

---

## RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

---

### WHAT IS THE COLOR OF THE HOLY SPIRIT? Pentecostalism and Black Identity in Brazil\*

*John Burdick*  
*Syracuse University*

*Abstract: For the past twenty years, the organized black consciousness movement in Brazil has argued that Protestant Christianity is a highly assimilationist religion that pushes black converts to abandon their racial identity and seek incorporation into dominant white culture. The present study, based on a year of ethnographic fieldwork in Rio de Janeiro, challenges this view. By analyzing how Pentecostal churches address the issues of appearance, color, courtship, and womanhood, this research note argues that although evangelical Christianity involves a variety of beliefs that are incompatible with a strong ethnic identity, this religion also includes a range of ideas and practices that nourish rather than corrode black identity. The essay concludes by exploring the historic potential of several churches that have made the intersection of faith and race an explicit part of their agenda.*

A remarkable meeting took place in Brasília in early 1996. Representatives from a wide range of black movement organizations came together at the invitation of the Movimento Terreiro e Cidadania to discuss how to respond to growing attacks by evangelical Christian churches on the Afro-Brazilian religions of *candomblé* and *umbanda*. The final document

\*I would like to thank Ruth Silva and Marcia Pinheiro for their skill and enthusiasm as my research assistants. Thanks go as well to Peter Fry, Yvonne Maggie, Olivia Cunha, Clara Mafra, Cecilia Mariz, Maria das Dores, Marcia Contins, and Patricia Birman for being such excellent interlocutors.

of the meeting reveals some of the gathering's high emotion: "The violence of the Nazi-Pentecostal churches against the African worldview is an assault against all black people. . . . To the extent that Afro-Brazilian religions are blamed for all the social ills that assail this country, an enormous contingent of marginalized blacks are being incited to act against their ethno-racial peers." Those attending the meeting resolved to call on the Brazilian Minister of Justice to apply the country's anti-racism law "to Pentecostal churches that practice racism through their publications and other vehicles of communication" (Movimento Terreiro e Cidadania 1996, 3–4).<sup>1</sup>

Although this call for legal action has yet to elicit a response from the Ministério de Justiça, it points to the depth of antagonism between the black consciousness movement and Pentecostalism, Brazil's most rapidly growing religion.<sup>2</sup> From the movement's point of view, this antagonism has arisen from various sources. Four stand out as particularly important. First, many black activists reject Christianity in general because of its historical ties to slavery (Hoornaert 1978; Moura 1994). Recent efforts to deal openly with this history by certain segments of the Catholic and Methodist churches have softened the views of some (Damasceno 1990; Valente 1994), but the wounds of centuries are not quickly healed. One black leader told me, "We can never forget that Christianity was the religion of

1. All translations of documents and interviews are mine. Organizations in the black movement are not unified, nor do they speak with one voice. Groups that focus on the anti-racist struggle in judicial, labor, and legislative arenas may be contrasted with groups that focus on building positive black identity through cultural work. Groups that emphasize an essential black identity rooted in an African cultural or racial lineage may be distinguished from those that stress a black identity rooted in the New World experience of cultural mixture and synthesis. It is useful to differentiate between groups whose audience has traditionally been made up of middle-class professionals and intellectuals and those that pride themselves in having "gone to the bases" through courses of professionalization, education, and consciousness-raising in poor and working-class communities. Furthermore, activists differ in their willingness to work with political parties and inside the state bureaucracy. While the Marxist Left is widely distrusted for its traditional subsumption of race into class, the more immediate concern is co-optation by state bureaucracies. Finally, since the late 1980s, a growing number of organizations focusing on the specific concerns of black women can be distinguished from traditionally male-dominated black movement organizations. Despite this array of variations, all these activists share a deep antagonism to Pentecostalism.

2. The Brazilian black-consciousness movement, despite its relatively small size, has played a major role over the past twenty years in legitimating public discussion of racism and fostering respect for the cultural inheritance of Afro-Brazilians. See Berriel (1988), Borges Pereira (1983), Fontaine (1985), Gonçalves da Silva (1994), Winant (1994), Rufino (1993), Hasenbalg and Silva (1992), and Guimarães (1996). On racism in Brazil, see N. Silva (1985), Hasenbalg (1979), Telles (1992), and Rosenberg et al. (1995). Meanwhile, Pentecostalism—the version of Christianity that regards as essential to the Christian experience the direct encounter with the gifts of the Holy Spirit—has influenced in the last generation many spheres of Brazilian society, including electoral politics and gender relations (Ireland 1993; Stoll and Garrard-Burnett 1993; Freston 1993; Rolim 1985; Mariz 1993; Machado 1994; Willems 1967).

the masters, shoved down Africans' throats in order to turn them into docile slaves." Second, Protestantism, with its white North American influences, is regarded by many in the black movement as the religion of ethnic assimilation par excellence. According to this perspective, the hallmark of religious conversion is the adoption of a host of white cultural traits that include clothing, gestures, and music. Thus blacks who convert to Protestantism pass through "a whole process of self-rejection, of whitening, of self-negation and alienation" (Passos 1995, 5). Third, Pentecostalism's fervent mix of individualism and universalism is viewed as antipathetic to the growth of ethnic identity. One black activist explained, "They [the Pentecostals] are totally closed to the ethnic question, the racial question. All they care about is the individual, not the group. Or else they say there is no racism among them because they are all brothers. That is all very pretty; so they deny the ethnic group dynamic, that the problem even exists." Finally, the black movement's identification of religions of African origin as an essential source of black identity and pride is directly offended by Pentecostals' attacks on these religions as witchcraft and the work of the Devil (Dohnikoff et al. 1995, 23). Another militant asserted, "The *crentes* are trying to do away with the very foundation of our black identity, our religion." The overall assessment by the movement was implacable. I was told numerous times in different ways that when blacks become *crentes*, they forget their identity as blacks.

While these points are undoubtedly valid, the antagonism toward Pentecostalism that they encourage is at the least unfortunate. Pentecostalism is the single most demographically important religious movement in Brazil (Freston 1993; ISER 1996); and a major segment of this movement are persons at the dark end of Brazil's color continuum. A recent survey of 1,332 evangelicals in the greater metropolitan area of Rio de Janeiro found that between 20 and 25 percent of those identified as Pentecostal were *negros*, compared with only 10 percent of those identified as belonging to the historical Protestant churches, such as the Methodists or Presbyterians (ISER 1996, 10). A national survey of over 5,000 adults of all religious persuasions found that 10 percent of the respondents who called themselves "black" were Pentecostals, while only 3 percent belonged to historical evangelical churches (Datafolha 1995, 92). It would thus be fair to say that Brazilians who identify themselves at the dark end of the color continuum are converting to Pentecostal churches over historical Protestant churches at a rate of about three to one. Given such numbers, it seems the Brazilian black movement would do well to inquire into the special appeal that Pentecostalism holds for its own targeted constituency and the religion's potential impact on that constituency's ethnic consciousness. In the end, the black movement would do well to inquire into the extent to which its own portrayal of Pentecostalism as irredeemably corrosive of black identity is accurate or exhaustive. This research note is an effort to contribute to such an inquiry.

