

# Getting It Right:

the everyday experience  
of pentecostalism and spiritualism  
in a northeast Brazilian town.

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My problem is an old one. The very concepts which enable deep insight into religious experience tend to limit our capacity to absorb new facts about it. The concept of alienated religion has helped us grasp certain patterns of religious experience as part of everyday experience. It is a rich if elusive notion /1/. But there is a danger that the everyday experience of religion among the poor may be prematurely packaged within the concept of alienation. To the extent that we allow this to happen, the richness, diversity and complexity of everyday religious experience may be lost to us.

The aim of this essay is to examine the possibilities and limitations of the concept of alienated religion as it has been used in Latin America in recent years in academic and pastoral analysis of popular religion. Case materials, in which religion-as-lived is located in the flow of daily life, will be drawn on as the basis of this examination. Religious experience refers here not to the discrete religious moment located apart from the profane but almost to the opposite: to religion as it is woven into the texture of daily life.

In Latin America, the concept of alienated religion is indeed frequently used to package the religious experience of the poor. The theologian-sociologist José Míguez Bonino, for example, considers that popular religiosity in Latin America is so completely alienated that when the true structural causes of suffering are discovered by the poor,

“a new faith, rather than a mere growth in faith  
comes about . . . this alienating popular piety must

die, so that a responsible, adult faith may be born . . . From the theological as well as the political angle, the popular piety which existed and still predominates in Latin America can only be regarded as propoundly alienated and alienating”/2/.

To secular or religious radicals like Bonino, the popular religions are all of a piece and are to be outflanked or replaced *in toto* if desired structural changes are to be achieved. In Bonino’s words, again,

“The attempt to transfer the dynamic power of this piety to the task of transforming without radically altering the content of religious consciousness itself, appears to be both psychologically and sociologically impossible as well as theologically unacceptable. Even if it can be achieved, it would only substitute one form of alienation for another” /3/.

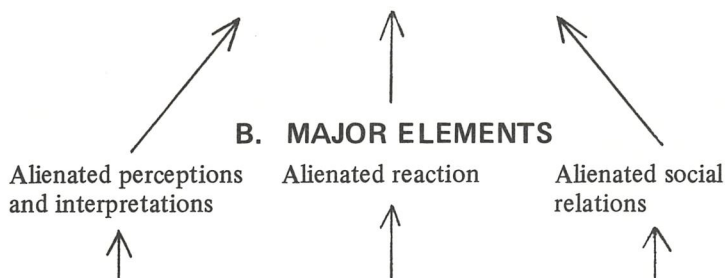
In Bonino’s case the concept of alienation is clearly the Marxist concept. But the term is used much more widely. One of my interests as an analyst of the Catholic Church in Brazil has been to examine values and beliefs which clerical and lay “Catholic radicals” bring into their pastoral and political work /4/. Recently, turning to frequent references by the radicals to religious alienation, in writings, interviews, declarations and recorded conversations, I have been struck by what seems to be a certain consistency and coherence /5/ in the use of the concept. And these qualities, I am assuming, tend those who employ the concept towards the application of it in a package manner to the popular religions.

In Brazil, religious alienation as a concept in use may be summarized as in diagram 1.

Diagram 1. The logical structure of the concept of religious alienation as a concept in use in Latin America

## A. CORE MEANING

Alienation: a state of mystification and quiescence concerning the structural sources of suffering and the possibilities for social action against those sources.



## C. RELIGIOUS SOURCES AND MANIFESTATIONS

In religious thought, especially:

1. Suffering seen as deserved punishment; sources of suffering to be sought within the individual, and/or
2. Suffering seen as imposed by an inscrutable God or spirits; and/or
3. Suffering as a given within a total cosmology vs. enquiry or search for sources.

In religious practice, especially:

4. Energies for collective action vs. suffering absorbed in cult activities
5. Paralysis from fear of disturbing a religiously ordained order
6. Cooling off: action vs. suffering pre-empted by comforts, patching up provided by religions.
7. Religious symbols, myths, rituals locate means for avoiding suffering or gaining solace within the hallowed structures of the status quo.
8. Potential allies vs. forms of suffering defined as the enemy or as corrupters.

