

## The Body and Sexual Morality in Religious Groups<sup>1</sup>

MARIA DAS DORES CAMPOS  
MACHADO

Translation by the Author

One of the things that most impressed me on my first visit to a Charismatic community in Rio de Janeiro was the corporal expression of the women - gayly swinging their hips to the rhythm of the hymns - who at certain point began to develop a sort of choreography sequentially marked by hand-clapping crossing themselves genuflection and finally on their feet with their hands stretched toward heaven. Composed for the most part by middle-class women of over 50 years of age this community had managed to bring together approximately 1800 people for a service at 2 PM on a Monday afternoon who for two hours actively participated in the service. Their spontaneity freedom of movement and gestures were in total contrast to the cold ceremonies of more conservative priests and the contrition and rigidity of the more fervent Catholic women with their slow lamenting pacing in traditional processions.

Their emotional participation spontaneous speeches and testimonials reminded me of scenes which I had witnessed at a revival

put on by the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God<sup>2</sup> -UCKG - in a soccer stadium where predominantly lower-income believers were united. On that occasion having read about the first Pentecostal churches founded in Brazil<sup>3</sup> which not only segregated men and women but also proscribed rules of behavior emphasizing the use of chaste clothing - I was surprised not only by the style of the pastors and of the service itself but also by the way women were dressed and the happy intermixing and freedom of movement among participants during the mass meeting. Obvious change was underway that touched not only the Catholic tradition but the Protestants as well. Since the end of the 80's studies of the growing number of emotional communities in European societies have called attention to the more corporal rather than verbal interaction they promote<sup>4</sup>. In Brazilian studies<sup>5</sup> however one of the most

<sup>2</sup> This church was founded in 1977 and quickly rose to the third place position among Evangelicals in number of temples in the Rio de Janeiro metropolitan region. 191 according to the Evangelical Census of the ISER Research Center (CIN 1992).

<sup>3</sup> In particular on the Christian Congregation of Brazil and the Assembly of God denominations founded in 1910 and 1911 through schisms in the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches respectively. See ROLIM Francisco Cartaxo *Pentecostais no Brasil* Petropolis Vozes 1985.

<sup>4</sup> HERVIEU LÉGER D. Present Day Emotional Renewals: the end of secularization or the end of religion? In SANTOS W (ed.) *A Future for Religion? New paradigms for social analysis* London Sage 1993.

<sup>5</sup> BITENCOURT FILHO J. Pentecostalismo Autônomo In *Alternativas dos Desesperados como se pode ler o pentecostalismo autônomo* Rio de Janeiro CEDI 1991. VELASQUES FILHO P. *Sim a Deus e*

<sup>1</sup> The empirical data we referred on this paper were collected for two on-going research projects carried out in Rio de Janeiro State. *Adesão Religiosa e seus Efeitos na Esfera Privada* (Machado M D C Tese de Doutorado 1994) and *Os Efeitos da Afiliação Religiosa no Exercício da Sexualidade e da Reprodução - um estudo comparativo dos pentecostais e carismáticos* financed by the MacArthur Foundation.

frequently used criterion for differentiating Charismatics from Pentecostals has been the social origin of the former which is at the root of their more contained body gestures. With that in mind several questions arose: How were women of this social strata and advanced age able to break their ingrained restraints and appear so uninhibited and at ease with their bodies? Was this gait a special quality of the movement in Rio de Janeiro?

I had already been to Charismatic services in other states where the women were certainly emotionally involved, but it was nothing like what I saw in Copacabana. Could this festiveness have something to do with the *caroca* culture where dancing and the body are so present in the celebration of Carnival? How does secular culture affect religion? I later saw a carnival parade based on a samba praising Jesus organized by a Pentecostal denomination, the Evangelic Community, which would show me that my questions were indeed valid and that even though they openly criticized the festival of the flesh, Pentecostal believers had begun to incorporate the gait and some of the corporal expression of Carnival into religious rites, giving it new meaning.

It is true that through the issues of death, sickness, procreation, and even sex, the corporal dimension has in some way always been present in religious ethics.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, there is a consensus among researchers that the theologies of salvation impose both a devaluation of the human body, as well as a regulation of believers' sensuality. We know that in the Christian universe, the duality established between the body and the soul in the early centuries of the church created a hierarchy of these dimensions, placing the first in an inferior position and in opposition to the spirit. The body is the world of instincts which must be

controlled, and it is exactly this virtual potential of control which differentiates men from animals. Thus, rational objectives should orient and even repress the appetites of the body, including sexual desire and pleasure.<sup>7</sup> The consequences of this policing of the body are not restricted only to behavior in the religious sphere, but depending on the historical circumstances can be seen in the economic and even political spheres as well.

Weber, in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, showed us how, in the initial phases of capitalism, strong ethical precepts were employed to discipline the body through inner-worldly asceticism and the channeling of human energies into labor.<sup>8</sup> Contemporary studies<sup>9</sup> however affirm that the capitalist system itself would stimulate a redefinition of the use of the body as it became an object of consumerism. The growth of alternative therapies and ritualistic healing practices combining body and mind are, for some researchers,<sup>10</sup> a reflection in the religious field of these changes in contemporary societies. In comparing these experiences to our observations in the field, we are led to hypothesize whether these Brazilian Neo-Pentecostal, Catholic, and Evangelical

<sup>7</sup> GUDORF, C. E. *Redeeming Sexuality: shifts in Christian understanding of moral good* (mimeo). Trabalho apresentado no Working Group on Sexual Behavior Research Conference on International Perspectives in Sex Research, Rio de Janeiro, 1993, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> A similar mechanism can be identified in progressive Brazilian Catholic groups. According to Botas, it is not overdoing it to say that the emotional upbringing of most Catholic Action believers was based on the **channeling** of their life potential, in other words, **erotic**, into the task of changing the world. This great discipline was composed of learning to suppress **sensuality, emotion, feeling, and pleasure**, and of the esthetic of the sexual, for the creation of **virgin** and, in most cases, **heroic workers**. BOTAS, P. C. *Creio na Ressurreição da Carne. Religião e Sociedade* nº 7, Rio de Janeiro, 1981, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup> SIMPSON, apud RIIS, op. cit., p. 379.

<sup>10</sup> MCGUIRE, M. B. *Religion and Body: rematerializing the human body in the social sciences of religion*. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 3, vol. 29, 1990.

Não a Vida. In VELASQUES FILHO, P. and MENDONÇA, A. G. *Introdução Ao Protestantismo No Brasil*. São Paulo: Edições Loyola, 1990.

<sup>6</sup> RIIS, Ole. *The Study of Religion in Modern Society*. *Acta Sociologica*, vol. 36, Stockholm University, 1993.

movements which also stimulate corporal expression are not following a similar tendency to rearticulate the body and the spirit even though they may still emphasize the latter<sup>11</sup> What are the limits to this new appreciation of the body for believers? Is it merely ritualistic? Do the changes we see in the use of the body in relation to Jesus particularly in moments of praise express changes in the exercise of female sexuality as well? How do Pentecostals and Charismatics deal with their own sensuality? These are some of the questions with which we will be occupied in this study although we will concentrate on the examination of values relative to the sexuality and reproductive behavior of believers involved in the Movement of Charismatic Catholic Renewal - MRCC - and in Pentecostalism

### **Sex and reproduction in Christian thought**

If we go back in the history of Christianity we can see that from the second century until the middle of the 1900 s a negative perception of human sexuality predominated and was most radically expressed in the writings of Saint Agustin and Saint Jerome Based on the previously mentioned separation of the body and soul this tradition may be systematically presented in three main points 1) the condemnation of sexual desire and pleasure 2) the linking of the sexual act with procreation and finally 3) the imputation of an inferior status to women in relation to men which is expressed through the emphasis on her reproductive role For these religious thinkers sexual intercourse was only justifiable for human reproduction and its practice even in marriage could be considered sinful given that carnal

pleasure is so difficult to avoid After Saint Thomas of Aquinas an instinctive and bestial characterization of sex would predominate over the sinful qualification but sexuality would continue to need a justification beyond itself that of procreation

There is an unequal treatment of the sexual partners which underlies this entire tradition awarding women an inferior status It exalts the spiritual dimension of the masculine gender presenting him as created in the image and likeness of God while it emphasizes the physiological dimension - carnal - of the feminine gender (thus the direct association between women and the idea of temptation) justifying her existence in terms of motherhood In both Saint Agustin and Saint Thomas we see that it is the woman's place to assist man only in the task of reproduction for in all other endeavors men are undoubtedly superior and in no need of female aid<sup>12</sup> According to specialized studies the religious reform movement of the middle ages which repudiated the devotion of the saints particularly the female ones went far in reinforcing the importance of the masculine gender in the Protestant world After all if Catholicism emphasized the masculine qualities of God there was also the feminine alternative of the Virgin to whom women could turn in moments of need<sup>13</sup> This imbalance in the treatment of the sexes by Christian theologians would be reinforced through the rise of Pentecostalism at the onset of the 20th century which in opposition to the most liberal tendencies of the Protestants<sup>14</sup> would

---

<sup>12</sup> GUDORF C E op cit p 4

<sup>13</sup> DAVIS apud TARDECCI M Pentecostalismo y Relaciones de Genero una revision In FRIGÉRIO Alejandro (ed) *Nuevos Movimientos Religiosos* Buenos Aires Centro Editora De America Latina vol I 1993

<sup>14</sup> According to Evans (apud TARDECCI op cit p 84) one of the consequences of revivalism in the 19th century was to create opportunities for women to develop extra familiar activities building an important ideological support for the feminist movement of the 1800 s Both in North-american and English societies Protestant women participates in the

