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Source: *Journal of Marriage and Family*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (May, 1970), pp. 284-292

Published by: National Council on Family Relations

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/350136>

Accessed: 26-12-2019 11:27 UTC

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# Social Status, Mobility and Premarital Pregnancy: A Case of Brazil\*

E. WILBUR BOCK AND SUGIYAMA IUTAKA\*\*

*The purpose of the present study was to investigate the relative importance of variables surrounding premarital pregnancy. The data were based on responses obtained from 1,520 women in Rio de Janeiro in 1963. The factors found to be related significantly to premarital pregnancy were educational attainment, social status of father, social status of husband, and social mobility. Although age appeared to be operating in the predicted direction, the statistical tests failed to be significant. Measures of religion were not found to be significant. The most prominent feature of the present study was the significance of social class background and social mobility. The data suggest that premarital pregnancy has significance for social mobility through the process of mate selection. Premarital conception may result in middle-class females being downwardly mobile to find mates. Future research can determine whether social mobility of females occurs before or after premarital conception. More cross-cultural comparisons on the dynamics of courtship are needed to ascertain the full significance of premarital pregnancy.*

PAST research has indicated that premarital pregnancy is associated with such factors as age at marriage, religiosity, and social class, as measured by occupation and education (Gebhard *et al.*, 1958; Monahan, 1960; Christensen, 1963; Lowrie, 1965; Dooghe, 1968). The purpose of the present study is to investigate the relative importance of the relationship between premarital pregnancy and social class.

A number of interdependent factors is related both to the incidence and to the consequences of premarital pregnancy. Many of these factors (e.g., attitudes toward premarital sexual intercourse, contraceptives, abortion and illegitimacy) vary among the subpopulations in any given society. Thus, the background factors noted above have been found to be related to situational factors which would affect more immediately the probability of premarital pregnancy. For example, such behavior as premarital intercourse (Kinsey *et al.*, 1948:430-431; Kinsey *et al.*, 1953: 333) and the use of contraceptives (Gebhard *et al.*, 1958: 46-47; Rainwater and Weinstein, 1960: 122-166; Pope, 1967: 563) have demonstrated relationship with social class. Further, the various alternative conse-

quences of premarital pregnancy have been shown to be related to these background factors. Thus, among those who are involved in a premarital pregnancy, lower-class females are less likely than upper-class females to undergo an abortion (Gebhard *et al.*, 1958: 78). Moreover, they are more likely to bear an illegitimate child (Gebhard *et al.*, 1958: 78; Kronick, 1966: 242-244 and 250) and to keep the child rather than surrender it for adoption (Vincent, 1961: 188-189; Jones *et al.*, 1962).

Although the background variables mentioned above have been found to be related to premarital pregnancy, its antecedents and its consequences, the relative importance of these factors in affecting the probability of this phenomenon has yet to be firmly established. The best indication at present is that the social class is one of the most salient factors related to both the immediate courtship pattern and to its outcome (Kronick, 1966).

Although there has been little investigation of the relationship between social mobility and premarital sexual behavior, some research has indicated the possible significance of this relationship. While upward mobility through occupational and educational channels appears to be related with restrictive sexual behavior, mobility through marriage appears, at least for females, to be related with permissive behavior.

Upward occupational and educational mobility seems to result in overconformity to the sexual attitudes and behaviors of the higher social class (Kinsey *et al.*, 1948: 419 and 430-431; Kinsey *et al.*, 1953: 297; Lindenfeld, 1960; Reiss, 1967: 67-68). Kinsey, in fact, states that the sex history of the individual corresponds to the pattern of the social class into which he

\* This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, New Orleans, April 1969. The research is part of the Seven Surveys of Fertility and Family Planning conducted by the Latin American Demographic Center, Santiago, Chile. The Rio de Janeiro survey was conducted by the Latin American Center for Research in the Social Sciences and was directed by Sugiyama Iutaka while he was a member of that institution. The authors wish to thank Dr. Gerald R. Leslie, University of Florida, for his critical review of the manuscript.