In religious organization, especially:

9. Fragmentation into rival sects vs. co-operation for the discovery of and action against sources of suffering.
10. Religious groups centred patronage relationships vs. peer group solidarity and co-operation.
11. Organization dependency chains vs. perception of and/or reaction to sources of suffering.

The private suffering experienced by poor individuals in the form of sickness, radical insecurity, hunger, bereavement, violence is assumed to have public sources in socio-economic structures of exploitation. Alienation is used as an explanatory concept in accounts of why those experiencing suffering do not perceive, and then react and organize against, the public, structural sources of their private troubles. Alienation seems to designate the state of failing to grasp the structural sources of suffering and /6/ the possibilities for social action directed against these sources (level A-Core Meaning). But alienation is not just a state of mind. It is referred to as having three sets of interdependent elements: it is a combination of a mode of perceiving suffering, a mode of individual reaction to suffering, and a mode of organizing in the face of suffering (level B, Major Elements). In turn, each of these major elements seems to be thought of as containing several items that are sometimes spoken of as religious components and at other times as religious manifestations or even religious causes of the major elements (level C, Religious Sources and Manifestations).

I have attempted to draw out the content of religious alienation as a concept in use for two reasons. The first is that I think such an analysis helps explain why popular religions might be packaged in toto as religions of alienation. Given that the concept in use is coherent and consistent in the way I have indicated, it is not surprising that religions which are seen to have members with one or other of the attributes listed in level C of the diagram, might be characterized as religions of alienation. More needs to be said on the matter, but I hope the diagram brings out that the sub-elements imply one another. The concept constrains towards a particular mode of perceiving the religions: it is not only the folk who have concepts which at once enable and mould perceptions!

A second reason for formal classification of the concept of religious alienation in use is that it provides a framework on which to sort out some of the works presenting empirical evidence about Brazilian popular religions in relation to social change. I have reviewed them more fully elsewhere /7/, but some of their conclusions may be summarized with reference to diagram 1, though most of the authors do not use the language of the alienation interpretation.

There is a bracket of fairly recent studies, accessible to English speaking readers, on some of the Afro-Brazilian Spiritist cults /8/. The studies by Brown and Henfrey stress the interdependence of what the alienation analysts label alienated social relations, alienated reaction and alienated perception in Umbanda and Candomblé cults. For Brown, Umbanda social relations are those of item 10: the cult organizations articulate with existing State patronage agencies and provide for traditional patron-client relationships on a local basis. At the same time, as both means for legitimating vertical patronage ties and a spur to their achievement, a complete, total cosmology, of the item 3 type, closes

out "divisive issues such as those of social class" /9/ and encourages integrative nationalist sentiments.

Henfrey, reporting on his study of Candomblé groups in Salvador, stresses the tie between item 9 and item 3. Fragmentation at the grass-roots into cult groups - encouraged, Henfrey believes, by elites - promotes integration of individual believers into small, local worlds each with a satisfying cosmology that helps disguise, distract from, and dampen class conflict. Pressel's study of Umbanda groups in São Paulo traces, through individual case studies, how an essentially traditional set of beliefs, elaborated by often anonymous but highly creative religious composers, has become available to nourish and sustain socially conservative personal solutions to suffering arising from social conflict and change, as in item 3. Umbanda social relations foster what might be labelled alienated reaction in an alienation interpretation, of the kinds outlined in items 6 and 7.

Similar findings emerge in studies of other popular religions, Abdalaziz de Moura has noted the interaction between Pentecostal belief systems and organizational fragmentation /10/. Pedro A. Ribeiro de Oliveira, considers that in reaction to the Romanization of the Catholic Church since the latter half of the nineteenth century, many laity responded by re-appropriating *privately* parts of the old religion. The "privatised" Catholicism of the layman involves devotion to certain saints and some traditional practices but in a private way - the rituals and religious representations are not the collective property of the faithful but private possessions. As the individual copes with imposed religious change, he retreats to a form of religiosity which pre-empts more collective responses to change /11/. Ribeiro de Oliveira's fuller account of the content and consequences of privatised folk Catholicism might easily be summarised under items 1 - 3 as alienated perception. Other studies of other forms of folk Catholicism point not only to these factors but to features of religious organization that might be subsumed under items 10 and 11 /12/.