Academic opinion has tended to reinforce the black movement's negative view of Pentecostalism. Pierre Verger has characterized slaves' conversion to Protestantism as "alienation" from African values (Verger 1992, 19–26), while Roger Bastide has argued that much of black Brazilians' motivation in becoming Protestant is to assimilate into white society (Bastide 1989, 512). Regina Novaes and Maria Floriano observed that Protestant blacks "no longer identify themselves as *negros*. When they develop the *crente* identity, they definitively separate themselves from other blacks, from African cultural traits and from the historical past they have in common" (Novaes and Floriano 1985, 58). Most recently, Marcia Contins has argued that the issue of black ethnic identity is simply not present in Brazilian Pentecostalism (Contins 1992; 1994). At a more general level, the universal language of the Holy Spirit has been characterized as expressing the culturally homogenizing, de-particularizing forces of global capitalism and the state (Csordas 1992; Sanchis 1994; Johannesen 1988; Mariz and Machado 1994).

Although this body of scholarship no doubt captures the views and sentiments of many black Protestants, it does not help in making sense of the host of paradoxes that remain. To begin with, what is to be made of black leader Benedita da Silva's unstinting identity as a Pentecostal? The black movement tends to regard Benedita's religious identity as an embarrassing idiosyncrasy, and their interviews with her tend to avoid religious subjects.<sup>3</sup> Benedita, however, sees her religiosity as central to her ethnic consciousness. She recently declared, "I am not any less *negra*, any less conscious, because I am Pentecostal! From my point of view, I am more conscious, I am more *negra*, because I am Pentecostal!" (Dohnikoff et al. 1995, 23–24).

Other paradoxes can be cited. What is one to make of the fact that twice in 1996, the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus's newspaper (the largest evangelical publication in Latin America) ran front-page stories on racism in Brazil?<sup>4</sup> How should analysts assess the various fledgling efforts among black Pentecostals to organize reflection and action on the issue of race or color? Examples include the Missões Quilombo in the Pentecostal church Brazil para Cristo in São Paulo; the Comunidade Martin Luther King Jr. in the Pentecostal Church of God in Christ, also in São Paulo; and the recently founded Pentecostais Negros do Rio de Janeiro. What about the statement by Pastor Paulo of the Pentecostal Wesleyan Methodist church in Paraná (in southern Brazil), in which he insisted in a recent letter that "there are many new converts who are certain that it is necessary to

3. See "Benedita da Silva: Um dia menina de rua, hoje Senadora," *Black People* 1, no. 4 (Apr. 1996):6–8.

4. "Racismo no Brasil," *Folha Universal*, 12–18 May 1996, pp. 1, 6; and "Fique preso dois anos e meio por ser negro," *Folha Universal*, 16–22 June 1996.

create a church that is black, Pentecostal, and Afro-Brazilian"? Finally, how is the clear preference for Pentecostal churches among darker Brazilians to be understood? From a comparative perspective, no irreconcilable contradiction exists between Pentecostal beliefs and ethnic identity. Throughout Latin America and the world, ethnic identities have frequently drawn direct sustenance from Pentecostal faith (Wedenoja 1978; Muratorio 1980; Scotchmer 1991; Burnett 1986; Rappaport 1984; Roswith 1975; Comaroff 1985). Why should the situation in Brazil be so different?

The point here is not to draw quick conclusions from such leading questions, certainly not the incorrect conclusion that Pentecostalism in Brazil is a bastion of racial or ethnic consciousness—far from it. Such questions should be taken instead as provocations to stimulate deeper inquiry into the complex and contradictory relationship in Brazil between Pentecostal identity and thought on the one hand and racial or ethnic identity and thought on the other (compare Cunha 1993). The picture that will emerge is far from simple. There is no sign on Pentecostalism's door reading "Ethnicity not welcome here" or "Racial solidarity forever." There is no definitive sign on the door. The deeper inquiry suggested by this study would require those concerned about racial consciousness and racism in Brazil to knock on that door, enter it, and begin to engage in greater dialogue with one of the most important social forces in Brazil today. Should this be done, it may well be discovered that there is more room for dialogue on this issue than has been thought desirable or possible. Hostility toward ethnicity is undoubtedly a powerful tendency of Pentecostalism. Yet with careful attention and listening, discourses and practices will be noted that run counter to this tendency. It is important to identify them for they are spaces of possibility that, depending on evolving circumstances and political interlocutors, are capable of expanding, of retracting, and of influencing Pentecostalism as a movement.

These issues are all the more pertinent because Pentecostals can no longer be dismissed as inherently apathetic and apolitical social actors. While the final jury on the nature and contexts of Pentecostal social-movement activism is still out, a growing body of research over the past decade has complicated earlier stereotypes of Pentecostals as anti-political at best and reactionary at worst (Novaes 1985; Mariz 1993; Burdick 1993; Ireland 1991; Ireland 1997; Cleary and Stewart-Gambino 1997; Cox 1995; Stoll and Garrard-Burnett 1993). Observers now have a more nuanced contextual view of Pentecostal politics that requires examination of each issue and set of social conditions for the likelihood and political coloration of Pentecostal involvement.

The following analysis thus is not an attempt to pass definitive judgment about the political potential of Pentecostalism for participating in the anti-racist struggle in Brazil. My aim here is just the opposite: to sus-

pend judgment on the matter. A great deal more listening and analysis is required at the grassroots level. This research note seeks to issue a wake-up call that such listening and analysis ought to be undertaken, that it is worth the effort. Considerable tensions undeniably exist between Pentecostalism and the racial consciousness sought by the black movement. This essay in no way tries to resolve these tensions, arguing instead that it is politically important to engage them and articulate them, but in the context of recognition of other surprising ideological convergences between Pentecostalism and black consciousness. Only through further interactions between black activists and sympathetic Pentecostals will anyone discover new political terrain to which such dialogues might lead.

The evidence examined here is based on 65 ethnographic interviews, each from one to three hours long, conducted between February and September of 1996 among inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro's poor and working-class northern and suburban districts. These interviews were a subset of a larger sample of 166 interviews with persons from various religions. Of the 65, 43 were women and 22 were men. Nearly half of the informants were between the ages of fifteen and forty, one-third between forty and sixty, and one-quarter were over sixty. Almost all of our informants identified themselves as *pobre* ("poor"), or at best *razoável* ("getting by reasonably well") in the context of generalized poverty. Women worked as domestic servants, housewives, nurses' aides, retail clerks, teachers, factory workers, and in the informal sector as pieceworkers in their homes. The men were mainly construction workers, factory workers, drivers, retail clerks, teachers, informal-sector workers, and unemployed. On the assumption that talking exclusively about color and race would be difficult, our questions about these subjects were included as part of a broader set of questions on youth, courtship, and gender relations. The interviews were carried out by a research team made up of two Brazilian graduate students (who identified themselves as black women) and me (a white North American male).

