

Christian Symbology in *Vogue Portugal* and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion

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Abstract

Religion has been known to constrain its members' desires and thoughts, as well as to control their physical bodies through clothing (Arthur, 1999; 2000), creating rules and inscriptions of particular significance to female bodies that not only carry social meanings but can also be used as evidence of how a specific individual is (or not) on the “right and true path”. The fact that Portugal was born as a Catholic country remained culturally relevant throughout its history, evident in the prevalence of Catholic references, the lack of religious diversity and the difficulty, until the second half of the 20th century, of separating Church and State. Addressing areas such as the theory, sociology, and theology of clothing, alongside gender studies and consumer behaviour, this thesis explores how religious beliefs and cultural practices influence contemporary Portuguese women's fashion choices and how Christian symbolism is represented in 21st-century media culture, with a specific focus on *Vogue Portugal*. Employing a mixed-methods approach, the research combines the following: a detailed analysis of 241 *Vogue Portugal* issues published between 2002 and 2024, an online survey of 469 Christian women in Portugal, as well as in-depth interviews with 33 Christian women from various denominations, and four experts in the fields of fashion and religion. Findings reveal a significant and increasing presence of Christian references in the magazine, often appropriated for aesthetic or critical purposes, rather than strictly religious ones, which might reflect a secularisation trend while still acknowledging Catholicism's enduring cultural impact in the country's visual culture. The study also demonstrates that, while fundamentalist interpretations of modesty in dress are not widely adhered to among Portuguese Christian women, religiosity significantly influences these women's fashion choices, particularly concerning modesty and their perception of the appropriateness of the use of religious symbols in fashion design. This thesis contributes significantly to the underexplored intersection of fashion and religion in Portugal, highlighting the dynamic interplay between cultural heritage, media representation and individual expressions of faith.

Keywords

Fashion Theology, Religion, Christian Symbolology, Catholic Imagery, Modesty, *Vogue Portugal*

Resumo Alargado

Tendo em conta o contexto histórico português, no qual se consolidaram ideais de modéstia feminina associados a um catolicismo antiliberal, a presente tese investiga se, e de que forma, esses valores continuam a manifestar-se no modo de vestir de mulheres cristãs na atualidade, cinquenta anos após o fim da ditadura, entendida como enquadramento do contexto sociocultural português. Assim, a investigação parte do pressuposto de que o vestuário não é apenas uma escolha prática ou estética, mas um símbolo cultural que molda e expressa identidades, tradições e formas de estar no mundo por parte de quem segue uma determinada fé.

Embora considere a influência prolongada da moral judaico-cristã e da respeitabilidade vitoriana na moda ocidental (Craik, 1994), a revisão da literatura foca-se sobretudo na tensão entre o vestuário religioso como expressão espiritual e a sua apropriação pela indústria da moda. A modéstia é, aqui, entendida não como um valor fixo, mas como uma noção socialmente construída que oscila entre ocultação e exposição, podendo funcionar tanto como crítica à moda hipersexualizada quanto como continuação de tradições religiosas.

Este estudo examina a persistência da modéstia e a reinterpretação de símbolos cristãos na moda e nos *media* seculares, sendo que a questão central da investigação consiste em perceber como o cristianismo influencia a cultura da moda e a forma como as mulheres cristãs se vestem em Portugal. Assim, a tese contribui para as discussões académicas sobre a relação entre moda e religião, analisando de que forma a influência cristã se manifesta na maneira de vestir de mulheres portuguesas (ou residentes em Portugal), e como o cristianismo é representado nas páginas da *Vogue Portugal*, utilizada como caso de estudo – partindo da abordagem de Neal (2019), que centrou o seu estudo na *Vogue* dos Estados Unidos da América, inspirou parte da metodologia desta investigação, e defende que as revistas de moda, enquanto fontes primárias, revelam os valores, ideais e propostas estéticas que a indústria da moda deseja transmitir ao seu público.

Os objetivos específicos da investigação incluem os seguintes elementos: identificar diferenças entre denominações, analisar perceções do conceito de modéstia no contexto português, observar indícios de influência religiosa na moda e comparar o caso português com outras realidades internacionais. O enquadramento teórico assenta em estudos sobre moda e modéstia nas tradições abraâmicas, recorrendo ao trabalho de autoras como Lynne Hume (2013) e Linda B. Arthur (1999; 2000), que exploram o modo

como a roupa expressa identidade e crença religiosa. A modéstia cristã é, também, abordada através de textos de líderes religiosos, teólogos (Ambrosio, 2020, 2022; Covolo, 2020), passagens bíblicas (como 1 Timóteo 2:9-10) e contributos históricos e sociológicos sobre o modo de vestir dos cristãos (Morgan, 2025; Michelman, 1998; Dwyer-McNulty, 2014; Entwistle, 2000).

A metodologia adotada segue um paradigma interpretativista com recurso a métodos mistos, articulando componentes qualitativas e quantitativas. Foram recolhidos dados através dos seguintes métodos: entrevistas a quatro especialistas nas áreas da religião, sociologia e/ou moda; da análise de conteúdo de 241 edições da *Vogue Portugal* publicadas entre 2002 e 2024, de modo a identificar e analisar referências cristãs; e de um inquérito *online* realizado a 469 mulheres residentes em Portugal e que se identificam como cristãs. Além disso, foram realizadas entrevistas semiestruturadas com 33 mulheres cristãs, pertencentes a diferentes denominações e graus de religiosidade, com o objetivo de compreender de forma aprofundada as suas experiências e visões sobre a relação entre fé e a roupa. Assim, o foco recai sobre a moda enquanto prática quotidiana de vestir, e não necessariamente sobre a indústria da moda. A opção de centrar parte da investigação nas escolhas de vestuário das mulheres decorre do facto de estas, historicamente, terem sido alvo de maior escrutínio e restrição através de normas de género perpetuadas pela Igreja, que frequentemente atribuiu um papel central à aparência feminina, regulando-a através de códigos de modéstia que, na maior parte das vezes, não têm equivalência direta para os homens.

A análise de conteúdo revelou que 171 das 241 edições da *Vogue Portugal* incluíam referências cristãs, com um crescimento assinalável a partir de 2018. Os elementos visuais mais frequentes foram cruzeiros, pinturas sacras e cenários como igrejas, acompanhados de inúmeras referências textuais a temas como o Éden ou o Pecado Original. Estas referências surgiram ao longo de todo o ano e não se limitaram às edições associadas a feriados religiosos (como a Páscoa e o Natal), ao contrário do que fora observado por Neal (2019).

No inquérito, a maioria das participantes identificou-se como católica (66,7%), seguida por evangélicas e outras denominações protestantes (19,8%). A maioria (60%) não considerou que o vestuário cristão deva excluir necessariamente roupas reveladoras, embora as participantes mais religiosas e mais jovens expressassem opiniões mais conservadoras (49,8% das mulheres entre os 18 e os 29 anos concordaram com evitar roupas reveladoras). Verificou-se, ainda, uma rejeição generalizada da ideia de que a modéstia deva estender-se à presença nas redes sociais, ainda que, mais uma vez, as participantes mais jovens tenham demonstrado maior abertura para esta possibilidade.

Contrariamente ao que se previa, não foi encontrada uma correlação forte entre modéstia e variáveis como contexto urbano ou nível de escolaridade, possivelmente devido a uma falta de diversidade neste sentido dentro da amostra. Adicionalmente, as opiniões dividiram-se quanto à presença de símbolos religiosos na moda, existindo quem os valorizasse como expressão artística significativa e quem os considerasse desadequados ou desrespeitosos.

Nas entrevistas, várias mulheres afirmaram considerar o modo de vestir uma expressão da sua fé, e referiram o corpo como um “templo” (em referência a 1 Coríntios 6:19-20). Algumas entrevistadas partilharam experiências passadas de pressão para se vestirem de forma mais modesta, mas descreveram as diretrizes atuais como não repressivas. Em geral, as interpretações da modéstia variaram entre leituras literais das escrituras e compreensões mais simbólicas. Mencionaram-se, no entanto, conceitos como a responsabilização feminina por pensamentos e ações masculinas, relacionadas com o vestuário revelador por parte das mulheres, bem como modéstia religiosa associada a simplicidade, ética e caridade. O uso de símbolos cristãos foi frequentemente associado a intenções conscientes, sendo criticada a sua apropriação superficial ou desrespeitosa (com casos como os de Madonna ou Lil Nas X sendo referidos pelas participantes). Ainda assim, quando utilizados com ponderação e respeito, os símbolos foram geralmente aceites.

Relativamente às entrevistas com especialistas, Anna-Mari Almila observou que a utilização ou apropriação de iconografia cristã no design de moda integra uma tendência mais ampla de estetização da religião em si, e Lynn S. Neal alertou para a possibilidade de diluição simbólica quando estes elementos são comercializados, mas que, a inclusão destes elementos pela indústria significa que ainda são relevantes e que existe um público para os mesmos, caso contrário, as marcas deixariam de fazer estas alusões. Por outro lado, Robert Covolo sugeriu que as diretrizes bíblicas sobre o vestir se centram mais na construção de identidade do que na modéstia em si, enquanto que Marina Seibert Cezar destacou que a modéstia é, acima de tudo, “uma maneira da sua portadora conseguir reportar um dos seus valores morais mais marcantes”, ao se apresentar perante os seus pares e a sociedade em geral.

Posteriormente, a discussão contrapõe a iconofilia católica à iconoclastia protestante e aponta marcas como Dolce & Gabbana e Versace como recorrentes na exploração de referências católicas, o que pode gerar controvérsia quando o sentido espiritual ou as motivações dessas escolhas não são evidentes. Em Portugal, designers como Nuno Gama e marcas como a BÉHEN têm, também, recuperado elementos de práticas católicas (como terços e procissões), ligando à identidade religiosa nacional. No

meio cristão, são frequentes produtos como as pulseiras “The Four” (mencionadas nas entrevistas por jovens evangélicas) e foi identificada a marca católica “Valha-me Deus”, sugerindo o surgimento de marcas religiosas que, além de incluírem símbolos e frases alusivas à religião, são comercializadas por praticantes da religião e têm como público-alvo outros membros da sua fé.

Em conclusão, o Cristianismo continua a influenciar a cultura da moda em Portugal, visto que, não só a *Vogue Portugal* tem incluído cada vez mais referências cristãs nas suas páginas, mas também, para muitas mulheres, o ato de vestir mantém-se como uma expressão pessoal e comunitária de fé, sendo a modéstia percebida como um valor dinâmico e sensível ao contexto. Embora o uso de símbolos religiosos na moda possa gerar polémica, sobretudo quando desprovido de significado, nota-se a existência de um interesse por propostas que reflitam valores e crenças cristãs, tanto em Portugal como noutros contextos.

Por fim, as limitações deste estudo incluem a ausência de entrevistas com editores da *Vogue Portugal* e a falta de perspetivas de grupos como a comunidade cigana e emigrantes de outras regiões da América Latina ou África (visto que as participantes brasileiras mostraram uma maior pressão para aderir a conceitos de modéstia cristã em igrejas predominantemente brasileiras), bem como de freiras, cristãs ortodoxas e membros da Igreja de Jesus Cristo dos Santos dos Últimos Dias. Além de colmatar as limitações do presente estudo, pesquisas futuras poderão, entre outras oportunidades, aprofundar o papel editorial da *Vogue Portugal*, comparar o uso internacional de símbolos cristãos noutros países (ou mesmo de símbolos de outras religiões, como o Islão) ou ainda explorar o contributo de *influencers* religiosos na forma como as mulheres cristãs se vestem e comunicam a sua fé através da moda.

Palavras-chave

Teologia da Moda, Religião, Simbologia Cristã, Imaginário Católico, Modéstia, *Vogue Portugal*

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List of Abbreviations

ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
APA	American Psychological Association
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BNP	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal
CE-UBI	Comissão de Ética - Universidade da Beira Interior [Ethics Committee - University of Beira Interior]
CLIE	Consentimento Livre, Informado e Esclarecido [Free, Informed and Explicit Consent]
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
FC	Football Club
FLDS	Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints
GBU	Grupo Bíblico Universitário [University Bible Group]
GRWM	Get Ready With Me
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística [National Institute of Statistics]
IURD	Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus [Universal Church of the Kingdom of God]
JMJ	Jornada Mundial da Juventude [World Youth Day]
JW	Jehovah's Witness(es)
LDS	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
LGBTQ+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer/Questioning, and others
MET	The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MNAA	Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga [National Museum of Ancient Art]
MSG	The Message: The Bible in Contemporary Language
MUDE	Museu do Design [Design Museum]
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
PDF	Portable Document Format
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
TLC	The Learning Channel
TV	Television
UBI	Universidade da Beira Interior
UK	United Kingdom
UMinho	Universidade do Minho
US/USA	United States of America

1. Introduction

1.1. Background & Context

Why are fashion and religion so often perceived, by academics, believers, and the fashion industry alike, as opposing forces? While fashion is frequently associated with ephemerality and constant change, religion is traditionally linked to continuity and tradition (Steele, 2012). Yet, despite these contrasts, fashion and religion intersect meaningfully through visual communication and social interaction, both shaping identity, values, and collective belonging. As Roden (2020) notes, although religious traditions often prioritise immaterial spiritual essence over physical form, metaphors of the Divine as clothing highlight the deep entanglement between materiality and faith.

The relationship between fashion and religion spans centuries and, far from being confined to clothing precepts dictated by spiritual traditions, manifests in the appropriation, reinterpretation and integration of religious symbols into contemporary visual culture. In the case of Christianity, this symbolism has been widely explored by designers, brands and fashion publications, emerging both as aesthetic inspiration and as a starting point for deeper reflections on identity, tradition and modernity. In Portugal, where Catholicism has historically played a structuring role in national identity and continues to influence various aspects of cultural and social life, it is not surprising that this presence is also felt in the way fashion is consumed, interpreted and communicated. However, it is also important to acknowledge that Portugal's history is marked by Moorish influences, which have left an imprint on various cultural elements, including dress. For instance, the medieval period saw the integration of Muslim dress practices, as explored in a book chapter by Filomena Barros (2022), a distinguished professor and historian. Thus, by analysing the presence of Christian symbolism in *Vogue Portugal* and how religiosity shapes, more or less consciously, women's clothing choices in the 21st century, this study seeks to understand not only the persistence of certain modesty codes, but also how religious icons are reinterpreted in secular contexts, highlighting the complex relationship between faith, culture and individual expression in contemporary society.

In exploring the intricate relationship between fashion and culture, Jennifer Craik's *The Face of Fashion: Cultural Studies in Fashion* (1994) offers valuable insights into how clothing serves as more than merely a form of personal expression, and provides a valuable lens through which to examine the connection between clothing and identity, particularly within the context of religious, military and legal dress codes. She explains that such attire is often imbued with symbolic meaning, linking it to traditions of

authority, order and hierarchy (Craik, 1994). This concept of clothing as a signifier of power and social structure extends beyond historical contexts, as demonstrated by the example the author gives about the adaptation of clerical robes for women in Australia, which were designed to balance the austerity of religious attire with the conventions of career dress while incorporating elements of high fashion and still signalling the wearer's religious order. The integration of modest features such as collars or high necklines, along with the insignia of office, illustrates how fashion systems interact and compete in the creation of appropriate religious garb, showing how various dress codes work together, not just to meet specific social and job-related roles, but also to reflect wider cultural attitudes.

Furthermore, Craik argues that "Western consumer fashion was shaped by the legacy of Christian morality and Victorian respectability" (Craik, 1994, p. 47), reflecting a history in which clothing acts as a barrier to control and deflect attention from the body. This dynamic, according to the Professor, continues to influence contemporary Western fashion by reinforcing deep-rooted cultural norms:

Modern European fashion has also been characterised by Judeo-Christian attitudes that problematise the relationship of the body to sexual desire. In order to manage attention to the body, and deflect inappropriate sexual desire, dressing presumes that a code of restraint, self-control and 'affect-transformation' is a habit. Western cultures have erected a psychological barrier to nudity that underpins ideas about the body and its habitus. Bodies are regarded as a barrier separating the inner self from the outer world, a relationship articulated through clothes and modes of wearing them (Craik, 1994, p. 12).

To explore fashion's relationship with Christianity and religion, it is crucial to consider the early 20th-century work of George Simmel (2014)¹, whose philosophy of fashion offers key insights into fashion's role as a social phenomenon and construct. Simmel argues that fashion serves as a unique social form in which individual desires for distinction are balanced against societal pressure for conformity. He explains that fashion acts as a tool for both unity and separation within social groups, and highlights how fashion reinforces group identity while excluding those who do not adhere to the

¹ Originally published in German in 1905 as *Philosophie der Mode*.

same codes of appearance. This dynamic is pertinent to religious communities, where dress codes often reflect and reinforce shared values and beliefs.

The philosopher further notes that fashion is “particularly intolerable in areas where only objective decisions should prevail, such as religiosity” (Simmel, 2014, p. 28), implying once more a tension between fashion’s transient nature and the more enduring traditions of religious dress. While religious attire typically adheres to long-established norms, fashion is fluid and often disregards those conventions. Moreover, Simmel’s (2014, p. 39) concept of “individualisation” provides a way to understand how some religious groups may deliberately reject mainstream fashion, adopting modest or distinct forms of dress (such as fossilised² or anti-fashion³) as a statement of moral and spiritual identity:

Blind obedience to general norms in everything external is, for them, the conscious and deliberate means of preserving their sensitivity and personal tastes; they wish to keep these to themselves to such an extent that they oppose any display that would make them accessible to all (Simmel, 2014, p. 47, author's translation).

This rejection of external fashion influences is not a modern phenomenon, as Simmel (2014) references the prophet Zephaniah, who, in the Old Testament, condemned the ostentation of foreign garments⁴, illustrating how concerns over dress as a marker of cultural and spiritual purity have long been present in religious discourse, and how clothing is not only a personal expression but also a form of social belonging and, in some cases, resistance to secular trends.

In examining the role of fashion in modern society during the late 1980s, Lipovetsky (2009)⁵ provides an insightful perspective on how fashion, while seemingly

² Fossilised fashion refers to clothing styles maintained over long periods, often for religious or cultural reasons (e.g. the clothes of the Amish or the Vatican guards). Although these styles appear unchanged, according to Professor Anna-Mari Almila in Appendix G1, they typically undergo subtle updates in materials or details while preserving their traditional appearance.

³ Based on Almila’s explanation (Appendix G1), anti-fashion refers to a conscious stance against fashion, often driven by ethical, environmental, or ideological reasons; unlike non-fashion, which reflects indifference, anti-fashion involves intentional choices (such as wearing old or mended clothes, rejecting trends, or avoiding fast fashion) that critique or resist dominant fashion norms or industry practices.

⁴ “On the day of the LORD’s sacrifice I will punish the officials and the king’s sons and all those clad in foreign clothes.” (Zephaniah 1:8, New International Version)

⁵ Originally published in French in 1987 as *L’Empire de l’éphémère: La mode et son destin dans les sociétés modernes*.

at odds with traditional values, has nevertheless been shaped by them, as he argues that Christianity, which historically stood in opposition to the materialism and vanity of fashion, contributed indirectly to its establishment as a dominant force in modern culture. The French philosopher, sociologist and writer highlights the paradox of religious and aesthetic values, pointing to a shift from religious devotion to the cult of personality and aesthetics:

(...) what transports the fervent is neither a human quality nor a message of salvation, it is the charm of a sublimated and aestheticised image. Worship of personality, not worship of the sacred; aesthetic worship, not archaic worship. Intimate reverie, not transcendent mysticism (Lipovetsky, 2009, author's translation).

The tension between fashion's constant desire for novelty and the moral order's nostalgia is central to Lipovetsky's (2009) analysis, which contrasts the fluid, ever-changing nature of fashion with the conservative moral majority's longing for a return to traditional values, particularly regarding gender, family and religion. Lipovetsky (2009) further argues that the resurgence of religious fundamentalism, often portrayed in the media as a reaction against modernity, is more about "spectacle" than meaningful social change, much like fashion itself, which simultaneously serves as a platform for conservative values while remaining a superficial cultural performance.

In *Fashion & Anti-Fashion: Exploring Adornment and Dress from an Anthropological Perspective* (2011), Ted Polhemus introduces the previously mentioned concept of "anti-fashion," which encompasses all styles of dress that exist outside the structured and commercialised system of seasonal fashion trends, including both traditional and subcultural forms of adornment (using Punk as one of the examples). He notes that even these supposedly stable styles are threatened by "fashionalisation" (Polhemus, 2011, p. 45), a process through which distinctive dress codes are absorbed into the fashion industry and stripped of their original cultural significance. The author further explores the relationship between clothing and social belonging, arguing that "when an individual agrees to identify with and become part of a particular social group, s/he automatically agrees to accept that group's ideas about what constitutes respectable, appropriate attire" which does not necessarily mean that all members dress identically, as variation and personal interpretation still exist within those shared frameworks (Polhemus, 2011, p. 58). However, despite the flexibility allowed within certain dress codes, he emphasises that "ultimate rules of appearance (...) cannot be breached without the violator being ostracised" (Polhemus, 2011, p. 58), a notion that strongly resonates

with religious communities, where clothing often serves as a visible marker of faith and adherence to doctrinal values, and where deviation from prescribed modesty standards can result in social exclusion or moral scrutiny, as mentioned earlier by Simmel (2014). This aligns with Polhemus' discussion of modesty, where one of the key arguments presented is that modesty in dress is not an innate human instinct but rather a learned behaviour shaped by cultural customs, as demonstrated by the vast differences in modesty standards across different societies⁶.

This perspective, while not necessarily explicitly mentioning religious groups, underscores how these dress codes, often presented as timeless and unchanging, are shaped by cultural interpretations of piety and propriety. This leads to the author's assertion that even the smallest of social groups develops a distinct visual identity, as "no matter how small a group is, its members will always attempt to develop a visual style – their “costume” – with which to advertise themselves as a group" (Polhemus, 2011, p. 60), once again illustrating how fashion, whether secular or religious, functions as a crucial marker of collective belonging, while also being subject to external forces that continuously reshape its meaning and significance. While traditional dress or subcultural styles were once tied to specific identities, the author mentions the increasing detachment between appearance and social role which has allowed individuals to adopt the visual language of different personas without necessarily embodying those roles in their actual lives (e.g. non-Catholics wearing rosaries as a fashion statement, as will be mentioned in future chapters), raising questions about authenticity, cultural ownership and the broader implications of fashion's constant reinterpretation of meaning:

When anti-fashions are fashionalized, what semiologists have called 'natural' symbols are transformed into arbitrary signs which are meaningless as isolated images (it being only within the total fashion system that 'natural' meaning can be found). (...) the rise of fashion in the West – and now, increasingly, the spread of fashion to Westernised countries throughout the world – has been marked by a simultaneous increase in the extent to which people no longer look like what they are. There is indeed a certain artificiality in this posing: people, as we have

⁶ “The extreme cross-cultural variability of the expressions of modesty in dress makes it 'perfectly clear that the use of clothing does not rise out of any innate sense of modesty, but that modesty results from customary habits of clothing or ornamentation of the body and its parts'. Surely it would be ridiculous to argue that there is a universal human need for the modest concealment of particular parts of the body, as it preposterously proposes that those who do not cover these parts are not human.” (Polhemus, 2011, p. 22-23)

seen, may dress like soldiers, prostitutes, athletes, flamenco dancers, Peruvian peasants, cowboys, country squires, gangsters or Maoists without in real life being anything of the sort. (Polhemus, 2011, pp. 78-79)

Anti-fashion, as Reilly (2014) explains, includes attire such as folk costumes, religious dress, uniforms and activist clothing (e.g. hand-knitted protest pieces like the pink *pussyhats* worn during the 2017 Women's March, mentioned by May, 2020), which are often shaped by cultural, religious, or political significance, and serve to challenge mainstream fashion trends. These garments, like the abaya and niqab worn by women in Saudi Arabia, due to both governmental and religious rules, or the plain dress of Anabaptists⁷, reflect deeply held beliefs or societal roles. However, according to the author (Reilly, 2014), when cultural artefacts such as tattoos, kente cloth⁸, the keffiyeh scarf⁹, rosary beads and kabbalah bracelets¹⁰ are appropriated by the fashion industry, they risk losing their original meaning and are reduced to mere aesthetic statements, severing their connection to the identities or traditions they once represented. This appropriation not only diminishes the cultural or spiritual value of these items, but also risks offending the cultures from which they originated, as they are fetishised, commodified and transformed into superficial trends, as mentioned by Efrat Tseëlon in *Thinking through fashion: A guide to key theorists* (Rocamora & Smelik, 2019).

In *Fashion: A Philosophy*, Svendsen (2006) explores how clothing functions not only as a form of individual expression but also as a deeply social phenomenon, historically used to delineate status and maintain order through sumptuary laws, which, although now largely obsolete, have been replaced by more subtle or ideologically driven regulations that continue to govern how bodies appear in public spaces (such as bans on women wearing trousers or prohibitions against religious symbols like the hijab in Western countries). The author argues that clothing can never be entirely separated from the social frameworks that give it meaning, suggesting that even the naked body is never

⁷ Christian movement originating in the 16th century Radical Reformation, known for their distinct beliefs and practices. Anabaptist groups include the Mennonites, Amish, and Hutterites, mainly found in North America.

⁸ The Ashanti and Ewe peoples of Ghana were the originators of kente cloth, a vibrantly coloured woven fabric that is customarily worn during significant religious and cultural events and represents identity, status, and heritage.

⁹ The keffiyeh is a traditional Middle Eastern scarf with a black-and-white checkered design that is frequently connected to Palestinian identity and resistance.

¹⁰ Popularised by Jewish mysticism, kabbalah bracelets are red strings worn around the wrist and are believed to provide protection and fend off the "evil eye," especially in modern spiritual practices.

neutral or natural but is always shaped by cultural expectations and interpretations. As identity has increasingly become tied to the visible and external self rather than to abstract or spiritual dimensions, the dressed body takes on a leading role in how individuals construct and communicate who they are. For Svendsen (2006), the value of a philosophical inquiry into fashion lies in understanding this shift: how the act of dressing is not merely practical or decorative but fundamentally connected to broader questions of selfhood and belonging.

In *The Psychology of Fashion*, Carolyn Mair (2018) explores how clothing choices, particularly those related to modesty and body exposure, are shaped less by individual preference than by cultural norms, socialisation and shifting ideals of propriety. She notes that “what is considered modest or immodest is subjective and generally a function of the zeitgeist” (Mair, 2018, p. 77), with fashion oscillating between extremes of concealment and display, particularly in the case of women’s dress. The pressure to appear attractive through revealing clothing, Mair argues, can reduce self-worth to the visibility of skin, which has, in turn, led to a growing interest in modest fashion. This trend is interpreted by some as a reaction against hypersexualization and by others as a visible assertion of religious, ethnic, or ideological identity. Clothing and adornment, therefore, serve aesthetic or practical purposes and function as markers of affiliation and belonging, which “may be in the form of physical alterations to the body such as piercings, tattoos or jewellery, or in the form of headwear, footwear, scarves, gloves, embellishments to clothing, bags and so on” (Mair, 2018, p. 78). Furthermore, Mair (2018, p. 64) also critiques the fashion industry’s promotion of a “narrow stereotype of beauty,” which she believes fails to represent the diversity of the population it addresses, excluding differences in “race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, socio-economic status, age, physical ability and religious, political or other ideologies”, ultimately reinforcing exclusionary ideals instead of embracing the full spectrum of existing bodies.

A way in which the relationship between fashion and religion becomes particularly visible, perhaps even more immediately so than in abstract analyses of identity or modesty, is through the use of explicit religious symbolism in garments and accessories, where spiritual motifs are transformed into aesthetic statements that carry varying degrees of reverence, provocation, or reinterpretation. As Calderin (2011) notes in *Fashion Design Essentials: 100 Principles of Fashion Design*, “many spiritual and religious influences in fashion are rooted in ancient cultures and are often brought to the mainstream by bold, visionary trendsetters,” citing examples such as Madonna’s iconic appropriation of crucifixes and rosary beads in the 1980s, Jean Paul Gaultier’s 1993 collection inspired by Hasidic Jewish garments, and Christian Lacroix’s 2009 haute

couture gown (Figure 1) which was embroidered in what could be interpreted as “a tribute to the Virgin Mary” (Calderin, 2011, p. 148).



Figure 1 - Christian Lacroix's bride at the brand's Haute Couture Fall/Winter 2009 fashion show. Source: <https://www.Vogue.com/article/vd-haute-couture-fall-2009-sally-singers-favorite-Christian-lacroix-look>

These moments illustrate how fashion frequently borrows from religious iconography, whether to honour, aestheticize, or challenge sacred meanings. In a perhaps more politically charged example, in *Fashion and Materiality: Cultural Practices in Global Contexts* (Jenss & Hofmann, 2020), the authors mention how “Miuccia Prada presented her fall/winter 2016 menswear collection on a runway that was styled like an *auto-da-fé*, recalling the religious tribunals of the Spanish, Portuguese, and Mexican inquisitions” (Jenss & Hofmann, 2020, p. 260), thereby transforming the fashion show into a secular ritual loaded with cultural memory (Stott, 2016), alluding not only to Catholic history but also to themes of violence and trauma. This example, situated in the context of Portugal's historical and religious past, highlights how designers may draw on religious imagery to invoke more profound social critique.

Specifically in the Portuguese fashion context, a similar yet more subtle engagement with the religious can be seen in the work of designer Alexandra Moura, who

presented her Spring/Summer 2018 collection in The Welsh Chapel, a former Presbyterian church in London (Gonçalves, 2017), drawing attention to the atmospheric and symbolic resonance of religious spaces even when no explicit religious reference is made in the garments themselves.

As discussed above and explored throughout this thesis, the study of fashion, particularly in relation to religion, is inherently multidisciplinary, encompassing fields such as sociology, anthropology, psychology, art history, and political theory. As Busch (2020) notes in *The Psychopolitics of Fashion: Conflict and Courage Under the Current State of Fashion*, fashion has often been approached with suspicion in political science, where it is regarded as “superficial, apolitical or even dangerous to the civic realm”. However, as will be examined in the following chapters, when referencing authors such as Garelick (2019), Bucar (2017), and Tarlo (2010), the connection between fashion and religion ends up shaping identity development, social unity, and cultural narratives in ways that reach further than mere personal expression or spiritual meaning. But how do these dynamics unfold in different cultural and national contexts, in which religious heritage continues to shape collective memory and gendered expectations, particularly around women’s dress? And how may fashion magazines, acting as both mirrors and agents of cultural production, participate in either reinforcing or reconfiguring such religiously inflected ideals? These are some of the questions the next chapters seek to explore through a closer examination of the intersections between religion, fashion, and media.

1.2. Aim of Study

In this section, the research objectives and hypotheses of the study are presented, outlining the essential elements that guide the research and building a foundation for a clear understanding of the scope and direction of the investigation, setting the stage for subsequent chapters. In seeking to answer the initial question of this investigation, “How does Christianity influence fashion culture and the way Christian women dress in Portugal?”, this study seeks to achieve the following objectives:

1.2.1. General Objectives

i) Contribute to a discussion on fashion as an interface with religion, examining how religious beliefs and cultural practices shape clothing trends and choices – specifically, the dressing practices of contemporary Portuguese women.

ii) Research and reflect on the spectrum of influence of Christianity as a symbolic religious heritage by analysing its expressions in 21st-century media culture, using *Vogue Portugal* as a case study.

1.2.2. Specific Objectives

i) Verify how distinct denominations¹¹ of Christianity in Portugal translate (or not) into different religious ideals with an impact on women's dressing choices.

ii) Identify characteristics of Portuguese women's fashion that reveal religious influence.

iii) Analyse how concepts of modesty persist (or not) in the fashion of the first decades of the 21st century.

iv) Determine if perceptions of religious modesty in Portugal align with the interpretation and representation of these beliefs in other geographical and religious contexts.

v) Explore the impact (or absence of impact) of Christianity in Portuguese fashion media.

vi) Understand how and how often representations of Christian symbolism are presented in *Vogue Portugal*.

vii) Define criteria and categories of analysis to study the presence of Christian symbolism in *Vogue Portugal* and how such references are perceived by women.

1.2.3. Research Hypotheses

Despite the seemingly disparate nature of the topics under study concerning the connection between fashion and faith, Christianity (particularly the Catholic Church) is inherently symbolic. As such, it becomes essential to explore how Christian symbolism manifests within contemporary media culture, including fashion magazines. In parallel, drawing on key concepts from the theology of fashion (Ambrosio, 2019, 2020, 2022; Covolo, 2020), this thesis seeks to examine not only these symbolic connections but also the expectations of modesty placed on women who practise this faith. Therefore, building on the literature review presented in the following chapter, which navigates the complex

¹¹ Christianity is a diverse religion with many different interpretations and practices, leading to the development of several denominations. These denominations have distinct beliefs and traditions, as well as different interpretations of the Bible and cultural influences. Some of the main Christian denominations include Catholicism, Orthodox Christianity, Jehovah's Witnesses, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (commonly referred to as "Mormons"), and Protestantism (which also encompasses various branches, including the Anglican Church, Presbyterians, Evangelicals, Baptists, Seventh-day Adventists, etc.).

intersections between fashion and Christianity, the working hypotheses can be articulated as follows:

H1: In Portugal, fundamentalist interpretations of Biblical modesty applied to women's clothing are not adhered to.

H2: A woman's dressing style can be consciously influenced by her level of religiosity.

H3: Factors such as living in an urban context and educational level influence a woman's (im)permeability to the impact of religious precepts, especially those related to dressing.

H4: The mediation of images and sacred symbols associated with Christianity in fashion is considered inappropriate by practitioners of this faith.

H5: Over the years (parallel to the decrease in the Portuguese population declaring itself Catholic), representations of Christian symbolism in *Vogue Portugal* are diminishing.

1.2.4. Methodology

As mentioned previously, to test the research hypotheses presented above, an interpretive methodological approach was adopted, combining both qualitative and quantitative methods. In sum, the methods used include interviews with four experts in the fields of religion and fashion and content analysis of 241 issues of *Vogue Portugal*, published between 2002 and 2024, intending to identify Christian references in the magazine's pages. An online survey involving 469 Christian women living in Portugal, as well as semi-structured interviews with 33 women who profess different denominations and levels of religiosity, also provided deeper insights into these women's experiences and perspectives on the relationship between faith and clothing, both in their everyday dressing practices and in their perceptions and opinions regarding the portrayal of their faith within the fashion industry and media.

Moreover, as explained by Tsuria (2023), "In religious traditions, female bodies are mystified, theologised, berated, controlled, and always seen as the Other":

While religion does this to both male and female bodies, since females were historically, and still are in many ways, in subordinate positions, it is easier – and much more important! – to control their bodies. In order for males to maintain power, they must hold on to that control over the Other's body. (Tsuria, 2023)

The decision to focus on women's perspectives relates, therefore, to the fact that they have historically been the target of greater surveillance and control by male-dominated religious institutions, which have played a central role in representing

modesty and regulating their bodies and appearances. This methodological approach will be elaborated further in the following chapters, especially in the section dedicated to the methodology.

1.3. Thesis overview and structure

This thesis investigates the entanglements between Christian religiosity and fashion culture, particularly through an analysis of *Vogue Portugal* magazine and the clothing choices of Christian women in the 21st century. To address this research topic, the thesis is structured into five main chapters, each of which contributes to answering the central research question and reflecting the theoretical, methodological, and empirical dimensions of the study.

Following the introductory section – which not only presented the background and relevance of the topic but also outlined some key theoretical contributions in the field of fashion studies – Chapter 1.2 focused on the aim of the study in detail, including its general and specific objectives, as well as the hypotheses that shaped the research process.

Chapter 2 consists of the literature review and provides the theoretical foundation for the thesis, beginning with a broad overview of modest fashion in the context of Abrahamic religions and introducing key debates around Islamic fashion, drawing upon the work of established theorists and researchers such as Lynne Hume, Linda B. Arthur, Reina Lewis, Hafsa Lodi, Emma Tarlo, and Anna-Mari Almila. Building on this broader interreligious perspective, subchapter 2.2 narrows the focus to Christianity and traces how the Bible, Christian traditions, and gendered consumption practices have historically shaped the aesthetics and moral discourse surrounding women's clothing.

Furthermore, in subchapter 2.3. *Fashion in Christian Literature: Modesty, Purity, and Female Agency*, a distinct approach is adopted, focusing on the perspectives of religious community leaders (e.g., priests, pastors, etc.), whose views on clothing tend to be more conservative and less aligned with the critical, academic discourse surrounding fashion. These religious perspectives, which often link modesty to moral virtue and personal piety, are highlighted in Nnadi's (2013) article on Indecent Dressing in the Catholic Church, where he argues that "modesty in dress and behaviour is an indispensable way of being a good Christian," emphasising that "clothes should hide the shape of the body rather than accentuate it" and that Christian mothers have an important role in instilling these values, by teaching their daughters "true sense of

Christian modesty.” This section offers a window into the traditional and doctrinal views that continue to influence social attitudes toward clothing, especially concerning female modesty, providing a distinct perspective from the secular and scholarly interpretations of fashion and identity explored throughout the thesis.

Still, through the analysis of existing literature, subchapter 2.4 examines how religious symbology, especially Christian, is integrated into popular culture and high fashion, drawing on key examples such as the *Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination* exhibition (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2018) and relevant publications by or about fashion designers who allude to faith in their creative output. Particular attention is given to *Vogue* and its role in shaping the religious aesthetics of fashion media, with Lynn S. Neal’s *Religion in Vogue: Christianity and Fashion in America* (2019) offering a critical conceptual lens that also informs part of the methodological approach of this thesis. Building on this foundation, the final section of the literature review turns to the specific context of Portugal, examining the evolution of the national fashion industry, the enduring influence of Catholicism, and the case of *Vogue Portugal*.

Chapter 3 explains the research methodology, outlining the previously mentioned multi-method approach adopted for this thesis, which combines qualitative and quantitative strategies, including expert interviews, an analysis of most issues of *Vogue Portugal*, an online survey, and in-depth interviews with Christian women living in Portugal. Chapter 4 presents the findings and includes a broader discussion that brings the data into conversation with the research hypotheses, popular culture, and the reviewed literature. Lastly, the Conclusion chapter synthesises the key insights, reflects on the limitations of the study, and proposes avenues for future research. Additionally, supporting materials such as survey and interview questions, interview transcripts, and ethical clearance documentation are included in the appendices and annexes, helping to give transparency and context and show how the primary data was gathered.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Modest Fashion: The Interfaces of Fashion and Abrahamic Faiths

An intriguing aspect stands out in the vast intersection between fashion and faith: Modest Fashion. This phenomenon, which generally refers to clothing that adheres to cultural and religious standards of modesty while remaining stylish and fashionable, is particularly prominent in the Islamic context and has been the subject of extensive research, mainly due to its visually distinct manifestations in Muslim women's clothing, particularly the emblematic veils discussed in various publications. In fact, most of the research on fashion and religion, especially concerning modesty, predominantly focuses on Islam, as this visually striking approach, rooted in religious prescriptions, offers a clear framework for understanding the rules that govern dress in the religion. This clarity is not only reflected in fashion choices but also signals a visible commitment to faith, introducing cultural and social implications that extend beyond the realm of “simple” clothing.

As Egyptian-American anthropologist Fadwa El Guindi states in her book *Veil: Modesty, Privacy, Resistance* (1999), the origin of clothing, from a religious point of view, is linked to the development of a feeling of shame about one's body, nudity and sexuality in the three Abrahamic religions¹². According to the creation narrative (similar in the Bible, Torah and Quran), the first humans – Adam and Eve – were innocent in their nakedness in the Garden of Eden, until a serpent convinced Eve to eat the fruit of the forbidden tree, consequently leading this pair to experience feelings of fear and shame for the first time, until "the Lord God made garments of skin for Adam and his wife, and clothed them." (Genesis 3:21, New International Version, 2011).

As mentioned in a chapter titled "Religion and Dress" (Yates, Cohn-Sherbok & El-Alami, 2010) in the *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion*, the use of specific clothing by all or some members of religions is common throughout the world, and in most cases, a distinction is made between the clothing worn by those officiating religious ceremonies and the clothing worn by the followers. However, the notion tends to prevail that believers should wear their best clothes when attending religious services (also referred to as their "Sunday Best", as will be further discussed). Unlike most Christians, Jews and Muslims are often identified by their clothing (Tarlo, 2016). While

¹² Abrahamic religions refer to the three monotheistic faiths (Judaism, Christianity and Islam) that trace their spiritual lineage to Abraham and, therefore, share certain theological and historical foundations.

in the case of Judaism this tends to happen only within Orthodox groups, in Islam, the use of specific clothing is much more widespread and has been the subject of much public discussion in recent years (Yates, Cohn-Sherbok, & El-Alami, 2010).

Fashion reflects religion in the clothes and utensils of its practitioners and, according to author, professor, and cultural anthropologist Lynne Hume (2013, p. 9), it “is more than a visual demonstration of allegiance to a particular set of beliefs. It is a sensory testimony of those beliefs.” In her book, *The Religious Life of Dress* (Hume, 2013), the author focuses heavily on the dress codes of orthodox religious groups; however, the book also explains fashion expectations for both men and women who practise a particular religion. In Judaism¹³, the rules are quite similar for men and women, as both are expected to dress modestly and cover their heads when in prayer or a place of worship, in addition, their clothing must not be mixed with linen and wool or leather that is not from kosher animals. Also, although married Jewish women are “required to cover their hair entirely” (Hume, 2013, p. 57), most Jewish women in the West do not cover their heads, with the exception of more conservative groups such as Hasidic and Orthodox Jews, in which women still hide their hair with wigs, hats or scarves. With regards to Christianity, Hume considers that dress has been used as a “moral discursive about shame, modesty and sexuality” (Hume, 2013, p. 13), but that Muslim women are known to be the ‘strictest’ when it comes to following the rules of sacred texts by dressing in “loose-fitting garments that do not hug the body” (Hume, 2013, p. 69) and often wearing a veil/headscarf: the Hijab, Niqab – focus of many works such as Mainuddin (2021), Piela (2021), Bakht (2020), Brems (2014) –, Chador (Shimek, 2012) or even a Burqa.

Hume (2013) maintains that clothing transcends the ephemerality of fashion trends, becoming a sacred item that expresses ideologies, contests power, reflects the spiritual world and acts as an active agent in personal and social transformation. When delving into sociological theories, the author incorporates Erving Goffman's (1959) perspective, considering clothing as a significant form of non-verbal communication, full of symbolism that helps individuals position themselves within their society and build personal and social identity. Similarly, the publication also refers to Bryan Turner's (1984) critical approach to patriarchal control of female sexuality, revealing how clothing choices become visible expressions of this power.

¹³ The case of Jewish fashion, albeit much less studied than the relationships between clothing and Christianity or Islam, is also the focus of the chapter “Fashioning Jews: Clothing, Culture, and Commerce” (Silverman, 2013) in a book that explores the history of Jewish clothing.

Hume's (2013) book transcends the scope of major religions, encompassing lesser-known traditions such as the Anabaptists, exploring how their rules of dress reflect a search for simplicity, humility, and distinction from secular values. The author also offers a detailed analysis of Christian dress throughout history, from monastic attire to changes in dress practices after the institutionalisation of Christianity, and examines the dynamics of religious dress within Islam, highlighting the diverse choices that reflect not only adherence to religious precepts but also political and cultural issues. In a broader analysis, the author highlights that although religion is a crucial element in discussions about clothing, other factors, such as culture and geographic location, also play significant roles. Consequently, Hume (2013) also examines the complexity of clothing choices among British Muslims, highlighting how fashion can be a contemporary expression of Muslim identity, reaching beyond traditional boundaries.

The book *Undressing Religion: Commitment and Conversion from a Cross-Cultural Perspective*, edited by Linda B. Arthur (2000), highlights how faith traditions can both sustain and subvert social systems, with elites often using religious arguments to justify their power, while dissidents resort to religious rhetoric to legitimise their positions. Arthur (2000) introduces the view of Durkheim (1954), who argued that religion underlies all social and cultural behaviour and predicted that, as societies modernised, secularisation would become more important, while organised religions would lose strength. But is this actually the case after 70 years? Or do some voices speak louder than others?

Similarly to Hume (2013), Arthur (2000) also explores the importance of clothing in social interaction, following Goffman's (1959) approach, and explains that clothing serves as a social resource, allowing for the manipulation of social situations while communicating personal and social identity through a shared language: dress. Arthur argues that when individuals dress, they are constantly dealing with questions of identity, questioning who they are and who they want to be (Arthur, 2000). The relationship between clothing and culture is also emphasised in the book, with the assertion that fashion can visually manifest the fundamental ideas of a culture, highlighting that clothing makes the basic categories that a culture uses to define its specific conception of reality tangible (i.e., age, gender, caste, ethnicity, and religion).

Furthermore, the influence of Christian religions in Latin America is also explored in a subchapter by Lynn A. Meisch in the same book (Arthur, 2000), with a special focus on Protestant missionary activities in Ecuador, in which the author discusses how the prohibition of wearing beaded necklaces (previously essential to indigenous and Roman Catholic clothing) by Evangelical missionaries brought about

dramatic changes in the clothing practices of these communities, a topic which she had already explored in another book chapter titled “Why do they like red? Beads, ethnicity and gender in Ecuador” (Meisch, 1998).

Undressing Religion (Arthur, 2000) also covers diversity in hijab or Islamic veiling practices, arguing that this specific choice of style can have various interpretations, from indications of religiosity to political and social stances. For example, cultural historian Faegheh Shirazi highlights how the hijab in Iran acquired political power, being promoted by the Islamic government as a visible expression of the regime. In her chapter, Shirazi explores the complexities of "appropriate" and "inappropriate hijab" (Arthur, 2000, p. 118), highlighting how laws and social norms regulate women's dress in the country, while also extending the analysis to other parts of the Islamic world, examining variations in the dress practices of Turkish, Palestinian and Egyptian women and demonstrating how clothing can be a means of silent protest or an expression of emerging social movements, which are still relevant 25 years after the publication of this book.

Arthur (1999) had previously published a different book on the subject, titled *Religion, Dress and the Body*, offering a thorough analysis of the complex intersection between these fundamental elements of the human experience. The author began her exploration by highlighting the crucial role of clothing as a prominent symbolic marker in conservative religious groups, which use strict dress codes as visible expressions of their religiosity, and explained how these more conservative groups exercise control over the bodies of their members, both internally and externally, through a system of rigorous religious values. This control is manifested not only in strict conformity to codes of behaviour, but also in the restraint of emotions, voices and laughter, as well as the limiting of appetites for food, knowledge and sex. Therefore, when approaching the sociology of the body, Arthur (1999) specifically highlights the importance of controlling female sexuality as an expression of patriarchal power, pointing out that clothing, in this context, as in others, becomes an effective means of non-verbal communication during social interactions, shaping individual identities and projecting them onto society.

Similarly to the publication by the same author mentioned earlier, this book (Arthur, 1999) explores specific communities, such as the Mennonites, Hutterites and Amish, who deliberately seek separation from society in favour of rebuilding smaller, closer communities. Arthur notes that, although these groups may be perceived as fossilised in terms of fashion, such choice is interpreted by them as a manifestation of dignity, social status, or religious identity. Additionally, Arthur (1999) also discusses the dynamics of deviance within these communities, especially focusing on the repression of

sexuality as a strategy to maintain the focus on salvation, as discussed by Weber (1993). The authors (Arthur, 1999) highlight how dress codes are applied unequally, especially for women, perpetuating double standards that highlight the patriarchy present in many of these communities, expanding the discussion to religious groups such as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), whose faith centres on the atonement of Christ and who are “genuinely dumbfounded when they are occasionally accused of not being Christians”, as well as the Amish, who, according to the authors (in this case, Jean A. Hamilton and Jana Hawley), despite rejecting technological sophistication, cannot be considered alien to the concept of fashion as “experimentation with dress is a common mode of expression”, especially for girls and women (Arthur, 1999:39-43).

The topic of clothing in religious fundamentalism is also the object of study of Margolis (2019), who focused a chapter of her book on the modesty of women belonging to different “ultraconservative” communities within Christianity, Judaism and Islam: the Mormons of the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (FLDS)¹⁴, the Hasidic Jews of the Satmar Hasidim of Williamsburg in Brooklyn and the Pashtun ethnic group from Afghanistan and Pakistan. Similarly, some other studies focus on the case of Anabaptist Christian communities, also known as “plain people” (Scott, 1997), living in the United States and who adhere to fossilised fashion (Hawley, 2017).

Dress and Ideology: Fashioning Identity from Antiquity to the Present (Marzel & Stiebel, 2017) offers an in-depth analysis of how clothing is intrinsically linked to identity, ideology and religion, addressing how these elements shape and are shaped by clothing choices over time. For example, in the subchapter “Clothing Items,” the book explores the relationship between Islam and various items of clothing, such as jilbabs, abayas, cosmetics, accessories and head coverings. Also, this publication addresses the fundamental distinction between the terms “clothing,” “dress,” and “fashion”, as outlined by scholars such as Joanne Eicher, Mary Ellen Roach-Higgins and Joanne Entwistle. For these authors, while “dress” refers to modifications and supplements to the body, “fashion” is presented as a specific system of clothing in Western modernity, a differentiation which the book positions as crucial to understanding the dynamic and cultural nature of fashion.

Marzel and Stiebel (2017) also highlight the influence of religion on clothing by distinguishing between the attire of ordinary believers and that of clergy, noting a recurring tendency to view “sacred” garments as timeless and resistant to fashion trends.

¹⁴ See *Keep Sweet: Pray and Obey* (Dretzin & McNally, 2022), a Netflix docu-series on Warren Jeffs and the FLDS, which also explores the group’s strict control over women’s appearance, including their clothing and hairstyles.

In contrast, the dressing practices of lay practitioners reveal a broader and more flexible spectrum of religious expression in everyday life, ranging from modest norms to more radical forms of observance. The example of the Essenes¹⁵, who associated purity with rigorous cleanliness and the wearing of white, illustrates how abstract theological ideals can take on concrete material forms through clothing. Religion, the authors argue, more than any other ideological force, fosters what they describe as a “society of clothing” (Marzel & Stiebel, 2017), one that aspires to permanence and stability rather than change, a tendency exemplified by Buddhist monastic dress, which has remained virtually unchanged for centuries and can be compared to other fossilised fashion systems, such as the distinct attire of the previously mentioned Anabaptist groups.

For journalist Hafsa Lodi – who frequently writes about fashion in the Middle East – Islam, Christianity and Judaism place more emphasis on women's modesty than on men's, even mentioning that the concept of veiling has a place in the early traditions of the three religions. According to the journalist, “although the terms may differ, 'haya', 'modesty' and 'tzniut' are all intended to safeguard women's chastity” (Lodi, 2020, p. 59) and protect their male counterparts from sexual temptation. Furthermore, in her book called *Modesty: A Fashion Paradox* (2020), which traces the rise of the global modest fashion movement, Lodi also adds that the central premise conveyed by these religious texts about modesty or the way women dress is that women are not to flaunt their bodies or their wealth. In turn, Esposito (2020) therefore questions whether “modest fashion” can, in fact, be considered modest, since the fashion industry represents the opposite of going unnoticed and not attracting attention.

2.1.1. Muslim Fashion and the Eurocentric Obsession with the Veil

As seen before, when choosing clothes or accessories, individuals constantly reaffirm their belonging or lack thereof to various social, cultural, religious, political, or professional groups (Godart, 2012). However, there is one accessory in particular that stands out when discussing the intersections between fashion and religion: the veil. According to Almog (2017), seven basic rules govern Muslim women's clothing:

1. No part of a woman's body may be seen except her face and her hands;
2. Her garment must be loose, so as not to reveal her figure;
3. The fabric must be thick

¹⁵ The Essenes were a Jewish sect active between the 2nd century BCE and the 1st century CE, known for their strict purity practices and communal lifestyle.

and opaque, so as not to reveal the colour of her skin or the outline of her body;

4. Colours, design, and ornamentation must be muted, so as not to attract attention;
5. A woman may not wear men's clothing;
6. A woman may not wear garments worn by infidels;
7. A woman's clothes must be modest, but not shabby so as to arouse pity (Almog, 2017, p. 89).

In *A Decolonial Feminism*, Verges (2020) explains how the veil commonly used by Muslim women is described as a religious symbol of gender discrimination and submission and how, consequently, European women in their “European gaze” fight against these symbols which they consider to be linked to anti-feminist oppression. Similarly, according to a chapter by Garelick (2019) in the book *Fashion and Politics* (Bartlett, 2019), sexually provocative clothes are understood as evidence of the freedoms of the Western world and simultaneously as resistance to “Islamic terrorism”, interpreted as an expression of condemnation and/or envy on the part of the Muslim population towards these same freedoms. This vision is referred to in many other publications which, despite not having fashion and religion as an object of study, highlight their importance, as is the case of the previously mentioned book by Jenss and Hofmann (2020), Barnard’s (2014) *Fashion Theory, Transorientalism in Art, Fashion, and Film: Inventions of Identity* by Geczy (2019), Bruzzi and Gibson’s (2000) *Fashion Cultures* as well as Fatehrad’s (2020) chapter in Laing & Wilson’s *Revisiting the Gaze: The Fashioned Body and the Politics of Looking* book which explores how the veil is generally viewed by younger generations as unfashionable, old-fashioned and a sign of religious devotion.

In one of the most popular works on the topic, *Politics of Piety: The Islamic Revival and the Feminist Subject* (2005), author Saba Mahmood shares the previously mentioned view (Verges, 2020; Garelick, 2019; Bartlett, 2019) that among the most common responses to veiling is the belief that Muslim women are “prisoners” in a grand patriarchal scheme and that, if they were given freedom, they would instinctively convey their subconscious hatred for the traditional Islamic norms and values that used to imprison them, an approach that the author considers a huge contradiction. Similarly, Lewis (2015) mentions the existence of a dominant “Orientalist gaze” that often creates cultural representations of the “Orient” that are incorrect and often condescending, frequently portraying “Dejabis” (women who remove the hijab) as if they had been “saved” from Muslim civilisation. This view had previously been shared by Fadwa El Guindi (1999), who stated that “the Euro-Christian gaze at Muslim culture, whether

expressed by word or picture, has been a gaze of violence, dominance, distortion and belittlement, whether by travellers, missionaries, scholars or occupying soldiers."

The veil, like burkinis – also mentioned by Garelick (2019) – are so religiously associated that they have become politicised, having thus been banned in some countries. In *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, Kaiser (2019) highlights the problematic case of France, which prohibits the use of religious symbols, such as the hijab, in public places, such as schools. However, according to Wilson (2003), the use of the veil does not always necessarily have to do with authoritarian and patriarchal religious practices, mentioning that for many Muslim women in France, the use of the hijab had become a declaration of ethnoreligious identity rather than purely religious, as some women were photographed smoking and in bikinis while wearing the veil, both situations being against traditional Islamic principles. According to Cláudia Duarte's (2016) Constitutional Law point of view, which explores the act of dressing as a projection of individual and religious freedom in Turkey, France and Germany:

(...) in the case of democratic States of Law, whose epicentre is none other than the dignity of the human person, a principle with such value-laden density that it radiates throughout the Constitution and the entire system, it is incongruent or even incoherent to formulate a model that restricts the choice of clothing representative of religious belief. This constitutes a violation of what is most special to the individual: the free formation of their identity and, consequently, of their life project (Duarte, 2016, author's translation).

In her chapter in *Modest Fashion: Styling Bodies, Mediating Faith* (Lewis, 2013), Elizabeth Wilson discusses some of the motivations for modest attire. For the researcher, fashion is intrinsically linked to freedom of expression of identity and the right to self-definition as a member of a certain group, be it a religious group (such as Muslim women) or a subculture (e.g. punks). Furthermore, even among Muslim women, Wilson (2013) finds that the reasons for wearing modest clothing vary immensely, as some women do not see this way of dressing as a choice, but rather as a prerequisite of their faith; some women find it so common to cover their heads that they would feel uncomfortable if they did not; others are, in fact, forced by their community or family to dress that way; and some consider it an "identity badge" (Wilson, 2013, p. 165).

Furthermore, in her doctoral thesis titled *Faith, Fashion, Feminism: Interrogating the Islamic Veil in Contemporary Britain*, Pina Sadar (2017) focuses on exploring the feelings that Muslim women living in the United Kingdom have regarding

the veil, namely, their reasons for wearing it, as well as perceptions of spirituality, modesty and beauty. In this study, it was also concluded that the veil is not understood as a rigid structure that is imposed on a woman, but rather as an altering, hybrid and antagonistic concept that depends on personal negotiations and appropriations. In the Finnish context, Anna-Mari Almila, researcher in the Sociology of Fashion and author of the book *Veiling in Fashion: Space and the Hijab in Minority Communities* (2018), describes covering up the female body as a performative act of 'piety' that signifies religious conviction and modesty (Almila, 2018:2). Similarly, Hass and Lutek (2019) explored the relationship between clothing and identity and how Islamic dress forms the identity of Dutch Muslim women, allowing these women to acquire an identity that is not entirely Dutch, but also not entirely foreign (in this case, also Moroccan, Turkish, etc.). Other studies, influenced by themes such as immigration, belonging, ethnicity and gender, were also developed in other Western countries besides the UK, Netherlands (Bartels, 2000; Moors, 2009) and Finland (Almila, 2016; 2018), including France, which was the focus of Bowen's (2007) book titled *Why the French Don't Like Headscarves: Islam, the State, and Public Space*.

Finally, the books *Politics, Religion and Gender: Framing and Regulating the Veil* by Rosenberger and Sauer (2012), *Pious Fashion: How Muslim Women Dress* by Liz Bucar (2017), *Visibly Muslim: Fashion, Politics, Faith* (2010) by Emma Tarlo, *Islamic Fashion and Anti-Fashion: New Perspectives from Europe and North America* (2013) by Moors and Tarlo, *Muslim Fashion: Contemporary Style Cultures* (2015) by Reina Lewis, as well as *Contemporary Muslim Fashions* (2018) by d'Allesandro and Lewis are some of the other very relevant and acclaimed publications in the area of Muslim fashion and policies related to the Islamic veil.

2.2. A(dressing) Christian Women: History, Consumption, Style and the Bible

In this subchapter of the literature review, the complex intersection of clothing and spirituality will be explored, focusing on Christian, Biblical and historical perspectives presented by various authors throughout the years. It examines how clothing, beyond its practical function, assumes symbolic and ethical meanings in the daily lives of believers, reflecting values, consumption habits, norms and religious identities, and seeks to understand how dress becomes a means of spiritual and moral expression for followers of the Christian faith.

In a book chapter titled "The Future Body as Ultimate Dress", Fiona Dieffenbacher (2022) highlights two predominant approaches in academic studies: the ethnographic analysis of situated religious clothing practices and the incorporation of religious iconography in fashion design. Furthermore, the author discusses the concept of nudity as a form of clothing, citing John Berger's (1972) reflections on how being naked implies being seen naked by others, but not being recognised by oneself. This view challenges the conventional notion of clothing as something tangible, arguing that nudity can also function as a garment that shapes an individual's perception.

Dieffenbacher (2022) also addresses the distinction between the present body, described as corruptible and destined for death and the future body, considered incorruptible and immortal, as discussed by the apostle Paul in 1 Corinthians 15:53-54¹⁶. This distinction between the two types of bodies sheds light on the aspiration for a form of existence beyond mortality and corruption, a quest for transcendence that can be interpreted as the search for the "final garment" of the incarnated soul. In this way, the author proposes a deep reflection on the relationship between body, clothing and spirituality, exploring how fashion can help with the search for spiritual experiences.

Differently, Kristi Upson-Saia's (2011) work on *Early Christian Dress: Gender, Virtue and Authority* discusses clothing in early Christianity and emphasises the importance of how early Christians dressed. For the author, although it may appear to be a minor point, research reveals that early Christian literature placed a significant emphasis on the implications of believers' clothes and personal appearance as Christian ascetics¹⁷, in particular, had to take great care of their ascetic image, employing clothing to appropriately communicate their devout commitment, making dress a key factor in how they projected their religious identity. Another important topic the book addresses is the interaction between language and clothes, where in contrast to other academic discourses, the author argues that "clothing and accessories convey certain meanings only when spectators are guided to interpret dress signs in certain directions (and not others) and when individuals consistently dress their part, making such interpretations appear stable and natural."

¹⁶ "For the perishable must clothe itself with the imperishable, and the mortal with immortality. When the perishable has been clothed with the imperishable, and the mortal with immortality, then the saying that is written will come true: "Death has been swallowed up in victory.'" (1 Corinthians 15:53-54, New International Version)

¹⁷ Christian ascetics are individuals who follow rigorous self-discipline and reject material pleasures in order to seek spiritual development, frequently through prayer, fasting, and celibacy.

D'Angelo (2001) examines early Christian male views on women's dress, highlighting the preoccupation of writers such as the Apostle Paul and Tertullian with feminine adornments, particularly veils. The article questions these authors' emphasis on female sexuality, proposing that they may have perceived women's heads as sexual organs. However, the author remains unsure as to whether early Christian women shared this perception or ascribed similar meanings to their own bodies, because while men's writings offer some insight into women's clothing and hairstyles, the lack of direct sources from women themselves raises the possibility that male interpretations distorted or oversimplified the lived realities and intentions behind these practices.

Actually, Tariq (2014) argues that early Christian women often understood the veil as indicative of modesty and respectability and as an important part of their religious identity as well as cultural and moral values. Because modesty was the dominant justification for women's veiling in the Greek and Roman worlds, Christians who observed and promoted the veil were building on the values and practices of their cultural environment. However, eventually, the Christian veil was reserved for "consecrated virgins"¹⁸ and the priests of the Latin Church wrote copiously to instil its observance. The article (Tariq, 2014) examines the practice of veiling in antiquity, beginning with Greco-Roman cultural norms, followed by Paul's instructions and concluding with Ambrose of Milan's treatment of the subject in relation to nuns. As will be mentioned ahead, Paul addressed the custom of veiling in his epistle to the Corinthians, prescribing veiling for all women who choose to pray or prophesy in church, stating that the veil is a symbol of authority and that it is appropriate for women to wear it as a physical marker of their submission to their husbands. Even in modern times, many Christian communities, such as Catholic and Orthodox nuns, Mennonites and the Amish, still observe some form of veiling. In sum, this article clearly demonstrates that the veil was already a visible and crucial aspect of Western society before Islam (Tariq, 2014).

In addition to the literature on early Christian attire, it is crucial to consider the historical changes in dressing practices and habits caused by the Christian colonisation of indigenous civilisations. Jolly's (2014) book chapter, "A Saturated History of Christianity and Cloth in Oceania," highlights how the arrival of Christianity caused considerable changes in the way Indigenous people clothed themselves, notably in terms of concealing previously exposed body parts, such as breasts and genitals. This shift is frequently attributed to colonial influence since Western Victorian notions of gender,

¹⁸ Consecrated virgins are women in the Catholic Church who choose to remain celibate for life as a form of devotion to God but are not necessarily nuns. While some may also be part of religious communities or orders, many live in the world, dedicating themselves to prayer and service.

sexuality, and domesticity were forced on Oceanic civilisations, as mentioned earlier when referencing Craik (1994) or Polhemus (2011).

In the book *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress and Modern Social Theory* (Entwistle, 2000), various interactions between religion, fashion, and the body throughout history are explored. A central discussion addresses the evolution of practices of “disciplining of the body,” where the contrast between historical and contemporary approaches is highlighted. For example, while in the past this discipline, reflected in practices such as fasting or penance, was promoted to “mortify the flesh” and avoid pleasures considered sinful by Christianity, the author argues that asceticism has been replaced by hedonism, where pleasure and the satisfaction of bodily desires are valued. Furthermore, disciplining the body through diet and exercise became essential for achieving a sensual and desirable body, which, in turn, would provide pleasure (Entwistle, 2000).

Joanne Entwistle (2000) also examines moral attitudes towards fashion throughout history, highlighting moralists' criticisms of excessive interest in fashion as a sign of vanity and individualism incompatible with notions of class and social duty. This debate, which dates back to the 16th century, illustrates concerns about the social and moral order, where excessive interest in fashion is seen as a threat to the "natural order" of things and the social and moral hierarchies of a pious society. On the other hand, the author also discusses how Judeo-Christian attitudes toward the body and fashion shaped the development of fashion, which had already been referred to by Craik (1994). According to Entwistle (2000), from the Protestant Reformation¹⁹ to Oliver Cromwell²⁰, there were reactions against what was considered the excesses of Roman and sartorial fashions, resulting in a sober and austere style of dress, particularly present in religious communities such as the Shakers²¹. This intersection of moral regulation and sartorial expression is also discussed in Murdock's (2000) study, which highlights how Protestant reformers sought to liberate Christians from the moral constraints imposed by the Catholic Church, and how this reform extended to the appearance of clergy, marking a shift in clerical dress as part of a broader movement towards simplicity and

¹⁹ The Protestant Reformation was a 16th-century religious movement initiated by figures like Martin Luther, which challenged the authority and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. It had significant theological, political, and cultural repercussions throughout Europe and resulted in the formation of numerous Protestant groups.

²⁰ Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) was a strict Puritan and military leader who ruled England after the Civil War, promoting Protestant reforms and suppressing Catholic influence.

²¹ Christian sect founded in 18th-century England and established in the United States, known for communal living, celibacy, ecstatic worship practices, and simple craftsmanship.

restraint in both religious and secular life. However, with the growing influence of Spain and the Counter-Reformation²², the dark, formal and highly elaborate Spanish style gained prominence throughout much of Northern Protestant Europe (Entwistle, 2000).

Another relevant point of discussion is the relationship between femininity, mythology and fashion, where Entwistle (2000) highlights the role of archetypal female figures such as Eve, Lilith²³ and the Virgin Mary, mentioned in Tseëlon (1995), in shaping Western attitudes towards women. As discussed previously, these figures are associated with ideas of decoration and seduction, especially within Judeo-Christian traditions, where women are often perceived as agents of temptation and sin:

Thus, the decorated (female) body is inherently problematic to Judeo-Christian morality, but so too is the naked, or unadorned body. As Tseëlon notes, in Judeo-Christian teachings, nakedness became a shameful thing after the Fall and, since the Fall is blamed on woman, then the 'links between sin, the body, woman and clothes are easily forged' (Entwistle, 2000, p. 148).

In sum, Entwistle's (2000) book offers a solid analysis of the complex interactions between religion, fashion and the body throughout history, highlighting how religious attitudes and practices have influenced notions of body discipline, fashion and femininity in modern society and specifically how Christian thought implied that redemption consisted in the rejection of ornamentation and modesty in clothing, a moral necessity born of Eve's transgression.

In the book *Common Threads: A Cultural History of Clothing in American Catholicism* by Sally Dwyer-McNulty (2014), several aspects of clothing in the American Catholic tradition are examined. The author focuses on the importance of symbols, which, in addition to having sacramental meaning, also carry social and political implications, being naturalised by those in power. Uniformity in dress is treated as an assumption within the Catholic tradition, where priests wear Roman collars, "sisters and brothers" are consistently dressed in habits, and most Catholic students wear uniforms. The author argues that clothing serves as a means of controlling or manipulating one's

²² The Counter-Reformation, also known as the Catholic Reformation, was the Catholic Church's response to the Protestant Reformation. Beginning with the Council of Trent (1545–1563), it aimed to reform internal practices, affirm core doctrines, and counter the spread of Protestantism through renewed missionary activity, censorship, and the arts.

²³ Figure from Jewish folklore, not mentioned in the Torah or Bible, often described as Adam's first wife who left Eden over a dispute about equality (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2025).

appearance to communicate something about oneself, such as gender, age, social class and acceptance or resistance to social and contextual norms. However, as the publication explains, Catholic dress was not historically uniform until the Industrial Revolution²⁴. Before that, religious clothing bore symbolic meaning and functioned as a form of clothing enclosure, as, for example, monastic orders invested nuns with their habits in solemn ceremonies, providing them with clothing for life and transforming their identities²⁵. Although uniforms are often associated with institutional or bureaucratic control, within the gendered structures of the Catholic Church, forms of agency remained visible. As Dwyer-McNulty (2014) notes, the sisters chose to wear the habit and performed ritualised conformity as a means of expressing their religiosity, generating public trust in their roles and securing protection as working women.

On the other hand, regulating dress codes occurred for different reasons in the multimodal Catholic school system (Dwyer-McNulty, 2014): the church viewed dress as an area where social and economic statuses could be displayed and considered girls particularly prone to the sins of vanity and immodesty. Therefore, regardless of economic status, all girls had to be taught to present themselves in an imposed respectable manner, which gave them “a taste of the routine and sacrifice that came with religious life” (Dwyer-McNulty, 2014, p. 128). However, as it is still seen today in both religious and secular schools, it was common for female students to alter “their uniforms to display their individuality and interest in consumer culture and coquetry” (Dwyer-McNulty, 2014, p. 128) when outside of their educational institutions.

Lastly, distinctive clothing played a crucial role in fostering a sense of unity and respectability among American Catholics, serving as a means to express confidence and identity. Despite contemporary changes in the way Catholics wear their clothing, the author mentions that Catholic individuals still use their dressed bodies as a way to debate the church's identity, beliefs and priorities for the future (Dwyer-McNulty, 2014).

²⁴ “Historically, Catholic clothing, along with all other 'uniform' clothing, was not strictly uniform. Uniformity did not appear until the Industrial Revolution, when the mechanisation of clothing production made more exact replication possible. (...) Catholics developed a common understanding of who wore what, and why. For instance, the pope wears white as a symbol of his singular holiness and purity, bishops carry staffs because they shepherd the people, and nuns mostly wear habits of a dark hue to symbolise death to the world and "marriage" to Christ. Catholics recognised status, gender, and sacrality in the clothing of their leaders.” (Dwyer-McNulty 2014, p. 7)

²⁵ “Focus on clothing invited sin, as did undue emphasis on cleanliness. Even cleaning the clothes could promote "interior stain" or sin. Clothing, therefore, could be a path to either holiness or wickedness, depending on the motivations of the wearer. (...) The orderliness of the exterior ideally conveyed the perfection of the inward state. The community's near-universal use of black symbolised death in the world, while uniformity reflected a rejection of individualism. The church told the sisters that only their divine spouse should be able to distinguish among them.” (Dwyer-McNulty 2014, p. 78)

On a different note, Cuplinskas (2019) explored debates about women's dress in Lithuania throughout the 1920s and 1930s, which included Catholic clergy, public intellectuals and members of Catholic youth movements. Even though the country was predominantly Catholic, discussions about fashion extended beyond moral norms to include questions of national identity and the challenges of mass consumer culture, consequently, a new ideal of a modern and rational Catholic woman was proposed, one that benefited from 20th-century opportunities such as the right to vote, education and urban life, while still upholding conservative moral norms, questioning consumerism and debating gender roles.

According to the analysis presented by Michelman (1998), the Second Vatican Council²⁶ brought significant changes to religious women, but the impulse for these transformations came from these women demonstrating their agency themselves. During the period before Vatican II, habit life was characterised by an ideological totalitarianism, in which religious women were identified by their habit and their social identity was rigidly defined. However, following the reforms of this council in the 1960s, religious women began to question traditional institutions, including the habit, leading to a re-evaluation of its symbolism and importance for women's religious identity.

On a similar note, Elizabeth Morgan (2005) addressed the traditions of religious clothing, especially in the context of the veil in Christian traditions, highlighting its origin in the figure of Mary and its meaning for the previously mentioned “consecrated virgins” in the early church. As mentioned in Michelman's (1998) article, Morgan (2005) also comments on how after the Second Vatican Council, there were significant changes to nuns' dress, with some orders adapting their habits to attract recruits, introducing aesthetic elements and even seeking the help of fashion designers to create a new look. However, the author (Morgan, 2005) mentioned that many nuns faced body image issues and discomfort after abandoning their traditional attire, highlighting the complexities and paradoxes associated with religious dress and its relationship to material renunciation and external pressures.

In *Clothing: Christian Explorations of Daily Living* (Saracino, 2012), David H. Jensen, highlights that although human beings are born without clothes, but that unlike other mammals, they spend most of their lives wrapped in clothing, which inevitably

²⁶ The Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), commonly known as Vatican II, was an ecumenical council of the Roman Catholic Church convened by Pope John XXIII and continued under Pope Paul VI. Significant revisions to the liturgy, greater interaction with the contemporary world, and a renewed focus on religious freedom, ecumenism, and the role of the laity were among the significant reforms it brought about to modernise the Church.

plays multiple roles: protection from natural elements, expressing individuality, following fashion trends and beauty standards and reflecting social and contextual norms, therefore, situating clothing as both a basic need and an expression of the human spirit, conveying creativity and conformity with previously created ideals and standards.

Michele Saracino, researcher and professor of religious studies, references a "Religion and the Body" course she taught that included a unit on dress, in which students shared their experiences in parochial schools and the specific dress codes to which they were subjected. Several female students, particularly those brought up as Roman Catholics, were eager to share their First Communion experiences, specifically their feelings about wearing white dresses and veils at a young age, expressing a sense of purity and newness (Saracino, 2012). Additionally, although some question the viability of spirituality of clothing, arguing that not all dressing norms are related to religious issues, the author highlights examples of religious clothing practices such as the use of the veil by Muslim women, the habits worn by Catholic nuns, and the sacred garments worn by members of the LDS, which are also worthy of analysis. According to the author's view, for Christians, reflection on dressing practices should not be considered superficial:

If Christians believe we are born into patterns of daily living that restrict our freedom and the freedom of others – patterns that, if unchecked, could lead to emotional and physical pain and suffering – then reflecting on mirror moments is neither superficial nor self-indulgent. (Saracino, 2012, p. 3)

However, the author also addresses the issue of elitism associated with the philosophical and religious analysis of clothing, highlighting that the study of these issues and social practices related to the body is often accessible only to academics or privileged individuals²⁷.