But does all this amount to firm support for the packaging of the popular religions alienated and alienating in the same way? Are there any elements in any of the popular religions that give pause before the packages are tied and label applied?

My own study was designed, partly, to address these questions. One stimulus to tackling them lay in a few studies that suggest a somewhat different interpretation. For example, Emilio Willems /13/, though he has not tackled the alienation issue head on, has stressed the innovative, socially creative aspect of the popular religions in Brazil and Chile. For Willems, the cosmology and practice of Pentecostalism, in particular, contain elements that equip the faithful to construct forms of social action, sets of roles and norms opposed to those obtaining in the dominant order. These alternative constructs, rehearsed in ritual and organization, have a high potential for social transformation, he

argues. And that transformation may be in the direction of social change for development: towards more equitable distribution of power and resources.

Another stimulus lay in the simple feeling that we know too little to generalize very far beyond the studies of the kind I have reported here. We know little of the possible, various consequences of different religious commitments in individual life histories. We know very little about roles of particular religions in concrete social issues. There is only a fragmentary literature on the effects of religious pluralism on the social organization of local communities.

So there was inspiration and incentive to conduct a study in one community in which at least some of these issues could be investigated. From January to mid-December of 1977 I lived in a town of some 12,000 people about 40 kms. out of Recife. The town was poor - its population swollen with the refugees of the last excruciating twists of an enclosure movement, and many of its employed receiving less than the basic monthly wage of \$58 per month. Like many of the areas included or partly subsumed in Brazil's huge urban conglomerations, it was rich in variety and participation in the popular religions. There were 14 different Spiritist cults, a large and vigorous Assembly of God congregation, Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses and several varieties of Catholicism /14/.

The aims of the study were to examine the quality and quantity of commitment to the popular religions in the town; to investigate the relationships between religious commitment and everyday life; to study the effects of religious organization on social relations in the town. The methods of research were various; a small random survey, long taped interviews with leaders and followers of religious cults, participant observation in religious rituals, the keeping of a journal recording conversations and observations of daily life, archival work on the history of the town's religious brotherhood.

I have only just begun analysis of all the data. In this paper, drawing on a variety of data on the beliefs and lives of a few Campo Alegrensens, I want to suggest where the analysis, at this primitive stage, is leading me on the alienation theme. To anticipate my provisional conclusions, there is much that might add to an alienation interpretation and a little that might support some sort of alternative creativity interpretation. But there is every indication that the popular religions ought not be disposed of in an alienation package by those academically, politically or religiously interested in social change. Indeed a consideration of lived beliefs suggests that the full assessment of the popular religions in relation to social change cannot be made within the terms of the alienation-creativity debate.

### **Pentecostalists**

Some details about the Assembly of God in the town of Campo Alegre are provided in Appendix A. But to describe a Church is not the

same as to communicate something of what it might mean in everyday life, to a member of that Church. In fact it seems to mean different things in different lives.

To Valdo, a young, intense factory worker, it means to have an intellectually intricate but sure and stern theology of salvation and right living. Valdo is not extremely poor. He receives about \$87.00 a month and though his rendered wattle and daub house is tiny by Australian working class standards, he is able to do the market every week for his wife and two children and he has been able to buy his wife an electric sewing machine on which she can sew to bring in a little extra money. But Valdo is frequently ill. He was terribly injured in a factory accident three years ago and has never fully recovered. He did not receive compensation from the factory, though his neighbours and relatives thought him legally entitled to it. But he works on for the wage that comes in regularly. That is relative security compared to the insecurity of his own ill health, of the imminent expulsion of his parents from land just outside the town that they have worked for a life time, of the chronic unemployment of his brother-in-law.

