

Homosexuality, skin color and religiosity: flirting among the *"povo de santo"* in Rio de Janeiro

Laura Moutinho

CLAM. 2013. Sexuality, Culture and Politics - A South American Reader. Pp. 573-592.

ISBN 978-85-89737-82-1

Sexuality, culture and politics A South American reader

Although mature and vibrant, Latin American scholarship on sexuality still remains largely invisible to a global readership. In this collection of articles translated from Portuguese and Spanish, South American scholars explore the values, practices, knowledge, moralities and politics of sexuality in a variety of local contexts. While conventionally read as an intellectual legacy of Modernity, Latin American social thinking and research has in fact brought singular forms of engagement with, and new ways of looking at, political processes. Contributors to this reader have produced fresh and situated understandings of the relations between gender, sexuality, culture and society across the region. Topics in this volume include sexual politics and rights, sexual identities and communities, eroticism, pornography and sexual consumerism, sexual health and well-being, intersectional approaches to sexual cultures and behavior, sexual knowledge, and sexuality research methodologies in Latin America.

Homosexuality, skin color and religiosity: flirting among the “*povo de santo*” in Rio de Janeiro*

Laura Moutinho**

The literature on homosexuality in possession cults is unanimous in pointing out Ruth Landes' classic, *The City of Women*, as the work that inaugurated the analysis of gender and sexuality in candomblé. Its publication ignited a polemic that persists today. In the United States, Ruth Landes' book is recognized not only as a pioneer in placing gender at the heart of an analysis of cultural phenomena in Latin America, but also for connecting this discussion with that of “race”.¹ Criticisms of Landes' narrative style in the 1940s were responsible, in part, for her academic exclusion. However, the book is currently celebrated as a “dense,” “multivocal” ethnography that challenged the “academic canons” of the time (Healey, 1996).² Peter Fry's article “Male Homosexuality and Afro-Brazilian Cults” (1982) renewed the polemic surrounding *The City of Women* by addressing the “thinly veiled prejudice” that informed the analysis of homosexuality in candomblé for decades. The debate was further fed by Patricia Birman's equally polemic work on possession and gender differences, *Making Style and Creating Gender* (1995).

Based on fieldwork in Belém in the 1970s, Fry constructed a model that still informs analysis of masculine sexual identities and possession cults in Brazil. In seeking to understand the plethora of classifications that are in play in the cults, Fry carefully distinguished analytical categories from those that candomblé adherents used themselves. Furthermore, Fry placed in perspective not only the studies that had been conducted up to that moment, but also the very way that candomblé adherents think, feel, and reflect. Delving into the religious meanings that informed the elaboration of genders in possession cults, Patrícia Birman (1995) remarks that: “with regards to sexuality, research in the field of Afro-Brazilian studies never seeks to understand the particular social definitions of gender: it blindly trusts in traditional, non-relativized indicators of distinctions between the sexes” (:60). More importantly, such researches fail to “relate” the gender categories “to ways of thinking and acting in social life” (:61).

* Translated from Portuguese by Erica Williams. Originally published as: MOUTINHO, L. 2005. “Homossexualidade, cor e religiosidade - flerte entre o ‘povo de santo’ no Rio de Janeiro”. In: HEILBORN, M. L. *et alii*. *Sexualidade, Família e Ethos Religioso*. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond. P. 273-299.

** PhD, Associate Professor, University of São Paulo.

¹ As Healey (1996) demonstrated in the case of Ruth Landes, her framework of analysis touches race, but her analysis also calls attention to how gender encompasses race.

² *The City of Women's* second edition in Brazil was published in 2002 by UFRJ Press, with a preface by Mariza Correa and a presentation by Peter Fry. Both texts include information about the polemic that involved the book's first publication and Landes' troubled trajectory as an intellectual.

This present article is based upon fieldwork on race and sexuality in the city of Rio de Janeiro.³ For nearly two years, I have been interviewing and living among gays and lesbians residing in various regions, such as the suburban⁴ and Southern *favelas*⁵ Maré and Rio das Pedras.⁶ My interviewees have all been involved in heterochromatic sexual-affective relationships at some point in their lives. I initially did not intend to include the religious sphere in my research, as I was interested in inter-racial couples and *ficantes* (‘hook-ups/casual relationships) who were either “*do santo*” (“of the saint”: ie. Initiated into African-Brazilian religions) or members of another religion, without directly exploring the relationships the religious dimension had upon other aspects of my informants’ lives.

The erotic sphere intersects in a specific way with the religious sphere in this context, however. According to Bataille (1988), eroticism thrives on transgression (Cf. Gregori, 2003). In this sense, Christianity is constructed in opposition to the “spirit of transgression”. In *candomblé*, as will be explained below, these fields are not constructed in opposition to one another.

The notion of sexual/romantic careers is based upon the idea that sexuality is experimental, perceived and lived according to the routines of socialization—based on gender, race/color, sexual and religious orientation, class and age, among other categories—to which individuals are subjected along their life trajectories (Cf. Heilborn, 1999). To access the sexual/romantic trajectories of my interviewees, it was necessary for me to deepen my knowledge of the religious universes navigated by the subjects of my investigation. It was therefore necessary for me to acquire some competence in matters regarding *the saints*. As a *lay person* (as I was called), I began to ask about and try to understand how “race”, (homo)sexuality and religiosity were articulated, constructed, and experienced in this religious sphere, as well as how they intersected with the normative and erotic spheres.

In seeking out social networks that were conducive to homosexual and heterochromatic sexual-affective encounters, I entered the GLS circuit of Rio de Janeiro.⁷ This fieldwork led me to reflect upon the role of electronic music in sociability in environments

³ This research was part of a postdoctoral project at the Institute of Social Medicine, State University of Rio de Janeiro. The research was supported initially by CNPq and is part of the “Integrated Project of Sexuality, Gender, and Family: ruptures and continuities in the experience of the modern western person”, coordinated by Luiz Fernando Dias Duarte (PPGAS/MN/UFRJ) and Jane Russo (CLAM/IMS/UERJ). It received support from FAPERJ and from the program “Young Scientists of Our State—FAPERJ/2003”. In this part of the Project, I was assisted by Crystiane Castro, social sciences student at UERJ. Sílvia Aguião (IMS/UERJ), Vitor Grunvald (PUC-Rio) and Débora Baldelli (UFRJ) were members of the research team.