Another aspect explored by Saracino (2012) is the symbolic load of clothes, which can vary according to the cultural and personal context – as will be discussed further ahead – as well as the potential political and emotional impact of religious symbols, such as the cross, which can be interpreted in different ways and carry a complex historical burden. The author also analyses the ethical aspects related to fashion and consumption,

²⁷ "One final red flag I want to acknowledge when analysing the philosophical and religious meaning behind our clothing comes from an almost contradictory position: that only the elite have time to think about these body issues. Interestingly, when juxtaposed with one another, these challenges seem to contradict one another. The first argues that a spirituality of clothing is not academic enough, while the second claims that only academics have time for such queries. It is not that the body is elite, but rather that the study of it and its related social practices is an activity available only to privileged individuals." (Saracino, 2012, p. 9)

highlighting how clothing choices can reflect Christian values, such as solidarity and hospitality and adding that “sin is not merely a personal “yes” or “no” to wearing leather at the expense of animals or to buying running shoes at the expense of children’s exploited bodies, although those are very critical personal choices” (Saracino, 2012, p. 76).

Lastly, the book also examines the relationship between clothing and gender issues in the Christian tradition, citing Biblical passages that address restrictions related to the use of clothing associated with other genders (Saracino, 2012), such as Deuteronomy 22:5²⁸ and 1 Corinthians 11:1-16²⁹.

By expanding the scope of the research to contemporary dress practices among Christian women, this thesis moves towards a more applied and contextualised analysis. This shift in focus will allow for the exploration of the evolving dynamics that shape clothing choices within Christian communities today, connecting previously established theoretical principles with the lived realities of women in their everyday experiences of faith and dress. For instance, in an article on the supervision of female bodies by Evangelical communities (focused on leggings), Michael (2018) considers that for conservative Christians, clothing is a medium imbued with Christian symbolism. For the author, within purity culture, a woman’s sexual “purity” is read through her clothes and is consequently confused with her spiritual piety. Thus, women’s modesty is treated as something external to them and, therefore, something visible and legible to the male gaze. Likewise, in the book *Moda e religião: Códigos estéticos da devoção* [Fashion and Religion: Aesthetic Codes of Devotion] by Marina Seibert Cezar (2014), female

²⁸ “A woman must not wear men’s clothing, nor a man wear women’s clothing, for the Lord your God detests anyone who does this.” (Deuteronomy 22:5, New International Version)

²⁹ “Follow my example, as I follow the example of Christ. I praise you for remembering me in everything and for holding to the traditions just as I passed them on to you. But I want you to realise that the head of every man is Christ, and the head of the woman is man, and the head of Christ is God. Every man who prays or prophesies with his head covered dishonours his head. But every woman who prays or prophesies with her head uncovered dishonours her head—it is the same as having her head shaved. For if a woman does not cover her head, she might as well have her hair cut off; but if it is a disgrace for a woman to have her hair cut off or her head shaved, then she should cover her head. A man ought not to cover his head, since he is the image and glory of God; but woman is the glory of man. For man did not come from woman, but woman from man; neither was man created for woman, but woman for man. It is for this reason that a woman ought to have authority over her own head, because of the angels. Nevertheless, in the Lord woman is not independent of man, nor is man independent of woman. For as woman came from man, so also man is born of woman. But everything comes from God. Judge for yourselves: Is it proper for a woman to pray to God with her head uncovered? Does not the very nature of things teach you that if a man has long hair, it is a disgrace to him, but that if a woman has long hair, it is her glory? For long hair is given to her as a covering. If anyone wants to be contentious about this, we have no other practice—nor do the churches of God.” (1 Corinthians 11:1-16, New International Version)

responsibility for male actions is explained as a justification for the use of modest clothing by women who follow a Christian doctrine:

(...) libertinism can even dominate men who are spiritually mature, as they may be led astray by the flesh and diverted from their Christian purposes. This incident would be the responsibility of a foolish woman, for according to her, man is God's primary pillar, and he has much to do in accordance with Divine plans; he cannot be ruined by female sensuality. It is important to emphasise that sex is not a sin, especially since humans need to multiply, but the act becomes sinful when done outside of marriage, or when the body is used as a tool for profit or lust. In this sense, clothing would amplify this fact. For Evangelical women, a woman carries a feminine appeal that is healthy, but only if well utilised. (Cezar, 2014, p. 29, author's translation)

This view is often shared in non-academic books of Christian literature, published by religious leaders who write them specifically for their own communities, with the aim of "teaching" and criticising ways of dressing based on excerpts from the Bible, as will be explored in the next chapter.

The more subtle side of Christianity's links to fashion, related to the Christian convictions of individuals in their everyday lives, although propagated by some religious opinion leaders, does not tend to fascinate scholars as much as other topics. Thus, the scarce research on this area is strongly dominated by Brazilian researchers, such as Caixeta et al. (2012), who found the differences between two denominations of Christianity concerning the consumption of fashion products, and concluded that Evangelical women were more influenced by their religion when purchasing clothing items than followers of the Catholic Church. In the same country, Albuquerque et al. (2018) investigated the consumption of "gospel fashion" by members of a conservative Evangelical church and found that these women buy clothes from Christian brands to feel legitimised by the secular world as being modern and elegant women, even though they cannot wear pants or shorter dresses and skirts.

Other frequently cited articles on the topic are Cezar (2010) and Gonçalves (2016), which address the aesthetic productions of female clothing as proof of devotion; Silva et al. (2020; 2021) and Becheri et al. (2020), who focus on the influence of Christian religiosity on consumer behaviour in fashion; as well as Almeida et al. (2021) and

Albuquerque (2018; 2021), which explore the negotiations of religious rules of dress on social media.

In Michelman's (2003) article, the complexity of modesty and immodesty in contemporary American clothing culture is analysed, with the publication indicating that religious values can influence fashion, as demonstrated by the growing interest in more modest fashion and the movement against immodesty. The author suggests that, although feminists historically led this movement, it later became primarily driven by young Evangelical women who opposed immodesty within the culture of consumerism. Furthermore, a connection is emphasised between the religious discourse on modesty and its appeal in non-religious contexts, where the author argues that the increasing adherence of Americans to Evangelical and fundamentalist religions indicates an emerging trend in this direction, and if there is consumer demand, as discussed in the article, those within the fashion industry will need to consider Modest Fashion as an important part of individuals' clothing choices.

Moreover, Ornella (2019) and Neal (2017) investigated how Christian consumers are more likely to use clothing as a “profession of faith”, displaying t-shirts with Biblical verses and/or religious symbols³⁰. Likewise, in an early 2000s article, Dutton (2005) discussed how Evangelical students at different European universities utilised fashion to promote their Christian identity: while some Oxford students wore apparel that reflected their beliefs, such as sweatshirts with Bible verses, others at Leiden dressed more conventionally, reflecting various approaches taken by Christian groups in university settings. Furthermore, Dutton's (2005) data demonstrates that fashion plays a significant role in distinguishing and expressing identity for these groups, particularly in situations where social group boundaries are permeable.

When describing the concept of the “Fashion-Celebrity-Megachurch Industrial Complex”, Rocha (2021) proves the strong acceptance of this Christian symbolism among younger groups who follow the “Cool Christianity” phenomenon, who tend to adopt a shared aesthetic style influenced by streetwear from various brands, including Fear Of God, the merchandising of Kanye West's Sunday Service and Protestant megachurches – such as Hillsong, the subject of books like *Cool Christianity: Hillsong*

³⁰ Kealty (2021) explores the proliferation of so-called “messed” apparel (i.e., t-shirts, jackets, or caps bearing Christian phrases or images of Jesus and Mary), raising important ethical questions about how garments contribute to the construction, dilution, or commodification of religious meaning. While this type of clothing may demand justice or signal moral positioning, it also risks, in Kealty's words, “the reduction of religious inclinations not only to adornment, or perhaps aesthetic impulses, but also maligns a system that [the fashion designer] regards as ludicrous and yet cannot escape.”

and the Fashioning of Cosmopolitan Identities (Rocha, 2024) – also currently present in Portugal (Teixeira, 2021).

In contrast, Melone (2013) considers that this integration of religion in the fashion industry, particularly in the case of Forever 21, which featured a Biblical verse on its shopping bags and some clothing items, could lead to the presentation of the concept of “selling religion.” This thought was later verified by studies on the presence of Christian references in advertising and packaging (Zehra & Minton, 2020; Taylor, Halstead, & Moal-Ulvoas, 2017), concluding that, in some cases, these religious messages increase the purchase intention among people with high levels of religiosity, but that devout consumers can also quickly infer that they are forms of commercialisation of their faith or attempts at manipulation or proselytise, which can lead them to develop negative feelings towards the brands in question.

Also regarding Christian consumer behaviour, an investigation conducted in the United States (Davis, 2014) found that religion significantly influenced Christian customers' clothing preferences, particularly in perceptions of quality, fashion consciousness and price sensitivity, implying that those in this group are more inclined to seek out discounts and lower prices. According to the study's findings, more devout Christians tend to be less brand-conscious and/or brand-loyal, likely because religious consumers are more motivated to express themselves through their faith rather than a brand name. In a subsequent article (Davis, 2016), the same scholar explored the impact of religion on the perceived value of apparel store characteristics among Christian customers in America, and found that more devout Christians are more active and demanding fashion buyers, placing a high value on store qualities, reputation and social standing, as well as increasing brand loyalty to brands they believe share their religious principles.

When analysing Christian consumer behaviour, it is essential to consider this group's approach to sustainability, an issue of extreme relevance today, both socially and politically, as well as academically. Perera and Hewege (2018) and Minton et al. (2018) studied the link between diverse faiths and the environment, and concluded that Christians tend to believe that God intends for humanity to have control over nature and utilise it to serve their own interests, resulting in lower correlations between religious and ethical consumer behaviour (Raggiotto, Mason, and Moretti, 2018). Another common interpretation for this lack of interest in ecological behaviours is the concept of "dispensationalism" and the belief in the "end of time", along with the consequent restoration of the earth in eternal life (Graafland, 2017, p. 132). Although the studies mentioned do not focus directly or solely on fashion, they are relevant due to the growing

popularity of sustainable and ethical fashion, which has sparked discussions about consumption practices in various contexts, including those of the Christian faith. But can religious institutions and leaders influence sustainable consumption practices?

For instance, up until 2018, the Polish Catholic Church pressured the conservative and pro-Catholic party in power to approve laws allowing workers to rest and dedicate time to their families on Sundays. Sadowski (2021) conducted a case study to examine how these Sunday shopping restrictions implemented in Poland facilitated the emergence of a "culture of communion" by strengthening interpersonal relationships and altering purchasing habits, in addition to laying the foundations for developing a culture of fair balance in consumption, as opposed to overconsumption. Poland's situation was touched on in Almila's interview for this thesis (found in Appendix G1) and although showing concern for the "current trend of conservative Catholicism and right-wing leadership" the professor mentioned that "everything can be always used for good and bad, so religion can also do good". In this sense, Sadowski (2021) proposed that consumerism has been identified as "one of the greatest challenges to Man's integral development" (Sadowski, 2021, p. 12) and that, because Roman Catholics make up the vast majority of the population, Christian denominations could help reduce consumerist culture and promote sustainable fashion consumption behaviours, an idea that will be explored further ahead in this thesis, as it is shared in the interviews with Christian women.

Finally, regarding theses and dissertations, Blackwell (2016) sought to determine the impact of Christian identity on the modesty of a sample of 428 women and the various ways in which these ideals influence the body image and self-esteem of these women; Roddy (2021) discussed the various problems associated with teaching the "rules" of modesty within an American Evangelical Christian community, inevitably exploring issues linked to theology and sexism; and Smith (2016) investigated the expectations regarding the way of dressing of Christian women in a Westernised society, analysing the experiences of these women in the process of purchasing modest clothes and trying to determine what is considered truly "modest" and "appropriate" for this specific demographic. Lastly, in Witcher's (2010) small-scale project, the researcher found that the clothing worn by young Jordanian Christian women does not reflect their inner identity as much as it does their societal integration, as the Christian women in the study admitted to mirroring the Arab society in which they lived despite expressing a stronger affinity with the West and its values, primarily due to its shared Christian heritage.

2.3. Fashion in Christian Literature: Modesty, Purity and Female Agency

The examination of the impact of Christianity on women's fashion is complex and multifaceted, thus, this chapter aims to explore the importance of reading, researching and referencing religious literature written by religious leaders and opinion makers and targeted towards their communities when writing a literature review on the influence of religion on Christian women's dress practices. These primary sources, while non-academic and often biased or lacking objectivity, provide valuable insights into the beliefs and practices of religious communities, including their connection to fashion. Religious leaders play a significant role in shaping the beliefs and customs of their communities, and, therefore, their writings can provide interesting information on the topic.

Firstly, all books discussed in this chapter mention the Genesis creation narrative to explain how clothing and God are intrinsically linked, because, as previously noted, from a religious point of view, the origin of clothing is associated with the development of feelings of shame, nudity and sexuality in the three Abrahamic religions (Guindi, 1999). The fact that the Bible refers to the Creator providing Adam and Eve with coverings leads many believers and theologians to assert that God not only invented clothing but also that He was the first fashion designer.

Despite the subject of fashion being frequently considered frivolous and futile and some religious leaders even considering that it would be insulting to members for the church to give them guidelines on how to dress (Schambach, 1974), the topic of clothing is, nonetheless, one that is controversially brought up by Christian authors, as they believe that the way followers of a Christian doctrine dress is something that concerns God. This is because the clothes these individuals wear both represent their faith and show and/or lead to “sexual sins.” Regardless of sins which are commonly associated with people’s attire (such as vanity, envy, greed and lust) being common to all genders, the spotlight is habitually and successively aimed at women.

When talking about the subject of women’s fashion according to religious writings, it would be essential to look at those historically, starting with the works of key ecclesiastical thinkers, such as Quintus Tertullianus³¹. In his writings regarding the apparel of women (Tertullianus, 2016), apart from stating that the origins of “female

³¹ Tertullian was a prolific early (2nd-century) Christian author known in church history as the father of Latin theology, as he was the first church leader to write his works in Latin.

ornamentation” could be traced back to the fallen angels and that excess in dress was to be shunned, the focus of his message tended to be on his view that pigments in clothing were unlawful under God. Tertullian (2016, p. 11) considered that the salvation of both women and men “consists in the exhibition principally of modesty”, modesty which, in the second century, was about simplicity and humility rather than suggestive clothing, which seems to be the focus in present days.

Similarly, this same concept of modesty was reiterated in the 19th century by The Church of England – the established Christian church in England and the mother church of the Anglican doctrine – which read a homily against excess of apparel (Church of England, 1833, p.3), referencing the previously mentioned words of Tertullian and adding that God despises “all excess, pride, ostentation, and vanity” and forbids everything that reduces charity towards others.

Regarding more recent Christian literature, Mozambican evangelist Victor Ejimadu (2022) published a “guide on the believer’s dress or fashion ethics” where he insists that followers of a Christian faith should not be offended when someone comments or gives them advice on their clothing choices, as he sees fashion as something that the devil can use as a tool for seduction, immorality and idolatry. The author also believes that wearing revealing clothes “could attract the attention of people in a lustful manner thus making them sin” (Ejimadu, 2022, p. 8) and that when it comes to their way of dressing, Christians should not promote sensuality and lust or adhere to the ways of the world, but instead they should represent God’s wisdom and His instructions regarding the distinction between genders and modesty.

Comparably, Challies and Glenn (2012) state to have written their book based on the premise that married women have gone to them for help due to their concern that their husbands will be “led into sin” by the immodest clothing choices of other women in their congregation. Although there is a big focus on women’s modesty and how wrong it is for a Christian to want to arouse a man whom they are not married to by wearing revealing clothing or bathing suits, the authors also admit that highly attractive women are the biggest victims of this judgement, because being good-looking is not inherently immodest and that, overall, thinking that “plainness is next to godliness” and treating modesty or immodesty as a “salvation issue” would be hypocritical and, therefore, sinful in itself.

A more controversial point is made by Spinney et al. (2011), whom despite referring to immodestly dressed women as “accessories to adultery” (comparing them to accessories to murder), who “sexually harass men” by dressing “provocatively”, puts the

responsibility of women's dressing choices (including the use of trousers, which the authors consider inappropriate for Christian women) on men:

(...) it seems that we tend to direct messages like this at younger women. This strikes me as inappropriate. The message in this booklet is aimed primarily at husbands and fathers, who are the God-ordained leaders of families. When I see a Christian teenager who is immodestly dressed, my first thought is, "Where is the father? Why is the father asleep at the wheel?" When a married Christian woman does not dress modestly, my first thought is, "Why is the husband so unconcerned with the Bible's teaching regarding modest clothing?" (...) Men have an added responsibility: they should explain to their wives and older children how easily men are tempted to lust by immodest clothing. (Spinney et al., 2011)

This aforementioned publication (Spinney et al., 2011) was inspired by a previously published book by Jeff Pollard (2000), which also ultimately blames fathers and husbands for not being "in charge" of what the women around them are allowed to wear. Additionally, Pollard's (2000) way of blaming women's attitudes and clothing for men's actions and thoughts makes said actions seem somewhat non-consensual, as he draws a comparison between women failing their "responsibility" to dress modestly and the Biblical story of David and Bathsheba (2 Samuel 11:1–5), where after seeing a beautiful woman bathing from the roof of his palace, King David decided to send his guards to get her and, consequently, impregnated her. The author of *Christian Modesty: The Public Undressing of America* (Pollard, 2000) considers that, while King David was to blame for his actions, "Bathsheba's unwise and imprudent public nakedness certainly fuelled the fires of David's lust", which is a dangerous statement to make as of late 20th century/early 21st century, as opinions and societies have evolved regarding the concepts of female agency, consent and power imbalances since the Old Testament times, when this narrative took place. Curiously, from the cited publications by religious leaders, Pollard's (2000) seems to be the only which was translated into Portuguese (with the title *Deus, o Estilista: O Padrão Bíblico Para a Modéstia Cristã* [God the Stylist/Fashion Designer: The Biblical Standard for Christian Modesty]), and is for sale in Christian bookstores in Portugal (such as Centro de Literatura Cristão and Editora Fiel), as well as available at the National Library of Portugal.

From a Catholic point of view, although these discourses are not particularly common in Portugal, the Portuguese website of the *Opus Dei*³² has published an article dedicated to fashion and the way the faithful dress (Walters, 2016). In this text, passages stand out, such as “appropriate clothing helps to respect personal freedom without exposing one’s intimacy to prying eyes, since to contemplate something is, in a certain way, to possess it”, and “even if the sense of modesty is nullified, concupiscence does not disappear, and there are ways of presenting oneself that always incite disrespectful reactions and that are, in the end, not very human”. These statements reflect the traditional and conservative perspective typical of a group like *Opus Dei*, which, although a minority, tends to have a strong influence on its members and close circles, standing apart from more open religious communities in this, and other, matters.

In *Clothed with Christ*, Christian psychologist William S. Bentley (2020) starts with a Bible quote which reads “Get out of bed and get dressed! Don't loiter and linger, waiting until the very last minute. Dress yourselves in Christ, and be up and about!” (Romans 13:14, MSG Bible, 2002). Subsequently, the focus of his publication is on the metaphorical language involving clothing and “wearing the faith” presented in the Bible, and not so much on the idea of modesty, which is the centre of most other books on the topic, with the author adding that “Obviously, as Christians, we cannot fall into the trap of thinking that our worth and acceptance are tied into the clothing we wear. Nor can we judge others for their choice of clothing (or lack of)” (Bentley, 2020, p. 35).

Bentley (2020) even calls out the legalism³³ inside the Church and the fact that a lot of followers of the religion put a greater emphasis on rules, becoming “more concerned with the external than the internal” and consequently feeling “weighed down by fear and guilt” (Bentley 2020, p. 60).

Returning to a Catholic view on female modesty, in *Dressing with Dignity*, Colleen Hammond (2005) wrote that when a woman is dressed immodestly she is more prone to being mistreated or even harassed by men because they would perceive her as a “sexual object”, adding to her view that sex workers in the 1950s and 1960s wore less “suggestive” clothes than the ones women were wearing day-to-day in the early 2000s. In her book, Hammond also makes a connection between women's fashion and the Marian apparition in Fátima, Portugal, writing:

³² *Opus Dei* (“Work of God” in Latin) is a personal prelature within the Catholic Church, founded in 1928 in Spain with the objective of helping its members seek holiness in their everyday lives, particularly through their work and family life.

³³ In a religious context, legalism refers to excessive adherence to laws or rules, often prioritising strict observance over spiritual intent or faith.

Our Lady of Fatima also said that certain fashions would be introduced "that will offend Our Lord very much," Jacinta commented later that people who serve God should not follow current fashion trends. Jacinta also said that the Church has no fashions, and that "Our Lord is always the same" (Hammond, 2005).

Curiously, Jacinta and the Fatima apparitions also inspired a modest Venezuelan brand called *Modas Jacinta*, which provides sewing training and support to women in vulnerable situations (Público, 2023).

In her book *The Catholic Wardrobe: Musings from a Personal Stylist* (2020), Meghan Ashley Sokolowski starts by praising nuns who iron their veils every day, "not out of vanity, but out of respect for God, and for being a bride of Christ" (Sokolowski, 2020, p. 3), and also puts a heavy focus on colours she finds particularly relevant within the religious teachings of the faith. One example could be the relevance placed on the colour blue in various apparitions (Lourdes and Guadalupe), which the stylist relates to the book of Numbers in the Old Testament, where the people of Israel were told to wear blue tassels on the corners of their sash. According to the author, because blue is a signifier of eternity for Catholics, as it is the colour of the cloth that covers the Ark of the Covenant³⁴, Mary appears wearing this colour as a way to show herself as a metaphor for someone who is bearing the Ark of God, Jesus. The stylist also mentions that wearing Catholic accessories such as saint medals is an excellent way to be visibly Catholic, saying that wearing one's patron saint offers both protection upon the wearer and opportunities to evangelise people who eventually comment on said jewellery, a view that was also shared in the interviews for the present thesis. Another accessory mentioned and recommended in Sokolowski's (2020) book is the wool scapular, which Catholics believe was given by Mary to a Carmelite to offer salvation, protection, and peace.

Interestingly, Sokolowski (2020) made a connection between fashion and Catholicism that is not frequently brought up both in religious and academic literature, which is the use of clothing during Lent. In the pages about this topic, apart from mentioning that people can use this period to "fast" from impulse buying, donating clothes and complimenting other people on their outfits, the stylist explains how clothing can be used as a means of Lenten sacrifice or penance:

³⁴ The Ark of the Covenant is a gold-covered wooden box described in the Hebrew Bible (primarily in Exodus 25) as the container for the stone tablets of the Ten Commandments. It symbolised God's covenant with the Israelites and His presence among them.

Maybe this means wearing an uncomfortable sock or wearing jeans when you wish to wear something a bit softer and cozier that day. Dressing a bit chillier or warmer. If you're cozy with a scarf, maybe forego it for a couple of Fridays. I'm a sucker for comfort, so this is a good penance for me (but don't exercise this to the point where you get cranky and make people around you unhappy). Wearing heels (Sokolowski, 2020, p. 36).

While both Catholic fashion stylists aim to help Catholic women curate a wardrobe, in *Worthy of Wearing*, Nicole M. Caruso (2021) focuses more on female modesty, recommending that women keep in mind if their clothes are distracting when choosing them, as she feels like wearing revealing clothes will draw attention away from one's qualities, in the same way that gossiping would divert the focus from one's morality. On the other hand, it is added that one is not "free of vanity" if their main purpose when putting on clothes is to be "complimented, noticed and preferred over others" regardless of wearing, or not wearing, figure-hugging or modest apparel (Caruso, 2021, p. 93). Furthermore, the stylist also mentions the concept of Marian modesty and the choice of Christian veiling (or veiling at Mass) which, despite having been common historically, is now a growing trend among young Catholic women (Kearns, 2024).

The view that what makes garments "holy" is the purpose/intentions behind one's choices rather than the length or fit is shared by Omotola Jumbo (2022), who also brings attention to the importance of thinking of sustainability and charity in her book titled *Fashion for Glory*:

If God clothes me, would He have me make a consistent impulsive purchase of clothes that lead to waste and pollution? If God clothes me, will I waste resources by misusing clothes or hoarding them instead of giving them to others who are in need? (Jumbo, 2022, p. 87)

Alternatively, the book *Christian Dress & Adornment* by Bacchiocchi (1995) features essays that were written by different religious women and that aimed to reach members of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. Despite being from a different denomination within Christianity, the ideals of modesty shared were quite similar to the ones explored throughout this chapter, placing slightly more importance on the proper use of cosmetics, which the author considers licit only if "used judiciously to cover blemishes and bring out the natural look" as using makeup "to create an unnatural look which is seductive and sensual" (Bacchiocchi, 1995, p. 35) would be immodest and

compared to the Old Testament wicked women archetype: Jezebel, who was mentioned to wear eye makeup in 2 Kings 9:30. The book adds that there is a strong link between clothing and behaviour, and that expensive clothing and jewellery demonstrate internal pride and a “desire for self-exaltation”, which could also lead to “idolatry, adultery, and apostasy” as ultimately “immodesty breeds impurity” (Bacchiocchi, 1995, p. 27).

Subsequently, Patti and Allen Barnes (2009) also published “an appeal” to Seventh-day Adventists with the title *Christian Apparel: An Index Of The Heart*, where they speak against “flesh-coloured hosiery”, as they believe legs should never be exposed publicly, as well as cosmetics, adding that “even a little bit of makeup is immodest” (Barnes, 2009, p. 47). In this publication, the authors accuse immodestly dressed women of attention seeking, pride and vanity, and suggest that wearing “sexy” clothes is harmful to both the wearer and observing individuals, as it threatens morals by encouraging lust.

A more religiously fundamentalist perspective is provided by Stephen Scott's (1997) book *Why Do They Dress That Way?*, which thoroughly explains the dressing style of the so-called “plain people” who “believe ornaments and finery are contrary to the Biblical principle” (Scott, 1997, p. 4). Clothing worn by “plain people” reflects enduring traditions and resists fashion-driven change, exemplifying what was previously described as fossilised fashion, where outdated styles are maintained to express a religious, sectarian identity (Arthur, 1999). According to Scott (1997) – who was a member of one Old Order Brethren congregation until his death – these communities believe that the devil and the forces of evil govern the world, and thus, by adhering to society's trends and fashions, they would be displaying a connection to the world's system, which they reject. As a result, these religious communities consider that the church, instead of the fashion industry, should determine how people should dress.

Overall, the Christian literature mentioned in this chapter, as well as the conversation on religious modesty, is a repercussion of the concept of purity culture, which is an overarching aspect of Christian culture and communities. For example, in her self-published book, Christian content creator Saphina Carla (2020) does not touch specifically on the subject of fashion, writing about purity culture instead, which she describes as a set of rules about romantic conduct and sex that are frequently upheld and ministered as Biblical certainties that have to be followed in order to achieve a “Godly relationship” with a partner. The writer explains that this immense fixation on people’s behaviours relating to sexuality and – as a consequence of patriarchy – women’s purity, has consequences for a lot of individuals that struggle to see sexual relations as something that is not “sinful” even after they are married, as “the church has demonised

sex to the point where shame, guilt, and dirtiness, are the only contexts many Christian women associate with it” (Carla, 2020, p. 77).

For instance, *In Defence of Purity*³⁵ by Hildebrand (2017), which characterises itself as “an analysis of the Catholic ideals of purity and virginity” expresses that impurity consists in the abuse of sex. This book also states that purity entails a distinguishable outlook towards sexuality, and that, therefore, someone’s purity or impurity is determined by their attitude towards sex. Interestingly, even in the dictionary, purity is described as “the quality of being morally good or the state of not having sex” (Cambridge Dictionary, n.d.), and considered synonymous with “chastity”, “immaculacy” and “modesty” (Merriam-Webster, n.d.), so in the end, being pure or “free from moral fault or guilt” means not being sexual in any way, which would then include clothing.

Although it also addresses some relatively recent works, the present chapter focused mainly on older books, reflecting a time when people were writing more frequently about topics such as modesty, purity and the ways of dressing of women who attend church. However, some questions persist: do women who follow these faiths today still believe in these principles? Are they influenced by this type of literature and advice? Could it be that, with changing times, these discussions migrated to the online environment? Or has the fear of becoming ‘victims’ of cancel culture reduced the publication of new content on the topic?

Finally, a very different perspective on fashion and Christianity is provided by the former Chief Operating Officer of the British Fashion Council, Simon Ward, who ran London Fashion Week for over 30 years and also wrote a book from a Christian point of view about how he believes God would run the fashion industry. In *The Character of Fashion* (Ward, 2016), he highlights some of the biggest ethical issues in fashion and shares the stories of other Christians working in the industry. The author explains how a Christian approach to fashion could fix problems in the industry such as fast fashion, unsustainable exploitation of the earth’s resources, unpaid internships, sweatshops, and the sexualisation of children, as well as other issues related to the mental health of the people who are influenced by the system (such as feelings like disdain, overambition and body image problems). Likewise, the author (Ward, 2016) also explains how the Bible could help with steps towards a utopic slow fashion, by using seven-year cycles as done in Exodus 23:10-11, and pop-ups which would be open for 40-day periods, drawing a parallel between his suggestion and the various mentions of scriptural narratives which

³⁵ Originally published in German in 1927.

lasted 40 days, such as the 40 days of rain while Noah was in the Ark, Moses' 40 days in Mount Sinai and even Jesus' 40 days in the desert.

2.3.1. Theology of Fashion

Theologians and Christian religious leaders – such as pastors, priests, or bishops – have different approaches to the study of Scriptures. While theologians (or theologists) usually approach Scriptures as an academic subject and engage in scholarly research, aiming to understand the cultural and historical context of the Biblical narrative, religious leaders tend to approach Scriptures from a more practical and pastoral perspective, guiding and inspiring their communities spiritually. While both theologians and religious leaders may draw from the same Biblical texts, their focus and goals differ, reflecting distinct roles and responsibilities in their religious communities. In this case, specifically, the study of fashion theology is particularly useful as, although being a very recent topic and very unexplored in academia, experts argue that this field of studies has been hypothesised since the very beginnings of the Christian faith. Christian theology of fashion refers to the study of the relationship between fashion and spirituality/religion, and involves examining the cultural, social and ethical implications of fashion, and how it intersects with religious beliefs, values and practices. Overall, this field also explores how fashion can both be influenced by religious teachings and norms and at the same time reflect, shape and express religious identities, while also delving into the spiritual dimension of dress and its possible role in human transcendence.

In his 2020 book titled *Dio Tre Volte Sarto: Moda, Chiesa e Teologia* [God three times a tailor: Fashion, church and Theology], Alberto Fabio Ambrosio, Professor of Theology and History of Religions, illustrates the importance of the fashion designer, which he considers to have immense power, not only creatively but of being able to create something that God Himself has created. In the book, Cardinal Gianfranco Ravasi explains that at the heart of fashion theology is the fact that individuals do not get dressed solely because of climatic conditions, but because they want to participate in fashion's artistic way of creating, which the author associates with God's way of creating.

Ambrosio (2020) also compares the various steps within the fashion system, from the creative act of designers to production and marketing, to an enormous religious apparatus that is “deeply venerated and harshly criticised”, constituting a “religious space” in which salvation is not given (Ambrosio, 2020, p. 58). Furthermore, the author goes on to compare luxury fashion to the “priceless value” of Christ's garments on the cross, and points out the relevance of Christian humanitarian organisations on the

second-hand clothing market, which is presently seen as a possible post-fast-fashion solution.

Regarding modesty, the theologian considers Pope Pius XII's explanation that the origin and purpose of dress is the natural need for modesty, stemming from consideration for others' sensitivity to nudity, and primarily serves as a protection of moral honesty and a "shield" against "disordered sensuality" (Ambrosio, 2020, p. 79). Furthermore, when discussing recycled clothes and their newfound relevance in modern society, the author touches upon the legend of St. Martin of Tours – a knight who removed his only warm cloak from his back, cut it in half with his sword and gave it to a homeless man who needed help during a storm – which has become an icon of all Christian charity and originated the liturgical feast celebrated on November 11, which is still celebrated in many countries today, including Portugal, as "*Dia de São Martinho*".

Later, in a publication named *Moda E Religioni: Vestire Il Sacro, Sacralizzare Il Look* [Fashion and Religion: Dressing the Sacred, Making the Look Sacral], Ambrosio (2022) explains how fashion and religion are not separate entities, but rather, both play crucial roles in modern society as systems of thought and value production, possibly making them analogous phenomena. For the author, fashion can be regarded as a system of meaning production and just like religion, it claims to have a set of values and beliefs that are conveyed through stories attached to brands and products. This leads Ambrosio to formulate the concept of "sacralizing the look," which refers to imbuing clothing with spiritual significance.

Ambrosio explains that while historically, Christianity (and particularly Catholicism) opposed the birth of fashion, seeing it as a sinful system in opposition to the religious system, fashion and religion share the intention of seeking a spiritual and moral conversion, resulting in a transformative experience of the sacred or divine. Thus, the pursuit of quality, luxury and perfection in consumption and consumerism can be considered both a rival and alternative to religion, as it expresses a search for quality, well-being and salvation through the relationship between brands and desire (Ambrosio, 2022). However, in agreement with his previously mentioned book on the topic, the theologian considers that ethical fashion has a clear religious inspiration, and is based on three categorical imperatives: resist, recycle and repair, which reflect a spiritual fight against an immoral fashion, which Ambrosio (2022) compares to the metempsychosis of reincarnation.

Lastly, Ambrosio's (2022) book also discusses the use of religious language and imagery in the fashion and beauty industries, arguing that well-known brands and lines, such as perfumes like "Scandal" by Jean-Paul Gaultier, Calvin Klein's "Eternity," and

Christian Dior's "J'adore," employ religious terminology to create an effective and attractive message. The language of fashion is viewed as a crucial element in crafting a sacred atmosphere and transferring religious semantics into the fashion world. According to the author (Ambrosio, 2022), this "appropriation" occurs because fashion designers and stylists draw inspiration from their own culture and imagination when creating designs. The book then makes a comparison, highlighting Yves Saint Laurent, who came from a Catholic background and whose designs were influenced by a more baroque style, in contrast to Hermès, which draws inspiration from a Protestant liturgical tradition.

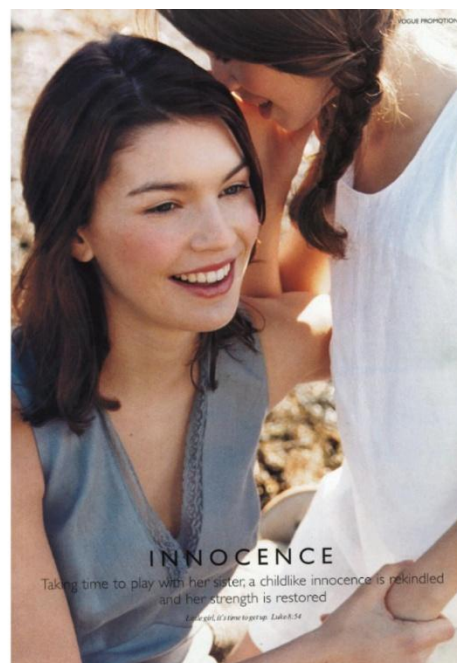
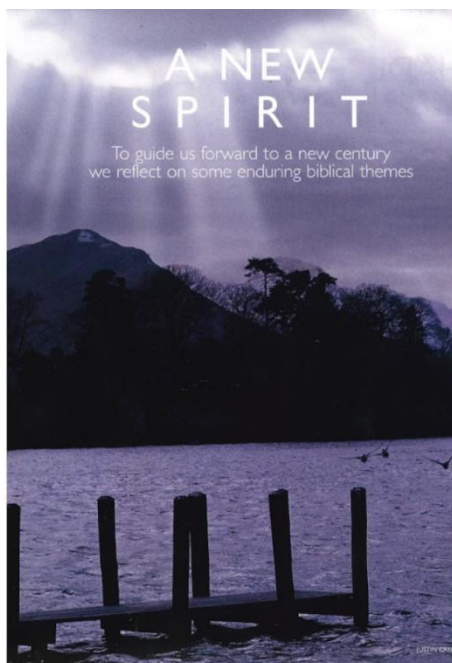
In addition to Ambrosio's numerous publications on the subject, Covolo's (2020) *Fashion Theology* is also a unique and noteworthy contribution to the field, as it is one of the few books that specifically address the subject of fashion theology. The author offers a fresh perspective on the relationship between fashion and religious beliefs, providing insight and understanding into this seldom-explored area, by reviewing the works of various philosophers and theologians, including Barth (1981), Seerveld (1997, 2014) and Wolterstorff (1987, 1988, 2015), whom directly or indirectly explored the relationship between clothing and Christianity, and even St. Augustine (2004, 2018), whom the author considers to have been the first fashion theorist, as he was the first to posit dress as a sign system in complex societies (Covolo 2020). The author mentions that Barth sees fashion as linked to the first sin, where humanity attempted to reclaim a God-given glory apart from God, resulting in people becoming "the sport of all kinds of winds and influences" (Covolo, 2020, p. 41), a view that is shared by a lot of Christian authors. Furthermore, it is added that both Seerveld and Wolterstorff present a theological foundation for comprehending the art of fashion that stems from the Catholic imagination, as they believe that "humanity is called as God's agents to purposeful action within creation" (Covolo, 2020, p.89) – encompassing both tangible realities and societal, cultural and interpretive domains – such deliberate aesthetics inherently possess a theological nature:

(...) the advancement of fashion's democratic impulse was achieved by fashion absorbing some elements of Christianity while discarding others: taking on Christianity's embrace of the world while cancelling the creed of creation; defending the dignity of the physical body but discarding the idea of resurrection, and holding to the value of the individual, but doing so without the "added burden" of the *imago dei*. The resulting story elevates fashion. But it does so by turning Christianity on its head; the story of the author of the universe entering

into it as an individual becomes the story of individuals becoming the authors of their universe (Covolo, 2020, p. 53).

Moreover, Covolo (2020) adds that in the Catholic imagination, art is perceived as a tool for capturing timeless, comprehensive and aesthetically pleasing ideals, whereas the Protestant imagination regards art as a means of depicting transitory, specific and quotidian realities. The Catholic imagination views images as self-contained artefacts to be appreciated through focused contemplation, while the Protestant imagination conceives images as *loci* of intellectual significance. The author then makes mention of the *Heavenly Bodies* exhibit to suggest that it might have explored the Protestant imagination more than the Catholic one, contrary to what most might have understood, as will be explored later in an interview with the theologian.

Covolo also mentions a sponsored fashion spread by the Bible Society in *British Vogue*, which is of particular interest to the present study and that showcased models in different scenarios, accompanied by verses from the Bible (Figures 2 and 3). English New Testament scholar N.T. Wright articulated that the driving force behind the editorial was the belief that clothes are a sign of hope that we will be "more fully clothed," and "more fully and truly ourselves, in God's ultimate future" (Covolo, 2020, p. 114).



Figures 2 and 3 - Pages from the Bible Society-sponsored spread in the May 1999 issue of *British Vogue*. Source: Personal communication with Katie Knight/Bible Society, [March 1, 2023].

Finally, for Covolo (2020), the conditions that gave rise to fashion – individuals freed from tradition – have created a new burden for individuals who now have to style their lives and express themselves by creating an identity in a world where strong evaluations are fragile. On the one hand, some see fashion as providing aesthetic solutions to everyday life, while others view the market's role as disqualifying fashion as merely a consumable item, rather than a contemplative one. However, the author explains that Paul's writings in the epistles (such as Galatians 3:28, Colossians 3:3-17 and Philippians 3:8-11) challenge Christians to look beyond race, class and gender in their search for identity, and instead "put on Christ" and superimpose their life stories onto the transhistorical narrative of Christ's life (Covolo, 2020, p. 107). In complex societies, clothing acts as a lens that highlights different aspects of an individual's identity in various social contexts, yet according to fashion theology, Jesus lived as a "cultural being who participated in the very real social world of the first century" (Covolo, 2020, p. 112), the same way Christians participate in the variety of dress found in broader cultural practices.

2.4. Finding God in *Vogue*: *Heavenly Bodies*, Fashionable Christianity and Religious Symbology in Visual Culture

The relationship between fashion and religion, especially through the presence of Christian symbolism, is a theme that has become recurrent in several contemporary analyses. Exploring everything from the representation of the cross in clothing and accessories to the influence of religious practices and clothing on haute couture, this part of the thesis discusses how designers and fashion publications, such as *Vogue*, reinterpret and recontextualise religious symbols, offering new perspectives on the intersection of faith and style.

Gordon Lynch's edited book *Between Sacred and Profane: Researching Religion and Popular Culture* (2007) explores the intersection between religion and popular culture, highlighting the interdisciplinary nature of this field of study. Lynch's book uses theories and methodologies from various disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, philosophy, psychology, history, literary criticism, and media studies, to investigate how religion manifests itself in and is influenced by contemporary popular culture, and discusses how the study of popular culture can help scholars reflect on broader questions about the role of religion in society. The interaction between religion and cultural and economic systems has always intrigued observers, and the attempt to separate the sacred from the secular proves to be complex and often unsatisfactory. Commonly used

examples, such as the use of religious imagery in Madonna's music videos show that, in postmodern communities, religion is multifaceted, and the barriers between the sacred and the secular are permeable. Similarly, one of the authors of this publication (Lynch, 2007) also mentioned that their students are encouraged to consider how their religious imagination is shaped by both faith traditions and the religious issues explored in the cultural material they consume. This phenomenon is illustrated by the use of religious themes in popular films, such as *The Matrix* (Wachowski & Wachowski, 1999), which, according to the publication, explores theological questions about the nature of human life³⁶.

Lynch (2007) argues that today, religion is both more visible and more contested than in the recent past, with Christmas decorations in public spaces and the previously mentioned use of headscarves by Muslim women in contexts such as classrooms, exemplifying how religious expressions have become subjects of debate. Studies on the appropriation and reappropriation of religious symbols in post-religious contexts explore how religious imagery is displaced, often in ironic or eclectic ways. The author mentions yet another cinematic work, referencing the irreverence of Kevin Smith's (1999) film *Dogma*, which questions theological relevance while criticising religious fanaticism and the Church's desperate attempt to adapt to the values of corporate culture (Lynch, 2007).

Moreover, according to this publication (Lynch, 2007), it is essential to reject the binary opposition between the sacred and the profane, as it creates a false distinction between everyday life and the transcendent. An example provided is the production of commodities by the contemporary Christian music industry, which shows how mundane economic and cultural production can simultaneously serve as a resource for the construction of identity and religious experience, highlighting the interdependence between the sacred and the mundane in the construction of the religious. Furthermore, Lynch (2007) considers that research into religion and popular culture has been a flourishing subarea within religious studies, revealing how media and everyday cultures shape and transform contemporary religion.

Numerous influential publications, such as *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture* (Moore, 1995), *Material Christianity: Religion and Popular Culture in America* (McDannell, 1995), *God in the Details: American Religion and*

³⁶ Numerous online videos and opinion articles (such as Raz M, 2018, and Smith, 2019) explain how *The Matrix* film series explores theological and philosophical themes, claiming that they draw inspiration from various religious and spiritual traditions, including Gnosticism, Christianity, Buddhism, and Nietzschean philosophy.

Popular Culture (Mazur & McCarthy, 2010), *Religion and Popular Culture in America* (Forbes & Mahan, 2017), *Icons of American Protestantism* (Morgan, 1996), *Religion, Media, and the Public Sphere* (Meyers & Moores, 2005) and *Visual Habits: Nuns, Feminism, and American Postwar Popular Culture* (Sullivan, 2005) were also highlighted due to having shaped people's understanding of how religion intersects with American popular culture, by providing analysis of how media and cultural representations influence and reflect religious identity in the United States. These books, as well as most publications referenced in this literature review, are focused on the United States due to the country's prominent interest in the interactions between religion and popular culture, and the fact that Christianity has been a fundamental aspect for many people across the nation.

David Morgan's (1999) *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* lays the groundwork for the investigation of the role of religious images in the construction of reality, examining how people use these images to create and maintain their world. Morgan (1999) argues that the historical analysis of popular religious images is justified by their contribution to this construction of reality. Popular depictions of Jesus, such as Warner Sallman's *Head of Christ* (Figure 4) and the various versions of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Figure 5) exemplify how these images, despite having no textual descriptions in the New Testament, are immediately recognisable and have a significant role in the piety of believers – especially Catholics – who learn to see these images as faithful illustrations of their faith since childhood. Morgan's (1999) approach is historical, treating religious images as cultural products, as he seeks to understand these images in the context of the social worlds of those who create, market, buy and use them, rather than restricting them to aesthetic contemplation or theological criticism. The author considers that from the 19th century, the use of mass-reproduced photographs, prints, and paintings has been crucial in religious education and Christian devotion, facilitating a subtle transition from artefact to lived reality.

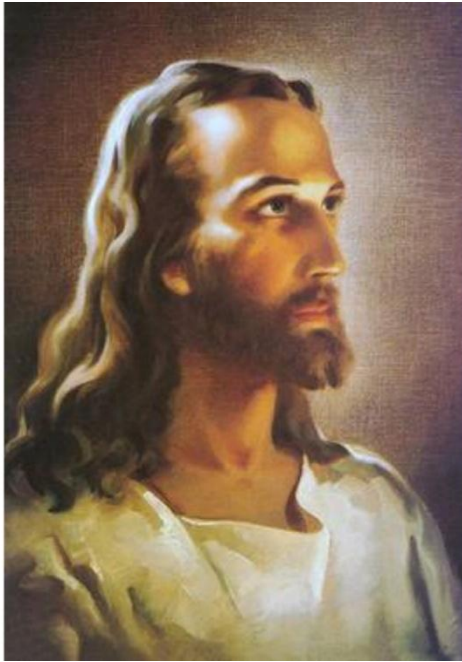


Figure 4 - *The Head of Christ* by Warner Sallman (1940). Source: <https://www.westsideseattle.com/ballard-news-tribune/2015/03/11/nordic-heritage-museum-shows-iconic-work-best-known-artist-century>



Figure 5 - *Sacred Heart of Jesus* by Pompeo Batoni (1767) in the Church of the Gesù, Rome. Source: <https://sdcason.com/sacred-heart-of-jesus-1767-by-pompeo-batoni-public-domain-catholic-painting/>

The persistent presence of images in Catholic and some Protestant churches underscores the importance of these devotional representations for many believers. At the same time, theological critics argue that many devotional images reduce God to an “idolatrous human scale” (Morgan, 1999, p. 23). Nevertheless, for many devotees, Sallman's *Head of Christ* image represents the man they hope to see in paradise, serving as a reminder of Jesus' promise, even if His true appearance is irretrievable. Images of Jesus have been popular throughout the history of Christianity, tending to conform to a specific facial type, even when portrayed as a member of different ethnicities or races. For believers, when they see what they imagine to be the true appearance of the deity, the image becomes an icon, providing the feeling of the real presence of the divine. Morgan (1999) suggests that, for much of the 20th century, Sallman's image of Jesus represented a synthesis of the various representations of Jesus that believers had seen, helping them form an essential mental image of Jesus.

In the Protestant world, there were alternative forms of sympathy towards these images, as Calvinists in the 17th and 18th centuries in North America, for example, considered the use of images of Jesus' suffering to be an idolatrous Catholic practice (Morgan, 1999). Moreover, the condemnation of carved or made images suggests to many believers that what occupies physical space can be confused with what it means,

highlighting the ongoing tension between the use of images and the potential danger of idolatry. According to the author, although many Protestants use devotional images, they often express discomfort in discussing their meaning “without issuing a warning about their use” (Morgan, 1999, p. 181), as will be seen further ahead in the analysis of the interviews with Christian women done for this thesis.

In *Religion as a Chain of Memory*, Danièle Hervieu-Léger (2000) explores the complex interaction between religion and modernity, with a particular focus on religious symbology. She argues that the notion of the sacred is fundamental to understanding both the decline of institutionalised religions and the dispersal of religious symbols in modern society. Hervieu-Léger suggests that the sacred can unify meanings common to traditional religions and new ways of responding to existential questions, and also discusses the gradual separation between the sacred and religion in modern societies, where the sacred becomes a competitive symbolic field, challenging the view that religion is condemned to lose its cultural relevance. The author uses Durkheim to highlight the fundamental division between the sacred and the profane as a distinctive characteristic of religious thought, and proposes that traditional religion also undergoes a process of metaphorization, becoming more intellectualised and spiritualised.

Furthermore, Hervieu-Léger (2000) addresses "secular sacrality" [*sacralité laïque*], where activities such as sports take on a sacred, secular quality, functioning as equivalents of traditional religions in contexts where salvation is no longer a central concern. The author proposes that religious symbology continues to play a vital role even in modernised and secularised forms of religious practice, and concludes that religion can persist and adapt in a modern world, emphasising the possibility of belonging to a religious group without necessarily adhering to its doctrinal beliefs, but valuing the continuity and traditional symbols of the group. As will be explained later, this is the case, for example, of the interviewed women who identified as both Catholic and Agnostic.

This analysis could be complemented by a previously mentioned work by Saracino (2012), which also explores the complexity of the symbology associated with religious items, such as a piece of clothing or a crucifix, and highlights how these symbols can have multiple meanings depending on the context. The author states that an article of clothing, such as a sports team jersey, is easily identified as a symbol of affiliation with a specific team but that, in contrast, a crucifix can be more ambiguous, indicating Christian religious affiliation or merely serving as a fashion accessory. Additionally, Saracino (2012) also discusses how the story of the crucifix carries deep and complex meanings, associating it with violence, state power and a long history of political and

religious implications. This highlights that while many Christians may not be aware of these historical connotations, such as the crucifix's association with Roman imperial power and the persecution of Jews over the centuries, being around this type of religious symbol might be triggering for some individuals.

On the other hand, and on a broader note about the accommodation of religious beliefs, Robert Wintemute (2014) argues that the use of religious clothing or symbols as witness wear should be generally accepted when it does not cause direct harm to third parties. Wintemute (2014) argues that prohibiting such expressions may constitute indirect discrimination against individuals who express their beliefs, especially when there is no significant cost or inconvenience in the accommodation. The case of Nadia Eweida, a Christian employee of British Airways who was banned from wearing a cross, exemplifies this direct discrimination. While the company accommodated the beliefs of Jewish, Muslim and Sikh employees by allowing them to wear yarmulkes³⁷, scarves and turbans, the refusal to allow Eweida to wear her Christian symbol highlighted unequal treatment based on religion. Additionally, Wintemute (2014) argues that allowing public sector employees to wear religious clothing or symbols at work only makes cultural diversity visible, without compromising the necessary neutrality in their functions, and that the presence of such symbols does not imply religious endorsement by the employer, any more than the display of designer brands would. This perspective highlights the importance of accommodating religious expressions as part of recognising and respecting diversity in the workplace, aligning with the need to balance religious freedom and institutional neutrality.

White's (2022) chapter in *Silhouettes of the Soul: Meditations on Fashion, Religion, and Subjectivity* (Busch & Viau, 2022) examines the historical and contemporary correlation between body image, asceticism and morality, explaining how this underlying relationship strengthens and enshrines the emaciated figure in visual culture. It is mentioned that, although it is intellectually understood that severely emaciated bodies should not be the standard of beauty or fashion, as they are not widely attainable for the majority of society, or even healthy in most cases, these figures continue to be promoted. For instance, a previously mentioned publication by Entwistle (2000) also touched on diets in the context of religion. In this case, White (2022) compares late medieval figures of the crucified Christ with the iconography of "heroin chic" supermodels, noting that both share a similar sublime effect. The idea of the emaciated body, "unnaturally void of any excess flesh, fat, and muscle with a prominent

³⁷ Small skullcaps traditionally worn by Jewish men as a sign of reverence before God.

skeletal structure” (White, 2022, p. 120), is constructed by both religious and secular ascetic admiration, seen as a model of “purity, morality, and superhuman self-discipline” (White, 2022, p. 123), as well as martyrdom, seduction or pathology, depending on the observer's ideological perspective. This “unsettling thinness” can be reinterpreted to amplify the Christian or fashion message, exciting followers (White, 2022, p. 126). White (2022) also highlights that the medieval Christ was represented as emaciated to the point of being almost skin and bones in depictions of the crucifixion, not only to show the emptying process discussed previously but also to reduce the iconic figure's bodily sexuality and sex appeal.

In the same book, Otto von Busch and Julia Viau (2022) explore the intersection between fashion and religion, revealing significant public interest in these connections. This fascination is reflected in current academic trends, such as the American Academy of Religion's seminar on “Religion, Costume, and Adornment in North America,” as well as several published volumes which investigate this relationship. Similarly, according to the authors, the success of the *Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination* exhibition at The Metropolitan Museum of Art – which will be discussed further in this chapter – highlights this intersection, being praised by theologians and religious scholars for the creativity that manifests the sacred through clothing. Nonetheless, Busch and Viau (2022) mentioned that critics called for a deeper analysis of the religious institutions involved, and commented on the absence of Afro-diasporic, African or Latinx designers in the exhibition, although the fastest-growing Catholic populations belong to these cultures, as well as the lack of mention of controversies such as clerical sexual abuse. Similarly, critical theological perspectives (such as feminist, queer, black and liberation approaches) were also missing from the exhibition's curatorial essays and explanatory materials.

In the modern context, Busch and Viau (2022) consider that events like Kanye West's church services during the 2020 Paris Fashion Week, done under his Sunday Service brand, which included a gospel choir fully dressed in YEEZY uniforms, indicate the need for a new look at the intersection between fashion and religion, since these events are more than fashion shows, as they rearticulate the interface between contemporary fashion and spirituality.

In the book *Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination*, edited by the current head curator of the Anna Wintour Costume Center at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Andrew Bolton (2018), the connection between fashion and the Catholic imagination is explored, functioning as a catalogue of the exhibition of the same name at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. The book highlights how clothing is central to any

discussion of religion, as it affirms religious allegiances and, by extension, highlights religious differences. According to the editor (Bolton, 2018), most of the designers featured in the book and the exhibition were raised in the Roman Catholic tradition, and although many no longer practise Catholicism, or their relationships with the religion vary considerably, most recognise the significant influence the religion has had on their imaginations. Superficially, this influence is evident in the use of explicit Christian symbolism, such as the cross and crown of thorns and in evident Catholic images, such as the Madonna and Child and the Immaculate Heart of Mary. Additionally, specific items of clothing worn by secular clergy and religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church are also sources of inspiration. On a deeper level, the Catholic influence manifests itself through the designers' reliance on storytelling and specifically on the use of metaphors. This narrative approach allows designers to incorporate elements of Catholic tradition into their fashion creations, creating a rich and complex connection between faith and aesthetic expression.

When carrying out research that simultaneously explores religious symbolism in the pages of *Vogue Magazine* and the fashion of Portuguese women with Christian beliefs, it is certainly pertinent to examine how these women feel about reproductions such as those mentioned in Bolton (2018). This is especially relevant since Machado (2018) concluded that, regarding the 2018 Met Gala, many Catholic individuals considered the inclusion of this symbolism in the dresses worn by celebrities to be blasphemous and a desecration of the sacred.

Similarly, Chang (2019) also mentioned how on June 9, 2018, nearly 500 Catholics gathered in front of the Metropolitan Museum of Art to protest the exhibition, but argued that productions such as *Heavenly Bodies* can be used to facilitate discussions in an educational context about the mixing of art and religion. The controversy surrounding the exhibition showed that art can reflect and question contemporary and historical interests, using fashion as an empowering way to communicate social issues and learn about society. Museums, therefore, have the role of enabling unrestricted ideas and curating exhibitions that reflect a variety of interests, whether contemporary or historical. In the same article, the author (Chang, 2019) also explores the intersection between the history of fashion and religion, highlighting how, especially within Catholicism, fabric colours represent power structures and hierarchies, explaining how the Pope's white symbolises purity of the soul, the cardinals' red represents authority and discipline and the bishops' purple indicates leadership and protection. To the author, these religious costumes visually manifest the power and influence of religion (particularly Christianity) in society, but the publication (Chang,

2019) also suggests that secular fashion has become a kind of modern religion, representing culture, idolatry, economic power and social norms.

Rachel B. Gross (2022), in her article "American Religion at The Met Cloisters", explores the religious history of The Cloisters, a branch of the Metropolitan Museum of Art dedicated to medieval European architecture and art, located in northern Manhattan. The article examines how Americans used mediaeval imagery to express a moralistic American spirituality, highlighting specific moments in the museum's history: the creation of the museum in 1914 by sculptor George Gray Barnard, the opening of The Met Cloisters in 1938 financed by John D. Rockefeller Jr., its reception in the mid-20th century, a series of Episcopal masses in the 1970s and the previously mentioned 2018 exhibition *Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination*. The author (Gross, 2022) argues that throughout the 20th century, founders, donors, curators, critics and visitors to The Cloisters believed there was a "correct" way to respond emotionally to the museum and this response not only demonstrated the individual's sensitivity, but also their character, especially the supposed moral superiority of elite white Protestant men. Finally, Gross (2022) considers that, in the 21st century, the concept and reception of the *Heavenly Bodies* exhibition both built on and challenged the masculine Protestant paradigm of American medievalism that had long been established at The Cloisters.

Elaborating further on the aforementioned topic, an example of a designer featured in both Bolton (2018) and the exhibition would be Cristóbal Balenciaga, who is widely recognised as one of the greatest international designers in the history of fashion and perhaps the most celebrated in the Spanish scene. In a recent article, Castellsaguer (2020) explains that Balenciaga's sources of stylistic inspiration are easily identifiable, including the revitalisation of traditional Spanish clothing, the clear influence of religious clothing and the importance of art history, especially Spanish Baroque. The notable influence of religious clothing is evidenced by the frequent references to cassocks, the intensity of the colour black, the morphological austerity of monastic tunics and various other religious garments (Figure 6). The ceremonial and everyday clothing of Catholic clergy, as well as their representation in Spanish art and the clothing of devotional figures sculpted by the church, appear to have profoundly impacted Balenciaga's aesthetic consciousness (Bowles, 2011).



Figure 6 - Left: El Greco, Cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara (1600); Right: Cristobal Balenciaga evening coat (Autumn/Winter 1954–55). Copyright by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Source: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/11/08/style/met-museum-costume-institute-Catholicism.html>

According to the article (Castellsaguer, 2020), ecclesiastical clothing, as well as the entire aesthetic and symbolic imagery of Catholicism, was present in 20th and 21st-century fashion, undoubtedly being one of the most essential sources of inspiration for understanding Spanish haute couture. To understand this influence, it is necessary to consider the importance of the Catholic religion in society at that time, extremely present in both public and private life. The Church was a fundamental pillar of the Franco regime, significantly called “national-Catholicist”, completely dominating society with its rigorous moral concepts (Otero-González, 2021). The importance of ecclesiastical figures at the time, along with their political influence and their control over social, cultural, and educational matters, was clearly reflected in the clothing they wore, which was imposing, marked by theatricality, strict etiquette, and a richness and variety of styles, many of which have been drastically reduced and simplified in contemporary times.

For Archibald (2020), although Catholicism preaches the rejection of material goods and excesses, the visual manifestations of the papacy and religious structures often contradict this message, generating tensions within the church. Once again, the *Heavenly Bodies* exhibition at the Met exemplified these contradictions by featuring designer costumes and Vatican artefacts representing the “Catholic Imagination.” According to the author (Archibald, 2020), and as discussed previously by other authors, the exhibition and the Met Gala generated controversy due to the way they used religion as a theme, as well as the organisation and labelling of the pieces, which were often out

of context or without a direct relationship with Catholicism. One notable example, which is the focus of Archibald's (2020) article, was Dolce & Gabbana's *Penelope* ensemble (Figure 7), which manifested the MET's interpretation of this religious imagination by linking the opulent aestheticism of Catholicism to the world of high fashion, emphasising elitism and materialism, and also raised questions about the exploration of the most controversial aspects of these institutions. The exhibition, despite being marketed as a celebration of religion and fashion, was seen by many as an exploration of the less desirable characteristics of these spheres, as will also be further explored ahead.



Figure 7 - Dolce & Gabbana *Penelope* Wedding ensemble (Spring/Summer 2013 Alta Moda). Copyright by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Source: <https://usaartnews.com/exhibitions/costume-institutes-exhibition-focuses-on-fashion-and-the-Catholic-imagination>

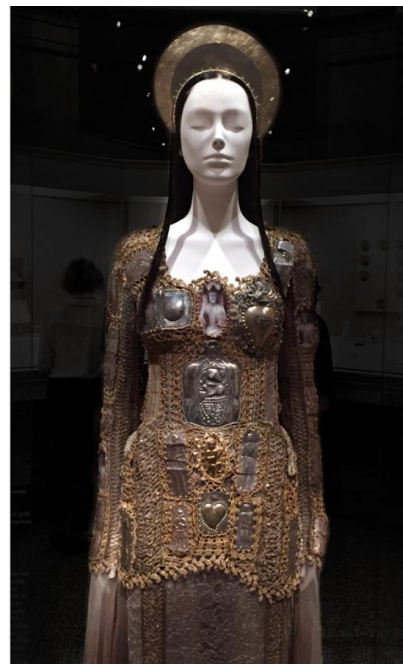


Figure 8 - *Ex-Voto* evening dress by Jean Paul Gaultier. Source: <https://artzealous.com/heavenly-bodies-surpasses-one-million-visitors-at-the-met/>

Furthermore, Carwin (2020) explores the same exhibition through the work of French designer Jean Paul Gaultier. A standout piece is the *Ex-Voto* dress (Figure 8), which incorporates metal Ex-Voto³⁸ plates used in Catholic prayer practices. This piece exemplifies the aesthetic focus of the exhibition, using religious symbols superficially and emphasising the visual beauty of religious traditions without delving into their historical

³⁸ An Ex-Voto is a devotional object, usually a small plaque, image, or charm, that is offered in fulfilment of a vow or as a token of appreciation for a favour from God or saints and usually exists in churches or shrines as a symbol of faith or gratitude.

or spiritual significance. Gaultier, known for celebrating diverse cultures and traditions through his aesthetics, created *Ex-Voto* as part of his 2007 haute couture collection, "*Les Vierges*" [The Virgins], and the piece uses materials such as gold and silver silk with aluminium votive offerings, promising divine protection to its wearer. However, according to Carwin (2020), Gaultier's lack of personal connection to Catholicism reflects the overall approach to the exhibition, which, once again, was considered to have prioritised aesthetics over a deeper understanding of religious traditions.

Similarly to what is mentioned in other scholarly articles on the topic – and as previously addressed in this chapter – Carwin (2020) also states that the *Heavenly Bodies* exhibition was criticised for not addressing significant contemporary issues, such as the sexual abuse scandals within the Catholic Church, which were being heavily publicised at the time, adding that close collaboration with the Vatican may have influenced the Met's decision to avoid controversial topics, resulting in a presentation that ignored important historical and social contexts. Thus, both Gaultier and the exhibition were seen as preferring style over substance, missing valuable opportunities for reflection and education about Catholicism (Carwin, 2020).

Several other essays, both academic and not, have analysed the *Heavenly Bodies: Fashion and the Catholic Imagination* exhibition and the subsequent Met Gala, addressing associated controversies, the use of religious symbolism and the aesthetic, historical and social impacts of the event. These review articles, such as Friedman (2017), Garelick (2018), Horvat (2018), Roden (2018), Brown (2021) and Moskowitz (2018), offered varied perspectives on the way fashion interacts with religiosity and symbolic representation.

As established earlier, some movies also explore the topic of religion and culture, particularly regarding fashion and religion. In the article "Catwalk Catholicism: On the Ongoing Significance of Federico Fellini's Ecclesiastical Fashion Show", Inglis (2019) analyses one of filmmaker Federico Fellini's most iconic sequences, an imaginary ecclesiastical fashion show featured in his 1971 film *Roma* (Fellini, 1971). The sequence showcases a series of increasingly extravagant clothing designs, worn by priests, nuns, archbishops, cardinals and, finally, the Pope himself. Fellini – intentionally or not – reactivates a long-standing critique of "luxury" in the Church, especially about clerical vestments, a critique that has historically come from both within and outside the Church.

Furthermore, the book *Vogue on Dolce & Gabbana* (Leitch & Evans, 2018) explores the intersection between fashion and religious iconography, focusing on the previously referenced Italian brand's provocative creations. Dolce & Gabbana repeatedly uses religious themes and images "in a creative but nevertheless sacrilegious way" (Leitch

& Evans, 2018). For example, inspired by Fellini's aforementioned film *Roma*, the duo created their Autumn/Winter 1997 collection, which incorporated ecclesiastical vestments and icons of the Madonna and Child, in pieces such as coats and tops. This fusion of fashion and Catholicism became an enduring theme for the brand, particularly standing out in the Spring/Summer 2013 collection, which combined curvaceous peplums with prints inspired by the mosaic walls of the Cathedral of Santa Maria Nuova in Sicily. The brand also frequently incorporates traditional church fabrics, adding a touch of luxury and sensuality that often provokes a sense of controversy:

The very fabrics of church – brocade, crimson velvet, white lace, black veiling and that very Catholic gilt – pervade the atmosphere of every show almost like incense. It is what gives their underlying (or, often, overwritten) sexuality such a wicked frisson. Whilst the traditions, rites and rituals of Catholicism appeal profoundly to the Dolce & Gabbana sensibility, they are necessarily balanced with a more modern attitude that appears often through innovation in craftsmanship (Leitch & Evans, 2018).

The influence of Catholicism on Dolce & Gabbana's creative imagination is so profound that a book dedicated to the topic was recently released: *Sacro Visions by Dolce & Gabbana* (Persson, 2024) explores how the design duo incorporates iconic elements of the Catholic religion into their collections, transforming symbols such as the sacred heart, saints, the Madonna, as well as the rosary and the cross into fashion pieces that mix the sacred and the profane. The work also highlights how Sicilian culture and the strong religious feeling on the island influenced their creations, captured in images of processions, Easter celebrations and details of clothing and accessories. The book's introductory text, written by Alberto Rocca, emphasises Dolce & Gabbana's vision of the sacred as a memory of perfect beauty and harmony, reflected in the featured images, which present themselves to the reader as “visions” of a world where art and devotion are intertwined.

Another Italian designer who had previously explored Christian symbology was Givenchy's former creative director Riccardo Tisci, whose work was highlighted when he took on the role of guest editor for the 2011 *Visionaire 60 RELIGION* book, which approached religion through photographs and artwork, including, for instance, dark images of burning crosses and scenes from the Bible. When explaining why he chose this theme for this collaboration, Tisci stated:

If you don't believe that fashion is a religious sect unto itself – and a fast-growing one at that – well, maybe you should pray a little harder. Need you be reminded that today's most awe-inspiring transfigurations are achieved by supermodels, not saints? (Michael, 2011)

Similarly, in a book about John Galliano, Taylor (2019) explores the designer's creations, which often incorporate elements of religious iconography, such as angels, crosses, crucifixes and nude pantyhose printed with images of Jesus Christ. Galliano's traditional Roman Catholic upbringing, Sunday church attendance, altar server duties and First Communion white attire profoundly influenced his designs. Galliano often provokes controversy with his pieces, such as in the finale of one of his collections, where male models wore football outfits stamped with references such as "Galliano Religion" and "Galliano 5" along with golden crowns of thorns, imitating Jesus Christ and causing "puzzlement and consternation" among the audience (Taylor, 2019, p.215). Despite accusations of blasphemy, Galliano defended these religious references, challenging the conventionally associated sacredness.

While many iconic designers with religious backgrounds do so, not all of them have incorporated Christian symbolism into their creations. Christian Dior, for example, who was described as a "devout Catholic" who "rarely skipped Sunday mass" in the book *Vogue on: Christian Dior* (Sinclair, 2012), did not seem to use his faith as an obvious inspiration in his pieces.

In *Religion in Vogue: Christianity and Fashion in America*, Lynn S. Neal (2019) examines the relationship between Christianity and fashion, exploring how elements of Christian imagery have been incorporated into fashion design over time. The author begins by highlighting the importance of historically contextualising this integration, placing it within the evolution of fashion. Neal uses *Vogue Magazine* as a primary research source, arguing that its aspirational focus offers a historical guide to popular trends, acclaimed designers and valued themes across different periods. While exploring past issues of the magazine, Neal (2019) observes the constant presence of Christianity in various forms: textual, visual and material, with terms such as "heavenly", "divine", "prophetic" and "miracle" being frequently used, as well as Christian symbols such as angels, crosses (Figures 9 and 10) and Eve's apple. These references appeared in advertising texts, illustrations, articles and photographs, helping to sketch an overview of how fashion media uses traditionally Christian elements.



Figure 9 - First Anna Wintour *Vogue US* cover (November 1988) featuring a Christian Lacroix jacket with an embellished cross. Source: <https://pin.it/3XX6k17>



Figure 10 - Maltese cross brooch on the cover of the October 1967 issue of *Vogue US*. Source: <https://pt.pinterest.com/pin/898186719422416747/>

In *Système de la Mode*, Roland Barthes (1983) argues that in fashion magazines, meaning is created by the combination of images and captions. Although readers may initially interpret a piece of clothing freely when they see it, captions direct this interpretation, imposing a specific understanding. Barthes explains that words have an authoritative function, guiding readers' perception and determining a single interpretation of the play. Therefore, when analysing fashion magazines, such as *Vogue*, it is crucial to consider how images and captions complement each other to shape perception and influence readers' interpretation of clothing trends and meanings. This emphasises the importance of studying not only the images but also the words that describe and contextualise fashion.

This relationship between *Vogue* magazine and religion is demonstrated in other publications, such as in the book *Vogue and the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (Bowles & Malle, 2020), which contains photographs of the *Vogue* exhibitions and fashion shoots that were inspired by them, featuring both the objects on display and photos from the galas. The book's foreword highlights how the Met Gala celebrates the Costume Institute's annual spring exhibition by providing vital funding and a significant global platform. Anna Wintour, former editor-in-chief of *Vogue*, describes the event and exhibition as a genuine collaboration between the MET and *Vogue*, highlighting landmark moments like "Madonna singing Like a Prayer in ethereal vestments at the

celebration of Catholicism's wide influence on fashion and culture" (Bowles & Malle, 2020, p. 8). Furthermore, the book points out that the *Heavenly Bodies* exhibition was the most visited in the museum's history, attracting more than 1.6 million visitors in six months. Additionally, in Schama & Alleman's (2019) *Vogue on Location*, which presents worldwide travels chronicled by the magazine throughout its history, it is possible to see some images of churches, cathedrals and even women religious.

To further elaborate on the earlier discussion of *Religion in Vogue*, Neal (2019) also criticises the contemporary academic lens that limits itself to analysing how individuals and religious groups use clothing and fashion, without considering the Christian references that consistently appear in fashion magazines, demonstrating that articles about religion were published regularly, especially at times like Easter and Christmas. These articles showed that Christianity is an accepted and expected topic in fashion rather than an antagonist.

Neal (2019) also discusses how fashion advertising employs Christian imagery to sell products, highlighting spiritual experiences and decontextualising Christian symbols and concepts (as seen with the perfumes mentioned by Ambrosio, 2022). For instance, the previously mentioned popularisation of cross jewellery, driven by designers and celebrities, has transformed these items into symbols of sophistication, style and rebellion. Historically, Christian jewellery not only conveyed faith but also served as protective amulets; however, contemporary fashion and celebrities such as Madonna have re-popularised cross jewellery, increasing its size, associating it with designer status and embroiling it in polemic. For example, the author (Neal, 2019) analyses events such as the 2002 controversy (BBC News, 2002), when celebrities like Naomi Campbell and Jennifer Aniston faced criticism from the Vatican for wearing cross necklaces as fashion accessories, illustrating how these religious symbols were imbued with new meaning. This transformed the cross into a symbol that could be worn in a sophisticated, stylish and even transgressive manner, creating a conceptual distinction between "witness wear" and "cool" cross jewellery (Neal, 2019).

Lastly, Neal (2019) concludes that the presence of fashion articles about Christianity, advertisements and jewellery with Christian symbols demonstrates how this religious tradition occupied an implicit and dominant place in fashion and that, simultaneously, fashion offered a way of seeing Christianity that promoted the transition from a "religious dwelling" to a "spiritual quest," encouraging a personalised faith that romanticised the Christian past.

Neal's book is fundamental to understanding the intersection between fashion and religion, providing a detailed analysis of how Christianity has shaped and been

shaped by the fashion industry over time. In addition, at the time of writing this thesis, no studies similar to Neal's (2019) were found in any other country, so it is considered that it would be interesting to follow the methodology applied to the Portuguese edition of *Vogue*, since the United States is a predominantly Protestant country and that Portugal tends to have one of the lowest scales of religious diversity globally, with a strongly Christian (in this case, Catholic) population. As will be discussed in the next chapter, even though the majority of the Portuguese population identifies as belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, the weight of the Catholic matrix in defining the ethical and moral values of Portuguese society has been weakening (Franca et al, 2018) and it is important to verify whether there has also been a decrease in representation of religious imagery since the launch of *Vogue Portugal* in 2002 to the present, or if, as hypothesised by Mallia (2009), the secularisation of religion was, in fact, the factor that led to the wider appropriation of religious symbolism, transforming it from sacred to profane.

2.5. Religion, Fashion and Culture in Portugal

While Portugal has a long-standing Catholic tradition that continues to influence various aspects of its social and cultural life, the specific relationship between religion and fashion, and specifically how faith shapes personal and public dress codes, does not appear to capture the attention of researchers as much as other, more practical aspects of design. Therefore, this research fills a significant gap in the literature, which has yet to fully explore how Christian symbolism and beliefs intertwine with the fashion choices and opinions of contemporary Portuguese women.

In her book *Antropologia da Moda* [Anthropology of Fashion], the Portuguese anthropologist and professor Filomena Silvano (2021) explores the role of clothing as a mechanism of social communication and identity construction, emphasising how garments, beyond their functional purpose, play a central role in the affirmation of ethnic and religious identities, often linked to the notion of traditional dress. Although her work does not focus specifically on the Portuguese context, Silvano's (2021) reflections provide a critical lens through which to interpret how fashion operates at the intersection of visibility, control and symbolic power. For instance, she analyses singer Billie Eilish's appearance at the January 2020 Grammy Awards – often used in secular Modest Fashion arguments (such as in Pearson, 2022) – where the artist wore oversized full coverage clothing and a Gucci monogrammed face mask. Eilish's choice, justified by the statement “my body is not public property,” is read by Silvano as a gesture of resistance against the dominant exhibitionist tendencies in contemporary pop culture (Silvano, 2021, p. 183), thus highlighting fashion as not merely decorative but as a political

language that negotiates autonomy over the body. Silvano further examines how covering part of the face can carry divergent cultural connotations, either as a socially imposed diminishment of public presence, as in the critique of the niqab in some European societies, or as an individual's evasion of collective demands for transparency, such as the case in the United States where wearing a hoodie can, in itself, provoke police intervention.