Unlike many of the members of his extended family - all except the father, members of the Assembly of God - it is difficult to draw out Valdo on these things. This is "a vida passageira", the passing life of trial in which we are bound, above all else, to remain faithful to the very end in our acceptance of the salvation won for us by Christ against the Powers of Darkness. These are the things that Valdo most likes to talk about, with a well thumbed Bible in hand and a wealth of texts coming to mind for every turn of the conversation.

Of course we suffer here, he will agree. But suffering will only cease when Christ comes to gather His chosen ones. In the meantime all suffer because of the sin of Adam and Eve and because of the fact that men, "their bellies full of life", are not disposed to hear and accept the word of Christ. Failing to accept, they are easy prey to the Prince of Darkness who leads us (the transition into the first person is his not mine) into prostitution, drugs, drunkenness - ever further from salvation in disobedience. That's where suffering comes from, therein misery lies. Valdo specifically rejects the notion that suffering might proceed from unjust, humanly instituted social structures. Basically the world, with all its inequalities, conforms to the will of God. But performance within the given order varies according to whether men accept Christ or not. According as they do not, suffering follows for themselves if they are poor and often for others if they are rich.

Speaking of God and what He expects of us, Valdo frequently uses court and class room images. God watches us and all is recorded in the Book of Life from which we are judged, with Christ acting as our defense lawyer. God expects discipline from us, like a good teacher; for without disciplined obedience we will fail to understand what He wants of us. And Valdo models his life accordingly. The greater

part of his and his wife's leisure time is absorbed in the activities of the Assembly that make a worthy recording and demand discipline and planning in life. Diagram 2 might give some idea of how fully life might be blocked out with religious activities - though the hymn-singing between times is not recorded.

Looking at the lived beliefs of Valdo and Madalena, the coherence of the alienation concept appears to receive some empirical validation. An elaborate, fundamentalist Biblical cosmology pre-empts questions about even personally experienced suffering. The cosmology implies projects for personal salvation which, together with work, are totally absorbing. The Church-centred projects, in turn, involve organizational commitments which draw the couple into a tightly knit group that regards outsiders as corrupting. The perceptual, reaction and organization elements of religious commitments seem to preclude new insight into suffering.

But other cases suggest that being a deeply committed member of the Assembly of God may have other implications for responses to suffering. Helena is a thirty-four year old mother of eight children, illiterate but immensely eloquent. Where Valdo's Pentecostalism is held in a dogmatic mode, Helena's is held, very intensely, in what we might call a mythic mode. Where Valdo seeks and utters clarity and closure of a dogmatic set, Helena seeks and utters elaboration of myths and images - all within the same Assembly of God framework of belief.

Helena talks vividly, fluently, aggressively about the suffering she and her family have known. It is important to her to get the record straight in conversations with neighbours and even invading Australians. She and her husband had always worked the land, though Luiz now supports the family on a basic wage earned in a nearby factory. She arrived in Campo Alegre four years ago with husband and family, after having been enclosed off several rural plots in the interior of the State. She had managed to rent a fairly small plot on a large property adjoining the town. But when the landowner first started to ease and then literally shoot and bulldoze even long-established tenants off his land, she was one of the first to get off, without holding out for the compensation to which she was legally entitled.

She talked with me at great length about her religious beliefs and her reactions to the loss of the land. It would be difficult, on any criteria, to describe her perceptions of the situation as religiously alienated. Her Old Testament images and myths had woven into her worrying over what had happened to her and helped her enunciate a very radical account of what was going on. The Creation story showed that all Creation, the land and the rivers included, was God's and human beings were entitled to use whatever was necessary for their subsistence. Evil men turned themselves into Philistine Goliaths, gathering possessions which they did not use properly. She was a David and confident that the Goliaths could be defeated in time with skill and righteousness.