---

<sup>11</sup> In Latin America progressive sectors of the traditional Churches women and a few certain male theologians linked to Liberation Theology attempt to question the body spirit relationship based on a unitary anthropology and not the patriarchal and hierarchical one preferred by most Christian religions GEBARA I *Corpo novo ponto de partida da teologia Tempo e Presença* Rio de Janeiro CEDI 1988 This is however a very recent discussion in the Brazilian religious sphere

restore the belief in the natural inferiority of women placing women at the foot of a divinely ordained hierarchy which awards power and authority to God and to men<sup>15</sup> Founded on the individualistic but still patriarchal tradition of the nuclear bourgeois family in the United States in the early 20th century this ideology would run into ambivalent and paradoxical consequences<sup>16</sup> These would not be restricted merely to the internal structuring of religious organizations and the distribution of power between masculine and feminine members but would also affect the private behavior of followers in these religious communities as it reinforced masculine authority in the home

However while one line of questioning relating gender and religious conversion is being consolidated contributing significantly to our understanding not only of the rapid growth of Pentecostalism in Latin America but also of the changes in the model of the family for followers of this religious tradition in terms of the first two pillars of the Christian sexual tradition there is still much to be investigated On the doctrinary level we know that both the devaluation of sex and the norm of sex for procreation only remained basically the same through the first few decades of this century sexual abstinence being the only legitimate method available for birth control

In 1930 Anglicans gathered at the Lambeth Conference defended the use of birth control methods in cases where there were serious restrictions to procreation thus paving the way for a rupture with the Christian insistence that reproduction be

the ultimate end for conjugal sex and for the first time showing that sexual activity within marriage could be justifiable in and for itself The use of artificial means of birth control was no longer linked to the notions of illicit sex adultery and above all prostitution but could be used by Christian couples even if only for health reasons Shortly thereafter in 1931 the committee for marriage and the family of the Federal Council of Churches of the United States approved the use of contraceptives transferring the decision-making responsibility to professionals in the medical area and to the believers themselves The economic and social context particularly the economic slump which followed on the heels of the Second World War and the global urbanization which took place during the middle of the century favored the spread of these liberal and secular positions as other Protestant churches recognized that the responsibility and definition of contraception usage belonged morally to the individual and technically to science<sup>17</sup>

However when we turn our attention to the Catholics we see that the process of revising values has been much slower and more difficult In 1930 in direct response to the birth control movement but particularly to the liberal position assumed by the Protestants in Lambeth Pope Pius XI published the Encyclical *Castí Connubii* reaffirming the link between sexuality and reproduction and energetically condemning abortion and the limitation of births by artificial means It was only in 1950 in his speech to the Catholic Society of Midwives that the High Magistrate of the Church admitted the legitimacy of birth control for the first time In this document Pope Pius XII recognized the rhythm method as in keeping with God's laws finally accepting the natural technique discovered in the 1920's by scientists Ogino and Knaus

---

battles for suffrage for moral reform and in abolitionist movements but when the revivalist spirit began to decline women returned to the domestic sphere

<sup>15</sup> GILL L Like a Veil to Cover them women and the pentecostal movement in La Paz American Ethnologist 17 n° 4 1990

<sup>16</sup> BRUSCO E The Reformation of Machismo ascetism and masculinity among colombian evangelicals In Burnet Garrand V and Stoll D Rething Latin American Protestantism Philadelphia Temple University Press 1994 BURDICK J Looking for God in Brazil The City University of New York 1990

---

<sup>17</sup> PIERUCCI A F Igreja contradições e acomodações Ideologia do clero catolico sobre reprodução humana no Brasil Cadernos CEBRAP n° 21 São Paulo 1978 p 40

In the last thirty years the behavioral revolution ushered in by the birth control pill the rise of feminist movements bringing to the political arena their demands for sexual liberation and the development of new technologies in the area of reproduction have incited new debates within the Church hierarchy and among the more active lay workers but have not been strong enough to force a revision of the ban on abortion nor of the traditional rejection of birth-control methods. The principal documents of this period reinforce the condemnation of birth control methods save natural ones thus showing how difficult it is for the Papistry to accept the separation of sexuality and procreation and to adapt to changes in reproductive behavior brought on by advances in science<sup>18</sup>

In Brazil we find at least two different interpretations of the local reaction to Vatican directives. The first frequently encountered in progressive Catholic spheres points out the theological advances resulting from the doctrine of "responsible parenthood" (Gaudium et Spes Pope Paul VI 1965). The very existence of distinct interpretations of this doctrine within the Brazilian clergy however underlines a lack of consensus in terms of the absolute rejection of artificial means of birth control. The second much emphasized by feminists calls attention to the role of the National Council of Brazilian Bishops and other organizations in influencing public policy-making and public opinion in general by at the same time pointing out how the local clergy furthers the Vatican line on procreation and showing the authoritarian nature of the Catholic interference in discussions on reproductive rights and in AIDS-prevention campaigns<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> RIBEIRO Lucia Anticoncepção e Comunidades Eclesiais de Base In Costa A de Oliveira e Amado T (org.) *Alternativas Escassas* Sao Paulo/Rio de Janeiro Fundação Carlos Chagas/Ed 34 1994

<sup>19</sup> ARAUJO M J Aborto legal no Hospital de Jabaquara *Revista Estudos Feministas* Escola de Comunicação vol 1 n° 2 UFRJ 1993 p 425 RIBEIRO L op cit p 403 4

The Vatican's inflexibility has in fact not significantly influenced the behavior of the majority of Catholics. A recent study commissioned by the Church itself (Jornal do Brasil 1994) reveals how disparate are the clergy's norms from the sexual mores of young Catholics. According to the data from this study 90% of the Catholics between 18 and 30 years of age condone the use of contraceptives 70% consider masturbation normal 65% approve of sexual relations before marriage and 40% are in favor of abortion in special circumstances. In the Evangelical world studies<sup>20</sup> of the participation of believer congressmen in the 1988 National Constituent Assembly point out their "moralistic political activism" demonstrated by the creation of a multi-party block of Protestants who concentrated their efforts on committees dealing with the family and the sexual and reproductive behavior of Brazilian citizens. Since the majority of representatives in this block were from neo-traditionalist denominations their positions against homosexuality abortion feminism drugs pornography and even the dissolution of marriage predominated.

If in the Catholic case alliance to a confessional group may indicate different degrees of obedience to and assimilation of the values of church leaders we should also confront the positions we have just pointed out with those of the leaders of other religious denominations and even with the conduct of members of these religious communities<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> FRESTON P. *Protestantes e Política no Brasil da Constituinte ao Impeachment* (mimeo) Tese de Doutorado Campinas 1993 PIERUCCI A F *Representantes de Deus em Brasília: a bancada evangélica na Constituinte Ciências Sociais Hoje* Rio de Janeiro 1989

<sup>21</sup> Like the Catholics Protestants have their own progressive group which attempts to discuss questions relating to sexuality and to abortion defending its legalization. Within this group we call attention to the theologians and pastors who try to show how the Churches focusing their discussion on abortion on the fetus rather than on the pregnant woman deny the difficulties millions of women face

## The Neo-Pentecostal movement in Brazilian religious sociology

In Brazil where the rapid growth of neo-traditional groups of Protestant origin has begun to undermine Catholic hegemony and is beginning to constitute a true alternative to the more progressive tendencies of Liberation Theology there is no tradition of quantitative research in the area of religion. Even qualitative studies on new affiliation to spiritual movements and family life are few being that the effects of religious conversion in domestic relations are a secondary concern within the more extensive studies on the religious thematic. Further there is a constant line drawn between Pentecostal groups associated with the lower classes and those called Charismatic which researchers deem typical of the middle classes. Attention has been given basically to the former there are few studies on Catholic Charismatics and none which specifically deal with the so called Evangelical Charismatics. Studies which deal with the Movement for Charismatic Catholic Renewal<sup>22</sup> recognize the ecumenical origin of this movement and the Evangelical influences expressed in their renewed emphasis on the Bible the belief in the power of the Holy Spirit and the spontaneity and emotional involvement of believers during the services and celebrations. Nevertheless they prefer to compare this to other movements within the Catholic Church particularly those of the middle sectors and to analyze its relation to the institutional structure. Thus they identify a certain continuity between traditional Christian Retreats and Meetings of Couples with Christ and Charismatic Renewal concluding that this adjusts itself to the Church and is not a movement in opposition to the Catholic hierarchy. Even

---

in particular those who live in conditions of poverty. See JARSCHER, Heidi. *Aborto entre a fome e o desejo. Tempo e Presença* 256. Rio de Janeiro 1988 p. 37-39.

<sup>22</sup> BENEDETTI, L. *Templo Praça Coração a articulação do campo religioso católico*. São Paulo: tese de Doutorado USP 1988.

those researchers who emphasize the MCCR ideology which gives renewed importance to the family they emphasize the function of the movement to preserve the religious institution and fail to investigate the consequent changes in the attitudes and behavior of believers who adhere to such an ideology.

The results of a recent study on Syncretism and Religious Transit<sup>23</sup> suggest on the other hand a great proximity between Charismatics and Pentecostals who are considered by the first without any class discrimination to be the religious group they most admire and with whom they most identify. This study showed that Charismatics simultaneously attend Pentecostal services as well as talks by Evangelical pastors and even frequent renewed Evangelical churches. As to parallel attendance it was found that this occurred basically during the conversion phase before the religious option had been completely made. As for visits to Pentecostal denominations quite frequent among the lower-income population albeit present in middle classes groups as well these seem to constitute a decisive moment for the quitting of syncretic practice particularly those related to Afro-Brazilian religious groups.