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moves (Kinsey *et al.*, 1948: 419 and 430-431). Thus, not only upward mobility but downward mobility as well may be related to premarital sex behavior.

Another avenue for social mobility, at least for females, is that of marriage, and it is with marital mobility that the present research is primarily concerned. The aspirations of females may be reflected in the type of males they date and with whom they become increasingly involved. Their aspirations may affect their premarital sex behavior. Research has indicated, for example, that premarital intercourse is most likely to occur when the male's social class background is higher than that of the female he is dating (Ehrmann, 1959: 145-146; Kanin and Howard, 1958: 558). The lower class female may see intercourse as a means of cementing the relationship and assuring her upward mobility through a future marriage with her mate.

Although cross-class dating and courtship affect the incidence of intercourse, the extent to which contraceptives are used in such a relationship remains unknown. The study of Kanin and Howard found that couples who had had premarital intercourse were less likely than other couples to use contraceptives after marriage. Such lack of use may reflect, among other things, a continuation of the nonuse of contraceptives before marriage. The validity of this suggestion could not be determined by the study (Kanin and Howard, 1958: 558).

The relationship between cross-class dating and courtship, on the one hand, and premarital conception, on the other hand, has been investigated even less than premarital sexual intercourse. The research of Kanin and Howard indicated that marriages between high-status males and low-status females are more likely to follow a pregnancy than are marriages between other combinations of mates (Kanin and Howard, 1958: 558).

Although the rates and effects of premarital pregnancy vary among societies, limited comparisons have indicated certain cross-cultural regularities. Differences appear with regularity among such subpopulations as age and social class categories in other countries as well as in the United States. Thus, a number of background variables apparently have predictive value concerning premarital pregnancy regardless of the culture involved (Christensen, 1960).

The present research investigates some social factors surrounding premarital pregnancy in Brazil, and attempts to ascertain the interaction and relative importance of these factors. Thus, this research is seen partially as a verification of

previous research and an extension of earlier findings. The use of data drawn from a Brazilian population is advantageous from two points of view. One advantage is the verification of previous empirical findings from other research in other societies, in order to determine whether the variables thought to affect premarital pregnancy also play a significant part in Brazil. The second advantage is that the phenomenon presently investigated occurs in a "developing" society, whereas most of the previous studies were carried out in industrial nations. These considerations point to the significance of the present attempt to extend the search for cross-cultural regularities and differences.

In light of past research, the following propositions were formulated for the present investigation:

1. In comparison with females who wait until after marriage to become pregnant, those who become premaritally pregnant are generally (a) younger, (b) non-Catholic, (c) less religious, (d) less educated, and (e) of a lower social class background.

2. Of all the variables considered, social class is the most significant factor discriminating between females who do and females who do not become premaritally pregnant.

3. Females who are socially upwardly mobile are less likely to become premaritally pregnant than are females who are socially immobile, while the latter are less likely to experience premarital pregnancy than are downwardly mobile females.

#### METHOD

This study uses data collected in an investigation of fertility and family planning in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1963. This was the first survey conducted in Brazil aimed at understanding the use of contraceptive methods, plans regarding family size, and the number of children born. A history of pregnancy was obtained for each woman interviewed, and this information permitted the present investigators to make an analysis of premarital pregnancy reported here.

The city of Rio de Janeiro was divided into segments. Each segment had an equal chance of being selected, since differential weights were determined according to the population in each segment. Four hundred segments were selected and six women between the ages of 20 and 50 were selected in each segment. A list was made and every second female was interviewed. This procedure gave an equal chance to every woman in these segments of being selected, regardless of the number of eligible women in each house-

hold. Thus, the sample represents the female population of Rio de Janeiro, regardless of marital status. A direct interview using a questionnaire was administered to each of the 2,496 women selected.

