

On The Current Predicament of Major Religions in Brazilian Society¹

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Abstract

The goal of this paper is to provide an overview of the current predicament of Religion in Brazilian Society. To do so, it will be used data from demographic censuses, specially the last one (2010) — that will serve as a structuring guide — and more studies that are recent. It is intended to trace a profile of recent changes and current predicament of Brazilian society when it comes to religion, with a special focus on major religious confessions, demanding from readers only a minimal previous knowledge about contemporary Brazilian society. The analysis of collected data allows one to conclude that the process of religious pluralization currently in course in Brazil tends to continue. On the other hand, it also reveals questions that still remain to be answered about the changes in major religious groups in the country, their relations with each other, their internal tensions, and their interactions with Brazilian state.

Keywords: Religion; Brazil; Society; 2010 Census; Secularism.

1. Overall View and Objectives

Brazilian society in the last thirty years have been one of the most dynamic and complex ones when it comes to religion. Although for more than three hundred years during colonial time only Catholics were allowed in the colony, state secularization in the aftermath of proclamation of republic (1889) triggered a process of religious pluralization that reached its peak at the end of the twentieth century and is still going on nowadays. In face of such complexity, it is a challenge for any researcher to have in mind a picture wide enough to draw some conclusions from it and that at the same time points out to more deepened studies, especially for the ones outside social sciences, like jurists, philosophers, historians etc.

The goal of this paper is to provide an overview of the current predicament of Religion in Brazilian Society. To do so, it will be used data from demographic censuses, specially the last one (2010) — that will serve as a structuring guide to the text — and more recent studies. It is intended to trace a profile of recent changes and current predicament of Brazilian society when it comes to religion, with a special focus on major religious confessions, demanding from readers only a minimal previous knowledge about contemporary Brazilian society. The analysis of collected data allows one to conclude that the process of religious pluralization currently in course in Brazil tends to continue. On the other hand, it also reveals questions that still remain to be answered about the changes in major religious groups in the country, their relations with each other, their internal tensions, and their more or less intense relations with Brazilian state. Is it intended to provide to foreign and Brazilian researchers (especially the ones outside social sciences) a good first reading about this issue, not only providing them with some indications for more deepened studies but also allowing them to draw some primary conclusions from it?

2. Methodological Remarks

First of all, it is important to keep in mind two methodological limitations of the data gathering process in Brazilian Censuses, our main guides here. The first one is about the instructions given to the Census workers when it comes to how to interview people about religious affiliation.

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According IBGE's² Manual of the Census Worker, Census workers are to ask a specific question: "What is your religion or cult?" After that, they are to register the answer, being forbidden by the Manual to register vague ones, which do not contain precise information about the specific religious organization to which the interviewed person is affiliated (BRAZIL 2010a). However, since the question "What is your religion or cult?" is (for Brazilian standards) in itself a vague question, it is liable to have vague answers for it. In addition, things get worse when one considers that the Manual strictly forbids the Census worker to guide the interviewed person to a specific answer, allowing him only, at most, to repeat the question (GRACINO JUNIOR 2012). This problem, that from now on will be named "the vagueness problem", have been pointed out by researchers as a real challenge to a true correspondence between the Censuses data and social reality, and interferes with some important data about how Brazilian society moves on in the religious field.

The second observation reflects the fact that nowadays most residences remain with at most one person during daytime, since people need to work or study. So what should be a self-declaration often becomes an "alter-declaration" in which the interviewed person ends up answering for other family members (ROCHA and ZORZIN 2012). This problem, that will be named "the alter-declaration problem", has obvious implications in the field of religious affiliation. Alter-declaring can give answers that differ from the ones people themselves would do, especially if they profess different beliefs. That may also happen in cases of people which profess socially stigmatized religions or even due to sheer ignorance of the interviewed person. Both of these problems will pose great challenges for many points of our analysis.

3. Analysis

3.1 Catholics

The first data to be stressed in the 2010 Census is in fact the recurrence of a trend already verified in previous Censuses: the constant reduction on the rate of Catholics in the overall population. In comparison with the previous Census, the rate of Catholics decreased from 73, 30% to 64, 29%, what repeats a constant trend during the last decades, as can be checked in Table I. Some observations about the current predicament of Catholics in Brazil are necessary. First of all, it should be stressed that although the decrease of percentage of Catholics over the last decades is impressive, they are still more than 120.000.000 people are, the vast majority of the population (BRAZIL, 2010b). Brazil still has the largest amount of Catholics in the world. However, in the 2010 Census, for the first time the number of Catholics did not only decreased in percentage but also in absolute numbers (minus 2.000.000 people in comparison to the previous Census) (PIERUCCI 2012). Those points out to the conclusion that the efforts carried out by the Church over the last decades to stop the decrease of its believers were unsuccessful.