Personal connections and opportunities for access led us to focus attention on four churches. First, in the neighborhood of Nova Iguaçu, we chose to focus on the Igreja Batista Renovada, a Pentecostal congregation with about two hundred members, including a sizable contingent of dark blacks, among whom a member of our research team had good connections. Most members are poor and working-class, drawn from the immediate neighborhood. The church's pastor is a middle-aged white man. Second, we also interviewed members of a small church named Jesus É a Verdade, a congregation of about seventy members on A Ilha do Governador, a neighborhood near Galeão Airport. One of our team members gained entrée to the church through a friend and quickly became accepted as a researcher. The church was mainly poor and working-class, mostly female, with a sizable black contingent. It was led by a black couple. Third, I



periodically visited a small Assembly of God Church in Abolição, a working-class neighborhood in Rio's northern zone. The church had sixty members, mainly working-class, including a large black contingent. It was pastored by a dark black man. Finally, I got to know an even smaller congregation of the Assembly of God located in the southern-zone *favela* of Cantagalo. Its leaders were mainly black women, aside from the dark-black male pastor, and almost half were dark black or mulato. All were poor and working-class. In addition to the members of these congregations, we interviewed evangelicals attached to other churches as opportunities arose through personal networks.<sup>5</sup>

#### TENSIONS BETWEEN PENTECOSTALISM AND BLACK IDENTITY

Exploring the potential for dialogue between the perspectives of Pentecostalism and black ethnic movements requires initial recognition of the potent tensions that exist between these perspectives. Virtually all our informants, even those closest to embracing explicit ethnic discourse, articulated one or more of the following tensions.

First, a tension exists between Pentecostalism—indeed, between any fervent form of evangelical Christianity—and the development of strong social identities that are intermediate between the universal and the individual. As Pierre Sanchis (1994) and Thomas Csordas (1992) have pointed out, Pentecostalism encourages believers to view themselves as belonging to a transcendent worldwide brotherhood of the saved. Such a view is at odds with the ethnic project because the universalizing insistence that every human being is the same before Christ is in tension with a focus on group-centered discourse. Raising the issue of ethnicity explicitly in conversations with Pentecostals often produces awkward silences be-

5. These churches belong to what Paul Freston and others have called the "traditional sector" of Pentecostalism, as opposed to the newer "neo-Pentecostal sector." Although our research team carried out some interviews with neo-Pentecostals, most focused on traditional Pentecostals. While the line between the two groups is blurring, one may still distinguish between them. Traditional Pentecostal churches were founded between 1911 and the 1970s, neo-Pentecostal ones since the 1970s. Traditional Pentecostals tend to emphasize stricter, more puritanical codes of dress and self-adornment, while neo-Pentecostals are more doctrinally "liberal." Traditionals tend to be weighted sociologically toward those who are poor and working-class, while neo-Pentecostals include a larger percentage of middle-class Brazilians, especially youth. While traditionals tend to gather in neighborhood-based congregations, neo-Pentecostals form broader "halls" that are not neighborhood-based. Finally, traditionals' theology continues to place greatest emphasis on otherworldly salvation, while neo-Pentecostals have developed a "theology of prosperity" that emphasizes accumulating proof of salvation through prospering in the world. Traditional Pentecostal churches include the Assembly of God, Deus É Amor, Brasil para Cristo, and the Igreja Quadrangular. "Neo-Pentecostal" churches include Renascer em Cristo, the Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus, and the Igreja Nova Vida. Despite recent growth among the neo-Pentecostals, traditional Pentecostals still outnumber them by about two to one (ISER 1996).

cause it implies that there are identities in the world as worthy of attention as that of universal Christian. One informant commented in a typical statement, "Look, do you think Christ's message needs these groups? Needs to be dressed up for these groups, in one way or another? No! Christ's message is very simple, it doesn't need to be connected to any group. It is something universal."

Group identity is also at odds with Pentecostalism's powerful vision of the total transformation of the individual. Jesus encounters each soul not as a representative of a group but as an irreducibly individual moral being. As one informant asserted, "Jesus did not come to save any particular group. He came to meet *you*, as a particular, distinct human being." As such, the new creature in Christ sheds all his or her prior emotional baggage, including social and cultural anxieties and concerns. Even referring to some dimension of social or cultural life as important other than the new birth of the soul through Jesus can create awkwardness. Another informant declared, "I do not accept any effort to isolate some part of the human being, of his or her soul. Christ saves the soul totally, not piecemeal. Everything starts anew."

Ethnic discourse also runs counter to the strong otherworldly perspective of Pentecostalism. Speaking of ethnic identity means speaking as though this world were truly important. But if the only truly important thing in the universe is salvation, then speaking of ethnicity becomes an expression of spiritual immaturity. One informant noted, "Yes, there are people who are concerned about that. They think a lot, I want to value this or that in my material life. But that is all it is: the material life. When someone is truly mature in Christ, when he is truly converted, he comes to see that none of that is important. Race and ethnicity—none of that saves. Only Jesus saves."

While Pentecostal beliefs are in tension with ethnic discourse in general, they also run against the grain of the discourse of the black consciousness movement in particular. Pentecostals strongly reject all religious belief connected with African spirits, known as the *orixás*. Many Pentecostal churches project an image of Africa as a continent immersed in idolatry, a land being slowly retrieved from the mire by heroic evangelical missionaries. Some churches even promote a doctrine known as the "doctrine of hereditary sin," which holds that all converts must ask forgiveness for the sins of their ancestors, including the idolatry of one's African forebears. This doctrine is a direct offense to the black movement's effort to enhance the value of African spirituality.

The tensions between Pentecostalism and black identity are thus patent. Yet Pentecostalism also includes a host of beliefs and practices that encourage believers to focus their attention on their color, to reflect on the spiritual and social meaning of racial identity and on the morality of racism. Although far from dominant, these beliefs and practices exist in



tense interaction with the discourses that are antagonistic to black identity. They carve out spaces full of inner tension and contradiction yet full of possibility as well.

#### EVERYDAY CONNECTIONS BETWEEN BLACK AND PENTECOSTAL IDENTITIES

##### *Overcoming Shame*

One of the most compelling attractions of Pentecostalism for blacks and all converts is its ability to forge self-esteem. It does so in many ways, not least by insisting that even before conversion, every human being, no matter how worthless in his or her own eyes, is the object of Jesus' constant concern and love. After conversion, self-esteem soars as believers become ever surer of their personal salvation and identity as the physical vessel of the Holy Spirit. Pentecostal self-valorization touches every aspect of social identity. A woman with little self-respect finds a voice fortified by the Holy Spirit to stand up to her abusive spouse (Gill 1993; Brusco 1995; Cucchiari 1988; Burdick 1990). A poor man is no longer embarrassed by his poverty (Ireland 1993; Stoll and Garrard-Burnett 1993; Novaes 1985). The colonized individual no longer acquiesces quietly in his or her colonization (Comaroff 1985). A popular Pentecostal hymn sums up the experience: "You too have value! Put aside that inferiority complex. You too have value!"

Thus it should come as no surprise that spiritual self-valorization is also related to the experience of having been stigmatized for one's color. Among thirty Pentecostal informants who identified themselves as *preto*, *escuro*, or *negro* (at the dark end of the color continuum), more than half reported having once felt that their color was a burden or a cause for shame and self-exclusion. Conversion to Christ made this shame disappear. "Before coming to know the Gospel," explained a young black man, "I did not love myself for who I was. I was embarrassed by being *escuro*. I wanted to disappear. But when I read that line in the Bible, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself,' I thought: 'Man, I can't do that until I love myself. And Jesus is telling me to love myself.' So that feeling of shame left me." A black woman averred, "Before, I did not go to certain places where I thought people of my color would not be accepted. So a wedding or a party with all those pretty people, blonde and blue-eyed, I would stay away. But when I came to know Christ, that ended. Now I go wherever I want, in the middle of whites, blacks, anyone. I can talk to you, a white, as easily as I can talk to a black. Before, I would have felt ashamed to talk to you."