In a chapter dedicated to Portugal in the *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion*, Paula Soares (2010) outlines how the evolution of Portuguese fashion has been shaped by historical, political and cultural transformations, as well as by the country's long-standing exposure to external influences. According to Soares, "Portuguese dress has been subject to multiple foreign influences from colonialism, political alliances and immigrants," resulting in a fashion culture that is notably cosmopolitan and eclectic. A decisive turning point, however, came with the 1974 Revolution, which marked a rupture in societal norms and aesthetic conventions. The transition to democracy brought newfound personal freedoms and catalysed changes in gender roles, particularly through the expansion of women's rights, which influenced not only fashion consumption and industry practices but also the symbolic meanings attached to clothing. As Portuguese society aligned with broader currents of sexual liberation sweeping through Western Europe, these shifts were expressed in new behaviours, lifestyles and dress choices that moved away from traditional or restrictive forms, embracing more diverse and contemporary expressions of identity (Soares, 2010).

The case of the bikini serves as an example of how religious values shaped dress norms in pre-1974 Portugal, as Valerie Steele (2005) notes that this garment "was almost immediately banned, for religious reasons, in countries such as Spain, Portugal, and Italy", illustrating how modesty standards were policed through clothing. Steele further emphasises that dress operates as a system of silent communication, often signalling religious affiliation among other social markers, whose meanings are most clearly understood within shared cultural contexts. Additionally, the prohibition on bikinis was also mentioned on Issue 253 (September 2024) of *Vogue Portugal*, referring to it as something that was initially considered to be a "sin" (Fleming, 2024).

Soares (2010) also highlights how, during the post-revolution decades, Portuguese fashion underwent a process of both democratisation and internationalisation, as the rise of ready-to-wear clothing coincided with the decline of haute couture. Major international fashion publications such as *Elle*, *Marie Claire* and *Máxima* launched Portuguese editions, thereby reinforcing the circulation of global trends. Simultaneously, local designers increasingly sought to develop a fashion identity

that was both rooted in Portuguese culture and responsive to international markets, aiming for domestic relevance and global recognition. Importantly, the author also mentions that the years immediately after the *Revolução dos Cravos* saw a shift away from overt displays of wealth, such as jewellery, fur coats, or luxury cars, due to their association with the pre-revolutionary regime, suggesting that fashion became not only a site of aesthetic expression but also a marker of ideological and social realignment. This period also marked the arrival of dominant fast fashion retailers such as Zara, whose business model radically transformed Portuguese shopping habits and contributed to the proliferation of monobrand stores across urban commercial centres. Although “Salsa, Tiffosi, Cheyenne, Throttleman, Decénio, Dielmar, Lanidor, and Sacoor Brothers are some of the Portuguese brands that have been established since the 1990s” (Soares, 2010), the overall fashion landscape has become increasingly shaped by global retail practices and branding strategies. Despite these substantial transformations, however, the role of religion in Portuguese fashion culture receives limited attention in Soares’s analysis, which reinforces the broader observation that the intersection between religious identity and fashion remains underexplored in Portuguese academic literature. This omission underscores the relevance of examining how Christianity, and particularly Catholicism, shaped fashion practices in Portugal during and after (or as a consequence of) the dictatorship.

Echoing broader reflections on fashion’s cultural significance, *A Moda do Século (1900–2000)*, published by the *Museu Nacional do Traje* [National Costume Museum] (2000) as part of an exhibition held at the time, presents fashion not only as a record of aesthetic change but also as a mirror of shifting societal values. The book highlights how the fashion boom of the 1980s “produced reflections on fashion from other fields like psychology, sociology and aesthetics”, marking a turning point in Portugal as academic interest in fashion theory began to emerge, as exemplified by mentioning books like *A Moda em Portugal nos Últimos Trinta Anos* [Fashion in Portugal in the Last Thirty Years] (Coelho & Avilez, 1987). Yet, beyond scholarly developments, the publication (Museu Nacional do Traje, 2000) also captures the tensions of the late 20th century, when the rise of cyberspace and the global dominance of American cultural and economic models seemed to threaten local diversity and values. Despite the apparent triumph of consumerism and materialism, especially in the West, there was a concurrent sense of ideological exhaustion and personal dissatisfaction, prompting a renewed search for spiritual meaning outside institutional religion, often guided by charismatic figures who resisted the alienating effects of a hyper-materialist culture. This longing for a more balanced existence, alongside an economic downturn, influenced fashion by encouraging a departure from the extravagance of the Eighties towards more modest and simplified

trends, suggesting that even within an increasingly globalised landscape, fashion remained a site for the articulation of emerging cultural and spiritual desires (Museu Nacional do Traje, 2000).

The relationship between fashion, gender and political change in Portugal, especially in the years following the 1974 Revolution, is also carefully examined by Cristina L. Duarte (2017) in *Moda e Feminismos em Portugal: O género como espartilho* [Fashion and Feminisms in Portugal: Gender as a Corset]. In this study, which draws on both historical and feminist perspectives, the author explores how fashion has shaped women's experiences of social change and emancipation throughout the 20th century. Rather than seeing fashion as superficial, Duarte (2017) presents it as a cultural and political tool, closely tied to feminist struggles and everyday urban life. According to the author, fashion, when "studied as a gender institution, makes the body its medium in the reproduction of gender roles" (Duarte, 2017, p. 382), therefore placing the female body at the centre of this reflection, showing how, once again, clothing has been used to express identity, challenge gender norms and negotiate power in a society historically shaped by patriarchal values. By tracing a long arc from *Estado Novo*³⁹ to post-revolutionary Portugal, Duarte (2017) highlights how women have engaged with fashion not only as a form of self-expression but also as a way to claim visibility and autonomy. This is poignantly articulated in one of the book's key passages:

When the gaze upon women's bodies absorbs a culture of gender-based violence, as happens in Portuguese society, the fashion-clothing worn on the dressed body, in synchrony with the expression of individuality, undergoes various (r)evolutions throughout the decades of the 20th century, fighting in specific periods for a new form of freedom (Duarte, 2017, p. 386, author's translation).

Thus, Duarte (2017) positions fashion at the crossroads of personal narrative and structural power, arguing that the history of women, as read through their relationship with dress, offers a comprehensive sociological perspective shaped by dialogues between gender studies, feminist theory and cultural history. This interdisciplinary framework, which merges "her-story" with the analytical tools of fashion theory, reveals how the concept of gender emerges as a central axis for understanding the socio-political

³⁹ *Estado Novo* [New State] was the authoritarian regime that ruled Portugal from 1933 to 1974 under António de Oliveira Salazar. It was characterised by nationalism, censorship, repression of dissent, and a strong alignment with Catholic values.

dimensions of clothing and further underscores the need to consider fashion as a legitimate site of feminist inquiry within the Portuguese cultural context.

Previously, in her book *O que é: Moda* (Duarte, 2004), the sociologist deepened her reflection on the cultural and social dynamics of fashion, framing clothing not only as a tool of self-expression but as a medium through which broader ideological and political shifts are registered. In the case of Portugal, similarly to what was discussed by Soares (2010), Duarte highlights how, with the establishment of the military dictatorship in 1926, the country remained largely disconnected from many of the cultural and ideological trends that would shape Western fashion, but that later, in the post-revolutionary context of the 1970s, the fall of the dictatorship was accompanied by a release of sartorial conventions, with fashion becoming a means of both liberation and affirmation, highlighting the emergence of a few Portuguese fashion designers – such as Ana Salazar, Eduarda Abbondanza, Nuno Gama, Luís Buchinho, etc. – which have also been the focus of some of the professor's publications (Duarte 2003, 2005).

With the fall of the regime, much of the conventionality in clothing also fell. In the first part of the decade, what was already being experienced abroad as the joyful Seventies – cheerfully narcissistic and rebellious – culminated in Portugal in the Carnation Revolution, in a very vivid shade of red. People were eager to express themselves freely and wanted to wear different clothes and to assert themselves through dress (Duarte 2004, pp. 94-95, author's translation).

Building on previous discussions around fashion as a communicative and identity-shaping practice, Duarte (2004) reinforces the notion that clothing operates not merely as body coverings but as a socially embedded medium that reflects and constructs meaning. She emphasises how garments carry markers of class, profession, and cultural background, while also enabling individual reinvention through stylistic choice. In her analysis, fashion in modernity becomes increasingly connected to lifestyle and existential positioning, where dressing articulates one's mode of inhabiting the world. Duarte (2004) also draws attention to fashion imagery as a collaborative and interpretive process – shaped by designers, stylists, models, and photographers – where visual narratives evoke moods, perspectives, and symbolic associations that often surpass the garments themselves.

Similarly, in her Master's thesis, Garcia (2011) investigated the relationship between women's fashion and the political landscape of 1960s Portugal, focusing particularly on how the *Estado Novo* regime influenced and was negotiated by

Portuguese women through dress. Although constrained by rigid social expectations and authoritarian norms, women, regardless of whether they were mothers, stay-at-home spouses or workers, found in clothing a means of expression that, while subtle, carried significant political and cultural weight. Fashion is thus understood by Garcia (2011) not merely as adornment but as a form of silent resistance or alignment, a vehicle through which women could assert agency, signal dissatisfaction, or navigate the limits imposed on them.

In addition to the period of the *Estado Novo* – which could be interpreted as a time in which fashion and religion were closely aligned in Portugal, given that the authoritarian regime was explicitly non-secular and reinforced Catholic values through slogans such as Salazar’s well-known “*Deus, Pátria, Família*” [God, Country, Family] (Moraes de Almeida, 2023) – another topic that directly addresses the intersection of clothing and religion in the Portuguese context is the practice of dressing sacred images, particularly statues of saints. This tradition, which blends devotional ritual with aesthetic expression, has been explored in a few academic contributions such as Pereira’s studies on the miraculous Virgin images in early modern and contemporary Portugal (Pereira, 2020a, 2020b) and Vasconcelos’ analysis of Marian shrines in the 1950s (Vasconcelos, 2005), articles which illustrate how clothing was not only a form of devotion but also a way of enhancing the cultural and symbolic presence of religious figures, reflecting local customs and the broader Catholic tradition.

On a slightly different note, Teixeira (2023) presents a thorough examination of the evolving religious landscape in contemporary Portuguese society, tracing its transformations from the 20th century to the present. One of the central arguments highlights how Roman Catholic morality was co-opted by the *Estado Novo* regime as a cornerstone of its ideological apparatus, with Salazar promoting the equation “Portuguese, therefore Catholic” as part of a broader nationalist narrative, thereby aligning religious identity with political legitimacy (Martins, 2016). This instrumentalization of religion was paralleled by the emergence and institutionalisation of the Fátima phenomenon, which, since 1917, became a symbolic focal point of popular religiosity and contributed to reshaping traditional religious practices in Portugal. Although the democratic transition of the 1970s opened space for greater religious plurality – particularly through post-colonial migratory flows and increased visibility of Protestant minorities such as Evangelicals or other groups like Adventists and Jehovah’s Witnesses (Vilaça, 2015) – Teixeira (2023) argues that significant religious tension or rupture did not materialise until the rise of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (IURD) in the 1980s and 1990s, whose media-driven expansion marked the first

widespread encounter with a more explicitly “othered” form of religiosity (Ruuth & Rodrigues, 1999; Mafra, 2002; Santos & Vilaça, 2022).

Furthermore, the article (Teixeira, 2023) also highlights that recent census data reinforces the ongoing erosion of Catholic dominance, with a decline of 8.1% in declared Catholic affiliation between 2011 and 2021, while Protestant/Evangelical identification more than doubled (INE, 2022). Despite this diversification, Teixeira notes that many Portuguese people continue to relate to Catholicism in more symbolic or cultural terms, indicating a shift from confessional belonging to what might be termed “cultural Catholicism”, where religious memory persists even as observance weakens, a trend also identified in earlier studies such as Duque (2022) and, as previously mentioned, leading this thesis to consider culturally Catholics, or in this case even self-identifying Agnostic Catholics, as part of the interviewees.

Similarly concerned with how personal agency intersects with religious frameworks, Costa (2023) turns to the Portuguese context to explore how individuals embedded in conservative cultures negotiate their relationship with fashion, focusing on how clothing operates as both a boundary and a medium of identity expression. Based on interviews with three individuals from Jewish, Catholic and Orthodox Christian backgrounds, the study reveals how each navigates the tension between cultural expectations and personal identity: the Jewish participant, though non-practising, adapts his dress depending on context, balancing tradition with self-expression; the Catholic interviewee embraces modest dress as a deliberate choice aligned with his faith, seeing fashion as acceptable only within moral limits; meanwhile, the Orthodox-raised participant, now non-believing, dissociates entirely from religious dress norms, highlighting how distance from faith can shape sartorial autonomy. Costa’s dissertation concludes that even in more conservative environments, individuals negotiate personal expression through clothing, revealing both conformity and resistance (Costa, 2023).

2.5.1. Looking at *Vogue Portugal*: Semiotics, Branding and Identity

Having considered broader trajectories of Portuguese fashion and its intersections with religion, media and cultural identity, the focus now turns to *Vogue Portugal*, one of the central objects of analysis in this thesis. Marco Rocha’s *Vogue Portugal: A Construção de uma Identidade* [*Vogue Portugal: The Construction of an Identity*] (2012) provides a historical and analytical overview of the *Vogue* brand, tracing its evolution from its origins in early 20th-century New York as a publication for the urban elite to its later global expansion through decentralised national editions. The book gives particular

attention to the Portuguese edition of the magazine, focusing on its first six years (2002–2008) and examining how it negotiated its position between international influence and national identity, as well as playing a key role in legitimising not only designers and fashion trends, but also celebrities, both globally and nationally.

Firstly, the author (Rocha, 2012) explained that, in the Portuguese publishing context, the emergence of *Vogue* followed a broader development of fashion media, particularly from the 1980s onwards, as before this, women's magazines such as *Linda*, *Mulher-de-Homem* and *Crónica Feminina* offered only limited fashion coverage. The launch of titles such as *Colecções* in 1983, *Moda & Moda* in 1984, *Máxima* and *Marie Claire* in 1988, and later *Elle*, *Activa* and *Cosmopolitan* – as mentioned earlier – marked a turning point in Portuguese fashion journalism and brought local media closer to international industry standards. As of 2025, out of the aforementioned publications, only *Activa* still publishes in the Portuguese landscape, with most magazines focusing on fashion or lifestyle ceasing their print editions before or during the COVID-19 pandemic, reflecting not only the economic pressures faced by the print industry but also the broader digitalisation of the media landscape, which has redefined consumption habits and editorial priorities. In this shifting context, *Vogue Portugal* stands out as a notable exception not merely for surviving the print-to-digital transition but for actively embracing the moment to reassert its editorial identity.

An article published exclusively on *Vogue Portugal*'s website (Murcho, 2020), written in response to a New York Times piece (Paton & Testa, 2020) questioning the relevance of fashion magazines in a post-pandemic world, directly addressed these concerns: while the newspaper suggested that “glossy magazines sell fantasy. Now they have to reckon with reality. It's complicated,” the *Vogue Portugal* piece defended the continuing role of fashion publications, not only as spaces of escapism but as platforms for critical engagement. Murcho (2020) also highlighted how independent magazines, often published biannually and free from commercial constraints, prioritise depth, creativity and editorial freedom, characteristics which she believes *Vogue Portugal* strives to embody despite its affiliation with a global publishing group. As the journalist argued, *Vogue Portugal* aims to be “a magazine that makes a difference, and that does not expire the month it is published” as its editorial vision embraces wide-ranging topics “from sustainability to gender issues, from racism to aging issues, from feminism to body dilemmas” as well as other topics such as cinema and art, insisting that fashion journalism can remain relevant by addressing the world with sincerity, curiosity and critical depth.

Drawing on an analysis of covers and fashion editorials, as well as interviews with professionals involved in the early years of *Vogue Portugal*, Rocha (2012) shows how the magazine integrated both translated content and reprinted material from the wider Condé Nast network with original editorial content produced in Portugal. While international material was a constant presence, the Portuguese team actively sought to portray the local fashion landscape, often highlighting national designers, models and creatives. According to Paula Mateus, then-editor of *Vogue Portugal*, the editorial direction aimed to reflect not only the fashion consumption market but also a broader Portuguese cultural context (*Made in Portugal*), extending beyond clothing to include music, cinema, paintings and other artistic fields, thus engaging with the symbolic capital of national cultural production. While Rocha (2012) acknowledges the visual heterogeneity of *Vogue Portugal's* covers and editorials, he identifies underlying thematic consistencies shaped by cultural memory, as the magazine frequently draws on motifs such as “*saudosismo*”, revivalism and nostalgia, which serve as aesthetic and emotional anchors for Portuguese identity. Notably, according to the author, until the time of his last analysed issue (in 2008), *Vogue Portugal* did not prominently feature narratives linked to gender, sexuality, or subcultures. Instead, its editorial choices constructed a visual and symbolic repertoire rooted in national sentiment while remaining attuned to the global fashion discourse that defines the broader *Vogue* universe.

Rocha (2012) further positions *Vogue* as a cultural gatekeeper, echoing Crane's assertion that fashion magazines play a decisive role in establishing what is valued, what is innovative and what endures within the fashion system, since, according to the author, “fashion magazines have an important function to fulfil because they directly serve the interests of the fashion industry” as fashion periodicals enjoy “the trust of and acceptance by large portion of the audience it serves” (Crane, 2000, p. 19). Rocha (2012) traces this influence back to *Vogue's* historical evolution, noting that as visual identity and advertising grew progressively central, women were increasingly defined through their appearance, with femininity and social status tied closely to image and dress.

Following the publication of Rocha's book (2012), several Master's theses have explored *Vogue Portugal* from different angles, reflecting a growing academic interest in the magazine's evolving role in Portuguese fashion, gender and media representation. For example, Colella (2015) situates *Vogue Portugal* within the broader debate on gender inequality in the media, highlighting its symbolic power as both a mechanism for reinforcing and challenging stereotypes, and arguing that fashion magazines not only reflect but also construct social realities, contributing either to the exclusion or inclusion of women in the public sphere. Her internship report, after working at *Vogue Portugal*,

explores the historical evolution of female representation in the magazine while also stressing the problematic impact of imagery that promotes unrealistic beauty ideals, with particular attention to the role of advertising. Complementing this, Gaspar (2017) offers a semiotic analysis of advertising imagery on *Vogue Portugal* covers, emphasising how colour, pose and visual composition not only convey sensations but also normalise beauty and consumption standards. Though centred on aesthetic elements, the author reinforces Colella's critical stance by showing how such visual strategies influence perceptions of the female body and identity, promoting a commodified and standardised image of women. At the same time, Gaspar (2017) acknowledges that *Vogue Portugal* has progressively adapted to trends of inclusivity, particularly in its choice of cover subjects, suggesting a growing openness to diverse representations:

The women who appear in fashion images present themselves with a beautiful and well-groomed aesthetic, and with irreproachable beauty, well-combed hair, very well made-up, well-dressed (...) and exuding an appearance of complete happiness. Advertising images, in fact, standardise an ideal of beauty and of a perfect female body, with the body being seen as an object of consumption and as a means of achieving an illusory happiness, which encourages the standardisation of a well-formed and curvy body; a constant change in the fashion world is visible, as the magazines analysed show that in an increasingly different world it is necessary to accept differences, because otherwise the world does not evolve, mentalities do not progress, and the human being does not move forward. The fashion world has changed, and with it, the viewer's perspective has also changed (Gaspar, 2017, author's translation).

In terms of editorial identity, Araújo (2019) provides a focused perspective on the rebranding of *Vogue Portugal*, particularly after the changes introduced in 2017, demonstrating that, although the regular readership remained limited, the vast majority of respondents recognised a shift in the magazine's communicative style, now more in line with international markets. Araújo (2019) points to a reinforced aesthetic and editorial professionalisation, as well as a growing presence of foreign contributors, which helped to consolidate the publication's status as an authority within the national fashion landscape. Furthermore, the boundaries between journalism and advertising are further examined by Pires (2022), who, through a comparative analysis of four issues of the Portuguese editions of *Vogue* and *Elle* magazine from 1995 to 2020, identified a general

increase in advertising over the years. However, this trend was interrupted in 2020 with a marked decline, especially in *Vogue Portugal*, where both full-page advertisements and embedded forms of advertising became less frequent. Pires (2022) attributes this decline not only to the economic impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, which significantly affected consumer spending due to prolonged lockdowns and the widespread closure of retail spaces, but also to the previously mentioned broader shift in *Vogue Portugal*'s editorial identity following its 2017 acquisition by Lighthouse Publishing, which ushered in a visually experimental and stylistically distinct new phase for the magazine. Within this context, she argues that even as traditional advertising formats diminished, fashion editorials increasingly began to feature brand names and product prices, effectively transforming what might have appeared as purely creative content into subtler forms of commercial messaging that blur the boundaries between aesthetic innovation and promotional strategy.

Finally, Barcelos (2024) builds on these reflections by examining how fashion editorials in *Vogue Portugal* engage with non-binary gender identities, employing a methodology grounded in gender studies and visual culture. While the presence of some gestures toward representation is acknowledged, the study reveals that these editorials largely sustain stereotyped performances shaped by binary norms. Barcelos argues that creating visual references for bodies beyond the binary could enhance public understanding of non-binary identities, reinforcing the cultural influence of fashion imagery in shaping gender perceptions.

As referred to before, particularly in Gaspar (2017), to decode the visual and symbolic elements embedded within *Vogue Portugal*'s editorial content, particularly those that draw on Christian imagery, it becomes essential to introduce a semiotic framework. Semiotics, broadly understood as the study of signs and meaning-making processes, offers a critical lens through which fashion can be interpreted not merely as aesthetic composition but as a system of cultural communication. As Santaella (1983, p. 2) describes, it is “the science that has as its object of investigation all possible languages,” and in the context of fashion media, this includes the visual languages found in photography, styling, composition and design.

According to scholars such as Gruber & Oliveira (2012), fashion operates through a structured system of visual codes that communicate values and ideologies, therefore, editorials and campaigns must be approached as visual narratives shaped by both the enunciator (designer, editor, photographer) and the enunciatee (reader, viewer), since, as Oliveira (2003) emphasises, both actively participate in the construction of meaning. This communicative relationship is especially relevant when analysing the use of

religious symbols in fashion, as garments and accessories can reconfigure sacred imagery through shifts in context, form and aesthetic treatment.

Following Eco's (1985) ideas, semiotics is presented as an essential tool for understanding fashion, as it examines cultural processes as communication systems. In this context, each accessory, or piece of clothing, can be understood as a "sign" that, depending on the system in which it is inserted, may either have no meaning or assume a semiotic function. Eco (1985) suggests that a semiotic function arises when there is a correlation between expression and content, and, in the case of fashion, this relationship emerges in the interaction between the artist/designer/creative director/editor, who creates a visual message and the viewer, who interprets it based on their cultural references and prior knowledge. Applied to fashion magazines such as *Vogue Portugal*, this means each editorial can be read as a site where signs are activated (or contested) based on the audience's interpretive frameworks and cultural awareness. From this perspective, Lussich (2021), along with many authors mentioned in this literature review as well as in the introduction, argues that fashion is not simply a reflection of culture, but an active force in its construction, functioning as a linguistic and communicative system that articulates meanings and fosters cultural dialogue.

3. Research Methodology

This study adopts an interpretivist research philosophy (Holden & Lynch, 2004), which aims to understand human behaviour and the social dynamics that underlie people's actions and beliefs. Interpretivist research recognises that social phenomena are complex and multifaceted, and therefore, require an in-depth analysis of participants' experiences and perceptions. In this context, the researcher assumes a central role in interpreting the data collected, be they interviews, texts or other materials, and it is, therefore, inevitable that factors such as personal experience, gender, age, ethnicity, religion, nationality, social class and occupational context influence the process of research (Rowlands, 2005; Cook, 2005; Kawamura, 2020).

According to McCrocklin (2018), "primary research should be conducted only after comprehensive secondary research is completed" since secondary research determines what material is not already available, preventing the study from conducting unnecessary primary research. Following the extensive literature review presented in the previous chapter, an ethnographic approach was adopted for the interviews to prioritize the lived experiences and subjective meanings of the 33 Christian women. Rather than a traditional immersion, this approach focused on capturing the participants' own cultural perspectives on how their faith intersects with their daily clothing choices, treating their narratives as central data for understanding the social dynamics of faith-based fashion in Portugal. Similarly, semi-structured interviews were conducted to gain qualitative perspectives from specialists. On the other hand, the online survey gathered quantitative data to determine the extent of Christianity's effect on the way Christian women dress, as well as their perceptions and opinions on Christian imagery representations in fashion.

The analysis of *Vogue Portugal* follows a qualitative approach, primarily employing interpretative visual analysis. This allowed for a critical reading of the symbols and narratives on covers and editorials, identifying recurring patterns and themes without strictly adhering to the dense formal frameworks of classical semiotics or discourse or content analysis (Bardin, 1977), although inspired by these concepts. These methodologies enable a critical interpretation of the symbols, signs and narratives present on the covers, images, and texts of the magazines, with particular emphasis on Christian symbolism and the implications of its cultural significance. In this case, qualitative content analysis identifies recurring themes and significant patterns in the magazine, semiotic analysis examines how visual and textual elements convey meanings about fashion and religiosity, and discourse analysis explores how the language in articles and captions reflects ideologies and shapes discussions on fashion, Christianity,

and female identity. This more philosophical approach also fits into an interpretivist tradition, where, once again, the researcher has an active role in interpreting and contextualising data, seeking to understand how Christian symbolism is represented and reinterpreted in contemporary fashion narratives.

In summary, this research uses a mixed methods approach, as according to Creswell and Creswell (2018), the “mixing or blending of data” is known to provide “a stronger understanding of the problem or question than either by itself”.

3.1. Expert Interviews

As part of the research, four interviews were conducted with experts in areas relevant to the study topic, to gather specialised perspectives on the intersection between fashion, religion, and sociology, adding to the literature studied.

Initially, approximately 15 experts were contacted – including academics, fashion photographers, as well as *Vogue Portugal* editors and frequent contributors – of which nine responded, showing their willingness to collaborate with the research. Of these nine specialists, only four participated directly in the interviews that were used as sources of data for this study. The interviews covered experts with different academic backgrounds and professional experiences, thus allowing a multidisciplinary approach to the topic. The table below summarises the details of the interviewed experts:

Table 1- Interviewed Experts' Backgrounds

Expert	Medium	Background	Other Information
Anna-Mari Almila	Zoom	Author and Senior Researcher in cultural sociology at Sapienza University of Rome.	Author of <i>Veiling in Fashion: Space and the Hijab in Minority Communities</i> (2018) and editor of <i>The Routledge International Handbook to Veils and Veiling Practices</i> (2017), among many other publications.
Lynn S. Neal	Zoom	Author and professor of religious studies at Wake Forest University.	Author of <i>Religion in Vogue: Christianity and Fashion in America</i> (2019) as well as other books and articles on religion, fashion, and media.
Robert Covolo	Email	Professor of Theology & Culture at Fuller Theological Seminary.	Author of <i>Fashion Theology</i> (2020), as well as articles and book chapters on the relationship between Christian theology and fashion studies
Marina Seibert Cezar	Email	Professor and researcher at Feevale University in Brazil.	Author of <i>Moda e religião: Códigos estéticos da devoção</i> (2014), etc.

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Interviews with Professor Anna-Mari Almila and Professor Lynn S. Neal were conducted via video conference on January 10, 2022, and March 18, 2023, respectively. These interviews lasted approximately one hour each, which allowed for a more in-depth exploration of the themes that emerged during the conversation, with the possibility of following tangents and delving into secondary topics, in addition to the predefined questions. These conversations were then carefully transcribed and sent to the interviewed experts, giving them the option to edit and verify anything that was said.

On the other hand, the interviews with Professor Robert Covolo and Professor Marina Seibert Cezar, carried out in April 2024, were conducted via email for practicality. In this case, the questions were sent in advance to the interviewees, who responded in a structured and detailed way. Despite the difference in the medium and depth of responses, all interviews were semi-structured, including both the video calls and email interviews. This means that, although a preliminary set of questions had been prepared to guide the conversations (Appendix A), the interviews remained flexible and responsive to the interviewees' areas of expertise and the evolving dynamics of each discussion. The themes explored typically revolved around the intersection of fashion and Christianity, the theological or cultural significance of religious symbols in fashion and the reception of such representations among different Christian denominations. Interviewees were also invited to reflect on the impact of their work, potential future developments in the field, relevant Biblical passages and additional resources for further study. This adaptable approach allowed for a balance between maintaining focus on core topics and opening space for the emergence of new perspectives and insights specific to each expert.

3.2. Analysis of *Vogue Portugal* Magazines

As previously mentioned, the methodology adopted for the examination of the representations of Christian symbols and imagery in *Vogue Portugal* is largely inspired by the work of Lynn S. Neal (2019) in *Religion in Vogue: Christianity and Fashion in America*, where the author explored the intersection between Christianity and fashion culture in numerous editions of American *Vogue*. By adapting this approach to the Portuguese context, this study investigates how Christianity and its symbols have been mediated in the pages of *Vogue Portugal* for approximately 22 years.

Moreover, as stated above, this analysis focuses on all editions of *Vogue Portugal* published between the launch of the magazine in November 2002 and December 2024, totalling 256 editions. Of these 256 editions, 15 magazines were not readily available in

the researcher's collection or the General Magazine Fund of the National Library of Portugal [*Fundo Geral de Revistas da Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal*] (BNP). After contacting Cofina – responsible for publishing the magazine between 2002 and 2017 – with the objective of accessing some of these older or “rare” editions, no response was received, making it impossible to access all the magazine's issues. However, the effect of these missing editions on the study was not deemed very significant, as the editions in question represent only about 6% of the total under analysis. Therefore, as illustrated in the graph below (Figure 11), this research includes the analysis of 241 issues⁴⁰ of the magazine:

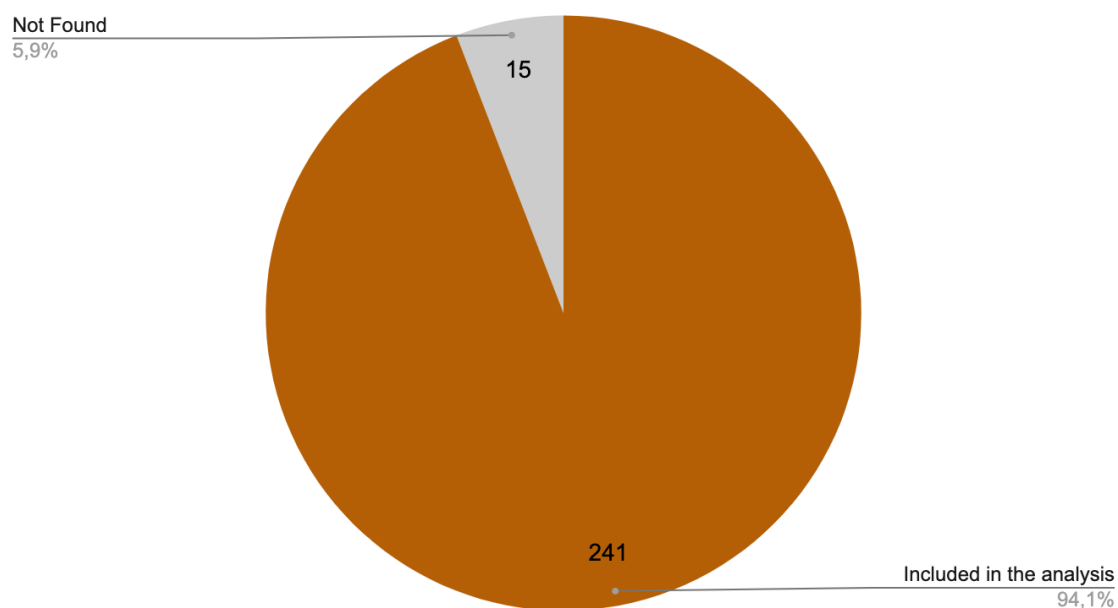


Figure 11 - Distribution of *Vogue Portugal* issues analysed in this thesis within the total number of published issues between 2002-2024 (N=256)

Additionally, the various unnumbered special editions of *Vogue Portugal*, such as those dedicated to Autumn/Winter and Spring/Summer Collections, which were relatively common until 2016, as well as supplements on beauty and accessories, such as "*Vogue Suplemento de Beleza*," "*Suplemento Jóias*," and "*Boas Apostas & Acessórios*," (although some were consulted and did contain references to Christianity) were excluded from the main analysis because they are not numbered issues, thus facilitating the organisation and consistency of the study.

⁴⁰ A complete list of all *Vogue Portugal* issues analysed in this study can be found in Appendix B.

Content analysis was carried out manually, carefully examining each edition of *Vogue Portugal* to identify the presence of Christian symbols and references. In total, 230 magazines were analysed in physical format (of which 95 were consulted at the National Library of Portugal), and 11 were consulted only in digital format (through PressReader or kindly provided by Lighthouse Publishing when contacted in December 2023). As mentioned previously, all covers and interior pages – including editorials, photographs, advertisements and articles – were reviewed to capture the complexity of such representations and a semi-structured approach to content analysis was adopted, which combined the search for patterns already established in the literature (such as the religious symbols referred to in Neal's work) with an openness to discoveries that may be specific to the Portuguese context.

More specifically, Excel sheets were created, and, for each issue, data was collected on the presence of references, identifying whether they were visual or textual (mentions of specific words and expressions that evoke Christianity, such as "divine" [divino], "miracle" [milagre] and "celestial", as seen in Neal (2019), and whether these references were presented on the cover of the magazine. Furthermore, the number of pages containing references was counted, allowing an assessment of the frequency and distribution of these elements throughout the publication. The references were then classified into specific categories, such as crosses, religious paintings, religious settings (e.g., churches or cemeteries), clothing with allusions to Christianity, representations of angels, saints and the Virgin Mary, and images of nuns, among others. As in Neal's (2019) study, this project uses issues of fashion magazines as primary sources to understand the values, ideals and designs that the fashion industry promotes among its consumers. Therefore, a distinction was also made about the presence of these references in advertisements, highlighting how brands and advertising campaigns used these symbols within the context of the magazine.

One of the central objectives was to identify whether *Vogue Portugal* follows patterns like those observed in American *Vogue*, where religious representations tend to appear during periods such as Easter and Christmas. Furthermore, it will also be investigated whether *Vogue Portugal's* content reflects Portugal's predominant relationship with the Catholic Church, given that the country has a majority Christian population, but with declining religious influence in recent years (Franca et al., 2018). The results of this analysis will be discussed in detail in the *Findings: Data Analysis & Discussion of Results* chapter.

3.3. Online Survey

The online questionnaire was made to engage Christian women living in Portugal, representing an essential step in selecting potential participants for future interviews. After careful analysis, all questions in the questionnaire were designed to address specific aspects related to the influence of religion on fashion and the perceptions of Christian women in Portugal regarding this. Each question was carefully worded to ensure clarity and relevance, as well as being aligned with the study objectives. Implementing a meticulously crafted approach, the questionnaire was initially formulated in English (as seen in tables 2 to 6 in this chapter) and then accurately translated into Portuguese (Appendix D) before being made available on the Google Forms platform. A full breakdown of the questions, their formulation and justification is provided below:

The purpose of questions 1-9 was to map the demographic characteristics (gender, age, location, background and religious affiliation) of the sample and consequently function as eliminatory questions. As shown, questions 3, 5, 6 and 7 were optional as they were considered not indispensable to the data analysis concerning the research objectives, meaning that while most participants ultimately responded and provided this information, they could have continued with the survey, leaving them blank.

As seen in Table 2, the inclusion and exclusion criteria were carefully established to ensure that the adherence of participants aligned with the study objectives. The exclusion of responses considered not to comply with the predefined criteria was carried out rigorously, using eliminatory questions strategically incorporated into the questionnaire, as mentioned above. These measures aimed to guarantee the integrity and validity of the data collected, mitigating biases that could distort the research results, therefore, excluding all respondents who: selected an option other than "Female" in response to question "1. What is your gender?"; selected the option "Under 18" in response to question "2. How old are you?"; selected the option "No" in response to question "4. Do you currently live in Portugal?"; and/or selected the options "No" or "I would prefer not to say" in response to question "8. Do you identify as Christian (including Catholic, Protestant and all other Christian denominations)?"

Table 2- Demographic questions

Question	Response Options	Notes
1. What is your gender?	• <i>Female</i> • <i>Male</i> • <i>Non-Binary</i> • <i>Other / Prefer not to say</i>	Eliminatory question: Survey ended for everyone who did not choose the option “Female.”
2. What is your age?	• <i>Under 18</i> • <i>18 - 29</i> • <i>30 - 39</i> • <i>40 - 49</i> • <i>50 - 59</i> • <i>60 - 69</i> • <i>70+</i>	Eliminatory question: Survey ended for everyone who chose the option “Under 18”.
3. What is your nationality?	_____	The survey did not require a response to this question.
4. Do you currently live in Portugal?	• <i>Yes</i> • <i>No</i>	Eliminatory question: Survey ended for everyone who chose the option “No.”
5. Where in Portugal do you live (NUTS 2)?	• <i>Norte Region (Northern Portugal)</i> • <i>Centro Region (Central Portugal)</i> • <i>Lisboa Region</i> • <i>Alentejo Region</i> • <i>Algarve</i> • <i>Overseas Portugal (Azores or Madeira)</i>	The survey did not require a response to this question.
6. What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?	• <i>No schooling completed</i> • <i>Primary school</i> • <i>9th grade</i> • <i>Some secondary school, no diploma</i> • <i>Secondary school graduate, diploma, or the equivalent</i> • <i>Some college/university, no diploma</i> • <i>Bachelor’s degree</i> • <i>Master’s degree</i> • <i>PhD or higher</i>	The survey did not require a response to this question.
7. What is your marital status?	• <i>Single</i> • <i>Married</i> • <i>Domestic partnership</i> • <i>Divorced</i> • <i>Separated</i> • <i>Widowed</i>	The survey did not require a response to this question.
8. Do you identify as a Christian (including Catholic, Protestant and all other Christian denominations)?	• <i>Yes</i> • <i>No</i> • <i>Prefer not to say</i>	Eliminatory question: Survey ended for everyone who chose the options “No” or “Prefer not to say.”
9. Regarding your present religion, what denomination (or church), if any, do you identify with most closely?	• <i>Catholicism</i> • <i>Orthodox Christianity</i> • <i>Jehovah's Witnesses</i> • <i>The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints</i> • <i>Anglican</i> • <i>Presbyterian</i> • <i>Evangelical</i> • <i>Baptist</i> • <i>Seventh-day Adventists</i> • <i>Other Protestant</i> • <i>Non-Denominational</i> • <i>Other</i> • <i>I do not know / Prefer not to say</i>	

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Furthermore, the statements presented in question 10 (Table 3) were designed to assess respondents' levels of intrinsic (a-d) and extrinsic (e and f) religiosity based on the commonly used Allport and Ross (1967) framework. Intrinsic religiosity reflects a personal and internalised commitment to religious beliefs, while extrinsic religiosity refers to a more external or social-oriented motivation for religious practices. Regarding Christian conservatism, the statements (g-i) were adopted from Stellway (1973) and Putrevu and Swimberghek (2013).

Table 3- Questions related to intrinsic versus extrinsic religiosity and Christian conservatism

Question	Response Options	Notes
10. For each statement, please rate your level of agreement:		
a) <i>"I actively practise my religion."</i>		
b) <i>"My religious beliefs are an essential part of who I am as a person."</i>		
c) <i>"I find deep personal meaning and fulfilment in my religious beliefs and practices."</i>		
d) <i>"I regularly engage in religious activities because they align with my personal values and convictions."</i>		
e) <i>"I participate in religious practices primarily for social connections and approval from others."</i>		
f) <i>"I am more interested in the social aspects of religious groups rather than the spiritual or personal aspects."</i>		
g) <i>"Jesus was not just a prophet, He was God's only Son."</i>		
h) <i>"Religious truth is higher in value than any other form of truth."</i>		
i) <i>"The Bible is God's message to humanity, and every aspect of its content is true."</i>		

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Following the section of the questionnaire centred on respondents' level of religiosity, questions 11 and 12 (Table 4) focus on determining participants' fashion consciousness and involvement. By exploring their responses, the study aimed to gain insights into how individuals perceive and engage with fashion in their daily lives so that this data could be cross-referenced with responses regarding Christian choices and beliefs regarding clothing or even level of religiosity.

Table 4- Fashion consciousness and Involvement questions

Questions	Response Options	Notes
11. How many times per year do you buy fashion items (clothing, accessories, shoes, etc.)?	• Less than 3 times • 3-6 times • 7-10 times • More than 10 times	
12. Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements:		
a) <i>"I keep up to date with the changing/latest fashions."</i>		
b) <i>"I am fashion-conscious".</i>	• Strongly Disagree	Matrix questions with a series of Likert scale questions.
c) <i>"I enjoy discussing fashion-related topics with others."</i>	• Disagree	
d) <i>"Most people are not as interested in fashion as I am."</i>	• Neutral	
e) <i>"I enjoy giving fashion advice to my friends."</i>	• Agree	
f) <i>"I enjoy shopping for clothes."</i>	• Strongly Agree	
g) <i>"I have in-depth knowledge of famous fashion brands."</i>		

Source: Elaborated by the author.

In the subsequent section of the survey, the focus was on gauging respondents' agreement with statements about their opinions on the intersection of fashion and religion, as well as their personal feelings regarding Christian modesty in clothing (Table 5). Similar to what was done on previous questions, these statements were presented in a Matrix table with a series of Likert scale questions:

Table 5- Questions on religious modesty and the influence of Christianity on women's way of dressing

Question	Response Options
13. Please rate your level of agreement with the following statements:	
a) <i>"I believe there is a connection between fashion and religion."</i>	
b) <i>"I have observed noticeable differences in the way women dress based on their level of religious devotion."</i>	
c) <i>"I enjoy wearing clothing or accessories that make me look visibly Christian (e.g. cross and saint medals, church merch, clothing with Bible verses on it, etc.)."</i>	
d) <i>"I have used fashion as a means of Lenten sacrifice or penance (eg. wearing uncomfortable clothing / high heels during the Lent period)."</i>	
e) <i>"Modesty in clothing is an important aspect of expressing my Christian faith."</i>	• Strongly Disagree
f) <i>"I believe that women should avoid wearing clothing that reveals too much skin or is overly revealing."</i>	• Disagree
g) <i>"I believe it is important to dress modestly to avoid causing others to stumble in their faith."</i>	• Neutral
a) <i>"My sense of modesty in clothing changes as I transition through different phases of life (e.g. marriage, motherhood, work)."</i>	• Agree
b) <i>"I believe it is important to adapt my way of dressing to suit specific occasions or settings, such as religious services or gatherings with Christian people."</i>	• Strongly Agree
c) <i>"I dress differently when going to the beach/pool for a Christian/church event compared to a non-religious occasion."</i>	
d) <i>"I adjust my way of dressing when posting pictures on social media to reflect my values of Christian modesty."</i>	

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Finally, for Matrix question 14 (Table 6), participants were instructed to consider images from recent issues of *Vogue Portugal* (Figures 12-17) before answering questions regarding their agreement with statements about the mediatization of “sacred” symbols. The selected images were chosen because they display more evident and overt Christian imagery, facilitating identification by the participants and eliminating the need for meticulous attention to detail to understand the references, unlike other images included in the magazine's pages and included in future chapters.

Table 6- Questions about the use of Christian iconography/symbolism in fashion

Question	Response Options
14. Based on your feelings regarding the pictures shown above and your own knowledge and opinions on the topic, rate your level of agreement with the following statements:	
a) <i>"The representation of Christian symbols in Vogue Portugal enhances the artistic and creative expression in fashion, adding depth and meaning to fashion editorials and storytelling."</i>	• Strongly Disagree • Disagree • Neutral • Agree • Strongly Agree
b) <i>"The portrayal of Christian symbols in Vogue Portugal contributes to the positive representation and appreciation of religious heritage in fashion."</i>	
c) <i>"In general, the portrayal of sacred symbols and images associated with Christianity in the fashion industry is disrespectful."</i>	
d) <i>"I consider the use of Christian symbolism in fashion to be inappropriate, offensive, and/or wrong."</i>	

Source: Elaborated by the author.



Figure 12 - *Vogue Portugal* cover, Issue No. 218, January 2021. Source: <https://www.Vogue.pt/english-version-editors-letter-mirror-issue>



Figure 13 - Model posing in front of a Virgin Mary mural from the "Sunday Best" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 198, April 2019. Copyright 2019 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 14 - Marie-Claude Marquis "Mama's Boy" plate from the "Life is short. Smile while you still have teeth" article. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 230, April 2022. Copyright 2022 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 15 - Painting of Jesus being carried behind a model from the “Guerra e Paz” editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 204, October 2019. Copyright 2019 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 16 - Model holding two devotional pictures/prayer cards from “Suspicious Minds” editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 212, July 2020. Copyright 2020 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 17 - Von Wolfe artwork showing a naked woman with various crosses and a crucifix. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 239, April 2023. Copyright 2023 by *Vogue Portugal*.

Moreover, the methodology adopted for data collection followed a non-probabilistic approach for convenience, reflecting a deliberate decision based on the study's nature and the resources available. Although this approach does not ensure a random representation of the population, it was considered the most suitable considering the logistical constraints associated with distributing the questionnaire online (Andrade, 2020). Participant recruitment was carried out strategically, taking advantage of the researcher's social media networks and the mailing lists of the University of Beira Interior to achieve a specific target number of responses. While this method enabled the widespread dissemination of the questionnaire, it is crucial to acknowledge the potential challenges associated with the non-random selection of participants, highlighting the need to interpret results with caution.

With an initial target of approximately 500 responses, the resulting sample was designed to offer a meaningful view of the perspectives and opinions of Christian women in Portugal regarding the intersection of religion and fashion. This is based on a literature review article (Bernardo, 2023), which revealed that – in articles related to consumer behaviour, fashion and religiosity published between 2012 and 2022 – approximately 57% of studies had samples ranging from 100 to 499 individuals, 23% had less than 100 participants and only 20% included more than 500 participants. Although these studies do not have the same objectives as the present investigation and are scientific articles

and not necessarily derived from doctoral theses, this information suggests that the chosen sample size aligns with common practices in this area of research.

The questionnaire was answered by 570 individuals between November 3, 2023, and January 24, 2024. As a result of the eliminatory demographic questions, 101 respondents were excluded from the sample for not meeting the criteria. The deleted responses were partly from people not identifying as Christians, males, as well as some underage individuals or people who lived in a location that was not Portugal. In conclusion, the final sample consisted of 469 adult women of various Christian denominations, age groups, levels of religiosity, etc., as will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Table 7- Linear scale variables numerical encoding

Question/type of question	Response options	Attributed Value
What is your age?	18 - 29	1
	30 - 39	2
	40 - 49	3
	50 - 59	4
	60 - 69	5
	70+	6
What is the highest degree or level of education you have completed?	Primary school	1
	9th grade	2
	Some secondary school, no diploma	3
	Secondary school graduate, diploma, or the equivalent	4
	Some college/university, no diploma	5
	Bachelor's degree	6
	Master's degree	7
	PhD or higher	8
All Likert scale questions (e.g., "I actively practise my religion.")	Strongly Disagree	1
	Disagree	2
	Neutral	3
	Agree	4
	Strongly Agree	5
How many times per year do you buy fashion items (clothing, accessories, shoes, etc.)?	Less than 3 times	1
	3-6 times	2
	7-10 times	3
	More than 10 times	4

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Lastly, the procedures and equipment used to administer the online questionnaire were carefully selected to ensure efficient and accurate data collection. As mentioned previously, the use of the Google Forms platform provided an intuitive and accessible interface for participants, while data analysis tools, such as Google Sheets/Excel and SPSS (Version 29), enabled a detailed analysis of the responses obtained. To make this analysis possible, some of the data originated from the online questionnaire was coded into numerical values (ordinal variables or scale variables)

before being transferred into SPSS, as shown in Table 7. Some response options were not attributed values, such as “Under 18” for the age range and “No schooling completed” for the level of education, due to the fact that no minors were considered for this study and that all respondents had at least completed primary school. Additionally, as will be observed in a subsequent chapter, some other variables were encoded in some way, such as the responses to question 10 which gave rise to the “level/average of religiosity” column, the responses to questions 11 and 12 which generated the “fashion involvement” column, as well as the Christian denominations which were grouped into 4 clusters to enable the descriptive statistics and consequent interpretation of data.

Thus, the statistical processing of data involved thorough analysis, employing a variety of statistical techniques to extract meaningful insights from the collected data. Descriptive analysis provided an overview of the main trends and patterns observed, while frequency analysis allowed for a deeper understanding of the distribution of responses. Furthermore, comparative and correlational analyses were carried out to explore the relationships between the variables under study, contributing to a more complete understanding of the sample. More information about the statistical tests done is presented in the *Online Survey Data Analysis* subchapter, and SPSS outputs can be found in Appendix E.

3.4. In-Depth Interviews with Christian Women

The initial objective of this study was to obtain a sample of 30 to 50 Christian women to carry out the in-depth interviews described in this chapter. This ideal sample size was defined based on qualitative research principles, namely the concept of theoretical saturation (Mason, 2010), which suggests that the collection of new data becomes redundant after a certain point when new information or relevant patterns are no longer identified. For this study, the use of in-depth interviews, although frequently used in scientific research, was inspired by the previously mentioned work of Duarte (2017) in her book *Moda e Feminismos em Portugal*, where the author carried out 42 in-depth interviews with Portuguese women of various age groups for her research.

A total of 47 contacts were established through volunteers from the previously mentioned online questionnaire, which served as the basis for establishing potential interview participants for the in-depth interviews to be conducted with Christian women. However, the number of interviews scheduled was lower due to a lack of responses from a considerable number of women. Despite this, as expected, some of the interviewees referred additional participants, thus creating a snowball sampling effect (Taherdoost,

2016) and reaching a final number of 33 interviews, which was within the initially established goal for the number of these conversations to analyse. The interviews were conducted between January 31 and March 26, 2024, and of these, 20 interviews were conducted via Zoom and 13 in person, with an average duration of around 28 minutes.

Table 8- Characteristics of the Interviewees (N=33)

Alias	Age	Religion/Denomination	Job Title/Field	Country of birth	City of residence
Beatriz	24	Evangelical	Unemployed	Portugal	Lisbon
Catarina	25	Catholic	Unemployed	Portugal	Beja
Filipa	60	Evangelical/Presbyterian	Unemployed	Portugal	Agualva-Cacém
Joana	38	Catholic	Researcher	Portugal	Famalicão
Alison	28	Baptist/Non-Denominational	Tour Guide	USA	Lisbon
Leonor	28	Catholic	Student	Portugal	Covilhã
Amanda	25	Evangelical	Events	Brazil	Setúbal
Daniela	25	Evangelical	Museums	Brazil	Almada
Matilde	40	Catholic	Fashion Design	Portugal	Covilhã
Teresa	19	Evangelical	Student	Portugal	Odivelas
Patrícia	36	Catholic	Nurse	Portugal	Viseu
Mónica	26	Evangelical	Communication /Missionary	Portugal	Lisbon
Paula	27	Non-Denominational	Entrepreneur	Portugal	Sesimbra
Manuela	45	Catholic	Public Sector	Germany	Lisbon
Cláudia	27	Catholic	Multimedia	Portugal	Oeiras
Helena	18	Catholic	Student	Portugal	Loures
Noémia	22	Evangelical	Student	Portugal	Sintra
Vanda	54	Catholic	Public Sector	Portugal	Loures
Dulce	18	Evangelical	Student	Brazil	Loures
Elvira	32	Evangelical	Photographer	Portugal	Lisbon
Aurora	27	Evangelical	Missionary	Portugal	Porto
Carmo	40	Catholic	Nurse	Portugal	Fundão/Brussels
Ivone	62	Catholic	Retired	Portugal	Santarém
Adriana	30	Catholic	Researcher	Portugal	Covilhã
Dalila	42	Catholic	Public Sector	Portugal	Loures
Eunice	33	Agnostic Catholic	Public Sector	Portugal	Loures
Tânia	59	Catholic	Public Sector	Portugal	Loures
Bruna	54	Jehovah's Witness	Public Sector	Portugal	Loures
Carlota	42	Agnostic Catholic	Public Sector	Portugal	Loures
Florbela	65	Catholic	Public Sector	Portugal	Odivelas
Luísa	29	Catholic	Education	Portugal	Cascais
Cátia	64	Jehovah's Witness	Education	Portugal	Odivelas
Judite	73	Evangelical	Retired	Portugal	Lisbon

Source: Elaborated by the author.

To allow for a demographic analysis of the sample, all the participants were asked to answer some demographic questions, which included age, city of residence, nationality and occupation. This data collection was done before the interview officially started, which then began with questions regarding religious denominations and individual interpretations of Christianity. Specific details of the 33 participants, who were assigned alias names to preserve their anonymity (as will be discussed further in a subchapter dedicated to research ethics), are found in Table 8.

As seen in the previous page, the analysis of the participants' demographic characteristics reveals a diversity of ages, locations, nationalities and professions. The participants' ages ranged between 18 and 73 (with a median of 37 years old), allowing the research to capture a wide range of life experiences and religious perspectives. Although most interviewees (72.7%) currently live in the Lisbon area (Loures, Odivelas, Sintra, etc.), participants reside in various regions of the country, offering a satisfactory understanding of the diverse social and cultural realities found within the Christian context in Portugal. In terms of nationality, the majority (84.8%) of participants are Portuguese, reflecting the expected demographic composition for this study. However, Portugal is a country characterised by cultural diversity and a significant history of migration, and it is worth highlighting that among the interviewees, three are Brazilian, one is North American, and one was born in Germany.

Current professions varied significantly, ranging from the education and creative industries to the public sector, which suggests that the Christian faith is present in a variety of professional contexts. Furthermore, three of the participants indicated full-time occupations (paid or unpaid) that were linked to religious institutions/organisations.

As previously noted, all the women in the sample identified as being Christian, as that was a prerequisite to participate in the interviews, but it is relevant to explain that among the 33 participants, the majority (16 in total) identify as Catholic, including two women who described themselves as what could be categorised as "Agnostic Catholic," a term that reflects an attempt to reconcile Catholic cultural heritage with a more critical or questioning view of the faith. Evangelicals constitute the second largest group, with 12 participants. Other denominations present include Jehovah's Witnesses with two participants, and "non-denominational" Christians, also with two participants. Portugal, with its deep-rooted historical and cultural ties to the Catholic Church, remains one of the most predominantly Catholic countries in Europe, where the influence of Catholicism continues to permeate various aspects of societal norms and traditions. Therefore, this quite diverse profile of religious affiliations allowed for an interesting analysis of the

different practices and influences of faith on clothing choices, offering a good understanding of the intersections between fashion and religiosity among Christian women without focusing solely on Catholicism.

Moving forward to the interview questions, these were designed to explore multiple dimensions of the intersection between faith and fashion. To achieve this, an interview guide (Appendix C) was structured, dividing questions into different thematic sections, from religious beliefs to the influence of faith on clothing choices, consumer behaviour, as well as perceptions about the representation of religious symbols in the fashion industry, focusing on both personal experiences and reactions to specific examples from designer collections (Figures 18-21) as well as media, where participants were shown representations found in *Vogue Portugal* (Figures 22-27).



Figure 18 - Valentino Spring/Summer 2014 dress showing Adam and Eve. Source: <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/751587>

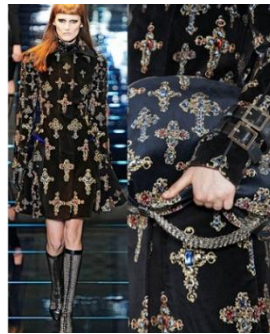


Figure 19 - Versace Autumn/Winter 2012 dress with embellished crosses. Source: <https://Voguemodelsearch.com/milan-fashion-week-versace-fall-winter-2012-2013/>



Figure 20 - Dolce & Gabbana Autumn/Winter 2018 sequined sweatshirt with the Virgin Mary. Source: <https://www.Vogue.com/fashion-shows/fall-2018-menswear/dolce-gabbana/slideshow/collection>



Figure 21 - Ensemble by Jean Paul Gaultier Couture Spring/Summer 2007 with church mosaics. Source: <https://pt.pinterest.com/pin/569494315379153782/>



Figure 22 - Actress Joana Ribeiro from the TV Show “Madre Paula” with a rosary inside a confessional. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 178, August 2017. Copyright 2017 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 23 - Model with a wooden cross necklace from “Espelho Meu, Espelho Teu...” editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 218, January 2021. Copyright 2021 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 24 - Marie-Claude Marquis “milf” plate from the “Life is short. Smile while you still have teeth” article. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 230, April 2022. Copyright 2022 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 25 - Pierre et Gilles artwork featuring Kylie Minogue as “Sainte Mary Mackillop” (1995). Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 244, October 2023. Copyright 2023 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 26 - Advertisement for the Ana Salazar “Silêncio” perfume featuring a model dressed as a nun. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 27, January 2005. Copyright 2005 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 27 - Philips Lumea “E fez-se Luz” advertisement. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, Nos. 91, 92, and 93, May, June, and July 2010. Copyright 2010 by *Vogue Portugal*.

Since the interviews were semi-structured, the “script” in Appendix C served solely as a general outline to steer the conversation and ensure key topics were addressed, allowing for additional questions and the exploration of further topics as the discussion

developed. Such flexibility was crucial to capturing the nuances and depths of participants' individual experiences, providing a more contextualised understanding of their views on the intersection of faith and fashion. Additionally, as shown in Appendix F, all interviews were conducted in Portuguese except one, with the North American participant (Appendix F5), which was carried out in English for practicality.

Ultimately, the data collected in the interviews was organised and categorised according to the main topics of interest in the study, namely: modesty; faith-based fashion choices; church-guided dress codes; Biblical guidelines on clothing; consistency between every day and church attire; fashion consumption and sustainability in light of faith; and use of religious symbols in fashion. The analysis was guided by the principles of thematic analysis (as explained in Braun & Clarke, 2012), with special attention to variations in responses depending on the cultural and religious context of the interviewees. The answers to the questions presented in this chapter will be analysed and discussed in the following one, where insights and patterns into the relationship between Christian faith and fashion will be identified.

3.5. Ethics & Limitations

Ethics plays a crucial role in all phases of this study, from its planning to data collection and analysis. As established by Dudovskiy (2018), ethical considerations are one of the most relevant aspects of any scientific research, ensuring the protection of the rights and dignity of participants. For this project, the ethical standards defined by the Ethics Committee of the University of Beira Interior (CE-UBI) were strictly followed, whose approval (Annex 1) was obtained on October 26, 2023, allowing the formal start of data collection.

In addition to the survey participants, who voluntarily submitted their responses by clicking the provided link (on social media or shared via email by the university's public relations office), the expert interviewees were contacted via email using the publicly accessible contact information. They were promptly provided with the necessary information regarding the interview's objectives to make a well-informed decision to participate or not, based on the principle of "informed consent" (Saunders, Lewis, and Thornhill, 2012). All study participants (the Christian women interviewed and the experts) signed a consent form (*Consentimento Livre, Informado e Esclarecido* [CLIE]). These documents were written in Portuguese for the interviews with Christian women (Annex 2) and in both English and Portuguese for the experts (Annexes 3 and 4), depending on their preference, and contained details about the purpose of the study, its

objectives, the type of data to be collected and the guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality for the Christian women (Bryman and Bell, 2007). Each participant received a copy of the signed document, while the other copy was archived by the researcher. These documents were not shared with third parties so as not to compromise the identity of the anonymous participants.

To further safeguard participants' privacy, all Christian women interviewed were identified by aliases, and an effort was made to ensure that none of the pseudonyms matched any of the participants' real names. This care reinforces the research's commitment to protecting privacy and the integrity of personal data.

Furthermore, in the online questionnaire, the first "question" ("I agree to participate in this questionnaire and agree that the results of data processing will be disclosed ensuring anonymity") was designed to ensure that only individuals who provided consent could continue to fill out the form. The questionnaire introduced the research to participants in a clear and informative way, presenting the objective of the doctoral thesis and guaranteeing the anonymity of responses. The introduction to the survey also explained that the study focused on the importance and potential impact of Christianity on the way women dress in Portugal, as well as the impact of this religion on Portuguese fashion magazines, specifying that the sample would be made up of adult women who identified as Christian. Participation was completely voluntary, and the disclaimer (which included the email contact of the researcher for any questions or concerns) mentioned that the data would be used exclusively for scientific research purposes, with the option to withdraw at any time. This introduction, together with the rest of the questionnaire, is found in Appendix D.

The data collected as part of this study was treated confidentially, and the database generated from the questionnaires was fully anonymous, with the sole exception of an email column that allowed participants to volunteer for subsequent interviews. However, this information was redacted before data analysis, ensuring that no personal data was accessible or shared. Regarding interviews with experts, anonymity was not required, as the nature of the questions focused on their areas of expertise and not on individual opinions or religious beliefs.

When processing the data, a strict ethical commitment was followed to avoid any type of distortion of the participants' responses, as integrity in data collection and interpretation is essential to ensure the validity and reliability of any study. As the majority of interviews with Christian women were carried out in Portuguese and the thesis is written in English, selected quotes were translated by the researcher with the utmost rigour to be included in the body of the text, ensuring that the original meaning

was not lost in the process of translation. Even so, these quotations were kept in quotation marks (or block quotes), as they are not paraphrases, but direct translations. Furthermore, a continuous effort was also made to respect scientific authorship in the bibliographic analysis, ensuring that the ideas and theories of the authors studied were presented honestly, accurately, and in accordance with APA (7th edition) reference guidelines.

While all efforts were made to ensure the validity and integrity of the study, some limitations must be recognised. Firstly, one of the main limitations is related to the difficulty in obtaining a larger and more representative sample of the population of Christian women in Portugal, which could have contributed to greater external validity of the results. Although substantial effort was made to recruit participants, the final number of interviewees and questionnaire respondents may not fully reflect the diversity of opinions and experiences present in the target group, especially as it was not possible to interview some specific groups of women such as nuns, members of the LDS or some more controversial denominations of Evangelicalism present in Portugal.

Despite the extensive Literature Review presented in Chapter 2, the available literature on the intersection between fashion and Christianity, especially in the Portuguese context, is very scarce. This lack of comparable studies limited the ability to contextualise and/or compare the results obtained in relation to other investigations, resulting in a more exploratory character than what was initially desirable.

Regarding the analysis of *Vogue Portugal* magazines, the limitations of the study include the inaccessibility of the 15 editions mentioned. However, once again, their absence does not significantly compromise the results, given their low representation in the total of 256 issues published between 2002 and the end of 2024. Furthermore, the analysis is based on symbolic interpretations, which, as noted earlier, can introduce subjectivity into data evaluation. To mitigate this risk, the study was conducted through careful and objective analysis and supported by relevant literature on religious semiotics and fashion studies. Similarly, it is possible that some more subtle or textual references to Christianity were not identified, due to the large volume of pages analysed and the less evident nature of certain representations.

Furthermore, the ethical issues associated with using publicly accessible sources such as fashion magazines are minimal, as these are not confidential data or personal interviews. However, the research was conducted with methodological rigour to ensure that the interpretations are faithful to the representations observed, that there are no distortions and that all images would be included in the body of text with the respective correct references to respect copyright.

4. Findings: Data Analysis & Discussion of Results

4.1. Findings from *Vogue Portugal*

This subchapter presents the results of the detailed analysis of the various editions of *Vogue Portugal*, which identified words, images, symbols and scenarios associated with Christianity on the magazine's covers, editorials, articles and advertising. As previously noted, the analysis was inspired by the methodology established by Lynn S. Neal (2019) in her study of American *Vogue*.

As shown in Figure 28, throughout the analysed issues of *Vogue Portugal*, the presence of explicit and implicit references to Christianity was verified in around 71% of the editions, this is because among the 241 issues in the analysis, 171 (and approximately 530 pages in total) included religious references pertaining to Catholicism or Christianity in general. Out of these 171 issues, more than half contained solely visual references (52%), around 10% included only textual references, and 38% included both types of references (Figure 29).

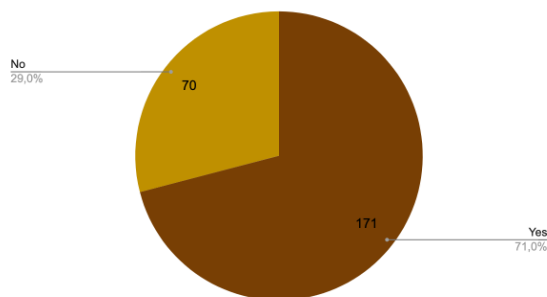


Figure 28 - Proportion of Magazines Including References to Christianity (N=241)

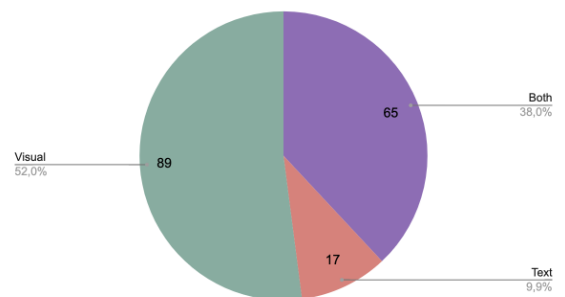


Figure 29 - Type of Reference: Visual, Textual, or Both (N=171)

Figure 30 shows that although 2005 and 2023 were the only years (among those for which it was possible to carry out a complete analysis) in which all monthly editions contained references to Christian symbols, the temporal analysis revealed significant changes in the representation of these elements over the period from 2002 to 2024: a gradual increase in the number of pages with Christian references was observed, with a more evident growth from 2018 onwards (Figure 31). This phenomenon may be related to the previously mentioned significant editorial changes in the magazine, namely the transition of its publication from Cofina to Lighthouse Publishing and the start of Sofia

Lucas as editor-in-chief (replacing Paula Mateus) in the last trimester of 2017. The increasing inclusion of Christian references after 2018, with an estimated average annual growth of approximately 0.5 pages, may indicate the consolidation of a new editorial line that reflects transformations in *Vogue Portugal's* creative and cultural approach and a progressive interest in this imagery in the context of contemporary fashion.

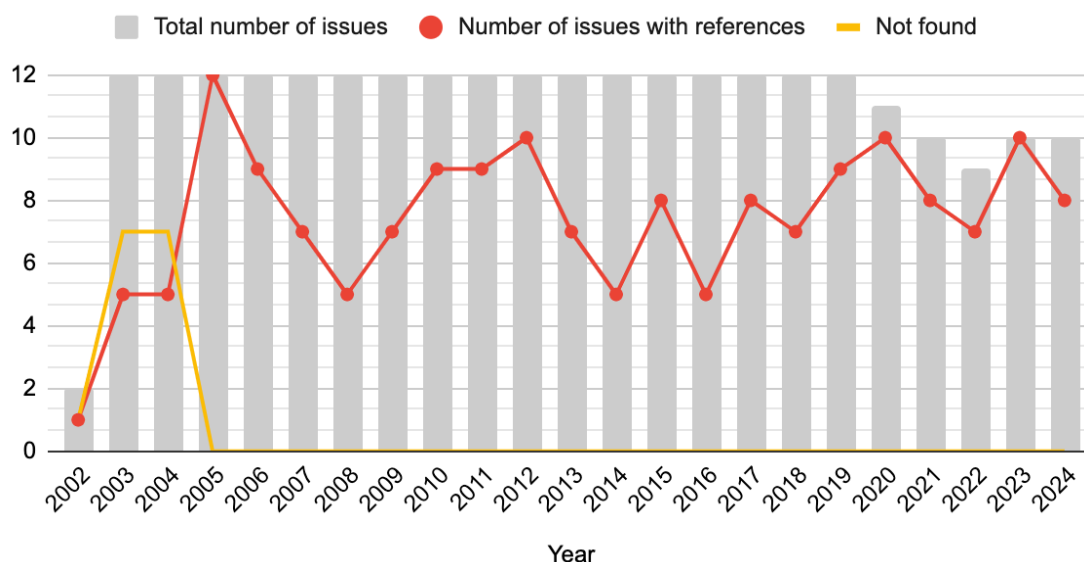


Figure 30 - Distribution of *Vogue Portugal* issues with Christian references in relation to the total of magazines published each year (2002-2024). Source: Elaborated by the author using Excel.

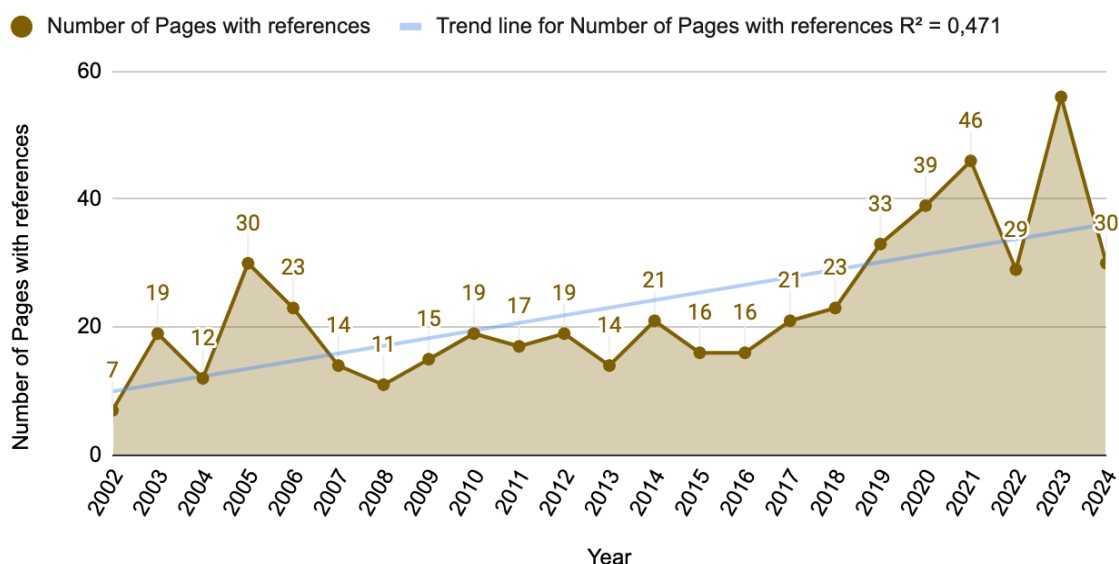


Figure 31 - Annual distribution of pages featuring references to Christianity (2002-2024) (Approximately N=530). Source: Elaborated by the author using Excel.

Of the 70 issues that were considered not to have explicit or implicit mentions of Christianity, some did have elements that could be culturally linked to religion. A relevant example of a magazine that was excluded from the analysis is the *Groundbreaking* issue (No. 185, March 2018), which, although not presenting specific references to Christianity, does allude to the famous Portuguese legend of the Miracle of the Roses⁴¹ on page 100, under the title "*São flores, senhor.*" Another edition that deserves attention is number 193, which does not contain explicit references to Christianity but includes an article about Modest Fashion on page 79. Additionally, the December 2010 edition (No. 98) did not have religious references on the main pages, but presented an unnumbered Christmas supplement, which included elements such as a necklace with a cross, a book about Michelangelo's work (with a possible focus on the Sistine Chapel) and a mention of the "star of Bethlehem"⁴². Finally, the December 2014 edition (No. 146) included an image of a miniature Christmas set with a building that resembles a chapel, common in Christmas decorations, but it was not considered a Christian reference, as it lacked any type of symbol that could corroborate this interpretation.

In magazines where religious references were expressed in an exclusively textual way, some of them could be grouped according to specific themes, such as the concept of Eden and Original Sin which were very recurrent, with expressions such as "Eden, I'm in Eden", "Garden of Eden", "the seductive animal that led Adam to abandon paradise", "the forbidden Fruit", "Nine Edens, Nine Lives" and "Adam without Eve", which associate sin and desire in a modern and often provocative context. The idea of sin is also portrayed directly with expressions such as "Deadly Sin", "The Sin of Gluttony", "Seven Vital Sins", "Sin Lives Next Door" [*O Pecado Mora ao Lado*] – Portuguese translation of the title of the movie *The Seven Year Itch* (Wilder, 1955) –, "Original Sin" (next to an image of a Louis Vuitton snakeskin handbag in issue number 159), "Holy water", followed by the phrase "cleanse your body of any sin" (No. 250, May 2024), and also the title of a vintage advertisement that read "Marijuana: Weed from the Devil's garden" (No. 223, July 2021), which makes an ironic allusion to sin related to substance use.

⁴¹ The Miracle of the Roses is a famous Portuguese legend associated with Queen Saint Isabel (1271–1336), who was known for her charity. According to the story, while secretly bringing bread to the poor, she was confronted by her husband, King Dinis, who disapproved of her generosity. When he asked what she was carrying, she replied "roses," and upon opening her cloak, the bread is said to have miraculously turned into roses (Lina, 2024).

⁴² The Star of Bethlehem appears in Matthew 2:1-12, where it is described as the celestial sign that guided the Wise Men from the East to the location of the infant Jesus.