Premarital pregnancy is defined here as involving those women who had a live birth between the date of the first marriage and six months after this event had taken place. Although some of the women had a child after this period, for instance in the seventh month, they were excluded since they may have had a premature birth. Of course, some of the women having a child during the sixth calendar month may also have had a premature birth but it seems more plausible that they actually had a premarital pregnancy. Previous studies (Christensen, 1960; Lowrie, 1965) also have used the six-month criterion (although variation is found among the studies) and thus the same measure was maintained in order to permit comparisons with earlier studies.

Of the initial sample all women without children were excluded. All women who had an illegitimate child were also excluded since illegitimacy seems to be a phenomenon different from premarital pregnancy (Pope and Knudsen, 1965). Although some of the latter women also would have experienced a premarital pregnancy, it was preferred to keep them separate in order to avoid biasing the analysis. Finally all women who did not declare the date of their marriage and/or the date of the child's birth were excluded. These women were more likely to be in the lower classes and this class differential probably underestimated premarital pregnancy rates for the lower classes. The sample was then reduced to 1,520 women.

The marital relationship included both legal and common-law (*convivente*) unions. Two considerations led the investigators to combine these categories and to treat them both as "married" for the purposes of the present study. First, common-law marriages represent a valid alternative to legal marriages in some segments of Brazilian society, although common-law marriages are more prevalent in the lower strata. As far as legal problems are concerned, some differences are not great when one compares common-law and legal marriages. The offspring of common-law marriages are entitled to receive part of the inheritance. Of course, common-law marriages seem to be more unstable than the legal unions, since divorce does not exist in Brazil. However, one can expect a large proportion of common-law marriages to be stable, although complete data are not available to prove or contradict such a statement. The second and most

important factor which led to combining both types of marriages was the small number of common-law marriages reported. About ten percent of the women with children were common-law wives, and this small number limited the amount of analysis possible. It is also necessary to point out that the informants declared themselves as having a family. Interviewers were instructed to take the date of the beginning of the marriage whenever informants declared that a family existed. Those who did not report themselves as being married were included in the category of unwed mothers and excluded from the present analysis.

Other measures used in this analysis which need explanation are: education, social status, religiosity and social mobility. Education is divided into three categories: no education, some elementary education (up to four years), and some secondary education (six years or more). The difference of one year is explained by the fact that there is one year of *admissao*, when the student is being prepared for the examination which takes place before he is admitted into the secondary school. This division seems to be the most significant one for Brazil from a sociological point of view (Iutaka, 1962). The few cases of premarital pregnancy among women with university education justify combining them with the next lower category, those who had some secondary education. Since elementary education is the aim of the urban lower Brazil, it seems that the type of individual attaining some elementary school education is different from the type of person who does not go to school at all.

Social statuses of the women were ascribed to them by their husband's and father's occupations. The latter is to serve as a background identification, while the husband's occupation is to indicate the social class to which these women now belong. It was preferred to use the husband's occupation instead of that of the respondent since most of the women interviewed did not work. The hierarchy of occupations used to place individuals in the society was validated by Hutchinson and Castaldi (1960) for Brazil. The six status categories measured by occupation are: 1) professional and high administrative, 2) managerial and executive, 3) inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual (higher grade), 4) inspectional, supervisory and other non-manual (lower grade), 5) skilled manual, and 6) semi-skilled and unskilled manual. The basic occupations used were drawn from Glass' study of social mobility in Britain (Moser and Hall, 1954) and received modifications for studies of Brazil. Glass' seven categories were reduced to six for Brazil due to the difficulties

of making a hierarchy of unskilled and semi-skilled occupations, which were then combined into one category. The six categories were combined into three strata for this investigation, and then were combined into non-manual levels and manual levels. The lowest two of the six categories comprise the manual stratum, and the non-manual stratum consists of the remaining categories.