⁴ Translation note: In Brazil the term “suburbs” has a different meaning than in the United States. Whereas in the United States suburbs are generally middle-class neighborhoods, in Brazil, they are poor, working-class neighborhoods far from the city centers. They are also known as “periferia”, or periphery.

⁵ An English translation for *favelas* is *shantytowns* or *slums*.

⁶ Regarding the intersection of race, gender and violence in the *favela* of Rio das Pedras, Cf. Moutinho, 2002.

⁷ GLS is an acronym, coined by business and media, that designates the public composed of gays, bisexuals, lesbians and “sympathizers”, meaning their heterosexual allies.

dominated by this public. This was especially true in the Southern Rio de Janeiro, where this musical genre appears as a kind of “official soundtrack” for a particular group of middle-class, predominantly white youth, who are residents and/or frequenters of the Southern the city and who self-identify as “gay” and/or “modern”.⁸ However, ever since my first foray into the Maré *favela* and the neighborhoods of Madureira, Vila Kennedy, Senador Camará and Brás de Pina (all located in Rio’s suburbs) *candomblé* adherents (*povo do santo*) have made up the basis of my research. This is a group of people who flirt and date a lot among themselves. As one of my interviewees said when asked about sexual-affective relations in this space: “oh, my child (...) you are here for your saint, but you’re not blind! Celebrations for the saints are also our celebrations...”.

Rio de Janeiro is recognized as a profoundly segmented and unequal urban space (Cf. Velho and Kushnir, 2003).⁹ The different territories that make up the city—although contiguous—do not directly intersect. Upper/middle class neighborhoods and impoverished areas co-exist as separate spaces. However, some areas are border regions. Funk dances in part fulfill this role by bringing together groups and people from different social strata.¹⁰ In terms of the present investigation, we are interested in precisely those “border areas” that include or are included in GLS circuits.

During my fieldwork, I was able to chart out certain maps and territories of gay and GLS encounters. Some clubs were frequently cited as sites of romantic encounters between individuals of different classes and colors. The “Buraco da Lacreia” in Fatima (a downtown neighborhood), the “Cabaré Casa Nova” in Lapa and “Le Boy” in Copacabana are some of the spaces my interviewees cited where gays and lesbians from different regions of Rio de Janeiro meet, flirt, have sex and go their separate ways (or not). There are other circuits, more restricted to certain “tribes” (Cf. Baldelli & Moutinho, 2004).¹¹ In South there’s “X-Demente”, and the “underground music” GLS circuit, which includes such clubs as “Dama de Ferro” (Ipanema), “Galeria Café” (Ipanema), “Fosfobox” (Copacabana), “Fredoom” (Barra) and “00” (Gávea), dedicating one night a week (Sunday) to this public. There are also parties like B.I.T.C.H. (Barbies In Total Control Here). In the Rio de Janeiro suburbs the “gay Wednesdays” of Shopping Madureira, the “gay volleyball” of Irajá Cemetery Plaza, the 1140 nightclub, in

⁸ My first systematization of this part of the fieldwork was presented at the XXIV Meeting of the Brazilian Anthropology Association, Olinda, Pernambuco, in June of 2004. See Baldelli & Moutinho, 2004. Regarding the universe of gay “hipster” sociability in Rio’s South, see Eugenio, 2003.

⁹ Regarding the development of research in urban areas, see the chapter “The Challenge of Proximity”, by Gilberto Velho. In the same collection, you can find a series of works discussing this issue while presenting an expressive map of the diversity of Rio de Janeiro.

¹⁰ Regarding the different dances of Rio de Janeiro and the virile ethos contained therein, see Ceccheto, 1998.

¹¹ The “ValDemente” party moved through several different spaces before finally coming to rest at the Fundação Progresso. It existed until 1996, when its partners separated, organizing their own parties separately. Only the “X-Demente” party became consecrated as the principal party of the carioca “gay scene” with versions at the Fundação Progresso and the Marina da Glória. “X-Demente” is known as the party of “Barbies”. The toy’s slogan “Barbie: everything you want”, references the identification of strong, fit, muscular gay men, generally with shaved chests, with the famous doll (including the implied meaning of looking “fake”).

Jacarepaguá,¹² as well as candomblé *barracões*¹³¹⁴ appeared in my research as spaces which welcome the diversity of Rio de Janeiro. In this scenario, there is a great number of different options, which have been expanding into numerous regions and territories of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

Given this situation, what seems to be a process of transformation is really a trait clearly summarized by Birman with regards to possession cults: they are always “related to marginalized social segments and often, without the slightest subtlety, mentioned as ‘dens’ of corruption, of sexual practices associated with perversion, exploitation and all the negative things that are generally attributed to such demarcated areas in urban space” (Birman, 1995, p. 57). Maggie (2001), in *Guerra de Orixá*—its first edition was published in 1975—has relativized the idea that Afro-Brazilian religions were associated with the lower classes and attended exclusively by blacks, showing that people of different colors who belong to a variety of social strata also attended the cults.¹⁵

My fieldwork has shown, however, that a particular idea of sexual and human rights is entering numerous and distinct territories of Rio de Janeiro. The scope and influence of these ideas in these scenarios must be investigated with care, especially regarding the way they line up with local logic. It is worth mentioning that the first *pai-de-santo*¹⁶ that I spoke with mentioned, on several occasions, the 1st GLS Celebration in the *favela* of the Maré (he was one of the organizers) as a symbol of the struggle and resistance against discrimination (Cf. Carrara, 2003). Other interviewees, like José, a homosexual *pai-de-santo*, recounted several exemplary situations of tensions between more traditional candomblé groups and the emerging networks of gay solidarity and reciprocity within the religion.¹⁷

Candomblé *barracões* are relevant in the context of a broader range of issues regarding same-sex sexual/affective relations. Male homosexuals, both residents of the suburb and the *favelas*, have a broader “field of possibilities” (Cf. Velho, 1994) for sexual-affective relationships than heterosexual men and women in these regions (at least this is a tendency that I have identified in my research). These men (especially the ones

¹² 1140, along with “Le Boy” in Copacabana, “Freedom” in Barra da Tijuca and “Hábeas” in Tijuca comprise those “gay clubs” that aren’t restricted to the electronic genre. The “gay modern” public refers to these parties as “commercial electronic music clubs”, as opposed to *underground* electronic music, or even *dance music*.

¹³ Translator’s Note: A *barracão* can be a warehouse-like structure where Candomblé ceremonies or samba school rehearsals occur.