##### *From Lies to Truth*

For five of these informants, a key aspect of abandoning shame was coming to accept themselves as *preto*, *escuro*, or *negro*. This experience was

shaped by the notion of conversion as a move from a life of falsehood to one of truth. These informants recounted that before conversion, they felt considerable ambivalence about their color identities, a feeling resolved only through coming to know the Gospel. A young man in the Assembly of God Church reported, "Before becoming a *crente*, I was divided within myself. A part of me wanted to be white, another wanted to be black [*negro*]. It was like I was divided in two. Accepting Jesus ended the division, it brought the two parts together, unified me. Now I know I'm black [*negro*], I don't try or wish to be anything else. That is how God created me." A black woman belonging to the rigorous church Deus É Amor testified: "Before accepting Jesus, I would look at the television and see those *mulatas* on TV, and I would think to myself, 'I want to be like that, I want to be *morena*, *mulata*, *marrom bom-bom*.' Anything but what I really was. I was living a lie, I was unable to live the truth. Only when I joined the church did I see the lie and start to give it up. I started to accept myself for what I really was, black [*preta*]."

In this connection, in a recent survey of 248 evangelical men, 11 percent identified themselves with the terms *escuro*, *preto*, or *negro* (in contrast to the national figure of 6 percent), and two-thirds of these men used *negro*, a stronger term of black identity. In a comparable sample of 277 evangelical women, fully 15 percent identified themselves as belonging to the dark end of the color continuum, and three-quarters of these used the term *negra*.<sup>6</sup> Black evangelical women older than forty-six employed the term twice as often as their younger counterparts. This usage suggests that even for the older cohort, possibly less aware of current cultural trends than their younger coreligionists, black identity is important. In general, then, these figures strengthen the impression that Pentecostalism is positively associated with assuming one's black identity.

### *Complicating Norms of Female Beauty*

In Pentecostalism, prevailing images of black women are being complicated—not overturned, not subverted, only complicated. Conversion to Pentecostalism does not entirely eradicate preexisting stereotypes, images, and aesthetic values. Yet while black women encounter "in the world" powerful negative stereotypes, in Pentecostalism they find themselves imaged in new ways: as partaking of the natural beauty God gave them, enjoying an interior beauty greater than any exterior beauty, even enjoying special access to things of the spirit.

In Brazil as a whole, the most highly honored model of beauty features pearl-white skin, blue eyes, straight hair, and white European facial features, as exemplified by television celebrity Xuxa (Bento 1992, 1995;

6. These figures were calculated from raw data available from the Novo Nascimento research project (ISER 1996). I thank Eneas Silveira for his assistance in analyzing these data.

Gilliam and Gilliam 1995; Giacomini 1994). A rung lower are white women with dark hair, such as actress Gloria Pires. Ranked third are morenas and mulatas, such as model Isabel Fillardis. Excluded from any ranking are women with coarse, natty hair, very dark skin, and "African" facial features such as wide, flat noses (Almada 1995; Figueiredo 1994; Dandara 1992; Theodoro 1996; Twine 1996). These norms continue to influence the attitudes of Brazilians, especially young ones, within Pentecostal churches. Conversion does not dislodge these norms automatically or irreversibly. Numerous "liberal" Pentecostal churches, such as Renascer and Igreja Universal, permit women to wear the makeup, jewelry, hairstyles and clothing characteristic of "the world." Pentecostal women want to be viewed by nonevangelicals as self-respecting and decent, a desire that makes uncompromising rejection of worldly aesthetics difficult.

At the same time, a significant pattern remains. More traditional Pentecostal congregations, those that reject more systematically the ways of the world, offer an important social arena in which standards of beauty are challenged and reshaped. Here the "beauty of the world" codified in expensive makeup, hairstyles, and clothing is traded for the "beauty that God gave me." Women in such congregations still wish to be beautiful in their own eyes and in order to appeal to men. But the "beauty" that they extol is what nature has bestowed on them from without and what the Holy Spirit has bestowed on them from within. Crente women are encouraged not to cover up or try to transform radically the beauty that God gave them. This rereading of beauty had important effects on some of the female informants in this study. For example, it meant a gradual elimination of hair straighteners and relaxers, such as Ené. One woman explained, "Right after I converted, I still used Ené. But little by little I stopped, as I started to feel something different inside myself. Why should I change what God has given me? This is my color, this is my hair. I used to think this was ugly, but then I saw that God created all of us in his image, not just the blonde and blue-eyed. So I too am beautiful; I don't need to change the way I look." Many of our black female informants stated that conversion felt like moving into a courtship market different from the one they had experienced in the world. As one explained, "Out there, in dances, in the world, white boys come at you because you are 'easy,' but they won't be serious. And if you do get serious, no one accepts it. They say: what are you doing with that *nega*? It's different in church. Here I am not embarrassed by being with a white boy. They respect it. Some criticize, but not like in the world. Here white boys respect black girls."

This perception corresponds to an important reality. We found several evangelical spiritual advisors who reported making the issue of color explicit in their conversations with young converts. One elaborated, "I always ask the young girl or boy to think about this: I say, are you just choosing this person because they are pretty, blonde, blue-eyed? That's not the

key, I say. A Christian marriage can't just be about appearance. So, I say, if you think well about it and come to the conclusion that the person's beauty, the color of the person, is not weighing in your decision, then it is God's will that you should go ahead. But if you come to the conclusion that you are attracted to the person only by her appearance, then it isn't God's will." Preaching along this line appears to have an impact. One white evangelical boy reported, "I fell for Jacqueline not because I was looking at her from the outside. If it were just that, I may not have gone for her. But we who understand the Gospel know that we must look deeper. She is very spiritual. She has helped me discover myself more. That is for me what will make a Christian marriage work—not her color."

Pentecostalism's endorsement of this spiritual standard of beauty is partly revealed in the statistics on inter-color marriages. Elza Berquó has argued for the Brazilian population as a whole that black women have the fewest choices in the marriage market. According to her findings, black women remain single most often. Those who marry do so later than lighter women, and usually to someone of the same color. In color-exogamous unions, it is 10 to 15 percent more common for the male to be darker than the female than the reverse (Berquó 1987, 1988, 1990; cf. Bento 1992; Scalón 1992). The Brazilian market of affection and marriage is thus highly constrained by the pattern that a black woman who wants a serious relationship with a white man confronts in general a steeper uphill social battle than does a black man who wishes to have a serious relationship with a white woman. Without entering into the complex history and symbolism at stake, it is fair to say that a notion exists in Brazil that expresses the prevailing mix of sexism and racism: the idea is that black men are more appropriate mates for white women than black women are for white men (Dandara 1992; Giacomini 1992, 1994; cf. Garcia Castro 1991; Abreu et al. 1994; M. Silva 1995). The statistical result of this norm is tangible, and its impact on perception is powerful. When our research team asked non-crente informants about inter-color marriages, they almost always referred to unions between white women and black men. When asked whether they knew of marriages of black women to white men, they had to scour their brains for examples and often could not think of any.

Given this perception of rarity, we found it significant that among Pentecostals, this norm and this perception seem more qualified and complicated than elsewhere. Pentecostal informants could think readily of cases of dark black women paired with light-skinned men. Our own ethnographic observations suggested the possibility of a higher number of such pairs among Pentecostals than in other contexts.