The next measure requiring specification is religiosity. Catholicism is the predominant religion of Brazil, which is considered the "largest Catholic country" in the world. Thus, for this investigation, Catholics were separated from other religious groups, and then the former were divided into three categories: non-practicing, semi-practicing, and practicing Catholics. Those who declared themselves as being Catholics but did not attend any religious services were classified in the first category; those who declared themselves Catholics and who went to church services at least three times a month and communed at least once a year were classified as being practicing Catholics. All others, who comprised the majority of the population, were categorized as semi-practicing Catholics.

Finally, social mobility was measured in three different ways: (1) presence or absence of social mobility; (2) the direction of social mobility; and (3) the direction of social mobility keeping constant social status of origin. The first two measures of social mobility took into consideration all of the six status categories mentioned above. The third measure took into account only the two major strata, non-manual and manual. Social mobility was measured by comparing the status of father and husband, i.e., the first as the status of origin and the latter as the social status attained presently.

The reason most of the variables were categorized broadly in this report is due to the size of the sample. In other words, since the total number of women who experienced premarital pregnancy is not large, it was necessary to combine them into larger categories in order to be able to use some of the statistical tests.

#### ANALYSIS

*Proposition 1.* The first proposition states that the factors which are significantly related to premarital pregnancy are (a) age at marriage, (b) religious affiliation, (c) religiosity, (d) educational attainment, and (e) social class background.

The data presented in Table 1 offer partial support for this proposition. The factors which do not discriminate at all between premaritally

TABLE 1. WOMEN WITH PREMARITAL PREGNANCY, BY SELECTED VARIABLES, RIO DE JANEIRO, 1963

	Percent Premarital (6 Months or Less)	Total Number
Age at Marriage		
19 or younger	7.1	(649)
20 or older	4.9	(869)
	$\chi^2=2.71$ , $df=1$ (n.s.)	
Religion		
Catholic	6.0	(1,300)
Non-Catholic	5.1	(217)
	$\chi^2=0.15$ , $df=1$ (n.s.)	
Religiosity <sup>a</sup>		
Non-practicing	5.3	(262)
Semi-practicing	6.4	(719)
Practicing	5.6	(319)
	$\chi^2=0.47$ , $df=2$ (n.s.)	
Education		
None	5.8	(120)
Elementary	8.2	(903)
Secondary or more	1.6	(492)
	$\chi^2=24.85$ , $df=2$ , $p<.01$	
Social Status of Father		
High	0.9	(107)
Medium	2.6	(392)
Low	7.5	(920)
	$\chi^2=17.47$ , $df=2$ , $p<.01$	
Social Status of Husband		
High	1.5	(201)
Medium	3.8	(478)
Low	8.0	(789)
	$\chi^2=17.55$ , $df=2$ , $p<.01$	
Total <sup>b</sup>	5.9	1,520

<sup>a</sup> Catholics only.

<sup>b</sup> The *n*'s are not equal because of the non-responses.

and post-maritally pregnant women are (1) religious affiliation and (2) religiosity. Although age at marriage appears to be operating in the predicted direction, the statistical test fails to be significant. Educational attainment social status of father, and social status of husband are highly significantly related to premarital pregnancy. These latter data, therefore, support the first proposition.

It must be noted, however, that the relationship between educational attainment and premarital pregnancy does not appear to be simply linear. The largest difference is noted between women who have had at least some secondary education and women who are less educated. On the other hand, there is a relatively small difference between women who had only a primary education and women who received no formal education at all.