¹⁴ According to Birman, the *barracões* “designate ritual space of celebrations” (Birman, 1995:07). My interviewees use the term to refer generically to the places where the candomblé rituals are celebrated.

¹⁵ Translator’s Note: In Portuguese, “cult” does not have the pejorative meaning that it does in English. “Cultuar” is a verb commonly used in candomblé, which means “to worship” the *orixás*.

¹⁶ A *pai-de-santo*, or “Father-of-the-saint” is a candomblé priest in charge of running a candomblé temple.

¹⁷ In his analysis on gender, sexuality, and AIDS in the Vigário Geral favela, Monteiro (2003) identified consumerism as an important element that is changing local networks of reciprocity and the value of labor by insidiously disturbing local ideologies of gender and sexuality.

with a darker skin color) move above and beyond the class lines that structure Rio de Janeiro society in different ways and in distinct interactions. In informal conversations with residents of these regions, for example, I have noted the existence of strong family controls, especially with regards to the sexual behavior of women. Among men, families' behavior demonstrates regional differences that I will unfortunately not be able to explore in this text. However, as I have already demonstrated elsewhere (Cf. Moutinho, 2002), there are links between the idioms of gender, “race”, dominant sexuality, which are in turn connected with urban violence and drug trafficking in the different territories of Rio de Janeiro.

Candomblé is a central space for sociability and religious expression, notwithstanding the visible growth of Evangelical churches. It is mentioned by many of my interviewees as one of the few places where they can find opportunities for encounters, leisure and religious exchanges.¹⁸ Aside from candomblé, only the gay clubs and samba spaces emerge in informants' narratives as one of the few places for leisure and homosexual encounters in the suburban regions (Cf. Gontijo, 2000). In this sense, I align with ideas developed by Duarte (2003). Several authors believe that religious affiliation greatly influences the ethos and lifestyle of the faithful. However, when dealing with the possible combinations of religious and private ethos, Duarte posits that lifestyle decisively orients religious choice, inverting the logic of religious affiliation. This is consistent with the ideas and values revealed by my fieldwork.

I have decided to present some situations that illustrate the intersection between religiosity, (homo)sexuality, pleasures and affection between people of various colors who have experienced—sometimes as a backdrop, sometimes explicitly and directly—the violence associated with drug trafficking in Rio de Janeiro. The reflections I develop in this article are thus divided into two parts: in the first section, I deal with homosexuality and religiosity in possession cults, especially candomblé. In the second part, I discuss more specifically the gay scene experienced by the *‘povo de santo’* (“people of the saints”) in Rio de Janeiro's working-class suburbs.

¹⁸ A map of this topic can be found in Pierucci (2004), who analyzes the retreat of Catholicism, Lutheranism and umbanda in the 2000 Census: “Since 1991, when the IBGE began to separate umbanda from candomblé, it became possible to discern which of the two was decreasing. Umbanda is falling (...) while candomblé grew during the same period (...)” (:25). In this sense, what perhaps counts is candomblé's ‘authenticity’ (as opposed to umbanda) which has made it traditionally more appreciated by the Brazilian elite (Cf. Duarte, 2003) and the growing investment that this religious tradition has received as one of the key elements in the construction of a positive black identity. Novaes (2004) raises the hypothesis that many of those who declared themselves as “without religion” on the 2000 Census may in fact be individuals who frequent candomblé and umbanda centers. This, combined with the retreat of Catholicism and the growth of the Evangelical religions, appears to be one of three big changes that have impacted upon the Brazilian religious scene. In the research, “youth who self-identify as without religion” affirm that they believe in practically all possible elements available in the religious-spiritual scene: energy, astrology, orixá, elves, gnomes...” (:327).

Homosexuality and religiosity in *candomblé*

It was São Cosme and Damião Day when we arrived at the Maré *favela* in order to interview some gays and lesbians who maintained heterochromatic sexual-affective relationships. The option to work in this space happened by chance. I was at a meeting at the Center for Study and Solidarity Actions in the Maré (CEASM) to discuss the viability of sponsoring a literary award to *favela* residents.¹⁹ After the meeting, we had lunch at a small bar located on one of the community's main roads. I discussed my study with one of the CEASM researchers who had lived at Maré since she was a child. “Oh, but it's great to be gay here at Maré,” she told me. “There's no discrimination. [Gays] are very accepted”. A few days later, she called, saying, “I think I was wrong. I talked to some people and I think it's not exactly like what I told you”. This conversation inspired my fieldwork in the region, which allowed me to widen the scope of my research and to compare the *favelas* of Maré and Rio das Pedras. However, what shifted my focus to the “people of the saints” was a conversation I had with José,²⁰ a homosexual father-of-the-saints and a Maré resident. At a certain point in our conversation, I asked him if he knew about the Law Project for civil unions between gay people being discussed in Brazil and if he had a opinion about it (Cf. Uziel, 2002). His response:

“It will give them [gays] some security after death (...) Because, you know that the family ends up taking [the late one's goods]... I just do not accept it, I can't wrap my head around a gay man marrying in the church. I think it's a lack of respect for God. I'll tell you one thing: you can even ask a priest to marry you, but not inside a church. I think a transgender, a gay man, is cute, but hold on: a marriage registry is a document which, God willing, can give one some security, but in the church, no”.

A bit amazed by this response, I tried to delve deeper, asking: “And in your religion? Can you do a gay marriage?” José responded: “There have been gay marriages dear, but I wouldn't do it. Me, as a father-of-the-saints? I wouldn't do it. I would do it for a man with a woman or a woman with a man. I would even go to the house to give my blessing...” I imagined that perhaps he was operating within a hierarchical model of sexuality that Fry (1982) identified in *candomblé* in Belém, in which the category “*bicha*”²¹ features prominently. This category is similar to the one Landes labeled as the “passive homosexual”, applied to males who take on a “passive” role (of the receptor in penetration, according to the author) during the sexual act. In this view, those who perform the “active” role in sexual relations are understood to be “men”: they can

¹⁹ The first Writing Award by the Observatory of *Favelas* as a result of a partnership between the Latin American Center of Sexuality and Human Rights (CLAM), the Center of Security and Citizenship Studies (CESeC), the Observatory of Favelas, and the Center of Studies and Solidarity Actions of Maré (CEASM). Regarding the award and the selected texts, see Uziel et al. (2005).

²⁰ From my perspective, José was “white”, but during the interview he classified himself as “brown” (*moreno*).