To test these impressions, we analyzed data from a recent survey of more than thirteen hundred evangelicals in the greater Rio de Janeiro area (ISER 1996). Among these interviewees, it was possible to identify 535 evangelicals married to evangelicals. In the national average, black men

marry lighter women at least 10 percent more often than vice versa. But in our sample, black evangelical women married lighter men nearly 17 percent more frequently than black evangelical men married lighter women. In addition, black evangelical women were at least two and a half times more likely (26.8 percent) than black women in general to marry a white (10.9 percent). The influence of church membership on this issue was suggested by the fact that a black evangelical woman raised in the church was more than twice as likely to marry a white as a black evangelical woman raised outside the church (50 percent versus 17 percent). These figures suggest that black Brazilian women tend to find in evangelical churches a more level playing field when seeking the attentions of men across the color spectrum.<sup>7</sup>

### *The Different Religiosity of Blacks*

It is commonly assumed that evangelicals with a tendency toward literal interpretations of the Bible embrace the nineteenth-century white Southern Baptist reading of Genesis, in which the mark of treason that God placed on Cain was blackness, promoting the idea that black skin and slavery were wedded in the divine plan (compare with Genovese 1969). Although we heard this interpretation from time to time, most of our informants had no knowledge of this reading or rejected it as incorrect and shallow. Rather than espousing such neatly packaged Biblical accounts, our informants articulated a diffuse and often contradictory range of opinions and images about the spiritual identity of blacks. Several informants expressed the opinion that believers with dark skins possessed no distinctive spiritual identity at all: that once converted to Christ, they related to Him in exactly the same way as everyone else, irrespective of color. Others, however, had observed a preponderance of darker-skinned believers in certain roles in the church and had permitted themselves to reflect on the phenomenon. Some said they had noticed that blacks predominated or excelled among their church's singers and musicians. The explanations given for this pattern were rooted in the stereotype that blacks have natural rhythm and are more emotional than whites. "Look," said one black informant, "it is in our blood, that swing, that rhythm. We just have more musicality." This point will be discussed further.

Several informants observed that the darker-skinned members of their congregations tended more often than others to enjoy spiritual gifts,

7. The survey also suggests that the marriage market in evangelical churches tends to be less color-endogamous and more color-exogamous than in Brazil more generally. For example, white evangelical Brazilian women marry darker men more than twice as often as white Brazilian women do, and black evangelical Brazilian men marry white women 10 percent more frequently than do their counterparts in the general population (Berquó 1987; ISER 1996).

ranging from healing to speaking in tongues to prophesy and vision. There was no question here of God somehow playing favorites with blacks as a chosen people. The logic was simply that blacks opened themselves up more and sought more fervently the gifts of the Spirit than did whites. We encountered several versions of this observation. First, some informants were openly skeptical, accusing blacks of showing off. Here the purported spiritual gifts were viewed as no gifts at all but mere pretensions of the flesh. Second, some informants emphasized blacks' natural emotionality, their tendency toward intensity in all things, religion included. Third, some informants regarded blacks as especially committed to prayer, fasting, and self-purification because they were escaping and seeking protection from the diabolical forces of umbanda that had enslaved them in their lives before conversion. Fourth, some believed that the image of blacks as poor and humble made them more able than proud whites to adopt the posture of the obedient, self-abasing servants so pleasing to God. Finally, some informants perceived blacks' fervor in seeking the gifts of the Holy Spirit as a result of their special suffering in the world. One informant commented, "We as a people are very much tread on in society. But we are not tread on by God. So naturally we run toward the things of God." Whatever the cause, whether the stereotype of emotionality or the recognition of social suffering, what results is the creation of a major symbolic arena in Brazilian culture in which having African ancestry becomes the source of prestige, authority, and value.

#### *Music and Incipient Ethnic Identity*

An important arena for the intersection between spiritual value and color is music. Some informants claimed that the best singers and musicians in church tended to be darker. One pastor went so far as to say that black musicality had a special role in God's plan: "They are so good at music because God is using them to evangelize. They are part of God's plan to use music to draw young people to Him." Certainly many evangelicals sing in choirs and play musical instruments without thinking of these activities in ethnic terms. Yet we found that some informants did not in fact think in such terms. For these individuals, the great value placed by their churches on music and their own special proximity to things of the spirit made for a heady ethno-spiritual mix. One singer explained, "We blacks have greater naturalness with music. We like to sing, to open our mouths and really belt it out. Naturally, we open ourselves up more for the Holy Spirit to work through us."

The music this singer referred to was that of European-inspired hymns derived from the *Christian Harp*, that old evangelical standby. But the musical world of evangelical and Pentecostal churches is changing rapidly. Since the mid-1980s, many Pentecostal churches have opened their



doors to various nontraditional forms of music, including many that are typically considered "black," such as reggae, samba, pagode, rap, and hip-hop. The objective of church leaders is usually unashamedly instrumental: to gain more souls for Christ. Just as the Apostle Paul declared that ministers of the Word must preach to all nations in their own languages, these leaders claim, so too must modern missionaries preach to young people in the language that they understand, which is music. According to this view, no music belongs by nature to the Devil. Music only gets distorted by becoming overly eroticized. A pastor explained, "Fighting the Devil does not mean giving up these musics. It means taking them back, making them ours again, purifying them of evil influences." As a result, new musical bands such as Banda e Voz, Yerushalem, and Kadoshi are emerging and taking the Pentecostal world by storm.

In this context, some evangelical young blacks have started to play samba, pagode, and reggae and to discover through these musics new sources of pride and identity. In an Assembly of God congregation in the suburb of Abolição, blacks sing U.S. soul music with gusto and say they are drawn to it "because it is in our blood, our black blood." In Niteroi, another Pentecostal church has generated the group A Raça Eleita, which plays reggae, samba, and pagode. Several members of the band feel that playing these kinds of music "has nothing to do with being black; it is not an objective of the group to make a statement about that." Yet two members feel differently: "Of course, wanting to play this music comes from our blood. We have that from birth. How can we say no?" In a similar church in the favela of Jacarezinho, a group of young men called Grato Soul (Thanks to Soul) sings to the beat of Motown. At least two of their members attribute this attraction to "being part of the black race."

### *Heightened Awareness of Color Prejudice*

Pentecostal congregations are places where blacks experience equality in how they are treated on a daily basis and in their access to positions of authority. When this atmosphere of equality is contradicted, the clash facilitates awareness of color prejudice and racism.

The Biblical doctrine of the equality of all believers and Christ's insistence that brotherly love knows no exceptions have immediate consequences on how those at the dark end of the color continuum feel they are treated in Pentecostal congregations. One black informant reported, "In there, you feel respect, you feel free. People really look at you as a brother in Christ." This practice of racial equality, however imperfect, added to these churches' readiness to associate blackness with spiritual gifts often results in an unusually large presence of black leaders, from healers to prophets, from presbyters and deacons to pastors. In one Universal Church, out of fifty prayer leaders, thirty were dark black women. In an

Assembly of God congregation, all the presbyters were dark black. Such examples are easy enough to find. What must be stressed is that the experience of seeing black leaders at the front of a church is often an emotional watershed for black converts. A black informant commented, "The first thing I noticed when I entered the Assembly of God was how many people of my color were up there."

