1-k3	13,30%	9,60%	34,00%	43,10%
	k2-k3	16,40%	3,90%	33,60%	46,10%
Total		21,90%	9,40%	34,00%	34,70%

TABLE 28
PROFILES BY NEWSPAPER READING

		NEWSPAP	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	89,40%	10,60%
	k2	91,70%	8,30%
	k3	1,80%	98,20%
	k1-k2	94,40%	5,60%
	k1-k3	40,40%	59,60%
	k2-k3	35,90%	64,10%
Total		63,90%	36,10%

TABLE 29
PROFILES BY MAGAZINE READING

		MAGAZINE	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	80,10%	19,90%
	k2	95,00%	5,00%
	k3	10,60%	89,40%
	k1-k2	90,70%	9,30%
	k1-k3	53,70%	46,30%
	k2-k3	53,10%	46,90%
Total		67,80%	32,20%

TABLE 30
PROFILES BY WEEKLY MAGAZINE

% within PURE

		WEEKM	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	95,70%	4,30%
	k2	96,70%	3,30%
	k3	12,40%	87,60%
	k1-k2	98,80%	1,20%
	k1-k3	62,80%	37,20%
	k2-k3	64,80%	35,20%
Total		76,20%	23,80%

TABLE 31
PROFILES BY TV MAGAZINE

% within PURE

		TVM	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	96,30%	3,70%
	k2	96,70%	3,30%
	k3	37,20%	62,80%
	k1-k2	98,80%	1,20%
	k1-k3	75,00%	25,00%
	k2-k3	68,00%	32,00%
Total		82,10%	17,90%

TABLE 32
PROFILES BY WOMEN'S MAGAZINE

% within PURE

		WM	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	97,50%	2,50%
	k2	95,00%	5,00%
	k3	61,10%	38,90%
	k1-k2	98,40%	1,60%
	k1-k3	79,30%	20,70%
	k2-k3	60,90%	39,10%
Total		84,70%	15,30%

TABLE 33
PROFILES BY EIGHT O'CLOCK PRIORITY

% within PURE

		EIGHTPR		
		Low	Middle	High
PURE	k1	39,80%	42,20%	18,00%
	k2	8,30%	16,50%	75,20%
	k3	56,60%	38,10%	5,30%
	k1-k2	21,40%	33,50%	45,20%
	k1-k3	42,00%	45,20%	12,80%
	k2-k3	14,80%	41,40%	43,80%
Total		30,10%	36,70%	33,20%

TABLE 34
PROFILES BY EIGHT O'CLOCK ENTERTAINMENT
 % within PURE

		ENTER08		
		Low	Middle	High
PURE	k1	39,10%	30,40%	30,40%
	k2	20,70%	25,60%	53,70%
	k3	44,20%	32,70%	23,00%
	k1-k2	25,00%	25,00%	50,00%
	k1-k3	36,20%	39,90%	23,90%
	k2-k3	23,40%	34,40%	42,20%
Total		31,10%	31,10%	37,90%

TABLE 35
PROFILES BY CHILDREN EVER BORN
 % within PURE

		CBALIVE		
		0-1 child	2 children	3 or more children
PURE	k1	11,20%	22,40%	66,50%
	k2	19,80%	30,60%	49,60%
	k3	35,40%	23,90%	40,70%
	k1-k2	20,60%	22,60%	56,90%
	k1-k3	28,20%	27,10%	44,70%
	k2-k3	37,50%	25,00%	37,50%
Total		24,40%	24,90%	50,70%

TABLE 36
PROFILES BY KNOW PERIOD TO GET PREGNANT
 % within PURE

		CYCLE	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	82,60%	17,40%
	k2	90,10%	9,90%
	k3	46,00%	54,00%
	k1-k2	90,70%	9,30%
	k1-k3	62,80%	37,20%
	k2-k3	78,10%	21,90%
Total		76,90%	23,10%

TABLE 37
PROFILES BY GYNECHOLOGICAL EXAM
 % within PURE

		GYNE	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	8,70%	91,30%
	k2	32,20%	67,80%
	k3	4,40%	95,60%
	k1-k2	27,40%	72,60%
	k1-k3	6,90%	93,10%
	k2-k3	13,30%	86,70%
Total		16,30%	83,70%