²¹ Translator's Note: “*Bicha*” is a colloquial term which refers to an effeminate gay male. Similar to the English terms “fag” or “faggot,” it usually has a negative connotation unless used as a term of endearment by another gay person.

maintain sexual relations both with men and with women, but their identity as a “man” is not threatened.²² Distinctions between “bichas” and “machos” were not José’s primary concern, however. For him, religious temples, whether they are churches or *barracões*, are “sacred spaces”:

“(…) Marriage that exists for God is man with woman and woman with man. In the beginning of the world, God blessed the man for the woman and the woman for the man. From the beginning, gay men existed... The church is a sacred space. What detracts from its sanctity are bad priests, bad fathers-of-the-saints, bad pastors... God created marriage for the man and woman and not for people of the same sex”.

The ideas of “activity” and “passivity” which informed differentiated masculine identities in the system elaborated by Fry were not in question here. However, the category used by José when referring to gay men was “*homem sexual*” (literally, “sexual man”), an unintentional colloquial corruption of “*homossexual*” (homosexual) common among people without formal education. In this case, “*homem sexual*” corresponds to “bicha” (“*fag*”) revealed in Fry’s study of Belém.²³ José’s account was surprising, at least for me, because Afro-Brazilian religions are usually seen as more welcoming and understanding of homosexuality than other religions. By contrast, Catholic and Protestant religions directly condemn homosexuality. José’s statements evidenced the anguish and conflict the gay father-of-the-saints felt, which contributed to the delimitation of new fields which I knew needed to be further explored. Natividade (2003) deals with homosexual sexual-affective experiences among Pentecostal Christians. For the author, this is a field marked by rejection and by the prospect of a “cure for homosexuality”.

The literature regarding this topic award a certain degree of rejection of homosexuals in possession cults. For most scholars writing about these religions prior to the 1990s, homosexuals were a source of embarrassment and one more element of the stigma that always hovered over *candomblé*, a religion understood as “inferior” in the Brazilian religious hierarchy (Birman, 1997: 229). José’s views as a homosexual father-of-the-saints thus revealed a dimension that was in a sense unexpected: discomfort, at least at a certain level, in relation to the combination of homosexuality and the sacred in his religion. José was not alone in his feelings. It is interesting to note, however, that all those with whom I talked understood *candomblé* to be a “very liberal” space where “there is no prejudice against anything or anyone”. However, other stories collected during my fieldwork present other possible readings. There were the father- or mother-of-saints who said they don’t like or “don’t accept *entendidos* (queers) in the temple”, for example.

²² Translator’s Note: The difference between “male” (*macho*) and “man” (*homem*) is further articulated by Don Kulick in his ethnography of Brazilian transgendered prostitutes, *Travesti* (1998). One can be biologically “male” without having the culturally ascribed attributes of masculinity implicit in “men”.

²³ Regarding this topic see also by Fry (1982).

“Entendidos”²⁴ is the term most often used to refer to homosexuals in the context of my fieldwork. I noted that this expression was employed in formal interviews and in more serious conversations. As I became closer to the group studied, I encountered other terms, such as “caricata” (literally “caricature”, or a playful “bicha”), “viado”²⁵ (which, like “bicha”, is used among gay people in an informal tone to refer to each other, but also in cases of anger at someone or in situations involving homophobic discrimination), “gay” (in a more formal tone, as a synonym of *entendido*, but also as a political category, as in “LGBT”), among others.

I emphasize one of the complex faces of the presence of homosexuals in *candomblé*. In *umbanda*, according to Birman (1995), religious respectability excludes ambiguity and, in this sense, all spaces in the rituals that would otherwise be open for a “bicha”. Moreover, as Rios (2004) has demonstrated, homosexuality functions as a logical difference between “*candomblés de veadeiro*” (queer *candomblés*: more “modern”, where homosexuals are more visible) and “traditional *candomblés*”. In the former, homosexuality is positively valued, while in “traditional *candomblés*” (more controlled by women) it is necessary to maintain homosexuality under “control”, since its “exacerbation” threatens the prestige of the *candomblé* temple.

Paulo, a white 30 year-old father-of-the-saints, belongs to an important lineage that’s spread throughout the Rio de Janeiro suburbs. He claims that he grew up “among gay people”, since his family practiced *candomblé*. Like other youth “of the saints”, he had already gone out with women, but at a certain moment in his trajectory, he “felt like it was his destiny (...) to start going out with men, to not want to go out with women anymore...” Paulo gives meaning to his sexual-affective experiences based on his socialization and the entire process of learning to which he was subjected:

“I think that if you’re raised among Spanish people, you’re going to speak what? Their language, you understand? If you are raised among ignorant people, you’re going to be ignorant...If you are raised around *gaayyss* [elongated and low tone to concomitantly emphasize] it’s *not* that you will be one, but your ways will be just like theirs!

According to Paulo, homosexuality was incorporated into his socialization process and is presented as a performance. He also offers a psychological explanation: since he didn’t have a father, he grew up without a male role model. His words are significant in this regard:

²⁴ Translator’s Note: *Entendido* is a self-identifying, positive colloquial term for a gay person. This term was initially used as slang among gay men in order to affectionately refer to themselves and their group. It is similar to queer, in this sense. It was later adopted by both gay men and lesbian women and nowadays it is used mostly among lesbians.

²⁵ Translator’s note: *Viado* is used to refer to an effeminate gay male. It is the equivalent to “fairy” in English. Like *bicha*, it usually has a negative connotation, unless it is used by a gay person as a term of endearment.

"What I thought was masculine and was in front of me was what I aspired to be. I ended up seeing gays all around me and I grew up... like that, transmitting this thing. Also when I received the saints I seemed like a little *bicha*, very bitchy. Then I began to see that there were no gays and lesbians in the house where I received the saints; if they existed they were very closeted... So, she [his mother-of-the-saints] went about correcting me. And I learned how to be more of a man. It was a family home. I learned how to behave myself better. My voice used to be very high-pitched and it got deeper. Sometimes I try to deepen it even more. Sometimes, just to unwind, we ended up making jokes and, say, talking like a *viado* (fag). So I always try to speak in a very deep voice, to speak with a correct tone!"

In the beginning, then, Paulo saw himself as a "bicha" but didn't identify as "gay" because he had the mannerisms of a "bicha" without feeling any sexual attraction for men. With the "corrections" by his mother-of-saints, he developed a virile performance. He had married and already had a child when his desire for men emerged. Like the house where Paulo originally *received saints*, his new temple "didn't accept *entendidos*". He thus distanced himself from the mother-of-saints who led his candomblé temple, but his conflicts in relation to his sexual desires continued.