TABLE 2. WOMEN WITH PREMARITAL PREGNANCY, BY SOCIAL STATUS AND SELECTED VARIABLES RIO DE JANEIRO, 1963

	Social Status of Father			
	Non-Manual		Manual	
	Percent Premarital (6 Months or less)	Total Number <sup>b</sup>	Percent Premarital (6 Months or less)	Total Number <sup>b</sup>
Age at Marriage				
19 or younger	2.5	(160)	8.4	(441)
20 or older	2.0	(341)	6.7	(478)
	$\chi^2=0.00$ , df=1 (n.s.)		$\chi^2=0.72$ , df=1 (n.s.)	
Religion				
Catholic	2.4	(425)	7.8	(790)
Non-Catholic	1.4	(72)	5.4	(129)
	$\chi^2=0.01$ , df=1 (n.s.)		$\chi^2=0.62$ , df=1 (n.s.)	
Religiosity <sup>a</sup>				
Non-practicing	1.2	(43)	7.4	(149)
Semi-practicing	3.8	(208)	7.7	(469)
Practicing	0.7	(134)	8.7	(173)
	$\chi^2=4.00$ , df=2 (n.s.)		$\chi^2=0.22$ , df=2 (n.s.)	
Education				
None	0.0	(7)	6.7	(105)
Elementary	4.1	(170)	8.9	(660)
Secondary or more	1.2	(319)	1.9	(154)
	$\chi^2=4.35$ , df=2 (n.s.)		$\chi^2=8.91$ , df=2, $p<.02$	
Social Status of Husband				
High	1.2	(161)	2.8	(35)
Medium	1.4	(219)	5.6	(232)
Low	5.4	(111)	8.2	(612)
	$\chi^2=6.57$ , df=2, $p<.05$		$\chi^2=2.70$ , df=2 (n.s.)	

<sup>a</sup> Catholics only

<sup>b</sup> The *n*'s are not equal because of the non-responses.

*Proposition 2.* The expectation of the second proposition is that social status background is the factor most significantly related to premarital pregnancy.

Data regarding father's status, in Table 1, appear to support this proposition. However, the data in this table indicate that, although it is significantly related to premarital pregnancy, father's status is not the most significant factor. Husband's status and educational attainment appear to be related just as significantly to premarital pregnancy as is father's status.

Table 2 presents additional analysis relevant to the second proposition. In this table, analysis is made regarding the relationship between the selected variables and premarital pregnancy, controlling on the social status background of the women.

The data in Table 2 appear to indicate that most of the differences noted among the characteristics of premaritally and postmaritally pregnant women are explained by their social class backgrounds. When tests are made on each variable within each status level, only two are significant. Husband's status is significantly related to premarital pregnancy among women with a non-manual background, but is not a significant variable among women with a manual background. Educational attainment is sig-

nificantly related to premarital pregnancy among those with a manual background but not among those with a non-manual background. Thus, the second proposition does appear to be supported by the data in Table 2.

It was noted in Table 1, however, that educational attainment and husband's status were also significantly related to premarital pregnancy. The data in Table 2 indicate further that these two variables continue to be related to some degree to premarital pregnancy, even after father's status is controlled. It might be suggested that social status background (as measured by father's status) is indeed the *antecedent factor* most significantly related to premarital pregnancy, and that premarital conception in turn, affects the subsequent status level attained by these women. If this interpretation is valid, then premarital pregnancy can be seen as having important consequences for the mobility of the women, as measured by educational attainment and, more particularly, by husband's status.

*Proposition 3.* The third proposition states that socially stable females are more likely to become premaritally pregnant than are upwardly mobile females, but are less likely to experience a premarital pregnancy than are downwardly mobile females. Table 3 provides data relative to this proposition.

TABLE 3. MOBILITY STATUS OF WOMEN WITH PREMARITAL PREGNANCY, BY DIRECTION OF MOBILITY AND SOCIAL STATUS, RIO DE JANEIRO, 1963

	Percent Premarital (6 Months or Less)	Total Number
Mobility Status <sup>a</sup>		
Immobile	5.1	(866)
Mobile	6.1	(505)
	$\chi^2=0.50$ , df=1 (n.s.)	
Direction of Mobility <sup>a</sup>		
Upward	4.9	(615)
Same	6.1	(505)
Downward	5.6	(251)
	$\chi^2=0.86$ , df=2 (n.s.)	
Mobility Across Strata		
Non-manual		
Immobile	1.3	(380)
Downward <sup>b</sup>	5.4	(111)
	$\chi^2=4.83$ , df=1, $p<.05$	
Manual		
Upward <sup>b</sup>	5.2	(267)
Immobile	8.2	(612)
	$\chi^2=1.94$ , df=1 (n.s.)	