On the other hand, other quotes directly link religious elements to social criticism, as in the case of a text from *The Coming Back Issue* (No. 243, September 2023) titled “The First Supper” which says: “*Bebei que este é o meu sangue e comei que este é o meu corpo e é bem bom*” [Drink, for this is my blood, and eat, for this is my body, and it is very good], seemingly mocking reverence with a humorous tone, referring to the words of Jesus in 1 Corinthians 11⁴³. Similarly, in *The Body Issue* (No. 229, March 2022), the religious theme is addressed in two distinct texts: the article “Eat, this is my flesh” [*Comei, este é o meu corpo*] (Dias, 2022), which reflects on catcalling and makes references to Jesus, the Bible and the apostles, and the editorial titled “My body, my temple” that connects Christianity and Buddhism and discusses how this expression “puts the body in the epicentre of our religion, taking it away from us and giving it to god, as a temple of the holy spirit” (*Vogue Portugal*, 2022). Furthermore, humour is also used to subvert religiosity, as in the case of the “Prayer Diet” mentioned in *The Nonsense Issue* (No. 223, July 2021), which controversially proposes that a divine miracle may or may not help with weight loss, a notion that subtly echoes earlier references to the emaciated medieval Christ, where bodily austerity and thinness were associated with spiritual virtue (White, 2022). Encouraging weight loss in fashion magazines has become especially problematic due to the predominance of body positivity discourses dominated by Generation Z on social media (Morgan, 2020), who began to actively challenge traditional beauty standards and promote acceptance of diverse bodies. Nevertheless, the 2021 text stated that:

The premise is simple: pray every day to lose weight – because everyone knows that God helps those who need it most. That's why He can't waste time on you and these absurd requests for miracles. This diet doesn't work if you just rely on the Virgin Mary and don't follow a consistent eating plan. Unless, of course, you subconsciously feel it's a sin not to help the Lord in this arduous task of helping you achieve your dream figure and give a little earthly help in making the right food choices. If so, bless you, my child (Andrade, 2021).

⁴³ “For I received from the Lord what I also passed on to you: The Lord Jesus, on the night he was betrayed, took bread, and when he had given thanks, he broke it and said, “This is my body, which is for you; do this in remembrance of me.” In the same way, after supper he took the cup, saying, “This cup is the new covenant in my blood; do this, whenever you drink it, in remembrance of me.” (1 Corinthians 11:23-25, New International Version)

In addition to expressions such as "divine trinity", "spiritual sex", "fallen angel", "the temptation", "and God created the sun", "good girls go to heaven", "the commandments", "*Ave Maria*", among many others, found in editions that feature both visual and written references, the magazine also includes articles that focus on religion or address the topic tangentially. For example, in the *Silly Season* issue (No. 189, July 2018), a lifestyle article titled "*Torre de Babel*" [Tower of Babel] compares Torre de Picoas to the origin myth and parable in Genesis 11:1-9, and issue No. 197 (March 2019) includes the article "*Falar de Fé*" [Speaking Of/About Faith]. In January 2020, issue 207 features an article titled "*Tudo ao molho e fé em Deus*" [Portuguese idiom that could be translated to: All in a heap and trust in God] which addresses online hate in comment sections, uses the phrase: "*Perdoa-os, irmão, estes trolls não sabem o que fazem*" [Forgive them, brother, these trolls know not what they do] in reference to Luke 23:34. Comparably, in *The Quote Issue* (No. 230, April 2022), an article titled "In the beginning was the word" directly quotes John 1:14, including the name of the Biblical book as well as the chapter and verse where the quote is in the Christian sacred texts.

Subsequently, the Christian meaning of the colour white is explored in "White Balance" (Andrade, 2023a), an article from *The Innocence Issue* (No. 237, February 2023), while in *The Good Luck Issue* (No. 238, March 2023), the Pope and the loss of interest in organised religions by Millennials and Generation Z are mentioned (Vasconcelos, 2023), as well as various Bible verses in an article about the number seven (Andrade, 2023b). Moreover, in *The [Un]Popular Issue* (No. 242, July 2023), an article (Armés, 2023) addresses the story of Noah and other Biblical figures, and a piece about "nepo babies" in *The Fame Issue* (No. 244, October 2023) drew an unusual comparison between the models Gigi and Bella Hadid and Jesus Christ: "The Hadid sisters are a tricky case: As with that other famous Palestinian, Jesus Christ, the benefits of the filial relationship clearly flowed both ways" (Murcho, 2023).

On the June 2009 issue (No. 80), a page which asks the magazine's employees "What is your biggest sin?" evokes an imaginary associated with the concept of sin and moral introspection, while the *Hope Issue* (No. 214, September 2020) explores spirituality more thoroughly, with articles such as "Believing in what?" (Bozinowski, 2020), which reflects a loss of faith in Christianity, and "Here Comes the Sun" (Fleming, 2020) where expressions such as "by God's will" and "if you want to make God laugh, tell him your plans" connect to a popular view of belief in religion.

Lastly, in the editor's note by Sofia Lucas in *The Icons Issue* (No. 255, November 2024), the editor-in-chief highlights the origin of the word "icon", referring to its use in religious worship and the controversies in historical accounts of iconoclasm:

The word “icon,” of Greek origin (*eikon*), means “image” and came to specifically designate the genre of images produced for worship and religious cults in areas of Byzantine influence, with representations of Christ, saints and episodes from the Gospels or Old Testament. Throughout history, iconography provoked heated theological debates between the Roman Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church. In one of the many periods of iconoclasm, in 726, the Emperor of Constantinople restricted the cult of images, as it had reached extremes – such as the belief that images were of supernatural origin and not created by man. With the Council of Nicaea, in 787, the legitimacy of the cult of images was agreed between the two churches and allowed, until the following iconoclastic crisis (Lucas, 2024).



Figure 32 - *Vogue Portugal* cover, Issue No. 1, November 2002. Source: <https://www.Vogue.pt/english-version-Vogue-portugal-portfolio-twenty-anniversary-issue>



Figure 33 - *Vogue Portugal* cover, Issue No. 80, June 2009. Source: <https://Voguegraphy.wordpress.com/2016/07/05/karolin-wolter-throughout-the-years-in-Vogue/>



Figure 34 - *Vogue Portugal* cover, Issue No. 109, November 2011. Source: <http://www.centralmodels.pt/modelos/mulheres/374-sara-sampaio/>

Regarding references to Christianity on the magazine's covers, the three covers shown in Figures 32, 33 and 34 include very subtle allusions to Christianity, such as issue 1 (November 2002), which bears a title that reads "*1ª tentação*" [1st temptation], making a clear allusion to Biblical temptation in comparison to the fact that this edition was the first *Vogue Portugal* issue to be published. Issue 80 (June 2009), in turn, mentions "os

pecados do mundo da moda” [the sins of the fashion world] and issue 109 (November 2011) refers to the Ten Commandments, both suggesting a symbolic connection with Christian tradition without necessarily being explicit visual references.

On the other hand, the previously referenced cover of *The Mirror Issue* (No. 218, January 2021), shown in the online questionnaire and Figure 12, presents the background of a couple’s bedroom which is filled with elements rich in Catholic iconography (Schiller, 1971), creating an atmosphere of strong spiritual symbolism: on the wall to the right, a crucifix stands out next to a small oval-framed image of Jesus, reinforcing the centrality of Christ in Catholic devotion, as well as a painting that depicts Christ with open arms, with the Sacred Heart visible in the centre of his chest, radiating light as a symbol of divine love and mercy. This Sacred Heart theme, common in Catholic homes, reappears on the headboard wall and on the wall to the left, where it is represented with a flaming heart, evoking love and divine sacrifice (Pius XII, 1956). Complementing this environment, the detailed curtains display a pattern that includes several images of the Virgin Mary, referring to her maternal and protective figure in Catholicism. These elements, integrated into the domestic setting, create a visual composition that associates the intimacy of the couple portrayed with the presence of spiritual and family values deeply rooted in Portuguese (or Iberian) Catholic culture.

The Sacred Heart had already been featured on another cover of *Vogue Portugal*, albeit in a less obvious way in its connections with faith: the January 2015 cover (No. 147) featured model Barbara Sprouse (née Barbara Palvin) wearing a dress from Dolce & Gabbana's Spring/Summer 2015 collection, a baroque style creation, made of black lace adorned with red flowers, whose central element is an iconic golden Sacred Heart stylised with rays emanating around it and possibly including a monogram or filigree design (Figure 35). Additionally, the following month’s issue (No. 148, February 2015) includes another image of a different Dolce & Gabbana piece from the same collection featuring a sacred heart, which in this case was present in a golden bustier which the magazine’s text, written by Paulo Macedo, stated to be inspired by the Spanish aesthetic.



Figure 35 - *Vogue Portugal* cover, Issue No. 147, January 2015. Source: <https://www.patriciamcmahon.com/barbara-palvin-Vogue-portugal-dec-15/>



Figure 36 - *Vogue Portugal* cover, Issue No. 194, December 2018. Source: <https://www.Vogue.pt/capas-Vogue-portugal>



Figure 37 - *Vogue Portugal* cover, Issue No. 251, June 2024. Source: <https://shop.light-house.pt/products/from-portugal-with-love-cover-4>

Above, Figure 36 shows the cover for the *Light Xmas Dark* Issue (No. 194, December 2018) which presents a relatively surrealistic image of a close-up of a model lying down with a miniature gothic church floating above her head, slightly out of focus, next to trees and a flame, creating a dreamlike effect and evoking a mysterious and introspective Christmas which will be briefly explored later. Moreover, in issue 251 (*From Portugal with Love*, June 2024), the cover photo (Figure 37) shows famous Portuguese fado singer Mariza in front of the Church of Santo Ildefonso in Porto. The church, in proto-Baroque style from the 18th century, is highlighted by the facade of tiles that illustrate scenes from the life of Saint Ildefonso as well as scenes from the New Testament (Santo Ildefonso Parish, n.d.), elements which give a significant religious and cultural context to the image, reflecting the connection between music, fashion design (through the eccentric Alves/Gonçalves dress) and Portuguese cultural and spiritual heritage.

The Sunny Vibes Issue (No. 232, July 2022) cover (Figure 38) shows a beach scene where a cross-pendant necklace, subtly visible on the blurred torso of the shirtless model in the foreground, discreetly inserts a Christian element into the visual context. Similarly, the cover of *The Pleasure Issue* (No. 240, May 2023) features a vibrant composition that explores hedonism through saturated colours, exuberant elements and a setting that mixes fun and carefree luxury (Figure 39). However, when looking closely at the bottom left corner of the image, one of the featured shirtless male models displays a stylised tattoo of the crowned Virgin Mary on the upper part of his left arm (Figure 40).

This tattoo, created with fine lines and a radiant halo, refers to the traditional iconography of Mary, a symbol of purity, devotion and intercession in Catholicism, creating a significant contrast with the irreverent and sensual tone of the cover. Additionally, it is important to highlight that this representation of the Virgin Mary appears in a May edition, a month associated with May 13, the date on which many Catholics, especially in Portugal, believe that the first appearance of Our Lady of Fátima to three shepherd children at Cova da Iria took place in 1917 (The Fatima Center, n.d.), an event that, as established in a preceding section, became deeply rooted in Portuguese culture and religious identity and devotion.



Figure 38 - *Vogue Portugal* cover, Issue No. 232, July 2022.
Source:
<https://www.Vogue.pt/capas-Vogue-portugal>



Figure 39 - *Vogue Portugal* cover, Issue No. 240, May 2023.
Source:
<https://www.Vogue.pt/capas-Vogue-portugal>



Figure 40 - Close-up of a Virgin Mary tattoo from the cover of *Vogue Portugal*, Issue No. 240, May 2023.

Although tattoos are normally the models' personal choices and not necessarily the magazine's editorial decisions, their inclusion in published images cannot be disregarded because, as discussed in the interview with Lynn S. Neal, like other visual elements, tattoos could easily be erased in post-production if they were not considered relevant by the editors. In this sense, tattoos were analysed as intentional religious symbols, integrated into the visual discourse of the publication, and in addition to the aforementioned Virgin Mary tattoo, pages in *The Forbidden Issue* (No. 220, April 2021) (Figure 41), as well as the September 2015 edition (No. 155), stand out, featuring models with cross tattoos, while the *Creativity Issue* (No. 219, March 2021) displays an inverted cross tattoo (Figure 42). Furthermore, in *The Mirror Issue* (No. 218, January 2021), the presence of a rosary tattoo (Figure 43) is particularly significant, not only because it is

the centre and focus of the image, but also because of the context of an editorial that includes numerous religious references, which will be explored further in this chapter.



Figure 41 - Cross finger tattoo. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 220, April 2021, p.129. Copyright 2021 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 42 - Inverted cross tattoo. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 219, March 2021, p. 52. Copyright 2021 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 43 - Rosary tattoo from "Words from the same family" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 218, January 2021, p. 307. Copyright 2021 by *Vogue Portugal*.

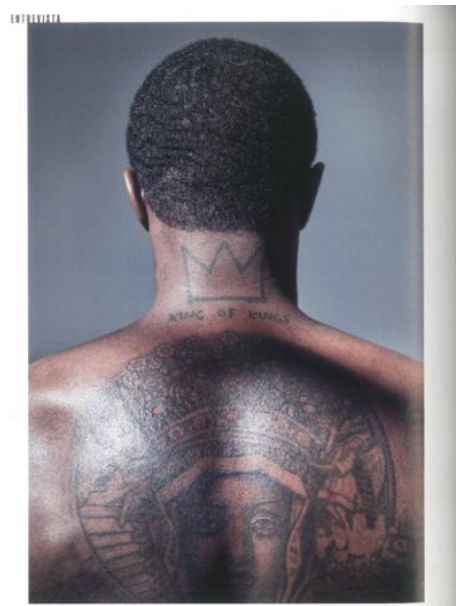


Figure 44 - Black Madonna and 'King of Kings' Tattoos on Diddy's back. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 190, August 2018, p. 208. Copyright 2018 by *Vogue Portugal*.

On a different note, the 190th issue, titled *Hello Again 2000* (August 2018) features a photograph of the back of controversial rapper Sean "Diddy" Combs (Figure 44), revealing an imposing tattoo of the so-called "Black Madonna", a term used to designate statues or paintings of the Virgin Mary and the Baby Jesus with dark skin, widely disseminated in Western Christianity (Duricy, n.d.). However, many believe that the image represents Ezili Dantor – a Haitian voodoo spirit associated with the protection of women, often depicted in a similar way to the Black Madonna – by whom some fans believe the artist has been cursed, leading to his 2024 arrest due to serious allegations including sexual assault, sex trafficking and racketeering (Randolph, 2024; INKPPL, 2024). In addition to this symbolically ambiguous representation, it is possible to identify another tattoo on the rapper's back with the inscription "King of kings", which is an expression with a strong religious connotation, especially in the context of Christianity, where it is often used to refer to Jesus Christ as the supreme, spiritual sovereign above all earthly rulers (Knowing Jesus, n.d.). Considering that Diddy was raised Catholic (Kane, 2006), it is likely that this tattoo is a direct allusion to that Christian tradition; however, it is also possible that this phrase is interpreted more broadly, as an assertion of power or leadership, aligned with Diddy's public persona.

As observed in Neal's study, crosses were also the most frequently found symbol in *Vogue Portugal*, being present in 99 editions of the magazine, which corresponds to approximately 57% of the total number of magazines with religious references. In addition to the crucifix on the bedroom wall (among other references) already mentioned about Figure 12, several other images in the magazine present crosses in different contexts, such as in the background of the compositions (Figures 45, 46 and 47) or the foreground, such as seen in the September 2019 issue (No. 203), where a model is carrying a cross in various images presented in an editorial (Figure 48). Nevertheless, most crosses were found in accessories, such as earrings and, mainly, necklaces such as crucifixes (Figure 49⁴⁴) or rosaries (Figure 50), which were identified in pieces from renowned brands such as Roberto Cavalli, Moschino, Vivienne Westwood, Cartier, Givenchy, Emilio Pucci, Tiffany's and Dior.

⁴⁴ Figure 49 also included a necklace with The Heart of Viana (*Coração de Viana*), which is a traditional Portuguese symbol in gold filigree that originated as a religious representation of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In Portuguese visual culture, this motif symbolizes divine love and sacrifice, serving as a prime example of the entanglement between national folk heritage and Catholic iconography



Figure 45 - Model standing in front of a wall with a cross from the "Efeitos Especiais" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 155, September 2015. Copyright 2015 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 46 - Wall with various hanged crosses and crucifixes. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 175, May 2017. Copyright 2017 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 47 - Model posing with a crucifix on the wall from the "Good night, and good luck" editorial, which mentions religious iconography. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 238, March 2023. Copyright 2023 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 48 - Model carrying a wooden cross. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 203, September 2019, p. 382. Copyright 2019 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 49 - Illustration of a model with multiple necklaces, including Heart of Viana and crucifix. Included in *Vogue Portugal*, No. 251, June 2024. Source: <https://www.nunodacosta.com/fashion/reazon57h5rzrlyodq8zkolfqs8v8a>



Figure 50 - Naked model holding a Chanel pearl rosary. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 22, August 2004. Copyright 2004 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 51 - “In Vogue” page about Catholic iconography in Jean Paul Gaultier collections. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 55, May 2007. Copyright 2007 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 52 - Dress with embellished crosses from Versace Autumn/Winter 2012. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 119, September 2012, p. 38. Copyright 2012 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 53 - Table of contents page including cathedral-inspired embellished top from the “Tailored Mosaic” collection. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 135, January 2014 Copyright 2014 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 54 - “Religious Devotion” theme in Trends Section. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 34, August 2005, p. 32. Copyright 2005 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 55 - Nuns on the beach and clothing with religious influences and references from “A question of Faith” section. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 214, September 2020, pp. 20-21. Copyright 2020 by *Vogue Portugal*.

On the other hand, when religious representations were found in the garments themselves, with more direct allusions to Catholicism, these images appeared in creations from brands such as Yves Saint Laurent, Jean Paul Gaultier (Figure 51),

Versace (Figure 52) and Dolce & Gabbana (Figure 53), which have been some of the most prominent in integrating Christian symbols into their collections.

These pieces of clothing with references, whether through embroidery, prints or inspiration from ecclesiastical clothing, were found in 20 editions of the magazine: among the most striking examples is Alexander McQueen's Haute Couture collection for Givenchy (Spring/Summer 1999), present in issues number 1 and 80. In issue 34, within the title “*Devoção religiosa*” [Religious Devotion] (Figure 54) in the trends section, images of Yves Saint Laurent, Nina Ricci and Chanel fashion shows are presented, whose creations evoke the clothes of priests, accompanied by a text that encourages experimentation with the “grandeur of ecclesiastical style”. Similarly, in issue 214 (September 2020), also in a trends section titled “A question of faith” (Figure 55) – title that had already been used in a previously mentioned article in issue 201 as well as in issues 35 and 145 – religious references are evident in pieces that include lace, veils, crosses and prints associated with spirituality, while the text celebrates fashion's connection to hope in times of adversity. Furthermore, in issue 253 (September 2024), the symbolic charge of monastic habits and religious vestments is addressed in an article that explores the theme of homogeneity and uniforms. Other highlights include the previously featured collage in issue 55 about Jean Paul Gaultier and the Catholic Imagination (Figure 51); Dolce & Gabbana's Byzantine collection⁴⁵ (Phelps, 2013) which appears in issue 134 (December 2013) and briefly in other editions; as well as the same brand's Alta Moda Autumn/Winter 2016 fashion show, featured in issue 167 (September 2016), which was set in Naples and strongly themed around Catholic devotion, displaying images of the Pope, crosses and other religious symbols.

In keeping with Dolce & Gabbana's creations, issue 189 (*Silly Season*, July 2018) features a male model wearing a sweatshirt adorned with images of the Virgin Mary and angels (Figure 57), a piece previously featured in the interviews for this thesis (Figure 20). Finally, the iconic photograph of Geraldine Stevens in 1978, in front of the Anglican Church House in Westminster, wearing a t-shirt with the phrase “ordain women now” (Figure 56), is a symbolic element that appears in *The Revolution Issue* (No. 239, April 2023). This image, and particularly the t-shirt, represents a distinct reference to Christianity, as it serves not only as a statement of faith but also as a political or feminist statement, unlike the other depictions which tend to simply reproduce religious icons on garments; this form of statement wear related to religion, especially Catholicism, was

⁴⁵ The Museum of the Bible (n.d.) in Washington, D.C., holds several garments from Dolce & Gabbana's Fall/Winter 2013 “Tailored Mosaic” collection.

also mentioned by one of the interviewees in this thesis, as will be discussed in future chapters.



Figure 56 - 'Ordain Women Now' t-shirt on activist Geraldine Stevens in 1978 outside the General Synod, which discussed whether women should be ordained as priests. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 239, April 2023, p. 49. Copyright 2023 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 57 - Model wearing a sequined sweatshirt with a Catholic motif from the Dolce & Gabbana Autumn/Winter 2018 collection. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 189, July 2018. Copyright 2018 by *Vogue Portugal*.

In addition to appearing on clothing and accessories, these religious references have also been found in advertisements for various national and international brands over the years, appearing in over 23 issues. Apart from the Ana Salazar (Figure 26) and Philips advertisements (Figure 27) which were shown to the interviewees, among the brands that incorporated Christian symbolism in their campaigns (such as DKNY, Diesel, Monseo, Gil Sousa, Nomination, Parfois, Stefanel, Intimissimi, Eugénio Campos, One, Radiant Jewels, Jokoth and Elisabetta Franchi) Flash (Figure 58), Peugeot (Figure 59) and Gucci (Figure 60) stand out. By using religious elements, these advertisements reflect the use of religious aesthetics and/or language to capture the public's attention, taking advantage of Christian symbolism as a visual communication tool that, in this case, transcends the exclusive context of clothing and jewellery and that reaches other markets such as fragrances and even cars.



Figure 58 - Flash Advertisement with saint medals. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 29, March 2005. Copyright 2005 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 59 - Peugeot Advertisement featuring references to Original Sin and the Last Temptation. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 55, May 2007. Copyright 2007 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 60 - “#GucciGothic” Advertisement. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 194, December 2018. Copyright 2018 by *Vogue Portugal*.

It is also important to highlight the presence of celebrities and public figures, in addition to models, who use religious accessories, such as crucifixes, or pose in contexts related to religion, such as churches. Among the most notable personalities featured in *Vogue Portugal* are Madonna, Rihanna, Paris Hilton, Kylie Minogue (see Figure 25, presented in the in-depth interviews), Ashley Graham (Figure 61) and Salma Hayek, who, by integrating Christian symbolism into their public images, contribute to the popularisation of these elements in mass culture. Furthermore, Portuguese figures such as Ana Marques, Joana Ribeiro (see Figure 22, also shown to the participants) and Mariza (in the cover seen in Figure 37) as well as Argentine-Spanish model – and partner of Portuguese football icon Cristiano Ronaldo – Georgina Rodríguez (Figure 62), were also identified in editions of the magazine, wearing religious accessories, or appearing in religious settings, reflecting the influence of Christianity in their style choices.



Figure 61 - Ashley Graham wearing The Isolette cross necklace. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 248, March 2024, p. 170. Copyright 2024 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 62 - Georgina Rodríguez posing next to a St. Joseph with Child Statue on top of a side table. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 244, October 2023, p. 227. Copyright 2023 by *Vogue Portugal*.

Similarly to this image of Georgina Rodríguez, who poses next to a table with a small statue of what looks like a representation of St. Joseph and baby Jesus in *The Fame Issue* (No. 244, October 2023), around 20 other issues of the magazine include representations of saints or the Virgin Mary, usually in the form of statues of different sizes. Among the most prominent examples is *The Beauty of Imperfection* issue (No. 216, November 2020), with the presence of a statue of a saint/Jesus (Figure 63), or the November 2014 issue (No. 145), where a sculpture of Anthony of Padua, the main patron saint of the city of Lisbon, is presented (Figure 64). On a different note, *The Icons Issue* (No. 255, November 2024) features a unique image of a statue of Our Lady of Fatima on board of an airplane (Figure 65), while in issue 253 (September 2024), a model poses alongside another statue of the Virgin Mary (Figure 66). The December 2020 issue (No. 217) includes a bottle of holy water in the shape of a statue of the Virgin Mary (Figure 67), combining the functional and symbolic, and in *The Innocence Issue* (No. 237, February 2023), the sculpture of the *Vestal Virgin* of Antonio Canova (1818/1819) appears stylised with makeup (Figure 68), reinterpreting the classic symbolism of the work.



Figure 63 - Statue of Jesus on a windowsill from "The Perfect Sunday" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 216, November 2020. Copyright 2020 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 64 - Statue of St. Anthony and the Child Jesus in the upper-left corner of an image. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 145, November 2014, p. 294. Copyright 2014 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 65 - World Pilgrim Statue of Our Lady of Fatima *en route* to Trinidad. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 255, November 2024. Copyright 2018 Bettmann Archive/Getty Images.



Figure 66 - Model posing next to a Virgin Mary garden statue. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 253, September 2024, p. 253. Copyright 2024 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 67 - Holy water bottle shaped as the Virgin Mary from "Portfolio: Museum of Broken Relationships". Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 217, December 2020, p. 91. Copyright 2020 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 68 - Vestal Virgin stylised with makeup. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 237, February 2023. Source: <https://www.Vogue.pt/english-version-blush-history-innocence-issue>

Likewise, other types of artwork were featured on the magazine pages very often, predominantly through famous religious paintings, which appeared over 30 times. The presence of works of sacred art on the pages of the magazine reflects the continuous exploration of Christianity as a visual and cultural theme, and among the recurring images, *The Creation of Adam* (Michelangelo, 1512) and *The Last Judgment*

(Michelangelo, 1541) stand out, as well as *Adam and Eve* by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1526), which appear in several editions, symbolising the themes of creation, judgment and fall.

In addition to these widely reproduced works, other notable depictions of Christian art in *Vogue Portugal's* pages include *Adam; Eve* (Bugiardini, 1520), *God's Curse* (Tissot, 1899) and *The Descent from the Cross* (Rubens, 1612), which evoke pivotal moments in the Christian narrative as well as *Menino Jesus Salvador do mundo* (Óbidos, 1673) by Spanish-Portuguese baroque artist Josefa de Óbidos (Costa & Versolatto, 2022). The representation of the Virgin Mary also appears in several interpretations, such as in *Madonna with the Iris* (Dürer, 1500), *The Divine Shepherdess* (Cabrera, 1760), *La Vierge à la Grappe* (Mignard, 1680), *Virgen con la corona de espinas* (Maratta, n.d.) and in the controversial *The Holy Virgin Mary* (Ofili, 1996), which generated controversy in international exhibitions (Anapur, 2024). Furthermore, paintings highlighting specific narratives, such as *Supper at Emmaus* (Caravaggio, 1601) and *Vision After the Sermon* (Gauguin, 1888) as well as notable Bible characters such as Mary Magdalene⁴⁶ in paintings like *Ascension of Mary Magdalene* (National Museum of Warsaw, 17th century) and *Mary Magdalene in Ecstasy* (Gentileschi, 1620) also enrich the magazine's iconography. Finally, works such as *Lady with a Fan* (Velázquez, 1638) present religious themes in more intimate contexts, and elements such as the *Gate of Paradise* (Ghiberti, 1425) and the *Ghent Altarpiece* (van Eyck & van Eyck, 1432) illustrate the continued use of historical icons to express ideas of transcendence and redemption. These works, when incorporated into editorial or article pages, give depth and complexity to the messages transmitted, connecting the contemporary with the historical and eternal.

Among the works of sacred art presented in the magazines, the way in which some of them were modified or incorporated into fashion editorials also stands out, creating a fusion between classical art and the world of fashion. A notable example of this occurs in *The Gossip Issue* (No. 233, September 2022), where artwork by Mehmet Geren is superimposed on the painting *Scene from the Great Flood* by Joseph-Désiré Court, creating a contemporary reinterpretation of the original piece (Figure 69). Another interesting adaptation appears in issue 37 (November 2005), where the *Triple Portrait of Cardinal* by Richelieu de Champagne (1640) is compared with a photograph of a model at an Yves Saint Laurent fashion show, through a collage that merges baroque art with catwalk fashion inspired by ecclesiastical attire. In the February 2012 issue (No.

⁴⁶ Referred to by Pope Francis as the "apostle of the apostles" (Holy See Press Office, 2016)

112), the presence of Francesco Vezzoli's *Crying Portrait of Naomi Campbell as a Renaissance Madonna with Holy Child (After Cima da Conegliano)*, part of the artist's *Sacrilegio* installation, which reinterpreted religious iconography with contemporary elements (Laliberte, 2011), also stands out.

Moreover, in issue 173 (March 2017), in a photoshoot held at the *Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga* in Lisbon, paintings such as *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (Figure 70) by Francisco Vieira (1800) and the *Altarpiece of St. James* (Figure 71) by Mestre de Lourinhã (1520-1525) serve as a backdrop for the models and fashion designers, bringing an innovative approach that integrates classical art with Biblical themes into a fashion photography setting. For example, in the second image, it is possible to see the model wearing a peach-coloured silk dress and, on the right of the photo, the eighth painting of the altarpiece is visible, which depicts an apparition of the Virgin Mary, described in the museum as "Grand-Master D. Paio Peres Correia invoking the Protection of the Virgin Mary in the Battle of Tentúdia", referring to the legend of a miracle surrounding a 13th-century battle against the Arabs in Badajoz (Turismo Extremadura, n.d.).



Figure 69 - Mehmet Geren's artwork on Scene from the Great Flood (Court, 1826). Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 233, September 2022, p. 352. Copyright 2022 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 70 - Model Isilda and designer Alexandra Moura posing in front of *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (Vieira, 1800). Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 173, March 2017, p. 107. Copyright 2017 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 71 - Model Isilda and designer Luis Carvalho posing in front of the *Altarpiece of St. James* (Lourinhã, 1520-1525). Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 173, March 2017, p. 103. Copyright 2017 by *Vogue Portugal*.

In addition to sacred art paintings, at least 32 editions of *Vogue Portugal* include religious settings, ranging from churches, cathedrals, and even cemeteries. These spaces, often used as a backdrop in advertising or travel recommendations, reinforce the

presence of Christian elements in the magazine's visual aesthetic. Among the identified places of worship are the Church of Saint Anthony of Polana in Maputo, the *Berliner Dom* (Berlin Cathedral), Saint Basil's Cathedral in Moscow, Saint Mark's Basilica in Venice, the Orthodox Church of St. Michael and St. Constantine in Vilnius, the Saint Sophia Cathedral in Kyiv, the Notre-Dame Cathedral and the *Sacré-Cœur* Basilica in Paris, the *Sagrada Família* in Barcelona, the Duomo (largest cathedral in Milan) and the *Fuentidueña* Chapel, particularly relevant as it is linked to the *Heavenly Bodies* exhibition. Cemeteries were considered references to Christianity due to their usual connection with churches or chapels, as well as the presence of crosses on tombstones, visible in the images published in the magazine. Among the highlighted cemetery scenarios are those presented in Figures 72, 73 and 74:



Figure 72 - “In Vogue” page with a grayscale photograph of a model wearing a black lace veil by a tombstone in a cemetery. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 73, November 2008, p. 50. Copyright 2008 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 73 - “In Vogue” page showing an altar and tombstones with crosses. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 158, December 2015, p. 52. Copyright 2015 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 74 - Model posing by the *Divine Hands* sculptural ensemble (Lopes, 2020) at the Municipal Cemetery of Ovar. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 215, October 2020. Copyright 2020 by *Vogue Portugal*.

Regarding the representation of nuns in the pages of *Vogue Portugal*, in addition to the aforementioned Ana Salazar campaign, eight other inclusions of these religious figures were identified. In Issue 97 (November 2010), there is a film frame from the movie *Mysteries of Lisbon* (2010), featuring a nun in the scene, similarly, in the June 2023 issue (No. 241) two nuns were photographed on a street in Peru, while in issue 184 (February 2018), an article about Oliviero Toscani's controversial campaigns for Benetton includes striking and very controversial images, such as a kiss between a priest and a nun, as well as Jesus in an AIDS campaign (Figure 75); additionally, in issue 240 (May 2023), the article “The Devil does dopamine” (Silva, 2023) features a provocative

image of nuns smoking (Figure 76). Other inclusions of women religious in editorials or articles include a photograph of a nun walking in front of a model (Figure 77) in an editorial in issue 204, an image of nuns at the beach in the “A Question of Faith” trends highlight in issue 214 (Figure 55), and the previously mentioned image of Kylie Minogue dressed as Saint Mary MacKillop, an Australian religious sister, in issue 244 (Figure 25). These diverse representations reveal both the aesthetic character and the provocative potential of these figures in the world of fashion culture.



Figure 75 - “History Lesson” page about Oliviero Toscani’s thought-provoking photographs for Benetton. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 184, February 2018, p. 38. Copyright 2018 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 76 - Nuns smoking cigarettes. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 240, May 2023. Source: <https://www.Vogue.pt/english-version-endorphines-et-al-hedonism-issue>



Figure 77 - Nun walking past a model. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal* from “Guerra e Paz” editorial. No. 204, October 2019, p. 204. Copyright 2019 by *Vogue Portugal*.

Likewise, images or representations of angels (or parts of them, such as wings) were considered to be Christian references in around 15 editions of *Vogue Portugal*. Despite being often associated with Christianity, angels are ambiguous figures that transcend this religious tradition as they also appear in other symbolic systems, such as Greek and Roman mythology, being recurring symbols of spirituality, protection, or transcendence. In the context of the magazine, several representations stand out, such as the advertisement by Eugénio Campos in issue 111 (January 2012), titled “*Anjos: Mensageiros da Luz*” [Angels: Messengers of Light] promoting bracelets with Celtic crosses and angel charms, as well as one Christmas advert for the One Watch Company in issue 182 (December 2017), which shows a pendant with angel wings and the words “Holy Spirit”. Other examples include *The Innocence Issue* (No. 237), which features a print of *Two Heads of Cherubs* by Thomas Cheesman (1800), and *The Icons Issue* (No. 255), where a model is photographed upside down displaying angel wings. These

representations demonstrate the versatility of the angelic motif, used both for its religious charge and for its aesthetic and symbolic appeal in broader contexts.

In issue 222 (*The Music Issue*, June 2021), an image taken from Madonna's *Like a Prayer* music video stands out in which burning crosses can be seen (Madonna, 2009, 3:20), evoking controversy and a symbolic connection to Christianity. Similarly, on the topic of prayer, which is also explored in Neal's book (2019), representations of models in prayer poses, such as hands clasped in a devotional attitude, are found in some issues, such as numbers 225, 198, 214 and 209. Although interpretations of such representations are subjective, not necessarily a reference to Christianity or even religion in general, and depend on the context and the observer, these images reinforce the relevance of prayer as a frequent visual metaphor, transposing spirituality into the world of fashion and promoting a dialogue between the sacred and the profane in the pages of the magazine.

Among the editions of *Vogue Portugal* that most highlight references to Christianity, some stand out as editorials that explore religious elements both visually and symbolically. One of these examples is presented in the April 2012 issue (No. 114) in an editorial titled “*Matado*”, including images such as the ones shown in figures 78-80. This editorial focuses on the theme of bullfighting, a traditional Iberian cultural element, but interweaves religious symbols, such as rosaries used as accessories in the images, where these strings of beads, often associated with Catholic prayers and moments of devotion, are stylised to create a look that speaks to both the religiosity and the drama of this highly criticised tradition.



Figures 78, 79 and 80 - Model wearing a red beads rosary and an embellished cross necklace from the “*Matado*” editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 114, April 2012. Copyright 2012 by *Vogue Portugal*.

Described as a tribute to popular festivals and pilgrimages in Portugal, the “A question of faith” [*Uma questão de fé*] editorial in issue 145 (Figures 81, 82 and 83) highlights Catholic traditions deeply rooted in Portuguese culture: images of crosses, rosaries, churches, and elaborated floats appear as settings and accessories that enrich the visual narrative of a religious procession. This November 2014 edition not only celebrates religious symbols but also portrays the devotional fervour of these Catholic festivities, where religious people honour their favourite Saints (sometimes dressing up as them), bringing a luxurious aesthetic that elevates these traditions.



Figure 81 - Actress Ana Cristina Oliveira holding a rosary from the "Uma Questão de Fé" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 145, November 2014. Copyright 2014 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 82 - Background includes 'paso' with crosses from the "Uma Questão de Fé" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 145, November 2014. Copyright 2014 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 83 - Children dressed up as saints or Biblical characters from the "Uma Questão de Fé" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 145, November 2014. Copyright 2014 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 84 - Model wearing multiple necklaces, including a crucifix from the "Words from the same family" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 218, January 2021, p. 310. Copyright 2021 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 85 - Baby Jesus and an embellished cross on the left side of the image from "Words from the same family" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 218, January 2021, p. 306. Copyright 2021 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 86 - Metal wire figure of Jesus' face from "Words from the same family" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 218, January 2021, p. 318. Copyright 2021 by *Vogue Portugal*.

With multiple and explicit references to Christianity, the previously mentioned *Mirror Issue* (No. 218), and more specifically, the “Words from the same family” editorial – apart from a cover page (Figure 12) that includes various Catholic elements and the rosary tattoo on Figure 43 – also features images such as a candle next to Baby Jesus and a cross, crucifixes and even an image of Jesus made of wire (Figures 84-86). This extensive use of religious icons underscores the influence of Catholicism on contemporary visual culture and fashion aesthetics. Comparably, in *The Madness Issue* (No. 212, July 2020), an image including saint prayer cards (or holy cards), which was presented in the online survey (Figure 16), as well as an ornate cross (Figure 87) are shown as part of the “Suspicious Minds” editorial and fashion film (*Vogue Portugal*, 2020) which subtly engages with the Catholic imagination, emphasising the relevance of this religious tradition.

In the *Africa Motherland* issue (No. 198, April 2019), a fashion editorial titled “Sunday Best” (Figures 88 and 89) is set against the backdrop of a mural of the Virgin Mary and includes images of a church. In this way, the editorial inserts these religious elements within the Afrocentric cultural and spiritual narrative, offering a new perspective on the intersection between faith, culture and fashion while reflecting on the concept of “Sunday Best” referenced in the literature review chapter and, subsequently, in the findings from the interviews. In addition, much like the previously mentioned

editorial, an image (Figure 13) from “Sunday Best” was also featured in the online questionnaire.



Figure 87 - Embellished cross on a vase from "Suspicious Minds" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 212, July 2020, p. 291. Copyright 2012 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 88 - Models walking towards a church from the "Sunday Best" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 198, April 2019, p. 273. Copyright 2019 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 89 - Models posing in front of the Virgin Mary mural from the "Sunday Best" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 198, April 2019, p. 277. Copyright 2019 by *Vogue Portugal*.

On a different note, the April and August 2020 issues (No. 210 and No. 213), feature the “Breaking Amish” editorial (Figure 90), inspired by the way of life of the Amish – and possibly using a reference to the TLC show by the same name (*TLC*, 2012–2014) – a community whose religious and cultural roots are deeply connected to Christianity. In the editorial images, the model wears a kapp, a traditional Christian head covering (similar to a bonnet) worn by many women of Anabaptist denominations, who consider it a Biblical commandment for modesty under 1 Corinthians 11:2–10 (mentioned in section 2.2 of the Literature Review). Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, the August issue was a reissue of the April publication, repeating the same editorials and reaffirming the visual and narrative relevance of this theme, which seems to explore the aesthetic simplicity of this group, normally considered in total contrast with the exuberance characteristic of contemporary fashion.



Figure 90 - Model wearing an Amish kapp. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 210, April 2020. Source: <https://www.Vogue.pt/breaking-amish-editorial-moda>



Figure 91 - Naked models with an apple in the “Adam & Steve” Article. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 220, April 2021. Source: <https://www.Vogue.pt/english-version-adam-steve-fashion-story-forbidden-issue>

Lastly, *The Forbidden Issue* (No. 220, April 2021) includes various religious references, mostly to the creation narrative, and therefore, the forbidden fruit. One controversial reference is the “Adam & Steve” editorial, which shows two nude female models eating an apple (Figure 91), challenging traditional interpretations of the original sin narrative and using a satirical title. This expression is derived from the conservative Christian slogan “God made Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve”, which was developed to summarise Bible-based arguments against homosexuality and appeared to gain popularity in the late 1970s (Sayler, 2006; Schonfeld, 2015; Klemesrud, 1977; Clarke, 2001). This issue of the magazine contains other references to original sin, such as the title “Adam's Apple”, accompanied by the previously mentioned painting *Adam and Eve* by Lucas Cranach the Elder; the article “An apple a day and all prohibitions that lay”, which explores the history of original sin and reflects on the association of the apple as a forbidden fruit; and the “Garden of Eden” article, which reinterprets paradise with Bvlgari jewellery symbolising temptation and metaphorically replacing the apple and the serpent with new creative elements associated with the brand.

In conclusion, in Neal's (2019) study, it was discovered that the presence of references to Christianity tends to be more prevalent at certain times of the year, such as Christmas. However, in the specific case of the “holidays” editions of the magazine under

analysis, in addition to the already mentioned issues of 2010 and 2014, the publications of December 2008 (No. 74) and 2016 (No. 170) also did not present references to Christianity. Interestingly, the other December issues which did contain Christian references were also not the editions with the largest number of pages containing such allusions, which allows for the conclusion that, although there is a pattern of a greater likelihood of references during this "festive season", this does not necessarily imply a more significant inclusion of Christian imagery due to the time of year.

These Christmas editions do reveal, nevertheless, a visual pattern marked by the recurrence of religious elements such as crosses, angels and religious settings (such as cathedrals and churches), often reinterpreted in a stylised way. Titles like "*Ouro, incenso e moda*" [Gold, frankincense and fashion] in issue No. 110 illustrate the fusion between the Christmas tradition and luxury referring to the Wise Men's gifts to baby Jesus in Matthew 2:11, while editorials like "*Peregrinação*" [Pilgrimage] in issue No. 194 explore complex and provocative themes by including statements such as "Sacred art, crimes committed against God and in the name of God. Tributes, sacrifice. Fire, the blood" (author's translation) and featuring images of models with small churches on their faces, as well as one model wearing a Christian Dior dress with a gold sacred heart, reinforcing the tension between the divine and the human. On issue 246 (December 2023), the "Sharing is Sweeter" article (Dias, 2013) goes beyond criticising the superficiality of seasonal religiosity of going to the Midnight Mass on Christmas Eve and presents a blunt reflection on religion and, more specifically, on the God of the Old Testament, described by the journalist as "vengeful" and associated with narratives of violence and harsh judgment, in contrast to Christ's message of forgiveness and love. This type of approach suggests that Christian references are used not only as an aesthetic but also as a vehicle for social and religious criticism, deconstructing dogmas while transforming them into contemporary cultural symbols.

Concerning Easter, a consistent correlation was not identified between this celebration and the editions under analysis, possibly due to the moving dates of this holiday. However, in issue number 101, from March 2011 (a year in which Easter occurred in April), a picture of a model seemingly wearing a crown of thorns (Figure 92), one of the most iconic symbols of the Passion of Christ, stands out. This may be a particularly relevant reference in the context of the liturgical period since this issue was released in the middle of Lent.



Figure 92 - Model wearing a crown of thorns. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 101, March 2011. Copyright 2011 by *Vogue Portugal*.

As mentioned previously, this analysis covers pages and sections that, at first glance, may not be directly related to fashion design, such as opinion pieces or cultural or tourism recommendations, which include references to religion in some way. Fashion, as a cultural and discursive practice or phenomenological notion (Bietti, 2012), transcends clothing and catwalks, integrating itself into multiple aspects of contemporary life, including art, tourism, culture and social behaviour. Recognising fashion as an area of dialogue means understanding that the editorial choices of a magazine like *Vogue Portugal*, even in its sections about lifestyle, vacationing, literature, or even dieting, reflect and dialogue with the social and aesthetic dynamics that are also characteristics of the fashion universe. Therefore, considering these references in the context of a study on fashion is, in fact, fundamental to capturing the complexity of fashion's role as a cultural mediator. This more inclusive approach – similar to what was mentioned about semiotics, touched on in the subchapter about *Vogue Portugal* in the Literature Review – positions fashion as a lens capable of understanding the visual and symbolic expressions that, crossing different fields, construct identity and contemporary culture.

Finally, this chapter reveals that, although *Vogue Portugal* maintains a consistent number of Christian references, there is a tendency towards symbolic appropriation that decontextualises these religious elements from their original meaning, reflecting the previously mentioned growing secularisation of Portuguese

society, and in this context, Christian symbols are often seemingly used as cultural or aesthetic icons rather than as representations of faith. Compared with Neal's (2019) study of American *Vogue*, similarities in the predominantly visual way of exploring religion stand out. However, the strong impact of the Catholic Church on Portuguese culture gives unique characteristics to the representations found in *Vogue Portugal* (for example, the representations of the Virgin Mary, various saints, Catholic festivals involving processions, etc), suggesting that the Christian imagery is still relevant. Even so, most symbols, such as the cross or the image of angels, were integrated into contemporary fashion narratives, dissociated from traditional religious celebrations or practices.

4.2. Online Survey Data Analysis

Based on the responses of 469 adult women living in Portugal who identify as Christians, the following analysis of the online survey offers insight into how fashion intersects with faith, specifically in the Portuguese context. Initially, the demographic characteristics of the sample will be examined (see Table 9), offering insights into the group's composition. Next, the participants' responses will be analysed concerning the significance and potential impact of Christianity on the way women dress in Portugal, as well as their opinions on the representation of Christian references in *Vogue Portugal*. As mentioned previously, original SPSS outputs and conclusions from statistical tests are provided in Appendix E.

4.2.1. Sample Characteristics: Demographics, Denominations & Religiosity

Firstly, regarding the age range of the respondents, a varied age distribution can be observed among the study participants: Most participants, corresponding to 39.4% of the total, are between the ages of 18 and 29, indicating a significant presence of young adults in the sample. Following this generation, 23.2% of participants are between 40 and 49 years old, representing a considerable group within the studied population. Furthermore, there is a notable presence of participants in the 50 to 59 age group, totalling 15.8% of the sample, while 14.7% are between 30 and 39 years old. Although fewer in number, it is still relevant to mention that 5.1% of participants are between 60 and 69 years old and 1.7% are over 70 years old.

Table 9- Sample Characteristics (N=469)

Characteristics	%	Frequency
Age	18 - 29	39.4
	30 - 39	14.7
	40 - 49	23.2
	50 - 59	15.8
	60 - 69	5.1
	70+	1.7
Nationality	Portuguese	91
	Brazilian	5.7
	Angolan	1.1
	American	0.4
	Other	1.7
	Unspecified	2.4
Region (NUTS 2)	Northern Portugal	12.4
	Central Portugal	25.5
	Lisboa Region	56.5
	Alentejo Region	1.5
	Algarve	2.1
	Overseas Portugal (Azores or Madeira)	1.9
	Unspecified	0.4
Education	No schooling completed	0
	Primary school	0.4
	9th grade	1.5
	Some secondary school, no diploma	2.4
	Secondary school graduate, diploma, or the equivalent	21.4
	Some college/university, no diploma	7.1
	Bachelor's degree	37.6
	Master's degree	24.6
	PhD or higher	5.1
	Unspecified	0.2
Marital Status	Single	43.3
	Married	38
	Domestic partnership	9.6
	Divorced	7.5
	Separated	0.2
	Widowed	1.5
Christian Denomination	Catholicism	66.7
	Orthodox Christianity	1.5
	Jehovah's Witnesses	0.9
	The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints	0.2
	Anglican	0.2
	Presbyterian	1.1
	Evangelical	19.8
	Baptist	2.6
	Seventh-day Adventists	0
	Other Protestant	0.4
	Non-Denominational	1.1
	Other	1.5
	Unspecified Affiliation	4.1

Source: Elaborated by the author.

Regarding data on the nationalities of the study participants, there is an overwhelming predominance of Portuguese women, totalling 91% of the sample. This result was expected, given that the study was conducted in Portugal and only responses from women currently residing in the country were considered valid. However, it is important to note the diversity within this category, reflecting the ethnic and cultural

heterogeneity present in Portugal's population. In addition to Portuguese women, other nationalities are also represented, although to a lesser extent; for example, Brazilian women account for 5.7% of the sample, followed by five Angolan women and two North Americans. There was also the participation of women of other nationalities, such as Guinean, Sao Tome, Swiss, Mozambican, Colombian, Ecuadorian, South African and Ukrainian, each representing one individual in the sample. This multiplicity of nationalities reflects the cultural and ethnic richness of the female population that follows Christian denominations in Portugal, which can impact participants' experiences, opinions and practices.

Based on data on the distribution of participants by NUTS 2⁴⁷ in Portugal, a significant concentration in the Lisbon Region can be observed, which represents 56.5% of the total sample, totalling 264 participants. This is the most densely populated region in the country, which includes the capital, Lisbon, along with several surrounding municipalities. The Central Region of Portugal is the second most represented in the sample, accounting for 25.5% of participants and the North Region, renowned for its textile industry and historic cities like Porto and Braga, comprises 12.4% of the sample. In addition to these regions, the sample also includes women from Alentejo (7 participants), Algarve (10 participants) and the Autonomous Regions of the Azores or Madeira (9 participants), albeit in smaller numbers. This geographic distribution of participants by NUTs offers valuable insights into the regional representativeness of the sample, underscoring areas of greater and lesser population concentration in the context of the study.

When it comes to the highest level of education completed, it is observed that most participants have a significant educational level, with 67.3% having at least one university degree (Bachelor's, Master's, or PhD). Thus, only 20 participants did not complete the 12th grade and 100 participants only had secondary education as their highest level of education. This could be explained by changes in legislation regarding compulsory full-time education and school leaving age, which is currently 18 years old or earlier if a secondary school diploma is achieved (Diário da República, Law no. 85/2009). This high level of education can influence participants' religious beliefs and practices in several ways. However, although previous studies suggest a possible association between higher levels of education and less adherence to religious traditions,

⁴⁷The Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics (NUTS) is a classification established by the European Union for statistical and geographic purposes, dividing member countries into specific administrative regions (Eurostat, 2023). In Portugal, NUTS are used to organise and analyse statistical data at different territorial levels, providing a comprehensive view of the geographic of a sample or population.

it is important to consider that higher education may strengthen some participants' faith by providing a deeper and more critical understanding of their religions (Smith & Snell, 2009; Smith, 1998; Sacerdote & Glaeser, 2001; Voas & McAndrew, 2014). Therefore, analysing these relationships can offer important insights into how education shapes the religious experiences of women who follow Christian denominations in Portugal.

Marital status may be particularly related to religious practices and involvement (Liefbroer & Rijken, 2019) due to the specific norms and doctrines of some denominations of Christianity, which might have teachings and practices that discourage divorce and do not recognise civil unions as a legitimate form of relationship. For women who belong to these denominations, divorce or civil union may be seen as contrary to religious principles and therefore they may face social stigma or ostracism within their religious communities, which can affect their religious involvement, leading some women to withdraw from religion or feel less included and supported in their spiritual practices (Kitson & Holmes, 1992). When examining data on participants' marital status, a variety of personal situations are observed within the sample: the majority of participants are single, making up 43.3% of the sample, followed closely by married participants (38%). Furthermore, a sizeable portion of the participants are in a civil union (9.6%), some participants are divorced (7.5%), widowed (1.5%) and one participant is separated. This diverse distribution of marital status reflects the heterogeneity of the participants' life experiences, which can influence their perspectives, practices and religious involvement in diverse ways. In this case, as will be examined in greater detail further ahead, there is a relationship between the marital status of the women in the sample and their active participation in their religion.

When analysing the statistics on the denomination of the questionnaire participants, it is evident that there is a significant diversity of religious affiliations within Christianity in the sample. Catholicism emerges as the most prevalent denomination, representing 66.7% of participants, which reflects the lasting historical and cultural influence of the Catholic Church in Portugal. On the other hand, Evangelical Christianity is also well represented, with 19.8% of participants identifying with this religious tradition. In addition, there are a variety of other denominations present in the sample, such as Baptists, Orthodox Christians and Jehovah's Witnesses, among others. It is also interesting to note that although they identify as Christians, 19 participants chose not to identify their religious affiliation or indicated that they did not know what it was.

Within Christianity, according to the census of 2021 (INE, 2024; André, 2022), 80.2% of the Portuguese population identifies as Catholic, compared to 2.1% who claim to be "Protestant/Evangelical", 1.04% who selected "Other Christian", 0.69% Orthodox

and 0.72% Jehovah's Witnesses, who were counted for the first time in census history in 2021. The discrepancy between census data and survey results, particularly regarding the percentage of Catholics and Evangelicals, highlights not only the religious diversity within both the research sample and the Portuguese population but also emphasises the need for sensitive and adaptable approaches in research. Moreover, it is essential to keep in mind that censuses cover a much larger universe/sample than the present questionnaire, potentially influencing the results.

To facilitate statistical analysis of the survey data, it was decided to group the various denominations into broader categories that encompass similar Christian traditions. This approach aims to simplify the multivariate statistics, correlations and the interpretation of its results, while recognising the religious diversity present in the sample. Thus, participants were grouped into the following clusters, as shown in Figure 93:

- 1) “Catholicism”: Including all participants who identified as Catholic.
- 2) “Evangelical and Protestant Denominations”: Encompassing a total of 113 participants who identified as Evangelical, Baptist, Presbyterian, Anglican and other Protestant traditions, totalling 24.1% of the sample.
- 3) “Distinct Denominations”: Includes less represented groups with unique theological beliefs and practices such as Jehovah's Witnesses, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) and Orthodox Christianity. This group makes up 2.6% of the sample, with only 12 individuals.
- 4) “Unspecified/Undetermined Affiliation”: Separate category for the 31 participants (6.6%) who identify as non-denominational, chose not to identify their religious affiliation, or indicated unawareness about it.

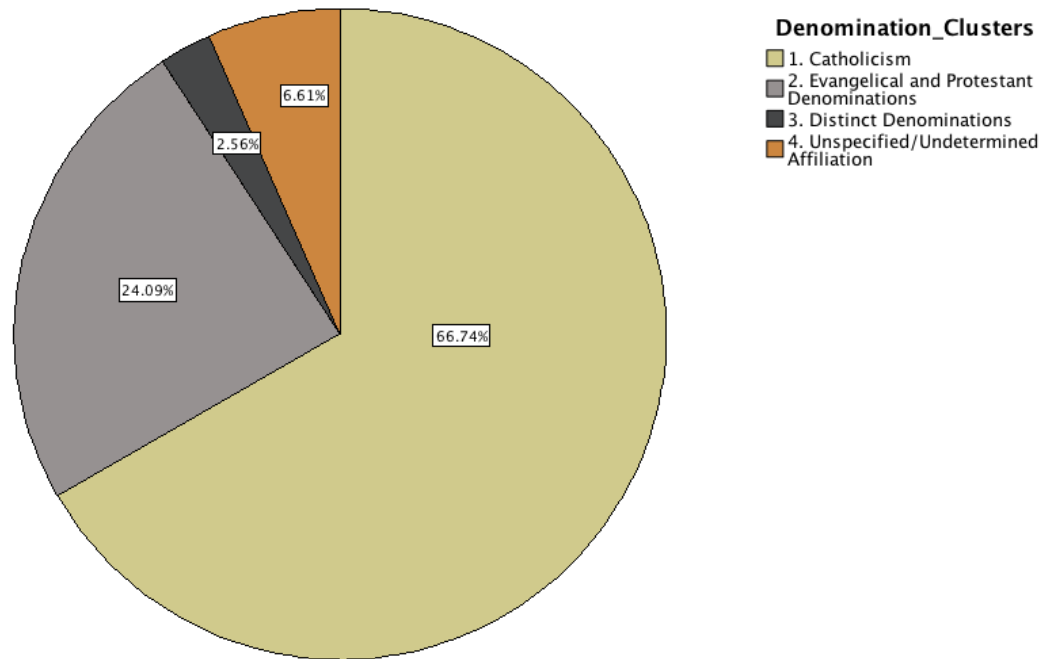


Figure 93 - Denomination Clusters Pie Chart. Source: Elaborated by the author using SPSS.

While Orthodox Christianity could have been better aligned with Catholicism due to their shared theological traditions, it was instead grouped with other less-represented denominations with whom this mainstream denomination does not have much in common. This decision was primarily influenced by the small number of responses from women identifying with Orthodox Christianity, as well as groups frequently referred to as “high-demand religions” such as the LDS and Jehovah's Witnesses. Similarly, unlike Catholicism or Orthodox Christianity, Anglicanism emerged as a distinct denomination influenced by Protestant theology; therefore, despite potential similarities with Catholicism (such as sacramental tradition and hierarchical structure) or even Orthodoxy, Anglicanism is grouped with Protestant traditions based on its historical and theological connections to the 16th-century Lutheran Reformation. In contrast, Catholicism formed a distinct cluster, encompassing only participants who identified specifically with this tradition and reflecting its majority status and significance as the largest religion in Portugal.

The variable “I actively practise my religion” reflects participants' attitudes toward their religious engagement and is represented in the Pie Chart in Figure 94. Of all the participants, approximately 47.7% agree with the statement, indicating a level of commitment and active participation in religious practices. To explore how active religious practice may relate to demographic characteristics, several statistical tests were carried out (see Appendix E for detailed outputs), and while the ANOVA results did not reveal meaningful differences across age groups or education levels, suggesting that

these structural factors may play a limited role in shaping the degree to which participants practise their faith, other variables proved to be more relevant. Marital status, for instance, appeared to have some explanatory value, as according to the Kruskal-Wallis test, married women consistently expressed stronger agreement with actively practising their religion, in contrast with participants who are in domestic partnerships or who are separated, who seemed to report lower levels of engagement. Similarly, in a different ANOVA test, religious affiliation emerged as a particularly significant factor, with participants identifying as Evangelical or Protestant reporting considerably higher levels of religious observance than those who identified as Catholic, belonged to distinct or less widely represented denominations, or indicated no specific affiliation.

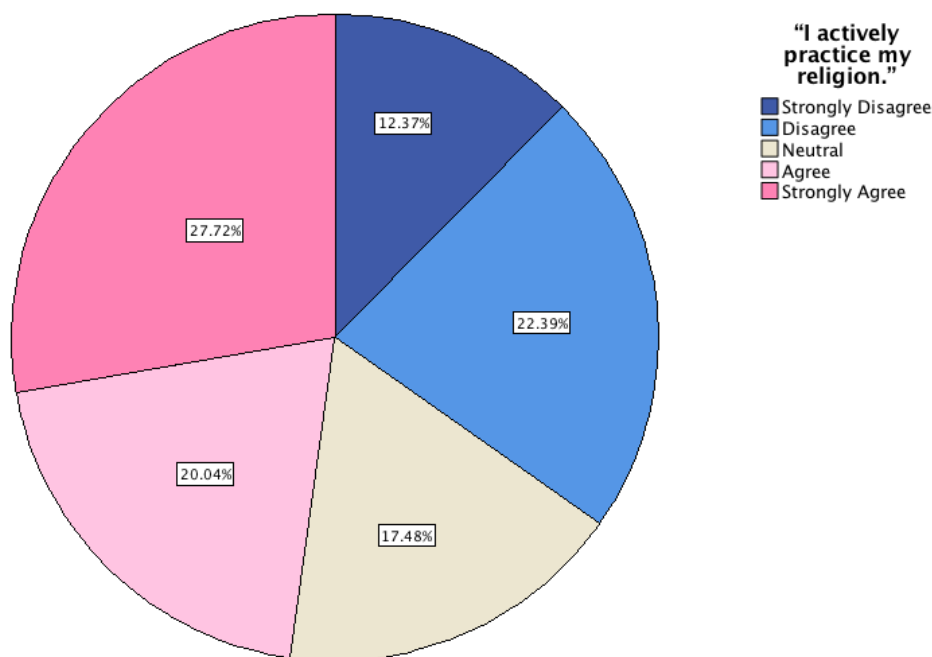


Figure 94 - "I actively practise my religion" Pie Chart. Source: Elaborated by the author using SPSS.

To facilitate the analysis of the responses to the statements in question number 10 related to religiosity, the variable "religiosity" was coded. This coding involved calculating the average/mean of each individual's responses to questions that addressed intrinsic religiosity (questions a-d), extrinsic religiosity (questions e-f) and Christian conservatism (questions g-i). Below, a bar graph (Figure 95) shows the difference between the various types of religiosity across different denominations, where it is possible to conclude that women who practise Evangelical or other Protestant faiths have

higher levels of both intrinsic religiosity and Christian conservatism than participants who identify with other denominations.

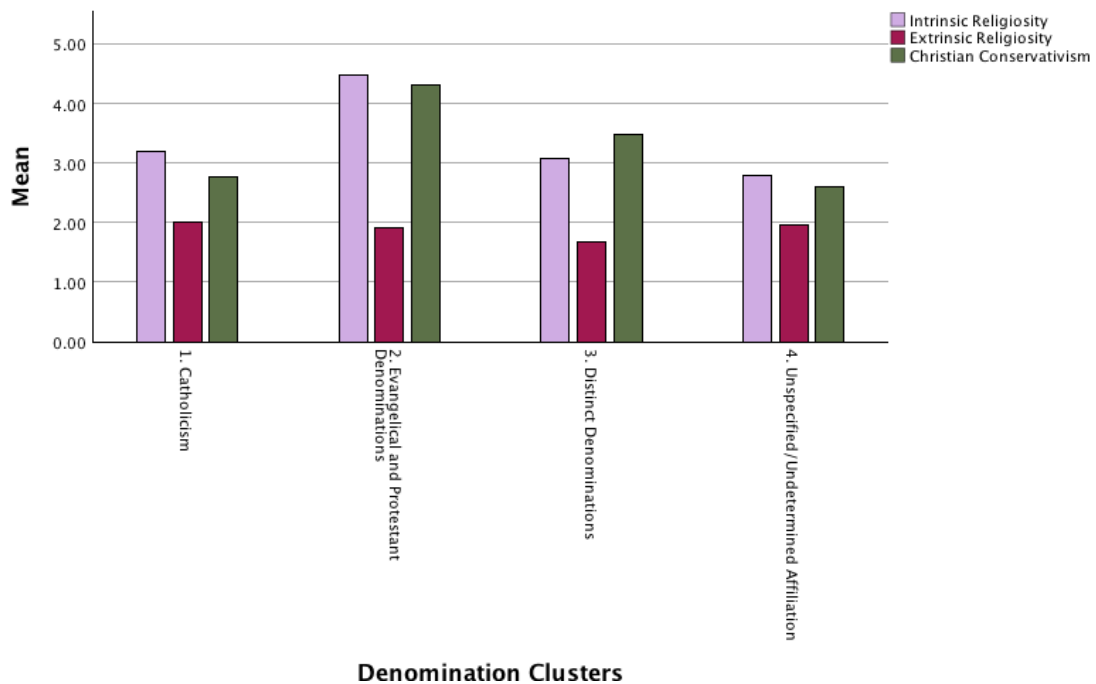


Figure 95 - Bar Chart for Intrinsic and Extrinsic Religiosity and Christian Conservatism across Denomination Clusters. Source: Elaborated by the author using SPSS.

To calculate an average/mean that covered the entire broader dimension of religiosity, including all the statements (a-i), it was necessary to "code" the values of extrinsic religiosity. In this case, the coding involved inverting these values to avoid any bias in attributing the level of religiosity to each individual. The reason for this is that the response scales for statements about intrinsic religiosity and Christian conservatism were aligned so that higher scores indicated greater religiosity, while the response scale for statements about extrinsic religiosity was reversed, with lower scores indicating greater levels of extrinsic religiosity but lower levels of overall religiosity. This happens because highly religious people tend to consider and express that they practise their faith for personal and spiritual reasons, rather than for social reasons or peer approval (Allport & Ross, 1967)⁴⁸.

⁴⁸ This scale demonstrated strong internal consistency, with a Cronbach's alpha of .884 (suggesting that the items included in the scale consistently measure the same underlying construct of religiosity), and all items showed moderate or high factor loadings (>.6), which supported their inclusion in further analysis.

4.2.2. Modesty, Fashion Consciousness and Religious Influence in the Sample

Similarly, a composite score for "fashion involvement" was created by computing the average of responses to questions 11 and 12 from the survey, which also showed high reliability. A Kruskal-Wallis test suggested that denomination affiliation did not significantly influence fashion involvement levels. However, the same test indicated a statistically significant difference in fashion involvement levels among different age groups, with the 18-29 age range showing the highest level of involvement.

In examining how participants' levels of religiosity might relate to their degree of involvement with fashion, the results suggest only a subtle and non-conclusive pattern, as a Pearson correlation analysis pointed to a weak negative association, which indicates that, in general, those who identified as more religious tended to report slightly lower levels of fashion engagement and vice versa. However, this relationship was not statistically significant and therefore cannot be generalised beyond the sample with confidence. Similarly, when this question was explored further through a multiple linear regression analysis, neither religiosity nor age appeared to exert a significant influence on participants' self-reported frequency of fashion purchases throughout the year, reinforcing the impression that, at least within the scope of this dataset, these variables do not meaningfully predict fashion consumption behaviours.

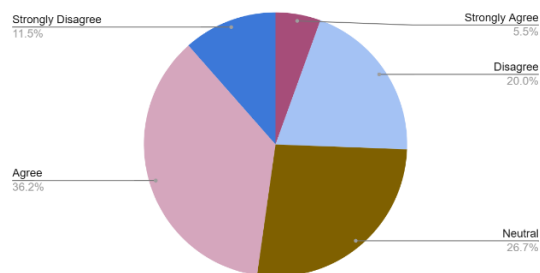


Figure 96 - *"I believe that there is a connection between fashion and religion"* Pie Chart. Source: Elaborated by the author using Excel.

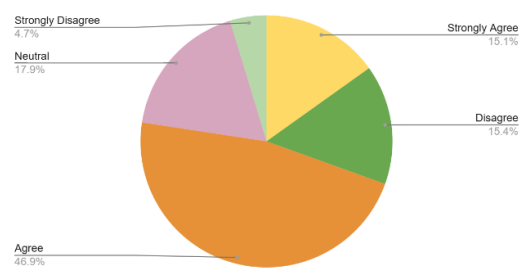


Figure 97 - *"I have observed noticeable differences in the way women dress based on their level of religious devotion"* Pie Chart. Source: Elaborated by the author using Excel.

Transitioning to another aspect, the majority of participants demonstrated agreement with the idea of there being a connection between fashion and religion, as 41.7% of the total sample agreed or strongly agreed with the statement "I believe there is a connection between fashion and religion" (Figure 96). Similarly, the second statement in question 13 (Figure 97) explored whether participants observed differences in the way women dress based on their level of religious devotion, and the results revealed a

stronger tendency to agree with this statement compared to the previous one (with 62% expressing agreement or strong agreement). Therefore, in general, most participants agreed with the notion of a connection between fashion and religion, as well as the observation of differences in clothing based on religious devotion.

Regarding the other variables/statements related to religious modesty and the influence of Christianity on women's way of dressing, analyses were conducted to explore opinions, viewpoints and experiences across multiple age ranges, denominations, levels of religiosity, location, etc. For example, when it comes to the statement "I enjoy wearing clothing or accessories that make me look visibly Christian (e.g. cross and saint medals, church merch, clothing with Bible verses on it, etc.)" there was a predominance of disagreement, with 75.1% disagreeing or strongly disagreeing, and only 10.7% agreeing or strongly agreeing. When looking more closely at what might influence participants' enjoyment of wearing visibly Christian items, the analysis indicated that religiosity played a meaningful role: individuals who scored higher on religiosity scales tended to express greater appreciation for this form of outward expression. In contrast, age did not seem to affect this enjoyment significantly. Additional insight emerged from another Kruskal-Wallis test, which revealed variations in this enjoyment across religious denomination clusters: while a general tendency towards disagreement was observed across most groups, participants categorised under "Distinct Denominations" (a category that included Jehovah's Witnesses) stood out for their stronger rejection of such practices, displaying a marked tendency to "strongly disagree." This finding aligns with qualitative insights from the interviews presented later in this thesis, where Jehovah's Witnesses articulated that their religious association explicitly discourages the use of religious symbols, thereby providing a compelling explanation for this group's more pronounced aversion to wearing items that visibly display Christian identity.

When it comes to the statement "I have used fashion as a means of Lenten sacrifice or penance (e.g. wearing uncomfortable clothing/high heels during the Lent period)," based on a previously mentioned publication on Catholic fashion (Sokolowski, 2020), only 2.4% of the sample selected options "Agree" (9 participants) or "Strongly Agree" (2 participants). Out of these 11 women, one identifies as an Orthodox Christian, six are Catholics and the remainder did not specify their denomination.

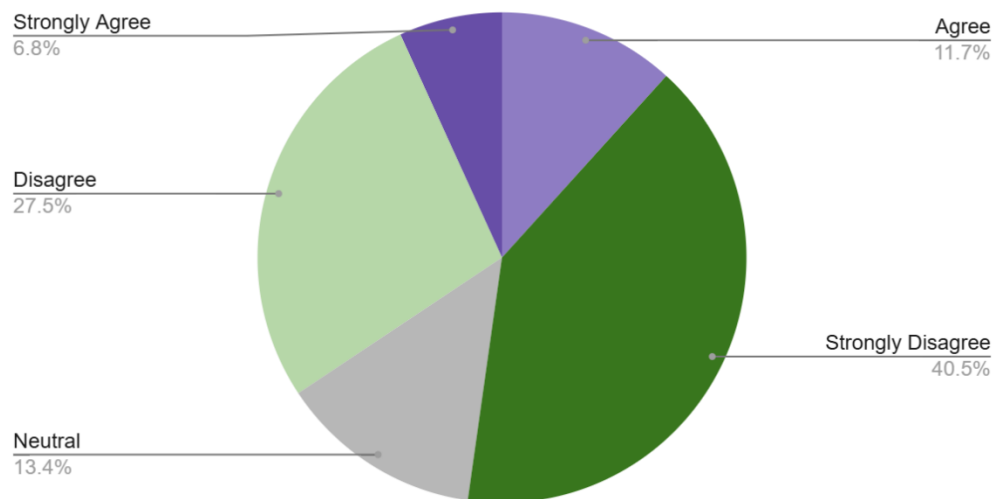


Figure 98 - *"Modesty in clothing is an important aspect of expressing my Christian faith"* Pie Chart.
Source: Elaborated by the author using Excel.

Moreover, results reveal a tendency towards disagreement with the statement "Modesty in clothing is an important aspect of expressing my Christian faith" (Figure 98), with 68% of participants expressing disagreement or strong disagreement. Of the 87 women who agreed or strongly agreed, the majority (58.6%) are part of Evangelical and Protestant Denominations, followed by 34.5% Catholics. In addition, correlation analysis showed a significant positive correlation between the perception of modesty's importance and the level of religiosity of the participants, which suggests that individuals who highly value modesty in clothing as an expression of faith also tend to exhibit higher levels of religiosity.

Similarly, it could be said that the results indicate a consensus among participants regarding the statement "I believe that women should avoid wearing clothing that reveals too much skin or is overly revealing", with the majority (60%) disagreeing with the statement. The analysis revealed that higher levels of religiosity were associated with stronger agreement with this belief, while age did not appear to play a significant role. A Kruskal-Wallis test also revealed differences across religious groups, with women from Evangelical and Protestant denominations being the most likely to endorse this view.

Although the great majority of participants (72.7%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the idea that dressing modestly is important in order to avoid causing others to stumble in their faith, with only 13.9% expressing agreement or strong agreement, another Kruskal-Wallis test revealed significant variation in responses across denomination clusters. Women identifying with Evangelical and Protestant groups appeared, once again, somewhat more likely to agree or remain neutral on this issue, while Catholic participants exhibited the strongest levels of disagreement. Furthermore,

multiple linear regression confirmed that the degree of religiosity was a significant predictor of this belief, with more religious individuals being more inclined to support it, whereas age did not show a meaningful impact.

While responses to the statement "My sense of modesty in clothing changes as I transition through different phases of life (e.g. marriage, motherhood, work)" were somewhat divided (43.9% disagreed or strongly disagreed, while 33.6% agreed or strongly agreed), chi-square tests indicated that marital status was not significantly associated with this belief. However, a statistically significant relationship did emerge in relation to age, as younger participants (aged 18–29) tended to express more agreement or neutrality, whereas older respondents (particularly those aged 40–49) were more likely to disagree. This may reflect generational differences, as younger participants might feel a greater need to adapt or negotiate their way of dressing, possibly due to social pressures or contemporary influences, while older generations may have a more established or less susceptible view, as will be depicted next.

Similarly, a sizeable proportion of participants (70.8%) agreed with the statement, "I believe it is important to adapt my way of dressing to suit specific occasions or settings, such as religious services or gatherings with Christian people," while only a small proportion disagreed. Although no statistically significant differences were found across region of residence or denomination cluster (suggesting a broadly shared belief across geographic and religious lines) a chi-square test did reveal a significant association with age, as, while all age groups tended to agree, younger generations (18–29 and 30–39) expressed, once again, stronger agreement compared to older groups.

With regard to the phrase "I dress differently when going to the beach/pool for a Christian/church event compared to a non-religious occasion", the data reveals that the majority of participants (53.1%) agree with the idea of choosing different attire for Christian events versus non-religious gatherings in seaside or poolside settings. Of the 249 women who agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, approximately 70% identified as Catholics. Because Christian beach and pool activities, such as summer camps and youth retreats, are typically aimed at younger people (from children to those in their early 20s, or even 30 in some cases), it was decided to examine the percentages of agreement for women aged 18 to 29, and within this younger age range, nearly half of the participants agreed with the statement (49.8%), while only 27.6% did not.

In contrast, the overwhelming majority of participants (72.1%) disagreed or strongly disagreed with the idea transmitted through the statement "I adjust my way of dressing when posting pictures on social media to reflect my values of Christian modesty." Only a small percentage (13%) agree or strongly agree with this statement,

suggesting that most do not feel the need or do not practise this negotiation when it comes to their online persona. However, as anticipated due to the social media usage among younger generations, 55.7% of the women who selected “Agree” or “Strongly Agree” are between the ages of 18 and 29, followed by 24.6% of women in their forties.

4.2.3. Participant Perspectives on Christian Symbols in Fashion

As with previous sections, the final set of descriptive analyses continued to rely on statistical tests (Appendix E) to explore potential associations, this time focusing on Christian women’s perspectives regarding the use of Christian iconography and symbolism in fashion, following their exposure to selected *Vogue Portugal* editorial images and subsequent reflection on statements concerning the mediatisation of sacred symbols. Specifically, ANOVA tests were conducted for each of the four statements in question 14 to examine variations in agreement across age groups and levels of religiosity, while Kruskal-Wallis tests were again employed to assess how views on these matters differed across denomination clusters, maintaining the analytical approach adopted throughout this subchapter.