In Patrícia Birman's (1995) interpretation, homosexuality found a place in candomblé because of the logic that structures this religion's practices. In candomblé, possession functions as a mechanism for constructing differences between the genders. In this sense, masculinity is defined in opposition to possession. The feminine pole is not defined as the opposite of the masculine pole, however. This means that the religion welcomes individuals who, from a biological point of view, could be either male or female. Paulo's narrative is illustrative in this regard:

"They [*bichas*] are excited (...) because women are only good for what? For dancing. Women can't handle animals, women can't kill animals; people actually do these things, but only in extreme cases because it's generally prohibited, you understand!? Who does everything? The men. The women are only good for dancing because men don't enter into the circle, you understand? So then, what happens? He [referring to the father-of-saints who does not accept gays] is going to end up with an empty house (...)"

This statement corresponds directly to a passage from *Making Style, Creating Gender*:

"Along with false recognition [the author is referring to false trances] and the moral critique that accompanies it, there is also an admiration for the *adés*. These men are by no means seen in a negative light in candomblé. How could they be, if they are the ones that are responsible for providing celebrations with their most brilliant moments in terms of dance and art? There is nothing like an *adé* to 'heat up a party'. (...)" (Birman, 1995:121)

In Paulo’s narrative, since gender roles do not follow hegemonic standards, it is possible to value the presence of *entendidos* within the ritual space (Birman, 1995). This is an effective analytical strategy for elucidating the presence and acceptance of homosexuals in candomblé without eliminating *discomfort* regarding homosexuality.

I was thus surprised during my fieldwork with what I call a “conflicting perception of homosexuality”. I encountered this perception even children of the saint those who are *assumidos* (“out”) and who occupy prestigious positions in candomblé. This discovery put me face to face with a series of new questions.

According to Birman, however: through possession, candomblé creates a continuous symbolic inversion of gender and does not base gender solely upon biological sex. As the author explains:

“Biological men have two predetermined places in the rituals that are in opposition to possession: that of the *ogã*, whose characteristic is the absence of possession and who consequently possesses full masculinity; and that of the son-of-the-saints, who practices possession and upon whose shoulders fall suspicions of homosexuality. They say, for example, that certain queer fathers-of-the-saints bring boys inside their houses as lovers and transform them into *ogãs*. This accusation follows the same role structure: the queer’s lover is considered a man in the same way that the father-of-the-saint’s lover can be an *ogã* and enjoy the respectability and honors owed to this leadership position in the *terreiro*.” (Birman,1997:230)

To the people with whom I had been living with during my fieldwork, the *ogãs* are, in effect, *men*—even though this affirmation is often followed by a malicious smile, insinuating the possibility of homoerotic practices. Although this type of rumor is disseminated through and present in conversations (like, indeed, all sorts of sexual gossip), it was not understood as polluting in the sense that Mary Douglas (1966) speaks of. Rather, it was understood as part of a playful game that does not entail the risk of losing prestige or status.

My fieldwork shows that a certain *residue* of discrimination—which I am not certain is the best choice of word—in relation to homosexuality persists in this context. The idea of *residue* refers to the maintenance of an idea of *pollution* even in situations which tolerate or welcome homosexuality. It is not that religious leaders reject homosexuals and homosexual practices in candomblé: to the contrary. This point is further explored in the following statement by João, a 22 year old “brown-white” resident of the suburbs who is Paulo’s godchild in candomblé:

“Let’s put it like this: God created man and woman, right!?! And He taught that the man was supposed to have a relationship with the woman and the woman with the man. The saints, the orixás don’t criticize, don’t get involved, but they aren’t required

to... So, I'm also not going to say that they taught that man is supposed to be with woman and woman with man because I wasn't alive during that time... (...). It's like talking about Christ. I'm not sure, I believe! Just like I believe in the orixás, but I'm not sure if everything that they say happened. (...) We know a legend...And this is unknown, this business of a man marrying a man in umbanda ...also because in umbanda there are few homosexuals..."

What is in question here is the relationship between homosexuality and religiosity, but only when referring to marriage. Civil unions (involving the exchange of goods and sex) between homosexuals are not seen as threatening. The homoerotic experiences of these individuals are not opposed to the religious experience itself. During my fieldwork, the importance that candomblé participants gave to "being respectful" and to "retaining composure" was always emphasized. The very category "*entendido*" is composed of morality narratives in this scenario. The same logic applies to flirting in the *barracão*: they exist, but they should not disrespect the basic rules of religious decorum. In this sense, homosexuality and religious marriage take place in a field of complex perceptions.

In another case which illustrates this discussion, João, Paulo's godchild, explains why he doesn't accept gay marriage:

Who does the marriage in umbanda: an entity, the Caboclo²⁶ or the Preto Velho,²⁷ right? Would the Preto Velho allow a man to marry a man? Would the Caboclo? No, because in the case of the Caboclo or Preto Velho... Preto Velho might even understand it more, but Caboclo is a very rigid and strict entity, right?! They're grabby and they don't like laughter, jokes. There's that tension when they arrive: will one be reprimanded or not? Do you understand? They are Indians, right? They are rather close-minded, they aren't evolved like we are.

João resorts to tradition and the remote past to explain his lack of acceptance of gay marriage. In fact, at a certain point, João himself did not know how to explain his discomfort, so he resorted to the prescriptions and taboos of umbanda: the Preto-Velho and the Caboclo are not *evolved*, they are stuck in the time in which they lived on Earth. The *orixás* and other entities don't "get involved" in the lives of anyone and this allows for the presence of homosexuals in candomblé. Nevertheless, there are certain limits, transmitted by the earthly experiences of the deities. Thus, when the discomfort with homosexuality appears in the sacred sphere, João's explanatory narrative moves it to the normative sphere. Here, the polluting meanings of homosexuality do not appear to be articulated with religious cosmology.

²⁶ Translator's Note: *Caboclo* is an indigenous spirit adopted into candomblé as a patron. The term originally meant any mixed race person of both European and indigenous Brazilian ancestry. In candomblé, it means any spirit believed to have this heritage, usually associated with nature and the wilderness.

²⁷ *Preto Velho* is a kind and wise spirit that represents the wisdom of the enslaved African population in Brazil.