Diagram 2: Extract from combined time-budget of Valdo and wife Madalena

	SUNDAY	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY
Morning	10.30- 12.30 Sunday School	Youth group prayed in Temple 8.00-10.am (Madalena only)			8.00-10.00am Campaign of Adoration (testimonies, prayers, hymns)		
Afternoon	Two Sundays a month: Youth groups prayers or visits to the sick	House visits to the sick (Madalena only)	Bible teaching for women (Madalena only) 2.00-4.00pm	Closed door prayer meet- ing (This goes on all day but Madalena usually chooses 2.00-4.00 pm.)	Visits to the sick 2.00 - 4.00 pm		Sometimes, Adoration with group for children
Evening	Main public service 7-9.30 pm.	Closed door prayer meeting in Temple 7-9.00 pm.	Choir practice 7-9.00 pm.	Congregation meeting in private home 7-9.00 pm.	Instruction, and once a month, Holy Supper 7-9.00 pm.	Preparation for Sunday School teachers	

As a Pentecostal, also, it was important to her to know where she stood in the eyes of the law. So she had acquired a very good grasp of the issues and the land law which favoured her case. On the other hand, she had the fine eye of a Pentecostal moralist for what she called the sham and hypocrisies of official law enforcers. And her religiously inspired perceptions and certainties seemed to make her utterly intrepid as she worried, very publicly, over the sources of her family's deprivations.

But she retreated, and for reasons which suggest a possible source in Pentecostalism for what the alienation interpretation might suggest is a form of religiously inspired alienated reaction. She had to get out, she said, because she had been through it all before and knew that she could not trust her self-control should the landlord uproot her crops to get her off. It was necessary to get off before that happened because, losing control, she would become, she said, like an animal and betray her law through passion. She would be provoked by Satan, on the side of the landowner, into stepping beyond the roles ordained for her.

The repugnance for behaviour that is outside the rigid role divisions of rural bushlands society or is judged to be animal rather than human, is marked in many of the members of the Assembly whom I interviewed and informs one variety of folk Catholicism also. In Helena's case it may be crucial, in the current political context at any rate, in curtailing further praxis - discovery in action of the social possibilities for social action against suffering.

To the extent that Helena lives a variety of Pentecostalism that is at all frequent, she signals a warning to radical priest or politician or academic who would package Pentecostalism as *in toto* alienated religion. Comparison of cases within even one tradition of folk religion suggests the need to discriminate between various possible combinations of alienated and creative elements.

I would like to suggest that similar discriminations are necessary for the other popular religions, on the basis of my Campo Alegre investigations. Consideration of length and complexity prevent an outline in this paper of the range of cases necessary to bring out the key oppositions of privatization vs. communalism, paternalistic authoritarianism vs. concern for social justice in folk Catholicism. But one case of Spiritism in practice may help to further illustrate my argument.

### The Spiritists

Some of the ambiguities of Spiritism in Campo Alegre (see Appendix A for some idea of the range of the cults) may be suggested by an outline of some of the key beliefs and practice of Dona Zezinha and her small group. Dona Zezinha is 40 years old and has been poor, sometimes desperately poor, all her life, working as agricultural labourer, domestic servant and now medium. She calls herself a Spiritist in the line of Alain Kardec. For her, as for the members of the Assembleia,

life is a quick passage in which our task is one of preparation. She differs, however, from the Pentecostals in her belief that the preparation is of the spiritual part of us that survives for future incarnation. The flesh is ever prone to suffering and decay but our spirits may mature so that we might attain a fuller life in the next incarnation. For her, though to her regret not for most of her followers and clients, it is only secondary that she can help in the material life through her powers as medium. In seances, the descending spirits, through her, might offer good advice gleaned from their experience in the material life and from other superior spirits, to help those who are suffering. Dona Zezinha will sometimes remain in session for 10 hours a day - for very small return because most of her clients are poor - giving good counsel in personal problems, prescribing medicines and herbal potions and prayer to help in illness or with economic problems.

It would not be too difficult to slot various aspects of the cult under many of the items listed in diagram 1. But one important feature of Dona Zezinha's beliefs and rituals and of many others of the Spiritist cults would not be so easily disposed of. The Spirits who descend to help the living are the spirits of ordinary lower class men and women - cowboys, old slaves, caboclos. In their rituals, the Spiritists assert, and often assert consciously, that wisdom and expertise to deal with the problems of existence come not just from on high, from the dominant tradition, but from the uncelebrated history of the poor. And that history, Dona Zezinha points out, is kept alive in cults organized by the poor and through people as poor as herself, who know as the proud and mighty do not, how to respond to the spirits.