TABLE 38
PROFILES BY EVER USE OF CONTRACEPTIVES

		% within PURE	
		EVERUSE	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	13,70%	86,30%
	k2	9,90%	90,10%
	k3	15,90%	84,10%
	k1-k2	22,20%	77,80%
	k1-k3	15,40%	84,60%
	k2-k3	21,90%	78,10%
Total		17,10%	82,90%

TABLE 39
PROFILES BY DESIRED NUMBER OF CHILDREN

		% within PURE		
		DESIRED		
		0-1 child	2 children	3 or more children
PURE	k1	39,80%	24,80%	35,40%
	k2	13,20%	31,40%	55,40%
	k3	31,90%	31,00%	37,20%
	k1-k2	25,80%	31,00%	43,10%
	k1-k3	37,20%	33,50%	29,30%
	k2-k3	13,30%	36,70%	50,00%
Total		27,80%	31,30%	40,90%

TABLE 40
PROFILES BY CATHOLIC RELIGION

		% within PURE	
		CATHOLIC	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	32,30%	67,70%
	k2	17,40%	82,60%
	k3	16,80%	83,20%
	k1-k2	24,60%	75,40%
	k1-k3	25,50%	74,50%
	k2-k3	20,30%	79,70%
Total		23,70%	76,30%

TABLE 41
PROFILES BY CHURCH ATTENDANCE

		% within PURE			
		CHATT			
		At least once a week	Two times or once per month	Rarely, special occasions	Never
PURE	k1	70,20%	21,70%	2,50%	5,60%
	k2	8,30%	23,10%	38,80%	29,80%
	k3	49,60%	21,20%	18,60%	10,60%
	k1-k2	39,90%	29,40%	15,30%	15,30%
	k1-k3	64,40%	20,70%	10,60%	4,30%
	k2-k3	21,10%	30,50%	24,20%	24,20%
Total		44,40%	24,80%	16,80%	14,00%

TABLE 42
PROFILES BY CHURCH PREFERRED LEISURE

		% within PURE	
		GOCHURCH	
		No	Yes
PURE	k1	97,50%	2,50%
	k2	81,00%	19,00%
	k3	78,80%	21,20%
	k1-k2	93,10%	6,90%
	k1-k3	91,00%	9,00%
	k2-k3	89,10%	10,90%
Total		89,70%	10,30%

TABLE 43
PROFILES BY RELIGIOSITY SIN AND PUNISHMENT

		% within PURE			
		RELIG1			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	6,20%	80,70%	13,00%	
	k2	14,90%	49,60%	31,40%	4,10%
	k3	50,40%	47,80%		1,80%
	k1-k2	7,70%	62,90%	27,40%	2,00%
	k1-k3	21,30%	70,20%	6,40%	2,10%
	k2-k3	21,90%	60,90%	13,30%	3,90%
Total		17,90%	63,60%	16,30%	2,20%

TABLE 44
PROFILES BY IMPORTANCE OF RELIGION AND PRAY IN LIFE

		% within PURE			
		RELIG2			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	4,30%	76,40%	19,30%	
	k2	42,10%	36,40%	18,20%	3,30%
	k3	31,90%	52,20%	14,20%	1,80%
	k1-k2	20,20%	55,20%	24,20%	0,40%
	k1-k3	12,20%	64,90%	21,30%	1,60%
	k2-k3	37,50%	46,10%	15,60%	0,80%
Total		22,40%	56,70%	19,70%	1,10%

TABLE 45
PROFILES BY ACCEPTANCE OF COSMETIC SURGERY

		% within PURE			
		BEAUTY1			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	24,20%	60,20%	15,50%	
	k2	29,80%	29,80%	37,20%	3,30%
	k3	10,60%	61,10%	26,50%	1,80%
	k1-k2	21,80%	54,40%	21,80%	2,00%
	k1-k3	18,10%	54,80%	26,10%	1,10%
	k2-k3	22,70%	49,20%	26,60%	1,60%
Total		21,30%	52,50%	24,70%	1,60%