In this context, homosexuality is not understood as a “demonic activity taking place on the terrestrial plane” (Natividade, 2003) nor as a problem that requires cure or liberation, as in Pentecostalism, in which erotic pleasure and the divine are in competition (Natividade, 2003). Following the author’s logic, we note that pleasure is a common denominator in both the erotic and the divine dimensions. It seems to work as a logic in the construction of a person: the pleasure experienced by the incorporation of the Holy Spirit constructs the good and faithful person. On the other hand, the pleasure which is experienced in homoerotic relations reveals the Devil and the sinner. Homosexuality in *candomblé* can be problematized in some *barracões*, but in general, having sexual relationships with members of the same sex does not seem to be prohibited, although such couplings produce some taboos and discomforts. In this sense, even though we can register both tensions regarding homosexuality and fathers- or mothers-of-the-saints who more or less accept homoerotic experiences among their followers, most of the stories present numerous examples of a religious refuge for those who engage in homosexual activities.

For many *candomblé* adherents, discomfort with homosexuality and with a “more free” experience of sexuality is related to the moral influence of Catholicism. This logic is extended and (re)confirmed in the example of *umbanda*, a religion that is more “mixed” and “syncretic” and which does not open up a space for homosexuality.

Flirting in the *barracão*: the market for homosexual and heterochromatic affection and pleasures among the “people of the saint”

The narratives I collected recurrently made reference to the necessity of “being respectful” in the *candomblé barracão*, as João’s statement illustrates:

One doesn’t date in the *barracão*: you must have respect...whether or not there is a *candomblé* ceremony! Well, in reality, this stuff happens...It happens more on the sly, because otherwise the temple would turn into a whorehouse. The saints wouldn’t come! It wouldn’t be a house of *candomblé*. It would be a whorehouse...

In the religious etiquette of *candomblé*, heterosexual and homosexual dating and flirting should be conducted with discretion. In addition to this, as João clarified, “There are fathers-of-the-saints who don’t accept that their godbrothers get involved with someone else”. João also claims that “they don’t like that sons-of-the-saints act openly gay during *candomblé* ceremonies”. Several reports indicate that during the ritual, the *viados* “have more respect than the butch lesbians”. For these men to change clothes in front of a “godbrother”, for example, is not seen as a problem, but “the butch lesbians” are understood as expressing certain “maliciousness” in this context.

This type of *incest prohibition*, combined with a less “picturesque” posture, demonstrates a general suspicion that is affirmed in the more intimate conversations: male homosexuals are understood as needing limits because they are men and, when “they are gay on top of being men, the situation is worse”, as Saulo, a 17-year old “moreno” pointed out. This idea that men, especially homosexuals, are always ready for the “sexual hunt” (Heilborn, 2004), is repeated throughout studies of homosexuality (Cf. Heilborn, 2004).

In the context of *candomblé*, this issue gains particular contours. The overlap between the etiquette of the saints and that of the social is understood by the literature on the topic as a result of the impact of slavery upon the religious organization. This reinforced the adopted-family from the religious context in detriment to blood relations. Sexuality appears as one of the elements that gains particular contours in this scenario, in disentangling sex from reproduction, for example, or in contributing to the elaboration of a language of gender that is distinct from that which informs and organizes the society at large. (Cf. Segato, 1995, among other authors).

In this sense rituals in *candomblé* can eventually intermix with flirtation, with the whole lot being superimposed upon the performance of *the saints*. João’s narrative is illustrative:

Let’s say you are in a *candomblé* circle. You see... the men are already more nervous, more daring in their flirting, SO imagine being homosexual?! Men, even women, are dancing, but we are seeing everything that is happening. You see that we are looking, paying attention to everything, because we have to take care of the house, right? (...) So, let’s suppose I’m by myself and some guy comes in and I’m interested. I’m going to stare him down to see what’s what.

For Mateus, a 17 year old black man, the *barracão* is not the place for flirting. He even met a white ex-boyfriend at a *candomblé* ceremony, but he conceives of the *barracão* and the ritual as a moment of dedication to the *orixás*: “Yes, it is...I went to attend a thing...and I ended up doing something else”. Since the “party for the saints is our party”, the ritual for the saints can transform into a ritual for flirting. One doesn’t flirt with the spiritual entities, but in moments of wakefulness, one always looks around. The relations between men and entities transform flirting into a ritual of two dimensions, in João’s words:

If *Pomba-gira*²⁸ comes upon you... the *pomba-gira* can speak... she can leave a message for the medium that she has mounted, saying that he or she must be careful with a particular person, that this person will not be good for them.

But there are limits:

²⁸ Translator’s note: *Pomba-gira* is an entity in *umbanda* associated with feminine lust and liberty.

In order to interfere... the *Pomba-gira* comes and says: “I came upon you to say that person so-and-so should leave”. This doesn't really happen, however. It is more of a thing that people say. They use the name of *pomba-gira* to do whatever they like.

The fact that distinct spheres of experience are confused in the candomblé rituals often places the performance of the saint under suspicion, attracting attention to “false possessions”. Here is an illustrative narrative:

The first time [certain man] saw my father-of-the-saints' *Pomba-gira*, people thought that the *Pomba-gira* was hitting on him because the *Pomba-gira* came over and said “When you need me, sir, talk to me and to my boy”. So [that man] said “This faggot wants... he's hitting on me.”

To Fry (1982), one of the facets of false possession is directly related to flirting. People-of-the-saints often use trance and the authority that the spirits confer on them to explore sexual and erotic interests. Birman (1997) associates this event, as well as the place of the *adés* (homosexual priest)²⁹ in the ritual, with the logic of alterity and of the feminine that structures candomblé. The *adés* are not those who exploit afflictions or complaints, but rather the potentialities of sex and eroticism opened by the language of the saints.

The relationships thus created can also be subject to the intervention of the saints. In this sense, the transgression created by the games and jokes acquires a particular direction in the religious hierarchy of candomblé. In the perspective presented by João, this double sphere of action is related to the earthly experiences of the *orixás*. The Catholic saints experienced life on Earth in a sanctified way, with “lives very focused on charity”. In the case of candomblé, every *exu*, for example, is attached to worldly life and the *orixás* bring with them traces of the human experience, even though they possess more wisdom.

“Retaining Composure” is an attitude that imposes respect and protects against gossip, rumors, and misunderstandings. It is in line with a certain religious etiquette that reappears when racial questions come into play. João, for example, says that he “likes to go out with black men” because he is “very attracted” to their color:

Look, I think that it's in the way you carry yourself. It's all in your posture. Let's put it like this: if you are walking down the street, in front of a bar where there are a bunch of men drinking and a black homosexual passes by with pink nails wearing shredded short-shorts with the top of his butt showing, hair dyed blond, several earrings in his ears, what is he asking for? “Black fag!!” is the first thing everyone will say. It's the first thing because, you notice, everyone discriminates a little bit against black people.