Just as Dona Helena used to remind me that there was a lot I did not understand but that she did because she had the gift of the Spirit, so Dona Zezinha would tell me stories of the efficacy of the wisdom of the spirits of the poor that confounded the professionals - doctors, priests, teachers, pastors and lawyers alike.

This sort of assertiveness and the ritual creativity that goes with it in the Spiritist movements, amount to something of the opposite of the meek acceptance and dependence in explaining and reacting to suffering that is predicated in the alienation interpretation. Again, the lesson from Dona Zezinha is not that there is nothing in the alienation interpretation but only that the packaging of all aspects of all spiritist cults under an alienation label is premature. There are surely grounds for suggesting that creativity in the attempt to define a present and a past in which the poor are active and powerful may be a necessary if not a sufficient condition for a growth by the poor towards greater understanding of the social dynamics of suffering. That there are, on the other hand, limits to the contribution of the cults to this growth should be clear from the sketch of the content of the Spiritist vision presented in the following final section of this paper.

Even in scratching the surface of my Campo Alegre data, I have

come to feel that not all that needs to be said about the popular religions and social change can be said within the terms of the alienation debate. What will be said, of course, partly depends on careful specification of the referents of 'social change' /15/: that concept too needs careful disaggregation. The lived popular religions of Campo Alegre must be seen as part of a continuous effort to define and construct an appropriate and meaningful definition of Brazilian reality. What Campo Alegre comes to be depends partly on the relative success of the different popular religions in establishing their definitions of Brazilian socio-economic reality. Something of what I mean may be communicated schematically in the following comparison between the two most extremely different lived religious definitions.

**Many Pentecostals:**

believe in one God, the Supreme spiritual reality, who is lawgiver and whose laws must be obeyed.

This God is honoured and glorified in a ritual space in which the ordained order is realised: From this space the good Pentecostal goes out.

And in everyday life strives to fulfill his ordained roles and relate to others through an understanding of what their legitimate roles are. Thereby, one side of Brazilian social reality is contributed to - The Brazil of rigid hierarchy and role structure in which obedience is rewarded.

The play of these different visions in practice may not have anything to contribute directly to the changes desired by those who work for change for development. In fact, if many Pentecostals and Spiritists do live their visions in this manner, then their religions will be contributing in their contrasting ways to the building of a Brazil quite antithetical to the visions of the Catholic and many secular radicals. But my point is that those who emphasize participation as an essential element of development and who would work *with* the carriers of such

**Many Spiritists:**

while believing notionally in one God, consider that spiritual reality consists in a plurality of spirits.

The unknown requirements of these spirits have to be discovered. Spirits are encountered and their requirements grasped in a ritual space in which experiments in roles (e.g. sex role inversions) and controlled engagement with the normally forbidden (e.g. communication with Satan) are permitted. From this space the Spiritist goes out.

And in everyday life strives to psych out situations and superiors so that he can fashion appropriate and paying roles for himself. Thereby, another side to Brazilian social reality is contributed to - The Brazil of the ad hoc *jeito*, competitive parasitism.

visions as these had better discover the *different* directions in which the different visions take people. Packaging the religious as alienated and alienating in the same way will preclude the discovery and prejudice the chances of working *with* the carriers of the different religious visions. Perhaps sensitivity to variety in the popular religions will develop only as those who analyze and translate them become accustomed to examining social structural sources and consequences of their own religions and secular visions.

### Conclusion

A brief scanning of two of the popular religions in the lives of a few Campo Alegrensenses suggests that the religions are like common and academic languages. They have potentials for enabling understanding and communication of experienced suffering; but as they enable, they may also contain; as they prompt critical re-creation of the dynamics of suffering, they may also help alienate the sufferers away from politically significant development of awareness. An appreciation of this ambiguous potential contains a warning to those who would close off understanding by packaging the popular religions as merely alienated religions and as all alienating in the same manner. The intention of this paper is to demonstrate the need for discrimination and careful sifting of lived meaning in the study of the popular religions in Brazil and to warn against the *traddutor traditore* of everyday religious experience.