Precisely this experience of equality makes it hard to sustain the myth that Brazilian society outside the church is a racial democracy. If prior to conversion it was possible to minimize or deny the color prejudice encountered in Brazilian society, once converts taste the church's equality, their eyes are opened. In the words of one informant, "I could no longer pretend that discrimination doesn't happen outside the church. As long as you are in the church, you are treated differently. I hadn't seen how bad things were with prejudice until I entered a church: the contrast really is amazing."

This contrast also heightens awareness of color prejudice within the church itself. Most congregations are racially mixed. In this context, according to several informants, discriminatory behavior or speech that would be overlooked "in the world" is experienced inside the church as brazenly hypocritical. This is not to say that Pentecostal blacks' encounters with color prejudice in their churches do not elicit the usual evasive emotional tactics. The point is that Pentecostal blacks angered by such encounters seem to be able to fortify their anger by the belief that color prejudice is sinful in the eyes of God. One informant explained, "I had always known that prejudice existed. But it was only after knowing the Gospel that I saw how evil it was, how it was against the will of God. And in church, when I saw my own brethren in the Spirit acting this way, I thought, 'How can a people fearful of God act this way, have such thoughts?'" Black men heading for the pastorate may become especially sensitized to racism. "I thought everything was just fine in church," recounted a black pastor, "until it was time for me to become a pastor. Then I saw that prejudice even exists in church, that not everyone is truly converted in Christ. And in church, it really should not exist. That's what made me realize that we as Christians must be committed to extirpating this evil."

#### **PENTECOSTALISM AND ETHNIC POLITICS?**

It should be clear by now that Pentecostalism in Brazil, far from being simply corrosive of identity, can and sometimes does articulate elements of black ethnicity in various ways. These elements do not constitute a coherent, sustained, self-conscious ethnic identity. If anything, the black identity articulated in Pentecostalism remains largely at the level of practice, diffuse sentiment, and relatively unreflective consciousness (compare Gramsci 1971, 373). Such practices and sentiments are the stuff of everyday

life and with all their contradictions lie at the heart of private mixed feelings of self-esteem and self-doubt. It would be the height of arrogance to expect these practices and sentiments to form themselves into neat little packages of political consciousness. Still, an entirely legitimate empirical question remains: to what extent has this unreflective, sporadic, fragmentary sense of blackness served in practice as a basis for building a collective sense of ethnicity and collective action in the service of that ethnicity? Has Pentecostal everyday black ethnicity ever become translated into “non-everyday” politicized ethnicity?

The short answer to this question is “yes.” We identified a surprising number of efforts on the part of black Pentecostals to make the defense of black ethnic identity and the fight against racism ongoing projects of their churches.

In 1985 a pastor named Rubens returned from a visit to the United States and founded in a São Paulo suburb a congregation of the Church of God in Christ, a U.S. Southern black Pentecostal church. At the same time, Pastor Rubens also started the Comunidade Martin Luther King Jr., which included a weekly seminar on black issues. This opportunity to read the Bible through the lens of black concerns became a virtual school for black Pentecostal leaders, who went on to influence other congregations.

One young man influenced by these leaders was Hernani da Silva, who in 1991 founded the Associação Cultural de Missões Quilombo in his Pentecostal church, Brasil para Cristo (a *quilombo* is a community of run-away slaves). The association’s main objective, according to its founding document, was “through seminars, talks, and conferences to push the Brazilian church to reflect on the evils of racism in society and even within the churches in a direct and indirect way.”<sup>8</sup> The association now promotes monthly discussion and debates on the theme of racism, produces a series of pamphlets on “blacks in the Bible,” maintains contacts with São Paulo’s black movement, and strives to cultivate black leaders in Pentecostal congregations. Thus the Missões Quilombo has not only influenced the attitudes of members of the Brasil para Cristo congregation where it originated but also produced several charismatic leaders who are establishing an Afro-Brazilian Pentecostal discourse in their respective congregations.

We even found a few voices calling for a more radical proposal: the founding of an exclusively black evangelical church. Such an effort was launched in São Paulo in 1992, but it was short-lived (Passos 1995). In Londrinha, Paraná, a pastor named Paulo founded a congregation of the Wesleyan Methodist Church in the hope of creating a pure black congregation. He formed the Comunidade pelo Estudo da Vida do Negro to nurture the desire to “found a church that is black, Biblical, Pentecostal, and has Afro-Brazilian consciousness.” Although still not exclusively black, this congre-

8. “Documento misionário,” in-house document, Associação Missões Quilombo.

gation may one day become so. Pastor Paulo works in the far south of Brazil, where residential segregation of blacks is tangible. It may be that if a black-only church is ever formed in Brazil, it will be located in the south.

What does it mean for these churches to explore the black question from a Pentecostal perspective? The point of entry for these black Pentecostal leaders has been making the case that bringing blacks to Christ requires confronting the issues of greatest concern to blacks themselves. This approach requires confronting racism in the church, in Christianity, and in Brazilian society. The Biblical foundation for such a confrontation may be found in the passage from Isaiah asserting that God "makes no separation of people" and in the New Testament injunction to love thy neighbor. As Hernani da Silva of the Quilombo Mission explained, "If we as evangelicals feel it is proper to denounce the various evils of the world, from drugs to violence, to misery, then we too must be willing to denounce the sin of racism."

Denouncing this sin implies two major actions. First, it means questioning the version of Christianity that evolved in European churches, which codified a racist reading of the Bible. The myth that associates Cain with blackness must be rejected, while the African origin of many of the great figures of the Bible, such as Simeon (Acts 13:1) or Simon (Matthew 27:32), must be emphasized. The image of Jesus himself as white and blue-eyed must be questioned and replaced with either a dark-skinned Christ or at least an open question about Jesus' color. The association of blackness with evil and whiteness with good must also be challenged. For example, a close reading of Numbers 12, in which Moses returns to his family after marrying Zipora the Ethiopian, shows Aaron and Miriam rejecting Moses because of this marriage. God is enraged and visits a disease on Miriam that turns her "white as snow." Here, Hernani da Silva argues, God was demonstrating that "one cannot associate blackness with evil and whiteness with good; here, the colors symbolize exactly the opposite."

The second manner of confronting racism in the church is more complicated and has generally met with less sympathy: exploring the possibility of valorizing African religious traditions by finding in them thematic and symbolic affinities with evangelical Protestantism. For example, the Quilombo Mission tries to argue that the values of community, family, respect for elders and ancestors, and the belief in a high God (especially in the Bantu tradition) are reminiscent of Old Testament Judaism. Hernani da Silva has therefore concluded, "we Pentecostals should stop attacking Afro religions. We must move toward a relationship of mutual respect and dialogue."

Such statements are hard to sell in the Pentecostal arena. The rejection in this arena of Afro religion as the work of the Devil and the traditional image of Africa as a bastion of idolatry remain in force. More sophisticated evangelical critics of the tendency to "return to Africa" emphasize argu-

ments similar to those leveled at the romantic Afrocentrism of segments of the secular black movement: that the Africa of today is not the same Africa that produced the slaves; that Brazilian blacks should value their Brazilian identities and roots rather than romanticize a distant and vague African past; and similar arguments. Many evangelicals also know that the African continent is fast becoming evangelical, a trend that makes efforts to revive its ancestral religiosity seem particularly anachronistic. Yet leaders like Hernani da Silva and Pastor Paulo feel strongly that formation of a black Pentecostal identity must necessarily involve a revalorization of Africa via the association of African religiosity and Old Testament Judaism. It is too early to know where this association will lead.