Several hypotheses have been posed to explain the decreasing percentage of Catholics in Brazilian population, and a deeper profile analysis points out to some of them. An important aspect is the income factor. The Catholic population reaches its highest percentages in economic classes A, B (the highest ones) and E (the lowest one). Nevertheless, this last one has been showing the highest loss (NERI 2011). Another factor that has been frequently pointed out by researchers is related to migratory fluxes. Indeed, the loss of Catholics is more acute in sites of recent occupation and less acute where the occupation is old. Even inside a same city, areas of older occupation remain more Catholic than their newer correlates. These data have been leading researchers (GRACINO JUNIOR 2012; ANTONIAZI 2004; NERI and MELO 2011) to point out the loss of communitarian bonds as an important "descatholization" factor, leading people to either reestablish such bonds in other confessions (specially Evangelical ones) or to abandon religion altogether. Steil and Toniol have ascribed such descatholization to a complex conjunction of factors (STEIL and TONIOL 2013). Such conjunction has also been pointed out by other researchers, and might be the strongest force in action in the Brazilian religious field nowadays.

The first element of this conjunction is the fact that there is a masculine majority in Brazilian Catholicism, what goes against the feminine majority observed among adherents of other religions. Considering the great religious groups surveyed by the 2010 Census, the only other case of a masculine majority is among people with no religious affiliation (NERI 2011b).

² Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics, which carries out the Censuses.

Since the 1980 Census showed a feminine majority in Catholicism, it can be concluded from those data that among people who leave Catholicism men tend to abandon religion altogether, while other data show that women tend to become evangelical (STEIL and TONIOL 2013). One does not know exactly why the destination of people which abandon Catholicism is influenced by the gender factor. Steil and Toniol pose the hypothesis that feminine emancipation has empowered women, which would not be willing to follow a patriarchal religion. However, Pentecostal Evangelicals, the main destination of such women, do not seem less patriarchal. Maybe the causes for abandoning Catholicism act almost equally over both sexes, the difference being that men are led to abandon religion altogether, while women, historically more religious in Brazilian population, adopt other confessions, specially evangelical ones (NERI 2011b).

But the reversion of the ratio between sexes within Catholicism over the last decades shows that the feminine abandonment was higher (STEIL and TONIOL 2013). To our purposes, it is worthwhile to keep in mind that women have been historically responsible for children's religious education in Brazil. It was a popular, affective, and a little superstitious Catholicism, often condemned by the Church in the past. However, such initial religious education has taught children the basic concepts of Catholic faith over which catechesis would act later, carrying out religious instruction in a more formal way. Deprived from such initiation, even children who get to the catechesis would not be effectively taught the Church's doctrinarian teachings anymore. In addition, that in turn would steal from Catholicism the social conditions to perpetuate itself (STEIL and TONIOL 2013). If one joins to this the gradual but continuous process of secularization which takes places in Brazilian state, and the contemporarily widespread notion that sees adherence to a religion as a personal choice attached to individual spiritual satisfaction (not anymore as kind of family cultural heritage) (MARIANO 2013), the result is the gradual dissolution of what Clara Mafra named "long lasting Catholic culture" that is, a Brazilian *Weltanschauung* in which cultural national features and Catholic religion were amalgamated. If such thesis is in fact true, urgent questions are posed for researchers of religion in Brazil (MAFRA 2013).

When it comes to political action, the Church, like in the past 120 years, continues to defend the adoption by the Brazilian state of its values in different realms of the public sphere, with good and bad aspects. The defense of its conception of human dignity, for instance, makes it an important defender of human rights in a country in which they are violated in a daily basis, but also a strong political player against laws concerning abortion, gay marriage, and stem cells research. Despite such Catholic pressure, Brazilian Supreme Court in the last years has widened the cases in which the former is legally permitted and approved the other two. However, such political action by the Church may be interpreted as an attempt to impose its moral code to the totality of Brazilian population through the use of coercive state structure. That has putting the Church in a collision course with intellectuals and associations in civil society, especially feminist and LGBT movements (AZEVEDO 2004; NATIVIDADE e OLIVEIRA, 2007)³.