<sup>a</sup> Mobility across six status categories.

<sup>b</sup> Crossing the line between manual and non-manual strata.

When comparisons are made between mobile and non-mobile individuals, the results are not significant. When the direction of the mobility is taken into account, the data appear to support the first part of the proposition but not the second part. Thus, upwardly mobile females seem less likely than socially stable females to become premaritally pregnant, but downwardly mobile females also appear less likely than the latter to have this experience. Testing of these differences, however, failed to be significant.

When both direction of mobility and the crossing of strata lines are accounted for, the data offer greater support for the third proposition. Among women with a non-manual background, those who are downwardly mobile are more likely to experience a premarital pregnancy than are females who remain in this status level. The difference is statistically significant. Among women with a manual background, those who are upwardly mobile seem less likely to become premaritally pregnant than are their non-mobile colleagues. The statistical test, however, for this difference was not significant.

The authors conclude that the third proposition is partially supported. Specifically, it is supported for women with a non-manual background but not for women with a manual background. The data on females with a manual background, however, fall in the predicted direction and indicate the value of further research.

The data in Table 3 show that the largest difference is between the socially stable females in the two status levels. Social class background, therefore, appears to remain the most significant variable related to premarital pregnancy. However, the data also indicate that social mobility, at least downward mobility from the non-manual to the manual level, offers additional information for the understanding and explanation of this phenomenon. It has yet to be determined whether this "skidding" occurs before or after the premarital pregnancy. However, it has been suggested in this paper that downward mobility of "middle class" females is part of the process of mate selection and is therefore probably an important consequence of premarital pregnancy. The picture presented may be biased due to underreporting of premarital pregnancy by middle and upper class women. However, it can also be argued that premarital pregnancy among those women are less prevalent because of the knowledge and use of contraceptive devices.

#### DISCUSSION

Insofar as the rates are comparable, Denmark and the United States have a higher proportion of women experiencing premarital pregnancy

than Brazil (Christensen, 1960: 33). The types of samples used in each country make comparisons difficult, if not impossible; therefore, they should be regarded as just indications that differences seem to exist. It is possible that the rate found in Rio de Janeiro reflects more the type of decisions of analysis than other factors. It was mentioned in the methodological section that the women with illegitimate children were subtracted from the sample. Since they constitute a group who could be included among the women with premarital conceptions because their pregnancies occur before marriage or outside marriage, and since the group (women with illegitimate and premarital children) was split into two categories of women, it is possible that such an analytical decision affected more the rates than other factors, such as the extension of knowledge and use of contraceptive methods and/or cultural differences.

Present analysis indicated that women in Rio de Janeiro who experience premarital pregnancy are more likely to be the less educated and belong to the lower social strata. In other words, it seems that in the lower social levels of the society the attitudes regarding sexual intercourse before marriage are more permissive than those in the middle and upper strata. Age is not statistically related in the significant way to premarital pregnancy. However, the data are consistent as far as direction is concerned; that is to say, the younger females seem to be more likely to experience premarital pregnancy than the older ones. This relationship is maintained even when the social status variable is controlled. If such a direction is valid it is possible that the differences found reflect the differential responsibility of the parents and the male element involved. The younger a woman is the more likely she is to be under the "protection" of her parents. When premarital pregnancy occurs and the expectant mother is less than eighteen years of age, her parents can even use the law to force marriage. On the other hand, if the woman is older she is supposed to be able to accept more responsibility for her actions. The present research, in conjunction with a recent study of illegitimacy (Iutaka and Bock, 1968) suggest that when a premarital conception does occur, younger women are more likely to give birth to the child after marriage, while older females are more likely to bear the child before marriage. Future research will have to ascertain the validity of this proposition.