TABLE 46
PROFILES BY BEAUTY IS ESSENTIAL IN LIFE
 % within PURE

		BEAUTY2			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	31,70%	66,50%	1,20%	0,60%
	k2	3,30%	36,40%	52,90%	7,40%
	k3	27,40%	54,00%	15,90%	2,70%
	k1-k2	18,10%	50,40%	29,00%	2,40%
	k1-k3	30,30%	55,30%	11,20%	3,20%
	k2-k3	9,40%	54,70%	31,30%	4,70%
Total		20,90%	53,30%	22,60%	3,20%

TABLE 47
PROFILES BY LIBERAL VIEW ON SEXUAL BEHAVIOR
 % within PURE

		SEX2			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	44,10%	33,50%	22,40%	
	k2	40,50%	24,80%	31,40%	3,30%
	k3	11,50%	38,90%	46,00%	3,50%
	k1-k2	50,40%	24,60%	22,60%	2,40%
	k1-k3	32,40%	39,40%	25,50%	2,70%
	k2-k3	12,50%	36,70%	50,00%	0,80%
Total		34,90%	32,30%	30,70%	2,10%

TABLE 48
PROFILES POSITIVE VIEW ON SEX WITHOUT REPRODUCTION
 % within PURE

		SEX4			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	59,60%	17,40%	23,00%	
	k2	30,60%	28,10%	38,00%	3,30%
	k3	42,50%	30,10%	26,50%	0,90%
	k1-k2	46,80%	21,00%	31,00%	1,20%
	k1-k3	50,50%	17,00%	31,90%	0,50%
	k2-k3	34,40%	25,80%	37,50%	2,30%
Total		45,50%	22,20%	31,10%	1,30%

TABLE 49
PROFILES BY ACCEPTANCE OF ADULTERY
 % within PURE

		ADULT1			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	16,10%	79,50%	4,30%	
	k2	31,40%	37,20%	26,40%	5,00%
	k3	24,80%	48,70%	23,00%	3,50%
	k1-k2	29,40%	54,80%	14,50%	1,20%
	k1-k3	27,10%	64,40%	7,40%	1,10%
	k2-k3	35,20%	39,10%	25,00%	0,80%
Total		27,20%	55,80%	15,30%	1,70%

TABLE 50
PROFILES BY ACCEPTANCE OF ADULTERY DISGUISED
 % within PURE

		ADULT3			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	25,50%	69,60%	4,30%	0,60%
	k2	12,40%	56,20%	28,10%	3,30%
	k3	17,70%	61,10%	17,70%	3,50%
	k1-k2	31,00%	54,40%	11,70%	2,80%
	k1-k3	27,10%	61,70%	9,60%	1,60%
	k2-k3	13,30%	58,60%	25,80%	2,30%
Total		23,00%	60,00%	14,70%	2,30%

TABLE 51
PROFILES BY PUNITIVE THOUGHTS ABOUT UNFAITHFUL WOMEN
 % within PURE

		ADULT4			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	10,60%	87,00%	2,50%	
	k2	26,40%	52,10%	18,20%	3,30%
	k3	57,50%	39,80%	0,90%	1,80%
	k1-k2	18,50%	67,30%	12,90%	1,20%
	k1-k3	33,00%	62,20%	4,30%	0,50%
	k2-k3	49,20%	43,00%	7,00%	0,80%
Total		29,70%	61,20%	7,90%	1,10%

TABLE 52
PROFILES BY VIEW ON WOMEN'S SUBMISSION TO HUSBAND
 % within PURE

		MACHO1			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	2,50%	88,20%	8,10%	1,20%
	k2	12,40%	42,10%	39,70%	5,80%
	k3	54,90%	39,80%	0,90%	4,40%
	k1-k2	4,80%	62,50%	30,20%	2,40%
	k1-k3	18,60%	75,00%	4,30%	2,10%
	k2-k3	34,40%	53,90%	7,80%	3,90%
Total		17,90%	62,90%	16,20%	3,00%

TABLE 53
PROFILES BY NEGATIVE VIEW ON WOMEN SMOKING OR DRINKING IN PUBLIC
 % within PURE

		MACHO4			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	14,30%	30,40%	53,40%	1,90%
	k2	19,00%	28,90%	47,90%	4,10%
	k3	63,70%	23,00%	12,40%	0,90%
	k1-k2	23,80%	35,50%	39,90%	0,80%
	k1-k3	32,40%	36,70%	29,80%	1,10%
	k2-k3	39,80%	28,90%	29,70%	1,60%
Total		30,10%	31,70%	36,60%	1,60%