The decision to include lower-income segments of the population in the study of Charismatics was important in order to verify the hypothesis of adjustment to the institutional structures of the Catholic Church for it was seen that there were many in this population who abandoned the Church because of conflicts with its hierarchy and thus turned to Evangelical groups. Further even temporary visitations by Charismatics to Pentecostal communities shows that the line separating the two is neither as clear nor as strong as that which until recently divided the Protestant and Catholic universes reinforcing the

---

<sup>23</sup> MARIZ, C. e MACHADO, M. D. *Sincretismo e Transito Religioso comparando carismáticos e pentecostais*. *Comunicações do Iser* nº 45. Rio de Janeiro 1994.

option for a comparison between them. In the Pentecostal world despite a vast bibliography on these religious communities and even on the public behavior of believers there are few studies which include the influences of their beliefs and religious affiliation on the private sphere and particularly on gender relations<sup>24</sup>. Further the lack of a tradition of attitude studies in Brazilian sociology has resulted in a deliberate emphasis on the valorative dimension making the analysis of Pentecostal doctrine the central issue. Some case studies manage to confront these two dimensions but suffer the inherent limitations of studies of this nature which cannot generalize their results to the Pentecostal movement as a whole. Beyond this the majority of studies call attention to the asceticism which follows conversion and restrict themselves to investigating the effects of the religious option on the alcohol consumption and sexual behavior of the husband while failing to investigate what may be the consequences on the sexual orientation given to children on the reproductive behavior of the couple and even on female sexuality.

### **Pentecostals and Charismatics socio-economic data and sexual morality**

We interviewed thirty-seven married women three who were living with men six who were single two who were separated and four who were widowed. Of these twenty-six were of middle class origin and twenty-six were from the lower income sector being divided equally between Charismatics and Pentecostals<sup>25</sup>.

The Charismatics had an average age of forty-two and showed the highest educational level - five of those from the middle sectors were college graduates while those from the second religious group<sup>26</sup> were slightly younger having an average age of 39.6 years but with fewer years of formal education only two from the middle sectors had completed their university studies. Among those from the popular sectors the differences between the two religious universes are negligible being that half of those interviewed from each religion had completed grade school two or three from each had finished high school and the rest had had less than a first-grade education. There were three women who had had at least one previous union one was a middle-class Charismatic and two were Pentecostals - one from the middle and one from the popular class. After leaving their previous unions the two Pentecostals were married in the Church of which they are now members. The Charismatic who was divorced from her first husband has lived together with a divorced man for twenty years.

As for the men we spoke with twenty who are currently married ten from the middle classes and ten from the popular classes equally distributed between the Charismatic and Pentecostal groups. Their average ages were respectively forty-five and forty-one. The Charismatics showed the same tendencies found in the female sample the male group having a greater level of formal education - four from the middle class held college diplomas but here the difference in relation to the Pentecostals practically disappears.

<sup>24</sup> BURDICK J. op cit. MARIZ Cecilia C. *Coping With Poverty*. Philadelphia Temple Press 1994. NOVAES Regina Reys. *Os Escolhidos de Deus. Cadernos ISEER* n° 19. Rio de Janeiro Editora Marco Zero 1985. PAGE John J. *Brasil Para Cristo: the cultural construction of pentecostal networks in Brazil*. New York University Dissertation 1984. WILLEMS E. *Followers of the New Faith: cultural change and The rise of protestantism in Brazil and Chile*. Nashville Vanderbilt University Press 1967.

<sup>25</sup> The Pentecostal women (26) belonged to the following denominations: UCKG (9) Assembly of

God (4) New Life (3) Calvary Baptist (2) Maranatha Evangelical Missionary Association (2) International Evangelical Center and Support Front (2) Evangelical Church of God in the Last Days (2) Church of Christ (1) Christ Renews (1)

<sup>26</sup> The distribution of the men (15) in Pentecostal denominations was the following: Assembly of God (4) UCKG (2) International Evangelical Center and Support Front (2) House of Prayer (2) Maranatha Christian Church (1) Christ Lives (1) Methodist Wesleyan (1) Christ Renews (1)

for three of this group had also finished their university studies. Within the lower-income Pentecostal and Charismatic segments we find a similar internal distribution where the vast majority of the men claimed to have finished only grade school and the remaining two - one from each religious group - stated that they had dropped out before completing it.

### **Sexuality values and experiences**

Nearly all of those we interviewed from both communities revealed they had received no sexual orientation from their parents. Friends and schoolmates had been responsible for furnishing information, be it about menstruation and masturbation, be it about sexual intercourse and contraceptive methods. Besides feeling ill at ease with the subject, these parents described by our informants as traditional seemed to hold a negative view of everything having to do with sexuality. It is here that gender differences begin to show up. Whereas men, who had always had greater access to literature or to group conversations between adults where the sexual question was always present, saw no problem in this, the women regretted the lack of information and the more educated among them were critical of this family attitude. Some of them even relating this fact to difficulties they had with their own sexuality.

Considering the fact that one of the things that most clearly distinguishes Catholics from Protestants in Brazil has been the moral rigidity of the latter, our examination of the sexual education received by our sample population took us back to their parents' religion, and for this reason we looked into their religious upbringings. The Charismatics unanimously declared their parents' religion to have been Catholic and had long considered their membership in this church as inherited, but had not considered themselves to be practicing Catholics. It is interesting that in the popular classes we found a significant number of Charismatics who claimed to have begun their religious involvement in Pentecostal denominations. Of the ten

married women from this social segment for example, six had been members of Pentecostal churches before joining the MCCR. Two of the five married men had the same story to tell. All of them, men and women, both had come from non-practicing Catholic homes when they began their religious search, initially in Evangelical temples, finding their way into the following denominations: three were

Renewed Baptists, three were from the UCKG, two were from God is Love, and two were members of the Assembly of God. Of the twenty-six female and thirteen male Pentecostals we interviewed, five and seven, respectively, had come from Evangelical backgrounds. The Assembly of God came out as the denomination with the most staying power, that most able to pass on its values from one generation to the next, being particularly true in the case of the males. Most of these men whose parents were Assembly of God believers had either remained or had returned to the church after a period of absence, usually during their youth. As for the females, those young women who found the church's strict codes of dress and behavior to be unbearable had moved into other, less strict denominations. A large number of Pentecostals however had come from Catholic homes and spoke both of their family's and their own syncretic religious practices before conversion to their present church. In these cases, the moral orientation they received differs little from societal norms and those of the hegemonic religious group. That is to say, the encouragement or at least tolerance of the awakening and development of sexuality in the boys, and the severe control of sexuality in the girls, and the frequent passing-on of a negative perception of sexual contact. M H Q (36 years old), daughter of middle-class Catholics, but a current member of Calvary Baptist Church, claimed that her mother taught her that sex was disgusting, horrible, and rotten. When, as a adolescent, I found out that she did it, too, I really thought her vulgar. After I tried it myself, I was angry at what



she had done to me I'm not doing the same thing to my daughters

Here we must call attention to differences in male and female interviews. While many women were willing to talk of their sexual lives and even spontaneously of their discontentments in this area and of their early ignorance in relation to their sexuality, none of the men revealed any sexual dissatisfaction, even to the male assistant interviewer. Even those who admitted to extra-marital relations claimed no link between this and any sexual difficulty within the marriage. Their arguments fall into the usual line of moral deviance and the noxious influences of a secular and macho culture. It is also curious that most of the women who experienced difficulties with their sexuality did not relate these problems to the sexual performance of their partners. At this point social differences come into play: women from the lower-educational strata blame themselves for their lack of sexual fulfillment and feel guilty for the excuses they give to their partners. Furthermore, when they shared with us the orientations they had received from church-sponsored classes, lectures, and sermons, we saw that these seem to encourage their conformity to the sexual patterns established by their partners and deal with sexuality as a matrimonial responsibility. A positive attitude toward sex in marriage seems to be something shared both by Pentecostal as well as Charismatic leaders, but the orientation they give does not always aid women in questioning the performance and responsibility of their partners in relation to their insatisfactions. Charismatic leaders follow official Church doctrine, which though still behind society as a whole, already in *Gaudium et Spes* (1965) viewed procreation not as an end to itself, but as the result of conjugal love. Certainly though their condemnation of non-natural methods of contraception shows the ambiguity of this position, and paves the way for very different orientations and perceptions of sex. At retreats and encounters, as well as at the weekly Charismatic meetings which we attended

during our two-year study, we saw that when the issue of sexuality appeared, it was accompanied more frequently by moralizations such as the denunciation and censorship of the "depraved behavior" of homosexuals, unfaithful spouses, and sexually active singles, than by discussions of the difficulties normally encountered by men and women in their intimate relationships. From interviews with members of this movement, we concluded that questions of this nature are dealt with either by seeking the counsel of elders, or by going outside the church to other sources or family-oriented movements parallel to MCCR, such as the Encounters of Couples, the Group of Our Lady, the Encounter of Dialogues, etc.