#### CONCLUSION: A SPACE FOR DIALOGUE?

At present in Brazil, a deep antagonism and virtually no lines of communication exist between the organized black movement and the Pentecostal movement. The black movement currently regards Pentecostalism as the enemy because it is steeped in the European religious tradition and has declared war on Afro-religiosity. Meanwhile, Pentecostals sympathetic to the struggle against racism feel alienated from the black movement because of its commitment to Afro religions and other views. These are formidable ideological barriers to collaboration between the two movements.

At the same time, the contacts established between the Missões Quilombo and black movements in São Paulo show that the common agenda of combating racism can create an incentive for dialogue. The model of the Quilombo Mission, with its opening toward Afro-religion, may not be generalizable. Perhaps more applicable is the possible point of contact between interested Pentecostals and those in the black movement who have started in the past few years to emphasize Afro-religiosity less and Brazilianness and citizenship more. I am thinking in particular of Rio de Janeiro's Grupo Cultural Afro-Reggae (GCAR). This group is dedicated to helping the youth of Rio's favelas find in popular black and Brazilian music and culture an alternative to narco-trafficking (Cunha 1996, 1998). Because the GCAR has no strong stake in Afro-religion, it may be able to serve as a bridge between Rio's black movement and at least some of the city's black Pentecostals.

The most promising point of contact here may be music. Until recently, the GCAR had kept its distance from evangelical forays into reggae, rap, and soul on the assumption that these efforts were little more than a marketing strategy to gain converts. The GCAR has therefore remained uninformed about groups such as Raça Eleita or Grato Soul, in which young evangelical blacks are making intriguing incipient connections between music and black identity. The current director of the GCAR has expressed interest in learning more about such new groups and in opening up space in

the GCAR's monthly publication (a newspaper with a national circulation of twelve thousand) for articles dealing with black evangelical kinds of music.

It is too soon to tell where such a step might lead. Numerous practical and ideological obstacles still lie in the path of closer collaboration between black Pentecostals and the Brazilian black movement. Yet it may be possible at least to pose this question: could points of connection such as Grato Soul and the GCAR embody sufficient ideological convergence—black identity, Brazilianness, citizenship, hostility to narcotraffic, commitment to youth, love of music—to write a new chapter in the still evolving history of the Brazilian black consciousness movement?

#### REFERENCES

- ABREU, ALICE RANGEL DE PAIVA, ANGELA FILGUEIRAS JORGE, AND BILA SORJ  
1994 "Desigualdade de gênero e raça: O informal no Brasil em 1990." *Estudos Feministas* 2, no. 2:153–78.
- ALMADA, SANDRA  
1995 *Damas negras: Sucesso, lutas, discriminação*. Rio de Janeiro: Mauad.
- BASTIDE, ROGER  
1989 *As religiões africanas no Brasil* (originally published in 1960).
- BENTO, MARIA APARECIDA SILVA  
1992 "Resgatando a minha bisavô: Discriminação racial e resistência nas vozes dos trabalhadores negros." Ph.D. diss., Pontifícia Universidade Católica–São Paulo.  
1995 "A mulher negra no mercado de trabalho." *Estudos Feministas* 3, no. 2:479–88.
- BERRIEL, MARIA M. DE OLIVEIRA  
1988 "A identidade fragmentada: As muitas maneiras de ser negro." Ph.D. diss., Universidade de São Paulo.
- BERQUO, ELSA  
1987 *Nupcialidade da população negra no Brasil*. Campinas: Universidade de Campinas.  
1988 "Demografia da desigualdade: Algumas considerações sobre os negros no Brasil." *Novos Estudos CEBRAP* 24:74–84.  
1990 "Como se casam negros e brancos no Brasil." CEDEPLAR in-house document, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais.
- BORGES PEREIRA, JOÃO BATISTA  
1983 "Negro e cultura negra no Brasil atual." *Revista de Antropologia* 26:93–105.
- BRUSCO, ELIZABETH  
1995 *The Reformation of Machismo: Evangelical Conversion and Gender in Colombia*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- BURDICK, JOHN  
1989 "A queda do profeta negro: O significado ambivalente de raça no pentecostalismo." *Comunicações do ISER* 33:43–63.  
1990 "Gossip and Secrecy: The Articulation of Domestic Conflict in Three Religions of Urban Brazil." *Sociological Analysis*, nos. 51–52 (Summer):153–70.  
1993 *Looking for God in Brazil: The Progressive Catholic Church in Urban Brazil's Religious Arena*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- CLEARY, EDWARD L., AND HANNAH W. STEWART-GAMBINO, EDS.  
1997 *Power, Politics, and Pentecostals in Latin America*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview.
- COMAROFF, JEAN  
1985 *Body of Power, Spirit of Resistance*. Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press.
- CONTINS, MARCIA  
1992 *Narrativas pentecostais: Estudos antropológicos de grupos de pentecostais negros nos Estados Unidos*. Papeis Avulsos no. 39. Rio de Janeiro: Centro Interdisciplinar de Estudos Culturais.



PENTECOSTALISM AND BLACK IDENTITY IN BRAZIL

- 1995 "Tornando-se pentecostal: Um estudo comparativo sobre pentecostais negros nos Estados Unidos e Brasil." Ph.D. diss., Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.
- COX, HARVEY**  
1995 *Fire from Heaven: The Rise of Pentecostal Spirituality and the Reshaping of Religion in the Twenty-First Century*. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.
- CSORDAS, THOMAS**  
1992 "Religion and the World System: The Pentecostal Ethic and the Spirit of Monopoly Capital." *Dialectical Anthropology* 17:3–24.
- CUCCHIARI, SALVATORE**  
1988 "Between Shame and Sanctification." *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 4:687–708.
- CUNHA, OLIVIA MARIA GOMES DA**  
1993 "Fazendo a coisa certa: Reggae, rasta e pentecostais em Salvador." *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 8, no. 23 (Oct.):120–37.  
1996 "Depois da festa: Movimentos negros, culturas e 'políticas de identidade.'" Manuscript.  
1998 "Black Movements and the 'Politics of Identity' in Brazil." In *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures*, edited by Sonia Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, 220–51. Boulder, Colo.: Westview.
- DAMASCENO, CAETANA**  
1990 "Cantando para subir." Master's thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.
- DANDARA, CASA**  
1992 *O triunfo da ideologia do embanquecimento: O homem negro e a rejeição da mulher negra*. Belo Horizonte: Projeto Cidadania do Povo.
- DATAFOLHA**  
1995 *Racismo cordial*. São Paulo: Atica.
- DOHLNIKOFF, MIRIAM, FERNANDO PEIXOTO, AND OMAR RIBEIRO THOMAZ**  
1995 "Raça e política: Entrevista de Benedita da Silva." *Novos Estudos CEBRAP* 43 (Nov.):8–25.
- FIGUEIREDO, ANGELA**  
1994 "O mercado da boa aparência: As cabelereiras negras." *Bahia Análise e Dados* 3, no. 4 (Mar.):33–36.
- FONTAINE, PIERRE-MICHEL, ED.**  
1985 *Race, Class, and Power in Brazil*. Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, University of California.
- FRESTON, PAUL**  
1993 "Protestantes e política no Brasil: Da Constituinte ao impeachment." Ph.D. diss., Universidade Estadual de Campinas.
- GARCIA CASTRO, MARY**  
1991 "A alquimia das categorias sociais—gênero, raça e geração—na produção de sujeitos políticos: O caso de líderes do Sindicato de Trabalhadores Domésticos em Salvador." Paper presented to the Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação em Ciências Sociais (ANPOCS), Caxambú, Minas Gerais, October.
- GARRARD-BURNETT, VIRGINIA**  
1986 "A History of Protestantism in Guatemala." Ph.D. diss., Tulane University.
- GENOVESE, EUGENE**  
1969 *The World the Slaveowners Made*. New York: Pantheon.
- GIACOMINI, SONIA**  
1992 "Profissão mulata." Master's thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.  
1994 "Beleza mulata e beleza negra." *Estudos Feministas* 2, no. 2:217–27.
- GILL, LESLIE**  
1990 "Like a Veil to Cover Them: Women and the Pentecostal Movement in La Paz." *American Ethnologist* 17, no. 4:708–21.  
1993 "Religious Mobility and the Many Words of God in La Paz, Bolivia." In **STOLL AND GARRARD-BURNETT** 1993.
- GILLIAM, ANGELA, AND ONIK'A GILLIAM**  
1995 "Negociando a subjetividade de mulata no Brasil." *Estudos Feministas* 3, no. 2:525–43.