### Endnotes

1. Both attributes have recently been exemplified in G. Baum *Religion and Alienation*, Paulist Press, New York, 1975.
2. José Míguez Bonino, "Popular Piety in Latin America", *Concilium* (New Series) Vol.6, (10), June 1974, p. 156.
3. *Ibid.*
4. R. Ireland, "The Catholic Church and Social Change in Brazil" in R. Roett (ed.) *Brazil in the Sixties*, Vanderbilt University Press, 1973.  
"Catholic Clergy in the Northeast of Brazil: An Elite for Modernization?" La Trobe Sociology Paper No. 21, February, 1976.

5. By coherence and consistency I mean
    - (a) that it is possible to trace an unstated consensus about a core meaning of the concept
    - (b) that it is possible to trace a logical if unspecified relationship between, on the one hand, a great variety of events that are taken to be manifestations of religious alienation, and, on the other, the core meaning of the concept.
  6. In academic usage one would expect that and/or would be insisted on here given an awareness that inability to perceive structural sources of suffering may be independent of what Peter Berger defines as the core of alienation: the perception of the humanly constructed world, including the individual's own roles and major social institutions as inexorably given and required by some extra human being(s) or "reality" itself. This distinction - which, if sustained, suggests that a blanket term "alienation" ought not be used to cover both phenomena - seems not to be made in practice by Brazilian religious radicals. See P. Berger, *The Social Reality of Religion*, Part 1.
  7. R. Ireland, *Popular Religions and Social Change: A Brazilian Case* - a paper prepared for distribution to Brazilian social scientists doing research similar to mine describing my plans for research (mimeo).
  8. Diana Brown, "Political Aspects of Umbanda, An Indigenous Urban Religion in Brazil", paper for the Latin American Studies Association Annual Conference, San Francisco, 1974.
- Colin Henfrey, "Imperialism and Race Relations as a Dimension of Social Control: Guyana and Brazil" in *Dependency and Latin America: A Workshop*, CEDLA Incidentale Publicaties (2), June 1974 pp. 262-301.
- Esther Pressel, "Umbanda in São Paulo: Religious Innovation in a Developing Society", in Erika Bourguignon (ed.), *Religion, Altered States of Consciousness and Social Change*, Ch. 7, Ohio State University Press, Columbus, 1973.
9. Brown, p. 14.
  10. Abdalaziz de Moura, *Importância das Igrejas Pentecostais para a Igreja Católica*, mimeographed report for Regional da CNBB, Nordeste II, Recife 1969.
  11. Pedro A. Ribeiro de Oliveira, "Catolicismo Popular e Romantização do Catolicismo Brasileiro", *Revista Eclesiástica Brasileira*, XXXVI, March 1976, 131-141.
  12. For examples, Ralph Della Cava, *Miracle at Joazeiro*, Columbia University Press, New York and London 1970; Abdalaziz de Moura, *Frei Damiao e os Impasses da Religiao Popular*, Instituto de Teologia do Recife, 1971.

13. E. Willems, "Protestantism and Culture Change in Brazil and Chile" in W. V. D'Antonio and F.B.Pike (eds.) *Religion, Revolution and Reform*, London: Burns and Oates, 1965, Ch.5.  
"Religious Mass Movements and Social Change" in E.N. Baklanoff (ed.) *New Perspectives of Brazil*, Vanderbilt University Press, 1966. Ch.8.  
*Followers of the New Faith*, Vanderbilt University Press, 1967.
14. I have given further basic details on the several religions in a seminar paper entitled *Religion and Social Change in Campo Alegre*, Department of Sociology, La Trobe University, March 1978. Though these details are important, especially to readers unacquainted with Brazil or the religions noted, I have had to omit them here in the interests of brevity. An extract from this paper (referred to above as Appendix A) is available from me.
15. This is a major issue which I can't go into here. It seems to me that propositions about religion and social change will always be vague and airy unless it is specified at a minimum, whether reference is to change for Brazilian economic miracle style economic growth or to change for development according to principles of equity and basic needs.