Now in the Evangelical world, as Reverend Caio Fabio, president of the Brazilian Evangelical Association, told us, "the great moment of change in the evaluation of sexuality came about nearly fifteen years ago, with the explosion of books on the market dealing with sex and pleasure, and the intense subsequent discussion of the issue among religious leaders. Among the women we interviewed, those who were members of the UCKG were most able to share the orientations received through their religious community, pointing out the availability of assistance, either in the form of private counselling by the pastor or his wife, or in vigils and lectures on the importance of sexuality in the preservation of the family. This denomination holds emotional vigils, and in its sermons encourages believers to be more affectionate with their sexual partners in their daily lives. Other denominations deal with the issue in a more discrete fashion, promoting Encounters of Couples, Courses for Newlyweds, or, in the case of the smaller denominations, through informal talks with older women from the religious community. Within the middle classes, we saw that the Pastor's Office was an important place for consultation, though most of the women sought the counsel of the pastor only in extreme circumstances. In the more popular groups, information was more frequently gleaned from the informal conversations

occasioned in Women's Meetings

In the case of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God despite the great creativity on the part of its leaders who in their all-day-Thursday family encounters offer a chocolate kiss a rose of happiness or some holy oil to be given to one's spouse as a token of affection the lack of sexual preparedness and the low educational level of pastors and lay workers constitute a real limitation to any true aid the church might be able to offer to women with problems. By presenting sexual difficulties many times as the frigidity of the wife or as a problem basically of the woman religious orientation seems to run on the line of a greater understanding of men's sexual needs by women. The person who clearly explained this orientation was N.M., a forty-three-year-old housekeeper and UCKG member who stated that before entering the church she didn't want to have sexual relations with her husband and that in her own words only after hearing the pastor from IURD say that a woman should not run away from her marital obligations that she stopped trying to avoid him. The informant also stated, "I'm getting better at it" and added, "before I didn't feel any pleasure and would run away. Today I ask God to help me accept these things but to tell you the truth I don't feel very happy when he comes to me."

This woman who didn't finish here elementary school education explains her sexual lack of interest for her husband in terms of her faults and selfishness which she is now working on. In middle-class sectors however at least two educated women reported to have sexual problems expressing them not in terms of the difficulties in satisfying the needs of their husbands but rather as their inability to attain pleasure with their partners. M.M., 44 from the upper-middle class a graduate of journalism and currently separated told us she had had extra-marital relations before converting to Pentecostalism and becoming a member of the UCKG because she couldn't have an orgasm with her husband. She was the only one of all those

we interviewed who used this expression but despite her liberal behavior and language she had been sexually inactive since her husband left her three years ago. Testimony such as this shows that more than religious affiliation age or educational level influence the way women feel about their sexual activity though once joined in one of these Pentecostal movements they have little choice but to deal with their sexual insatisfactions by trying to make their partners more sensitive to their needs. The possibility for dialog is greater when both partners share the same religious values. According to Gill<sup>27</sup> one of the consequences of male conversion to Pentecostalism is that men are led to cultivate virtues traditionally allocated to women such as humility which to a certain extent facilitates understanding between partners and helps them to overcome some of the male chauvinist behavior so present in Latin American culture.

Another important point is how believers who had received no sexual education from their parents were dealing with the issue in their own families. In both religious universes we saw that for both sexes conversion leads to a greater preoccupation with the sexual orientation of the children. When we compared the testimony of women who had joined Pentecostal movements without their husbands (25) with that of women who had been successful in converting their spouses (16) we found that in the first case the women more than the men were concerned with preparing their children and with not repeating their own parents' pattern of neglect. In the case of couples who had both converted this became a shared concern showing that men had become more involved in the raising of the children. On the whole we found that parents end up orienting their offspring according to the questions the children themselves pose. In other words education means establishing rules of behavior and answering questions asked by youngsters. If they neither contest

---

<sup>27</sup>GILL, L. op cit p 717

nor question the parents need not touch on the issues of sexuality. One woman of thirty justified the fact of her mother's never having spoken to her about sex by her own early pregnancy leading her mother to assume that she already knew all there was to know since she was already obviously sexually active with her boyfriend. As for the Charismatics where a greater number of women join the movement on their own we find the typical Brazilian double standard of control over female sexuality and tolerance of male incapacity to remain chaste. AIDS though a strong motive for conversation between parents and children served this religious group to reinforce the double standard strengthening the defense of virginity for girls and guaranteeing the right to sexual activity for boys as long as it is not promiscuous and includes the use of condoms. After all men can't make it without sex one Charismatic woman of thirty-eight put it. Although she had herself been an expecting bride her advice to her daughter was to save herself for marriage while at the same time reminding her son not to forget to take condoms with him on a date just in case he and his girlfriend decided to stay out late.

Pentecostals for the most part follow traditional Protestant guidelines for sex countering looser Catholic ideals they encourage chastity before marriage for both males and females and extend the vow of fidelity to both spouses. Thus the more radical group becomes the more egalitarian as well in terms of gender denying both partners any extra marital dallying. Their advice runs from the warning to boys that they not even converse with certain girls certain women of the streets to the suggestion that they respect their girlfriends treating them as they would a sister. G A a seventeen year old middle class student and member of the International Evangelical Center told us that love between believers lasts because before calling a woman your wife you call her your sister and before any carnal embrace any carnal love there is spiritual love.

It is interesting that among women who confessed to having gotten married after becoming pregnant - fourteen out of the 40 who were married - ten currently belong to Pentecostal groups and three came from Evangelical homes meaning that they had received the kind of orientation described above. All these were daughters of Assembly of God members one of the most traditional Pentecostal denominations S N 34 had been baptized in the church at thirteen but had shortly thereafter gone with her parents and siblings to a renewed Baptist church where the younger members of the family felt more at ease. She is currently a member of the New Life Church M N 29 attended Assembly of God services and celebrations with her family until the age of fourteen when she abandoned the religious community returning to religious life only after marriage joining the Christ Lives Church. Finally we have R S 26 who in conflict with the strict Assembly of God rules of behavior was baptized in the Congregational Church at fifteen and has been there ever since. With her pregnancy she was temporarily suspended from the church but shortly thereafter found support and aid which eventually led her into a religious marriage. She like the others who had married while pregnant today preach chastity for singles and speak of the guilt of having betrayed God as an obstacle to true happiness after marriage.

The fact that these young women went against their religious communities rules of behavior demonstrates the difficulty many believers of both sexes have to juggle conflicting norms with the attitudes and behavior socially expected for this phase of life.<sup>28</sup> Adolescence and the beginning of adult life are tense times. Restrictions on drinking smoking and dancing the control of dating and strict dress codes put off a good number of those whose parents belong to more radical denominations and even those who continue in the religious community show occasional

<sup>28</sup>NOVAES R R op cit p 76

insatisfaction with the moral strictness of the group. We heard from the Coordinator of the Youth Group in one Charismatic church that the majority of requests for counsel stem from young people's uncertainty as to how to deal with sexuality while dating and contemplating marriage and that her advice to both boys and girls was to remain chaste until marriage. It is a position similar to that of the Pentecostals but need not necessarily apply to one's own son or to non-Charismatic young people as we saw a few pages back.

### **Infidelity: moral deviance answered by prayer and deliverance sessions**

Specialized literature on the subject has emphasized<sup>29</sup> the emotional and at times material support that conversion to Pentecostalism offers women who face problems be they adultery or the consumption of alcohol with their spouses. Within our sample study drug use and particularly alcohol dependence was mentioned by both male and female respondents more frequently than infidelity as a source of domestic conflict. Nevertheless several of the women interviewed told us that their first visits to religious communities had been brought on by the extra marital affairs of their husbands. Again there were a greater number of Pentecostals who were able to speak of their husbands' deviant behavior. Of the seven women who claimed to have gone through or were currently dealing with such a situation five were Pentecostals and only two were Charismatics. Most of the first group were from lower-income backgrounds while the Charismatics had middle-class origins.

Although the number of Charismatics who admitted having this kind of problem or having had pre-marital sex was smaller than that of the Pentecostals this doesn't mean that their husbands were necessarily more faithful or that they themselves had married as virgins. Whereas there were only two male interviewees who admitted

having been unfaithful to their wives before converting to the MCCR in later interviews with their wives this fact was never mentioned as a motivating force leading to their joining the movement (one said she had been depressed for several years and the other said she could no longer get along with her husband). By the same token during one interview a woman was scolded by her husband because she admitted to having had sex before getting married. This is an indication that the Catholic tradition of censorship and condemnation of deviant moral behavior remains strong even among followers of the MCCR and that Pentecostals are more at ease talking about the problems even very intimate ones they had faced before conversion. In Gill's view one of the advantages of Pentecostal beliefs is that it offers an alternative for women to interpret their experiences under a new light of changed social identity. This perhaps explains the fact that in this group we found a greater number of women who spoke of having had abortions as we will shortly see - a highly condemned practice in the eyes of neo traditionalist Christian groups. M M 44 a middle class housewife and worker for the UCKG who attended services at least twice a day spontaneously told us that she had begun her sex life at fourteen had had three abortions before getting married and two more after and had been involved in extra marital affairs. Hers was the only admitted case of female infidelity within our sample study.

Through both the men who spoke of a polygamous past and the women whose husbands had behaved in such a manner we came to realize that most men had given up extra-marital relations only at an already advanced age in general after 50 and only two had been motivated to do so by their own conversions. The more commonly cited reasons of the husband's inability to keep up two relationships, his abandonment by the female lover and the financial difficulty of maintaining this type of situation were to reinforce the wives' efforts to reestablish the marriage.