Following the principles of the Second Vatican Council, which established ecumenism as a guideline (ANDRADE 2008), the Church relations to other religious confessions has been of cordiality, except for its minoritarian ultraconservatives sectors or rare subtle criticisms to Evangelicals. Both with Kardecism (its target in the twentieth century) and Afro-Brazilian religions (with whom it has an historical debt⁴) the relation nowadays is friendly. There are even famous cases of syncretism cults in the state of Bahia (RABELO 2014). In the (false) Brazilian social imaginary⁵ which sees the country as a land in which all religions coexist and have always coexisted in peace, the Catholic Church, at least at the social level (although not at the political one, as we saw), is finally finding its place, after centuries of intolerance.

3.2 Evangelicals

The second aspect to draw attention in the last Census is also a recurrence: the rise of the percentage of Evangelicals, as can be seen in Table 2. First of all, it is necessary to stress how impressive such rise is. There is no precedent in Brazilian History of any religion (excluding Catholicism) to reach more than one fifth of the country's population, or to almost quadruplicate its percentage over only thirty years.

³ It should be stressed, however, the fact that some minoritarian sectors of the clergy defend, albeit in private, the end of the conception that sees homosexuality as a sin (NATIVIDADE e OLIVEIRA 2007).

⁴ Such religions were brought to Brazil by African slaves. During colonial time their cult by the slaves was prohibited by the Church, and they only survived through syncretism with the Catholic symbolic universe.

⁵ For the concept of "social imaginary", see TAYLOR 2004, chapter 2.

Once again, several sociological explanations try to clarify such expansion, often relating it to the decrease of Catholicism and to the profile of Evangelical people that emerges from the Census. For example, their increase is more accelerated among the poorest and the least educated. In addition, once again, the migratory factor seems to play a role here, favoring the Evangelical rise in recently occupied states, cities, and neighborhoods. That reinforces the hypothesis that, once in a new social environment and deprived from their traditionally religiously structured communitarian bounds, people who abandon Catholicism tend to remake such bounds in Evangelical denominations (in the case of women) or to abandon institutionalized religion altogether (in the case of men) (MARIZ 2012; NERI 2011b; PRANDI 1990).

However, despite such astonishing growth, some data in the Census seem to indicate deep internal changes in this group. On the one hand, it should be noticed the considerable loss of adherents by major denominations, like the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God, The Christian Congregation in Brazil and the House of Blessing Church. On the other hand, there is a modest growth in Assemblies of God, which nevertheless must be tempered by the fact that such denomination is in fact a generic name to a number of small churches scattered throughout Brazil, locally managed in a decentralized way. In addition, most of all, it must be stressed the growth of the so called “Evangelicals with undefined denomination”, that are nowadays almost 25% of this group, what places them as the second largest Evangelical subgroup in the country (ANDRADE and MENEZES 2013; MARIANO 2013).

Such change may be a deep transformation in the Evangelical field in the country, and precisely for this reason researchers have been trying to formulate hypotheses to explain it. One of them is related to what I called the “vagueness problem”: led by a vague question, many would tend to answer the question “What is your religion or cult?” with a vague answer (simply “Evangelical”), what would wrongly include them in the category of “Evangelicals with undefined denomination”. Mariano poses this hypothesis due to the fact that the schooling and income profiles of this subgroup match the average of the Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal⁶ ones (the largest groups). He suggests that both subgroups were roughly equally affected by the problem (GRACINO JUNIOR 2012; MARIANO 2013). That might help explaining at least in part the decreasing numbers of great denominations. Besides, such factor may be accompanied by the fact that some of them are stigmatized among Evangelical themselves, what in theory could lead to what I named “alter-declaration problem”, or even to a vague self-declaration (ANDRADE and MENEZES 2013).

When it comes to social and political action, Evangelicals are no doubt the main challenge to the issue of how the correlation pluralist society/secular state must be understood in Brazil nowadays. Their actions against other religious groups and in society in general have been, it must be acknowledged, the main sources of conflict in the religious field in the country. Moreover, such activism is also felt in the form of political pressure against different realms of the three branches of Brazilian state. However, it is necessary to stress how heterogeneous this group is. In the multitude of new denominations that appear every day the most different doctrinaire positions may be found, ranging from issues like homosexuality, the legitimacy of political action by the churches and how their relation to other religions must be understood. Such differences are so great (lead in some cases to conflicts among denominations) that Pedro Ribeiro Oliveira suggests the abolition of the term “Evangelical” in favor of an analysis of each denomination separately, at least in the case of the major ones (OLIVEIRA 2003). Therefore, one cannot start from generalist assumptions to explain the thought and actions of this group in its totality.