- GONÇALVES DA SILVA, MARIA AUXILIADORA  
1994 *Encontros e desencontros de um movimento negro*. Brasília: Fundação Cultural Palmares.
- GRAMSCI, ANTONIO  
1971 *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers.
- GUIMARÃES, ANTONIO SERGIO ALFREDO  
1996 "O recente anti-racismo brasileiro: O que dizem os jornais diários." *Revista USP* 28 (Dec.-Feb.):85–95.
- HASENBALG, CARLOS  
1979 *Discriminações e desigualdades raciais no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Graal.  
1985 "Race and Socioeconomic Inequalities in Brazil." In FONTAINE 1985, 25–41.
- HASENBALG, CARLOS, AND NELSON DO VALLE SILVA  
1992 *Relações raciais no Brasil contemporâneo*. Rio de Janeiro: Rio Fundo.
- HOORNAERT, EDUARDO, COORD.  
1978 *Formação do Catolicismo brasileiro, 1500–1800*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- IRELAND, ROWAN  
1993 *Kingdoms Come: Religion and Politics in Brazil*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press.  
1997 "Pentecostalism, Conversions, and Politics in Brazil." In CLEARY AND STEWART-GAMBINO 1997, 123–38.
- ISER (INSTITUTO DE ESTUDOS DE RELIGIÃO)  
1996 *Novo nascimento: Os evangélicos em casa, na igreja e na política*. Rio de Janeiro: ISER.
- JOHANNESEN, STANLEY  
1988 "The Holy Ghost in Sunset Park." *Historical Reflections* 15, no. 3:556–63.
- MACHADO, MARIA DAS DORES  
1994 "Adesão religiosa e seus efeitos na esfera privada: Um estudo comparativo dos carismáticos e pentecostais do Rio de Janeiro." Ph.D. diss., Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas Econômicas do Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ).
- MARIZ, CECILIA  
1993 *Coping with Poverty in Brazil*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press.
- MARIZ, CECILIA, AND MARIA DAS DORES MACHADO  
1994 "Sincretismo e trânsito religioso: Comparando pentecostais e carismáticos." *Comunicações do ISER* 45:24–34.
- MOURA, CLOVIS  
1994 *Dialética radical do Brasil negro*. São Paulo: Anita.
- MOVIMENTO TERREIRO E CIDADANIA  
1996 "Plenária nacional." In-house document, Movimento Terreiro e Cidadania.
- MURATORIO, BLANCA  
1980 "Protestantism and Capitalism Revisited in the Rural Highlands of Ecuador." *Journal of Peasant Studies* 8, no. 1:37–60.
- NOVAES, REGINA  
1985 *Os escolhidos de Deus*. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Estudios de Religião.
- NOVAES, REGINA, AND MARIA DA GRAÇA FLORIANO  
1985 *O negro evangélico*. Rio de Janeiro: Instituto de Estudios de Religião.
- PASSOS, WALTER DE OLIVEIRA  
1995 *Teologia negra*. Salvador: Independente.
- RAPPAPORT, JOANNE  
1984 "Las misiones protestantes y la resistencia indígena en el sur de Colombia." *América Indígena* 44, no. 1 (Jan.-Mar.):111–26.
- ROLIM, FRANCISCO CARTAXO  
1985 *Os pentecostais no Brasil*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- ROSENBERG, FULVIA, REGINA PAHIM PINTO, ELIANA DE OLIVEIRA, EDITH SILVEIRA, AND POMPEU PIZA  
1995 "A classificação de cor no Brasil." Paper presented to the Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação em Ciências Sociais, Caxambú, Minas Gerais, October.
- ROSWITH, GERLOFF  
1975 "Black Power and Pentecostalism." In *Pentecost and Politics*, edited by Peter Kami, 11–14. Bristol, Engl.: Student Christian Movement Publications.

## PENTECOSTALISM AND BLACK IDENTITY IN BRAZIL

RUFINO, JOEL

1993 "A luta organizada contra o racismo." In *Atrás do Muro da Noite*, 89–146. Brasília: Fundação Cultural Palmares.

SANCHIS, PIERRE

1994 "O rapto pentecostal à cultura católico-brasileiro." *Revista de Antropologia* 37:145–82.

SCALON, MARIA CELIA RAMOS DA CRUZ

1992 "Cor e seletividade conjugal no Brasil." *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 23 (Dec.):17–36.

SCOTCHMER, DAVID G.

1991 "Symbols of Salvation: Interpreting Highland Maya Protestantism in Context." Ph.D. diss., State University of New York at Albany.

SILVA, MARIA APARECIDA DA

1995 "O rap das meninas." *Estudos Feministas* 3, no. 2:515–24.

SILVA, NELSON DO VALLE

1985 "The High Cost of Not Being White in Brazil." In FONTAINE 1985, 42–55.

STOLL, DAVID, AND VIRGINIA GARRARD-BURNETT, EDS.

1993 *Rethinking Protestantism in Latin America*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Temple University Press.

TELLES, EDWARD

1992 "Residential Segregation by Skin Color in Brazil." *American Sociological Review* 57:186–97.

THEODORO, HELENA

1996 *Mito e espiritualidade: Mulheres negras*. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas.

TWINE, FRANCINE WINDDANCE

1996 "O hiato de gênero nas percepções de racismo: O caso dos afro-brasileiros socialmente ascendentes." *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 29:37–54.

VALENTE, ANA LUCIA E. F.

1983 *Política e relações raciais: Os negros e as eleições paulistas de 1982*. São Paulo: Faculdade Fluminense de Letras e Ciências Humanas (FFLCH).

1994 *O negro e a Igreja Católica: O espaço concedido, um espaço reivindicado*. Ph.D. diss., Faculdade Fluminense de Letras e Ciências Humanas (FLCCH), Universidade de São Paulo.

VERGER, PIERRE

1992 *Os libertos: Sete caminhos na liberdade de escravos da Bahia no século XIX*. São Paulo: Corrupio.

WEDENOJA, WILLIAM

1978 "Religion and Adaptation in Rural Jamaica." Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego.

WILLEMS, EMILIO

1967 *Followers of a New Faith*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee.

WINANT, HOWARD

1994 *Racial Conditions*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.