<sup>29</sup>BRUSCO E, BURDICK J, MARIZ C, C PAGE J, J and WILLEMS E. op cit

We must here call attention to the distinct ways in which Charismatics and Pentecostals explain moral deviance. On the one hand, believers predominantly cite religious arguments to explain the probable reasons for infidelity, homosexuality, and deviant sexual behavior, while on the other, they reveal the influence of social origin and level of schooling. Arguments such as "absence of God," "lack of prayer," and "lack of religion" came up independent of gender, class, or educational level. However, answers such as "the influence of demonic forces," "the devil's work," etc., appear more frequently in the popular sector and were much more common among Pentecostals. Explanations based on antagonistic supernatural forces - God and the Devil - are not mutually exclusive. In the Pentecostal view, evil spirits interfere in conjugal life when there is a lack of prayer and dedication to God. However, the lack of a Christian religious life does not necessarily imply that there is a belief in the existence of the devil.

Pentecostals, despite differences in emphasis on one or another of the powers of the Holy Spirit - speaking in tongues, healing, and exorcism - consider deviant behavior, be it sexual or some other vice, as symptomatic of a spiritual crisis. Evil spirits or demonic forces act on the individual, destroying the personality. Without being aware of what is happening, this individual begins to lose control, becomes involved in extra-marital relations, spends money, and distances himself from his family, or he experiments with promiscuous and depraved relations which also place the institution of the family at risk. It was exactly among the more popular groups where the level of schooling was lower for both sexes that we found a greater tendency to blame the devil for episodes such as extra-marital and homosexual sex. Some middle-class believers also link infidelity and homosexual practice to the devil, but given their higher level of education, it is less common explanation than for those from the lower income group. It is important to point out the conse-

quences of this "blaming the devil" for these types of moral deviance for the believer and for the religious institution. On the one hand, the believer need not carry all the blame for his actions, allowing for greater understanding and tolerance on the part of family members and the religious community itself. On the other, it makes the strongness of the institution even further, for if the problem is spiritual, only religion can help to solve it; moreover, it can only be a religion which guarantees deliverance - a religion which can exorcise occult forces. Currently, the denomination which gives most emphasis to the power of the Holy Spirit is, without a doubt, the UCKG. However, we should point out that in the competition for converts, other denominations are now adopting such rituals as the public exorcisms common to the UCKG. Among denominations which have appeared since the UCKG, we also see the tendency to liberalize the rules of classic Pentecostalism, dictating behavior, particularly concerning dress and hair, as well as an effort to institutionalize charisma through the creation of preparatory courses for religious leaders. In other words, the competition between Pentecostal denominations has undermined the academic differentiation between classic and autonomous Pentecostalism.

In the Charismatic world, where there is less influence from Afro-Brazilian religions, explanations of deviant behavior emphasize the absence of religious values or the submission of these values to those of the secular world. Many of those we interviewed added psychological and sociological arguments to their religious discourse, citing "the individualism of modern societies,"

"Brazilian macho culture," and "the lack of understanding of other family members." Of course, just because most of these participants didn't explicitly mention evil influences doesn't mean that Charismatics deny the existence of the devil. Nevertheless, the mere mentioning of the devil, when referring to deviant behavior, did not eliminate the individual's responsibility for his actions and was accompanied by a value judgement.

## The forms of family planning

The ways in which participants dealt with birth control is also an expression of how the questions of desire and sexual pleasure are addressed by believers in these religious movements. Among our Charismatics the married women of fertile age and the men whose spouses were in this same phase were respectively fourteen and eight in number. Of this total half claimed to use natural methods according to Catholic doctrinal orientation and avoided the use of artificial contraceptives. This was the overwhelming preference for men from the popular classes a fact which may be understood in part by the material difficulties they face which make the limiting of births a necessity and in part by the fact that these methods require a period of abstinence which is more easily tolerated by husbands who share the same religious values as their wives. S V a thirty six year old systems analyst who used the Billings method justified this choice of birth control thus: the same problem you have with drinking you have with sex. It's who controls who. Either you are a puppet to your own needs or you learn to control your own sexual functions. **You just can't be controlled by your own sexual desire.** When you control it you can use the natural method.

In general terms participants who employed natural methods of family planning related their choice to the orientation of the Church making it clear that they were concerned with following the directives of religious leaders in particular of the Pope. The similarity between the period of time they had participated in the MCCR and the use of this method appears to confirm the relationship between belonging to a religious group which encourages sanctification - therefore requiring observance to established rules and the option for this birth-control method.

However while half of those interviewed who were in the fertile period of life demonstrated this type of concern there were a significant number who opted for feminine sterilization no fewer than ten had chosen to have their tubes tied. These

sterilized women were in the 33 to 46-year-old age group and the great majority claimed to have made the decision before joining the MCCR and after the prolonged use of the birth-control pill this being the most common of the artificial methods particularly among members of the middle class. C P R a thirty eight year-old housewife and mother of three told us that since she had married she knew the Church disapproved of artificial methods but her difficult financial situation forced her to resort to the pill and condoms. It was only when she decided to undergo sterilization that she felt uneasy for disobeying the Pope. She consulted various priests before undergoing surgery and at least three told her that she ought to be aware of how many children she wanted and could have and that if she wanted to have the operation because of them there would be no problem. She had the sterilization surgery done before entering the MRCC but she claims that she feels at peace for having heeded the counsel of the priests. Here we become aware of two levels of orientation within the Catholic Church official and pastoral discourse which result at times in contradictory positions and concurrent clerical ideologies in relation to birth-control practices. According to specialists<sup>30</sup> the doctrine of responsible parenthood affirmed in papal documents in the 1960s particularly in the *Humanae Vitae* (1968) opened up the possibility for members of the Church hierarchy when counselling individuals to approve the limitation of births to a certain extent responding to pressures from believers. The ambivalence of a family theology which on the one hand tells parents to have only the number of children they can adequately educate feed and raise with dignity meaning of course to limit the number of births while at the same time condemns the use of artificial contraceptive measures

---

<sup>30</sup>BINGEMER Maria Clara. Família e Instituição Religiosa: tensões e perspectivas. Trabalho apresentado no XIV Encontro Anual da ANPOCS, Caxambu, MG, 1992. PIERUCCI A. F. op cit. RIBEIRO L. op cit.

exhorts priests into greater understanding and mercy toward those who cannot follow these instructions. This according to Pierucci<sup>31</sup> results in a casuistic application of the rules on the part of most of the lower clergy who assume a liberal and permissive posture in relation to birth control principally in the case of the Brazilian poor. To a certain extent our research can confirm the pressures put on the clergy who minister to these segments of the population. Among those we interviewed the only Charismatic women who seemed dissatisfied with the official positions of the Catholic Church were those of lower-income background confirming the importance of the class variable. The other women who used artificial contraceptives were able to justify their option either because they made it at a time when they were distanced from the Catholic community or even before entering the MCCR. Exposure to poverty and violence however led participants from the popular groups toward opposition and even criticism of the church hierarchy. T S wife of an alcoholic and mother of a daughter stated that she had three abortions and that she thinks the Church's disapproval of the pill - which in her opinion is the best birth control method - is out of date. In her own words "the way things are today there is no way you want to have a house full of kids. And the sin is that a house full of kids you can't feed." One other woman besides this one also from the popular sector mentioned abortion as an option for avoiding having an unplanned-for child and according to her testimony it was just this guilt-laden experience which led her to have her tubes tied. Confession after the decision to use such methods and the search for forgiveness was common among women who were searching to alleviate their feelings of guilt and with the exception of abortion priests proved understanding to the situation of women from this segment of society.

In the Pentecostal universe the use of artificial contraceptive methods was seen to be much more frequent than among Charismatics. A sole informant a man affiliated with the Assembly of God Church was against any form of birth control because of the Biblical passage "suffer the children to come to me" which supposedly exemplifies the law of God regarding this matter. Statements from other Assembly of God church-goers show nevertheless that at least as far as contraception is concerned a literal reading of the Bible doesn't seem to be a rule neither among the leaders nor their congregations. P P a deacon age 38 told us that his wife had taken the pill until eventually deciding upon sterilization and R D a 22-year old believer stood out as the youngest woman we interviewed who had opted for this type of surgery. The interpretation of the Bible in other Pentecostal groups also tends to be more historical than fundamentalist when the issue is family planning. J C a doctor of 44 declared that the pastors and even Bishop Macedo of the UCKG think that the best thing for a couple is to have two children. First because the world is over-populated and secondly because the commandment to grow and multiply came at a time when there was nobody in the world - just Adam and Eve. The position of leaders of this church recognizing the financial difficulties of the majority of its believers and respecting the scientifically established differentiation between abortion and contraception is according to J C quite progressive since it's much closer to the values of modern society than those of the Catholic Church. In addition to the generalized use of artificial contraception methods we also found among Pentecostals evidence of a greater masculine participation in family planning. The only two cases of male sterilization found in this study were among the UCKG believers. Likewise the majority of informants who mentioned the use of condoms were members of that church. Whereas only one of the married Charismatic women cited the use of this

<sup>31</sup>PIERUCCI A F op cit p 71

method among Pentecostals four women and one man affirmed having used them at some point and in one case they were the only method ever employed

Female sterilization surgery also seemed more common in this religious group when we looked at the middle-class segment. Six out of a total of ten women and two out of five men had opted for this method. Of this group only two were no longer fertile at the time of the interview and both had had the operation before their religious conversions. The remaining women were in the 34 to 46-year-old age group. M H Q, a 36-year-old housewife, claimed that contrary to people think the believer has a very open mind toward sex and that it isn't through that they have sex through the hole in the sheet. Furthermore she says they know that sex is a gift from God and they use the pill and condoms. Even I had my tubes tied by a doctor from my church.