²⁹ Translator's note: This is a term of possible Yoruba origin that Landes discusses at length in *City of Women*.

João does not think it is complicated to go out and date a black man as long as said man maintains a “good posture”. Such an attitude is capable of neutralizing racial discrimination. During our conversation on this topic, João reproached the racism of homosexuals. He believes that because homosexuals suffer from so much discrimination, they “should be the last people to discriminate against anyone”. The very term “racism” is frequently used as a synonym for discrimination. I often recorded formulations such as “there is a lot of racism against homosexuals” during my fieldwork. Saulo, a 24 year-old black man who lives in a working-class suburb, belongs to a group of initiated friends who frequent the suburban clubs and *candomblés*. Saulo said that he was sexually attracted to white men but also claimed that there was another reason why he did not go out with black men: “opportunity”. “It seems like black men don’t like other black men. (...) I think that deep inside there must be some prejudice, some block, something”. Sometimes Saulo goes to the Le Boy club, in Copacabana, to “grab” some “gringos” and “make some money”. He has a lot of luck with white foreign homosexuals, but with black foreigners he says he goes unnoticed. According to Saulo, for example, Angolans “only want white boys”. The cutest boys, according to him, are the black North Americans. Saulo has already gone out with several African-Americans.³⁰ It is interesting to note how notions of race and color intersect with nationality to make up a hierarchical framework of sexual supply in the market of love³¹ and sex in Copacabana, with black Africans at the bottom of the hierarchy.

In *The Business of the Michê*, Perlongher (1987) demonstrates how gender, class, age and, more fluidly, “race”, constitute categories that serve as libidinal tensors, orienting subjects in their search for bodies and pleasures. The current strong representations of eroticism that are associated with the black color—which apply to both homo- and heterosexual relationships in which black or darker people appear associated with greater lust and sexual performance—should not be perceived in a static way. The white/black or lighter/darker contrast populates the erotic universe of sexual/affective encounters. Color and race are one more element—albeit a fundamentally important one—in the aesthetic elaboration that accompanies and constitutes the space of *candomblé*.

In her analysis of conjugality, gender, and sexual identity in the urban middle classes of the city of Rio de Janeiro, Heilborn (2004), identified that these groups share egalitarian ideals and a homogamic standard in homosexual sexual-affective relationships, understood to be based upon equivalent class and cultural capital. It is a perception that runs contrary to representations documented on a specific level by Perlongher (1987) concerning gay relationships, which are marked by differences of class, age (Cf. Guimarães, 2004), and, occasionally, race. It is also in line with the broader tendencies of the Brazilian conjugal market presented by Berquó (1988) and Silva

³⁰ The trajectories of Saulo and of other men are similar to those of the women researched by Piscitelli (2004).

³¹ Some of these contacts can result in longer bonds.

(1987). If, according to Heilborn, modern, egalitarian values lead to social homogeneity among some of my informants (in both heterosexual and homosexual partnerships), I also discovered that similar "ethical dispositions" or values can make heterogamic relationships possible. Put in another way, equality and hierarchy are both at play in this same universe (and often organize an individual's expectations), operating upon the idea of color /race. In other words, in this and other studies that I have conducted, heterochromy does not necessarily mean heterogamy.

It is necessary to emphasize, finally, that in the research that I have conducted up to now, the correlation between color/race and eroticism in heterochromatic gay and lesbian partnerships, does not present significant differences with regards to interracial sexual-affective heterosexual relationships (Cf. Moutinho, 2004). Furthermore, it has been more difficult to work with the racial question in this study than it was in previous studies. In fact, references to homosexuality often overlap references to race. Even in the erotic games staged in *candomblé*, color and race appear to be associated with eroticism and everyone believes that this space is more welcoming to heterochromatic sexual-affective relationships.

Therefore, we note the difficulty of linking these two distinct forms of inequalities. On the one hand, race/color and homosexuality make up a sum total of discrimination in my interviewees' testimony, as Stolcke (1991) has pointed out. On the other hand, along this axis of discrimination, homosexuality and homophobia appear as dominant categories that encompass racism.

According to some young black sons-of-the-saints, the major difficulty they felt they encountered had to do with the strong link between virility and blackness. Such an association has an enormous attraction in the market of affect and pleasure in Rio de Janeiro (Cf. Moutinho, 2002 and 2004), but it also contributes to making the acceptance of homosexuality more difficult in this context.

Finally, it is necessary to point out that in my research I found that the sense of locality and of territory, as well as the disputes occurring in those regions associated with drug trafficking, are central to how the standards of gender relations are constructed and lived, as well as the weight that race/color and sexuality have in the unequal distribution of power in certain impoverished regions (Cf. Brandão, 2004; Alvito, 2001; Cunha, 2002; Moutinho, 2002; Zaluar, 1994).