When asked whether "the representation of Christian symbols in *Vogue Portugal* enhances the artistic and creative expression in fashion, adding depth and meaning to fashion editorials and storytelling," participants were almost evenly divided, with 37.8% agreeing, 31.2% disagreeing, and 31.1% remaining neutral. While age did not appear to influence responses, variations in levels of religiosity and denominational affiliation revealed relatively distinct perspectives. A similar distribution of opinions emerged (absence of disparity among age groups but different across levels of religiosity and denomination) around the idea that "the portrayal of Christian symbols in *Vogue Portugal* contributes to the positive representation and appreciation of religious heritage in fashion," with 40.9% of participants disagreeing, 27.1% agreeing and the remainder expressing no strong position. In this case, however, women identifying as Catholic tended to express greater agreement compared to those from other denominational backgrounds, suggesting a more favourable view of religious symbolism in editorial fashion within this group.

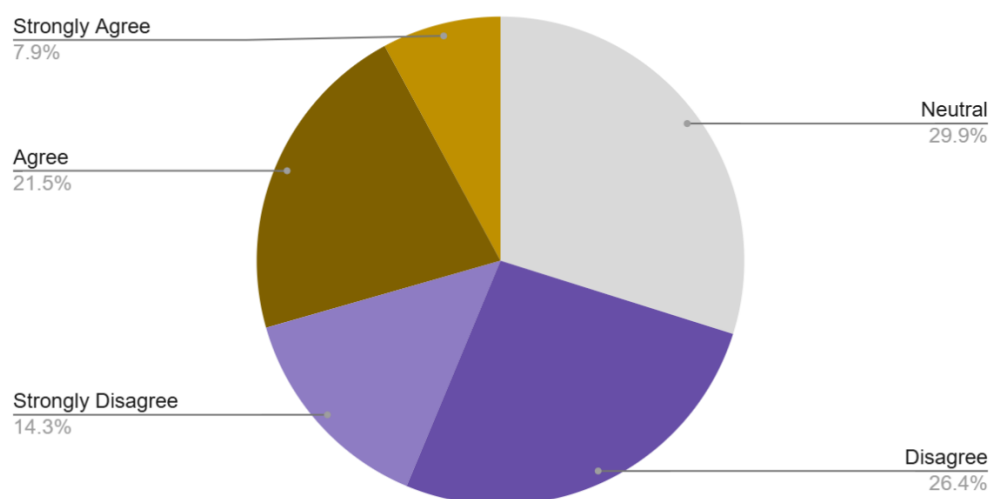


Figure 99 - "In general, the portrayal of sacred symbols and images associated with Christianity in the fashion industry is disrespectful" Pie Chart. Source: Elaborated by the author using Excel.

With the more critical statement that "the portrayal of sacred symbols and images associated with Christianity in the fashion industry is disrespectful" (Figure 99), responses were again slightly mixed, with 29.4% agreeing and 40.7% disagreeing. Here, age and religiosity influenced how participants assessed the respectfulness of such portrayals, and women from Evangelical and Protestant backgrounds were notably more inclined to agree with the notion of disrespect, pointing to a greater sensitivity to the use of sacred imagery in secular contexts. Finally, when presented with the view that "the use of Christian symbolism in fashion is inappropriate, offensive, and/or wrong," 35.7% of respondents agreed, while a larger proportion (47.4%) disagreed. Once more, responses varied with age, religiosity and denominational identity, with Evangelical and Protestant participants again showing a stronger tendency to view the use of Christian symbols in fashion as problematic, suggesting that for these groups, such representations may be perceived as transgressive or irreverent (a perception perhaps rooted in the iconoclastic traditions of their denominations, as will be explored later).

In summary, the survey findings suggest that, although higher religiosity does not necessarily diminish overall fashion involvement among Christian women in Portugal, faith nonetheless plays a central role in shaping specific attitudes and practices, particularly those related to modesty, symbolic expression and context-sensitive dressing. While Evangelical and Protestant participants (who, as seen in Figure 95, have higher levels of religiosity than the other groups) were more inclined to endorse modesty as a religious value, Catholics tended to be more receptive to the presence of Christian iconography in fashion and younger women appeared especially attuned to adjusting

their dress according to different settings, with or without compromising their personal style. These patterns point to a complex dynamic in which fashion becomes not merely a matter of aesthetic preference but a site where religious conviction, generational differences and denominational identity are continuously interpreted and expressed.

4.3. Voices of Faith: Insights from Interviews with Christian Women

This subchapter examines perceptions and attitudes towards fashion and Christian symbols, based on 33 interviews conducted with women from diverse backgrounds, age groups and religious beliefs within Christianity. The interviews provided valuable insights into how religion influences clothing choices and how the interviewees perceive the representation of religious iconography in contemporary fashion. In line with the ethical considerations outlined earlier in the methodology section, it is important to reiterate that all interview excerpts presented in this chapter were originally in Portuguese and translated into English by the researcher with great care to preserve their original meanings. While every effort was made to ensure the accuracy and integrity of these translations, certain nuances inherent to the original language may not be fully conveyed in English.

During the interviews, the question of how faith influences daily life and the way one dresses revealed a variety of responses and perceptions. Many interviewees expressed that faith plays a significant role in their clothing choices and mentioned that their religious beliefs influence not only what they wear but also how they behave and interact with others in their daily lives. The way they present themselves through clothing was seen as an extension of their spiritual identity and a tangible expression of their faith, and concepts of “modesty,” “decency,” and “common sense” were commonly associated with the influence of faith on clothing, reflecting the importance of aligning with religious principles in all areas of life, including fashion, as stated by Amanda and Beatriz:

I believe that the way we dress is a way of reflecting our identity. So, if my religion is a part – and it is – a central part of my life, and I consider myself a practising member of my religion, I also believe that my clothing should reflect that. In other words, as a Christian, I need to be careful with the clothes I wear so that they’re not scandalous. We Christians believe that we need to live set apart from the world, so we’re not just going to follow every trend. Therefore, we also need to be

mindful of how we dress because we are ambassadors of heaven, and we need to take that into account when choosing our clothes (Appendix F7).

(...) When we have Christ, we can't simply say we have Christ, and then people look at you and can't see that. To me, it doesn't make sense to say that I live 100% for Christ and then – no judgement – but at the same time, I couldn't be wearing a mini skirt or pants that really show off the more sensual side of my body while saying that God is at the centre and that I belong to Jesus and all that. So, without a doubt, the way I dress is very much based on this: What does Jesus think about me wearing these pants, this shirt? (...) when someone says they're a believer, that they accepted Jesus long ago, and then they dress like that, it's like 'ah, I don't know if they're different,' right? (Appendix F1)

Matilde reflected on the impact of religious lessons in her childhood, stating that "the choices I make may be based on what I was taught since I was little (...) I have always been part of the Catholic religion" (Appendix F9). These childhood memories might subconsciously influence her clothing choices in adulthood, shaping a perception of modesty that, for many, is both cultural and spiritual. The pressure to comply with dress codes in certain religious environments is highlighted by Daniela, from another denomination, who acknowledges the extremism to which she was subjected: "It influenced me for a long time, very intensely, to the point where I think it went a little to the extreme. To the extreme of not dressing that way because it was not acceptable within the religious environment and not because of my faith" (Appendix F8). This statement highlights a fine line between religious social pressure and true spiritual practice, showing how clothing can become a form of social control.

Still, for many women, modesty in clothing is also a way of respecting the body and its sacredness: "As an Evangelical, I have the Bible, and the Bible describes our body as a temple of the Holy Spirit," explains Dulce (Appendix F19), mentioning a Biblical reference that will be explored later. This view holds that the body is sacred, and therefore something that should be respected and preserved, which may mean avoiding clothing that sexualizes it or draws unwanted attention, especially from male gazes. Mónica shares her concern about this type of attention: "Above all, I don't want people to objectify me when they look at me, especially men" (Appendix F12).

Similarly, faith, especially when it is new or rediscovered in an individual's life, can influence clothing choices in less conscious ways, shaping behaviour without explicit imposition: "I started looking at my wardrobe and thinking, 'Well, what kind of stares am I going to attract with this wardrobe? Because now I'm going to Mass, right? I'm going to present myself in front of the God who I believe is the physically present God" (Appendix F15). This kind of introspection by Cláudia, who reconnected with Catholicism in her early twenties, highlights how faith can act as a lens through which one can interpret the relationship between appearance and spirituality, questioning not only the impact on others but also the spiritual meaning behind clothing choices. On the other hand, some people who might have been raised into a particular denomination might feel like they never needed to make a shift in the way that they viewed clothing or modesty, as commented by Aurora who believes that "the fact that I was born into the Church, I think maybe I didn't experience that drastic shock of change" (Appendix F21).

On the other hand, a strong minority of the interviewees (around 42%) expressed a more flexible view regarding the influence of faith on fashion, noting that their clothing choices were more influenced by personal preferences and social contexts than by specific religious prescriptions. In this section of the interview, many participants drew parallels with the influence of other religions on their members' clothing choices, many mentioning Muslim women in particular. However, Joana also mentioned her relationships with women who practise different denominations of Christianity to highlight what she thinks are the dissimilarities between their views on clothing styles and her own:

(...) I have friends [I've had] since primary school until now, who are from different religions – some are Protestants or Jehovah's Witnesses – and you can really notice the difference. I've always worn clothes above the knee, and my friends never did. I've always worn tops – I don't like wearing t-shirts – I've always worn sleeveless things, and they couldn't. So yes, it exists, but it exists a lot in the extremes, not in Catholicism (Appendix F4).

Fashion can, in some cases, also be used to communicate spiritual values in less traditional ways, for example, Carmo described how she "appropriates" religious icons in fashion to express an inclusive and universalist vision:

It's not about professing my faith (...) I don't wear crucifixes or anything directly related to Christianity. However, I really like some trends you see nowadays,

where Christian icons or images are used to convey a message. Whether that message is 'I believe God exists, but that doesn't mean I'm submissive to religious dogma' or a more spiritual one, like what we learn in church – that God is supreme and that God punishes – and yet many fashion trends tell us the opposite: that we are equal to God, that we were all made equal, as the Bible says, right? So, when I wear something, it's more like t-shirts with angels and such. It's not about professing my faith, but more about sending the message that 'yes, in the end, we are all equal, and if we were created in God's image, as the Bible says, we are also God, we are also angels, we are also saints' (Appendix F22).

This quote reveals how, even in a more secular context, fashion can be a tool to express spirituality, challenging the boundaries between institutional religiosity and individual faith practices.

Most women in the study reported the existence of guidelines on women's attire, either within their religious denominations or in the churches they attend. While these standards are primarily directed at women, the mention of male-specific guidelines, though less prominent, indicates that concerns about appearance and behaviour extend to all believers, albeit with differing expectations based on gender. Some interviewees justified this difference in expectations due to the broader availability of different clothing styles and choices for women and the belief that men, being predominantly "visual creatures", might be more influenced by "sexy" or "flashy" feminine clothing, which can pose challenges to their moral discipline.

Beatriz, for example, recalls her experience in a worship team where she was advised against wearing clothes like ripped jeans or blouses that exposed her stomach, highlighting a certain discrepancy when she saw the pastor wearing ripped jeans himself. The 24-year-old Evangelical woman even mentioned that her own mother had warned her about potential remarks from other "sisters in the church" about her trousers. The idea that when going up to the pulpit or serving in any ministry of the church, one should be careful about the way one dresses is repeated in different contexts and is seen as a way to avoid distractions, with some churches even having dress codes specifically for those in leadership or visibility roles, such as in worship bands, where factors like skirt length, necklines and clothing transparency are crucial concerns. This attention to dress is heightened due to the stage lights, cameras and the elevated position of those on stage,

factors that can "scandalise" others, as mentioned by Amanda, who also sings at her local church.

There is also a cultural issue mentioned concerning modesty. Certain practices, such as the use of the veil by women in more traditional Catholic environments, are seen as symbols of modesty and devotion. Although the practice is less common today, there are still places where it is maintained, especially among older generations or in more conservative communities. Similarly, there are also reports in the interviews about how, in the past, Evangelical women in Portugal (specifically in the Pentecostal "Assemblies of God" [*Assembleias de Deus*]) were "forced" to wear long skirts down to their ankles and to keep their hair tied up, illustrating very strict rules. The Brazilian participants, for instance, compared their experiences in more traditional environments (mainly in some Evangelical churches in their home country) to their experience in Portugal and mentioned much stricter rules in Brazil, such as the prohibition of jeans for women and the requirement of long skirts and uncut hair, similar to what one interviewee mentioned about a friend who visited a church in São Tomé and Príncipe. Although it is not a general rule, some denominations maintain strict control over clothing, and interviewees indicate that this is more common in certain areas of Brazil than in Portugal, where greater flexibility is perceived.

Although some mention that past guidelines have become more relaxed in most churches (especially in Portugal), such as Filipa's Evangelical church, where "nothing is imposed" (Appendix F3) and people are encouraged to adapt their behaviour without external pressure, strict rules still persist in certain cases. One example is the story Filipa recounts about a woman who was a godmother at a baptism in the Catholic Church, where the priest required her to cover her shoulders, while the others present could wear whatever they wanted. This type of expectation, although less common, remains visible in formal situations and religious rituals, although Ivone, who identifies as a practising Catholic, states that:

(...) For the First Communion, these rituals include the parents and normally, the young mothers go in a certain way that I would not feel comfortable in, but the Church itself does not prohibit them from going that way. They are free to go however they want (Appendix F23).

When reflecting on the evolution of these guidelines, many comment on how the rigidity of dress codes has diminished over time. However, some believe that, with this flexibility, there may have been a loss of balance, with some younger generations adopting a more

relaxed attitude towards what they wear to church, which could be seen as a lack of respect or common sense, as commented by Mónica:

Things were bad in the past, perhaps because of the rigidity, and now maybe our balance lies in bringing back a bit of moderation and common sense to it... And well, I think the younger generations, especially those who didn't experience that religious strictness, we tend to, for instance, wear a skirt that's a bit too short to church or a top that shows too much cleavage (...) (Appendix F12)

Among the participants in this study, Cátia and Bruna were the only ones who identified as Jehovah's Witnesses, however, although they both share this religious identity, it is notable that Cátia is more observant than Bruna, who admitted that she is currently more distant from the religion compared to the rest of her family. When asked about possible restrictions imposed by the organisation, both initially stated that there were no significant limitations. Nevertheless, throughout their reflections, they acknowledged the existence of some norms, such as the issue of long hair for men – regarding which Bruna believes that “long hair on a Christian man isn’t seen very well” because “there are cases where faces aren’t clear, leaving you unsure if it’s a man or a woman” – and the wearing of pants by women:

[Women] don’t wear pants because pants are for men. But there are pant-skirts, and some people wear them sometimes. (...) A woman in pants and a suit, a tailored cut and all that, from behind, you might think, 'maybe it’s a guy.' If she doesn’t have a butt, it’s a guy. These are small things that depend on each person’s conscience. But generally, women don’t wear pants when they go to people’s doors [for Door-to-Door Ministry]. It’s not done. Because, well, that’s just how it’s always been. (Appendix F28)

For Bruna, these guidelines are seen as traditions related to the distinction between genders, while Cátia attributes these practices to recommendations from the religion's Governing Body⁴⁹, noting that the guidelines on the wearing of trousers by women were recently adjusted, now allowing the use of formal pantsuits that do not mark the body:

⁴⁹ The Governing Body of Jehovah’s Witnesses is a small group of senior male leaders based in the United States who are in charge of doctrine, publications, and organisational decisions for the denomination worldwide.

(...) We now have a recommendation from the Governing Body of our organisation, which is JW.org, and just recently, a note was released stating that men can now wear beards – previously they didn't – and women can now wear pants, but formal ones, not tight-fitting, right? And men can also not wear a tie. This news from the Governing Body came out recently, on March 16th [2024] (...) It's not that we couldn't before. For example, when we go out preaching, talking to people on the streets, or attending our meetings, we used to wear skirts more than pants, because pants are often too tight on the body. (...) Now, we can wear pantsuits but not form-fitting ones. Formal suits, not those tight jeans or leggings, not that kind of clothing – it has to be appropriate. But the news has been released now, and many people in the organisation are already wearing suits, but proper ones, not leggings that cling to the legs and define the body, because that gives a bad impression (Appendix F32).

During the interviews, discussions arose about dress codes at Christian youth retreats and camps, which often take place in the summer and include access to swimming pools and/or beaches. Several young women reported that at these events, dress codes for girls tend to be stricter than those for boys. While boys are allowed to be shirtless, girls are often required to wear t-shirts or swimsuits, with bikinis generally being prohibited. Teresa (Appendix F10) noted that these rules are often set by the venues that host the groups, rather than directly enforced by churches or youth leaders. She argued that such regulations are intended to protect young people from visual stimuli, with the goal of helping them maintain sexual abstinence until marriage. From this perspective, imposing more restrictive rules on women's dress seeks to minimise exposure to clothing that could make it harder to control desires, thus facilitating adherence to abstinence principles. But why is the focus on women hiding their bodies instead of it being a mutual consideration? One of the most common issues raised in the interviews is the idea that women are often seen as primarily responsible for maintaining modesty, to avoid "leading men into sin." Daniela commented on this, explaining:

Because of the role of the woman, where she is seen as the cause of problems and the one who will affect men, making them feel provoked – at least in my context,

it's very much driven by this idea. Like, 'I have to wear a bikini that's appropriate and won't lead men or others to sin, otherwise it will be my fault' (Appendix F8).

This focus on women as the bearers of responsibility for modesty is often accompanied by greater permissiveness for men. The same interviewee pointed out this disparity in treatment, suggesting that men have more freedom in how they dress:

The way men are seen in today's society, particularly in the Church context, is that physically, they aren't thought to have the same effect as women do. (...) People often position women as the problem, as the cause of everything, while men are given a free pass to do as they please (...) If a woman does the same thing a man does, she will be judged completely differently from how that man is judged, especially in the context of the Church (Appendix F8).

Furthermore, some voices argue that these modesty rules should apply equally to all genders. One interviewee stated that men can also dress immodestly and that this issue should not be limited to women alone, because, as mentioned by Beatriz, "just as there are men who are very sensitive to what they see, there are also women like that" (Appendix F1). Amanda, who has been part of the organisation of various church summer activities that include both sexes, added:

(...) Essentially, there should be respect from both sides, not just for women, but for men as well. And in a pool setting, what we recommend is that, of course, men wear shorts that are, well, the appropriate length, right? (...) Not to wear things that end up drawing attention to certain areas that aren't meant to stand out (Appendix F7).

However, not all interviewees agree that this responsibility should be completely mutual, as various interviewees mentioned that there are biological differences between genders that influence the way they view each other. Alison, for example, reflected on the difference in men's and women's reactions to visual sexuality, noting that men are seen as more likely to be affected by what they see:

Men are more physical, and women are more emotional. (...) I don't feel as lustful towards [a man without a shirt] as he would look at me if I was in something really scandalous, because men are wired that way (Appendix F5).

This view was shared by other participants across different age ranges and denominations, and it may reflect a structure of power and control that positions women as objects of desire and, therefore, as sources of "temptation" that must be controlled, while men enjoy greater freedom over their presentation and behaviour.

Similarly, when asked whether the Bible contains specific recommendations on how women should dress, around half of the participants responded affirmatively, indicating a belief that the Scriptures offer clear guidance in this regard. Some of the verses presented in the interviews were Proverbs 31:22⁵⁰ and 1 Timothy 2:9-10⁵¹.

As mentioned previously, other interviewees mentioned the concept that the body is the "temple of the Holy Spirit," an idea found in 1 Corinthians 6:19-20. This was interpreted as a call to responsibility for one's body and, by extension, for the way one dresses. Similarly, Dulce (Appendix F19) also mentioned a preceding Bible verse, "I have the right to do anything,' you say – but not everything is beneficial" (1 Corinthians 6:12), applying it to the issue of fashion. She pointed out that although she has free will to choose any item of clothing, not all of them would be convenient or appropriate for a Christian woman, considering the values of modesty and respect. On the other hand, around 39% of the participants stated that the Bible does not contain such prescriptions, reflecting a more symbolic interpretation of the sacred texts regarding dress, some mentioning that although there are verses that reference female appearance and modesty, that those texts were written for early Christians or Jews, and that they should not be necessarily applied to current religious women. The remaining participants expressed a lack of knowledge on the subject, suggesting a gap in familiarity with Biblical passages or the interpretation of these Scriptures in the context of modesty and feminine presentation.

Furthermore, most participants did not believe that their religion imposed absolute restrictions on specific items of clothing. However, some indicated that they would avoid certain items in particular contexts, such as places of worship or the workplace. Additionally, participants who were more deeply involved in their religious communities expressed the belief that low-cut, transparent, short, or tight-fitting clothing was considered inappropriate for a Christian woman, not only in specific contexts but at all times in their lives. This position reflects a more conservative and strict

⁵⁰ "She makes coverings for her bed; she is clothed in fine linen and purple." (Proverbs 31:22, New International Version, 2011)

⁵¹ "I also want the women to dress modestly, with decency and propriety, adorning themselves, not with elaborate hairstyles or gold or pearls or expensive clothes, but with good deeds, appropriate for women who profess to worship God." (1 Timothy 2:9-10, New International Version, 2011)

interpretation of the modesty norms associated with the Christian faith. For example, Amanda stated, "I think a Christian should not wear vulgar clothes, whether they are a man or a woman. Because we are representatives of God" (Appendix F7). Similarly, when asked if there were any items she would not wear because of her religion, Aurora added:

I think that anything that reveals too much doesn't align with God's will, anything that exposes your body (...) a low-cut top, a mini skirt, anything along those lines, I don't think it's good. And it's not good because it's not protecting you, it's not protecting those around you either (...) (Appendix F21)

Another interviewee reflected on her personal evolution, stating that in the past she avoided items such as the previously discussed ripped jeans, whereas now her clothing choices are guided more by personal intentions than strict religious conformity. A different perspective was that of Patricia, who, although stating that she does not feel restricted by a direct divine rule, admits that some clothing is avoided for cultural and respectful reasons:

I'm not thinking, 'I can't wear this piece because God disapproves or because it's a sin.' No, nothing like that, but perhaps unconsciously, as a result of growing up in that culture, I always end up feeling that it's something that doesn't suit me or that I wear very rarely or only for a very specific context (Appendix F11).

Overall, the younger interviewees were more vocal and had stronger opinions on this issue, while the rest tended to feel that some revealing clothing was inappropriate due to other factors such as their stage of life (e.g. motherhood, employment, or age) and not necessarily their faith. For instance, Judite, the oldest participant in the sample, reflected on her experience as a Catholic in her youth during the dictatorship, stating:

Even before the 25th of April, trousers weren't worn [by women] (...) Up until then, it was skirts, and not very short ones, as far as I remember. Now, I'm not of an age to wear such short skirts. I come from the time of the miniskirt, but I don't wear them now, also because of my age. However, I like seeing them and don't think there's anything wrong with it, as long as each person knows what they're doing and their intentions and doesn't wear it with bad ideas in mind (Appendix F33).

As mentioned by some of the younger participants, for some, there seems to be a constant negotiation between what they would like to wear, influenced by fashion and their peers, and what they consider to be right. Regardless of denomination (as seen in the following quotes from both a Protestant woman and a Catholic woman), while there are expectations, limitations and perhaps even abnegation, the participants believe that the Church does not seek to control or oppress people, especially women:

Like all Christian living, which also involves some self-denial, it's not necessarily about completely nullifying who you are, is it? Because God made you as you are, with your tastes. But there's also a part of, 'OK, maybe I'll sacrifice being 100% how I want to be, to be 90% or 80% for the sake of respecting those around me' (Appendix F12).

It's not because the Church is oppressive and wants to bind women to certain rules, but because the Church wants to help you and others see you with dignity, as the person you truly are, rather than how you may want to present yourself based on the state of mind you're in at this moment of your life (Appendix F15).

Additionally, some participants mentioned that – modesty aside – they would also avoid wearing items of clothing that contradicted their religion, such a choice reflects respect for their faith values, the image they wish to convey and the concern of not negatively influencing others. This was highlighted by Dulce, who mentioned avoiding items with "phrases or symbols that are not part of who I am" (Appendix F19), a view shared by Noémia, who claims that there are items that she cannot wear because they do not represent her Christian beliefs:

(...) For example, as a Christian, I wouldn't wear a t-shirt that says 'Satan's the best' or something like that, you know? Something a bit like an antithesis, or with an inverted cross, like that kind of clothing where you look at it and say, 'this [person] is clearly satanic.' That sort of thing, I wouldn't wear (Appendix F17).

When asked about the difference between their everyday attire and what they wear – or would wear – to church, 63.6% of participants stated that they do not make a significant distinction, maintaining the same style in both contexts. Surprisingly, these responses did not differ between age groups, despite the expectation that younger people would be more likely to adapt their style. However, the remaining participants indicated

that they negotiate their personal style for various reasons when choosing what to wear to religious events. Some highlighted that their church attendance is currently limited to special occasions, such as weddings or baptisms, in which they naturally wear different attire than usual, more formal, or appropriate to the solemnity of the event. For example, Carmo, one of the participants who mentioned adapting her attire to go to mass, stated that she did so to avoid wearing t-shirts with slogans that could be considered taboo in church, especially those associated with her identity as a member of the LGBTQ+ community:

(...) I really like t-shirts with messages, so I try not to wear t-shirts that might be shocking to wear in a church. I also really like wearing sleeveless tops, so I try not to wear those. (...) For me – according to my Christian values, which I've shaped and solidified throughout my life – God never said He was male, God never said He was white, and if we look at history, right? He probably had a much darker skin tone than the one we in Europe often depict Him with. And if I wear that t-shirt that says, 'I saw God and she was Black,' that's shocking to wear at a religious ceremony. In my mind, in my heart, in what I feel and believe, it doesn't conflict with Christian values, but for the Church as an institution, it does. Or LGBT-themed t-shirts, because as a lesbian I have some of those t-shirts, and the Bible doesn't specifically say it's a sin, but the Church tells us it's not accepted, so I try never to wear them [to church] (Appendix F22).

Joana mentioned her commitment to maintaining a more conservative dress code for religious events, stating: "I have a lot of respect when I go to weddings and baptisms, I don't go with my shoulders uncovered and I don't go with miniskirts or low-cut tops" (Appendix F4). She emphasised the difference she makes to show consideration for the contexts and the people involved, such as priests, nuns, and altar servers, who she considers are not accustomed to a more revealing type of attire. A similar outlook is shared by Helena, who mentioned:

(...) I feel that when I go to university and when I go to church, I don't dress the same way. There are certain clothes I wear to university that I wouldn't wear, for example, when I go to church. (...) In the summer, I tend to wear shorts and tops, but when I go to church, I don't think it's appropriate to wear a really short top

or something too low-cut. It's about me; it's not so much about what other people might think, but in my opinion, I feel I need to look more presentable because I'm entering someone else's house, and I have to dress appropriately for the environment I'm in. Depending on the environment, I need to dress a certain way (...) (Appendix F16)

Other interviewees also highlighted their preference for dressing more elaborately for church, for a variety of reasons like the solemnity of the moment (as mentioned by Ivone) or even the cultural difference between Portugal and the United States, where Alison felt like people dressing up in their "Sunday Best" was more common than in Portugal:

At home, I usually wear tracksuits or older trousers. Of course, on the day I go to Mass – on Sundays – I dress up a bit more, put on nicer clothes, a jacket, and I make an effort to look neat. (...) I'm going to a place that is important to me, and it's a solemn moment, so I need to honour that moment in a way that makes me feel good and comfortable (Appendix F23).

(...) For church in America, we like to dress up (...) as a child, I grew up wearing heels every Sunday to church, I would have a new dress every Easter and Christmas and my birthday. (...) whereas here it's more casual (...) I like to look nicer for church than I do day to day (...) just to look presentable, not for myself, but just to show respect towards the concept of going to church (...) I feel like some people dress up for themselves and they dress up to say 'hey, this is what I can look like' rather than dressing up for the purpose of going to church to show your respect (Appendix F5).

The interviews also addressed how some people make subtle adjustments, such as choosing lighter-coloured outfits and less exaggerated makeup for religious events, as mentioned by Paula (Appendix F13), who feels a need to wear "lighter, whiter clothing" when attending church or even when discussing topics related to her faith. In contrast, other interviewees spoke of a consciousness that is reflected in their choice of clothing regardless of time and place, mentioning that they avoid clothes that they would not wear in church outside of church as well, in order to maintain consistency in the way they present themselves. In Teresa's case – who also mentioned being comfortable with the

idea of someone at church approaching her to give her advice on her clothing or modesty – she argues:

There was something my grandfather once said, not to me, but to someone from his church, which was, 'If you wouldn't wear this in front of your pastor, then maybe you shouldn't wear it in front of anyone else.' (...) I have skirts in my wardrobe that might be too short, and then I think, 'Would I wear this to church?' and my immediate answer is 'no.' Then I think, 'maybe I shouldn't wear this outside either.' (...) I like to be the same person everywhere, and that also applies to my clothes because my clothing is part of me, right? What I wear conveys a lot about who I am. So, if I want to be the same person everywhere, if I want to show the same side of myself to everyone, that will also reflect in my clothing. Therefore, I like to dress in a way – whether it's very tight, very loose, with a low-cut neckline, or without one – that's consistent both inside the church and with church people, as well as outside of church (Appendix F10).

In response to the question about the connection between fashion consumption and faith, as well as the influence of religion on perceptions about sustainable fashion, 45.5% of participants indicated that they did not see a clear link between sustainability and faith. However, a similar percentage (around 42%) did recognise a direct relationship between their religious beliefs and ethical and sustainable behaviours in fashion, suggesting that Christian values may influence their consumption choices, such as a preference for donations, charity shops, ethical fashion and the rejection of practices such as the use of sweatshops. The remaining participants were uncertain, stating that they did not regularly reflect on the subject or did not know whether their behaviours were shaped by their personality, background, or education in Christian principles, which may or may not influence these decisions unconsciously.

In addition, some women mentioned that, although they were not actively concerned with sustainability in their fashion consumption, they recognised that they should consider this dimension since it would be congruent with their beliefs and Biblical teachings. Participants such as Patricia who stated that "Unfortunately, I think religion does very little to promote sustainability, if it has even ever attempted to make any analogy. I believe they should, and it would be more than pertinent" (Appendix F11) suggested that they could change their consumer behaviour if there were campaigns that

appealed to Christian values in this area, or if religious leaders addressed the topic of sustainable fashion in their sermons. This view was shared by Amanda:

I think, quite the opposite, that if there were any relationship between [religion and consumption behaviour], I would buy less. I believe it should influence us because, as Christians, we need to take care of our planet; we must consider the ethics of our choices. But in practice, that doesn't happen, honestly. (...) Sometimes, it's even a lack of awareness on the part of the public, because I think it's a topic that isn't discussed much. In fact, I don't think I've ever seen anyone talk about this issue in churches or Christian contexts. Therefore, I believe there could definitely be more work done to raise awareness in this regard (Appendix F7).

This panorama highlights the complex interaction between faith and consumer practices, where religious awareness and education can play a crucial role in promoting more sustainable behaviours that align ethically with Christian principles. Another participant, Carlota (Appendix F29), posed a rhetorical question: "The Pope, for example, does he wear clothes made from recyclable materials? Probably not, he probably doesn't". However, one interviewee mentioned that "Pope Francis has spoken a lot about caring for our common home – he even released an encyclical⁵² recently on this", adding that "the dignity of workers, and care for our common home are discussed extensively within the Catholic Church" (Appendix F15).

Moreover, ethical awareness in consumption is a central concern for many, especially younger Christians, as illustrated by Beatriz, who explained why she stopped buying from online stores like Temu and SheIn:

(...) I can't bring myself to buy something from those sites knowing that the people making the clothes or any household items are earning 2 cents an hour or something like that. I just can't do it. It confuses me because, as a Christian, we are supposed to love our neighbour, right? And by making that purchase –

⁵² Likely referring to *Laudato Si'*: On Care for Our Common Home (Francis, 2015), which addresses environmental stewardship, social justice, and the moral responsibility to protect creation, especially in light of climate change and its impact on the poor.

although I'm going deep here – am I truly loving the person who made the item?

(Appendix F1)

For her, the Christian principle of loving one another extends to the fair treatment of workers in production chains, a view that is shared by other participants, such as Filipa, who mentioned that "when we have faith, there is always a humanitarian side" (Appendix F3). This suggests that the practice of faith involves not only religious devotion but also the responsibility to act with compassion and justice, which is reflected in more responsible consumer choices. This concern is evidenced by the habit of donating clothes, a reflection of the influence of faith which is very common among the participants. Consequently, the influence of faith on the choice of sustainable consumption practices is evident in the preference for second-hand clothing and moderation in consumption, an unusual practice among the interviewees. Nonetheless, Leonor says she tries "to maintain a moderate clothing consumption and buy second-hand items" which she believes could be considered part of a sense of modesty in relation to one's consumption, avoiding overindulging or buying excessively and perhaps consciously or subconsciously part of a "Catholic notion of having just the essentials and what is necessary" (Appendix F6). Similarly, Elvira highlighted her commitment to buying used clothing, linking this to a conviction of modesty and environmental responsibility:

(...) At the moment, my clothing consumption is practically 80% second-hand, and this has a starting point in my faith. Through reflection on sustainability and our role as people living in this world – and the responsibility given to us as Christians to care for it – I realised that, indeed, consuming second-hand clothing, which I enjoy, is a sustainable choice that comes from that reflection. (...) I really only reached this conclusion because of my faith, not so much because of the awareness being raised due to the climate crisis, although that also helps, as it brings more information and people are becoming more aware of it. But for me, it makes sense to consume this way due to my conviction and faith. (...) There's no question of accumulation, and this also ties into my faith, along with the reflection and research I've done regarding how a Christian should live their own economy and how they consume things. (...) I really make an effort to buy sustainable brands and local brands; there's a strong intention on my part in that

regard. And of course, I believe that if I were to enter the fashion world – whether creating a brand or being involved in the industry as a Christian – I would seek to ensure that the people involved have dignified working conditions, that the products themselves are of good quality, and that they come from places where they were produced in a respectful manner towards the environment (Appendix F20).

Regarding financial management, one interviewee mentioned that the Church teaches good money management and the importance of using it for good. This perspective, presented by Cláudia but shared by other women, demonstrates how faith can guide the way one spends money, encouraging choices that benefit not only the individual but also those around them:

(...) there's also something very important that the Church teaches, which is the good management of money and using it for things that truly matter – meaning, not to squander. (...) When I'm in these clothing stores, I often look at certain items – like, imagine, a pair of trousers that cost, I don't know, 25 euros and are quite nice – but then I think, 'Well, 25 euros could easily provide lunch or dinner for 3 or 4 people.' So, I tend to restrain my spending, especially since the financial situation in Portugal isn't easy right now (Appendix F15).

Furthermore, analysis of the interviews also reveals that almost all of the interviewees have worn clothing or accessories that incorporated Christian symbols. Among the most frequently mentioned items were necklaces with crosses (including rosaries and crucifixes), Catholic/patron saint medals, and, for the younger age group, church and GBU⁵³ merchandising or clothing associated with religious events, such as summer camps, Missão País⁵⁴ and World Youth Days (which was held in Portugal in 2023). Additionally, there is a growing trend in the use of items from Christian streetwear stores, as exemplified by the brands the interviewees mentioned, such as

⁵³ GBU (Grupo Bíblico Universitário [University Bible Group]) is an Evangelical student movement in Portugal that promotes Bible study and fellowship within universities, part of the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students (IFES), a global network of interdenominational student Christian groups.

⁵⁴ Missão País [Mission Country] is a Catholic university student movement in Portugal that organises annual missionary weeks across the country, during which students engage in volunteer work in collaboration with local parishes.

Hosea Clothes, Mountain Movers and The Four, a branch of Agape Portugal, which seemed to be very popular among university-age Evangelical youth.

Regarding jewellery, it was observed that Catholic participants tended to wear these symbols as a form of both spiritual and physical protection, almost like amulets. Furthermore, both Catholic and Evangelical participants valued these items for their ability to serve as reminders for themselves and to start conversations with both like-minded people and non-believers, using them as a platform for evangelisation. On the other hand, some women reported that although they wear religious symbols, they do so discreetly to avoid judgment or social discomfort, as shared by Paula:

We are shaped by what society thinks or believes, or what doesn't fit into societal norms, and often this influences a lot of what we do or what we wear. On one hand, I feel the need to wear small symbols in necklaces, jewellery, and sometimes even on my nails. It's a very discreet way to represent my faith, but at the same time... these symbols were quite subtle due to this social judgement. People generally view religion or faith positively, but there are also those who think, 'You're crazy' or 'You're in a cult.' Some have very dark views of religion and faith, so sometimes, when you want to be with those people, you might hide those small symbols a bit more. Yet at the same time, you want to make your mark, so it ends up being in a more discreet, calm way (Appendix F13).

In contrast, the two participants who identified as Jehovah's Witnesses reported never having worn religious symbols, claiming that such a practice is incompatible with their beliefs, which do not encourage the use of any type of religious symbolism.

In response to the question about the possible lack of respect in including religious symbols in fashion design, 54.5% of the women interviewed showed a very tolerant view on this subject and stated that they did not consider this practice to be particularly disrespectful. While only 21.2% expressed the opinion that the use of such symbols could be considered disrespectful most of the time. For example, one opinion expressed by some interviewees is that “Lil Nas X, like whatever he does, it's not okay, because I feel like he's not respecting the religion” (Appendix F5). Other similar feelings are evident in statements by Beatriz regarding Madonna, such as “There was a time when she used religious symbols in a disrespectful way, she kind of sexualizes Jesus” (Appendix F1). This type of use, which will be further addressed in the discussion chapter, is often criticised for not considering the deeper meaning of these symbols, as

seen in the quote “because the cross symbolises that God died for us, and they're just using a cross because it's cool” (Appendix F1).

However, the same participants can, in some cases, argue that the use of religious symbols can be valid, respectful and even positive, depending on the context and intention behind it. An example of this is Beatriz's opinion that “it can be respectful, without a doubt, we have this thing with The Four, right? There you have it, it's a respectful way, it's a way of evangelising” (Appendix F1).

Differently, Helena's statement, “I think it can be respectful because it's including something that is part of many people's daily lives in bigger things” (Appendix F16), reflects a view that sees the integration of religious symbols into fashion as a form of visibility and inclusion. Furthermore, in saying “I don't think I've ever seen much clothing alluding to faith and religion, but it's nice, I like it” (Appendix F14), Manuela suggests an acceptance of the use of these symbols, as long as it is done in a sensitive and non-provocative way.

Furthermore, the interviewees highlighted the importance of fashion as a means of religious expression, with some women emphasising fashion's ability to reflect religious beliefs and values, while others expressed concerns about “cultural appropriation” and the misrepresentation of religious symbols in contemporary fashion design, particularly when done by artists or designers who do not share their religious beliefs.

Returning to one of the most important topics highlighted earlier, the issue of modesty and discretion in clothing was a central theme in the interviews, with many participants emphasising the importance of appropriate attire, particularly in religious contexts. When examining the concept of modesty, interpretations varied and were multifaceted: some interviewees defined modesty as the practice of covering the body and avoiding an overly sensual appearance in order to prevent the arousal of desires in the opposite sex that could lead to behaviours deemed sinful and others approached the topic from the perspective of simplicity and humility, advocating for a style of dress that is not extravagant and instead is discrete and not overly luxurious. This variation in responses demonstrates the complexity and subjectivity of the concept of modesty, which does not align uniformly with age, religious denomination, or level of religiosity.

The view that “modesty is appearance, not value/price” is clearly expressed in Joana's idea that she was modest: “When I baptised my daughters, I specified that [guests] were not to wear new things” (Appendix F4). This approach suggests that modesty involves not only choosing simple clothing but also the attitude of not showing off wealth or social status. For Bruna, a modest person is a person who:

Being a modest person means dressing according to their means. If I don't have 100 euros to spend on myself, but I have 10, as long as I'm clean, hygienic, don't smell bad, and wear clothes that aren't stained or look odd, that to me is modesty. If I have the means to buy a 1000-euro dress, that can also be modest because I have the ability to afford it. But I wouldn't starve just to maintain an appearance (Appendix F28).

For some, modesty is more related to simplicity and humility, as Carmo indicates: "Modesty is simplicity, it is the opposite of ostentation, it is being simple, wearing only the essentials" (Appendix F22). Another similar perspective highlights that modesty can involve a deliberate choice of clothing that does not draw excessive attention, such as Leonor's view that modesty could be summarised in "clothes that do not draw attention, that do not have very strong colours, which do not have very flashy patterns". Another statement along these lines is from Eunice:

Modesty is closely related to simplicity and, in a way, not standing out in relation to others. Because, you see, in the church, there's that idea of '*grex*,' which means the flock – we are all part of a group. So, if we are all one flock and part of a core, there's no room for someone to shine – let's say, to stand out. (...) It's about not drawing attention to oneself. It's about belonging to a flock, not wanting to be more or less than anyone else. (Appendix F26)

On the other hand, modesty is seen by some as a matter of respecting the feelings and beliefs of others. Alison commented, "I feel like modesty to me is: number one being comfortable in what you're wearing, but also not hindering somebody else's daily life." Cláudia shares a remarkably similar view, adding:

(...) Looking at yourself with the dignity of a daughter of God and also avoiding – though I know this is a bit controversial – creating occasions of sin for others. In other words, I don't want another man to sin because he looked at me and felt lust, even if he fought against those feelings and resisted. But the truth is, we are human beings, and we have, well, natural stimuli. And part of what makes us human, rather than animals, is our ability to control them, right? But I don't want

to be a source of discomfort for someone else, nor do I want to be an occasion of sin for myself, because I look at myself with pride and vanity (Appendix F5).

Similarly, Dulce observes, “Modesty to me is the fact that I can go out and know that people aren't going to be looking at my body as an object.” This suggests that modesty involves a balance between personal comfort and consideration for the impact of one's appearance on others, especially in terms of avoiding provoking unwanted desires or thoughts, an issue already discussed earlier in this chapter. Teresa seemed to have a slightly different view on provocative clothing and modesty, emphasising the relevance of intention behind one's clothing style and personal conviction and Catarina compared Christianity to other religions:

(...) I think dressing modestly is simply what I said before – honouring God through the way we dress. (...) I believe it has a lot to do with our relationship with God, with what we want to convey to others, but also with what we communicate with God. So, I think being modest isn't necessarily about what you wear; it's more about your mindset. (...) Of course, we shouldn't go to the extreme, like, 'Oh, I dress in a very revealing way, but since my mind is with God, it's all fine' (Appendix F10).

Many religions dress modestly, with high necklines, long sleeves, long dresses, and long trousers, which I find a bit exaggerated. In Catholicism, we don't see that, at least not in modern times. So, in my opinion, modest clothing is anything that isn't overly provocative (Appendix F2).

Finally, as reiterated earlier, modesty can also be understood as a way of respecting the social and cultural context. An example of this perspective is: “It's dressing in a way that respects the place and what's going on there” (Appendix F12). This approach by Mónica and shared by other women such as Elvira, suggests that modesty also involves being aware of social norms and expectations in different contexts:

(...) For me, modesty isn't so much about being very discreet in the way you dress or present yourself visually; it starts much more within – inside your own heart, your own conscience – understanding and being aware of the places you're in. In other words, modesty is having an awareness of your surroundings, knowing who

you are with, and not deliberately wanting to shock others. It's about respect and choosing your settings. (...) Modesty is: when you go to church, maybe not wearing certain clothes because you don't want to shock anyone, and I think not wanting to shock is a wise thing – it's not about oppression but about respecting others as well (Appendix F20).

In essence, the interviewees confirmed that modesty is a flexible concept, associated both with simplicity and discretion in dress and with an inner attitude of humility and respect, varying according to personal views and religious contexts, while also addressing other topics, such as the use of religious symbols in fashion. But how do academics interpret these ideas, and what new perspectives do they offer beyond what is already formally published?

4.4. Commercialisation and Modesty in Christian Fashion: Expert Perspectives

In this subchapter, a detailed analysis of interviews conducted with four experts in the field of fashion and religion is presented. The discussions with Anna-Mari Almila, Lynn S. Neal, Robert Covolo and Marina Seibert Cezar revolved around modesty, the aestheticisation of Christianity in fashion design and the cultural and ethical impacts of these interactions.

Firstly, Anna-Mari Almila reflected on the paradoxical intersection between fashion and religion, highlighting that, although fashion emerged in a context of distance from religious institutions, it is still deeply influenced by them. In Almila's words:

Fashion is fundamentally, if paradoxically, influenced by religion because it gets established in a time when autonomy from religion is being gained in society. So, in the European historical context, fashion is influenced by religion as a counterforce. However, today fashion is influenced by religion because religiosity in fashion is actually 'in fashion.' Deeply religious people might be very interested in fashion, may not care about it, or might be strictly against fashion (Appendix G1).

Almila argues that Christianity, despite often being seen as apart from fashion in academic discourse, continues to shape the way people dress. The expert also highlights the importance of not underestimating the role of religion in fashion studies:

I think there is a problem if religion is dismissed from any bigger field of research just because people think the fields are not connected. That is, unless there are good reasons for that or it really has nothing to do with it. In terms of fashion, it has a lot to do with it (Appendix G1).

I think it is because it is so easy to see clerical dress and monasteries as being sort of removed from everyday life, and then you do not research those people who just have Christian convictions in their everyday life. It is always easier to pay attention to the spectacular; the more subtle something is, the less it tends to fascinate researchers (Appendix G1).

Furthermore, Almila discusses the aestheticisation of Christianity through fashion, reflecting on the use of Christian symbols in famous collections, such as the Italian luxury fashion house founded by Gianni Versace:

The case of Italy is interesting as the Vatican and the history of the Catholic Church has fundamentally influenced Italian society. Nonetheless, a lot of Italians are deeply secular – they go to church, and they do the crossing, go to Mass, and they often also baptise their children, but they do not necessarily believe – but the religion is fundamentally there. (...) When The Metropolitan Museum of Art had the *Heavenly Bodies* exhibition, one of the most photographed was Versace – that is Italian again. Italians are obsessed with Catholicism, even if they do not like it, so I can imagine that it must be equally present in Portugal, but whether it is commented upon or not, that will be very culturally varied as well. Spain does not differ that much either – I have spent a fair bit of time in areas like Valencia – and religiosity is there in the background very strongly and it influences, for example, ideas of modesty. There is a different idea there than in Protestant countries where I have lived, like northern Germany, Finland, and Scotland (Appendix G1).

For the author, contemporary fashion has appropriated symbols as forms of aesthetic expression, often without considering the original religious context, describing the previously mentioned concept of “aestheticisation of Christianity” (Almila, 2020:1) as “the fashion industry both takes themes from Christianity and also provides aesthetic means for religious people to express their religiousness”. Regarding religious modesty, Almila, who focuses her research more on Muslim women and veiling practices, considers that there is a lot of common ground among Christianity, Islam and Judaism when it comes to this concept:

If we talk of Abrahamic religions, the understanding of modesty is fairly similar. Modesty has two elements: sexual and behavioural. And typically, both have patriarchal elements, such as the belief that women must not be sexually proactive, and that they must hide their bodies; as well as behavioural elements: women must not be too visible, too loud, etc. If we look at Abrahamic understanding of modesty, historically, it is a pretty patriarchal construction. However, when believers change, understandings of religion necessarily have to change. You cannot force religious interpretations on people in the long run, as they will eventually make their own views. (...) Another element of modesty that is less discussed is the integrity of it: modesty is only worth it if you believe in it, whereas external modesty – if you are doing it for show or because you are forced to do it – is just meaningless and not spiritually important. And this is a rather feminist argument because it says, modesty is only meaningful if it comes from me, so if you impose it upon me, it is meaningless (Appendix G1).

According to Almila, many of the Muslim women she spoke to believe that modesty in terms of sexuality is positive, especially due to the exploitation of the female body in the capitalist system. As she points out, this is a valid argument since “the capitalist system is notorious for exploiting the female body in popular media, advertisements, etc.” The researcher also mentioned that some women expressed concerns that by wearing more revealing clothing, such as miniskirts, they could be more vulnerable to sexual harassment. On the other hand, one woman, in particular, stated that it would be “better for society if women do not compete with each other with looks”, as, in this way, a woman would be “always the most beautiful for her own husband” since he would not have seen other women. Almila described this view as a form of female

solidarity, in which "you don't go and show your body to your neighbour's husband, because your neighbour is your sister."

Additionally, Almila noted that some women, especially older women, or those who follow more conservative interpretations of Islam, believe that men are naturally driven by their sexual drive and that little can be done to change this. However, Almila emphasises that this view is not exclusive to Islam or Muslim communities, but rather characteristic of patriarchal societies in general, in which the responsibility for male reactions is placed in the hands of women. As she notes, this logic is also present in Western discourses, where one often hears that "boys cannot be expected to focus on schoolwork" when a girl wears more revealing clothes, or even that "male teachers cannot focus on schoolwork".

Lynn S. Neal, professor and author of *Religion in Vogue: Christianity and Fashion in America*, has played a pivotal role in examining how Christianity shapes aesthetic choices and expressions of faith through fashion. As mentioned previously, her research is particularly relevant to this thesis, not only because it addresses the commodification of Christian symbols, but also because it explores the complex intersection between faith and visual expression. In the context of this analysis, Neal's insights are essential to understanding how religious symbols are appropriated and reinterpreted in the world of contemporary fashion and especially in *Vogue*.

Neal points out that, in certain religious circles, there is a tendency to consider the use of Christian symbols in fashion as a form of commercialisation. However, she highlights that this view is not unanimous and that it is important to consider that "for some, it probably is affirming and inspirational to see religious figures or to think about the power of religion or the possibility of religion" and also that "fashion didn't invent or begin the commodification of religion. Religious people commodified religion a long time ago, through various things like trading and relics." This duality is one of the most intriguing aspects of Neal's discussion of fashion and Christianity, showing the complexity of reactions to religious representations in popular culture. Neal explains this duality when describing the concept of "fashionable religion":

For me, fashionable religion was a way to kind of make sense of that and talk about how fashion provides people with a repository of religious symbols and ideas that are about wonder, about experience, that are often maybe temporary, but powerful in that moment, like the awe of seeing this amazing dress, or a model

come down dressed as Mary or seeing the Sacred Heart on a gown, and then trying to capture the significance of that, potentially (Appendix G2).

One of the most relevant points of the interview was the analysis of how fashion appropriates religion for different purposes, often transgressing borders. The case of the 2018 Met Gala is used as an example, in which the *Heavenly Bodies* theme generated controversy among Christians. Neal explains that the use of these religious symbols was considered blasphemous by some of her students, but notes that the context plays a crucial role by referring to a previous Met Gala:

I also think it's interesting to think about: are people understanding the references? Are the references they're making accurate? I'm thinking about Katy Perry and the Joan of Arc dress from the 2013 Dolce Gabbana collection. People thought it was Mary or Joan of Arc on the dress, but it was an angel figure from the mosaics in Montreal. (...) People know it's religious, and they know it's Christian, but they don't know much else: 'Oh, it's probably Mary, I know Mary and I know Jesus and angels, so it's one of those three' but what if it's not one of those three? What does that mean? I think that complicates it too, that people can be outraged and not even know really what they're looking at. They know it's spiritual or religious, but they don't know exactly who it is, or they think they know and they're wrong (Appendix G2).

This type of "religious amnesia," as described by other theorists such as Grace Davie (2007), is a factor that influences how contemporary society reacts to these symbolic representations.

Furthermore, Neal observed how the recurrence of religious symbolism in fashion periodicals such as *Vogue* may represent broader trends in society. She pointed out that the frequent usage of Christian symbols in *Vogue* (whether crosses, halos, or Madonna-like figures) demonstrates that these symbols "mean something" in contemporary culture, highlighting that the use of Christian symbols in fashion is still attracting people, otherwise those symbols would no longer be included, emphasising the continued importance of these themes in the fashion industry:

I would hope people would take away an understanding that this isn't just like 'Oh, it's just a money grab,' 'These are cheap designs,' or 'They'll get media

attention.’ I think that might be part of it. But I don't think it's all of it with the use of Christian symbols in fashion, because I think people would see through that, or people argue that ‘it's everywhere so it doesn't mean anything’, I would hope the takeaway is that people would see that there's something important happening and that the use of Christian symbols in particular, I think, is it still attracting people. You know? If people didn't want it, they wouldn't design it, right? If it didn't still mean something, it wouldn't matter. I hope people take away that there's something more going on than just the superficial, and that it says something important to us about the ways people are thinking about and interacting with religion. However, they define that – and spirituality, and kind of trying to construct meaning – in different ways outside of traditional religious institutions (Appendix G2).

The author also pointed out that, although the use of religious symbols has been consistent over the decades, there has been a change in the way these symbols are contextualised – “I think the symbols maybe increased and the language decreased,” she comments, referring to the reduced use of explicit religious narratives in *Vogue US* pages but the increased presence of Christian visual icons, especially in advertising. This distinction between symbol and language underscores fashion magazines' gradual move away from verbalised religiosity while continuing to utilise visual representations to evoke a sense of spirituality and tradition. Interestingly, in the case of *Vogue Portugal*, textual references to religious themes have remained consistent over time and the number of issues featuring such references appears to increase after 2019 (based on the annual count of magazines containing this type of content).

Neal also discussed the important role that *Vogue* and other fashion magazines play in moulding popular perceptions of religious images, stating that while these periodicals do not directly enforce trends, they contribute to what is regarded as “trendy” or acceptable, consequently impacting broader social norms and expectations. Once again, in addition to her highly relevant book, Neal's views on the connection between fashion, religion and cultural norms shared during the interview provide a way to understand the changing character of religious iconography in a commercialised society.

The interview with Robert Covolo offers a theological perspective on the role of fashion in Christianity, exploring the concept of “theology of fashion,” which he describes

as “thinking about fashion from the vantage point of the Christian intellectual imaginary (i.e. the broader Christian intellectual tradition).” For the author, fashion has been discussed by theologians over the centuries and reflection on clothing needs to be recovered in Christian discourse:

My first audience are theologians. I want them to understand that theologians need to take fashion studies serious precisely because theologians have taken dress/fashion serious in the past. In other words, I want modern Christian theologians to claim their theological inheritance. My second audience are those in fashion studies. I published an academic work from a university press so as to talk about those in the academic field of fashion. For these, I wanted them to know that they are a bit late to the conversation. That fashion studies is not a purely secular discourse that arrived with Simmel or Barthes, but that serious engagement with fashion has been taking place among theologians long before the modern period (Appendix G3).

Regarding the heavily discussed 2018 Met Gala, Covolo believes that some of the dresses present were “intentionally transgressive of the Roman faith” but that contrastingly to the “depth and beauty of the Roman aesthetic tradition” it is difficult for the author to perceive “these celebrity performances any more serious than the celebrities themselves.” About his perspective on the inclusion of religious symbols in the fashion industry, the theologian added:

Religious symbols have official and unofficial meanings. That is because symbols are like visual metaphors – they have fuzzy edges that enable them to take on a range of associations. Of course, a symbol can be used to blaspheme (transgress) a religious value or concept. But because meaning is highly constructed within “fashion statements,” what may appear to be blaspheme might actually be something with a very different meaning. (...) Given meanings include such a subjective element, it seems to be ridiculous to police the use of religious symbolism within a democratic, pluralistic society. Indeed, in a democracy, free speech is a *sine qua non*. So yes, there is such a thing as transgressive dress. But

charity and civility (another value within a pluralistic society) requires us to respect those around us – believers, unbelievers, etc. (Appendix G3)

When asked about specific Bible verses that mentioned clothing, Covolo highlighted the aforementioned Genesis 3:21 (which he considers to be a “*locus classicus*”) as well as Matthew 6:25-34⁵⁵ and Galatians 3:26-28⁵⁶, neither of which was mentioned in the interviews with Christian women. These verses focus on *protoevangelium* and “identity in Christ” more than modesty, as Covolo notes that “modesty is not a significant theme in the various ways the Bible talks about dress.”

On the other hand, when asked if she believed that the Bible had recommendations about how women should dress, Marina Seibert Cezar claimed that “The Scriptures focus more on the notion of modesty in general, not drawing attention to the body, but to one's actions” and that the religious text sees appearance as something that “should be restrained, accepting one's natural self as a divine gift, therefore, without the need to manipulate it”, specifically referring to the previously mentioned 1 Timothy 2:9-10 as well as 1 Peter 3:3-4⁵⁷.

When it comes to the concept of modesty or decency from a fashion and Christian perspective, Cezar described it as:

Being one of the most powerful tools of non-verbal communication, fashion allows modesty to serve as a way for the wearer to express one of their most prominent moral values without needing to explicitly speak about it. It is a way

⁵⁵ “Therefore I tell you, do not worry about your life, what you will eat or drink; or about your body, what you will wear. Is not life more than food, and the body more than clothes? Look at the birds of the air; they do not sow or reap or store away in barns, and yet your heavenly Father feeds them. Are you not much more valuable than they? Can any one of you by worrying add a single hour to your life? And why do you worry about clothes? See how the flowers of the field grow. They do not labour or spin. Yet I tell you that not even Solomon in all his splendour was dressed like one of these. If that is how God clothes the grass of the field, which is here today and tomorrow is thrown into the fire, will he not much more clothe you—you of little faith? So do not worry, saying, ‘What shall we eat?’ or ‘What shall we drink?’ or ‘What shall we wear?’ For the pagans run after all these things, and your heavenly Father knows that you need them. But seek first his kingdom and his righteousness, and all these things will be given to you as well. Therefore do not worry about tomorrow, for tomorrow will worry about itself. Each day has enough trouble of its own.” (Matthew 6:25-34, New International Version, 2011)

⁵⁶ “So in Christ Jesus you are all children of God through faith, for all of you who were baptised into Christ have clothed yourselves with Christ. There is neither Jew nor Gentile, neither slave nor free, nor is there male and female, for you are all one in Christ Jesus.” (Galatians 3:26-28, New International Version, 2011)

⁵⁷ “Your beauty should not come from outward adornment, such as elaborate hairstyles and the wearing of gold jewellery or fine clothes. Rather, it should be that of your inner self, the unfading beauty of a gentle and quiet spirit, which is of great worth in God’s sight.” (1 Peter 3:3-4, New International Version, 2011)

of presenting oneself to society, as dressing is not only an encounter with ourselves but also the beginning of a relationship with others. Moreover, the notion of modesty is considered one of the three historical reasons we began to cover our bodies, further reinforcing this point. Within these groups, the cohesion is truly remarkable, as if everyone is saying the same sentence simultaneously. When part of any group is vital to one's social and psychological survival, there is a natural tendency to imitate, as we are always (either subtly or overtly) seeking social approval (Appendix G4).

Cezar also addresses the stereotype that Christian women in Brazil use their clothes (especially looser fit long skirts and dresses, as well as the use of non-see-through lace, light colours and discreet ruffles) to express their religion wherever they go, becoming easily identifiable figures in public spaces. As these women are encouraged to spread the “word of God”, their public presence always seems to be associated with an opportunity to evangelise those who do not yet follow the faith. In this sense, fashion becomes an additional tool for this mission of religious dissemination. The professor also mentions that, since the growth of the far right in Brazil, the public expression of the gospel has become more evident and assertive, which has led to an increase in stores specialising in clothing for Christian women, who represent an important part of the electorate of this political wing.

These interviews with experts reveal the profound relationship between fashion and Christianity, where topics such as modesty and appropriation emerged as central themes of discussion, aligning with the patterns anticipated from the broader methodological findings of this thesis. For those interviewed, fashion is not merely an aesthetic issue, but also a way of expressing spiritual beliefs and values. Modesty, in particular, appears as a shared value among Christians, while the appropriation of religious symbols by fashion is seen with ambivalence, depending on the context in which it occurs. Neal and Cezar caution against the use of religious symbols in fashion as a means of commercialising faith, disregarding the cultural and spiritual weight of these symbols.

Finally, sustainability and ethics also appear as emerging topics related to fashion and Christianity, with Almila mentioning the need to reflect on the social and environmental impact of the fashion industry, suggesting that the Christian faith should play a greater role in promoting responsible and fair consumption practices, a point of view which was shared by the interviewed Christian women. Through these reflections,

clothing, in addition to its practical function, is a means of spiritual and cultural communication, which dialogues with contemporary ethical and religious issues.

4.5. Discussion of Results

This subchapter explores the results obtained in light of the objectives and hypotheses of this research, which seeks to understand how Christianity influences fashion culture and how women in Portugal dress, while drawing parallels with previous studies and looking at examples from popular culture that support or challenge the identified trends.

4.5.1. Iconophilia or Appropriation? Catholic Imagery in Haute Couture and Pop Culture

The relationship between the Catholic Church and religious images has always been marked by an intense theological and cultural debate – previously mentioned in the Theology on Fashion subchapter in the literature review and by Covolo (2020) – oscillating between the valorisation of iconophilia⁵⁸ and fears of idolatry: since the first centuries of Christianity, the Church needed to define the limits of the use of visual representations in devotion, especially given the initial rejection of statues, which were associated with paganism. Although some Christians also considered paintings to be a form of idolatry, Pope Gregory the Great, at the end of the 6th century, argued that they were essential for the instruction of the faithful, particularly in a context where the majority of the population was illiterate (Kessler, 2019).

With the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century, strong criticism of the Catholic Church emerged, not only for the veneration of images but also for the luxury of its churches and how they displayed wealth through sacred art, as Martin Luther and other reformers saw this ostentation as a deviation from true Christian virtues, leading to a strong rejection of religious representations in Protestant worship. In response, as professor of anthropology and religious studies at New York University, Elayne Oliphant observes, "while the Protestant Reformation critiqued excesses of wealth and opulence in churches and art, in many ways, the Catholic Church replied by further emphasizing the richness and beauty of art" (Sutton, 2019), arguing that the decorative richness of religious spaces was justified by the fact that, in the Old Testament, God ordered that His

⁵⁸ *Iconophilia* refers to a strong reverence for or devotion to religious images. It is often contrasted with *iconoclasm*, the rejection or destruction of such images, particularly in theological or historical contexts, as previously discussed in relation to a *Vogue Portugal* editor's note (Lucas, 2024).

temple be decorated with magnificence, a principle that found its ultimate expression in the Baroque, a period in which religious art and architecture became central instruments of affirmation of faith (Lev, 2018; Gombrich, 1950; Victoria and Albert Museum, n.d.).

Similarly, as mentioned previously, the Vatican maintains a tradition of ecclesiastical dress while many Protestant reformers chose to abandon this vestment in order to reduce the visual distinction between religious leaders and the faithful, which, in general, reflects a clearly defined Catholic visual culture, making its aesthetics more accessible and explorable, unlike other religious traditions that reject this differentiation on a visual level.

This emphasis on visuality and religious symbolism consolidated the aforementioned concept of iconophilia (Džalto, 2024; Dell'Acqua, 2021), which designates the strong inclination towards the veneration and use of religious images as one of the distinctive traits of Catholicism, especially in regions with a strong Mediterranean tradition. In Portugal, a country with deeply Catholic roots, this iconophilia manifests itself not only in sacred art and architecture but also in fashion and contemporary visual culture, similar to the previously mentioned example of Italian designers like Domenico Dolce and Stefano Gabbana, who, due to having been raised in environments with a strong Catholic heritage, often turn to religious iconography (i.e. images of saints, the Virgin Mary and rosaries) as central elements of their collections. Likewise, *Vogue Portugal*, operating in a country with a similar legacy, frequently incorporates these aesthetic references into editorials that evoke sacred imagery, reinterpreted from a modern and even commercial perspective. In contrast, the Protestant tradition, especially in its Reformed and Evangelical aspects, is characterised by an iconoclastic approach, rejecting the veneration of images (Merriam-Webster, n.d.) based on Biblical passages such as Exodus 20:4⁵⁹. This opposition to the visual representation of the divine has an impact on the way Protestant believers relate to religious fashion: while a Catholic may see a piece with an embroidered saint as a tribute or cultural symbol, a Protestant may interpret it as a deviation from faith or blasphemy (as seen previously when analysing Morgan, 1999). But could the use of Christian symbols in fashion be seen as ultimately disrespectful by followers of the faith? Is it possible that what is considered sacred by many is trivialised when incorporated into commercial aesthetics? Can the commercialisation of religious imagery in fashion

⁵⁹ "You shall not make for yourself an image in the form of anything in heaven above or on the earth beneath or in the waters below" (Exodus 20:4, New International Version).

genuinely honour its spiritual significance, or does it risk undermining the reverence with which it is so closely associated?

The *Online Survey Data Analysis* subchapter reveals a divide in participants' opinions on the use of Christian symbols in fashion: although the majority of the sample disagreed with the idea that the representation of sacred symbols in the fashion industry is ultimately disrespectful or inappropriate, participants from Evangelical and other Protestant denominations showed greater agreement with that argument, considering these representations more inappropriate compared to the majority of Catholics in the sample. On the other hand, in a somewhat contradictory way, the majority of the sample disagreed with the idea that Christian symbols in the magazine could contribute to a positive and appreciative representation of religious heritage in fashion.

Similarly to the questionnaire results, most of the interviewed women demonstrated a fairly tolerant stance towards the presence of religious symbols in fashion, generally not considering this practice to be disrespectful and even those who initially expressed some discomfort with the topic ended up admitting that their opinion could vary depending on the perceived context and intention behind a given piece, collection, or editorial, which suggests that the approach to the issue is more flexible and subject to a careful analysis of the circumstances surrounding the use of these symbols in fashion design.

Although there are exceptions, generally related to religious representations in contexts that involve practices contrary to the values of religion, or associated with nudity, sexuality or mocking the faith, the majority of participants demonstrated an openness regarding the use of Christian references in fashion as long as the context and intention are not offensive. Thus, the fourth hypothesis of the thesis (H4: The mediation of images and sacred symbols associated with Christianity in fashion is considered inappropriate by practitioners of this faith) was partially rejected, as the findings indicate that, at least in the Portuguese context and within the sample studied, the majority of participants did not find most of such representations to be particularly or generally inappropriate. However, this does not exclude the existence of others who do express disapproval, as will be discussed later in relation to specific controversies involving pop artists, influencers and beauty pageants.



Figure 100 - Christian Dior Haute Couture Spring/Summer 2006. Source: <https://www.Vogue.com/fashion-shows/spring-2006-couture/Christian-dior/slideshow/collection?epik=djoyJnU9clJ3TTZ1dkxqVzQwSFFPbnA4ajFLTfo3bWdLdlhDTocmcDowJm49NU9mNk5fV2JhQnp3ZERDbkstNGNIUSZoPUFBQUFBR2ZkULE4#15>



Figure 101 - Model Pat Cleveland descending from the ceiling as Madonna during Thierry Mugler's Autumn/Winter 1984-1985 fashion show. Source: https://www.europeana.eu/en/item/2048232/europeana_fashion_61898357_jpg



Figure 102 - Schiaparelli "Holy Haute Couture" including a jewel moulding in gold metallic resin, inspired by "The Virgin and Child." Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/CKjLrKmhMmp/?img_index=1



Figure 103 - Guo Pei Haute Couture Spring/Summer 2017. Source: <https://Vogue.globo.com/moda/noticia/2018/05/memorial-gala-2018-colecoes-de-moda-inspiradas-no-catolicismo.html>

As seen throughout this thesis, haute couture often uses Catholic iconography as an aesthetic resource that communicates sophistication and exclusivity, reflecting the historical relationship between Catholicism and the elite. This intersection is evident in events such as the previously mentioned *Heavenly Bodies* exhibition, which included pieces loaned by the Vatican, such as Pope Benedict XV's golden cape and other liturgical objects. For Andrew Bolton, curator of the Costume Institute at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, "the finest costumes in history were always either imperial or ecclesiastical" (Moorhead, 2018), which highlights the role of religious attire in the visual construction of power. The appropriation of Catholic symbols in fashion, however, is not necessarily a recent phenomenon as over the decades, in addition to the brands already explored in this thesis, designers such as Coco Chanel, Christian Dior (Figure 100), Thierry Mugler (Figure 101), Christian Lacroix, Schiaparelli (Figure 102), Alexander McQueen, Guo Pei (Figure 103), Alexander Wang, among many others, explored this aesthetic in several collections (Hargrove, 2018). For example, the Atelier Versace's Autumn/Winter 1997-1998 Haute Couture collection included cross-shaped necklaces, Byzantine ornaments and black dresses with white collars, similar to Chanel's various discreet homages to the Aubazine convent (Deeny, 2020). According to the Versace Catwalk book:

[This collection] could be distilled into three words: Gianni Goes Goth. Two-thirds of the 83 looks were black. The models' heads were wrapped in leather, their eyes and lips shaded dark against deliberately paled skin, (...) The collection's dominant visual motif was a Byzantine cross, inspired, the designer said, by the 'Glory of Byzantium' exhibition he'd seen at the Metropolitan Museum in New York. When Shaw walked in a fitted black sheath with a high white collar, she looked ready to hear confession. Later, in a column of gold mesh, she looked like she might have something to confess. That peculiar tension between the sacred and profane suffused the show (Blanks, 2021).



Figure 104 - Model Debra Shaw in Atelier Versace's Autumn/Winter 1997 Couture. Source: <https://www.Vogue.com/fashion-shows/fall-1997-couture/atelier-versace>



Figure 105 - Model Naomi Campbell as "the bride" in Atelier Versace's Autumn/Winter 1997 Couture. Source: Blanks (2021)



Figure 106 - Shaw in Atelier Versace's Autumn/Winter 1997 Couture. Source: Blanks (2021)

The religious motifs from this Haute Couture collection (Figures 104-106) resurfaced in the brand's Autumn/Winter 2012-2013 Ready-to-Wear show, which directly referenced Gianni Versace's final designs before his death. The crucifix-adorned pieces, left unfinished at the time, were later presented by Donatella Versace, not only continuing the house's engagement with Catholic symbolism but also carrying a personal dimension, as she described the collection as a way of confronting her past (Hargrove, 2018). Versace has also incorporated Biblical themes into its campaigns, such as in the Spring 2022 advertisement (Figure 107), where Gigi and Bella Hadid posed nude with a red apple and a snake (Kirkpatrick, 2022), evoking the Garden of Eden and echoing the brand's 1995 campaign with Claudia Schiffer and Sylvester Stallone (Figure 108), who also posed as Adam and Eve (Militano, n.d.).



Figure 107 - Versace Spring/Summer 2022 Ad campaign with Gigi and Bella Hadid. Source: <https://www.instagram.com/p/CaCqrmsNYJO>



Figure 108 - Claudia Schiffer and Sylvester Stallone for Versace Home in 1995. Source: <https://www.dazeddigital.com/artsandculture/gallery/20149/16/gianni-versace-s-best-ads>

Dolce & Gabbana – arguably the most prominent brand in this theme – made a striking impact with its Autumn/Winter 2013 collection, previously referenced by Neal in her interview for this study (and in issues 132 and 135 of *Vogue Portugal*). Inspired by the golden mosaics of the Monreale Cathedral in Sicily, the collection remains one of the most iconic demonstrations of religious symbolism in haute couture, featuring cross earrings, crowns and baroque shoes that evoke the splendour of sacred art. However, as seen in *Sacro Visions by Dolce & Gabbana* (Persson, 2024), the brand has continued to incorporate Catholic iconography throughout its history, with several references highlighted in the *From the Heart to the Hands: Dolce & Gabbana* exhibition (Müller, 2024–2025), first held at the Palazzo Reale in Milan (Dolce & Gabbana, 2024) and later at the Grand Palais in Paris (Dolce & Gabbana, 2025). In addition to its focus on Italian handcraft, the exhibition book also delves into the brand's deep connection to Catholic iconography, with the Sacred Heart motif featured prominently in many creations, "whether embroidered on dresses or crafted in metal and beads on handbags and Devotion perfume bottles" (Müller, 2024, p. 106) or even appearing on the January 2015 cover of *Vogue Portugal*. This symbolic imagery merges with the previously mentioned Baroque-like grandeur, where "the overwhelming splendour of this genre of decoration generates a sort of mystical fervour," blending "the sacred and the sensual" to create a theatrical effect in fashion (Müller, 2024, p. 13). According to the book, Dolce & Gabbana

draw inspiration from historical architecture, ranging from the Middle Ages to the Baroque, and classic artists such as Botticelli, Caravaggio and Raphael, as seen in collections like the Alta Sartoria Milano Rinascimento Collection (Spring/Summer 2019) and the Alta Moda Milano Opera Collection (Spring/Summer 2020), shown in figures 109 and 110 respectively, where prints based on iconic paintings of Biblical scenes by famous artists are incorporated. Additionally, the book mentions a blazer from the Alta Sartoria Monreale Collection (Autumn/Winter 2017-18), showcased on the catwalk and later worn by actor Darren Criss at the 2018 Met Gala (Figure 111), symbolising the fusion of sacred imagery (in this case, the grandeur of temples/cathedrals) with contemporary fashion. As the book states, Dolce & Gabbana's "gods and goddesses" represent "the power God has given us to attract through beauty" and the fragility of time, giving their creations a romantic and divine quality that bridges the sacred with the human experience (Müller, 2024, p. 192).