It is interesting to note that the results of this research show that religious affiliation and religiosity do not discriminate. One could expect that individuals who are more exposed to religion would be less prone to become premari-

tally pregnant. In Brazil where Catholicism is the dominant religion and since this religion stresses virginity, one could expect that the more religious a woman is the less likely is she to become pregnant before marriage. It is possible that the type of measure used does not reflect religiosity, on the one hand, and that religion in Brazil is not a sufficiently strong socializing agent, on the other. That is to say, religion in that country may only impart what one may call Catholic tradition, but other factors such as social class values are more dominant than the tradition.

The most prominent feature of the present study is the significance of social class background and social mobility. Goode has suggested that the sexual behavior of people in the lower classes, compared with those of higher status, is less of a threat to the total society, and therefore can involve less of a commitment to the norms of chastity and legitimacy (Goode, 1964: 22). Data from this research appear to support this idea. Females from a lower social status seem to be more likely than those from a higher status to accept premarital sexual relations and pregnancy. However, the crucial difference between social class levels may be acceptance or nonacceptance of premarital pregnancy and illegitimacy, rather than attitudes toward premarital intercourse (Goode, 1964: 19-30; Pope and Knudsen, 1965; Pope, 1967: 563). The validity of this latter suggestion awaits further research. Whatever the differences among the social classes are, data from the present study lend support to Goode's conclusion that social mobility is related to changes in premarital sexual attitudes and behavior (Goode, 1960: 21-30). Those who cross the non-manual-manual line display a rate of premarital pregnancy that is between that of their original stratum and that of the stratum into which they have moved. The data, thus, suggests that premarital pregnancy has significance for social mobility through the process of mate selection.

The relationship between premarital conception and mate selection, however, has not yet been established. Studies have indicated that the courtship patterns of couples experiencing a premarital pregnancy are different from those of couples not having such an experience (Lowrie, 1965; Christensen, 1963). Yet, two studies concluded that the courtship pattern of couples involved with an illegitimacy are similar to those with no such results (Vincent, 1960; Pope, 1967). The debate over the difference of similarity between courtship patterns of those who do and those who do not conceive premaritally cannot be settled by past research which has in-

involved different populations. The studies of premarital pregnancy have concentrated on married couples, while studies of illegitimacy have focused on persons not married. A follow-up study of unwed mothers may indicate that their patterns of mate selection distinguish them from women who do not bear an illegitimate child. Although heterosexual relations prior to the premarital conception and premarital birth may be similar to other types of courtship, the outcome of these two types are perhaps quite dissimilar.

Other questions are raised by past research. If, for example, cross-class dating is likely to involve intercourse, then it might be assumed that couples involved in such dating use contraceptives to a far greater extent than do couples dating within their own class level. There is no clear evidence to answer this question. However, what evidence is available does not lend much support to this assumption. For example, Pope concluded that the only difference between courtship patterns of couples involved in an illegitimacy and those of other couples might be the former's non-use of contraceptives (Pope, 1967: 563). And, as already noted, Kanin and Howard found that couples who had had intercourse before marriage did not use contraceptives after marriage, such nonuse perhaps reflecting an approach to sex established before marriage (Kanin and Howard, 1958: 558). While the females in cross-class courtship may be using intercourse to stabilize the relationship and assure their upward mobility, they may also believe that a premarital conception will result in an even stronger tie with their mate. That such is the intention of lower-class females dating higher class males is indicated perhaps by the research of Vincent. He found that illegitimacy is more likely to be the result of a "love affair" (in contrast to a friendship or casual relationship) when the putative father is of a higher class than the unwed mother (Vincent, 1959).