TABLE 54
PROFILES BY EGALITARIAN VIEW ON WOMEN'S ROLE

		MACHO7			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	33,50%	56,50%	9,30%	0,60%
	k2	33,90%	24,80%	37,20%	4,10%
	k3	37,20%	47,80%	11,50%	3,50%
	k1-k2	30,60%	39,50%	28,60%	1,20%
	k1-k3	45,20%	41,00%	12,80%	1,10%
	k2-k3	32,80%	39,80%	26,60%	0,80%
Total		35,50%	41,80%	21,10%	1,70%

TABLE 55
PROFILES BY ACCEPTANCE OF COHABITATION AND ABORTION

		MARRIAG1			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	42,20%	48,40%	8,10%	1,20%
	k2	15,70%	26,40%	51,20%	6,60%
	k3	28,30%	38,10%	26,50%	7,10%
	k1-k2	27,80%	34,30%	34,70%	3,20%
	k1-k3	45,20%	34,60%	16,00%	4,30%
	k2-k3	25,80%	28,90%	43,00%	2,30%
Total		31,90%	35,50%	28,80%	3,90%

TABLE 56
PROFILES BY TRADITIONAL VIEW ON MARRIAGE AND VIRGINITY Crosstabulation

		MARRIAG2			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	3,70%	59,60%	36,60%	
	k2	33,10%	33,90%	28,90%	4,10%
	k3	53,10%	39,80%	3,50%	3,50%
	k1-k2	16,50%	44,40%	37,50%	1,60%
	k1-k3	24,50%	55,30%	19,70%	0,50%
	k2-k3	49,20%	35,20%	13,30%	2,30%
Total		26,70%	46,00%	25,50%	1,80%

TABLE 57
PROFILES BY VIEW THAT CHILDREN ARE MOST IMPORTANT IN MARRIAGE

		KIDS1			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	8,70%	64,60%	26,70%	
	k2	31,40%	37,20%	27,30%	4,10%
	k3	45,10%	46,00%	6,20%	2,70%
	k1-k2	16,50%	54,40%	27,00%	2,00%
	k1-k3	26,10%	62,20%	9,60%	2,10%
	k2-k3	46,90%	41,40%	10,20%	1,60%
Total		26,40%	52,80%	18,90%	2,00%

TABLE 58
PROFILES BY DESIRE TO GIVE MATERIAL GOODS TO CHILDREN (SPOILING)
 % within PURE

		KIDS3			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	11,20%	83,20%	5,00%	0,60%
	k2	18,20%	41,30%	36,40%	4,10%
	k3	25,70%	70,80%	2,70%	0,90%
	k1-k2	9,30%	70,60%	18,10%	2,00%
	k1-k3	16,00%	78,70%	5,30%	
	k2-k3	16,40%	68,00%	14,10%	1,60%
Total		14,90%	70,30%	13,30%	1,50%

TABLE 59
PROFILES BY EMBARRASSMENT TALKING CONTRACEPTION WITH HUSBAND
 % within PURE

		CONTRAC2			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	23,00%	52,80%	23,60%	0,60%
	k2	13,20%	32,20%	50,40%	4,10%
	k3	44,20%	46,00%	4,40%	5,30%
	k1-k2	13,70%	48,40%	36,70%	1,20%
	k1-k3	32,40%	51,60%	14,90%	1,10%
	k2-k3	33,60%	44,50%	19,50%	2,30%
Total		25,10%	46,90%	25,90%	2,10%

TABLE 60
PROFILES BY POSITIVE VIEW ON FAMILY PLANNING
 % within PURE

		CONTRAC1			
		Low	Middle	High	Missing
PURE	k1	21,10%	72,70%	5,60%	0,60%
	k2	10,70%	38,00%	46,30%	5,00%
	k3	12,40%	59,30%	27,40%	0,90%
	k1-k2	17,70%	62,10%	18,50%	1,60%
	k1-k3	16,50%	67,60%	14,90%	1,10%
	k2-k3	5,50%	52,30%	40,60%	1,60%
Total		14,90%	60,30%	23,10%	1,70%