Figure 109 - Organza coat embroidered with Piero della Francesca's *The Baptism of Christ* (1437–1445) from the Dolce & Gabbana Milano Rinascimento Collection. Source: <http://www.Vogue.it/sfilate/sfilata/alta-moda-autunno-inverno-2018-19/dolce-e-gabbana>



Figure 110 - Organza dress entirely cross-stitched with Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* (1513–1514) from the Dolce & Gabbana Milano Opera Collection. Source: <https://modeetmode.co.jp/collection-2020ss-hc/dolcegabbana-2020ss-hc/>



Figure 111 - Darren Criss wearing a tuxedo jacket embroidered with sequins and inspired by the mosaics of the Monreale Cathedral in Palermo from the Dolce & Gabbana Monreale Collection. Source: <https://www.justjared.com/photo-gallery/4079082/darren-criss-rocks-sparkling-blazer-for-met-gala-03/>

Although Italian fashion has historically been one of the main disseminators of this aesthetic, the impact of Catholicism transcends borders, influencing even non-Italian designers due to the strong presence of the faith in the West. However, the way these symbols are received varies depending on the cultural context, as in Europe, where

Catholicism is deeply rooted, these references are often interpreted as a continuation of a historical tradition. In contrast, in the United States, where Protestantism is culturally dominant, Catholic iconography takes on an alternative and visually provocative character, serving as an element of distinction and, at times, of transgression. This fascination with the fusion between the sacred and the provocative – or even profane – particularly in fashion and popular culture, has been widely analysed; for example, in his study of the eroticisation of religious clothing, Keenan (1999) argues that the appeal of sacred clothing lies in the tension generated between the spiritual and the carnal, in the subversion of moral norms and in the aesthetic pleasure that comes from their reinterpretation. The appreciation of Catholic iconography intensified in the 20th century, especially after the Second Vatican Council, by becoming a recurring element not only in fashion but also in music, art and cinema, with very popular films such as *Rosemary's Baby* (1968), *The Exorcist* (1973), and more recently, *Immaculate* (2024) – promoted by sharing multiple posts featuring quotes by angry conservative Christians (Fish, 2024) and previously with actress Sydney Sweeney posing for Paper Magazine (2022) in a habit and pencil skirt – which highlight the use of Catholic symbolism in the construction of horror and suspense, often associating it with narratives of sin, sexuality, violence and the occult. Although the inclusion of these symbols has become normalised, one of the participants (Appendix F10), admitted in an interview that she does not “see the need for people to dress up as nuns for Halloween or for us to have horror films featuring nuns”, a view that was shared by other interviewees, revealing lingering tensions beneath this apparent general acceptance and people who practice the faith.

Conversely, moving beyond the realm of horror cinema, the *Cine y Moda* exhibition (Gaultier, 2022), which showcased iconic costumes from cinema history, featured a design worn by Ringo Starr in *Lisztomania* (Russell, 1975), created by costume designer Shirley Russell. While this ensemble (Figures 112-114) maintains the traditional silhouette and opulence of papal attire, its embellishments introduce a strikingly secular twist, as plasticised photographs of film stars such as Judy Garland and Humphrey Bogart are embedded into the fabric, blending ecclesiastical grandeur with pop culture iconography in a manner that subverts, yet still evokes, religious visual language.



Figures 112, 113 and 114 - Pope costume worn by Ringo Starr in *Lisztomania*, displayed at the *Cine y moda: por Jean Paul Gaultier* (2022) exhibition in Madrid. Photographs by the author.

Similarly, in the music industry, the appropriation of religious symbols has a long-standing tradition, often intertwined with themes of eroticism and provocation. It is known that in the 1980s, Madonna became one of the most emblematic figures of this intersection, incorporating crosses as accessories and subversive religious imagery in her music videos and performances. Her defiance of conservatism and celebration of female sexuality not only shaped an aesthetic and cultural movement but also sparked backlash, particularly from more conservative Christians who viewed her use of sacred symbols as trivialisation or even blasphemy, as seen earlier in a quote from the interviews with Christian women. For example, over the years, the singer has made several appearances in *Vogue Portugal*, whether through subtle nods to religious iconography (such as wearing simple cross necklaces) or more direct references, including the previously mentioned *Like a Prayer* music video, an article showcasing her home that featured a painting of angels, or even the book cover of *Luigi & Iango: Unveiled* (2023), where she is depicted with a sacred heart and surrounded by other religious symbols, raising the question of whether the cross and other sacred imagery have been reduced to mere aesthetic elements and, if so, whether Madonna's audience follows in her footsteps, adopting these symbols in a similarly detached manner. Once again, in *Religion in Vogue*, Neal (2019) argues that the question of intent in religious jewellery extends beyond Madonna's aesthetic:

Conceptually and rhetorically the divide between “witness wear” and “cool” cross jewellery was clear; however, in reality, how could you tell if the wearer of a cross

pendant was an Evangelical testifying to her faith, a fan of Madonna's style, or some combination of both? (Neal 2019:117)

In an interview for this thesis, when asked whether it is possible to distinguish between religious symbols worn for faith and those adopted in a secular fashion, Neal emphasised that the meaning of religious symbols, such as cross necklaces, is highly dependent on context and intent:

(...) Generally, if we're just looking at the garments or the objects, I don't think you can tell the difference. If we saw the same things that Madonna wore, but not on Madonna, I think we wouldn't know. I think that's where the objects don't exist apart from their consumers or their wearers, their contexts in that sense. (...) I have students (...) introduce themselves through an object, and so many, especially the women, wore little cross necklaces. (...) Usually, it's a tie to a rite of passage, like confirmation, or a gift from a grandmother or both (...) I think that's different from Madonna or Lady Gaga. But then I think that, at the same time, we are used to associating these symbols with conservative forms of Christianity and not more liberal or more progressive forms of Christianity. And so, I think, why? I think it's important to think about that (Appendix G2).

Other famous artists have also drawn from Catholic iconography, including the aforementioned Lady Gaga – most notably in the Judas music video (Lady Gaga, 2011), which controversially reimagines a Biblical love triangle: Jesus is portrayed as a biker wearing a jewelled crown of thorns and accompanying Mary Magdalene to a nightclub. Rihanna has also sparked controversy for appearing on the cover of *Interview Magazine's* Spring 2024 issue (Figure 115) dressed as a nun in a deliberately provocative manner, drawing criticism and heated debate on social media (@interviewmag & @badgalriri, 2024). Similarly, Nicki Minaj had previously generated backlash when she attended the 2012 Grammy Awards in a custom satin Versace robe and accompanied by a man dressed as the Pope or a cardinal (Figure 116). Lana Del Rey has also made frequent use of Christian imagery – both in the official video for *Born to Die* (Del Rey, 2011), which features a cathedral-like setting, and in the *Tropico* short film (Del Rey, 2013; Blistein, 2013), where the singer plays a modern-day Eve in the Garden of Eden, interacts with depictions of Jesus and later appears in resembling the Virgin Mary.

In a more recent example, singer Kesha posed for an April 2025 *Paper Magazine* editorial wearing a bridal-style veil while a group of people kneeled in prayer before her, with a cross visible in the background (Figure 117), visually evoking a Madonna-like figure and echoing sacrilegious tones often seen in pop fashion. On a more ironic and local note, following the 2025 Grammys, a Portuguese TikTok user posted an image of singer Gracie Abrams in a white Chanel outfit that included a romantic veil with the caption “Gracie Abrams delivered Fátima apparition” [*A Gracie Abrams entregou aparição de Fátima*], receiving a few thousand likes on the social network (@joseppalmeira, 2025) for humorously comparing the artist to one of the most emblematic figures of Portuguese Catholic devotion.



Figure 115 - Rihanna for the Spring 2024 issue of *Interview Magazine*. Source: <https://www.interviewmagazine.com/music/rihanna-is-ready-to-confess>



Figure 116 - Nicki Minaj at the 2012 Grammy Awards in a custom Versace outfit, accompanied by a man dressed as the pope. Source: <https://www.justjared.com/photo-gallery/2628223/nicki-minaj-grammys-06/>



Figure 117 - Kesha in a veil with kneeling figures praying to her and a cross in the background. Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/DH_fewfOmoR/?img_index=1

Also quite recently, rapper Lil Nas X was repeatedly mentioned in interviews conducted for this research as an example of what some participants perceived as a disrespectful use of religious symbols. Beatriz (Appendix F1), for example, commented that “the seriousness of it, to me, is completely nonsensical. It’s interesting that they do this with Christ, but not with any other religion”, particularly echoing what is discussed online about the music videos for “J Christ” (Lil Nas X, 2024) and “Montero” (Lil Nas X, 2021), which are loaded with both LGBTQ+ and Christian imagery (Garcia, 2024).

Similarly, singer Sabrina Carpenter faced accusations of disrespect after dancing provocatively inside the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary Church in Brooklyn in her "Feather" music video (Carpenter, 2023; Lenahan, 2023). Consequently, the singer explained to *Variety* that she was given permission to film her video at the church and joked that "Jesus was a Carpenter" (Horowitz, 2023), linking her last name to the profession of Jesus Christ mentioned in the Bible. This reference was enough for online stores to launch clothing items with it (Girl Gang, n.d.) and for Sabrina to wear a t-shirt with the phrase during her performance at the 2024 Coachella (PopBase, 2024). Moreover, in late 2024, a *Público* article (Duarte de Freitas, 2024) drew a comparison between the controversy generated by Carpenter's music video and the scandal involving Portuguese influencer and former Big Brother contestant, Marie, who shared images of herself singing at the altar of a church in Covilhã, wearing a top and a miniskirt. Like Carpenter, Marie's posts generated significant backlash on social media, where she was widely criticised for allegedly disrespecting the Catholic faith. However, while criticism of the North American singer was limited to a few online debates and opinion pieces, the Portuguese influencer became the target of numerous fierce comments on her accounts speculating on her mental health and possible substance use, and even a formal complaint from the local parish (Alves, 2024), demonstrating how the reception of acts considered offensive to religion can vary depending on the cultural context as well as the proximity and likeability of the figure involved to the public in question.

While the appropriation of religious symbolism by musicians is widely discussed, it is also important to note how the use of Catholic symbols in luxury fashion continues to generate controversy, especially among the faithful. On the one hand, some argue that a historical religion, associated with power and oppression, cannot be genuinely appropriated, considering its symbolic and cultural load (Andrews, 2018; Bucar, 2022). However, many practising Catholics dispute this view, expressing discontent and repudiation of such representations. The previously mentioned negative reaction to the *Heavenly Bodies* exhibition and the continued criticism of the aforementioned artists reveals the polarisation of this reception, oscillating between appreciation for the visual richness that these symbols confer and the perception of religious profanation. An article from *Varsity*, an independent newspaper for the University of Cambridge, explores the continuing history of religious clothing and adds that:

(...) Designers also need to be reminded that one's faith is something that cannot be hijacked for the sake of fashion's creativity. The nobility of religious clothing, its history, rigour and symbolism are not to be stripped down. The tributes paid by the designers to the Church by using it as a source of inspiration should not

turn into derision. As the saying goes, one person's freedom ends where another's begins (Bedu, 2021).

An additional example of great criticism for the appropriation of Catholic imagery can be found in the Dolce & Gabbana-sponsored wedding ceremony of reality star Kourtney Kardashian and Travis Barker (Selleck, 2022), where the Catholic aesthetic took centre stage (Figure 118), even though the family does not identify as Catholic, being frequently spotted at Protestant megachurches like Hillsong or Zoe Church (Poosh, 2019; Smith, 2022). The fact that the ceremony was celebrated by an Evangelical pastor, who was also the target of criticism for participating in an event loaded with religious symbolism (@annalulis, 2022), raises once again a debate about the use of Catholicism as an aesthetic tool, disconnected from the beliefs and practices of those involved and whose value seems to be more linked to the world of contemporary fashion than to a faithful representation of religious faith.



Figure 118 - Kourtney Kardashian in a mini wedding dress by Dolce & Gabbana *Alta Moda* and embroidered Virgin Mary veil. Source: <https://esposagroup.com/en/kourtney-kardashian-wedding-dresses-see-what-its-all-about/>

A similar detachment from religious faith appeared in the November 2024 campaign for the Dolce & Gabbana and SKIMS collaboration, where Kim Kardashian posed in lingerie with a cross necklace (Kardashian, 2024), reinforcing Catholic imagery as a fashion statement rather than as necessarily a religious expression. However, Christianity is not the only religion used as visual shorthand by Kim Kardashian's fashion choices, as her clothing has also sparked controversy with other faiths. While facing

accusations of cultural appropriation and 'blackfishing' (Lockhart 2021), Kardashian received significant backlash from the Muslim community for her outfit at the 2021 Met Gala, which consisted of a fully black ensemble that covered her from head to toe. Journalist and author Hafsa Lodi, who has been previously cited in this thesis for her work on modest fashion, criticised the outfit as “bizarre and distasteful” (Lodi, 2021), particularly given the broader socio-political context, which coincided with Afghan women protesting against the oppression they face under the Taliban, as well as the ongoing debates surrounding the bans on the burka, niqab and hijab in various European countries and Canadian provinces – issues that she argued strip these women of their right to choose how to dress while western celebrities are free to do as they wish and praised for being “artistic”, “creative”, “mysterious” and “inventive” (Lodi, 2021).

Comparably, in November 2024, Portuguese model Andreia Correia caused controversy by wearing a costume inspired by Our Lady of Fátima (Figure 119) during the national costume category of the Miss Universe pageant (Duarte de Freitas, 2024). Created by Orlando Ventura, the ensemble consisted of a dress adorned with floral appliques, over which was placed a white cloak embroidered with flowers and a cross and topped by a hood that supported a crown similar to that of the images associated with this Marian apparition, while, in her hands, the model held a Bible. This choice quickly divided opinions on social media (@missportugaluniverso, 2024), where many considered that the use of a sacred symbol in a beauty event was disrespectful and inappropriate, even accusing her of blasphemy and cultural insensitivity, showing once again how the representation of religious figures in entertainment contexts can be offensive to the faithful, while others (including the model herself) defended this creative decision, interpreting it as a way of honouring Portuguese culture and religiosity on an international stage (Notícias ao Minuto, 2024), thus highlighting the ongoing debate about the limits of cultural appropriation and respect for religious symbols in public contexts.



Figure 119 - Portuguese representative at Miss Universe pageant wearing an ensemble inspired by Our Lady of Fátima. Source: <https://tabonito.com/representante-portuguesa-no-miss-universo-usou-look-inspirado-em-nossa-senhora-de-fatima/>

Similarly, during the 58th edition of ModaLisboa, designer João Magalhães presented a collection inspired by a portrait of Our Lady of Guadalupe and altars he had seen at churches in Mexico, evidencing how catholic iconography and culture informs Portuguese fashion designers, and in this case particularly, even the designer's own reflection and perceptions of faith and spirituality (Carvalho, 2022). This collection featured models wearing garments adorned with appliqués reminiscent of the Sacred Heart, crowns commonly associated with Marian iconography, necklaces with crosses, and even a headpiece that could be interpreted as an allusion to the crown of thorns (Gonçalves, 2022).

To further explore this perspective, one of the more devoutly Catholic interviewees reflected on the argument that Catholic symbols are often appropriated by artists and creatives who, despite not necessarily adhering to the faith, have been immersed in environments deeply shaped by Catholicism (particularly in the case of Italy, but also obviously within Portuguese culture), where these images were constantly present and inevitably influenced their imagination and creative expression, which in the participant's opinion is still unjustifiable:

(...) what many people misunderstand about Catholicism is that it is not hereditary – it is not like Judaism, which is hereditary – it is not hereditary. In the same way, it is not necessarily cultural, because it is something that has

spread all over the world and exists in all cultures. (...) The most predominant form of Christianity in Portugal has been Catholicism for over a thousand years. (...) it is not because it is abundant in the place where you live that you have the right to assume it as something merely cultural, because then we also start to see: “OK, but this is a cultural symbol,” do you want to see it as something cultural? Fine, but do you know why things are like this? Do you know why that image is in that specific place and what it culturally means? And if you are so focused on the cultural level, have you considered that, perhaps, for the people who give importance to it, it can become offensive, and you are distorting something and appropriating something that is important to others who pay attention to it and value it? I think that’s really the point, so I understand that argument, but no, I do not agree with it (Appendix F15).

In a video essay titled *The Coquettification of Catholicism*, YouTuber Mina Le (2023) analysed the recent appropriation of Catholic aesthetics by Generation Z, whom, according to her observation, not only adopt visual and symbolic elements linked to Catholicism but also, in some cases, even convert to the religion, describing this phenomenon as a growing movement among what she calls “cool kids”. One of the examples cited in the video refers to a user of the Depop platform who went viral on Twitter for selling Catholic confession readings, presenting her service with the description “I would love to help any fellow coquette clean girl aesthetic girly to absolve you of your sins, for a cheap price of \$5”, raising questions about the trivialisation of religious practice and how certain aspects of Catholicism are reinterpreted and commercialised in the context of contemporary aesthetic trends. Furthermore, according to the influencer, singer Lana Del Rey is often associated with Catholic aesthetics, not only because of the previously discussed visual imagery that permeates her music but also because of the way she encapsulates an atmosphere built on the intersection between softness, sensuality and submission, elements that refer to religious iconography and the idealised femininity in certain Christian discourses. However, unlike the opulent grandeur seen in haute couture collections such as Versace’s, Le (2023) explains that this aesthetic manifests itself in a more accessible and everyday way, incorporating pastel tones, lace, slip dresses, necklaces with crosses, Catholic school uniforms, rosaries, ribbons and “baby tees” adorned with religious references, in an approach that redefines sacred clothing within a context of contemporary and romanticised femininity. Brands

like Praying (Suzuki, 2022; Weiss, 2021) exemplify this aesthetic, although they are often the target of criticism for suggesting an eroticisation of female innocence – in this case, the brand went viral for a controversial “Father, Son, Holy Spirit” bikini worn by famous internet star Addison Rae in a since-deleted Instagram post (Tate, 2022) –, highlighting the ambiguous nature of this aesthetic appropriation and its potential to generate debates about the limits between devotion, fetishisation and symbolic consumption of religion in fashion. In this instance, the founders of the brand describe how they integrate Christian symbols into their design, drawing inspiration from the iconography that adorned one of their grandmothers' homes (Singh-Kurtz, 2022).

Lastly, another sphere in which Christianity and clothing intersect is the realm of professional sports, where faith plays a significant role in shaping both the personal beliefs and public expressions of numerous athletes, many of whom openly attribute their success to their religious convictions (@thewfeed, 2025) and incorporate Christian references into their attire on the field. This connection is evident in the case of the Ohio State Buckeyes players, who arrived for their football camp in August 2024 wearing t-shirts emblazoned with bold declarations of faith (Braaten, 2024), including “Follow Jesus,” “Jesus Won,” “Jesus Saves,” “God Got Me,” and “Just Here to Give God Glory,” among other religious slogans, reinforcing the visibility of Christianity within the sports world. Similarly, Brazilian footballer Neymar, along with several of his Christian teammates, has been seen wearing a “100% Jesus” headband (Simas & Fernandes, 2018), a striking visual proclamation of faith that echoes the actions of another Brazilian football icon, Kaká, who famously revealed a t-shirt reading “I Belong to Jesus” during the 2007 Champions League final match (Riley, 2014), further cementing the longstanding relationship between Evangelical Christianity and football. Beyond these individual expressions, Christian messaging has also appeared in unexpected contexts, such as when Crystal Palace and England centre-back Marc Guéhi controversially wrote “I Love Jesus” on his rainbow-coloured captain’s armband (Johnson, 2024), which featured the branding of Stonewall’s Rainbow Laces campaign in support of LGBTQ+ inclusion in football.

In the Portuguese context, this phenomenon seems to have emerged very recently, exemplified by Estrela da Amadora players wearing a small image of the late Pope Francis on their jerseys during their winning match against FC Porto in April 2025, which was the first game played after the Pope’s passing (CF Estrela da Amadora, 2025). These examples, although predominantly represented by men, show how professional athletes bring their religious identity onto the field through their clothing, helping maintain the presence of Christian references in one of the most visible and culturally significant spaces in modern society. This theme also resonates with Ornella’s (2019)

exploration of Christian sportswear (in this case, CrossFit) and its growing presence in athletic culture, previously referenced in the literature review. As Ornella (2019) argued, “the religiously inscribed t-shirts do not have an inherent or absolute religious value merely because of their religious inscriptions” and instead, he emphasised that “the material culture of religious apparel and clothing oneself in religious messages are performative practices,” highlighting how these symbols are actively engaged with in the context of sports and personal identity.

4.5.2. Portuguese Designers, Religious References and *Vogue*

Portugal: A Cultural and Fashion Dialogue

In addition to the previously mentioned national and international brands and designers, often mentioned in this context, some other Portuguese brands also incorporate religious references into their collections. An example of this can be seen in *The Sunny Vibes Issue* (No. 232, July 2022), which features an article about the *Portugal POP* exhibition at Casa do Design in Matosinhos (Murcho, 2022), later presented in Lisbon at MUDE (*Museu do Design*) from March to October 2025. In one of the magazine's images, a t-shirt designed by Nuno Gama can be seen in the background (Figure 120), and when visiting the exhibition (Coutinho, 2022), it was possible to see that this t-shirt featured a print of two angels praying, with a cross on top. The piece from the 1994 Spring/Summer collection, shown in Figure 121, was not the only one to include Catholic references, as the exhibition also featured other pieces by the same Portuguese designer, namely two printed t-shirts from the 1993 Spring/Summer collection, which included images of the apparition of Our Lady of Fatima to the three children and of Jesus Christ with his Sacred Heart (Figure 122). Also featured in the exhibition were pages from a catalogue by the designer (AW 94: *Minhotinha*), which included a black and white photograph of a woman with a traditional veil, in a position of prayer or devotion, whilst holding a shiny cross made of some kind of metal (Figure 123), reinforcing the designer's connection with religious symbolism in his collections.



a portugalidade, essa
aguês – e que contém.
de. Podemos afirmar,
guesa”? Esse é um dos
esse debate e consolidar
os estrangeirismos nos
se parece que já nada se
mas como se apresenta
o património material e
ambém os conceitos de
tugalidade ou memória
signers de Moda, e sido
ites objetivos. A nossa
tiva, a nossa língua e a
imagética de muitas das

Figure 120 - Picture from the *Portugal POP* exhibition from the "50 years of Fashion in Portugal" article. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 232, July 2022, p. 87. Copyright 2022 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 121 - T-shirt from the Nuno Gama Spring/Summer 1994 collection, displayed at the *Portugal POP* exhibition. Photograph by the author (April 2022).



Figure 122 - Two t-shirts from the Nuno Gama Spring/Summer 1993 collection, displayed at the *Portugal POP* exhibition. Photograph by the author (April 2022).



Figure 123 - Page from the “Nuno Gama AW 94: *Minhotinha*” catalogue, displayed at the *Portugal POP* exhibition. Photograph by the author (April 2022).

Furthermore, Nuno Gama recognises the cross as one of the central symbols of his brand (Chaves, 2018), which manifests itself not only in the brand's logo and its clothing collections but also in accessories such as belts and shoes, establishing a deep connection between its identity and creative vision and the reflection of his admiration for religious and spiritual symbols. This symbol, loaded with religious meaning, is also reflected in other elements of his work, such as the rosaries created by the designer, which, according to his website (Nuno Gama, n.d.), arise from childhood memories spent in Portinho da Arrábida and in the religious objects of the Convento da Arrábida, places that indelibly marked his relationship with spirituality, especially through his family, and that, over the years, influenced his artistic vision. Although the designer explains his religious views as not having a particular religion but believing all human beings come from divine energy (Notícias Magazine, 2016), Gama closed *Moda Lisboa* in March 2017 with the presentation of a collection with the theme "Prophecy", based on a religious legend that addresses the controversial belief in a progeny from Jesus and Mary Magdalene (Move Notícias, 2017), an idea that, in some way, would be linked to the first king of Portugal, reflecting the designer's frequent exploration of spiritual and mythological narratives and how these stories intertwine with Portuguese cultural identity, occasionally making Christianity a starting point for his creative approach to fashion.

Moreover, other Portuguese brands incorporate religious symbolism more subtly, mainly using crosses, as is the case of Call Me Gorgeous by model Luís Borges, which presents, among its accessories, cross-shaped earrings made up of multiple letters "B" (as seen in the October 2022 edition of *Moda Lisboa*) suggesting a fusion between brand identity and Christian iconography (Lisboa Fashion Week, 2022).

Still regarding the Portuguese fashion scene, some designers incorporate references to Christianity in a distinct way, exploring not only direct religious symbols, but also themes that refer to traditions and popular manifestations associated with the Catholic faith, in line with what was previously analysed in the context of *Vogue Portugal* and more specifically in the "A question of faith" editorial in issue 145 which main theme was Catholic processions in Portugal. A notable example is the BÉHEN brand, whose catalogue includes pieces inspired by Catholic processions and pilgrimages, highlighting the persistence of these elements in contemporary Portuguese fashion design. On their website, two sold-out oversized photograph-print hoodies (Figure 124) from the "God of Small Things" Autumn/Winter 2024 collection were described as pieces that incorporate the evocative photography of Jorge Barros, renowned for his work in *Festas e Tradições Portuguesas* (Barros & Costa, 2002). The brand added that the images used result from "thousands of photographs taken by Barros throughout his travels across Portugal,

capturing the essence of traditional festivities and the rich cultural heritage of the region” (BÉHEN, n.d.).



Figure 124 - Visuals from “The God of Small Things” AW23 campaign. Source: <https://www.behenstudio.com/read/aw23campaign>

This approach by designer Joana Duarte speaks directly to the *Jesus’ Blood Never Failed Me Yet* exhibition (Sequeira, 2022–2023), which presented a similar set of photographs by Ana Paganini centred on religious pilgrimages, in which the faithful appear dressed as Biblical characters, with a particular emphasis on representations of the Virgin Mary (Figures 125-127). As Espírito Santo (1990, p. 216) explained, “popular religion is associated with the playful and the spectacular effect; it seeks the 'beautiful.' The 'village' religion, which stands in opposition to the ecclesiastical institution, is a set of festive, processional, orgiastic, and noisy rites” (author's translation). Just like the images on display, BÉHEN's pieces capture this intersection between faith and aesthetics, demonstrating how elements of Portuguese popular religiosity continue to be appropriated in the world of fashion, reinforcing the presence of Christian imagery in contemporary creations.



Figures 125, 126 and 127 - Pictures by Ana Paganini from the *Jesus' Blood Never Failed Me Yet* exhibition at LX Lapa. Photographs by the author.

In the commercial fashion scene, in addition to designers that incorporate references to Catholicism, several international brands that operate in the Portuguese market also present products with Christian symbolism, highlighting the continued presence of these elements in contemporary clothing: around 2022, Brandy Melville (a brand widely criticised for its lack of inclusion in the clothing sizes offered and present in two locations in Lisbon) sold pieces printed with the image of Jesus Christ wearing a crown of thorns, including a t-shirt that generated debate online, being considered problematic by some consumers and harmless by others who mentioned the already widespread and secular use of these symbols (Reddit user, n.d.); in the same year, Spanish brand Desigual sold a pink knitted sweater with an image of the Virgin Mary (Figure 128), reinforcing the trend of aesthetic appropriation of religious icons; at the time of writing this chapter (February 2025), Snipes, a German sub-brand known for its focus on sneakers and streetwear, included the "Praying Mary Hoody" (Figure 129) – a sweatshirt that depicts the Virgin Mary with the Sacred Heart, presenting her with tattoos in an aesthetic approach that seeks to give an edgy character to the piece – in its online store (Snipes, n.d.); nonetheless, the Christian representation that is most frequently reproduced in clothing continues to be the *Creation of Adam* (Michelangelo, 1512), whose iconography appears repeatedly in different pieces sold by fast fashion giants, such as brands from Inditex or Primark, and is widely available in physical stores in shopping centres in the country, while, in the online universe, platforms such as Shein or Temu offer an endless range of products that include all sorts of images and phrases linked to Christianity.



Figure 128 - Pink knitted Desigual sweater with image of the Virgin Mary and slogan. Photograph by the author (in UBBO, March 2022).



Figure 129 - Mister Tee “*Praying Mary Hoody*.” Source: <https://www.snipes.com/pt-pt/p/mister-tee-praying-mary-hoody-preto-46148>

In addition to the occasional presence of pieces with religious symbolism in brands without any explicit connection to Christianity, there are also specifically Christian brands that sell this type of clothing in Portugal, such as The Four (n.d.), mentioned in the interviews and whose bracelets are particularly common among young Evangelicals (Figure 130), or *Valha-me Deus* (2025) (Figure 131), created by a Catholic father and son duo with the purpose of offering pieces that allow consumers to express their faith comfortably and without fear of being visibly Christians (Henriques, 2020). Furthermore, some churches and religious institutions, including the Sanctuary of Fátima (n.d.) itself, offer official merchandising, highlighting a market aimed at believers who wish to express their religious identity through clothing, while, with regard to modest fashion, a physical store identified in Mem Martins, called *Aja Luz* (@ajaluz_modaelegante, n.d.), specifically caters to Brazilian Christian consumers. This demonstrates the diverse approaches to the relationship between faith and clothing in the Portuguese context, which was also commented on in the interviews.



Figure 130 - “The Four” bracelets. Source: https://www.instagram.com/p/C1uJ4gLsLbH/?img_index=1



Figure 131 - “Deus Maior” Hoodie by Valha-me Deus. Source: <https://valhamedeus.com/produto/hoodie-deus-maior/>

For instance, one Portuguese-Brazilian interviewee, Amanda (Appendix F7), highlighted that, in Brazil, there is a greater tendency towards stricter dress codes within some Evangelical denominations, with restrictions such as the prohibition of wearing jeans and the requirement for long skirts, although she recognises that this reality can vary between specific churches. Daniela (Appendix F8) reinforced this perspective by mentioning that certain denominations establish specific rules regarding the length of skirts, the use of belts and boots, or even specific haircuts, contrasting with the greater diversity observed in Portugal, where denominational distinctions based on clothing seem less evident. Dulce (Appendix F19), in turn, criticised the imposition of rigid dress standards in Brazilian Evangelical churches, noting that, although this culture is still present, it has been losing strength among younger generations, who demand greater freedom in choosing clothes, something that she, again, feels is more accessible in the Portuguese context.

The analysis of national and international brands that incorporate references to Christianity in the Portuguese context demonstrates that Christian symbolism continues to be present in contemporary fashion, not only as a reflection of national religious culture, but also as an aesthetic and discursive element being seen in advertisements for multiple Portuguese fashion and jewellery labels in the magazine, such as Parfois, Gil Sousa and One or even the earlier referenced Ana Salazar and Eugénio Campos. This

opens the door to resuming the discussion about *Vogue Portugal* and research hypothesis H5, which suggested a decrease in Christian representations in the magazine over the years. However, the data analysed in the previous chapter resulting from the findings from the Portuguese fashion and lifestyle magazine indicates the opposite: far from disappearing, this symbolism has been amplified and reinterpreted, not only to evoke religious traditions, as in the editorial inspired by processions mentioned above, but also to explore more internationalised and even provocative approaches. An example of this is the *What's Next* edition (No. 256, December 2024), the most recent in the corpus of analysed issues of the magazine, which features artwork from French artist Blase (Mussa, 2024) including a t-shirt with the phrase "Met God, She's Black" (Figure 132), directly referring to a statement piece similar to one mentioned by Carmo (Appendix F22), one of the interviewees, who wore something similar in her everyday life, but considered it inappropriate in a religious context. This thesis and the conclusions that can be made from the previous chapter highlight that, rather than decreasing, the presence of Christianity in *Vogue Portugal* has taken on more complex forms, aligned with both global visual culture and contemporary debates on identity and spirituality, and increased over the years, therefore rejecting the 5th hypothesis of this study, which was "Over the years (parallel to the decrease in the Portuguese population declaring itself Catholic), representations of Christian symbolism in *Vogue Portugal* are diminishing."

It is also important to note that Christianity is not the only religion explored in the pages of *Vogue Portugal*. In addition to issue number 193, previously mentioned for its article on modest fashion – which discusses the rise of the modest fashion movement, highlighting hijab-wearing models in campaigns by brands like H&M and Nike, Max Mara runway shows and Ramadan collections from high-street retailers such as Zara, Mango and Uniqlo and features Reina Lewis, who notes that “the growth of modest fashion expands the comfort zone for women who want to dress differently” (Murcho, 2018) –, other references to Islam and Muslim fashion were identified in several issues of *Vogue Portugal*, demonstrating that, over the years, the magazine has occasionally addressed this topic in different contexts. For instance, issue number 101 (March 2011) included an article on Arabic Fashion on pages 34 and 35 focused on Marrakech Fashion Day, while issue number 164 (June 2016) featured an essay on veiling Muslim models in Iran, evidencing an interest in the intersection between fashion and Islamic dress codes that would resurface at different times in the publication. For example, in issue number 179 (September 2017), a hijab appears on page 129, while, more than a decade earlier, issue number 44 (June 2006) had already included a *Sábado* magazine advertisement, with the Mona Lisa in a burqa, symbolising the "Compreender" book collection's

exploration of the Quran and art history through provocative cultural imagery (Figure 133).



Figure 132 - “Medieval Waters” (2018) artwork by Blase present in the “Classics remix” article. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 256, December 2024. Copyright 2024 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 133 - Sábado Magazine Ad. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 44, June 2006. Copyright 2006 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 134 - Hussein Chalayan’s 1996 “Burka” show, from the “Revolution is needed” article. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 239, April 2023. Copyright 2023 by *Vogue Portugal*.

More recently, in an online exclusive article on Women's Day, *Vogue Portugal* (2024) interviewed Katty Xiomara about the *Look For Freedom* project, a partnership with Amnesty International that denounces the oppression of women in Afghanistan, deconstructing symbols such as the burqa. On a different note, *The Forbidden Issue* (No. 220, April 2021) directly addressed the topic of the burqa (and niqab) bans in France (as well as Belgium, Austria and Switzerland) on page 31 – classifying this prohibitions as a “violent attack on religious freedom” as many Muslim women consider the use of the veil to be an “inviolable religious commitment” or even a “way to promote equality between Muslim men and women, as it protects women from patriarchal discriminatory behaviour, sometimes encountered in these societies” (Fleming, 2021); while *The Revolution Issue* (No. 239, April 2023) included a collage (Figure 134) featuring niqabs from the Hussein Chalayan 1996 “Burka” fashion show and making visible a reflection on the limits of fashion and the exposure of the female body when associated to a religious point of view, specially connected to Islam:

(...) hardly anyone would give the green light for Hussein Chalayan to carry out his Burka show, in 1996, in which the models appeared with burkas of different sizes – which got smaller and smaller as the show progressed, until there was

nothing left of the fabric, and they were completely naked. This “provocation”, which aimed to question the link between the uniform and the identity of the individual, but also freedom, femininity and modesty itself, is still seen today as one of the best and most radical analyses made by a fashion designer, and cemented the idea that Chalayan was indeed a unique and original designer (Murcho, 2023).

Lastly, the *What's Next* issue (No. 256, December 2024) included an article about the Abu Dhabi art fair, accompanied by an image of a woman wearing a niqab, which confirms the continued presence of visual and textual references to Islam and modest fashion throughout *Vogue Portugal* publications, reinforcing the idea that these representations, although punctual and not nearly as frequent as references to Christianity, appear recurrently at different times and under different approaches. Similarly, the presence of Muslim elements, especially the burqa in fashion contexts, as exemplified in these few editions of *Vogue Portugal*, is part of a broader debate about the commodification, appropriation and representation of Islamic clothing in Western fashion, a topic widely discussed by Ellen McLarney in her publication titled "The Burqa in *Vogue*: Fashioning Afghanistan", where the scholar analyses how the burqa – once seen as the “epitome of political and sexual repression” (McLarney, 2009) – has been stylised and reinterpreted in fashion magazines, often decontextualising its cultural and religious meanings similar to what seems to have happened to the cross.

4.5.3. Religious Modesty in Contemporary Portugal: Fundamentalism, Cultural Shifts and Adaptations

Despite the progressive secularisation of Portuguese society, ideals of modesty and decency persist, albeit reinterpreted in light of new social contexts. Some women continue to adopt more modest clothing as an expression of Christian values, while others choose this aesthetic for reasons of style or empowerment. International trends, such as Modest Fashion, promoted by luxury brands and digital influencers, demonstrate that modesty can be a concept fluidly negotiated between tradition and modernity.

A previous study on Modest Fashion and western Generation Z (Bernardo, 2021), which primarily involved participants from Portugal, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Germany, with the majority identifying as Christian – given the historical dominance of Christianity in Western societies (Perry, 2012) – revealed that

approximately 50% of respondents described themselves as “modest dressers,” regardless of their religious affiliation, suggesting that, for many, modesty is perceived more as a personal style choice than as a strictly religious mandate (Bernardo, 2021). Some participants further explained that their decision to dress modestly was not only influenced by personal style but also by concerns about the sexualisation of the female body and a heightened sense of discomfort or lack of safety around men (Bernardo, 2021), adding depth to the motivations behind modest dress. This perspective is echoed by Christian blogger Alexa Dudley, who, when asked about the view that covering up one’s body could be a source of oppression, responded that “oppression is the opposite of freedom and empowerment, and those are how I feel in my commitment to dress modestly,” and expressed confusion at “how someone other than myself could decide for me that I’m oppressed” (Bernardo, 2021), highlighting how many women see modesty as an act of empowerment rather than a form of imposition. Additionally, when asked whether they dressed the same for daily activities and religious ceremonies, the majority of participants in this 2021 Master’s dissertation indicated that they would dress differently for the latter, with many choosing to wear what they described as “more modest” or “not scandalous” clothing, which could be attributed to the decline of regular religious attendance in the West, leading many to associate religious services specifically only with special occasions such as weddings or baptisms, prompting some to report dressing in “formal attire” for these events (Bernardo, 2021).

The second hypothesis of the present thesis, which postulates that “a woman's dressing style can be consciously influenced by her level of religiosity”, is confirmed by the results obtained, which reveal a quite complex relationship between religiosity and clothing choices, modulated by a series of individual, social and generational factors. First, the data from the survey indicates a significant positive correlation between considering modesty in clothing as an important aspect of expressing their Christian faith and the level of religiosity, suggesting that, for some women, higher religiosity translates into a direct appreciation of modesty in dress (whereas most women in the sample, despite all being Christian, disagreed with this concept). Whether this preference for modesty or the influence of religiosity on clothing choices is conscious or not remains slightly unclear; however, it seems to be, as – similar to what was verified in Bernardo (2021) – the great majority of survey respondents recognised the importance of adapting their way of dressing to specific occasions, such as religious services or meetings with other Christians, which also points to flexibility in clothing choices linked to religiosity. This tendency was more pronounced among younger participants, who seem to feel greater social pressure to adapt to the expectations associated with these environments,

while older women, with a more established and personal view of faith and style, reveal a lesser susceptibility to these external influences.

Paradoxically, despite this adaptability, the majority of participants disagree with the idea that modesty in clothing is an obligation to prevent others from “stumbling” over their faith, which suggests that, although religiosity influences some women’s style of dress, not all women see modesty as a fundamental concern, especially if the goal of said modesty is to safeguard their male peers from “temptation”. Similarly, most participants reject the idea that women should avoid revealing clothing, although those with higher levels of religiosity show a stronger tendency to support this restriction, reinforcing the notion that faith significantly influences clothing choices for some women. This perspective may explain why some of the interviewees mentioned dressing modestly to avoid being an “occasion of sin” for others or to avoid being objectified by men, with two participants specifically addressing this topic in the context of sexual assault, where emphasis is often placed on the clothing worn by victims. In this sense, Eunice explained:

(...) what is preached in the Church is that we should be simple, that we shouldn't wear very flashy clothes and so on. But that's a narrow-minded view. Nowadays, people just do what they want. If we then take this to other situations, such as women's rights, cases of rape, harassment, and so on, religion also plays a major role in that. Because – and specifically the Christian Catholic religion – what is preached is that women must dress in a way that does not create sexual impulse in men. And there is still a strong idea that when rapes and similar situations happen, it is the woman's fault because of the way she dressed or behaved. And we end up internalising this – we sometimes reflect it in our clothing choices, the way we do our makeup, the shoes we wear, and so on (...) (Appendix F26)

The belief that women must dress modestly to prevent provoking male desire finds strong parallels with the book *Rape Culture, Purity Culture, and Coercive Control in Teen Girl Bibles* where Caroline Blyth (2021) explores how Evangelical modesty rhetoric, particularly in teen girl Bibles, reinforces this notion by promoting "God-given 'ideals' of (hetero)sexual purity, male authority, and female subordination" (Blyth, 2021, p. 1). For the author, these texts, which are added on to the Bible pages and supposedly designed to provide "spiritual guidance," ultimately impose strict regulations around female sexuality and dress, casting shame on those who deviate. The academic considers that girls are explicitly instructed to police their own bodies, avoiding garments such as

"spaghetti strap tops, plunging necklines, too-short shorts, low-rise jeans, and tight shirts, skirts, and trousers" as they must "protect godly guys from sexual incontinence" (Blyth, 2021, p. 22). This framing, in addition to contributing to a broader culture of victim blaming, also assumes that girls dress only to attract male attention, disregarding personal comfort, self-expression, or peer influence and reinforcing the idea that their bodies exist solely for the male gaze. The author also cites Klein (2018), who warns that this argument sets a precedent where individuals are being held accountable for others' actions, even in the case of sexual violence. Similarly, Stanley (2020) criticises Evangelical modesty discourse too, arguing that it implies that "women's clothing can talk, it can actually ask for it" (Blyth, 2021, p. 26), supporting narratives exonerating men. Ultimately, the book contends that these messages construct an image of a God who seeks to "terrorise [young women], control them, and dominate them, rather than see them flourish and thrive" (Blyth, 2021, p. 98), prioritising male desire over female autonomy and well-being.

Similarly, Alison Lowry's permanent exhibition *(A)Dressing: Hidden Truths* (2019) in Dublin critiqued the intersection of religious doctrine and the subjugation and abuse of women, particularly through the lens of the Magdalene Laundries, which were Catholic-run institutions that operated from the 18th to the late 20th centuries where women, sometimes sex workers but often just victims of abuse or social nonconformity (Nash, 1984; Blakemore, 2019), were confined and forced into labour under the guise of moral reform. As seen in Figure 135, Lowry paired Bible verses with garments and objects (religious or not) tied to the trauma experienced by these women, highlighting how religious teachings about purity contributed to their punishment and degradation. In this way, Lowry's work parallels Blyth's discussion of how modesty rhetoric perpetuates cycles of control and victimisation, exposing the harmful effects of religious authority on women's autonomy.



Figure 135 - Linen apron accompanied by the Bible quote “His clothes became so white they shone. They were whiter than anyone in the world could bleach them” (Mark 9:3), displayed at the “(A)Dressing: Hidden Truths” exhibition. Photograph by the author (2025).

On a different note, the data obtained through the online survey also allows for partial rejection of “H3: Factors such as living in an urban context and educational level influence a woman's (im)permeability to the impact of religious precepts, especially those related to dressing”, at least within the scope of the sample. Statistical analysis revealed that there is no significant difference in religious practice depending on education levels, suggesting that education, in itself, is not a determining factor in adherence to religious norms regarding dress. Likewise, the results regarding the region of residence in Portugal do not show a statistically significant correlation with the active practice of religion. These results suggest that in the context of this research, beliefs and practices regarding religious clothing do not show substantial variations depending on place of residence, contrary to the expectation that geographic and educational factors would have a direct impact on the adoption of certain dress codes based on religion. This finding is particularly relevant when considering that, even in rural areas, where one might expect a stronger adherence to religiously motivated dress codes, certain practices (such as older women covering their heads with a scarf) seem to persist more as markers of rural identity (Jorge, 2017; Assunção, Sousa, & Correia, 1992; Espírito Santo, 1990) rather than as explicit expressions of religiosity. While the act of covering one's hair is a common requirement across multiple religious traditions, including Christianity, in the Portuguese context, it appears to be generally more deeply intertwined with cultural

heritage than with strictly religious observance, in contrast to the highly politicised discourse surrounding the Muslim veil, as presented in a work cited earlier in the literature review:

The Islamic East and the Christian West are in a bind: They don't seem to be able to escape caricaturing each other, particularly when it comes to issues of morality and women's visibility. We in the West think that Muslims are barbarians for covering their women and keeping them cloistered in the home, ignoring, of course, the common Christian, Jewish and Muslim traditions of veiling that grew out of a shared cultural context in the Middle East (Morgan, 2005).

Although the quantitative data does not indicate a statistically significant relationship between the region of residence and permeability to religious precepts on clothing, the interviewees' statements suggest that the culture of modesty still presents regional variations in Portugal. Some participants reported that, especially in rural or more conservative environments, there is a persistent social expectation regarding appropriate attire for religious spaces. As mentioned by Patrícia (Appendix F11), “it was unthinkable to go to Fátima with your shoulders exposed and in shorts,” and that, in small villages, “this culture still persists, especially among older people.”

Other interviewees pointed out a difference between the North and the rest of the country, with Dalila (Appendix F25) considering that guidelines for dressing in a Catholic church in the countryside or the North of Portugal were always more “rigorous” and Joana (Appendix F4) describing that, upon moving to Lisbon, she noticed greater freedom in the way she dressed, contrasting with her experience in Porto and Braga, where she initially found it difficult to adopt shorter and more revealing trendy clothing due to her religious education in the North, whereas she felt like her friends from the capital did not struggle with this. Similarly, Eunice (Appendix F26) mentioned a news story that she believes had occurred in the North, where a priest allegedly prevented a woman from entering a church because of her cleavage, which might have referred to a 2011 episode where a priest from Valpaços refused to say a mass requested by the aunt of a 16-year-old girl whom he had previously denied communion to because of a cleavage he considered inappropriate (Público, 2011). These reports indicate that, even without a direct statistical reflection, the subjective experience of the participants suggests the permanence of cultural norms that vary according to the geographical and generational context, with one participant (Appendix F28) even adding the tradition of older and

usually widowed women wearing predominantly black clothes⁶⁰ in regions such as Alentejo or the North. This raises the question of whether a broader and more regionally diverse sample, particularly one including more participants from rural areas or with lower levels of formal education (given the relatively high average in this study) might have offered a different outlook. Could the hypothesis have been viewed differently if other segments of the population had been more prominently represented?

"Was any of it true? Gazing at me starry-eyed in your Jehovah's Witness suit", is how Taylor Swift begins her 2024 hit song *The Smallest Man Who Ever Lived*, referring to the suits that Jehovah's Witness men traditionally wear to religious services and for "door-to-door ministry", becoming an easily identifiable visual element, similar to LDS missionaries, whose clothing follows equally recognisable codes. Currently, there is a great fascination, especially among younger generations on the internet, with these two religions that, despite being distinct, share several characteristics, including specific dress codes that reflect their doctrinal values and how their communities establish boundaries between the religious and the secular. As seen in the interviews conducted, until recently, female Jehovah's Witnesses were advised against evangelising or attending Kingdom Hall meetings while wearing trousers (Larchington, 2024), a restriction by the Governing Body of the institution that believers perceive to have aimed both to avoid highlighting their body shape and to reinforce gender distinction within the community. This dress code regulation aligns with broader concerns within Jehovah's Witnesses regarding the tension between maintaining doctrinal purity and adapting to societal change, a dilemma that has been discussed in academic literature:

The question which faces Jehovah's Witnesses in this millennium is: Which will prove stronger, the pressure to accommodate to the present "contaminated" world as it moves into an ever-extending future or the passion to remain "without spot from the world" (James 1:27)? The Governing Body, speaking through the pages of *The Watchtower*, continues to demand absolute conformity to its system of Biblical interpretation, enforcing its "rules of pollution and purity (Weddle, 2000).

⁶⁰ A good example of this would be the *Bioco/Côca*, worn in the Azores, Algarve, and Alentejo, which were traditional Portuguese garments that covered the female body from head to toe. Used for modesty, religious services, and mourning until the early 20th century, these hooded cloaks allowed women to remain 'invisible' in public, reflecting historical religious control over the female body.

In the case of the LDS, media attention to their clothing is manifested, among other aspects, in the existence of temple garments, pieces of “sacred” underwear that endowed adult members of the church must wear daily as a symbol of spiritual commitment, often referred to in popular culture as “magic underwear”, as exemplified in the film *Heretic* (Beck & Woods, 2024) or frequently discussed by ex-Mormon content creator and author Alyssa Grenfell (2023). Given that both denominations are present in Portugal, and considering that it was not possible to interview LDS members, the question arises: is it possible to reject the first hypothesis of this investigation ("In Portugal, fundamentalist interpretations of Biblical modesty applied to women's dress are not followed") or do the dress codes of these communities suggest a more complex reality?

According to a publication by Duque (2014), referencing authors such as Vattimo (1990), Appleby, Almond and Sivan (2003), Bourdieu (1971), and Mardones (1988), religious fundamentalism, particularly within Christianity, is characterised by a rigid and literal interpretation of sacred Scriptures, where members believe that divine truth must be followed without any modification or adaptation to modern times. This perspective rejects Biblical criticism as well as the influence of modernist or liberal currents, which are viewed as threats to the purity of the original faith and also opposes the secularisation of society and the transformations brought about by the scientific revolution. Many of these communities, therefore, define their identity in contrast to what they see as the “enemies” of religion (namely modernity, science and cultural change) and, as a result, fundamentalist movements strive to preserve traditional values while resisting any form of change that might challenge their deeply rooted religious principles, leading to the creation of a highly structured worldview that remains impervious to external influences.

Consequently, religious fundamentalism can influence fashion by imposing strict restrictions on what is considered appropriate, based on these more conservative interpretations of the Bible, as is the case of some of the previously mentioned strict Evangelical churches in Brazil – where there is a requirement for more modest and gender-specific clothing, such as long skirts and dresses – or, perhaps in a more “extreme” way, Anabaptist Christian groups, which follow strict dress codes as a way of rejecting modernity and materialism, prioritising humility and separation from the secular world.

Within Christianity, these more fundamentalist or "orthodox" groups that adhere to fossilised fashion (Margolis, 2019) are not present in Portugal and the specific Christian churches characterised by Gomes (2021) as the most fundamentalist in the country are the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God (IURD) and Igreja Maná.

However, as part of the interviews conducted, it was not possible to determine whether any of the Protestant/Evangelical participants belonged specifically to these churches, as it was considered excessively intrusive to ask directly which church they attended, opting to only ask about the denomination. Still, among those interviewed, none stated that they faced restrictions on the way they currently dressed and it is particularly relevant that no one mentioned a current ban on wearing trousers, which is a frequently central piece in this debate, given that, in more conservative contexts, it is still argued that these should be exclusively male, as discussed in some points of the literature review.

Furthermore, a brief analysis of the social media of Kuriakos TV (n.d.), the official television channel of Igreja Maná, reveals that the presenters frequently appear wearing pants and even sleeveless blouses, suggesting that, at least in the visual and media discourse of this denomination, there is currently no strict imposition of clothing based on fundamentalist modesty precepts. This more relaxed stance on traditional modesty is further reflected in individual expressions of faith within the community, as seen in social media content by a Portuguese micro-influencer on TikTok (@grwsarolita, 2024) who frequently discusses faith and lifestyle while identifying as a member of Igreja Maná. In a series of “Get Ready With Me” (*GRWM*) videos showcasing her makeup and outfits for church, she appears in contemporary and casual attire, including a tied-in-the-back crop top and jeans, reinforcing the notion that, in this context, dress codes prioritise personal style over rigid doctrinal restrictions. Thus, the data collected allows for a partial corroboration of the hypothesis (H1) that “In Portugal, fundamentalist interpretations of Biblical modesty applied to women's clothing are not adhered to,” as such interpretations seem to be rare, and among the participants, modesty appears to be adopted more by personal choice than by religious imposition. However, this finding does not invalidate the need for a more in-depth ethnographic study with specific communities, such as the Romani community in Portugal, where married women traditionally do not wear trousers (Marques, 2021); Orthodox Christian women, for whom, as described by a Russian TikTok user living in Portugal in another *GRWM* video (@taisiyapetrovna, 2025), dresses or skirts and head coverings are recommended for attending mass; American Mormon missionaries in Portugal, who often share their mission outfits on social media, such as Rachel (@rachelcmonson, 2024), illustrating a clear adherence to specific dress codes that emphasize modesty; or among African or South American emigrant populations, to understand whether the sometimes exclusive preference for skirts and dresses in these contexts arises essentially from religious prescriptions or whether it results, rather, from a cultural norm that, at a certain point, might have been associated with faith but no longer carries this explicit meaning.

In conclusion, the results from this study underscore the significant role that religiosity plays in shaping women's clothing choices, with 62% of participants acknowledging observable differences in the way women dress according to their perceived level of religious devotion, which aligns with the broader understanding that fashion and faith are deeply intertwined, though this relationship is multifaceted and can be understood in various ways. For some, this connection manifests in a commitment to modesty, not only in terms of body coverage but also as resistance to overt exhibitionism; for others, it is rooted in a form of modesty that extends to economic restraint, where clothing choices reflect a conscious avoidance of materialism and excessive spending; and also, many participants acknowledged the influence of religious imagery and symbolism, recognising how these elements inspire the conceptualisation and creation of fashion collections by designers and creative directors, who often draw on diverse religious narratives to inform their work. This recognition of fashion as both a personal and cultural expression illustrates the complexity of the relationship between religion and clothing, showing how these forces shape and reshape notions of modesty, materialism and creativity in the fashion world. Therefore, it is evident that the intersection of religion and fashion is not a singular, static phenomenon, but rather a dynamic and evolving discourse, reflecting broader cultural shifts and individual interpretations of faith.

5. Conclusions, Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

“As I watched people leaving church, I was amazed at how they looked. (...) What is it about God and fashion that go so well together?” Carrie Bradshaw wonders in episode 12 of the first season of *Sex and the City* (Harrison, 1998, 2:31). Decades later, her musings have resurfaced on TikTok, where a popular trend (@theholyalclub, 2024) with over 34 thousand videos features users showcasing their Sunday outfit-of-the-day videos is set to this exact voiceover. This resurgence of a late-90s pop culture moment, repurposed in the digital landscape of Gen Z fashion media, encapsulates the central tension and fascination explored throughout this thesis: the enduring and complex relationship between faith and fashion. As mentioned, while often regarded as contradictory spheres – one associated with spiritual depth, the other with surface-level aesthetics – religion and fashion continue to intertwine in symbolic, social and visual ways, shaping not only personal expression but broader cultural narratives. This is not a new association, as this question echoes a long-standing cultural link between what people wear and religious practice. As Schmidt (1989) writes in his exploration of early American Christianity, “a church-going people are a dress-loving people,” capturing the enduring belief that spiritual reverence is reflected in external appearance, and Foote, the 19th-century pastor cited in Schmidt’s study, described how worshippers would “put on their best and carefully preserved dress” in preparation for their “approach to the King of Kings,” reinforcing the idea that clothing was not merely decorative but devotional.

Though geographically and historically distant, these reflections on dress and devotion in early American Christianity offer a valuable lens through which to consider the Portuguese landscape examined in this thesis. As demonstrated throughout the preceding chapters, the relationship between Christianity and dress in Portugal continues to manifest in both personal expressions of faith and in fashion media, such as *Vogue Portugal*, where Christian symbology is reframed through editorial aesthetics. This historical continuity between religious devotion and attention to dress, while shaped by specific cultural contexts, persists in ways that are both local and global, visible in everyday dressing practices, modesty ideals and visual references to sacred imagery. In secularised and image-saturated contemporary societies, clothing remains a cultural site where religion is not only signified but actively negotiated, shaped by tradition, challenged by modernity and continually reinterpreted through visual language.

Driven by the central research question, "How does Christianity influence fashion culture and the way women dress in Portugal?", the study set out to explore how religion

and clothing intersect in contemporary society, considering not only media representations in fashion magazines, but also women's personal dressing habits and their views on modesty and Christian symbolism in fashion. Grounded in a multidisciplinary framework that draws from sociology, theology, gender studies, consumer behaviour and religious studies, this research aimed to offer a nuanced understanding of how faith continues to shape aesthetic choices and cultural narratives. Through the combined analysis of *Vogue Portugal*, data from an online survey of Christian women and in-depth interviews with both believers and experts, the study uncovered a complex and multifaceted picture of Christianity's influence on fashion and dress in the Portuguese context. So, how does Christianity influence fashion culture and the way women dress in Portugal? The findings suggest that its most visible impact lies in the enduring power of Christian visual and symbolic heritage, which continues to shape fashion culture through its appropriation and reinterpretation in platforms such as *Vogue Portugal* and in the work of designers who engage with religion as both an aesthetic language and a vehicle for cultural or spiritual commentary. However, when it comes to everyday dressing practices, the influence of Christianity appears more diffuse and deeply personal, negotiated through individual expressions of faith, shaped by denominational context and filtered through personal interpretations rather than strictly adhered-to religious doctrines. While modesty remains a recognisable value for many, its enactment varies widely, often reflecting personal convictions, shifting life stages, or broader cultural dynamics, rather than any monolithic or fundamentalist imposition.

The analysis of *Vogue Portugal* editions from 2002 to 2024 revealed a significant and, importantly, increasing presence of both explicit and implicit references to Christianity in the magazine, with a more evident growth from 2018 onwards, potentially linked to editorial changes. Also, as seen previously, approximately 71% of the total analysed editions contained such references, which appeared in various forms, from textual allusions to concepts like Eden, Original Sin and Biblical quotes – often used ironically or in conjunction with social criticism – to numerous visual representations such as crosses, rosaries, religious paintings (sometimes modified or integrated into fashion editorials) and garments by international designers incorporating subtle or obvious Christian iconography. This consistent presence validates Christianity's continued relevance as a visual and cultural theme in Portuguese fashion media, often employed as a source for aesthetic appropriation and reinterpretation.

The online survey, involving 469 Christian women residing in Portugal, provided valuable insights into their perceptions and practices. The sample, though diverse in age, location, education and marital status, had a significant concentration in the Lisbon region and a majority of participants identifying as Catholic, followed by Evangelical and

Protestant denominations. The study found that the level of actively practising religion varied significantly across different denomination clusters, with Evangelical and Protestant women reporting higher levels compared to others. Crucially, a majority of participants acknowledged a connection between fashion and religion and observed differences in how women dressed based on their level of religious devotion. However, there was a predominance of disagreement with the idea of wearing clothing to appear visibly Christian or avoiding revealing clothing to prevent male peers from stumbling. Similarly, modesty emerged as a key concept, though opinions on its importance varied: while a majority disagreed that modesty in clothing is an important aspect of expressing their faith, agreement with this concept correlated significantly and positively with higher levels of religiosity, and Evangelical and Protestant women generally showed a stronger inclination towards modesty as an expression of faith compared to Catholics. Regarding the use of Christian symbols in fashion, opinions were divided, given that while age did not significantly influence views, both religiosity and denomination did, indicating differing perspectives on whether such representation enhances artistic expression, contributes to positive representation, or is considered inappropriate.

The interviews gave a clearer picture of how this relationship works, as Christian women expressed varied interpretations of Biblical guidance on dress, oscillating between literal application and symbolic understanding. Among the topics discussed was, once more, the idea of women being primarily responsible for maintaining modesty to avoid "leading men into sin", with some interviewees challenging this patriarchal view. Faith was also seen by some as influencing consumption habits, guiding choices towards sustainability and ethical considerations. Experts, meanwhile, emphasised that fashion (as an industry) is inherently influenced by religion, despite the perception of distance, particularly highlighting the visual richness of Catholicism as a source for aestheticisation. At the same time, the recurring use of Christian symbols in fashion and their commodification was met with ambivalence: while some saw it as a form of trivialisation, others considered it a reflection of how people engage with religion outside traditional institutions nowadays. Modesty, too, was discussed as a complex and evolving concept, historically tied to patriarchal ideas about sexuality and behaviour, yet increasingly reinterpreted as a personal or even empowering choice.

As noted in Bernardo (2024), although it is often assumed that contemporary societies are moving towards secularisation as a marker of progress, global patterns reveal a different reality, with approximately 84% of the world's population identifying as part of a religious group. This is not only significant in scale but also particularly relevant given that these communities tend to be younger and more likely to expand demographically than their non-religious counterparts, thereby suggesting that the

world is more likely to become increasingly religious rather than the opposite (Sherwood, 2018). This projection is reinforced by demographic data from 2015, which indicates that Christianity remains the world's largest religion, with 2.3 billion followers, accounting for 31.2% of the global population, followed by Islam, with 1.8 billion believers (Hackett & McClendon, 2017). The current study's findings suggest that, despite broader trends of secularisation within Portuguese society, Christianity remains a potent cultural force that continues to shape not only media representations of fashion (particularly in publications like *Vogue Portugal*) but also, on a more personal level, the dressing choices, values and perceptions of Christian women, but what are the practical implications of these findings?

A primary implication for fashion design and marketing is the need to navigate the use of Christian symbolism with considerable sensitivity, as reception is not uniform across the Christian community and depends heavily on context, denomination and the perceived intent behind the representation. Although some participants, particularly Catholics, expressed appreciation for the use of sacred imagery in editorial or artistic settings (often framing it as a celebration of religious heritage), others, especially those identifying with Evangelical and Protestant denominations, were more likely to interpret such representations as inappropriate, irreverent, or even offensive. Representations perceived to clash with religious values, especially those involving nudity, sexualisation, mockery of faith, or contexts contrary to core Christian principles, were consistently highlighted as problematic. Previously mentioned examples, such as fashion campaigns or editorials blending religious iconography with erotic imagery, presenting God as a woman, or using slogans like "Adam & Steve," reinforce the idea that brand image and message coherence are critical in determining whether religious references are interpreted as respectful engagement or trivialising appropriation. This shows the importance of understanding theological diversity within Christianity: while Catholicism tends to embrace iconophilia and visual devotion, Protestant traditions are historically more iconoclastic, often favouring minimalism and viewing the use of images with suspicion. As such, secular brands engaging with religious themes must proceed with exceptional care, ensuring that sacred symbols are not stripped of their original meaning or repurposed in ways that might appear commercially exploitative, since a perceived lack of respect can result in backlash among devout consumers. In summary, designing with cultural and spiritual literacy and acknowledging the religious significance of symbols, avoiding provocative associations and demonstrating sensitivity to denominational differences is crucial for fostering positive engagement with Christian audiences.

Modesty, likewise, carries notable implications for fashion communication and design strategies. Interestingly, Hone and McCullough (2019) studied how religiosity causes a decrease in the use of “provocative” clothing among women, while Reina Lewis (2013), in *Modest Fashion: Styling Bodies, Mediating Faith*, points out that even in contemporary Western societies, most women tend to dress in ways that are not particularly revealing. Nevertheless, she notes that fashion trends often promote clothing that does not align with religious or “modest” requirements. While most Christian women surveyed did not equate modest clothing with a necessary expression of faith and did not believe that women could not wear revealing clothing for religious reasons, those with higher levels of religiosity, particularly within Evangelical and Protestant groups, were significantly more inclined to advocate for restraint in dress. This often stems from theological ideas such as the body being a “temple” or concerns about vanity or being a “stumbling block” to others, and may translate into a preference for avoiding tight, short, transparent, or low-cut pieces. Although modesty is not uniformly defined or practised, and is often influenced by life stage, cultural environment and individual interpretation, the findings suggest that a segment of Christian consumers prioritises thoughtful coverage, not necessarily as submission to doctrine but as an expression of faith, identity, personal values or even age or motherhood. This, aligned with the popularity of the modest fashion segment, which is often targeted at visibly Muslim women, presents a clear opportunity for brands targeting this demographic to design collections that resonate with modest aesthetics while maintaining contemporary appeal and stylistic relevance, thereby avoiding overt sexualisation without sacrificing fashionability.

Beyond aesthetics and symbolism, the research also highlights the importance of sustainability and ethical consumption among Christian women. Although not all participants immediately associated these values with their faith, many articulated a connection between religious teachings (such as caring for creation, loving one's neighbour and avoiding wastefulness) and responsible fashion behaviour. These convictions often translated into concrete actions, such as donating clothes, purchasing second-hand, avoiding brands linked to unethical labour practices, or simply reducing consumption. Some interviewees even expressed a desire for greater involvement from churches and religious leaders in promoting sustainable consumption patterns aligned with Christian ethics. As discussed in Bernardo (2024), these concerns are not limited to Christianity but are also evident among followers of other faiths, suggesting that marketing strategies emphasising ethical production, environmental stewardship and social justice may resonate deeply with religiously motivated consumers when framed in alignment with their spiritual values. For designers and marketers, this implies a

potentially growing segment of the market that values not only aesthetic considerations but also the moral and ethical implications of fashion production and consumption.

This study is not without limitations, some of which were already acknowledged in the methodology chapter, however, it is worth highlighting that although the research provides a detailed content analysis of numerous *Vogue Portugal* editions to explore the representation of Christian symbolism and religious references, an example of a notable limitation is the absence of direct engagement with individuals involved in the magazine's production, such as editors or creative staff. This means the study relies solely on interpreting the published content to infer editorial choices, creative approaches, or the intentions behind the inclusion and often secular appropriation of religious imagery. Interviews with *Vogue Portugal* staff could have offered invaluable insights into their motivations, thought processes and how they navigate the use of potentially sensitive religious themes in a national context with a strong religious heritage, providing a deeper understanding of the magazine's role as a cultural mediator.

Secondly, as mentioned previously, limitations also exist regarding the diversity and depth of representation within the Christian population surveyed and interviewed in Portugal. Although the study included a significant sample of Christian women (469 surveyed, 33 interviewed) from various backgrounds and denominations, the sample is predominantly Catholic, reflecting Portugal's majority religion but potentially underrepresenting perspectives from other Christian traditions. While efforts were made to include different denominations, there was limited participation from certain minorities, such as only two Jehovah's Witnesses being interviewed and LDS members not being interviewed at all, despite their known specific modesty standards in clothing. Similarly, gaining perspectives from members of other less-represented denominations (like Seventh-Day Adventists or Orthodox Christians) or specific religious communities (such as nuns, which would offer unique viewpoints on faith and dress not captured) proved challenging, limiting the study's ability to fully explore the spectrum of Christian influence on dress. In addition, the geographical distribution of the sample was concentrated in Lisbon, potentially underrepresenting perspectives from other regions of Portugal, although statistical analysis did not show a significant correlation between region and active religious practice or views on adapting dress for religious occasions.

In addition to tackling the limitations of the current study – particularly the absence of direct interviews with anyone working at *Vogue Portugal*, which could have offered valuable insights into whether the growing incorporation of Christian symbolism in Portuguese fashion is driven by aesthetic motives, cultural critique, or personal spirituality – future research could also focus on other communities living in Portugal

whose perspectives on dress are likely to be more conservative or markedly distinct, such as Catholic nuns, members of other religious traditions, immigrant populations, or the Romani community, as previously discussed.

Furthermore, an article by Pardede et al. (2022) explores the issue of dress codes for Christians attending online worship, particularly in the context of the pandemic when physical church gatherings were restricted due to social distancing measures. As churches shifted to virtual services during the pandemic, the author considered that many did not address the question of appropriate attire for online worship, highlighting how dressing for worship can carry significant implications, both in terms of how one's appearance "could be glorifying or offending God and could also be edifying to other church members or becoming a stumbling block for others." Drawing on theological perspectives, the article discusses the importance of maintaining distinctions between male and female dress, particularly in light of the previously mentioned 1 Corinthians 11:4-7, which emphasises modesty and the covering of heads for women, a practice that not only underscores gender differences but also erases class distinctions. The article also touches on what were considered some "problematic" behaviours observed during online worship, such as cooking or lying in bed and raises concerns about the lack of attention to dress codes for these online gatherings. While the present study touches on the role of social media presentation – highlighting, for example, one interviewee's comment on Christians posting swimwear pictures on social media with Bible verses as captions – this thesis focuses more on the daily and religious attire worn by individuals, particularly for in-person events. In this way, Pardede's (2022) publication raises an interesting avenue for further research, particularly in exploring whether these more relaxed behaviours, are viewed as inappropriate only within the specific cultural and religious context of Indonesia or if similar practices in Portugal are or would be considered problematic as well.

Building on this, future research could also focus on the influence of celebrities, social media personalities and opinion leaders who shape fashion choices within religious communities. One interviewee referred to Milena Ciciotti, a content creator who transitioned from beauty-focused content to promoting a trad-wife lifestyle aligned with Christian modesty and traditional gender roles, often criticised online for upholding views seen as patriarchal. Beatriz shared:

I follow a Christian influencer, and (...) if I could put a woman on a pedestal who truly follows what it means to be modest, it would be her. She really is [modest].

I can't follow what she does because I think it goes to an extreme, but there are

certain things I can take from her, meditate on, and apply in my life (Appendix F1).

Other participants also described the role of the internet in their own search for modest fashion inspiration, Cláudia, for example, explained that she consumes a lot of social media and that there are “many Instagram pages of women who want to help other women dress modestly and, therefore, have fashion advice and tips on combinations they can make (...) including how to wear less modest pieces to then create a more modest look.” She added that “some are [influencers], some are smaller pages that I discover through association, Reels, and so on. But I try to follow whenever I see one that at least has a style I like” (Appendix F15). In light of this, a deeper investigation into how such figures (both in Portugal and internationally) influence religious people's fashion and modesty ideals could provide valuable insights into how faith and identity are negotiated in digital spaces. It would also allow for the examination of how these influencers respond to or resist contemporary critiques of religious dress, particularly as modest fashion increasingly circulates in online and pop cultural environments.

A striking example of this tension between religious dress codes and digital perception emerged in 2021, when Olivia Leach, a Christian singer-songwriter, went viral on TikTok after some users (particularly from the LGBTQ+ community) speculated that she was a “closeted lesbian” solely based on her outfit, which consisted of an oversized button-up shirt and beige cargo pants (Masiello, 2021). The incident, which resulted in significant online harassment, continues to occasionally resurface on social media (@goldmedalbets, 2024), raising questions about how religious women are perceived (and misinterpreted) based on their modest fashion choices. As Cristina Rocha (2021, 2024) observes, many “cool” churches deliberately adopt elements of secular youth and pop culture, ranging from streetwear/oversized clothing styles and body decoration to graphic design, music and influencer aesthetics, to remain relevant and appealing. Future research could thus explore how this cultural appropriation of mainstream aesthetics by religious spaces complicates public understandings of modesty, gender and identity, and how such appropriations may give rise to misunderstandings or backlash in online environments. In doing so, it would be possible to better understand how digital and religious cultures converge – and occasionally clash – over questions of appearance, belonging and representation.

Similarly, replicating the present study in countries with different Christian traditions, varying levels of secularisation, or even other dominant religions (such as Islam, previously discussed concerning references to the faith within *Vogue*) could offer valuable insights into how religion, fashion and media intersect in distinct cultural

contexts. By analysing local editions of *Vogue* alongside the perspectives of women from those settings on religious references in fashion and broader questions about faith, modesty and personal style, such comparative research would not only enrich the understanding of these dynamics on a global scale but also clarify how religious beliefs, individual values and external influences (i.e. media, peer groups, or consumer trends) collectively shape women's fashion choices today. In addition, since this study focused only on *Vogue Portugal*, future work could look at other Portuguese fashion publications or platforms – such as the now-closed local editions of *Elle* and *Cosmopolitan* – to better understand whether the patterns seen in *Vogue* are specific to that magazine or part of a broader trend in Portuguese fashion media, particularly when considering pre-pandemic contexts that may have followed different editorial directions or cultural sensitivities.



Figure 136 - Model wearing cross hair jewellery. Reprinted from *Prinçipal*, No. 3-6, 2025. Copyright 2025 by *Prinçipal*.



Figure 137 - Model wearing a cross necklace. Reprinted from *Prinçipal*, No. 25, 2021. Copyright 2021 by *Prinçipal*.



Figure 138 - Model standing in a cemetery, adorned with Christian symbols. Reprinted from *Prinçipal*, No. 26, 2021. Copyright 2021 by *Prinçipal*.



Figure 139 - Model seemingly sitting in a flea market, crucifix on the table. Reprinted from *Prinçipal*, No. 28, 2022. Copyright 2022 by *Prinçipal*.

For example, a brief analysis was also carried out on 20 editions (2016–2025) of *Prinçipal*, a quarterly magazine promoting the Portuguese fashion industry with an emphasis on sustainability (MODAPORTUGAL, n.d.). Although this publication takes a more industry-oriented rather than consumer-focused approach and apart from a passing reference to a road sign to a church and a hair braid with a cross accessory (Figure 136), three more deliberate references to Christian imagery were identified: a cross necklace featured in an editorial (Figure 137), gravestones marked with crosses in a cemetery (Figure 138), and a crucifix displayed at an antiques fair (Figure 139). This suggests that while Christian symbols might be less prominent in niche industry publications, they are not absent, concluding that it would be interesting to replicate this type of analysis across other industry-facing publications to further assess how religious symbolism circulates in all types of fashion media.



Figure 140 - Model wearing a necklace and earrings featuring crosses from the "Lie-fe" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 259, April 2025, p.178. Copyright 2025 by *Vogue Portugal*.



Figure 141 - Model wearing Salvatore Burgio white feather dress while holding a snake and a red apple from the "Lie-fe" editorial. Reprinted from *Vogue Portugal*, No. 259, April 2025, p.185. Copyright 2025 by *Vogue Portugal*.

Returning to *Vogue Portugal*, it is worth noting that in the six months following the final issue formally included in this study (January to June 2025), several new references to Christian imagery were identified, suggesting that it would be relevant to continue this type of analysis in future research. More specifically, in *The Pursuit of Happiness* issue (No. 258, March 2025), a promotional article on Cartier's *Trinity* ring is explicitly titled "*Santíssima Trindade*" [Holy Trinity] and the accompanying Wedding Supplement published with the same issue also features an image of Grace Kelly praying at her wedding ceremony with the Prince of Monaco, held at the Cathedral of Monaco. In *The Eternal Fools' Day* issue (No. 259, April 2025) further religious references appear, including an interview with Italian artist Nicola Samorì, accompanied by several of his Baroque-inspired works that manipulate classical religious imagery: such as *Traspirazione Della Vergine* (2016), a reinterpretation of a Flemish Madonna and *Apoteosi Del Vago* (2012), which thematically engages with iconography surrounding Christ's burial shroud. The same issue also features various crosses as fashion accessories, such as a cross necklace in the editorial "A Summer Mourning", a cross bracelet in "April Fools", and a striking set of Dolce & Gabbana cross earrings and necklace in "Lie-fe" (Figure 140), where a model is also shown holding a red apple and a snake (Figure 141), those being visual elements that evoke the Biblical story of Eden.

Finally, *The Arts & Crafts Issue* (No.260, May 2025) used the Diocesan Sanctuary of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Viana do Castelo as the background for a few images, including one of the cover options; and lastly, the June 2025 (No. 261) includes the “*A Pequena Sereia*” [The Little Mermaid] editorial, featuring a model with gold cross Dolce & Gabbana earrings in the ocean, as well as another posing in a sheer McQueen dress next to a white cross, perhaps part of one of the many traditional Greek chapels found on the island of Mykonos.