That being said, we can start with caution. In social action, it must be stressed that some denominations since their very beginning made the demonization of other religions part of their doctrine and their expansion strategy. The most emblematic case, but not the only one, is the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (from now on, only “Universal”). Since its very beginning, in 1977, it have made the so called “holy war” part of its doctrinaire pillars, having as a preferential target the symbolic universe of Afro-Brazilian religions, even though in a much smaller scale it also attacks Kardecism and Catholicism. Since other denominations have done the same, cases of severe religious intolerance from the part of Pentecostal and Neo-Pentecostal churches to Afro-Brazilian religions have occurred in the last decades with a certain frequency. This issue will be briefly discussed soon.

⁶ While Pentecostal churches in Brazil follow roughly the same doctrinaire lines as their American counterparts, Neo-Pentecostal ones, created in the 70s, are marked by corporate managing, strong presence of exorcisms and wide presence in the media.

When it comes to political action, Evangelicals have been able to elect parliamentary benches in different legislative spaces throughout the country. Until now, the benches were unable to get the final approval of any of its main bills at the Federal level, although they are already strong enough to block the ones to which they are against. But if one considers its growing number and power, it will most likely happen in the near future. When it does, judicial battles are expected in the Federal Supreme Court (STF, Brazilian Supreme Court). Such Court has so far been adopting a liberal position, leading it to frequently clash against the view of Brazil's major Christian religious organizations (TADWALD 2015). It should also be noticed another form of political action by the Evangelical bench: the attempt, emulating Catholic Church's political action, to merge the boundaries between state and religion. Many Bills, Acts, Decrees, and Executive Actions throughout Brazil may be fitted into this category.

3.3 Kardecists

A third element brought by the 2010 Census is a certain rise in the percentage of Kardecism, a spiritist religion that believes in reincarnation, which was born in France in the XIX century but that flourished in Brazil, as shown by Table 3. Researchers have ascribed such rise to two causes: the exhibition of films linked to the Kardecist thematic in Brazilian movies by the time of the Census and the orientation that the Brazilian Spiritist Federation (FEB) gave to its adherents to declare themselves as "Kardecists" in the Census, in order to avoid the vagueness problem and to reach a more precise (and higher) number (MARIANO 2013; BRAZIL 2011).

When it comes to the profile of Kardecists nowadays, one can perceive that the higher the income and schooling, the higher their percentage. It should be also stressed the fact that it is much more widespread among older people than among younger ones, what may eventually bring it future problems when it comes to generational succession (NERI 2011; ANTONIAZZI 2004).

In social action, Kardecists have long been adopting a traditional charity work, which grants them a good reputation in overall Brazilian society. In the political realm, they have long been favoring the adoption of a mode of total separation between State and religious organizations, what also applies to recent cases (CUNHA 2008).

3.4 Afro-Brazilian Religions

When it comes to Afro-Brazilian religions (mainly Umbanda and Candomblé), 2010 Census shows a virtual stagnation, like Table 4 shows. The low percentage of the overall population to self-declare as adherents of Afro-Brazilian religions is a classic study field in Brazilian sociology of religion, since it is a consensus among researchers that those numbers are underestimated. Researchers ascribe such fact to the pervasive "long lasting Catholic culture" that would lead people from those religions to self-declare as Catholics, since such religions are heavily syncretized with Catholicism in their symbolic elements. Another hypothesis reflects the historic social prejudice and marginalization against such religions to explain their low numbers. One can also assume that the problems of vagueness and alter-declaration might play a role here. Inquired by a vague question, many could answer "Spiritist", since many indeed consider themselves as such. Besides, adherents of such Religions which are absent from home when the Census worker conducts the interview may be wrongly registered as belonging to other religions, a possibility associated with the other abovementioned causes (ANTONIAZZI 2004; JORGE and RIVAS 2012; PRANDI 1990).