References

- ALVITO, M. 2001. *As cores de Acari*, Rio de Janeiro: FGV.
- BALDELLI, D. & L. MOUTINHO. 2004. "‘Hoje eu vou me jogar!’ – Indivíduo, corpo e transe ao som da música eletrônica". Paper apresentado na XXIV Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia, Olinda, Pernambuco.
- BATAILLE, G. 1998. *O Erotismo*. Lisboa, Ed. Antígona.
- BERQUÓ, E. 1988. "Demografia da Desigualdade". *Novos Estudos (Cebap)*, nº 21, pp. 74-85.
- BIRMAN, P. 1995. *Fazer estilo, criando gênero*. Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará.
- BIRMAN, P. 1997. "Futilidades Levadas a Sério: o candomblé como uma linguagem religiosa do sexo e do exótico". In: VIANNA, H. (Eds.). *Galerias cariocas: territórios de conflitos e encontros culturais*. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ.
- BRANDÃO, A. A. 2004. *Miséria da Periferia: desigualdades raciais e pobreza na metrópole do Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas Ed.; Niterói: PENESB.
- CARRARA, S., S. RAMOS, M. CAETANO. 2003. *Política, direitos, violência e homossexualidade: 8ª Parada do orgulho GLBT – Rio -2003*. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas.
- CECCHETTO, F. 1998. "Galerias funk cariocas: os bailes e a constituição do ethos guerreiro" In: ZALUAR, A. & M. ALVITO. (Eds.). *Um século de favela*. Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Getúlio Vargas.
- CUNHA, O. G. 2002. "Bonde do Mal: notas sobre território, cor, violência e juventude numa favela do subúrbio carioca" In: REZENDE, C & Y. Maggie. (Eds.). *Raça como Retórica: a Construção da Diferença*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
- DUARTE, L. F. D. 2003. "Ethos privado e racionalização religiosa: negociações da reprodução na sociedade brasileira". Paper apresentado no Seminário *Religião e Sexualidade: Convicções e Responsabilidades*- CLAM/IMS/UERJ.
- DOUGLAS, M. 1966. *Pureza e Perigo*. São Paulo, Ed. Perspectiva.
- EUGENIO, F. 2003. "Entre fenômenos e fluxos: estética, amor e amizade no universo gay e 'moderninho' da zona sul carioca". Paper apresentado no Seminário *Culturas Jovens e Novas Sensibilidades*, Rio de Janeiro: UCAM.
- FRY, P. 1982. "Da hierarquia à igualdade: a construção histórica da homossexualidade no Brasil". In: *Para inglês ver: identidade e política na cultura brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar. _____ 1986. "Male Homosexuality and Spirit Possession in Brazil", *Journal of Homosexuality*, v.II, n.3-4, p. 137-54.
- GONTIJO, F. 2000. *Genres, carnaval e SIDA: la construction des identités homossexuelles dans les situations rituelles du carnaval de Rio de Janeiro à l'ère du SIDA*. Tese de doutoramento. Paris, EHESS/ UFRJ.

- GREGORI, M. F. 2003. Relações de violência e erotismo. Cadernos PAGU: Erotismo, Prazer, Perigo (20). Núcleo de Estudos de Gênero PAGU/UNICAMP, pp.78-120.
- GUIMARÃES, C. D. 2004. O Homossexual visto por entendidos. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Garamond.
- HAYES, K. 2004. Black Magic at the Margins: macumba in Rio de Janeiro na ethnographic analysis of a religious life. PhD Thesis. The University of Chicago: Chicago/Illinois.
- HEALEY, M. 1996. "Os desencontros da tradição em cidade das mulheres: raça e gênero na etnografia de Ruth Landes". In: Cadernos Pagu (6-7) Núcleo de Estudos de Gênero PAGU/UNICAMP pp. 153-200.
- HEILBORN, M. L. 2004. Dois É Par: Conjugalidade, Gênero e Identidade Sexual em Contexto Iguatário. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Garamond.
- HEILBORN, M. L. 1999. "Construção de Si, Gênero e Sexualidade". In: (ORG) HEILBORN, M. L & E. BRANDÃO. Sexualidade: O Olhar das Ciências Sociais. Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar Editor.
- LANDES, R. 2002. A cidade das mulheres. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ.
- MAGGIE, Y. 2001. Guerra de orixá: um estudo de ritual e conflito. 3ª ed. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Ed.
- MAGGIE, Y. 1992. Medo do Feitiço: relações entre magia e poder no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional.
- MONTEIRO, S. 2003. Qual prevenção? Aids, sexualidade e gênero em uma favela carioca Rio de Janeiro, Editora Fiocruz, 2002, 148p.
- MOUTINHO, L. 2004. Razão, "cor" e desejo. Uma análise comparativa sobre relacionamentos afetivo-sexuais "inter-raciais" no Brasil e África do Sul. São Paulo: UNESP.
- MOUTINHO, L. 2002. "Considerações sobre violência, gênero e cor em Rio das Pedras". In: BURGOS, M (Ed.). A utopia da comunidade: Rio das Pedras, uma favela carioca, Rio de Janeiro/São Paulo: Editora PUC-Rio/Edições Loyola.
- NATIVIDADE, M. 2004. Carreiras homossexuais no contexto do pentecostalismo: dilemas e soluções. Revista Religião e Sociedade, 23 / 1. Rio de Janeiro:ISER
- NATIVIDADE, M. 2003. Carreiras homossexuais e pentecostalismo: análise de biografias. Dissertação de mestrado. PPSC/UERJ: Rio de Janeiro.
- NOVAES, R. 2004. "Os jovens 'sem religião': ventos secularizantes, 'espírito de época' e novos sincretismos". Notas preliminares. Estud. av., dez, vol.18, no.52, p.321-330. ISSN 0103-4014.
- PERLONGHER, N. 1987. O Negócio do Michê. São Paulo, Brasiliense.
- PIERUCCI, A. F. 2004. "Bye bye, Brasil": o declínio das religiões tradicionais no Censo 2000. Estud. av., dez., vol.18, no.52, p.17-28. ISSN 0103-4014.

PISCITELLI, A. 2004. "Entre a praia de Iracema e a União Européia: turismo sexual internacional e migração feminina". In: PISCITELLI, A, M. F. GREGORI & S. CARRARA (Eds.). Sexualidade e saberes: convenções e fronteiras. Rio de Janeiro, Garamond.

RIOS, L. F. 2004. "Performando a tradicionalidade: geração, gênero e erotismo no candomblé do Rio de Janeiro". In: Uziel, Anna Paula, Rios, Luís Felipe e Parker, Richard Guy. Construções da sexualidade: gênero, identidade e comportamento nos tempos de Aids. Rio de Janeiro, Pallas.

SILVA, N. V. 1987. "Distância Social e Casamento Inter-Racial no Brasil". Estudos Afro-Asiáticos, nº 14, pp. 54-84.

SEGATO, R. L. 1995. Santos e daimones. Brasília: Editora UnB.

STOLCKE, V. 1991. "Sexo está para Gênero, assim como Raça para Etnicidade?". Estudos Afro-Asiáticos, nº 20, pp. 101-119.

UZIEL, A. P. et al. 2005. Concurso de Produção Textual do Observatório de Favelas - Sexualidade, violência e justiça nos espaços populares do Rio de Janeiro: problemas e alternativas. Rio de Janeiro: Observatório de Favelas/CLAM/CESeC.

UZIEL, A. P. 2002. "Família e homossexualidade": velhas questões, novos problemas, Tese de Doutorado. Unicamp: Campinas.

VELHO, G. & K. KUSCHINIR. 2003. Pesquisas urbanas: desafios do trabalho antropológico. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar.

VELHO, G. 1994. Projeto e metamorfose: antropologia das sociedades complexas. Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar.

ZALUAR, A. 1994. Condomínio do diabo. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Revan/Ed. UFRJ.