Once again, these continued appearances of Christian references beyond the primary study period confirm the value of extending the methodological framework of this thesis to future issues. Alternatively, it could also be interesting to apply the same type of analysis to explore other recurring themes in *Vogue Portugal* or other fashion magazines, for example, by looking for references to specific crafts (such as knitting or embroidery), types of food, technologies like different types of mobile phones, or iconic fashion items such as the Birkin bag. Mapping how these elements appear and evolve in the magazine over time could help better understand how *Vogue* reflects cultural trends, shapes consumer desire and gives visibility to certain lifestyles, practices, or symbols in different historical contexts.

Ultimately, having pursued its research objectives to understand how Christianity influences fashion culture and women's dress in Portugal, this thesis shows the complex and dynamic dialogue between cultural legacy, media representation and individual interpretation, demonstrating how sacred symbols are both celebrated and contested, and how personal faith finds expression in varied and evolving forms of dress and consumption. At the heart of this dialogue lies a Biblical paradox: “Therefore I tell you, do not worry about your life, what you will eat or drink; or about your body, what you will wear. Is not life more than food, and the body more than clothes? (...) And why do you worry about clothes?” (Matthew 6:25-28, New International Version, 2011). While decontextualised Scripture may downplay the importance of caring about dress, this study reveals how fashion nonetheless becomes a meaningful site where belief, identity and aesthetics converge. As Quick (2020) aptly puts it, “in creative hands, religiosity can manifest either as overt symbolism or something rather more subconscious,” explaining that clothing choices, editorial direction and visual culture often carry meanings beyond the surface. In Portugal, as elsewhere, what people wear and what creatives create is rarely just about clothes – it is also a reflection of how they navigate the sacred in everyday life, which may, or may not, be something worth worrying about.

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Appendix A - Interview Guide | Experts

- What inspired you to investigate the intersection between fashion and religion/Christianity?
- What do you hope readers take away from your work? And what impact do you hope your work has/will have on the broader conversation about fashion and religion?
- How would you explain the concept of fashion theology/fashionable religion/“aestheticisation of Christianity”?
- How do you perceive the evolution of the intersection between fashion and religion over time? Do you see emerging trends in the intersection between fashion and religion that will be relevant for the future?
- What is your perspective on the inclusion of religious symbols in the fashion industry? For example, in the case of the 2018 Met Gala, many Catholics considered the inclusion of this symbolism in the dresses worn by celebrities as blasphemy (Machado, 2018). In general, do you consider these representations (whether in fashion or fashion magazines) to be inherently wrong or controversial in the eyes of followers of a Christian doctrine?
- Do you believe Christians tend to associate these representations with the commercialisation of their faith, attempts at manipulation, or proselytism? Or do you believe they may feel flattered and validated when others see this Christian imagination? Or does this also depend on the Christian denomination they identify with?
- Lastly, what Bible verses do you think are the most relevant when it comes to the relationship between Christianity and fashion? What do you think the focus of these writings/ideals is?
- Additionally, do you have any book or author recommendations on the topic of fashion and Christianity that you believe would be valuable for further exploration?

Although these questions represent an initial structure, each interview was adapted according to the progress of the conversation and the contributions of each expert. This allowed interviews to be simultaneously targeted and open-ended, facilitating the exploration of specific and emerging themes of interest.

Appendix B - *Vogue Portugal* – List of Analysed Issues (2002–2024) (N=241)

Nº1	11/2002	Nº 61	11/2007	Nº 106	08/2011	Nº 151	05/2015	Nº 196	02/2019	Nº 241	06/2023
Nº 7	05/2003	Nº 62	12/2007	Nº 107	09/2011	Nº 152	06/2015	Nº 197	03/2019	Nº 242	07/2023
Nº 8	06/2003	Nº 63	01/2008	Nº 108	10/2011	Nº 153	07/2015	Nº 198	04/2019	Nº 243	09/2023
Nº 11	09/2003	Nº 64	02/2008	Nº 109	11/2011	Nº 154	08/2015	Nº 199	05/2019	Nº 244	10/2023
Nº 12	10/2003	Nº 65	03/2008	Nº 110	12/2011	Nº 155	09/2015	Nº 200	06/2019	Nº 245	11/2023
Nº 13	11/2003	Nº 66	04/2008	Nº 111	01/2012	Nº 156	10/2015	Nº 201	07/2019	Nº 246	12/2023
Nº 16	02/2004	Nº 67	05/2008	Nº 112	02/2012	Nº 157	11/2015	Nº 202	08/2019	Nº 247	02/2024
Nº 18	04/2004	Nº 68	06/2008	Nº 113	03/2012	Nº 158	12/2015	Nº 203	09/2019	Nº 248	03/2024
Nº 20	06/2004	Nº 69	07/2008	Nº 114	04/2012	Nº 159	01/2016	Nº 204	10/2019	Nº 249	04/2024
Nº 22	08/2004	Nº 70	08/2008	Nº 115	05/2012	Nº 160	02/2016	Nº 205	11/2019	Nº 250	05/2024
Nº 23	09/2004	Nº 71	09/2008	Nº 116	06/2012	Nº 161	03/2016	Nº 206	12/2019	Nº 251	06/2024
Nº 27	01/2005	Nº 72	10/2008	Nº 117	07/2012	Nº 162	04/2016	Nº 207	01/2020	Nº 252	07/2024
Nº 28	02/2005	Nº 73	11/2008	Nº 118	08/2012	Nº 163	05/2016	Nº 208	02/2020	Nº 253	09/2024
Nº 29	03/2005	Nº 74	12/2008	Nº 119	09/2012	Nº 164	06/2016	Nº 209	03/2020	Nº 254	10/2024
Nº 30	04/2005	Nº 75	01/2009	Nº 120	10/2012	Nº 165	07/2016	Nº 210	04/2020	Nº 255	11/2024
Nº 31	05/2005	Nº 76	02/2009	Nº 121	11/2012	Nº 166	08/2016	Nº 211	05/2020	Nº 256	12/2024
Nº 32	06/2005	Nº 77	03/2009	Nº 122	12/2012	Nº 167	09/2016	Nº 212	07/2020		
Nº 33	07/2005	Nº 78	04/2009	Nº 123	01/2013	Nº 168	10/2016	Nº 213	08/2020		
Nº 34	08/2005	Nº 79	05/2009	Nº 124	02/2013	Nº 169	11/2016	Nº 214	09/2020		
Nº 35	09/2005	Nº 80	06/2009	Nº 125	03/2013	Nº 170	12/2016	Nº 215	10/2020		
Nº 36	10/2005	Nº 81	07/2009	Nº 126	04/2013	Nº 171	01/2017	Nº 216	11/2020		
Nº 37	11/2005	Nº 82	08/2009	Nº 127	05/2013	Nº 172	02/2017	Nº 217	12/2020		
Nº 38	12/2005	Nº 83	09/2009	Nº 128	06/2013	Nº 173	03/2017	Nº 218	01/2021		
Nº 39	01/2006	Nº 84	10/2009	Nº 129	07/2013	Nº 174	04/2017	Nº 219	03/2021		
Nº 40	02/2006	Nº 85	11/2009	Nº 130	08/2013	Nº 175	05/2017	Nº 220	04/2021		
Nº 41	03/2006	Nº 86	12/2009	Nº 131	09/2013	Nº 176	06/2017	Nº 221	05/2021		
Nº 42	04/2006	Nº 87	01/2010	Nº 132	10/2013	Nº 177	07/2017	Nº 222	06/2021		
Nº 43	05/2006	Nº 88	02/2010	Nº 133	11/2013	Nº 178	08/2017	Nº 223	07/2021		
Nº 44	06/2006	Nº 89	03/2010	Nº 134	12/2013	Nº 179	09/2017	Nº 224	09/2021		
Nº 45	07/2006	Nº 90	04/2010	Nº 135	01/2014	Nº 180	10/2017	Nº 225	10/2021		
Nº 46	08/2006	Nº 91	05/2010	Nº 136	02/2014	Nº 181	11/2017	Nº 226	11/2021		
Nº 47	09/2006	Nº 92	06/2010	Nº 137	03/2014	Nº 182	12/2017	Nº 227	12/2021		
Nº 48	10/2006	Nº 93	07/2010	Nº 138	04/2014	Nº 183	01/2018	Nº 228	02/2022		
Nº 49	11/2006	Nº 94	08/2010	Nº 139	05/2014	Nº 184	02/2018	Nº 229	03/2022		
Nº 50	12/2006	Nº 95	09/2010	Nº 140	06/2014	Nº 185	03/2018	Nº 230	04/2022		
Nº 51	01/2007	Nº 96	10/2010	Nº 141	07/2014	Nº 186	04/2018	Nº 231	05/2022		
Nº 52	02/2007	Nº 97	11/2010	Nº 142	08/2014	Nº 187	05/2018	Nº 232	07/2022		
Nº 53	03/2007	Nº 98	12/2010	Nº 143	09/2014	Nº 188	06/2018	Nº 233	09/2022		
Nº 54	04/2007	Nº 99	01/2011	Nº 144	10/2014	Nº 189	07/2018	Nº 234	10/2022		
Nº 55	05/2007	Nº 100	02/2011	Nº 145	11/2014	Nº 190	08/2018	Nº 235	11/2022		
Nº 56	06/2007	Nº 101	03/2011	Nº 146	12/2014	Nº 191	09/2018	Nº 236	12/2022		
Nº 57	07/2007	Nº 102	04/2011	Nº 147	01/2015	Nº 192	10/2018	Nº 237	02/2023		
Nº 58	08/2007	Nº 103	05/2011	Nº 148	02/2015	Nº 193	11/2018	Nº 238	03/2023		
Nº 59	09/2007	Nº 104	06/2011	Nº 149	03/2015	Nº 194	12/2018	Nº 239	04/2023		
Nº 60	10/2007	Nº 105	07/2011	Nº 150	04/2015	Nº 195	01/2019	Nº 240	05/2023		

Appendix C - Interview Guide | Christian Women

The purpose of the first three questions was to establish a religious context for each participant, exploring their denomination within Christianity and how their religious beliefs and values manifest in everyday life.

- Within Christianity, what denomination do you identify with?
- How would you describe your beliefs and religious values?
- How does your faith influence your daily life and your clothing choices?

The following section aims to uncover the personal connection between fashion and religious practice:

- Do you think there is a connection between religion and way of dressing?
- Do you believe that your religion influences the way you dress?
- Do you feel like there are specific recommendations on how people in your denomination/church should dress? If not, do you think those ever existed?
- Do you think there are specific types or pieces of clothing that you could/would not wear because of your religion?
- Do you think that the Bible has specific recommendations about how women should dress? If yes, do you remember any specific Bible verses on the subject?
- What is modesty to you?

Focusing on consumer behaviour, the questions below seek to understand how participants buy and choose clothes, and how faith can influence these decisions.

- Do you follow fashion trends?
- Do you shop for clothes often?
- Do you think that there is a connection between your consumption of fashion and your faith? Do you feel like your religion influences the way you think about sustainable fashion (including donations, charity shops, ethical fashion, sweatshops, etc.)?
- How do you decide what to wear for different occasions, including religious events? Do you think there is a difference between what you wear on your day-to-day and what you wear when you go to church?

Lastly, the final section explores perceptions about the representation of Christian symbols in the fashion industry, including personal experiences and reactions to specific examples from collections and media representations (in *Vogue Portugal*):

- Have you ever worn clothing or accessories with religious symbols – such as crosses, Bible verses, etc. – to express your faith?
- How do you feel about the representation of Christian symbols in the fashion industry? [Participants were shown Figures 18-21]
- How do these images make you feel? [Participants were shown Figures 22-27]
- Do you think that the inclusion of religious symbols in fashion can be respectful, or do you think it tends to be disrespectful?

Appendix D - Online Survey [Portuguese Version]

Title: Questionário “Cristianismo e a Moda em Portugal (Mulheres +18)”

Este questionário faz parte da investigação primária para uma tese de doutoramento intitulada “Christian Symbology in Vogue Portugal and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion” [Simbologia Cristã na Vogue Portugal e a Influência da Religiosidade na Moda Feminina do Século XXI], que tem como objetivo estudar a importância e o potencial impacto do cristianismo na forma como as mulheres se vestem em Portugal, bem como explorar o impacto desta religião nas revistas de moda portuguesas. O inquérito deverá demorar até 10-15 minutos a responder, e as suas respostas são completamente anónimas. A amostra examinada neste inquérito incluirá exclusivamente mulheres adultas que se identificam como cristãs, e os dados recolhidos serão usados apenas para fins de investigação científica.

As questões marcadas com asterisco () são obrigatórias. A sua participação neste inquérito é voluntária. Pode recusar-se a participar da investigação ou sair do survey a qualquer momento. Só pode responder uma vez.*

Se tiver alguma dúvida sobre o questionário ou se estiver interessada e disponível para ser entrevistada para este projeto, por favor, envie um e-mail para: vitoriarbernardo@gmail.com

Obrigada pelo seu contributo.

o. Aceito participar neste questionário e concordo que os resultados do tratamento dos dados sejam divulgados assegurando o anonimato.*

- Sim
- Não

1. Qual é o seu género?*

- Feminino
- Masculino
- Não-Binário
- Outro / Preferia não dizer

2. Qual é a sua idade?*

- Menos de 18
- 18 - 29
- 30 - 39
- 40 - 49
- 50 - 59
- 60 - 69
- 70+

3. Qual é a sua nacionalidade?

4. Atualmente, vive em Portugal?*

- Sim
- Não

5. Em Portugal, onde reside?

- Norte
- Centro
- Área Metropolitana de Lisboa
- Alentejo
- Algarve
- Açores ou Madeira

6. Qual é o grau mais elevado de educação/formação que completou?

- nenhuns estudos concluídos
- Ensino primário
- 9º ano
- Algum ensino secundário, sem diploma
- Diploma de conclusão do ensino secundário ou equivalente
- Frequência do ensino universitário, sem diploma
- Licenciatura
- Mestrado
- Doutoramento ou superior

7. Qual é o seu estado civil?

- Solteira
- Casada
- União de Facto
- Divorciada
- Separada
- Viúva

8. Identifica-se como cristã (incluindo católica, Protestante e todas as outras denominações cristãs)?*

- Sim
- Não
- Preferia não dizer

9. Em relação à sua religião atual, com que denominação (ou igreja), se alguma, se identifica mais?*

- Catolicismo
- Cristianismo Ortodoxo
- Testemunhas de Jeová
- Igreja de Jesus Cristo dos Santos dos Últimos Dias (Mórmons)
- Anglicanismo
- Presbiteriana
- Igreja Evangélica
- Batista
- Adventistas do Sétimo Dia
- Outra Confissão Protestante
- Não-denominacional
- Outra
- Não sei / Preferia não dizer

10. Para cada afirmação, por favor, refira o seu nível de concordância:*

	Discordo completamente	Discordo	Neutro	Concordo	Concordo completamente
a) "Considero-me praticante ativa da minha religião."					
b) "As minhas crenças religiosas são uma parte essencial do que eu sou como pessoa."					
c) "Encontro um profundo significado pessoal e satisfação nas minhas crenças e práticas religiosas."					
d) "Participo regularmente em atividades religiosas porque estão alinhadas com os meus valores e convicções pessoais."					
e) "Participo em práticas religiosas principalmente pelas conexões sociais e aprovação dos outros."					
f) "Tenho mais interesse nos aspectos sociais dos grupos religiosos do que nos aspectos espirituais ou pessoais."					
g) "Jesus não foi apenas um profeta, Ele foi o único Filho de Deus."					
h) "A verdade religiosa tem um valor superior a qualquer outra forma de verdade."					
i) "A Bíblia é a mensagem de Deus para a humanidade, e todos os aspetos do seu conteúdo são verdadeiros."					

11. Quantas vezes por ano compra itens de moda (roupas, acessórios, sapatos, etc.)?*

- Menos de 3 vezes
- 3-6 vezes
- 7-10 vezes
- Mais de 10 vezes

12. Por favor, avalie seu nível de concordância com as seguintes afirmações:*

	Discordo completamente	Discordo	Neutro	Concordo	Concordo completamente
a) "Mantenho-me atualizada com as tendências/últimas modas".					
b) "Eu sou uma seguidora da moda".					
c) "Gosto de discutir assuntos relacionados à moda com outras pessoas".					
d) "A maioria das pessoas não se interessa tanto por moda quanto eu".					
e) "Gosto de dar conselhos de moda aos/às meus/minhas amigos/as".					
f) "Eu gosto de comprar roupas".					
g) "Tenho um conhecimento profundo de marcas de moda famosas".					

13. Por favor, avalie seu nível de concordância com as seguintes afirmações:*

	Discordo completamente	Discordo	Neutro	Concordo	Concordo completamente
a) "Acredito que existe uma conexão entre moda e religião."					
b) "Tenho observado diferenças significativas na maneira como as mulheres se vestem com base no seu nível de devoção religiosa."					
c) "Gosto de usar roupas ou acessórios que me façam parecer visivelmente cristã (por exemplo, cruzes, medalhas de santos, merchandising de igrejas, roupas com versículos da Bíblia, etc.)."					
d) "Já usei a moda como meio de sacrifício ou penitência quaresmal (por exemplo, usar roupas desconfortáveis / saltos altos durante o período da Quaresma)."					
e) "A modéstia nas roupas é um aspecto importante para expressar a minha fé cristã."					
f) "Acredito que as mulheres devem evitar usar roupas que revelem muita pele ou que sejam excessivamente reveladoras."					
g) "Creio que é importante vestir-me modestamente para evitar que outros 'tropecem' na sua fé."					
h) "O meu sentido de modéstia em relação à roupa muda à medida que passo por diferentes fases da minha vida (por exemplo, casamento, maternidade, trabalho)."					
i) "Creio que é importante adaptar a minha maneira de vestir a ocasiões ou ambientes específicos, como cerimônias religiosas ou convívios/encontros com pessoas cristãs".					
j) "Eu visto-me de maneira diferente quando vou à praia/piscina para um					

evento cristão em comparação a uma ocasião não ligada à Igreja."					
k) "Eu ajusto a minha maneira de vestir ao postar fotos nas redes sociais para refletir os meus valores de modéstia cristã."					

14. Com base nos seus sentimentos em relação às imagens mostradas acima [participants were shown Figures 13-17] e no seu próprio conhecimento e opiniões sobre o assunto, avalie o seu nível de concordância com as seguintes afirmações:*

	Discordo completamente	Discordo	Neutro	Concordo	Concordo completamente
a) "A representação de símbolos cristãos na <i>Vogue Portugal</i> potencia a expressão artística e criativa na moda, acrescentando profundidade e significado aos editoriais e <i>storytelling</i> de moda."					
b) "A representação de símbolos cristãos na <i>Vogue Portugal</i> contribui para a representação positiva e valorização do património religioso na moda."					
c) "Em geral, a representação de símbolos sagrados e imagens associadas ao cristianismo na indústria da moda é desrespeitosa."					
d) "Considero o uso do simbolismo cristão na moda inapropriado, ofensivo e/ou errado."					

15. Se estiver interessada e disponível para participar em entrevistas anónimas sobre este tema, por favor deixe um contacto (email ou telemóvel) abaixo. Saiba que ao fornecer estes dados, não estará a abdicar da sua anonimidade, pois estes contactos serão utilizados apenas para este propósito e posteriormente apagados, garantindo a confidencialidade de todas as participantes. Obrigada.

Appendix E - SPSS Outputs | Online Survey Analysis

The present Appendix contains the original SPSS output tables accompanied by brief statistical interpretations for each, in order to avoid overloading the main chapter dedicated to the analysis of the online questionnaire with detailed test results. This approach ensures that the central discussion remains focused on the broader research findings while still providing access to the relevant statistical data.

Firstly, a one-way ANOVA test was conducted to evaluate the relationship between being active participants of their religion and age group. As shown in Table 10, since the p-value (0.085) is greater than the conventional significance level of 0.05, the results fail to reject the null hypothesis, which suggests that there may not be a statistically significant difference in "actively practising religion" across the levels of the categorical factor (age).

Table 10 - One-way ANOVA for the variable "I actively practise my religion" and Age Range

ANOVA					
"I actively practise mv religion."					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	18.808	5	3.762	1.947	.085
Within Groups	894.475	463	1.932		
Total	913.284	468			

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Similarly, the ANOVA test also suggested that there is no statistically significant difference in the variable "I actively practise my religion" across different education levels, as the p-value in Table 11 is 0.958.

Table 11 - One-way ANOVA for the variable "I actively practise my religion" and Level of Education

ANOVA					
"I actively practise mv religion."					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.993	7	.570	.290	.958
Within Groups	906.338	460	1.970		
Total	910.331	467			

Source: Output generated by SPSS

The results of the Kruskal-Wallis test (Table 12) indicate that there is a statistically significant difference in the distribution of the variable "I actively practise my religion" across different marital status groups ($p = .004$) and that as seen on Figure 142, married women chose the highest levels of agreement to the statement while participants who live in a domestic partnership (or the one participant who is separated) showed the lowest mean value, tending not to practise their religion.

Table 12 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: “I actively practise my religion” across Marital Status

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	17.516 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	5
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	.004
a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.	

Source: Output generated by SPSS

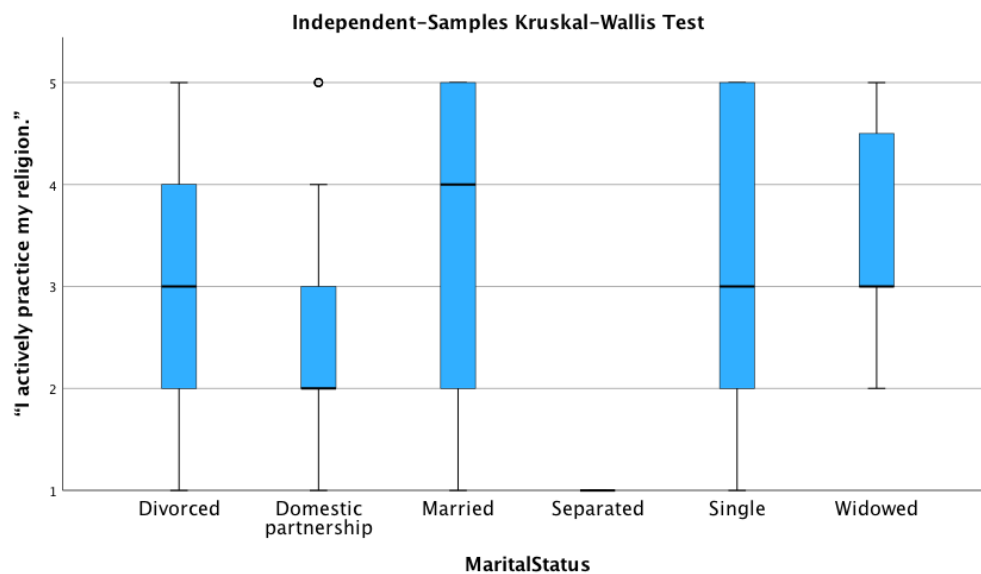


Figure 142 - Box Plot: “I actively practise my religion” across Marital Status. Source: Output generated by SPSS

When it comes to the region of residence in Portugal and its correlation to being active in their religious practice, there is not enough evidence to reject the null hypothesis (the p-value is 0.232), and the difference in means across the different NUTs is not statistically significant. Nonetheless, the p-value from the ANOVA test for the variable “Actively practise my religion” and denomination is less than 0.001, indicating that there is a statistically significant difference among the groups, meaning that there are variations in the level of actively practising religion among different clusters of denominations. For instance, as shown in Table 13, the mean score for "Evangelical and Protestant Denominations" is notably higher (4.42) compared to other clusters, suggesting that individuals belonging to this cluster tend to report higher levels of actively practising their religion.

Table 13 - Descriptive statistics from the ANOVA test for the variable “Actively practise my religion” across different Denomination Clusters

Descriptive Statistics			
Dependent Variable: “I actively practise my religion.”			
Denomination_Clusters	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
1. Catholicism	2.94	1.283	313
2. Evangelical and Protestant Denominations	4.42	1.024	113
3. Distinct Denominations	2.92	1.782	12
4. Unspecified/Undetermined Affiliation	2.77	1.359	31
Total	3.28	1.397	469

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Table 14 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: Fashion Involvement across Denomination Clusters

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	5.800 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	3
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	.122
a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.	

Source: Output generated by SPSS

According to the Kruskal-Wallis test results in Table 14, it appears that denomination affiliation does not play a significant role in influencing fashion involvement levels ($p > .05$). However, the same test (Table 15) indicated a statistically significant difference in fashion involvement levels among individuals in different age groups ($p = .010$) (in this case, the 18-29 age range shows the highest level of fashion involvement).

Table 15 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: Fashion Involvement across Age Range

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	15.087 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	5
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	.010
a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.	

Source: Output generated by SPSS

The Pearson correlation coefficient measures the strength and direction of the linear relationship between two variables, and Table 16 shows a correlation coefficient of -0.049 which suggests a weak negative correlation between religiosity and fashion involvement meaning that as the level of religiosity increases, the level of fashion involvement tends to decrease, and vice versa. However, the correlation is technically not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$); therefore, it can not be concluded that there is a meaningful relationship between the two variables in the population. Comparably, as

seen in Table 17, neither level of religiosity ($p = 0.238$) nor age groups ($p = 0.825$) had significant effects on how many times per year participants buy fashion items.

Table 16 - Pearson Correlation between Religiosity and Fashion Involvement

Correlations		
		Religiosity
Fashion Involvement (Mean)	Pearson Correlation	-.049
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.287
	N	469

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Table 17 - Multiple Linear Regression for Age Groups, Religiosity, and Fashion Buying Frequency

Coefficients ^a		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients		
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta	t	Sig.
1	(Constant)	3.037	.240		12.678	<.001
	Religiosity	-.072	.061	-.055	-1.183	.238
	Age	-.008	.035	-.010	-.221	.825

a. Dependent Variable: Fashion Buying Frequency

Source: Output generated by SPSS

When analysing the agreement to the statement “I enjoy wearing clothing or accessories that make me look visibly Christian (e.g. cross and saint medals, church merch, clothing with Bible verses on it, etc.)” across different age groups or levels of religiosity, the results in Table 18 indicate that the level of religiosity has a significant positive relationship with the dependent variable ($B = 0.569$, $p < .001$), suggesting that individuals with higher religiosity scores are more likely to enjoy wearing clothing or accessories that reflect their Christian identity. However, the coefficient for the different age groups is not statistically significant ($B = -0.033$, $p = .327$), indicating that age does not have a significant effect on the enjoyment of wearing visibly Christian clothing or accessories.

Table 18 - Multiple Linear Regression for Age Groups, Religiosity, and “I enjoy wearing clothing or accessories that make me look visibly Christian (e.g. cross and saint medals, church merch, clothing with Bible verses on it, etc.).”

Coefficients ^a						
Model		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std.	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.006	.227		-.027	.979
	Religiosity	.569	.058	.414	9.818	<.001
	Age	-.033	.033	-.041	-.982	.327
a. Dependent Variable: “I enjoy wearing clothing or accessories that make me look visibly Christian (e.g. cross and saint medals, church merch, clothing with Bible verses on it, etc.).”						

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Furthermore, the results of the Kruskal-Wallis test presented in Table 19 indicate a statistically significant difference in the enjoyment of wearing clothing or accessories that make individuals look visibly Christian across different denomination clusters ($p < .001$). However, on the box and whisker plot below (Figure 143), it is visible that while results vary across the 1-5 scale, most denominations show disagreement with the statement – as the overall median was on 2 (“Disagree”) – while the Distinct Denominations group was the only one who tended to “Strongly Disagree”.

Table 19 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: “I enjoy wearing clothing or accessories that make me look visibly Christian (e.g. cross and saint medals, church merch, clothing with Bible verses on it, etc.).” across Denomination Clusters

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	38.483 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	3
Asymptotic Sig. (2-sided test)	<.001
a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.	

Source: Output generated by SPSS

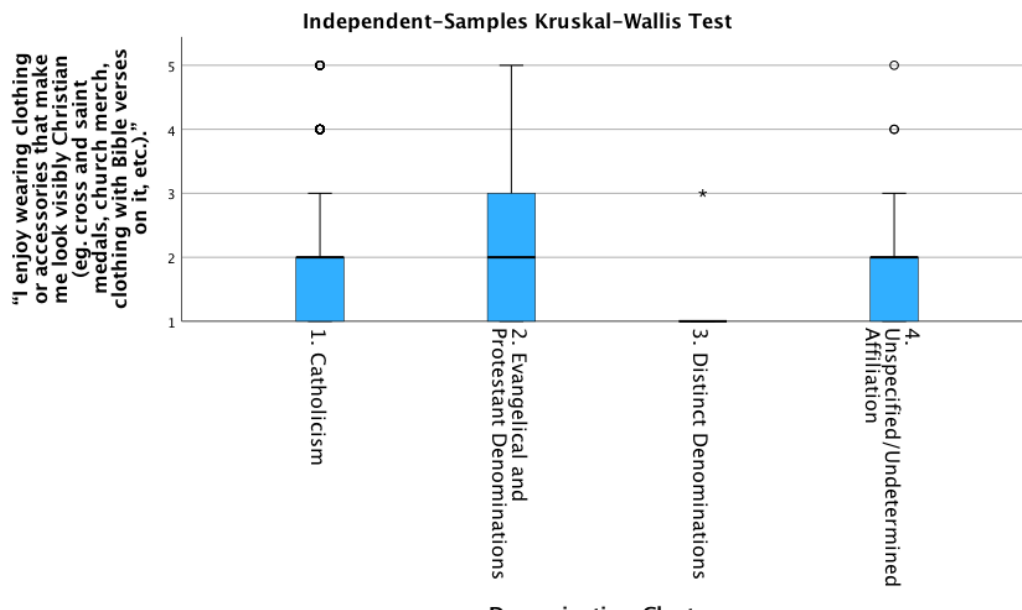


Figure 143 - Box Plot: “I enjoy wearing clothing or accessories that make me look visibly Christian (eg. cross and saint medals, church merch, clothing with Bible verses on it, etc.)” across Denomination Clusters. Source: Output generated by SPSS.

The correlation analysis between the variables "Modesty in clothing is an important aspect of expressing my Christian faith" and level of religiosity (Table 20) reveals a significant positive correlation (Pearson's $r = 0.475$, $p < .001$) between the two variables. This indicates that as one's perception of the importance of modesty in clothing as an expression of Christian faith increases, so does their religiosity, implying that individuals who value modesty in clothing tend to also exhibit higher levels of religiosity.

Table 20 - Pearson Correlation between Religiosity and “Modesty in clothing is an important aspect of expressing my Christian faith.”

Correlations		
"Modesty in clothing is an important aspect of expressing my Christian faith."		Religiosity
	Pearson Correlation	.475**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	<.001
	N	469

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Also, the results of the Multiple Linear Regression analysis (Table 21) show that level of religiosity has a significant positive relationship with the belief that women should avoid wearing revealing clothing ($B = 0.863$, $p < .001$), indicating that higher religiosity is associated with stronger agreement with this belief. However, age does not have a significant relationship with this belief ($B = -0.037$, $p = .321$). On the other hand, the results of the Kruskal-Wallis test (Table 22) reveal a significant difference in the belief regarding women's modesty across different denomination clusters ($\chi^2(3) = 96.938$, $p < .001$), and, as shown in the box plot (Figure 144), women identifying with Evangelical and Protestant denominations are more likely to hold the view that females should

refrain from wearing garments that expose an excessive amount of skin or are excessively revealing.

Table 21 - Multiple Linear Regression for Age Groups, Religiosity, and "I believe that women should avoid wearing clothing that reveals too much skin or is overly revealing."

Coefficients ^a		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
Model		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.652	.253		-2.579	.010
	Religiosity	.863	.065	.525	13.341	<.001
	Age	-.037	.037	-.039	-.994	.321

a. Dependent Variable: "I believe that women should avoid wearing clothing that reveals too much skin or is overly revealing."

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Table 22 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: "I believe that women should avoid wearing clothing that reveals too much skin or is overly revealing." across Denomination Clusters

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	96.938 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	3
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	<.001

a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.

Source: Output generated by SPSS

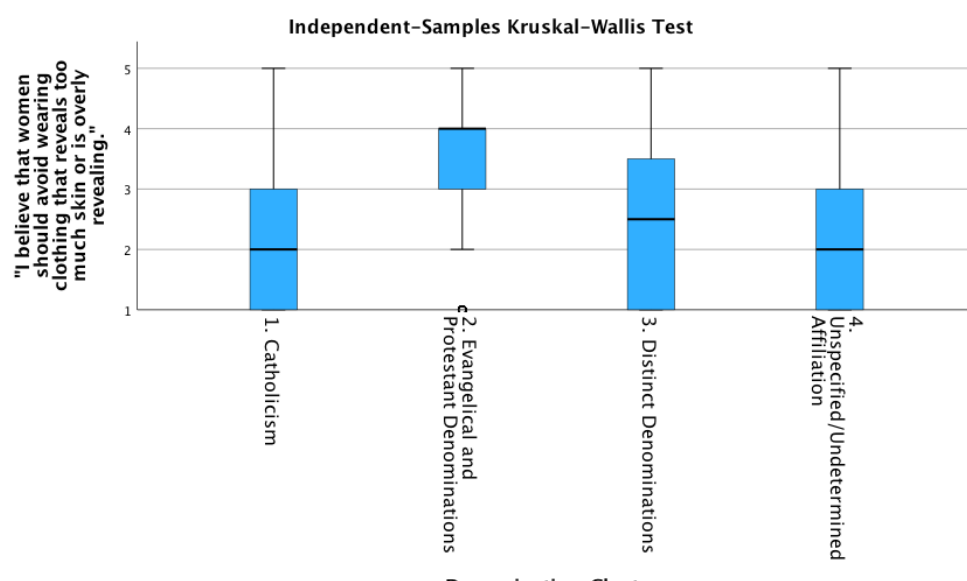


Figure 144 - Box Plot: "I believe that women should avoid wearing clothing that reveals too much skin or is overly revealing." across Denomination Clusters. Source: Output generated by SPSS

The Kruskal-Wallis test in Table 23 indicates a significant difference in beliefs regarding the importance of dressing modestly to prevent others from experiencing challenges in their faith across different denomination clusters ($p < .001$). Similarly to the previous statement, it can be seen in the box plot (Figure 145) that Evangelical and Protestant women are slightly more inclined to agree or be neutral regarding this idea compared to women of other denominations, while Catholics tend to be the most in disagreement.

Table 23 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: "I believe it is important to dress modestly to avoid causing others to stumble in their faith." across Denomination Clusters

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	102.125 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	3
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	<.001

a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.

Source: Output generated by SPSS

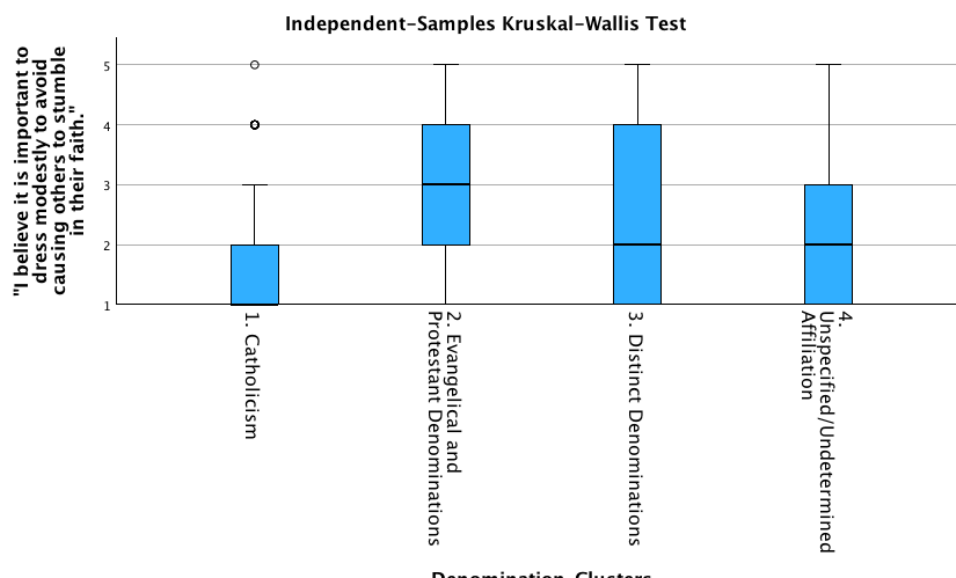


Figure 145 - Box Plot: "I believe it is important to dress modestly to avoid causing others to stumble in their faith." across Denomination Clusters. Source: Output generated by SPSS

In addition, the multiple linear regression analysis (Table 24) reveals that the degree of religiosity is a significant predictor of the belief in dressing modestly ($B = 0.816$, $p < .001$), indicating that individuals with higher levels of religiosity are more likely to endorse the importance of dressing modestly to avoid causing others to stumble in their faith. However, the coefficient for different age groups is not statistically significant ($B = -0.005$, $p = .891$), suggesting that age does not significantly influence this belief.

Table 24 - Multiple Linear Regression for Age Groups, Religiosity, and "I believe it is important to dress modestly to avoid causing others to stumble in their faith."

Coefficients ^a						
Model		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	-.903	.228		-3.955	<.001
	Religiosity	.816	.058	.544	13.983	<.001
	Age	-.005	.034	-.005	-.138	.891
a. Dependent Variable: "I believe it is important to dress modestly to avoid causing others to stumble in their faith."						

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Chi-square tests were conducted to investigate the possible association between agreement with the statement "My sense of modesty in clothing changes as I transition through different phases of life (e.g., marriage, motherhood, work)" and variables such as age or marital status. For the association between this statement and marital status (Table 25), the results suggest no relationship between the variables. However, Table 26 indicates that there is a statistically significant association between this variable and "Age", suggesting that the age of the participants may influence their perceptions of modesty in clothing.

Table 25 - Chi-Square Test for "My sense of modesty in clothing changes as I transition through different phases of life (e.g., marriage, motherhood, work)" and Marital Status

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.484 ^a	20	.184
Likelihood Ratio	27.373	20	.125
N of Valid Cases	469		
a. 12 cells (40.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .07.			

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Table 26 - Chi-Square Test for "My sense of modesty in clothing changes as I transition through different phases of life (e.g., marriage, motherhood, work)" and Age

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	38.617 ^a	20	.007
Likelihood Ratio	41.990	20	.003
N of Valid Cases	469		
a. 6 cells (20.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .58.			

Source: Output generated by SPSS

In Table 27, it can be seen that, in general, the number of participants who agree or disagree with the statement tends to vary across different age groups. For example, in younger age groups (18-29 years old), there is a greater proportion of participants who agree or are neutral about the statement.

Table 27 - Crosstabulation for "My sense of modesty in clothing changes as I transition through different phases of life (e.g., marriage, motherhood, work)" and Age

Crosstab		Age						
Count		18 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	60 - 69	70+	Total
"My sense of modesty in clothing changes as I transition through different phases of life (e.g., marriage, motherhood, work)."	Strongly Disagree	34	18	35	17	3	1	108
	Disagree	25	13	30	22	6	2	98
	Neutral	52	11	15	18	7	2	105
	Agree	57	19	25	12	8	3	124
	Strongly Agree	17	8	4	5	0	0	34
Total		185	69	109	74	24	8	469

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Based on the chi-square test result ($p = 0.020$) shown in Table 28, there appears to be a significant relationship between age groups and attitudes towards adapting clothing to specific contexts. The crosstabulation (Table 29) further demonstrates this relationship, showing varying response patterns across different age categories. Notably, even though all age groups tend to agree with the statement, younger generations seem to express stronger agreement compared to older age groups.

Table 28 - Chi-Square Test for "I believe it is important to adapt my way of dressing to suit specific occasions or settings, such as religious services or gatherings with Christian people." and Age Range

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	35.058 ^a	20	.020
Likelihood Ratio	33.847	20	.027
N of Valid Cases	469		
a. 10 cells (33.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .49.			

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Table 29 - Crosstabulation for "I believe it is important to adapt my way of dressing to suit specific occasions or settings, such as religious services or gatherings with Christian people." and Age Range

Crosstab								
Count								
		Age						
		18 - 29	30 - 39	40 - 49	50 - 59	60 - 69	70+	Total
"I believe it is important to adapt my way of dressing to suit specific occasions or settings, such as religious services or gatherings with Christian people."	Strongly Disagree	5	6	11	5	2	0	29
	Disagree	14	4	10	8	1	3	40
	Neutral	24	11	12	15	6	0	68
	Agree	79	33	51	36	9	4	212
	Strongly Agree	63	15	25	10	6	1	120
Total		185	69	109	74	24	8	469

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Further chi-square test results (Table 30) indicate that there is no statistically significant relationship between agreeability with the statement above and the variable "region of residence" ($p = 0.780$), suggesting that the belief regarding dressing adaptation does not vary significantly across different regions of Portugal. Similarly, the Kruskal-Wallis test presented in Table 31 yielded a non-significant result for differences in beliefs about adapting dressing to suit specific occasions across different denomination clusters ($\chi^2(3) = 1.684$, $p = .640$), indicating that perceptions of appropriate dressing in various contexts may be relatively consistent across religious groups, with denomination having little influence on such beliefs.

Table 30 - Chi-Square Test for "I believe it is important to adapt my way of dressing to suit specific occasions or settings, such as religious services or gatherings with Christian people" and Region

Chi-Square Tests			
	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	18.465 ^a	24	.780
Likelihood Ratio	19.339	24	.734
N of Valid Cases	469		
a. 22 cells (62.9%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .12.			

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Table 31 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: "I believe it is important to adapt my way of dressing to suit specific occasions or settings, such as religious services or gatherings with Christian people" across Denomination Clusters

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	1.684 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	3
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	.640
a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.	

Source: Output generated by SPSS

The final section of descriptive statistics in this chapter focuses on Christian female viewpoints on the use of Christian iconography and symbolism in fashion, after being exposed to images from various *Vogue Portugal* editorials and assessing their agreement with statements about the mediatisation of sacred symbols. ANOVA tests were carried out for each of the four statements provided in question 14, to examine their relationship with age group (Table 32) and degree of religiosity (Table 33). Similarly, Kruskal-Wallis tests were also employed to assess the extent of agreement with these assertions among various religious denominations.

Table 32 - ANOVA for Age Groups and All Statements/Variables on Question 14

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
"The representation of Christian symbols in <i>Vogue Portugal</i> enhances the artistic and creative expression in fashion, adding depth and meaning to fashion editorials and storytelling"	Between Groups	15.043	5	3.009	2.215	.052
	Within Groups	628.881	463	1.358		
	Total	643.923	468			
"The portrayal of Christian symbols in <i>Vogue Portugal</i> contributes to the positive representation and appreciation of religious heritage in fashion."	Between Groups	8.232	5	1.646	1.300	.263
	Within Groups	586.377	463	1.266		
	Total	594.610	468			
"In general, the portrayal of sacred symbols and images associated with Christianity in the fashion industry is disrespectful."	Between Groups	25.767	5	5.153	3.973	.002
	Within Groups	600.545	463	1.297		
	Total	626.311	468			
"I consider the use of Christian symbolism in fashion to be inappropriate, offensive, and/or wrong."	Between Groups	23.746	5	4.749	3.617	.003
	Within Groups	607.849	463	1.313		
	Total	631.595	468			

Source: Output generated by SPSS

Table 33 - ANOVA for Religiosity and All Statements/Variables on Question 14

ANOVA		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
"The representation of Christian symbols in <i>Vogue Portugal</i> enhances the artistic and creative expression in fashion, adding depth and meaning to fashion editorials and storytelling"	Between Groups	231.743	112	2.069	1.787	<.001
	Within Groups	412.180	356	1.158		
	Total	643.923	468			
"The portrayal of Christian symbols in <i>Vogue Portugal</i> contributes to the positive representation and appreciation of religious heritage in fashion."	Between Groups	209.673	112	1.872	1.731	<.001
	Within Groups	384.937	356	1.081		
	Total	594.610	468			
"In general, the portrayal of sacred symbols and images associated with Christianity in the fashion industry is disrespectful."	Between Groups	225.024	112	2.009	1.782	<.001
	Within Groups	401.287	356	1.127		
	Total	626.311	468			
"I consider the use of Christian symbolism in fashion to be inappropriate, offensive, and/or wrong."	Between Groups	202.800	112	1.811	1.503	.003
	Within Groups	428.795	356	1.204		
	Total	631.595	468			

Source: Output generated by SPSS

According to the results of the ANOVA test in Table 32, the p-value is 0.052 (> 0.05), indicating that there is no statistically significant difference between the age groups regarding the claim "The representation of Christian symbols in *Vogue Portugal* enhances the artistic and creative expression in fashion, adding depth and meaning to fashion editorials and storytelling". However, in Table 33, the p-value is under 0.001, showing a statistically significant difference in levels of religiosity concerning this statement. Similarly, the low p-value (< 0.001) resulting from the Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test (Table 34) indicates that there are significant differences in the responses to the statement across different denominations, as illustrated in Figure 146.

Table 34 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: "The representation of Christian symbols in *Vogue Portugal* enhances the artistic and creative expression in fashion, adding depth and meaning to fashion editorials and storytelling" across Denomination Clusters

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	18.428 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	3
Asymptotic Sig. (2-sided test)	<.001
a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.	

Source: Output generated by SPSS

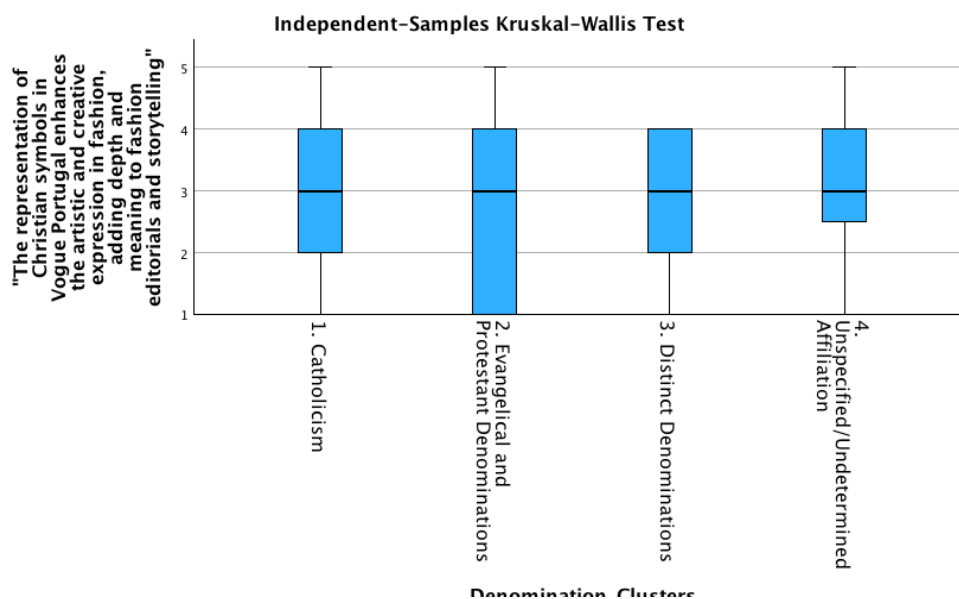


Figure 146 - Box Plot: "The representation of Christian symbols in *Vogue Portugal* enhances the artistic and creative expression in fashion, adding depth and meaning to fashion editorials and storytelling" across Denomination Clusters. Source: Output generated by SPSS

Similarly to the previous statement, the ANOVA tests also indicate the absence of disparity between age groups (Table 32) regarding their agreement with the affirmation "The portrayal of Christian symbols in *Vogue Portugal* contributes to the positive representation and appreciation of religious heritage in fashion" but suggest significant differences between the various levels of religiosity (Table 33). Regarding the Kruskal-Wallis test (Table 35), since the p-value is less than the significance level (0.05), the null hypothesis is also rejected, concluding that there are some significant differences in the responses to the statement across denominations, as seen in Figure 147.

Table 35 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: "The portrayal of Christian symbols in *Vogue Portugal* contributes to the positive representation and appreciation of religious heritage in fashion" across Denomination Clusters

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	37.476 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	3
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	<.001
a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.	

Source: Output generated by SPSS

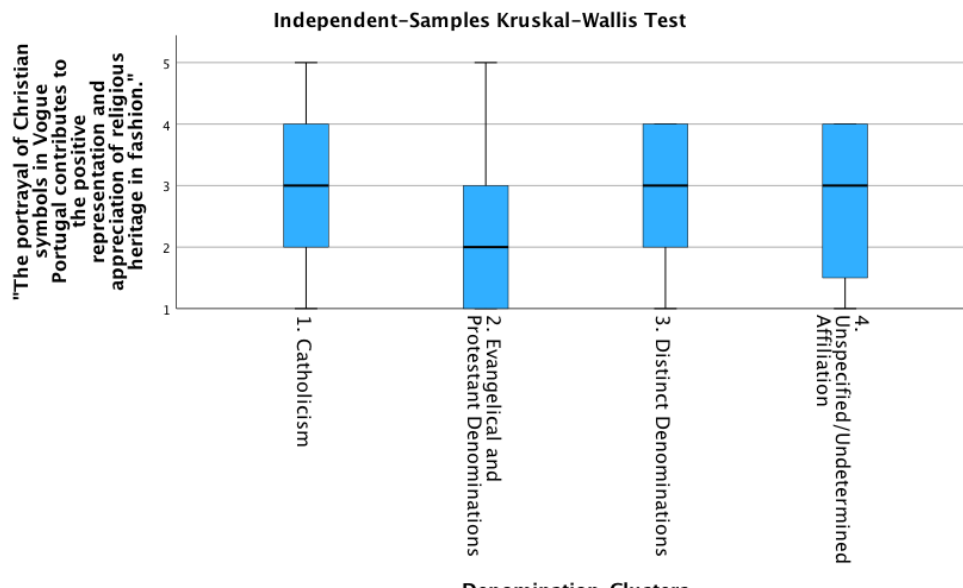


Figure 147 - Box Plot: "The portrayal of Christian symbols in *Vogue Portugal* contributes to the positive representation and appreciation of religious heritage in fashion" across Denomination Clusters. Source: Output generated by SPSS

Comparably, regarding the phrase "In general, the portrayal of sacred symbols and images associated with Christianity in the fashion industry is disrespectful", according to the ANOVA test presented in Table 32, there are statistically significant differences between the age groups in relation to their opinion on this statement ($p = 0.002$). In Table 33, it is possible to observe that there are also significant differences between degrees of religiosity, as the p -value is less than 0.001. Furthermore, the Kruskal-Wallis test (Table 36) shows that there are variations in responses across denominations regarding the perception of disrespectfulness towards sacred imagery in fashion, as demonstrated in Figure 148.

Table 36 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: "In general, the portrayal of sacred symbols and images associated with Christianity in the fashion industry is disrespectful" across Denomination Clusters

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	33.670 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	3
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	<.001
a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.	

Source: Output generated by SPSS

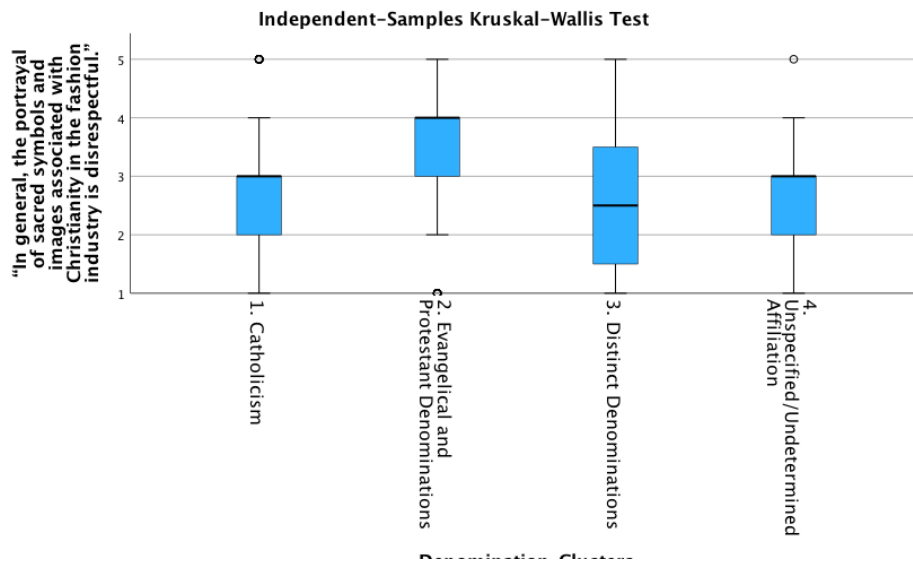


Figure 148 - Box Plot: "In general, the portrayal of sacred symbols and images associated with Christianity in the fashion industry is disrespectful" across Denomination Clusters. Source: Output generated by SPSS

Finally, regarding the last statement, according to the ANOVA test in Table 32, people's perception of the representation of Christian symbols in fashion varies according to their age group ($p = 0.003$). Taking into account that this p-value is the same in Table 33, the null hypothesis is rejected as there is a statistically significant difference between the levels of religiosity in light of this statement. Likewise, Table 37 shows that the p-value for the Kruskal-Wallis Test between this variable across the different denomination clusters is below the significance threshold, concluding that there are significant differences (as seen in Figure 149) in responses across denominations regarding the appropriateness, offensiveness, or wrongness of using Christian symbolism in fashion.

Table 37 - Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test: "I consider the use of Christian symbolism in fashion to be inappropriate, offensive, and/or wrong" across Denomination Clusters

Independent-Samples Kruskal-Wallis Test Summary	
Total N	469
Test Statistic	9.669 ^a
Degree Of Freedom	3
Asymptotic Sig.(2-sided test)	.022
a. The test statistic is adjusted for ties.	

Source: Output generated by SPSS

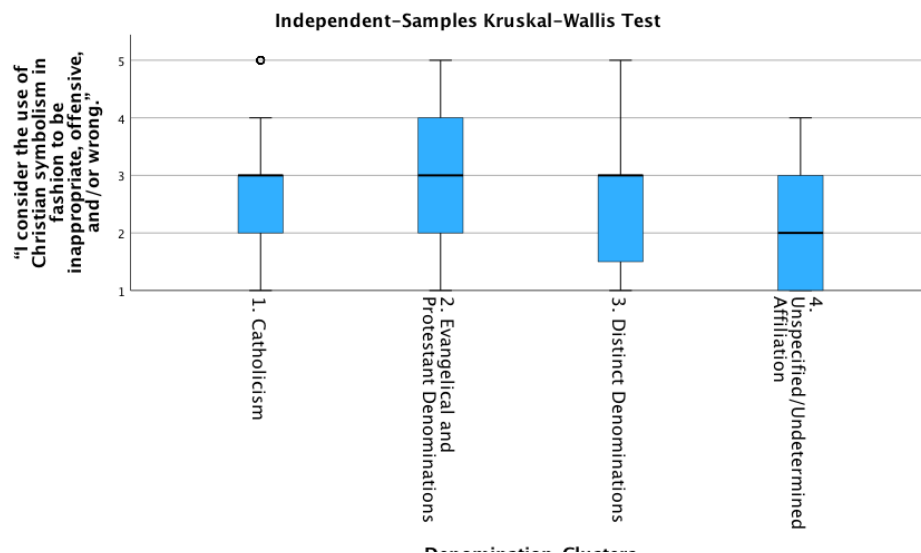


Figure 149 - Box Plot: "I consider the use of Christian symbolism in fashion to be inappropriate, offensive, and/or wrong." across Denomination Clusters. Source: Output generated by SPSS

Appendix F - Interview Transcripts | Christian Women

Appendix F1 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Beatriz”

Date of Interview:	January 31, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	24:41
Characteristics:	24 years old, Lisbon, Portuguese, Unemployed, Evangelical

VB Dentro do cristianismo, qual consideras ser a tua⁶¹ religião ou denominação religiosa?
Considero-me evangélica.

VB Como descreverias as tuas crenças e valores religiosos?

Sem dúvida que Jesus tem que estar no centro de tudo, de cada decisão que eu faço, ou seja, tenho de levar sempre isso tudo a Ele. Todo o meu viver, todo o meu pensar, tudo o que eu faço tem que estar baseado Nele. Para mim, não me faz sentido estar a agir somente naquilo que eu acho, naquilo que eu quero fazer. Nunca quero seguir os meus passos, mas os passos Dele.

VB Então como é que achas que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária e tua maneira de vestir?
Tem muito impacto. Antes, eu sempre tive muitos complexos com o meu corpo a crescer. Ainda por cima, a gente cresceu naquela altura do Tumblr, *thigh gaps*, lembras-te? Essas coisas todas, pronto.

Uma pessoa cresceu ali com bastantes traumas, e aos poucos e poucos tenho estado a aprender a amar mais o corpo que Deus me deu e estou muito grata por isso. Consigo andar, consigo fazer tudo. Mas acerca de me vestir, eu sempre me vesti de uma maneira a tentar ao máximo não mostrar as minhas curvas. Porque pronto, sendo rapariga, mesmo estando coberta com lençóis, vai sempre haver aqueles olhares maravilhosos, não é? E cada vez que cresci mais no meu relacionamento com Deus, comecei também a aprender mais sobre modéstia e sobre vestir de maneira modesta. E depois, quando comecei a namorar com o meu namorado, ele, de certa forma, acentua mais esse meu lado feminino e então eu tive de juntar esse lado feminino com a moda, mas também do lado modesto. Ou seja, quando nós temos Cristo, não podemos simplesmente dizer que temos Cristo e depois as pessoas olham para ti e não conseguem ver isso. Para mim não faz sentido dizer que eu vivo a 100% para Cristo e depois – *no judgement* – mas ao mesmo tempo eu não era capaz de estar com mini saia ou calças que realmente mostravam esse lado mais sensual do meu corpo dizendo que Deus está no centro e que eu pertença a Jesus e essas coisas todas. Por isso, sem dúvida, a minha maneira de vestir tem muito em base a isso: o que é que Jesus acha de vestir esta calça, esta camisola?

VB Como é que descreverias mesmo este sentido de modéstia?

Sem dúvida algo que te faça sentir bem, mas que de certa forma também represente Jesus na tua vida, ou seja, tens de te vestir bem. Eu acredito que sim, nós devemos nos vestir bem e preocupar-nos com as nossas roupas, com o nosso cabelo, com o nosso visual. Mas, também de certa forma, neste caso, na modéstia, focar mais na maneira de vestir, não é? Por exemplo, uma irmã velhota que já é crente há 50-60 anos, imagina ela ir tipo com uma bota tigresa. Estás a ver, tipo, uma pessoa que diz que é crente, que aceitou Jesus há uma vida atrás e depois veste-se dessa maneira, fica tipo "ahhh não sei que é diferente", não é? Eu então, sem dúvida de que para mim tem tudo a ver, está tudo relacionado, uma coisa com a outra.

VB Portanto, lá me explicaste que acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o teu modo de vestir e a tua religião e também que acreditas que existe uma influência grande da tua fé na maneira como te vestes.

⁶¹ In Portuguese, informal conversations often use the second-person singular pronoun *tu*, which reflects a more casual tone. Although English does not distinguish between formal and informal second-person pronouns, most participants (either due to their age or the intentionally relaxed setting of the interviews) preferred this informal mode of address.

- Sem dúvida.
- VB** Achas que existem diretrizes específicas da tua denominação ou da tua igreja sobre como as mulheres se devem vestir?
- Epá, eu cantei no louvor durante alguns anos e havia muito aquela cena do “não podes levar calças rasgadas, não podes usar decotes, não podes usar camisolas que mostrem a tua barriga”. Não sei se é muito mau dizer, mas depois ia o pastor pregar com calças rasgadas. A mulher, sei lá, usar acessórios, brincos muito “chan chan” porque chama muito a atenção, usar, por exemplo, batom vermelho. Sempre houve muito disso e eu lembro-me.
- Eu comecei a cantar no louvor com 14 anos, e estavam na moda calças rasgadas e eu fui várias vezes com calças rasgadas, e a minha mãe teve que me chamar à parte uma vez e dizer que haviam irmãs a comentar sobre as minhas calças rasgadas.
- VB** Era uma igreja mais pequenina ou...
- Sim, sim. Era mais pequenina. A nossa igreja sempre foi muito saudável no sentido em que tínhamos bebés e idosos. Tivemos sempre esse *range* de idades. Mas sem dúvida que a parte mais idosa sentia-se muito chocada por eu estar a usar calças rasgadas “no púlpito a cantar para o Senhor, oh meu Deus”. Então eu lembro-me de eu estar a pensar “mas é só calças”, mas pronto, para aquelas pessoas eu estava a mostrar perna.
- VB** Portanto, também consideras que existiam mais diretrizes específicas antigamente? Se calhar na altura delas havia mais uma ideia do que elas deviam de vestir.
- Sim, porque era aquela cena de terem que usar saia até aos tornozelos, não podias cortar o cabelo, tinha que estar sempre apanhado. Mas para mim faz todo o sentido que a pessoa que for para o púlpito, seja fazer o que for ter se vai vestir, né? Porque vai estar toda a gente a olhar para essa pessoa, e lá está, quando sobes ao púlpito, o que tu vais fazer é para o Senhor. Então estares-te a vestir de uma certa forma que está a chamar a atenção a mim, meio que não me faz sentido. Mas lembro-me de ficar tipo “mãe, é só calças rasgadas”. E não era nada de mais, era tipo um rasgãozinho no joelho... Já era pecado para alguém. Já não estava a ser modesta. *Risos*
- VB** E achas que existe algum tipo de roupa ou peça de vestuário que não possas mesmo vestir? Alguma coisa que te lembres.
- Sei lá, um vestido apertado a meio da coxa com um decote enorme.
- VB** Achas que as mulheres têm as mesmas “regras” que se aplicam aos homens?
- Não.
- VB** “Não” na sociedade ou “não” em geral? Biblicamente?
- Não em geral. E por acaso essa é uma coisa que eu me debato muitas vezes e falo muitas vezes também com o meu namorado. Porque realmente há muito foco na mulher. “O corpo da mulher é muito sensual, então tem de se vestir de uma certa maneira porque se não os homens vão *head over heels* e vão cometer adultério” e essas coisas todas.
- Sem dúvida que há muito esse foco na mulher, mas eu acho que isso também se aplica ao homem. Tal e qual como há homens que são muito sensíveis ao olhar, também há mulheres assim. Sei lá, se veem um braço musculado, se veem aqueles *tank tops* que os homens usam para o ginásio que mostram *side boob*, também vão cometer adultério. Sei lá. Mas sem dúvida que há mais foco na mulher.
- VB** Achas que as mulheres têm mais a responsabilidade de ter que tomar conta dos “olhos” dos homens do que o contrário?
- Eu acho que não devia de ser assim.
- VB** Que não devia de ser, mas que tem de ser porque foi imposto?
- Sim, sem dúvida que eu acho que a mulher, ou que põe muito a culpa à mulher por se vestir de certa maneira porque os homens depois... Tanto que se fores a ver casos de violação, a maior parte usa a desculpa do “ah, mas ela estava a usar a tal roupa” e depois vais a ver e não era nada de mais. Tanto que a maior parte dos casos são raparigas que estão simplesmente de *joggers*, *sweats*...
- VB** E mesmo que fosse...
- Exatamente, não há desculpa.
- VB** Consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como as mulheres se devem vestir?
- Há aquele famoso Provérbios 31, que fala sobre a mulher da casa, como é que ela se veste e tudo mais. E diz que tem que se vestir com vestes de seda ou cetim – algo de alta qualidade – com boa bijuteria também e essas coisas todas. Por isso sim, eu acredito que há meio que um esboço, não é nada específico, mas é meio que um esboço de como é que

uma mulher de casa se deve vestir e com esse esboço depois cada pessoa, cada mulher, se adequa ao seu estilo de vida.

VB Certo. Consideras que segues tendências de moda?

Não.

VB Ok, e costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

De momento não, porque estou a lutar contra isso.

VB Achas que existe uma relação entre o consumo ou a maneira como tu compras coisas e a tua fé?

Talvez sim. Porque nós devemos fazer tudo com moderação, não é? E então sim.

Por exemplo, há uns anos atrás, se fosse preciso, todos os meses eu comprava 3 camisolas e 2 calças. Pode não parecer muito, mas se fores a ver, 12 vezes por ano é bué. Tanto que eu agora, tipo, umas calças em meio ano e uma camisola – porque tenho tanta roupa – que já não preciso de mais.

VB Vou passar para te perguntar como é que a religião influencia a tua visão sobre, por exemplo, moda sustentável. Se consideras questões como fast fashion, condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, por exemplo, ou compras em lojas de caridade, doações e, aquilo que estávamos a falar, do consumo excessivo ao fazer este tipo de escolhas de moda?

Sem dúvida. Eu sigo uma *influencer* cristã, e ela é mesmo – se eu pudesse pôr num pedestal uma mulher que seguisse mesmo à letra o que é ser modesta, era ela. Ela é mesmo. Eu não consigo seguir o que ela faz, porque acho que chega a um ponto extremo, mas há certas coisas que eu consigo retirar e meditar e aplicar na minha vida. Uma dessas coisas é a sustentabilidade e onde compramos coisas, que tipo de coisas compramos. Por exemplo, agora está muito na moda a Temu, a SheIn, e eu já comprei coisas através desses sites, mas depois eu deparei-me com vários vídeos no Youtube a entrar em detalhe à cerca desse tipo de lojas e eu não consigo, em mim, estar a comprar algo nesses sites a saber que as pessoas que estão a fazer essa roupa, ou a fazer um objeto qualquer para a casa, estejam a receber 2 cêntimos por hora ou uma coisa assim. Não consigo. E faz-me confusão, porque lá está, enquanto cristãs nós devemos amar o próximo, certo? E ao fazer essa compra, claro que agora estou a ir muito a fundo, mas será que ao fazer essa compra estou a amar essa pessoa que está a fazer a peça? Mas ao mesmo tempo eu estou-lhe a dar trabalho, ao menos está a receber qualquer coisa. Mas depois eu fico assim: mas os direitos humanos não estão a ser cumpridos naquela área de trabalho. Então ao fazer essa compra eu estou a apoiar essa legalidade – se é que é assim que se pode chamar – nessa fábrica, então eu não faço mais essas compras, pelo menos nessas lojas, tipo AliExpress e essas coisas assim, porque sei que já não me consigo conformar com o que se está a passar nessas empresas. Mas olha, eu compro coisas na Zara e H&M e se for preciso, sai tudo da mesma fábrica, por isso... não sei, é uma boa pergunta, mas é um assunto, por acaso, bastante polémico.

VB Já agora, quem é que era a *influencer*?

Chama-se Milena Cici...

VB Milena Ciciotti?

Ah, sabes quem é. Gosto muito dela.

VB Como é que tu decides o que é que vestes em diferentes ocasiões, por exemplo, eventos religiosos? Existe uma diferença no que vestes no teu dia a dia e no que vestes para ir à igreja?

Não muito, porque a minha roupa... Agora há muito aquela moda dos *capsule wardrobes*, em que basicamente tudo o que tu usas nesse armário dá para tudo, para qualquer tipo de festividade. E o meu armário meio que está assim. Tipo o que eu estou a usar agora dá para ir à igreja. Se eu quiser pôr alguma coisa mais... É a festa de Natal, por exemplo, tenho roupas que se adequam a um culto mais festivo e que dá para ir à igreja, faz sentido. O meu armário tem muito essa versatilidade. Por isso, não me preocupo com isso porque sei que o que tenho ali, ou que me apetecer usar naquele dia, sei que vai se adequar tanto para ir jantar fora, por exemplo, uma coisa casual, como também para ir à igreja.

VB Uma coisa que eu tenho reparado em geral na internet é que, por exemplo, festas da igreja que sejam na praia ou na piscina, noto uma diferença. Especialmente nas raparigas. Quando vão à praia normalmente com os amigos, vão de uma maneira, mas quando vão para eventos da igreja, vão de outra maneira. Achas que isso é uma situação, ou não?

Percebo. Acho que sim, porque quando estás com os amigos usas um biquíni à vontade, estás na praia. Mas quando vais a alguma coisa que é em específico da igreja, que tem como base alguma coisa de igreja, acho que cai mais aquele peso “epá, não vou usar um biquíni, se calhar um fato de banho era melhor”.

Sim, sem dúvida que passa... Eu nunca tive essas coisas de ir à praia com o pessoal da igreja, mas eu já estive na praia com pessoal da igreja, mas não nos estávamos a juntar por ser alguma coisa da igreja, era só para conviver, e o pessoal estava de bikini. As raparigas estavam de bikini e estava tudo na boa.

VB Certo. Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos, versículos bíblicos, etc. como forma de expressar a tua fé?

Não tenho roupa em específico. Devia ter trazido, mas eu tenho um colar com uma cruz. Ainda olhei para ele assim “se calhar vou levar tendo em conta a ocasião”, mas eu gosto tanto deste. Tenho esse colar da cruz porque eu sei o significado da cruz e tenho todo o prazer e felicidade de usar a cruz com esse propósito. Porque tenho a certeza de que pode ser uma *conversation starter*, alguém pode “ah, gosto do teu colar” e eu “eu sou cristã”. *risos* Faz sentido estar a usar isso. Por isso sim. Mas eu acho que é a única coisa que eu tenho, sinceramente.

Não tenho assim nada com versículos.

VB Por acaso eu lembro-me de que quando eu estava na licenciatura, sabia quem era cristão pelas pulseiras dos Quatro Pontos.

Ah ya ya ya ya. Eu cheguei a ter, mas sempre achei aquilo feio, o design. Mas tive para aí umas 2 pulseiras, uma amarela que brilhava no escuro e uma rosa também. E eu tipo “ah é bué *cute*” porque as minhas primas na altura tinham uma coleção.

VB Última secção... isto são só uns exemplos que trouxe, mas como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda? Podes fazer *zoom*, podes fazer o que quiseses.

Mas tenho que falar acerca destas imagens que estou a ver?

VB Em geral, mas também podes mencionar essas. Essas são mais no caso de não teres nada em mente.

risos Epá agora está muito na moda os artistas estarem a usar Cristo – não sei se já viste aquele Lil Nas X – a gravidade daquilo para mim não tem pés nem cabeça. É interessante que fazem isso com Cristo, mas com outra religião qualquer não.

Pronto, acerca de moda, o que é que eu acho? Não gosto. *risos* Não gosto. Para já, estes anjos e assim para mim não tem significado nenhum. Por exemplo, Adão e Eva, há muito essa simbologia dos primeiros humanos e isso também *comme ci, comme ça*, mas agora quando poem cruces a mim já me faz um bocadinho de confusão. Porque tipo, a cruz simboliza que Deus morreu por nós. E eles simplesmente estão a pôr uma cruz porque é fixe, ou porque é bonito, ou lá está, porque sabem o significado de Jesus – porque o diabo sabe quem Jesus é – certo? Então também acredito que muita gente que está nesse mundo da moda já está num nível muito elevado, que também pode usar isso como “ah, é só uma cruz”.

Não me estou a conseguir expressar bem.

VB Na literatura sobre o assunto costuma-se falar sobre a esteticização do cristianismo, ou seja, não é perder o significado, mas a cruz tornou-se um acessório de moda, ou seja, em muitos casos é despida do seu significado e é como se fosse outro acessório qualquer. Neste caso, que por acaso é Versace, eles são italianos e cresceram dentro do catolicismo, então eles têm imensas coisas nas coleções deles com referências extremamente religiosas. Dolce & Gabbana é a mesma coisa, de certeza que viste o casamento da Kourtney Kardashian há cerca de 2 anos e era super gótico com imensas referências religiosas. Mas também tem a ver com a tradição deles, como eles cresceram, não quer dizer que eles se identifiquem, mas está lá na imaginação.

Vi uma foto do vestido, acho eu.

VB Estas são imagens da *Vogue Portugal*, escolhi só 6, há imensas. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Como é que me fazem sentir? Não muito bem. *risos*

Lá está, posso estar errada, mas parece que estão meio que a sexualizar uma freira, a mostrar a perna enquanto que elas são super modestas nesse sentido, portanto, não mostram o cabelo, né? Depois aqui essa freira também com uma cara um bocadinho... Deixam-me desconfortável.

VB Desconfortável então. Consideras que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou é sempre desrespeitosa?

Pode ser respeitosa. Sem dúvida. Temos essa cena dos 4 pontos, não é? Pronto, é uma maneira respeitosa, é uma maneira de evangelizar, por exemplo, dá que falar.

Agora, lá está, usar cruzeiros ou até mesmo imagens de crucifixos com Jesus pendurado na cruz como um acessório, como estavas a dizer, somente por ter já... Sim, há maneiras de ser respeitoso, e outras que é tipo “*come on*, podias ter posto outra coisa sem ser a cruz”. O que me está a vir à cabeça é a Madonna, houve aí uma altura em que – aliás, foi um videoclipe que eu vi, mega antigo, nem sei o nome da música, mas eu estava de boca aberta a ver aquilo – em que ela usa símbolos mesmo... E para mim aí já é a maneira desrespeitosa, ela meio que sexualiza Jesus. Essa cena para mim já cai no desrespeito, porque é que está a usar a cruz? Por que é que não usa um círculo, um triângulo? Dá que falar.

Acredito também – saindo um bocadinho do tópico – que muitas dessas pessoas querem também trazer o choque, porque dá que falar, e ficas com *headlines* e podes ficar mais famoso por causa disso. Dá que falar, chocas as pessoas, chocas um grupo enorme – neste caso cristãos, e dá que falar e é controverso, e de certa forma está-te a trazer fama, porque o teu nome vai estar na boca das pessoas.

VB Por bem ou por mal. Porque às vezes os cristãos podem achar “ah, isto é muito bom” e às vezes podem...