Regarding the profile of their adherents, one can notice a shift over the last decades. From a distribution concentrated among the poorest in urban peripheries, one observes an increase in their level of income and schooling (nowadays it is the second major group in schooling level, after Catholics), a process which is still going on. That has led to tensions inside these religious communities, since older members resent the high status of the newer ones, which have a higher level of education and master theoretical culture (it is worthwhile noticing that in such religions knowledge about ancient magic is power...) (PRANDI 1990). When it comes to the contact of their adherents with the followers of other religions, Evangelical attacks have been making the relation between both faiths more and more filled with tension. Situations like verbal offenses, physical aggressions, invasion of temples, and destruction of sacred images and disturbance of cults have been frequent, and are consistently destroying the base of coexistence among religions that was built in Brazil over the last decades⁷.

⁷ The idyllic self-view of Brazil as a country where all religions have always coexisted in peace and harmony is historically false. However, one can consider that during the brief period of time between the end of Catholic and state persecution to Kardecism and Afro-Brazilian Religions (in the 60s) and the exponential growth of evangelical denominations there was

That has had important consequences for the relation between those two confessions, since churches like Universal have systematically attacking them (PRANDI 1990; ORO 2007; SILVA 2007). At the mass media level, one has observed a shift on the profile of the attacks. For example, since its foundation, Universal had been using the symbols and the vocabulary of Afro-Brazilian religions in its TV shows in a demonized way (associating it with evil entities and witchcraft). Such vocabulary, however, was suppressed in the last years thanks to the protests of associations in civil society. The attacks nevertheless continue, but now on an encrypted language (using “house of spirits” instead of “terreiro”, the name of the temples of such religions, for example) whose real meaning is readily recognized by their target public (SILVA 2007; ORO 2007). To get things worse, the political power gathered by denominations through the formation of Evangelical benches in different realms of the legislative branch in Brazil has also allowed them to attack at the juridical and legal sphere (TADWALD 2015).

Such attacks certainly have brought unacceptable suffering for the adherents of such religions. However, it is worthwhile noticing that, besides these effects, such wave of intolerance has also brought positive consequences. Face of the growing power of Evangelical denominations, “terriers” (until recent times disperse, decentralized, and even contestant temples) have been uniting in associations. Moreover, academic, juridical, and social organizations (including other religious confessions) have been joining them. The fruits of such union are the creation of taskforces, educational campaigns, and judicial actions in order to protect the fundamental rights of their adherents. The recent intensification of attacks has finally made Brazilian society to be aware (although gradually) of the problem of religious intolerance and to try to deal with it (JORGE and RIVAS 2012; PRANDI 1990; ORO 2007). From the point of view of its political action, adherents of Afro-Brazilian religions, with few exceptions, have been avoiding (or not being able) to defend themselves through the election of members to the legislative branch (ORO 2007). In general, their defense is carried out through judicial actions, often with the help of ecumenical groups or other associations in civil society. The judicial sentences have in most of times favored them.

Moreover, they are typically Brazilian religions, are historically and until nowadays victims of intolerance, and have been among the few to openly accept homosexuals. This set of features have been attracting to them the sympathy of social movements, leftwing political parties and intellectuals, which in turn has allowed them to defend themselves more efficiently in the different realms of Brazilian public sphere (NATIVIDADE and OLIVEIRA 2007).

3.5 People with undefined religious affiliation

A percentage that has been growing in the last Censuses is the one related to people with undefined religious affiliation, as can be verified in Table 5. First of all, one thing should be notice: when the first results of the last Census came to fore Brazilian media has paid great attention to the fact that the percentage of people with no religious affiliation has reached 8% of the overall population. However, Table 5 shows that what has actually occurred was a decrease in the (impressive) growing rate that was verified between the 1990 and 2000 Censuses (from 4,7% to 7,4%).

The profile analysis of this group reveals some of the most surprising data of the Census. Regarding people with no religious affiliation, for example, although there is a relatively high percentage among economic classes A and B (the highest ones) the vast majority of them are at class E. They are young, male, and live in distant peripheries of big cities, with very low income and schooling levels. A profile in stark contrast with the widespread idea in Brazil that the lack of religiosity is a luxury that only the most wealthy and educated may enjoy, and that tears down the myth which says that the poorest are more religious (ANTONIAZZI 2004; MARIANO 2013; NERI and MELO 2011, MAFRA 2013). The most accepted hypothesis for the growth of this group in the last twenty years is related to the migratory factor, as we saw. Isolated in distant peripheries of big cities which are not their homeland and deprived from the religiously structured communitarian bounds, men would tend to abandon religion, while women would tend to remake such bonds in evangelical communities. According to this hypothesis, such factor would be reinforced by the contemporary notion that sees religious affiliation as a subjective choice (ANTONIAZZI 2004; MARIANO 2013; MARIZ 2013; NERI and MELO 2011).

indeed some decades of relative peace for such religions and for overall society, even though prejudice and minor cases of intolerance have never ceased completely.