It is interesting that even when the decision to have children or not was made independent of religion or was made prior to conversion all of our participants justified their option by citing the orientations of the Church. In other words we found here none of the tension between the concrete practice of these believers and orientation of the religious institution that was so present in the case of the Charismatic Catholics who though having used different forms of birth control were nevertheless unable to shake their feelings of unease at not being completely in line with church doctrine. In the lower-income group the number of women with their tubes tied dropped to levels comparable to the Charismatics though this was certainly due more to the cost of having the operation done than to any negative feeling about it. One of our participants who was not sterilized considered it a blessing from God that a doctor had tied her granddaughter's tubes free of charge. In this group the age of sterilized women fell to between 22 and 36 years of age which calls our attention to the fact that some Pentecostal communities not only orient believers as to family

planning but also through the solidarity of the brothers and sisters in faith often help to raise the necessary funds for the operation.

In the popular segments where average time since conversion was the lowest among all the religions we also found a greater number of women who had had abortions. Half of the Pentecostals in this social group admitted to having had at least one. They all claimed to have had the abortions prior to their conversions and expressed regret at having done so. Their motivation was always the financial situation they faced either the unemployment of the spouse or his inadequate salary and two claimed to have been forced into the decision by their husbands and mothers-in-law with whom they lived. No male interviewed admitted to his wife having had an abortion.

### Conclusion

We began this paper by recounting the feeling of surprise and wonder the researcher felt at the freedom and gaiety of Charismatic women at a worship service in the southern zone of Rio de Janeiro. Our central question would be to investigate to which extent this appreciation of corporal expression in celebrations and religious services evidenced in both Charismatic as well as Pentecostal circles was evidence of a change in the evaluation of the corporal dimension of believers and consequently in human sexuality itself.

A comparison of Neo Pentecostal movements within distinct religious traditions - the Charismatic within the Catholic world and the Pentecostal in the Protestant tradition - has shown us that in spite of the historical hegemony of the Catholic Church there has been a growing process of Pentecostalization in the Brazilian religious arena where believers have been adopting the practices and forms of religious celebration common to this group. Observations of denominations which are able to fill football stadiums and deactivated movie theatres have turned up changes in the Evangelical universe itself.



encouraging criticism from both progressive Protestant as well as "classic Pentecostal leaders. The first tend to consider these denominations as agents of healing while the second criticize the more liberal and less restricted ethic they promote. In any case, changes as to dress - tolerance of commonplace clothing used by young people in general, exercise outfits, shorts, sleeveless shirts, etc. - or even a happier and more spontaneous climate in the services are obvious throughout the Pentecostal world.

Our observance of religious services and our interviews with believers made it clear to us that competition in the Brazilian religious field has closed the gap of differences between religious communities who scramble to copy the elements which attract believers to their competitors, thus reinforcing the tendency toward a homogenization of Christian religious groups. Nevertheless, we also found that for Evangelicals, anybody who goes off the moral track must be suffering from some form of demonic influence over their personality, a view which serves both to promote a more tolerant attitude from the group and to lower the tension and suffering of the transgressors and their families alike. Here, the variables of class and educational level come into play, being that among the more needy and less educated, this ideology holds greater swaying power, causing this population to resort more frequently to the practice of exorcism.

In the case of Charismatics, we found that the Catholic tradition is a weighty one which forces followers of the movement to deal with the tension between Pentecostal beliefs and the norms and doctrine of the Catholic Church. In the middle strata, a greater degree of schooling goes hand in hand with a desire to preserve status and Catholic identity, making MCCR participants leery of questioning church hierarchy and causing them to reject demonic influences and public exorcisms. Deviant behavior is strictly reprimanded and in this sense, Charismatics differ greatly from Pentecostals.

The fact that the Catholic church still won't condone the use of contraceptives creates another type of tension for followers of the MCCR. Its rejection of birth-control methods expresses the difficulty of the Catholic hierarchy to separate sexuality from procreation and to consider desire and sexual pleasure in a more favorable light, a position directly opposed to changes in secular culture and advances by minorities. Highly-educated, middle-class Charismatics, though concerned with obedience to the Pope, are torn between following institutional norms on the exclusive use of natural methods of birth control or to ignoring them, being that this second option normally brings on feelings of guilt. Here, the principle of authority seems to weigh more heavily than the educational level of the believer, who to a certain extent has access to information as to how contraceptives work. The variable of both spouses being active participants in the religious group is also important to this issue, being that the exclusive use of natural methods is more frequent among believers who share religious values with their spouses. For their part, Charismatics from popular segments, though less exposed to information about contraceptives, not only use those that are available to them, but are more willing to criticize the doctrinary positions of the Catholic hierarchy.

Finally, if we are truly witnessing changes in the rituals and celebrations of both Catholic and Evangelical Neo-Pentecostal groups, reflecting a renewed appreciation of gestural and corporal expression, we do not yet believe we can extend these changes to the sexuality in general of these believers without further investigation. For the time being, we can only state that sexuality seems to be stimulated in the second group, where a positive attitude toward sex within the marriage is more evident and less ambiguous than in the Catholic universe. We observe, however, that both groups hold to their condemnation of sexual activity for singles, widows, and unmarried persons in general.

MARIA DAS DORES CAMPOS MACHADO

### **The Body and Sexual Morality in Religious Groups**

The article draws attention to the fact that there are more similarities than differences in the sexual morals of Pentecostals and Charismatics with the majority of participants linking sexuality to the institution of marriage. However, the foremost positions of Charismatic Renewal - which shares with Pentecostals among other things the belief in the power of the Holy Spirit - while remaining linked to the Catholic Church and its attempts to control emphasis on the devil and the practices of exorcism - result in different interpretations of pre-matrimonial, extra-conjugal and homosexual relations, as well as abortion and the use of artificial birth control methods.

### **Corps et Moralité Sexuelle Dans des Groupes Religieux**

Cet article est le résultat d'une recherche dont le but principal est la comparaison entre les valeurs et comportements sexuels et reproductifs des membres de l'Église Pentecôtiste et des catholiques charismatiques. L'analyse des données suggère que les points de contact de la morale sexuelle des deux groupes religieux sont plus significatifs que leurs différences, car les deux préservent l'association traditionnelle entre l'activité sexuelle et le mariage. La position équivoque de la Renouveau Charismatique (tout en partageant avec l'Église Pentecôtiste, parmi d'autres choses, l'accent sur la lecture de la Bible, elle se maintient attachée à l'Église catholique) entraîne néanmoins des distinctions curieuses concernant le planning familial et les rapports sexuels hors du mariage. En effet, si les "pentecôtistes" sont d'accord sur la distinction moderne entre l'acte sexuel et la procréation, les charismatiques éprouvent des fortes tensions dans la pratique de la sexualité, surtout par rapport à la maîtrise de la fertilité.

### **Cuerpo y Moralidad en Grupos Religiosos**

Este artículo es el resultado de una investigación cuyo objetivo central es la comparación de los valores y comportamientos sexuales y reproductivos de los pentecostales y carismáticos católicos. El análisis de los datos sugiere que los puntos de contacto en la moral sexual de los grupos religiosos son más significativos que las divergencias. La posición fronteriza de la Revolución Carismática - comparte con los pentecostales, entre otras cosas, el énfasis en la lectura de la Biblia, pero permanece vinculada a la Iglesia Católica - produce sin embargo distinciones interesantes en lo que se refiere a la interpretación de las relaciones sexuales fuera del matrimonio. De esa manera, mientras los pentecostales demuestran afinidad con la disyunción moderna entre el acto sexual y la procreación, los carismáticos viven fuertes tensiones en el ejercicio de la sexualidad, principalmente en lo que atañe al control de la fertilidad.

### **Gender and Power in Labor Unions**

The sexual division of power in labor unions is analysed taking as reference case study in the Bank Employees Labor Union in Salvador (Bahia-Brazil). Projects about women's empowerment such as the quota system are discussed considering the debate on labor culture and the authoritarian model of the Brazilian society. The article focuses upon the control of technologies of power such as who gets the mike, stressing that gender strategies must be understood in relation to class projects.

### **Genre et Pouvoir en Syndicats**

La division sexuelle du pouvoir dans les syndicats est analysée à partir du syndicat des employés bancaires de la ville de Salvador (Bahia-Brésil). L'article examine le projet de redistribution du pouvoir, particulièrement le système de quotas, en problématisant la perspective de prendre l'espace politique à partir de l'usage genré des technologies tel que le microphone ainsi que les relations entre genre et classe sociale. On met l'accent sur le débat au tour de la culture du travail organisée et le modèle autoritaire de la société brésilienne.

### **Género y Poder en Espacio de Sindicato**

La división sexual del poder en sindicatos es discutida considerando un estudio de caso en el Sindicato de los Bancarios en la ciudad de Salvador (Bahia-Brasil). Proyectos con el objetivo de redistribuir el poder como el sistema de cuotas son analizados más allá de la perspectiva de ocupar espacio. También se analiza la relación entre género y el control de tecnologías del poder como el micrófono y se refleja sobre las articulaciones entre estos ejes y la clase social. Se reivindica que es necesario debatir la cultura del trabajo organizado y el modelo autoritario de la sociedad brasileña.

## The Color of Sin

This article seeks to identify the place occupied by a black woman character in a children's story written by a white woman author. On the one hand, this place emerges from the relationship between stereotypes of white and black women characters and the very situation of the black woman character in the plot, as she prepares the way for changes in the white character. On the other hand, in the relationship between the woman writer and literary practice, the black woman character appears to represent a metaphor for achievement, embodying traits inherent to the experience of literary creation: sexuality, transgression, and pleasure.