Previous studies have not indicated whether premarital intercourse and premarital conception *do*, in fact, *result* in marriage with one's sex partner. That such an outcome in marriage actually occurs is suggested by Kanin and Howard, whose study focused on married pairs. It must be noted, however, that these couples apparently had experienced premarital intercourse, not premarital conception (Kanin and Howard, 1958). Limited information has also been provided by Pope and Knudsen who report a differential effect of premarital pregnancy and illegitimacy on the likelihood of a subsequent marriage with the sex partner. Their findings suggest that, at least among white females, mar-



riage with the partner is more likely to follow a premarital pregnancy than to follow an illegitimate birth (Pope and Knudsen, 1965: 321).

Further research is needed to determine the extent to which premarital pregnancy or illegitimacy integrates or disintegrates the couple. Women from a lower social class background may date men from a higher class, may use sexual intimacy as a means of stabilizing the relationship, and thus may attempt to realize their mobility aspirations for a future marriage with the sex partner. However, data from the present study, as well as data from another study by the authors on illegitimacy (Iutaka and Bock, 1968) indicate that premarital *conception* may at least counteract these aspirations and may even have the opposite consequences for the females. If conception is followed by marriage to the sex partner, present data suggest that the couple may have their aspirations thwarted and may, in fact, be downwardly mobile due to such factors as the interruption of educational training, the lack of financial resources, and the responsibility for establishing a family. However, the premarital conception may disintegrate the couple rather than lead them into marriage, and the event may force the female to seek a mate elsewhere. Premarital conception perhaps blocks the upward mobility of many lower class women who are using sexual intimacy as a means to such mobility. On the other hand, premarital conception may result in middle-class females being downwardly mobile to find suitable mates. Information on these particular points cannot be given by the present study which did not determine whether the husbands of these women had also been their sex partners. Future research can determine whether social mobility of females occurs before or after premarital conception.

Even if marriage with one's sex partner should follow a premarital conception, the permanence of the relationship is questionable. Studies by Christensen, for example, have indicated that marriages preceded by a premarital pregnancy are more likely to end in divorce than are marriages which do not involve such an experience (Christensen, 1963; Lowrie, 1965). The permanence of marriages preceded by illegitimacy remains to be investigated. In order to clarify the points raised by this and other research, future investigations must involve longitudinal studies which follow couples through dating into marriage. This type of investigation could determine sexual attitudes and behaviors in various kinds of courtships; the conditions under which intercourse is most likely to occur; the use of contraceptives under

such circumstances; the likelihood of marriage with one's sex partner if intercourse is experienced, if premarital pregnancy occurs, and if an illegitimate child results; and the adjustment of marriages preceded by such phenomena as intercourse, pregnancy, and illegitimacy.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The rate of premarital pregnancy in Rio de Janeiro seems to be lower than in the United States and Denmark. The factors related to premarital pregnancy are: educational attainment, social status of father and social status of husband. Age at marriage, although associated with premarital conception, is not statistically significant. Religious affiliation and religiosity do not confirm the hypothesis that the more religious and the Catholics are less likely to experience premarital pregnancy. Father's social status is the most significant background variable, but husband's status is the most important single factor associated with this phenomenon. Mobility status was found significant only when there is a crossing of the non-manual and manual line.

Premarital pregnancy is a function of social class, a relationship which suggests differential value systems held by members of the different classes. Consistently, education is associated with premarital pregnancy. However, Catholicism seems not to be a factor strong enough to prevent women from having this type of experience. It seems that religion in Brazil is more a cultural tradition than an institutional agency that would impart values which could be deeply internalized by its members. Finally, the findings on premarital pregnancy and social mobility suggest that the former has some significance for mate selection. Premarital conception may block upward mobility as well as induce downward mobility for those who are looking for a mate.

Further studies should be done on the relationship of social mobility through mate selection and premarital pregnancy since this has not been extensively investigated. In Brazil, research on patterns of dating and mating, sexual behavior prior to marriage, and the use of contraceptives during courtship seem to be essential to understanding more fully the significance of premarital pregnancy.

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