In terms of social and political action, contact with other religious groups and to overall society, there is not many data about the behavior of this group, something which is aggravated by the fact that probably the analysis of no other major group is more affected by the vagueness problem. In face of the question “What is your religion or cult?”, answering “none” may mean a wide range of positions. Therefore, any attempt to formulate a more deepened analysis is severely limited, although recent qualitative studies have shown that the majority in this group believe in God (VIEIRA 2015).

A good example of such difficulty is the one regarding people with more than one religion. In such a syncretized country like Brazil, only 15.379 people declare to have more than one religious affiliation. Once more, the vagueness problem seems to prevent more deepened analyses, since face of a question made in the singular (“What is your religion or cult?”), one feels expected to also answer in the singular. People who attend to more than one religious cult, but that somehow feel more connected to one of them tend to declare only the one to which they most indentify with. That makes very difficult for researchers to determine if the myth that regards Brazil as the syncretized country *par excellence* is really true. As one can see, there is still much to be known about the growth of the percentage of this group. Further studies will be necessary to bridge such gaps.

4. Final Remarks

As one can see, it emerges from the 2010 Census a complex profile of Brazilian society, especially in the field analyzed here. Religions, religiosities, and non-religiosity move all the time in a flux whose systematic description (especially such a brief one, as the attempted here) will inevitably have some degree of simplification. However, the picture described here already provides us with enough elements to reach our objectives in this paper. It is hard to believe that the process of pluralization in the religious field in Brazil will stop. Some remarks and most of all some questions may nevertheless be posed about the future of religion in Brazil.

Indeed, such questions abound. About Catholics, will they manage to stop the decrease in their numbers? What will be the impact of the rise of pedophilia cases, the World Youth Day in Rio de Janeiro (2013), and the election of the first Latin-American Pope, who is extremely charismatic and (apparently) revisionist? Will the “long lasting catholic culture” resist to the religious pluralism, the growing state secularization, and the contemporary notion that conceives religion as an individual choice? Would Evangelicals be close to reach the limits of their growth? Will their more radical leaders continue to attack other religions, especially Afro-Brazilian ones?

Alternatively, will they integrate better to the pluralist ecumenism which has been the main feature of the relation among other religions in Brazil over the past decades? In issues like homosexuality, how will they proceed (a pertinent question also to be posed for Catholics)? Regarding political activism, will they retreat and accept a more separatist conception for the secular state, or will they continue to try to impose their convictions to the overall population? Will Kardecists reverse the lack of interest for their doctrine by the youngest, or will they eventually decay due to their inability to convert the new generations? Face of the growing political power gathered by Evangelicals, will they keep their historic defense of a separatist conception of secular state? Will Afro-Brazilian religions resist the attacks? May the union of their leaders and other religious prominent figures decrease the prejudice and the marginalization against them? Which profile will further studies reveal about people with undefined religious affiliation? As one can see, questions abound and the answers are not clear, and due to that, further studies and the 2020 Census are greatly expected. These are interesting times for religion in Brazil.

Tables List

Table 1 – Percentage of Catholics in Brazilian population in the last four Censuses

Year	Percentage
1980	89,00%
1990	83,30%
2000	73,90%
2010	64,29%

Sources: ANDRADE e MENEZES 2013; ANTONIAZZI, 2004.

Table 2 – Percentage of Evangelicals in Brazilian population in the last four Censuses

Year	Percentage
1980	6,60%
1990	9,00%
2000	15,60%
2010	22,20%

Sources: ANDRADE and MENEZES 2013; ANTONIAZZI 2004

Table 3 - Percentage of Kardecists in Brazilian population in the last two Censuses

Year	Percentage
2000	1,30%
2010	2,00%

Source: ANDRADE and MENEZES 2013.

Table 4 - Percentage of adherents of Afro-Brazilian Religions in Brazilian population in the last four Censuses

Year	Percentage
1980	0,57%
1990	0,44%
2000	0,34%
2010	0,3%

Source: JORGE and RIVAS 2012

Table 5 - Percentage of people with no religious affiliation in Brazilian population in the last four Censuses

Year	Percentage
1980	1,60%
1990	4,70%
2000	7,40%
2010	8,00%

Sources: ANDRADE and MENEZES 2013; ANTONIAZZI 2004

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