## La Couleur du Peché

Cet article cherche à saisir le lieu occupé par un personnage féminin noir dans un texte de littérature pour la jeunesse écrit par une femme blanche. D'un côté, ce lieu émerge du rapport entre des stéréotypes des personnages féminins blancs et noirs, et de la localisation même du personnage femme noire dans la trame, en tant qu'elle annonce des transformations pour le personnage femme blanche. D'un autre côté, dans la relation de la femme-écrivain avec la praxis littéraire, le personnage féminin noir semble constituer une métaphore d'un accomplissement, en incarnant les caractères propres à l'expérience de la création littéraire: sexualité, transgression et plaisir.

## Del Color del Pecado

Este artículo se propone estudiar el lugar ocupado por un personaje femenino negro en un texto de literatura juvenil escrito por una autora blanca. Por un lado, este lugar surge de la relación entre estereotipos de personajes femeninos blancos y negros y de la propia localización del personaje femenino negro en la trama, preparando cambios para el personaje blanco. Por otro lado, en la relación de la mujer escritora con la práctica literaria, el personaje femenino negro parece constituir una metáfora de realización, encarnando rasgos propios de la experiencia de la creación literaria: sexualidad, transgresión y placer.

## **Recontextualizing the Embryo**

Starting out with a controversial case of assisted conception widely debated in France this article examines the social effects of displacement of the locus of conception from the woman's body to the laboratory. It suggests that these practices redistribute responsibilities and the power to decide about embryos among the three principal protagonists of the network encompassing them: the woman, her partner and the medical staff. In analysing these changes, the French legal dispositions regarding abortion are taken as a point of reference and of contrast.

## **La (Re) Contextualization du Embryon**

En prenant son point de départ sur une affaire polémique de reproduction assistée largement discutée en France, l'article examine les conséquences sociales dérivées du déplacement du locus de la conception, qui remplace le laboratoire au corps de la femme. On suggère que ces pratiques médicales conduisent à une redistribution de la responsabilité et du pouvoir de décision sur des embryons, parmi les protagonistes du réseau à qui la question est affectée: la femme, son partenaire et le corps médical. Les points de repère pour l'examen de ces regroupements sont les dispositions de la loi sur l'avortement en France.

## **Recontextualizando al Embrión**

Partiendo de un controvertido caso de reproducción asistida, ampliamente discutido en Francia, el artículo examina los efectos sociales producidos al desplazar el *locus* de la concepción del cuerpo femenino al laboratorio. Se sugiere que esas prácticas médicas conducen a una redistribución de responsabilidades y de poder en decisiones que conciernen a embriones entre los tres principales protagonistas de la red que los abarca: la mujer, su pareja y el cuerpo médico. Al examinar esos reordenamientos se toman como punto de referencia y de contraste las disposiciones legales francesas relativas al aborto.

## **The Long Wait**

*São Paulo de Dantes* (São Paulo of Yesteryear) the childhood and adolescent memoirs of Maria Paes de Barros was published in 1946 by the Brasiliense publishing house of São Paulo. The author was 94 years old at the time. The reaction to the book when it was released and again in 1951 when the author turned 100 was less concerned with its content than the fact that the author was a centenarian woman from a wealthy blue-blooded São Paulo family. It was not until the advent of women's studies and the spread of the Social History of Daily Life that *São Paulo de Dantes* got the reading it deserved.

## **La Longue Attente**

*São Paulo d'Autrefois* memoires d'enfance et de jeunesse de Maria Paes de Barros a été publiée en 1946 par la Editora Brasiliense de São Paulo. L'auteur avait à l'époque 94 ans. Si bien que le livre a été très bien accueilli lors de sa parution et en 1951 quand l'auteur a atteint son centenaire son contenu profond n'a pas été mis en valeur la critique n'a exalté alors que le fait que son auteur était une femme d'âge très avancée et qu'elle provenait d'une famille aisée et assez connue. Il a fallu attendre l'événement des études sur la femme et la diffusion de l'Histoire Sociale du Quotidien pour qu'on puisse le lire avec l'attention qu'il mérite.

## **La Larga Espera**

*San Pablo de Dantes* libro de memorias de infancia y juventud de Maria Paes de Barros se publicó en 1946 por la editorial Brasiliense de San Pablo. La autora tenía entonces 94 años. La recepción del libro al ser publicado y en 1951 cuando la autora cumplió 100 años no se detuvo ni se profundizó en el contenido sino en el hecho de que su autora era una mujer de edad que provenía de una familia adinerada y muy conocida. Hubo que esperar el advenimiento de los estudios sobre la mujer y la difusión de la Historia Social del Cotidiano para que *San Pablo de Dantes* fuese leído como correspondía.

### **Homesickness in America immigrant women**

In this essay we examine the ways in which two generations of Azorean women construct and reconstruct their memories of the homeland in the context of their specific experiences of immigration work and life in southeastern Massachusetts U S A. From this perspective we analyse how these immigrants differentially 1) reinvent multiple layers of time and space of their homeland in the context of their life experiences in the United States 2) perceive and confront the superposition of cultural meanings and values particularly as it relates to gender class ethnicity and nationalism and 3) above all how they construct and reconstruct their self identities in a transnational space

### **Entre la Nostalgie du Pays et l'Amérique des femmes immigrées**

Dans cet article nous examinons deux generations de femmes qui ont émigrées de l'archipel des Açores vers les États Unis sous différents aspects 1) elles re-elaborent et re-inventent les temps et les espaces de leur pays dans le contexte de leurs trajectoires de vie au centre de l'intersection des cultures portugaise et américaine 2) elles aperçoivent et font face à la superposition de significés et de valeurs souvent conflictuels par rapport au genre à la classe et à l'ethnie et 3) en dernière analyse on examine leur façon de construire et de (re)construire leurs identités individuelles dans un espace transnational. En contreposition aux études qui cherchent à classer a priori les femmes émigrées comme ouvrières et membres de groupes ethniques ou bien à imposer des paradigmes féministes nous nous centrons ici sur l'expérience immigratoire comme une partie constitutive de l'analyse et nous donnons la primauté aux significés que les immigrées elles-mêmes assignent à leur expérience de vie entre deux cultures

### **Entre la Nostalgia de la Tierra y América mujeres inmigrantes**

En este ensayo examinamos como dos generaciones de mujeres que emigraron del archipiélago de las Azores para Estados Unidos diferentemente (1) reelaboran e reinventan tiempos y espacios de la tierra natal en el contexto de sus trayectorias de vida en la intersección de las culturas portuguesa y americana (2) perciben y confrontan la superposición de significados y valores en muchos casos conflictivos en relación al género clase y etnicidad y (3) en último análisis como construyen y (re)construyen sus identidades culturales en un espacio transnacional. En contraposición a los estudios que tienden a categorizar a las mujeres inmigrantes *a priori* como obreras y miembros de grupos étnicos o sino a imponer paradigmas feministas enfocamos la experiencia migratoria como arte constitutiva del análisis y privilegiamos los significados que las propias inmigrantes atribuyen a sus vivencias entre culturas

## **Love, Sexuality and Gender Relations in Contemporary France**

Since the beginning of the 1960 decade the personal autonomy of French women has markedly increased particularly through the transformations in family structures and the evolution of sexual behaviour. Evidence of this is the dramatic fall in the number of marriages which does not mean however a decline of couple most women and men still yearn for stable bonds based on love and sexuality. In this paper emotional and sexual behaviour is taken as an indicator of the state of gender relations.

The norms of sexual behaviour have changed very much in the years 1970 and 1980 and women are now more active and satisfied with their sex life. Rather than a conversion to "sex without norms" the "liberation of mores" has brought about an increase of women's demands on the emotional commitment and faithfulness of men.

## **Amour, Sexualité et Rapports Sociaux de Sexe dans la France Contemporaine**

Depuis les années 1960 en France l'autonomie personnelle des femmes a fortement progressé notamment à travers la transformation des structures familiales et l'évolution des comportements sexuels. Un des symptômes en est le déclin spectaculaire du mariage qui ne signifie pourtant pas un recul du couple la majorité des femmes et des hommes continuent à aspirer à des relations stables fondées sur l'amour et la sexualité. Dans cet article on propose une analyse des comportements amoureux et sexuels comme indicateurs de l'état des rapports sociaux de sexe. Les normes en matière de comportement sexuel ont beaucoup évolué dans les années 1970 et 1980 et les femmes sont aujourd'hui plus actives et plus satisfaites dans leur sexualité. Plutôt que de les pousser vers une mythique sexualité "sans normes" la "libération des mœurs" a eu pour effet d'augmenter leurs exigences en matière d'engagement sentimental et de fidélité des hommes.

## **Amor, Sexualidad y Relaciones Sociales de Sexo en Francia Contemporánea**

Desde los años 1960 en Francia la autonomía personal de las mujeres ha aumentado mucho particularmente con la transformación de las estructuras familiares y la evolución de los comportamientos sexuales. Un síntoma de ese cambio es la decadencia espectacular y brusca del matrimonio que no equivale sin embargo a un bajada de la pareja la mayoría de las mujeres y de los hombres siguen aspirando a relaciones estables basadas sobre el amor y la sexualidad. En ese artículo los comportamientos emocionales y sexuales están interpretados como indicadores del estado de las relaciones sociales de sexo. Las normas del comportamiento sexual cambiaron mucho y las mujeres son ahora más activas y más satisfechas con su vida sexual. La liberación de las costumbres tuvo el efecto de aumentar sus exigencias sobre el compromiso sentimental y la fidelidad de los hombres.



## Women in the Social Democratization

This study analyzes the impact of the women's movement in the Southern Cone of Latin America in the social democratization process during a historical decade when new rules were emerging in the game of political democracy (1983-1992). Women participated in organizations with goals ranging from the creation of collective strategies for confronting the economic crisis to the defense of human and civil rights. This broad spectrum of objectives was linked to others, presuming the construction of a women's identity based on social gender relations. This redefinition proposed a struggle for institutional democratization in the family, partisan political organizations, spaces for interinstitutional articulation, etc. made possible to a major extent by political democracy, broadened the range of attention vis-à-vis issues that had appeared to be outside the field of politics.

## Les Femmes et la Démocratisation Sociale

L'article analyse les repercussions du mouvement des femmes du Cône Sud de l'Amérique pour la construction de la démocratie sociale dans un moment historique de gestation des nouvelles règles du jeu de la démocratie politique (1983-1992). Ces femmes ont participé à l'intérieur d'organisations dont les buts embrassaient des la création des stratégies collectives en réponse à la crise économique jusqu'à la défense des droits humains et civils. À ce grand éventail d'objectifs se sont liés d'autres, moins explicites que supposaient la construction d'une identité à soi fondée sur des rapports sociaux de sexe. La lutte politique et sociale apportait donc la redefinition des rapports traditionnels entre les genres qui traversaient la vie privée et publique. Cette redéfinition a occasionné une lutte pour la démocratisation dans la famille, dans les organisations politiques et dans les espaces d'articulation inter-institutionnelles, etc. Elle a favorisé le processus de ralentissement de la violence sociale et des rapports de domination.

## Las Mujeres en la Democratización Social

El trabajo analiza las repercusiones que tuvo el movimiento de mujeres del Cono Sur en la construcción de la democratización social en un momento histórico en que se estaban gestando las nuevas reglas del juego de la democracia política (1983 - 1992). Las mujeres participaron en organizaciones cuyos fines abarcaban desde la creación de estrategias colectivas en respuesta a la crisis económica hasta la defensa de los derechos humanos y civiles. Este amplio espectro de objetivos se vinculó a otros menos explícitos que supusieron la construcción de una identidad propia basada en las relaciones sociales de género. La lucha política y social trajo aparejada entonces la redefinición de relaciones tradicionales entre los géneros que atravesaban la vida privada y pública. Esta redefinición fue planteando una lucha por la democratización institucional en la familia, en las organizaciones partidarias y en los espacios de articulación interinstitucional, etc. Permite visualizar y comenzar a frenar la violencia social y las relaciones de dominación.

### **Two Views about Heleieth Saffioti**

In this tribute to Heleieth Saffioti on the 25th anniversary of the publication of her fundamental book *A Mulher na Sociedade de Classes mito e realidade* (Women in Class Society myth and reality) Bila Sorj stresses the impact - even at the international level - that the author's new interpretation gave to the theory of modernization. Maria A. Moraes e Silva tells how she witnessed the book's birth in the author's courses on Sociology and her associate professorship thesis in Araraquara - São Paulo.

### **Deux Régards sur Heleieth Saffioti**

En l'honneur d'Heleieth Saffioti à l'occasion du 25<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de la publication de son oeuvre fondamentale *La Femme dans la Société de Classes mythes et réalités* Bila Sorj signale l'impact - ressenti aussi à l'étranger - de la nouvelle interprétation que l'auteur a présentée pour la théorie de la modernisation tandis que Maria A. Moraes Silva raconte la naissance du livre - de laquelle elle a témoigné dans les cours donnés par Saffioti et quand cette-ci a soutenu sa thèse pour accéder à la charge de professeur-assistant à Araraquara - São Paulo.

### **Dos Apreciaciones sobre Heleieth Saffioti**

En homenaje a Heleieth Saffioti - con motivo de los 25 años de publicación de su libro básico *La Mujer en la Sociedad de Clases mito y realidad* - Bila Sorj destaca el impacto - incluso internacional - de la nueva interpretación dada por la autora a la teoría de la modernización y Maria A. Moraes Silva cuenta como vio nacer la obra - en los cursos de Sociología dictados por la autora y en su defensa de tesis de libre docencia en Araraquara - San Pablo.

### ARTICLES/ARTÍCULOS

- 7 The Body and Sexual Morality in Religious Groups  
Corps et Moralité Sexuelle Dans des Groupes Religieux  
Cuerpo y Moralidad en Grupos Religiosos  
**MARIA DAS DORES CAMPOS MACHADO**
- 29 Gender and Power in Labor Unions  
Genre et Pouvoir en Syndicats  
Genero y Poder en Espacio de Sindicato  
**MARY GARCIA CASTRO**
- 52 The Color of Sin  
La Couleur du Peche  
Del Color del Pecado  
**EDITH PIZA**
- 65 Recontextualizing the Embryo  
La (Re) Contextualization du Embryon  
Recontextualizando al Embrión  
**SIMONE NOVAES**  
**TANIA SALEM**
- 90 The Long Wait  
La Longue Attente  
La Larga Espera  
**MIRIAM MOREIRA LEITE**
- 96 Homesickness in America immigrant women  
Entre la Nostalgie du Pays et l'Amérique des femmes immigrées  
Entre la Nostalgia de la Tierra y America mujeres inmigrantes  
**BELA FELDMAN-BIANCO**  
**DONNA HUSE**
- 122 Love Sexuality and Gender Relations in Contemporary France  
Amour Sexualité et Rapports Sociaux de Sexe dans la France  
Contemporaine  
Amor Sexualidad y Relaciones Sociales de Sexo en Francia  
Contemporánea  
**MICHEL BOZON**
- 136 Women in the Social Democratization  
Les Femmes et la Democratization Sociale  
Las Mujeres en la Democratización Social  
**BEATRIZ SCHMUKLER**
- 156 Two Views about Heleieth Saffioti  
Deux Regards sur Heleieth Saffioti  
Dos Apreciaciones sobre Heleieth Saffioti  
**BILA SORJ**  
**MARIA APARECIDA MORAES SILVA**

POINT OF VIEW/POINT DE VUE/PUNTO DE VISTA

- 164 On Equality and Freedom  
Entre Egalite et Liberte  
Entre Igualdad y Libertad  
**GENEVIEVE FRAISSE**

DOSSIER ON THE 4th WORLD CONFERENCE ON WOMEN/  
DOSSIER DE LA IVème CONFÉRENCE MONDIALE DE LA FEMME/  
DOSSIER LA 4ª CONFERENCIA MUNDIAL DE LA MUJER

- 172 A Look at the Process Towards Beijing  
Un Regard sur le Processus Vers Beijing  
Una Mirada del Proceso Hacia Beijing  
**VIRGINIA VARGAS**
- 180 The Contradictory and Ambiguous Road to Beijing  
Le Contradictoire et l'Ambiguïté dans le Chemin qui Mene a Beijing  
El Contradictorio y Ambiguo Camino que Lleva a Beijing  
**VERA SOARES**
- 191 International Law and the Women's Movement  
Le Droit International et le Mouvement des Femmes  
El Derecho Internacional y el Movimiento de Mujeres  
**LEILA LINHARES**
- 198 Alone at Least Brazil on the road to Pequim  
Enfin Seules le Bresil en route pour Peking  
En Fin Solas Brasil rumbo a Pequin  
**HELEIETH SAFFIOTI**
- 203 Equality Development and Peace  
Egalite Developpement et Paix  
Igualdad Desarrollo y Paz  
**ROSISKA DARCY DE OLIVEIRA**
- 212 A Conference in Brackets  
Une Conference entre Crochets  
Una Conferencia entre Corchetes  
**MIRIAM ABRAMOVAY**
- 219 What Beijing Means for Women from the World  
Ce que Peking Signifie pour les Femmes du Monde  
Que Significa Pequin para las Mujeres del Mundo  
**NOELEEN HEYZER**

- 225 FEATURES/SPÉCIAL/INCLUSO  
242 ABSTRACTS/RÉSUMÉS/RESÚMENES

BOOK REVIEWS/COMPTE-RENDUS/RESEÑAS

- 257 Representations on Gender  
Représentations qui Entourent le Genre  
Representaciones que Rodean al Genero  
**FABIOLA ROHDEN**
- 260 The Good Results of Research  
Les Bons Fruits de la Recherche  
Los Buenos Frutos de la Investigacion  
**ROSANE PRADO**
- 262 From Woman to Cyborg: the rebel years  
De la Femme jusqu'a Cyborg: les années rebelles  
De la Mujer al Cyborg: los años rebeldes  
**CLAUDIA DE LIMA COSTA**
- 266 Revolutionary Proposals  
Propositions Revolutionnaires  
Propuestas Revolucionarias  
**MARISKA RIBEIRO**
- 268 A Threesome's Poor Sex Life  
Une Pauvre Vie Sexuelle a Trois  
Una Pobre Vida Sexual a Tres  
**DANDA PRADO**
- 271 Pictures with a Place in History  
Des Images avec une Place dans l'Histoire  
Imágenes con Lugar en la Historia  
**ADRIANA PISCITELLI**
- 274 The Transvestites' Own Mirror  
Le Miroir Propre aux Travestis  
El Espejo Propio de los Travestis  
**MARIA DULCE GASPAS**
- 277 Women's Plot  
La Trame des Femmes  
La Trama de las Mujeres  
**MARINA MASSI**
- 280 Psychoanalysis and Minority Discourse  
Psychanalyse et Discours des Minorités  
Psicoanálisis y Discurso de las Minorías  
**ANNA CAROLINA LO BIANCO**

285 AGENDA

289 CONTRIBUTORS/COLLABORATEURS/COLABORADORES