Sim, sim. Sem dúvida. Nunca se sabe. Lá está, há cristãos e cristãos. Há outros que são mesmo “não concordas connosco, vais para o inferno”, há uns que são mesmo assim. *Guys, calm down.*

Appendix F2 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Catarina”

Date of Interview:	January 31, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	26:10
Characteristics:	25 years old, Beja, Portuguese, Unemployed, Catholic

- VB** Dentro do cristianismo, qual consideras ser a tua religião ou denominação religiosa?
Católica.
- VB** Ok, e consideras-te praticante? Mais ou menos?
Sim, praticante.
- VB** Ok. Como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e valores religiosos?
Não sei se é bem isso que procuras, mas talvez mais aquele catolicismo que nós procuramos mais moderno. Vá. Por exemplo, eu não vou à missa todos os domingos por ir à missa ou para marcar o carimbo. Vou à missa quando me identifico, com pessoas que me identifico, com padres que quero ouvir e que consigo tirar alguma coisa dali. Acho que não é aquele católico que diz ser católico e vai à missa só para marcar o carimbo. Às vezes, mais vale não irmos à missa e podermos fazer coisas na prática, ou então encontrar um grupo ou pessoas onde possamos ser úteis. Pronto.
- VB** Como é que achas que a tua fé influencia a tua vida no dia a dia e a maneira como tu te vestes?
A minha vida, no dia a dia, sendo uma pessoa prática e todos devemos, sendo católicos ou não, as nossas crenças são mais ou menos o básico, não é? Do ser humano normal e de uma pessoa boa. Na maneira como eu me visto, acho que não influencia no dia a dia, na rua, não é? Não deixo de ir sair à noite com um decote, por exemplo, só porque sou católica. Acho que há roupas para tudo. Também há roupas que eu não visto porque acho que não me fica bem, ou que não é o meu estilo, mas não deixo de usar pela minha religião.
- VB** Ou seja, não achas que exista nada que a tua religião não te permita vestir?
Certo!
- VB** Ok. Mas achas que existe alguma ligação entre o modo de vestir de uma pessoa e a religião?
Acho que há uma expectativa, especialmente das pessoas mais velhas ou mais tradicionais, por assim dizer. Claro que já não há aquilo de ir de saia para a missa ou de véu e cabeça tapada, mas há sempre aquele respeito de “não vou com um decote muito grande como se fosse para um bar”. Mas se tiver calor, também vou de alcinhas. Há muitas pessoas que têm aquela coisa antiga de ter que ir com “respeito” – entre aspas – porque eu, ir confortável, eu sempre digo isto. Quando vou para casa de um amigo, os meus amigos querem-me confortável. Se eu vou para casa de Jesus, que é meu amigo sendo católica, Ele quer que eu vá confortável. Se for preciso eu ir de fato de treino porque vim de um sítio onde tinha que estar de fato de treino e não tive tempo de mudar, eu vou de fato de treino. O que interessa é estar presente de corpo e alma, não é aquilo que eu vou vestir. Está bem que, claro que também não vou provocante, nem vou imprópria, né? Mas acho que ainda há muito esse preconceito das pessoas terem que se vestir para a missa. E não há mal nenhum, no Natal todos gostamos de ir bonitos e assim, mas para o dia a dia é como se fôssemos para a casa de um amigo, como disse. Com respeito. Acho que é só o que eu faço e o que eu gostava de ver nesta geração mais moderna.
- VB** Portanto, achas que ainda existem diretrizes específicas na igreja sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir? Ou achas que havia antes e que ainda estamos a lidar com aquilo que era o passado?
Havia dantes e de certeza que há certas gerações, as pessoas mais velhas, que ainda cumprem essas “modas” – entre aspas.
Nós, nos jovens, já não se vai vendo tanto, já vemos pessoas muito mais práticas e sem as formas que se viam antes. Portanto, acho que estamos todos muito mais confortáveis e é muito mais aceitável levar “qualquer coisa” – entre aspas – para a missa. Acho eu.
- VB** Agora mais focado. Consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas para como as pessoas se devem vestir? Mais especificamente, as mulheres.

Com certeza que há coisas escritas que... Eu vejo a Bíblia mais como uma interpretação. Muitas coisas que lá estão escritas não são diretas, não é? Há muita coisa que é uma história contada para nós percebermos certos momentos passados, não é? E depois isto com o passar das gerações vai sendo interpretado, porque nós também vamos evoluindo, e coisas que se faziam antigamente que eram consideradas corretas e hoje em dia não são. Então nós vamos interpretando de forma diferente, e acho que hoje em dia...

Não sei, não quero dizer que não, mas não há uma coisa específica que diga “a mulher tem que vestir isto assim assim”. Acho eu. Pelo menos não vejo dessa forma.

VB Ok. E para ti, o que é que tu consideras que é a modéstia? Que é uma coisa que é tão falada em geral, especialmente quando se trata de religião e moda.

Sim, pronto, focado especificamente na igreja, claro que um decote assim mais provocante não é modesto. Não é? Uma saia que se eu me for pôr de joelhos corra o risco de mostrar mais do que o que devo não é modesto. Mas não é preciso...

Há muitas religiões que se vestem de uma forma modesta que é decote perto do pescoço, manga comprida, vestidos compridos, calças compridas. Isso a meu ver é um bocadinho exagerado. E no catolicismo nós não vemos isso, pelo menos agora nos tempos modernos. Portanto, na minha opinião, roupa modesta é tudo o que não seja demasiado provocante. Não é aquilo de estares vestida assim – é um tópico muito falado hoje em dia – “estás vestida a pedir”, não é essa a ideia. Mas há um sítio e evento para... Ou seja, há um tipo de roupa e um estilo para qualquer evento. E a igreja, neste caso específico, não é o sítio onde eu vou de decote ou de minissaia. É só esse “respeito” – entre aspas – e bom senso, vá, acho eu.

Como eu estava a dizer há bocadinho, as alcinhas, as blusinhas de alças ou os vestidos eram vistos como roupa pouco modesta antigamente. Eu lembro-me do meu avô não gostar de alcinhas fininhas e de tops de barriga à mostra. Mas se estiver muito calor – as nossas igrejas, muitas, são muito quentes – se eu achar que não estou escandalosamente malvestida, vou sim com umas alcinhas e um leque para me refrescar. Não vou para a noite. Saber vestir para onde é que uma pessoa vai.

VB Já que és católica – a maioria das pessoas que se voluntariaram para as entrevistas acho que são católicas também, mas algumas não, então às vezes eu tento puxar um bocadinho mais aquilo que dá para cada conversa – num dos livros que eu estava a ler sobre a “moda católica” de uma escritora americana que também segue o catolicismo, ela escreveu que utilizava a moda como penitência na altura da quaresma. Ou seja, às vezes passava frio de propósito ou usava saltos desconfortáveis de propósito, como penitência. Sentes que isso é uma coisa comum? Que já viste acontecer à tua volta? Ou que já fizeste?

Mesmo direcionado para a moda?

VB Sim, utilizar itens de moda desconfortáveis de propósito como uma maneira de te aproximares de Deus ou de alguma coisa que tenha a ver com a tua fé.

Não. Comigo nunca aconteceu e acho que não tenho conhecimento de ninguém que... prontos todos nós dizemos “ah, vou deixar de fumar, vou deixar de comer chocolate durante a quaresma”, agora com roupa não conhecia essa ideia. *risos*

VB A mim também nunca me tinha passado pela cabeça, mas realmente quando vi eu pensei “oh, se calhar isto é uma coisa que algumas pessoas podem fazer”.

Mas uma pessoa não peca assim tanto para ter que usar saltos desconfortáveis durante a quaresma. *risos*

VB Não sei. Passando agora para outro tópico – que não é muito diferente – porque há de se ligar tudo. Consideras que segues as tendências da moda?

Não. Eu sou uma pessoa fora de moda. *risos*

VB Ok, e costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Acho que comparando com o “normal” – entre aspas – não compro com muita frequência. E por exemplo, evito ir às lojas como a Zara, Pull & Bear e isso porque também vejo pouca coisa que eu goste, então não faço muito essa *fast fashion*. Às vezes prefiro ir a uma loja um bocadinho mais cara e comprar uma coisa de que preciso do que ir às compras “gosto, é bonito, é tão giro e compro”. Pronto.

VB Era aí também que eu ia perguntar se tu achas que a tua religião influencia a tua visão sobre o consumo de moda, ou, por exemplo, moda sustentável? Sobre marcas de *fast fashion*, condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, doações e lojas de caridade... Se achas que existe então esta relação entre a tua fé e o teu consumo de roupa.

É interessante porque nunca pensei... Penso no sentido de não comprar só por comprar e de serem coisas de cada vez menor qualidade, e cada vez mais eu preciso de comprar umas calças pretas porque as que eu tinha já não estão pretas. Não é? E nunca vi isso nesse

ponto, mas que é interessante estares a dizer ter a ver com a religião. Porque eu sou como sou, penso nisso das roupas de *fast fashion* serem feitas de formas menos éticas, da sustentabilidade, do desperdício, e nunca o liguei pessoalmente à religião. Mas de certeza que quando eu faço uma coisa não vou estar a pensar “ah, porque eu sou católica vou fazer assim ou assado, não é? Mas também é claro que toda a minha educação católica formou a pessoa que eu sou hoje, por isso acho que sim, posso dizer que várias ações que eu tenho se relacionam com a minha religião. E lá está, como disseste, de doação de roupa, tento muito, se tenho roupa extra que já não visto há alguns anos, guardo para doar... Por isso, sim, faz parte de mim e do que me foi passado pela minha família, mas vai de encontro à religião também, é verdade.

VB Mas não é um pensamento que tu pensas tipo “eu vou fazer isto porque...”

Não. Penso que vou fazer porque não há necessidade de estar aqui em casa, vou doar e não é porque sou boa pessoa, mas porque, pronto, é bom. Não penso que seja porque sou católica. Ou que me vai guardar um lugar no céu. *risos*

VB Como é que decides o que vais vestir em diferentes ocasiões? Incluindo, por exemplo, eventos religiosos? Sentes que existe uma diferença – como já mencionaste – entre aquilo que tu vestes no dia a dia, se calhar, e aquilo que tu vestes para ir à igreja, por exemplo. Nós já falamos que é uma questão de bom senso, mas também, porque é que tu achas que se faz esta diferenciação? E como é que tu conjugas, então, aquilo que fazes de diferente no dia a dia e em eventos religiosos?

Sim.

Assim, pessoalmente, as únicas vezes que atualmente me visto “bem” – entre aspas – para a missa é no Natal, na Páscoa, gostamos sempre de ir assim mais finos. Mas num domingo normal visto a roupa que tinha vestido desse dia, ou que vesti ontem e se hoje não saí de casa. É a roupa do dia a dia.

Eu no dia a dia considero-me uma pessoa modesta, no verão ando de alcinhas, mas ando de calções, ando de saias, mas também não ando de minissaia demasiado curta. Por isso sinto que a qualquer momento posso entrar numa igreja e não vou estar – entre aspas – “a desrespeitar” o ambiente.

A única diferença que fazia, para relacionar com a tua pergunta, era isso de roupa de sair à noite, se for sair à noite depois da igreja, não vou levar a roupa para sair à noite... se calhar, depende, agora que já tenho 25 anos, se calhar mais depressa vou de pijama para a noite *risos* do que com um top decotado. Mas lá está, é muito isso, se eu gostar e achar que fica bonito o top decotado para ir a um bar, é para ir a um bar porque não acho que seja próprio. Não há necessidade. Eu não vou com um top decotado para um bar para mostrar que tenho um decote, ou que tenho as maminhas grandes ou pronto. Mas é porque gosto, porque me sinto bonita, porque seja o que for. Mas na missa não é assim. Não há essa necessidade e o principal até é nós nos sentirmos confortáveis, porque o objetivo de estar lá presente é estar a ouvir, a ver, a presenciar, não é?

Não é aquilo que nós temos vestido e, de preferência, se estivermos confortáveis, não temos outras distrações de estar “ah, eu estou com as calças apertadas, vou ter que me desabotoar, agora não sei que”, quanto mais confortáveis estivermos, mais presentes mesmo estamos, na minha opinião.

VB Faz sentido. Já usaste roupas ou acessórios (com símbolos religiosos, versículos bíblicos, etc.) como forma de expressares a tua fé?

Já usei – não sei se era uma moda – o fiozinho da cruz. *risos*

Havia uma altura em que andava sempre com um fiozinho com uns pendentezinhos que me eram especiais. Mas era para mim, não era para dizer “olhem que eu tenho uma cruz ao peito, sou cristã”. Portanto, não sei se posso dizer que era para expressar ou – não sei que palavra é que usaste. Claro que não seria para esconder, e tenho todo o gosto em que as pessoas saibam que eu sou cristã e católica – e com uma cruz no peito vê-se que sou cristã –, mas nunca foi com essa intenção de expressar, vá. Foi mais como uma coisa para mim, que eu gosto de usar, ou que me sinto bem, ou que me sinto protegida, ou estou num evento propício a usar uma camisola, por exemplo, da Missão País, não para – pronto, as vezes também ajuda – porque eu acho que há muito aquele *taboo* – agora cada vez menos – de dizer “eu sou católica, eu vou à missa” nestas idades mais jovens.

Há grupinhos, os grupos da missa, em que toda a gente sabe que nós vamos à missa, mas há aqueles grupos que não vão, ou que vão e têm vergonha, e às vezes verem uma pessoa com uma camisola, se calhar, com um verso bíblico, “olha, ela vai à missa, vou-lhe perguntar” pronto.

Nunca vesti com essa ideia, mas se isso transpareceu para alguém, ainda bem.

- VB** Ou seja, o propósito não é ser um *conversation starter*, mas se for, também não há problema...
- Exato. Nem mostrar “ah eu sou, eu sou” porque muita gente julga nós cristãos a dizer “ah ele é e só diz que é. É só olhar para mim que eu sou cristã e depois na prática não põe nada, só usa cruzeiros e fazem não sei quê...” E na realidade não fazem nada, e do que é que isso vale? Portanto, não é essa a ideia de mostrar, mas se isso aproximar alguém, tudo bem, ainda melhor.
- VB** Olha, agora esta é a última secção. Eu vou partilhar aqui umas imagens. Isto aqui é só uma seleção *random* de imagens em que a minha questão é: como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?
- Sim, acho que um bocadinho depende de como são usadas. Não é?
- Por exemplo, deixa-me aqui observar... Aqui este primeiro vestido parece um vestido mais elegante de algum evento, assim, “especial” – entre aspas.
- O segundo já é uma coisa assim mais marcante, arrojada, de uma pessoa que vai para uma coisa assim mais especial e que se calhar não é cristã e só tem ali as cruzinhas porque fica bonito. A *sweat* também não parece ser assim muito santa *risos* por assim dizer. É assim um bocadinho a mais para o chunga. Portanto, se calhar, aquela pessoa pode também não ser cristã, ou pode ser, não sei, quem sabe? Não me incomoda, mas há muita gente que usa... De certeza que uma pessoa comum não cristã se calhar não usaria a *sweat* azul, acho eu, não sei. Porque é uma coisa muito “tchanana”, a menos que tivesse ali algum *statement* a favor ou contra que quisesse passar. Não é?
- Muita gente – pronto – a moda usa-se muito para passar uma imagem. Mas muitas vezes também é usada – como este vestido das cruzeiros –, a cruz em si, para muita gente é só uma cruz, um “x”, dois paizinhos, e não é usada como a cruz de um cristão.
- VB** Certo, portanto, não te incomoda?
- Não me incomoda. Se não tratarem mal outras coisas, será melhor.
- VB** Agora vou-te mostrar algumas imagens da *Vogue*. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?
- Ok, a terceira é um bocadinho desnecessária. *risos*
- Nós temos que ter humor, Jesus também tem humor, se Ele faz estas coisas com a nossa vida, Ele também tem que ser uma pessoa com bom humor. Mas pronto, esta é um bocadinho abusada. Eu também não ia pôr a foto da minha mãe e por lá “milf”. Não é? *risos* É o equivalente.
- VB** Tenho mais estas imagens aqui que também são da *Vogue Portugal*. Mesma questão, em geral, como é que te sentes em relação a este tipo de representação?
- Nós, hoje em dia, já vemos muito, por exemplo, no carnaval, nos mascararmos de freiras e padres e assim. E não vejo mal nisso, porque é uma máscara, não é?
- As freiras *sexys* e tudo isso... e acho que isso não desrespeita a religião. Mas também depende da forma como usamos.
- Por exemplo, na primeira foto [Figure 22], a pessoa responsável por este trabalho, se for uma pessoa cristã, talvez seja um bocadinho – não é triste que eu quero dizer, mas – menos positivo por todo este *show* e depois tem ali uma cruz, um terço. Porque se a pessoa acredita em Cristo e em tudo o que Ele representa, depois estar ali a meter uma menina toda *sexy* num cavalinho meio freira meio menina da noite com a cruz... Pronto, se não tivesse a cruz, já não estava ali a simbolizar nada porque era uma máscara, é uma forma dela se vestir, de querer passar uma mensagem, mas é só a roupa, não temos a imagem de ninguém.
- VB** Sim. Existe uma frase que as pessoas dizem por vezes na internet: que as freiras são as *hijabis* mais sexualizadas.
- Realmente é verdade.
- VB** Porque na realidade elas são, elas cobrem o cabelo.
- E com as outras ninguém mexe.
- VB** Têm-se um bocadinho de mais cuidado ou respeito.
- Respeito.
- VB** Só para terminar, queria perguntar se consideras que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou se achas que normalmente não é?
- Eu acho que normalmente, se calhar não é falta de respeito, mas as pessoas, se calhar, que os escolhem não acreditam neles. Portanto, para eles é só mais uma coisa, não é? Mas da mesma forma que usam estes, podiam usar de outras religiões que não são tão vistos. Não é? Portanto, pela parte deles acaba por ser um bocadinho falta de – ... mau uso para com quem é crente. Mas se eles forem crentes, acho que ainda é pior. Isto se a moda for usada

para sexualizar, coisas assim mais... provocantes. Porque pode ser uma camisola ou roupa de padre, é “moda” – entre aspas – para eles. E então teria as suas simbologias e tudo isso e não seria ofensivo de forma nenhuma. Mas se for neste sentido, por exemplo, da Playboy depois com uma cruz ao lado, é um bocadinho feio. *risos*

VB Mas em geral, não achas que seja sempre “blasfémia” ...

Acho que não. Temos que saber brincar com as coisas, e não vão dizer – sei lá – dizer uma coisa direta como “todos os cristãos são más pessoas” ou “vão morrer e vou esfaqueá-los” ou pronto. É uma forma deles se expressarem, e se acham que isso é necessário para eles, pronto. Jesus os tenha.

Appendix F3 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Filipa”

Date of Interview:	February 2, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	41:61
Characteristics:	60 years old, Lisbon, Portuguese, Unemployed, Evangelical (Presbyterian)

- VB** Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que considera ser a sua denominação religiosa?
- Eu sou evangélica, na vertente – portanto, onde fui criada – presbiteriana. Mas tive a sorte de conseguir ao longo da vida, tanto profissionalmente como na minha infância – porque os meus pais eram de igrejas diferentes, e como tal, pronto, a minha avó era batista, a minha mãe era presbiteriana, o meu pai era anglicano – portanto, eu ao domingo podia escolher com quem queria ir. Nunca era sempre com um, porque se não me apetecia ir a um lado, ia a outro, portanto, havia sempre esta flexibilidade. E depois com o coro (*gospel*), então aí o leque abriu-se muito mais, de conhecer outras igrejas de todo o tipo, não é? A nível de pentecostal, a nível católico, sei lá. E, portanto, basicamente, eu considero-me uma pessoa cristã. E tento ser cristã.
- VB** Eu também ia perguntar como é que descreveria as suas crenças e os seus valores religiosos?
- São muito importantes para mim. São muito importantes para a minha vida, mas acima de tudo, sim, sou uma pessoa crente, sou cristã, e tento aplicar esse meu cristianismo – portanto, os valores que Jesus nos transmitiu –, tento aplicá-los na minha vida, no dia a dia. Muitas vezes é difícil, é, mas acho que quando nós temos vontade de os executar, conseguimos executar.
- VB** Portanto, a sua fé é uma coisa que influencia a sua vida no dia a dia, mas como é que considera que influencia as suas escolhas de vestuário?
- As minhas escolhas de vestuário... Olha, eu não ligo nada ao vestuário. É uma coisa impressionante. Não gosto de ir às compras, odeio ir às compras. Quando é preciso ir-se comprar alguma coisa, de preferência são as filhas que vão juntas, ou vai a mais nova com o pai. Epá, porque eu não gosto. Sinceramente não gosto. Portanto, o meu estilo, digamos, é só meu, mas é um aspeto de... Passar um bocadinho de despercebido. Não gosto de dar nas vistas, não gosto de nada muito espampanante, portanto, tudo o que seja discreto e que me faça passar assim um bocadinho na sombra é o ideal.
- VB** Certo. E acredita que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?
- Às vezes sim.
- VB** Como é que é, por exemplo, a sua visão pessoal sobre esta relação entre a moda e a religião?
- Eu acho que às vezes há pessoas que tentam passar uma visão da forma como se vestem, da forma como se apresentam – não é só o vestir, é todo o conjunto, não é? – tentam passar uma imagem... Como é que me vou explicar? É mais fácil perceber-me, mas explicar é mais difícil. Sei lá, se calhar são pessoas que são um bocadinho exuberantes na sua forma de ser e de estar, e que depois são capazes de dizer: “mas eu tenho muita fé, eu acredito muito”. E depois nos seus atos do dia a dia para com os outros, para com os seus até isso não é aplicável. Não aplicam isso. Portanto, às vezes quando vejo uma pessoa assim um bocadinho mais exuberante – isto num contexto do dia a dia, não no contexto de uma festa, todos temos que ter essa noção, não é? É lógico que se eu for para uma festa, tenho que me adequar ao estilo para onde eu vou. Isso não quer dizer que, caracteristicamente, para mim não seja importante – por exemplo, se eu vou à igreja, se calhar não me visto da mesma forma que me visto quando estou em casa. Tentamos sempre melhorar qualquer coisa, arranjar um bocadinho mais o cabelo, por aí. Da moda em geral, eu como sinceramente a moda em geral a mim não me... não é não me diz, é não me identifico minimamente. Porque hoje usa-se um top a mostrar a barriga, e daqui a uma semana já é um que tapa os joelhos. Ou seja, portanto, ou as pessoas andam constantemente a comprar para se adaptarem, ou arranjam um estilo próprio e assim seguem. Eu tenho uma adolescente de 17 anos em casa e, portanto, sei que para ela é importante ela estar, mais ou menos, equiparada – eu agora estou completamente à vontade para falar porque estou sozinha, por isso é que também esta hora foi ótima – ela tem que estar equiparada aos seus colegas. Não é? Tem que se vestir mais ou menos da

mesma maneira, tem que – embora ela tenha um estilo muito próprio, e às vezes haja coisas que ela leva para a escola, mas que não leva para a igreja. Portanto, ela própria faz essa distinção. E isso se calhar também é um bocadinho influência minha. Porque acho que é importante, sim, nós irmos seguindo as tendências e estarmos a par do que nos rodeia – é importante nós termos a noção do que nos rodeia – mas não temos que ir atrás. É um bocadinho por aí, pronto.

VB Portanto, eu acho que com isto tudo, acredita que a sua religião influencia a maneira como se veste...

Não sei se é a religião. Não sei se é propriamente a minha religião. É, se calhar, a minha maneira de ser. Porque há outras pessoas na igreja, que foram da mesma criação que eu, que se vestem de forma diferente de mim. Não é? Nada a apontar. Não é por aí. Isto é um exemplo, se estiver muito calor, eu, por exemplo, para ir para a praia visto um top de alças com o fato de banho por baixo e OK, vou na boa sem qualquer tipo de problema..., mas se calhar não me sinto à vontade de o domingo ir de manhã à igreja e levar esse mesmo top de alças só.

VB E porque é que diria que existe então essa diferença entre o que se veste num sítio e o que não se veste noutro sítio?

Não sei. Acho que é a parte de respeito. Acho que é o sítio onde eu estou – isto, na igreja – sentir que é necessário algum respeito no local onde estou. Portanto, não é para ir à vontade... é para ir à vontade, não é à vontadeinha. Pronto, é um bocadinho por aí. *risos*

VB E considera que existem diretrizes específicas da sua denominação, ou da igreja mesmo, sobre como é que as pessoas se devem vestir? Mais especificamente, as mulheres.

Eu acho que existem algumas. Mas hoje em dia acho que já não são tão respeitadas como eram. Na minha igreja, portanto, no grupo das minhas igrejas, isso não existe. Pronto. É uma igreja com uma mente aberta nesse aspeto. Isso não existe, não é imposto nada. Mas por exemplo, eu sei de uma situação de uma moça que foi madrinha de uma miúda e que o padre – portanto, foi na igreja católica – a miúda foi batizada e o padre disse que a madrinha – os outros podiam vir como quisessem – mas a madrinha não podia vir com os ombros à mostra.

VB Mas os outros podiam?

Os outros podiam. A mãe, o pai, o que fosse. A madrinha não. Olha, isto é uma imposição um bocadinho parva. No mínimo. Por que é que a madrinha não pode? Qual é a diferença da madrinha para a mãe? Pronto. E, portanto, este tipo de imposições, não, na minha igreja não há. Não existem. Até são, se calhar, das poucas igrejas evangélicas onde realmente não há uma imposição de fazer isto ou aquilo ou ter que ser assim ou assado. Não. Há uma adaptação para que a pessoa se possa sentir bem e possa se moldar desde que a sua vida seja realmente uma demonstração da sua fé, da sua maneira de estar.

VB Mas mencionou que se calhar no passado já podia ter existido este tipo de diretrizes, isto foi uma coisa que evoluiu?

Sim, sim. Olha, uma das coisas que durante algum tempo eu – e não estou a dizer que tenha ou não razão, não é isso – por exemplo, não se podiam ir de mini saia (para o coro), ninguém, eu, por exemplo, fumo. É lógico que não fumo dentro da igreja, como é óbvio, não é? Mas estou a tentar largar um esforço. Mas nunca, por exemplo, senti por parte dos pastores com quem eu lidei alguma cobrança por causa disso. Portanto, eu não era menor ou maior por fumar, ou por ir de calças de ganga, ou pronto. É lógico que as igrejas também vão evoluindo, também vão – espero eu –, umas sim, outras não, é como tudo. Mas eu nunca senti assim uma imposição, pelo menos na minha geração, que fosse muito acentuada.

VB Acha que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário específica que não possa vestir por motivos religiosos?

Não.

VB OK. E acha que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

A Bíblia tem algumas indicações.

VB Lembra-se assim de alguma...

Vamos lá ver, de uma forma geral, eu fui filha de pastor e, portanto, também aí às vezes havia muita conversa, muito debate positivo. A Bíblia... temos muitas vezes que pensar que a Bíblia foi escrita e todo o seu contexto estava enquadrado numa certa altura, numa certa fase da vivência humana, que neste momento umas coisas farão muito sentido e outras nem tanto. O meu pai costumava-me dizer “se tu abrires a Bíblia – num dia em que estás embaixo – abres a Bíblia num sítio qualquer, e se leres um versículo, vais sentir

que ali tens a resposta para o teu problema, é tudo uma questão de conseguires interpretar”. Não é? Portanto, é isso que eu acho que, às vezes, certas religiões não fazem: não interpretam para transportar isso para os dias de hoje, e, portanto, impõem regras ou situações que às vezes até são desconfortáveis e afastam as pessoas por causa disso. E a Bíblia dá indicações, o que é preciso é que a gente consiga perceber quais as diferenças daquela altura para as de hoje.

VB Para si, o que é a modéstia? Que é uma coisa que se fala tanto quando se fala sobre moda e religião.

Ui *risos* A modéstia... Eu acho que a modéstia pode ser muita coisa e pode não ser nada. Porquê? Porque uma pessoa sendo modesta pode não ser humilde. E uma pessoa humilde pode não ser modesta. Uma pessoa muito rica pode ser modesta. Portanto, o modesto é muito abrangente. O que eu acho que é essencial é uma pessoa nunca pisar o outro para conseguir algo. Se conseguirmos ter essa modéstia, todos conseguimos alcançar algo de uma forma ou de outra. Não precisamos é de pisar ninguém nem maltratar ninguém. Isso talvez seja uma parte da modéstia. Mas quanto ao resto, acho que é muito abrangente. Pode ser muita coisa e pode não ser nada.

VB Inclusive no modo de vestir?

Inclusive no modo de vestir.

VB OK. Já me disse que não costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência, sente que isto é por existir alguma relação entre o consumo de roupa e a sua fé? Ou é só falta de interesse? Bom, para já é uma grande falta de interesse realmente. Porque nada me desperta muito a atenção, sinceramente. E depois tenho a vantagem de ter 3 filhas, o que é sempre bom porque “ah, eu já não gosto disto”, “dá cá que eu uso, não faz mal”.

VB A minha mãe também faz isso! *risos*

Vou sempre herdando. Em vez de ser ao contrário, são elas que dão para a mãe. E então depois é muito bom porque os corpinhos são mais ou menos a mesma coisa e isso é muito fixe porque usamos as coisas umas das outras e depois andamos doidas à procura da camisa A, B ou C que ninguém sabe onde está... Enfim. Mas não tenho realmente interesse, porque a roupa que hoje em dia se usa – como é que eu te vou explicar? – não é para a minha idade, porque eu acho que não é a idade aí que impõe o que quer que seja... para o meu gosto, não se adapta. Portanto, eu não gosto de me ver com aquele tipo de roupa. Eu aqui há uns tempos tive de comprar um vestido – ou deveria ter comprado um vestido – para ir a uma festa e andei doida à procura do vestido, não comprei vestido nenhum, já estava pelos cabelos com tudo e acabei por ir de calças com uma blusa e senti-me muito bem porque ia dentro de mim, confortável... não sei, não me chama a atenção. Sinceramente não. E também a nível financeiro é uma boa medida porque se poupa bastante dinheiro. Não é?

VB Sim... também tem um bocadinho a ver com o que eu vou perguntar a seguir, que é, como é que a religião – ou a fé – influencia a visão sobre a moda sustentável? Ou seja, comprar com menos frequência, produtos feitos com mais ética, que não sejam feitos, por exemplo, em *sweatshops* na China com condições de trabalho péssimas, ou, por exemplo, compras em lojas de caridade, ou fazer doações. Esse tipo de comportamento é uma coisa que pensa por causa da sua fé ou não?

Eu acho que tem sempre influência. Quando nós temos fé, há sempre um lado humanitário, digamos assim. Eu vou-te por isto de outra forma, se calhar vou-te complicar a vida. Não é ter fé. O ser cristão – que é uma coisa diferente de termos fé – e eu como cristã, sei que há pessoas – com que eu posso ter os meus problemas, que podem ser extremamente graves – mas há pessoas que estão muito pior do que eu. Não é? E como tal, o que nós não usamos, ou o que deixa de servir, ou o que seja, é sempre doado. Ou para quem a gente conhece, ou para alguma instituição, ou entre pessoas há sempre uma troca de “olha eu dou-te um saco de roupa para a miúda tu dás-me camisolas ou casacos que já não vistas” pronto. Não acho que isso tenha a ver propriamente com a minha fé, tem a ver com a minha maneira de ser cristã. E é lógico que a parte sustentável, a parte de pensar no que será este planeta daqui a uns anos, eu tendo filhos, tendo netas, preocupo-me com o que vem aí, não é? Com todas estas mudanças que estamos a ver. Portanto... não sei se tem a ver... se tiver uma ligação, não é consciente. OK?

VB Certo. Já utilizou roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos como forma de expressar a sua fé?

Já.

VB Por que e o quê?

Para já, uso esta cruz, que é uma cruz muito especial. Foi-me oferecida na altura em que a minha filha mais nova nasceu, porque ela já não era suposta ter nascido, eu já tinha 42 anos, e houve uma pessoa – que por acaso é católica – que me ofereceu esta cruz. Ou que ofereceu à menina esta cruz. E o meu marido, no dia em que ela nasceu, comprou este coração. Portanto, é algo que eu uso sempre, ou quase sempre. Já vesti camisolas em contexto de trabalho de jovens, trabalho com crianças, não sei... Muita coisa. Já uma vez, fizemos uma atividade há alguns anos de tentar passar a palavra fora da igreja – de sair de dentro da igreja – e fizemos uns marcadores de livros onde vinha um versículo da Bíblia e dávamos às pessoas. Sim, e isso é uma coisa que não me envergonha. Porque muitas vezes eu noto que as pessoas têm um bocadinho de vergonha de dizer “eu não sou católica”, não é? Acho que há sempre ali aquele rótulo um bocado estranho e ficamos sempre assim um bocadinho desconfortáveis e não, não tenho qualquer tipo de problema. Não tenho qualquer tipo de problema em frequentar outras igrejas, nem em ir a outras igrejas, e houve uma altura da nossa vida em que eu senti que na igreja onde estava eu não estava bem, e, portanto, partimos à procura de um sítio onde ficar bem. E graças a Deus surgiu, foram alguns anos, mas não importa, surgiu, e estamos bem e estamos a reativar todas as atividades que tínhamos e de que gostamos. Principalmente à música, claro, estamos muito ligados à música. E também através da música podemos transmitir muitas vezes mensagens muito importantes e muito valiosas para quem as ouve. E neste momento será um bocadinho por aí o nosso trabalho que está agora a surgir.

VB Vamos agora passar à última parte da entrevista. Em que eu vou mostrar aqui umas imagens. Estas imagens não são específicas, é mesmo só se não tiver uma ideia, está aqui uma ideia. Mas a questão é: como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Acho que não são válidos. Porquê? Primeiro, por exemplo, no primeiro vestido – neste Valentino – eu olho para ali e vejo Adão e Eva. Não está... pode estar bem representado, mas quem olha para ali vê um homem e uma mulher nus, nada mais. Aqui na figura 262 [Figure 19], a cruz não me aquece nem me arrefece, é uma indumentária... para já o vestido é feio à brava, desculpa. Mas não, não me diz nada. Não consigo expressar. Eu não compraria este vestido para eu vestir, só porque tem uma cruz ou várias. Não é? Pronto. Acho que para mim as coisas têm que ter algum sentido, algum significado, e nos outros dois, talvez deles todos o que me faz menos confusão será a camisola dele, embora ache que – lá está, é a mesma situação – aquela figura ali não me diz nada, não me transmite nada. É uma figura religiosa, OK, mas é suposto, quando nós transportamos alguma coisa religiosa, transmitir algo para fora e não é o caso. Pronto, e o mesmo acontece com o último vestido, que não, não *risos*

VB Vou passar mais umas imagens, estas aqui são da *Vogue Portugal*, e gostava de saber como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir.

A do meio [Figure 23], sinceramente, faz-me sentir um pouco desconfortável.

VB Porquê?

Porque acho que a postura dela não é, não é a correta. Como é que eu vou explicar isto? Pá, isto é mais difícil do que eu pensava. *risos* Eu olho para ali – vou tentar simplificar e depois tu dás a volta a isto de outra maneira – eu olho para ali e imediatamente me vem à ideia bruxas. Não olho para os detalhes. A primeira [Figure 22] – lá está, acho que o símbolo religioso que ali está não significa absolutamente nada, está ali apenas como um adorno. E para mim a última [Figure 24], se calhar a minha filha gostaria muito de ver, porque ela é que é mais da área de história. Ou se calhar não, porque ela é de história e arqueologia e aquilo é mais complicado... é mais para os ossinhos do que para outras coisas. Mas lá está, é a tal coisa, eu olho para estas imagens – e quando eu entro numa igreja católica e vejo imagens – eu respeito, não é? Mas a mim não me dizem nada. Não consigo identificar-me com elas. Para mim é vazio.

⁶² During the interviews, images were presented using a different numbering system from the one adopted in this thesis. This was because other images appear earlier in the document, before the methodology section where the questionnaire is introduced, making it impractical to label the first image shown to participants as “Figure 18.” Therefore, when participants refer to “Figure 1,” they are referring to Figure 18 of the thesis; “Figure 2” to Figure 19; “Figure 3” to Figure 20; and “Figure 4” to Figure 21. The same applies to the images from *Vogue Portugal*, where “Figure 5” corresponds to Figure 22; “Figure 6” to Figure 23; “Figure 7” to Figure 24; “Figure 8” to Figure 25; “Figure 9” to Figure 26; and “Figure 10” to Figure 27.

VB Tenho aqui estas últimas 3 imagens, é a mesma questão, como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?

São imagens, pura e simplesmente. Quer dizer, não há repulsa por elas, não é? Mas não me transmitem nada. Não iria, por exemplo, comprar este perfume porque é uma freira que o está a usar. Se é essa a ligação que querem, não é conseguida. Depois eu sou muito picuinhas porque sou de eventos, pronto. Uma freira nunca se maquilharia desta maneira. O mesmo acontece com a outra freira [Figure 25], nunca se vestiria assim, nunca se maquilhava assim, nunca mostrava aquele pernão..., portanto, isto para mim é apenas marketing.

VB A minha última questão é se considera que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou se é sempre desrespeitosa?

Poderia e deveria ser respeitosa. Mas geralmente não o é. Portanto, são muito poucos os estilistas que utilizam essas figuras, ou esses símbolos, de uma forma – lá está – a tentarem transmitir uma mensagem. Porque quando um símbolo religioso não nos transmite nada, não serve de nada.

VB Ou será que estão a transmitir uma mensagem também? Outra mensagem.

Também. Se forem bastante inteligentes, conseguem fazê-la transmitir. Lá está, isso é um bocadinho dúbio porque pode haver, numa peça de vestuário, algo que transmita uma mensagem a outro, isso sim, é uma forma respeitosa de usar os símbolos. Também os símbolos religiosos que se utilizam, que para mim não têm muita ligação, são os terços, os crucifixos, as santas, portanto, se calhar por aí não me identifico. Mas, por exemplo, também não sou capaz de vestir, por exemplo, uma t-shirt com uma caveira. Porque sinto que estou a transmitir uma mensagem negativa, não só para mim, mas também para os outros.

VB E porque é que acha que existe então a inclusão destes símbolos em peças de roupa ou em editoriais, por exemplo, nas revistas?

Eu acho que, como tudo, é uma moda. E qualquer dia ninguém se lembra de que a freira estava a mostrar a perna ou... São fases, são fases. Os estilistas são pessoas que têm que ser extremamente criativas, e há alguns que são excepcionais. Não são todos que são... prontos. É lógico que cada vez mais eles têm que crescer e têm que apresentar algo muito tchanan. Vá... Isso não impede, por exemplo, de – lá está – através das suas peças poderem transmitir algo que seja respeitoso. Uma das estilistas de que eu gosto muito, portuguesa – gosto, nunca compraria a roupa dela, pronto – é a Ana Salazar. Porquê? Porque acho que ela pensa principalmente na figura feminina. É espampanante, é vistosa, se for preciso, é um decote que vai ao umbigo, OK, mas respeita o corpo feminino, não é?

VB O perfume com a imagem da freira é Ana Salazar.

risos Por acaso não sabia, mas gosto da forma... lá está, eu vou ver o outro lado, que é a forma respeitosa como ela representa o corpo feminino.

Appendix F4 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Joana”

Date of Interview:	February 6, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	43:08
Characteristics:	38 years old, Famalicão, Portuguese, Researcher, Catholic

VB Dentro do Cristianismo qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou a tua denominação religiosa?

O mais próximo é cristianismo. Não que eu me considere cristã no todo, mas sim, o mais próximo pode-se dizer que sim. Porque eu tenho crisma, as minhas filhas eu batizei-as, as duas, não considero que tenha de fazer continuidade no caminho delas nesse sentido, ou seja, não sou direcionada à parte apostólica. E sou muito misturada também com a questão de hinduísmo em termos de religião. Agora, o mais próximo – culturalmente falando – não apenas de religião, culturalmente falando, é muito mais próximo do Cristianismo.

VB OK. Já falaste um bocadinho sobre isto, mas como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

É um todo, eu descrevo como um todo, eu não seleciono. Eu não acho que o judaísmo tenha mais ou menos valor que o cristão, acho que tem outra visão. O mesmo com o Budismo, com o Hinduísmo, todo o tipo de religiões que eu agora me possa estar a lembrar, mesmo em termos dos Protestantes – que são os mais brasileiros – todo o tipo de religiões eu tenho uma determinada crença nelas, porque têm algum fundo de verdade e também acredito que sejam todas um pedacinho de verdade. Portanto, tenho mesmo muito respeito em termos de... Dou-te o exemplo da *burka*, quando a *burka* começou a ser proibida em alguns sítios ocidentais, eu sou completamente contra isso, porque isso é muito mais do que religião e muito mais do que uma “não liberdade”. Isso é uma liberdade. Muitas vezes as pessoas não entendem e as mulheres têm, neste caso, neste tipo de religião que é, decidem muitas delas desde jovens de usar, não apenas por obrigatoriedade. E eu acredito muito que tirar esse “hábito”, OK? Essa questão de, neste caso, vestuário é uma proibição... é um corte de liberdade. É um bocado irónico isto, OK? Mas para mim é um bocado de corte de liberdade no sentido de que as pessoas deviam usar o que quisessem, como quisessem de acordo com as suas próprias crenças e não as regras do mundo e da sociedade. Até mesmo as que usam os olhos com a questão dos óculos e têm tudo tapado, até mesmo isso. Eu considero que é uma forma de expressão livre, portanto, a mim pessoalmente, eu visto que eu quiser e eu não correspondo a... Tenho muito respeito quando vou a casamentos e batizados, não necessariamente se a noiva me pedir – se a noiva pedir ou a mãe pedir, isso é obrigatório – mas não precisam de me pedir porque não vou com os ombros destapados e não vou com mini saias nem com decotes. Vou com um xaile por cima ou com algum casaco por cima e tenho mesmo muita consideração por isso. É sempre chocante para as pessoas que estão dentro da própria Igreja – imaginam um padre, não é? Padres, freiras, acólitos – estão habituados a um determinado tipo de traje e de veste, e tento ter sempre um bocadinho de respeito por isso.

VB Certo. Achas que a tua visão sobre as tuas crenças pessoais mudou muito ao já teres sido educada mais ou menos assim? Ou sentes que a tua educação foi mais num parâmetro específico?

Mudou, mudou muito, porque eu fui educada de forma muito católica e fui educada para que não se perde a virgindade antes de casar. Eu tenho 38 anos, portanto há 40 anos, sendo que, considerando a minha educação desta vertente, começa ali por volta de há 30 anos... Ainda se ouvia muito isso. Que eu tinha de ser virgem até ao meu marido, até ao dia das núpcias. Houve um dia em que o meu pai me perguntou onde é que eu ia assim vestida, e eu lembro-me de estar com um top normal e uma minissaia. Tinha 18 anos, 17, que ainda não... Tinha 16/17. Recordo-me de que quando eu andava no Porto – fiz o liceu no Porto, no Colégio Universal, que agora é um bocadinho mais aberto, mas na época era muito religioso – e o professor perguntou-me, explicou-me, e pediu, por favor, para eu não usar mais tops daqueles, que eram tops sem costas da Mango agarrado aqui, subido ao sutiã, estás a ver? Ele pediu-me por favor para não usar mais aquilo, perguntou-me se eu não tinha roupa em casa. Uma pessoa com quem eu me dou mesmo lindamente, ainda

hoje, mas que nos anos 2000, não é? Eu ainda levei com... E principalmente no Norte. Porque depois eu noto que em Lisboa, quando fui trabalhar para lá, passado meia dúzia de anos, as pessoas se vestem como querem, que não correspondem a nenhum tipo de expectativa e não têm muito estilo, propriamente dito. E no Porto – eu notei muito isso – em Braga, quando fui para a faculdade, também notei muito isso e levei um bocado a minha educação nesse sentido. Demorei muito tempo a usar minissaias novamente, a usar calções, era muito complicado para mim – quando eu digo calções, são mesmo *shorts*, sabes? Era difícil usar. Eu notava que as minhas amigas de Lisboa usavam no Algarve isso e eu não. E depois com o tempo fui mudando. Ali pelo meu terceiro ano de faculdade, em 2005/2006, fui alterando muito, foram ingressando também muitas calças da Indian Rose. Não sei se conheces. As Indian Rose eram umas calças que toda a gente em Braga usava, elas custavam 100 e tal euros, 120/130/140, eram caríssimas. Eram as Ripley. As Indian Rose eram italianas e as Ripley também, e todas nós queríamos aquilo. E então começámos a usar essas calças muito largas, a tapar a parte da frente dos pés, eram mesmo a cair no rabo e tudo. E com tops muito curtos. E, de certa forma, também conseguimos educar os nossos pais. Porque eu morava fora de casa e depois eles viam as minhas fotos e viam as minhas coisas mesmo. Outra coisa foi porque aos 18 anos eu fiz um piercing no umbigo e escondi o piercing do meu pai até aos 21, até trabalhar. Também fiz um piercing aqui aos 14, escondi durante um tempo, depois eles ignoraram. Portanto, sim, a minha educação arrastou-se muito naquilo que eu também... Não apenas fiz, mas demonstrei, entendes?

VB E como é que tu achas que a tua fé – ou seja, a tua fé agora, mas se calhar também a tua educação nesse aspeto – influencia a tua vida diária e as tuas escolhas de vestuário hoje em dia?

Olha, Vitória, eu sou muito clássica. E eu acho que eu tenho aqui um bocado de uma teoria que vocês também podiam estudar, que é: Eu sou muito específica, eu sou muito colada à minha mãe, OK? E depois eu reparo nas minhas primas que são iguais às minhas tias. Eu, por exemplo, eu uso as unhas no máximo assim, OK? Porque a minha mãe também. A minha tia, não. Então a minha prima usa as unhas como tu. *risos* Então eu acho que tem a ver muito, muito, muito com a educação. Mas não propriamente a educação religiosa, OK? É mesmo uma questão de educação cultural, a passagem, a minha mãe usa os casacos de malha a combinar com a camisola de dentro e eu adoro isso. *risos* Que é uma coisa muito cara até, eu sempre lhe disse que isso é um hábito muito caro, porque são conjuntos sempre caros. Mas... E a minha prima é igual. E as minhas amigas... Eu nunca tive amigas, por exemplo, que se vestissem como eu, e por isso eu nunca reparei nisso. Então, da mesma forma que eu não arrastei a minha religião, nem o meu gosto para a questão das amizades, OK? Dar-me só com pessoas que se vestem desta forma – porque agora nota-se muito isso – e eu era, e sou, uma pessoa muito básica e com muitas regras específicas da minha mãe e não da religião. Como eu não gosto de “pingarelhos” – a minha mãe tem esta palavra – então as minhas sapatilhas são de rapaz, não são de rapariga, porque as raparigas – tipo as da Liu Jo, por exemplo – são muito cheias de “pingarelhos”. A minha mãe odeia isso, eu odeio isso. E... Mas não... Eu não sou muito ligada à questão da religião nem da catequese. Eu quando ia para a catequese, não me lembro de estar a pensar nisso, só mesmo em relação às saias, mas era porque eu não gostava das minhas pernas. Nada a ver com religião. Não arrastei nada disso.

VB Portanto, na tua visão pessoal, não existe assim uma grande ligação, mas acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião em geral?

Pois, porque depois se tu vais por *clusters*, eu tenho amigas que se notam desde a primária até hoje, que são de religião diferente, que são protestantes ou que são testemunhas de Jeová. E isso nota-se como muita diferença. Eu sempre usei roupa por cima do joelho, e essas minhas amigas não. Sempre usei tops – eu não gosto de usar t-shirts –, sempre usei coisas de alças e elas não podiam. Por isso, sim, existe, mas existe muito nos extremismos, no catolicismo não. Um grande exemplo de “no catolicismo não” é que quando eu ia à comunhão, havia meninas que usavam uma... Eu usei túnica para ir à comunhão solene, por exemplo, levei uma túnica. Porque a minha mãe, eu e o meu pai, em opinião geral, considerámos que era humilde, mas isso era muito específico, era uma festa e considerámos que era uma questão de humildade. Apesar de que vá da lei, humildade não é usar uma túnica bordada à mão que custe mais de 80 contos há 20 anos atrás.

VB Era isso que eu ia perguntar, porque, por exemplo, neste tema fala-se muito sobre a modéstia. O que é que tu consideras que é modéstia? Em termos religiosos, mas relativamente à roupa.

A modéstia é aparência, não é o valor, Vitória. Não, não é, e não é porque eu sou mesmo muito presente na vida da comunidade, eu moro em frente à Igreja. E estou muito presente, e estive durante a minha vida inteira presente, e não há modéstia nenhuma. Olha, a minha modéstia foi quando eu batizei as minhas filhas, eu especifiquei que não usassem coisas novas, percebes? Que não insistissem nisso, até porque éramos 30, nem 40 pessoas, e eu usei branco e usei vestidos tipo abaixo dos 50 euros, para tu veres. Sim, eu queria ir bonita, sou a mãe, também tentei ir por aí, mas a minha modéstia foi QB, porque não é modéstia um vestido brilhante, que é branco, mas é brilhante. Custa 50 euros de feitiço, mais 50 euros de tecido, e depois tenho a maquilhagem e depois tenho... Quer dizer, isto não é modéstia. Modéstia é eu acordar no domingo de manhã, vestir uma roupa boa – que já fosse usada, barata – e pegar na família toda e depois comemos um lanche, e não é ter um *catering* em casa. Portanto, não existe muita modéstia. Nem para o pobre... Nem para o pobre. Porque até o pobre junta dinheiro para fazer esse tipo de eventos, entendes? Ou então pega nas prendas. E lá está, eu fui de túnica e a minha túnica foi caríssima, foi com ponto aberto na manga, foi com ponto aberto nos pés, era de linho. Onde é que isto é modesto, não é? Portanto, não é modesto, é uma falsa modéstia. Que a minha mãe não queria que parecesse noiva, não é? Porque eu sou muito alta, então não me queria pôr de vestido, então foi muito na aparência. OK? Eu não considero que exista. Nem no pobre. Até às vezes acho que as pessoas com... A minha perspetiva é que eu acho que as pessoas que até têm menos dinheiro gastam mais por causa da devoção, trocam assim um bocado. Sabes? “Eu vou bonita porque sou devota. É como ir à missa bonita, não é só para ser visto e para me sentir bem. Porque repara, é um sítio de... As pessoas vão rezar, vão a um batizado, para rezar, para se encontrarem também, e quando eu batizei a segunda, batizei-a às 9:30 da manhã do domingo. Toda a gente ficou passada porque não havia tempo para ir ao cabeleireiro e eu disse, “não vás, não quero que vás, eu não vou ao cabeleireiro”. Percebes? E arranjei-me em casa, levei umas botas minhas de cano, de tornozelo, umas botas usadas há anos. Mande fazer um vestido brocado, isso sim, um vestido todo à anos 20, sabes? Todo sereia, até. Mas lá está, não há falsa modéstia. Só mesmo na aparência. O vestido dela custou 500 euros, já era o da irmã, mas custou 500 euros, para ir à missa, um vestido daqueles espanhóis de príncipe, sabes? Todos monárquicos cheios de renda e lindíssimos. E as pessoas fazem muito isso, porque... E agora, só para rematar isto, o meu pensamento, eu estudo muito História e as pessoas associam muito valor e a aparência de valor à devoção. Como se trocassem a... Como se dessem a entender “olha, sou devoto, estou aqui bonito para ti”, OK? Mesmo quando eram enterrados e quando faziam dádivas, trocavam em valor e queimavam as melhores roupas, OK? Então eu acho que também tem a ver, não apenas com a própria aparência do ego e da autoestima, mas com aquela devoção de ser especial, ir à missa e ser especial, ir à Igreja. E isso não dá para ser simples nesse sentido, porque nunca foste desde que existe religião. Se reparares, nunca foste.

VB Não, é verdade, é verdade. Consideras que existem diretrizes específicas – no teu caso daquilo que tu viste, por exemplo, na Igreja Católica – sobre como é que as mulheres devem vestir? E se não, se achas que evoluiu ou não.

Sim, existe, existe. Especificamente, existe que o homem tira o chapéu e a mulher coloca, pode ter, mas o homem tira, OK? Eu já fui de chapéu a vários sítios, a várias missas, e não tiro. E os homens tiram os chapéus, os bonés, as boinas. Isso é muito específico da Igreja, mesmo em termos de não propriamente sítio coberto, mas de santuário. Se tu entrares no santuário de Fátima, é igual a regra. Pronto, agora é um bocadinho mais básico, está muito sol e as pessoas usam um chapéu de sol e não um boné. E depois as costas... Há muitos padres que ficam muito incomodados com as costas, e é lógico que o peito também, o decote também. Os joelhos e os braços – esta zona toda aqui – esta zona toda onde um xaile envolve. E também acho que é um bocado por aí, que os padres ficam tão passados da cabeça quando se pronunciam sobre isso, porque nós podemos cobrir e não há qualquer tipo de questão, porque é que não haveríamos de cobrir ali dentro. Se as pessoas sabem que, porque lá está, as pessoas sabem. E é muito específico disso. Eu acho que pernas... Já há noivas a entrar de racha até cima e não é por aí. As pernas são muito...

VB Também há noivas de caicais...

Jesus foi crucificado, não é? Do tronco para cima tapado e de resto foi nu. Portanto, é muito aceite. Acho que é por aí, acho que é muito aceite.

VB Mas achas que estes tipos de roupas ou estas peças que não se pode vestir, entre aspas, dentro da Igreja, achas que é, porque existem diretrizes ou recomendações específicas na Bíblia sobre como é que as mulheres devem vestir?

É uma perspetiva bíblica, sem dúvida, de conservadorismo, de mulher. Mas isto tem a ver com... Não é com o género. Porque também não aceitas um homem em tronco nu, então as regras, eu acho que foram colocadas assim um bocado nesse sentido. “Regras” ... Porque somos nós que vamos um bocadinho mais... Temos mais panóplia de vestuário, usamos mais as camisolas e... Os homens usam uma t-shirt – quanto mais por dentro das calças – não andam de umbigo à mostra. Então não tem a ver com o género, apesar de muita gente achar isso – sabes que eu sou muito feminista também, mas o feminismo é ver os 360°, é ver tudo. Tudo existe no sentido da mulher, porque a mulher é que usa saia, não é? Não é o homem que usa saia, a mulher é que usa *short*, não é o homem que usa a sunga dentro de uma igreja. Não é? Nunca vi nenhum homem de tronco nu numa igreja e já vi mulheres de tops a tapar as mamas e está tudo, portanto, se calhar... Eu sou mesmo contra isso, porque há sítios para tudo e as pessoas pensam bocado assim, ninguém te proíbe de andar assim em lado nenhum a não ser ali. E nem ali isso é proibido. Por isso é que eu acho que não é uma questão de Bíblia, acho que é uma questão de bom senso, como entrares num templo e tapares a cabeça. E há templos até que não podes entrar por ser mulher. OK? Há tempos que só entram homens e não tem a ver com vestuário, portanto, não acho que tenha a ver com a Bíblia, porque a Bíblia não especifica o que é a tua igreja e quando entras na tua igreja. E antigamente nem havia assim... Havia templos e as pessoas em casa, a mulher quando saía à rua, por exemplo, a minha avó ainda é do tempo, que quando se ficava viúva, colocava-se xaile na cabeça e usava-se o véu na cabeça. Portanto, durante muitos anos, em miúda eu assisti a isso. E não tem a ver com mulher, tem a ver mesmo com a questão do respeito, do respeito no total, OK? Mesmo meninas e meninos. Não apenas senhoras. *risos*

VB Vamos passar aqui para outra parte que tem um bocadinho a ver, mas um bocadinho diferente... Consideras que segues tendências de moda?

Sim.

VB E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Não. Eu sigo... Mas há tendências... O *fast fashion*, eu não sigo. Ou seja, há um grande exemplo que foram as Jeffrey Campbell, lembrás-te? Umas botas muito altas. Pronto, que tinham o cordão até cima.

VB Sim. Eu lembro-me.

Eu tinha para aí 25 anos quando isso foi lançado, toda a gente usava isso. E quando eu olhava para elas, faziam-me lembrar 2 coisas: A primeira era uma pata do cavalo, porque parece. *risos* E a segunda é que aquilo não é muito confortável, porque tinha plataforma. E eu já sou muito grande e pronto. E dá para entender quando tu tens quase 30 anos que as coisas no próximo ano, se calhar não se vão usar, e as Jeffrey Campbell aconteceu isso, nem 2 anos e acabou, nunca mais viste ninguém com aquilo nos pés. Tanto que se calhar podes nem saber o que é que é. E eu, com o tempo, desde a faculdade fui abdicando disso, OK? Quando deixo de comprar malhas da Zara, compro cachemira – olha, isto é, de cachemira – só compro cachemira, porque sei que daqui a 5 anos, não interessa a cor, o modelo também não, porque uma camisola de malha usa-se sempre. Então tento sempre ter muita atenção a isso. Uma questão aqui foi que as coisas se tornaram muito caras e usam-se de forma muito rápida e desgastam-se. Houve um dia que – isto é mesmo uma experiência pessoal – houve um dia que eu fiz isto: Eu trabalhava, ganhava 500 euros por mês quando estava no segundo ano da faculdade, e houve um dia que parei de trabalhar porque pronto, porque acabou o part time, e no ano seguinte a determinada altura, fui comprar roupa porque tinha um jantar – simplesmente tinha um jantar e fui comprar uma camisola nova – e percebi que tinha 14 euros na conta, e fiquei tipo “14 euros?” e cheguei a casa e peguei em tudo aquilo que eu tinha comprado nos últimos meses e meti em cima da cama e fiz as contas. Eu tinha lá mais de... Eu nem tenho palavras para o que eu tinha ali em “cócó”, em coisas de “chacha”, em coisas horríveis, feias, “eu nunca mais uso isto”, justas, justinhas. *WTF?* Então comecei a perceber que 10 vezes são 500 euros gastos em nada. Então comecei a entender que “o que é que eu tenho que comprar sempre?” comecei – até porque às vezes não tenho perspetiva – então comecei a comprar as da moda, mas, por exemplo, comprei agora a minha mala da Jacquemus. Pronto, é o que está na moda, mas eu sei que nos próximos 10 anos vai estar e que é usada e que não tem “*bling blings*”. E que é daqui, e, portanto, não é uma cor da moda, OK? Então tento não ir por essa vertente de moda, porque custa muito dinheiro. Nem sei o que é que se usa este ano. Olha, vou-te dar um “ups” quase que eu ia tendo de fast fashion, eu ia comprar umas Ugg. *risos* As Ugg que toda a gente usa este ano.

- VB** É assim, elas tecnicamente já estão na moda há algum tempo, ou seja, já não era completamente... Pronto, mas eu não consegui justificar porque para mim são pantufas, mas...
- Sim, sim, sim. São pantufas! Mas depois tens que estar a ser racional e aquilo são pantufas. Eu mostrei ao meu marido "tu vais comprar pantufas de 250 euros?" e eu "sim" e ele "está bem, então compra" e eu fiquei tipo "então se calhar não vou comprar, são pantufas" percebes? E então, quando eu penso 2 vezes, e comecei a fazer exercício que é: olha, a Sézane fez saldos a semana passada, mas nunca faz. Nunca faz! E eu meti alarme, então, comecei a olhar para aquilo e a ver – eu uso M, mas sou XS nas calças – então comecei a ver tudo o que estava disponível, Vitória, eu não gostava assim tanto. Então não comprei nada.
- VB** Claro.
- Percebes? E há quem...
- VB** Só porque está em saldos.
- É, mas não, mas não *not my person*.
- VB** Mas então, portanto, consideras estas questões tipo ética, um bocadinho mais sustentável, como evitar comprar coisas feitas em *sweatshops*, por exemplo?
- Eu não quero muito saber da ética e da sustentabilidade. Não quero, eu quero, mas pessoalmente eu não ligo, é mesmo por uma questão financeira e de respeito por mim própria. Porque depois não sei o que vestir, fico confusa, e porque depois as coisas ficam furadas porque eu moro numa casa e às vezes tenho traças. Desgastam-se, é mesmo uma questão por mim própria, não é uma questão. Eu sei que há muitas vertentes neste teu estudo, não é uma questão de sustentabilidade, eu penso nisso e reciclo muito a minha roupa, doo roupa, reutilizo-a... Agora, eu só não compro por uma questão de dinheiro, se eu tivesse dinheiro, eu comprava mais. Percebes? *risos* Comprava mais, mas sempre dentro do mesmo sentido, clássico e duradouro. Mas comprava mais, só não compro mais, porque não quero. Eu tenho dinheiro, mas não é para isso. Estás a entender? Agora, se eu tivesse de sobra... olha, daqui a uns anos, quando for professora agregada e estas criaturas se tiverem posto a monte da minha casa, percebes? Aí sim. Ainda ontem estive a namorar Chanel e disse "como é que é possível? 8000 euros na Chanel", mas eu olho para isso tudo e não é uma questão de... Eu não gosto de ser hipócrita com isto, porque eu estudo sustentabilidade. E é mesmo... Eu não compro mais por uma questão de dinheiro, mas se tivesse dinheiro, compraria mais em clássico e não em *fast fashion*.
- VB** Sim. Sim. Claro. Mas sentes que existe alguma relação entre o consumo, neste caso específico de moda, e fé, ou é só mesmo uma questão de personalidade?
- É uma questão de personalidade já. Já. Até porque eu fiz o curso de noivos na Igreja. E tu não vês, vês de tudo, desde pessoas muito devotas lá todas de Bimba y Lola da cabeça aos pés, ou de Vuitton, e depois as pessoas da Boutique Moreno também de cima aos pés lá a serem devotas da mesma forma. E é mesmo porque eu acho que a religião passa por ti, pela família, e depois tu cresces, no sentido de que vais te formar, vais ser médico, vais ser estilista e continuas com a tua devoção. E vais vestir aquilo e continuas com a tua devoção, estás a entender? E não necessariamente "és simples e devota", acho que mais depressa é simples e és devota. Porque depois também a devoção – isto já vai para outro sentido – porque depois aqui a devoção também tem a ver com uma questão de quanto mais devota tu és, muitas vezes mais pobre também és e menos dinheiro tens disponível para gastar em roupa. Eu estou ali *in the middle*. *risos*
- VB** Certo. Como é que decides o que é que vestes em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo, por exemplo, eventos religiosos? Existe uma diferença entre aquilo que vestes no dia a dia e aquilo que vestes, por exemplo, para ir à Igreja?
- Sim, sim. Mas em eventos? Ir à igreja em eventos?
- VB** Ou para ir à missa normalmente, alguma coisa assim.
- Eu normalmente não vou, e quando vou e tenho de ir, vou com fato de treino, se tiver de ir, não tenho qualquer tipo de... Agora, em termos de eventos, os eventos não dependem do sítio, dependem da protagonista. Eu vou-me vestir conforme a pessoa, se for uma noiva muito exuberante, eu sei que posso abusar, se for uma noiva mais simples, eu tento me adaptar dentro do meu estilo à personalidade também da pessoa. Porque é o dia dela, entendes? E se for um batizado, eu tento ir de branco, porque acho que é um dia de pureza, acho que é um dia de paz, mas pergunto sempre à mãe se posso ir de branco, porque há pessoas que têm indumentária. E se eu souber que há missa incluída ou um padre incluído, eu levo sempre, sempre, sempre uma echarpe. Sempre. Porque eu não gosto, mesmo que não digam nada, eu tenho noção de que tenho curvas e mesmo qualquer uma

de nós tem curvas, gorda, magra. E se for ali muito bem aperaltada, é informação a mais. Olha, eu vou te dizer o que penso em relação à Igreja e uma analogia da minha vida nos últimos anos: eu trabalhei na indústria farmacêutica durante muitos anos e quando eu fazia representação, eu costumava dizer uma coisa às pessoas que entravam: “nós temos de ir sempre como uma vela a esses sítios”, a não ser que vás apresentar uma palestra, não é? Mas quando nós vamos representar alguma coisa, quando vamos à missa, nós temos de ir como uma vela, vamos acesas, mas não vamos iluminar ninguém. Estás a entender? Não vamos ofuscar, vamos acesas, simplesmente vamos com a luz acesa. Não é preciso ir derretidinha ou apagada, assim ofuscada e apagada, entendes? Acho que temos a nossa presença e de marcar a presença, por isso tento sempre... E a minha mãe e as minhas tias têm muita atenção a isso, quando é religioso, têm atenção a levar echarpe. Não associam a roupa, entendes? “Olha, temos de levar um lençinho para combinar só para a missa, só para a ocasião”.

VB Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou, por exemplo, versículos bíblicos como forma de expressar algum tipo de fé?

Não.

VB Não? Nada?

Só uso como acessórios diariamente.

VB Cruzinhas e coisas assim?

Uso constantemente as minhas medalhas. A Nossa Senhora. São benzidas de Fátima. Junto ao meu cristal, ao meu topázio. E tenho sempre mesmo nos meses anéis as minhas crenças e nas minhas pulseiras. Na roupa não. As minhas filhas usaram um alfinete católico com a Estrela de David. Era católico? Não sei bem. *risos* E uma mão cerrada, aquilo são 3 coisas que se usam na fraldinha. Na roupa não, nem elas, nem as minhas filhas.

VB Mas nesses teus acessórios achas que é mais para expressares a tua fé ou achas que é mais em termos de proteção ou assim?

São mesmo ambas.

VB Portanto, estas imagens são só mais para teres uma ideia se não tiveres nada em mente daquilo que eu vou perguntar, mas gostava de saber como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Eu não tenho propriamente opinião, eu acho que é uma coisa como outra qualquer e não usa quem... Eu acho que quase qualquer pessoa usa sem ligar... Imagina, amanhã a Vuitton lança uma mala com a Cruz mexicana da Nossa Senhora da Assunção – que é uma Cruz muito conhecida – imagina, por exemplo. Eu tenho amigas que iriam comprar e não vão à missa, OK? Tem a ver mais com a tendência. No meu caso também, eu compraria, por exemplo, estou a ver ali a Versace e que é mesmo linda essa Cruz, é muito semelhante até a Cruz mexicana. Porque a mexicana tem várias cores, eu usaria mesmo estas, já vi muito montes de gente com este tipo de... Até *boys bands*, e que assumo que não tenha necessariamente... acho que nem sequer as pessoas associam a cruz a isso. A Cruz que nós usávamos muitas vezes nos *chokers*, que não é muito associada ao catolicismo, é uma Cruz católica, portanto... tem a ver mesmo com a tendência.

VB Certo. Agora vou-te mostrar aqui umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal* – são estas e depois outras – e gostava de saber como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Acho piada. Olha a primeira, nem estava a reparar que ela tinha um terço, imagina. A primeira roubava-lhe a bandolete. É bem linda. A segunda parece uma bruxa.

VB Não é a primeira vez que eu ouço isso.

Não é? Pronto, mas a segunda parece daquelas bruxas de Salem, sabes? Parece aí de uma cena, ainda por cima, 3 velas acesas aí ao lado. E a terceira, se fosse um íman, eu comprava e metia no meu frigorífico.

VB OK, vou te mostrar mais outras. A mesma questão: o que é que sentes em relação a este tipo de imagem?

A primeira está a abusar um bocado. A segunda – aí pois, eu ia dizer, a segunda é um bocado anos 2000 e 2005 – é muito antiga porque agora já é um bocado *awkward* isto, e antigamente, se calhar era mesmo engraçado, mas agora já não faz muito sentido ter uma freira a usar o perfume.

VB Acho que a campanha ainda era dos anos 90, só que depois a *Vogue* só fez um artigo sobre isso em 2005.

Pois. Pois. Tenho muito a ideia deste tipo de campanhas nos anos 90, mesmo ali – olha a Kylie Minogue – nos anos 90 isto existia, houve muita esta tendência sabe Deus por quê. A terceira é uma coisa básica que a gente está habituada a ver, que é simplesmente alguém

a pôr a mão no ar para ir para o céu e a vir a salvação de lá de cima. Acho piada, simplesmente fazem-me sentir... As primeiras 2 fazem-me sentir mais velha. Porque isto já tem muitos anos e já não se usa.

VB OK. E, então, pronto, a minha última questão é mesmo se consideras que esta inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou se achas que é desrespeitosa de alguma maneira?

Acho que não é por aí a questão de respeito. Na minha opinião, a pior mensagem – uma mensagem que seria desrespeitosa – seria usar *copy*, não é? Legendas a contrariar os personagens dessa nossa cultura, colocar Maria ou Jesus e a Santíssima Trindade e toda a gente, o Buda, o que for a dizer coisas de... Eu acho que numa questão de *private* é engraçado, OK? Entre amigos... Há um meme que existe, que é “*Fucking Christ*”, e ele está literalmente a fazer uma cena, não é? E aí tem piada, se formos ali 20 no grupo, não é hoje a Control mandar para cima de um país a imagem de “Jesus usa isso”. Seria um bocado desrespeitoso, porque não há essa necessidade. Agora, através de usar os símbolos... Os símbolos não pertencem à religião. Nós é que nos apropriamos deles. E a única coisa que pertence propriamente dito é a Cruz porque Jesus foi crucificado. Porque de resto, até mesmo em termos de imagens evangélicas e essas coisas todas, se calhar, então nós vamos dizer que as pinturas rupestres também estão ali a roubar quando elas são percalços, não é? São pré-religião. Por isso, eu acho que o pior que podia acontecer – não me falta ao respeito, o que existe – só faltará o respeito na minha perspetiva, se o *copy* for a contrariar o que deve ser a religião em si.

VB Neste caso, aquela imagem de Maria com “MILF” não entra dentro daquilo que tu consideras como um *copy* que não vá...

Eu não considero desrespeitoso, acho engraçado, porque até porque “MILF” ... A minha mãe nem sequer sabe o que é, então não afeta. Imagina o que era invés de “MILF” dizia “puta”.

VB Isso, se calhar, já atingia um maior público.

Isso atingia totalmente o público todo porque estás a chamar... Repara, Maria é representação de uma pessoa como eu, que é mãe. Percebes? Maria é representação das mulheres, quase todas que pariram e que passaram e que viram os filhos e não sei quê. Pronto. E “MILF” é uma *private*, era aquilo que eu estava a dizer. “MILF” é uma *private* e na realidade, podes transformar o “MILF” em qualquer coisa. É uma “*Mom I Would Like to Fuck*”, mas pode não ser. A marca até pode dizer “olha, pensa aquilo que tu quiseses” percebes? Pode sim roçar aqui a sensibilidade de alguns segmentos. Poderão. Agora, não acho chocante. Eu compraria imãs assim ou então um caderno com essa capa. Eu comprava, esgotava na hora. Mas era o Vaticano em cima.

Appendix F5 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Alison”

Date of Interview:	February 6, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	21:20
Characteristics:	28 years old, Lisbon, American, Tourist Guide, Baptist/Non-Denominational

VB Within Christianity, what denomination do you identify with?

That's a hard question. Only because I grew up Baptist, Southern Baptist. So, I feel like I have a lot of their like characteristics. But I don't feel like I identified solely as Baptist or solely as – you know – something. I just love Jesus. Like, that's kind of it. I don't feel like religion is something that – I don't know if that makes sense – I can't identify with just one, I feel like it's more of like a...

VB Non-denominational?

Like, non-denominational. But also, I don't like 100% feel like I'm like... I go to a non-denominational church, but also like, I don't agree with some things nondenominational people do, you know. So, it's like, as long as I love Jesus, then that's the most important thing.

VB Perfect. Because I was going to ask... How would you describe your beliefs and your religious values?

Yeah. Yeah, my number one priority is Jesus. I don't feel like anything else that you can get into the small battles with. You can interpret [the Bible] in too many different ways for me to argue with someone about it; it's not worth the effort for me. Especially growing up in such a culture, a very sheltered lifestyle of "don't drink", "don't dress like that", "don't do this", "don't do that", like the do's and don'ts. I'm like: as long as you love Jesus, and believe that – you know – that He came, and then He rose, and that he's coming back one day, like that's the most important thing.

VB And how does your faith influence your daily life and your clothing choices?

Yeah. I'm always self-conscious about what I wear, even if... If I go to the beach, for example, I feel like I need to wear a one-piece. Even though in Portugal so many girls are showing their butt or they – you know – have a lot of cleavage. I feel so uncomfortable. Not for them. But for me to do that. So, most of my swimsuits are one pieces. I'll never wear something that's too low-cut. Because I don't know if it's because that's how I was taught, like, "don't show too much skin". Like, even as a kid, I went to a Christian school where we had uniforms and our skirts had to be at least at our knees or we couldn't, or we couldn't learn – like spaghetti straps – we always had to be covered.

Now, boys are a different story. But girls always had to be covered. So, if we were at a church event, and we were at a swimming pool, even though we were in a one-piece, we still had to wear a shirt over it. So, it's like things like that, that I'm like, "am I subconsciously thinking that or do I believe that?" But yeah, my lifestyle in clothing: I don't wear crop tops; I don't wear... I'll wear sleeveless, but I won't wear something that's too low cut because I don't identify that as something to be like... No, and not everybody should see that side of me, I guess.

VB OK. So, you think there's a connection between religion and way of dressing?
Yeah.

VB OK. And you do agree that it does influence the way that you dress yourself?
Yeah, for sure.

VB Do you feel like there are specific recommendations on how people in your denomination or your church should dress? Specifically, women.

Yeah. And this is something that, like, I mean, I remember Bible studies going over this. Older women or even girls in college coming down to me in high school and being like, “you know, not that you dress like this, but you shouldn't dress scandalously, you shouldn't dress like boys are gonna stare at you, or men are gonna stare at you, or grandpas are gonna stare at you. You need to dress in a modest way to protect not only yourself, but to protect others.” So, it's not just necessarily how I view myself, but how other people view myself, to protect not only me or my boyfriend or fiancé, but to protect other men. So, it was kind of like "yeah, maybe it looks good, but am I gonna hinder their faith?" So, it's not just about my faith, but other people's feelings. If that makes sense.

- VB** And you feel like that was more in America, or do you feel like that still is a thing here in Portugal?
- That's a great question. I mean, I do have cultural shocks about sometimes how people dress here, like I would be really shocked if I was in my hometown, and there is a 15-year-old girl in a crop top and like short shorts, like people don't dress that way where I'm from. But here it's like so normal, like, you're out to lunch, and you see a girl like that. My parents would never let me dress like that. Even my mom still has an opinion about the clothes that I wear, you know. So, I do think it's a cultural thing. Because I mean, I don't know the percentage of Christians or Catholics or whatever here, but I mean, I know it's less than where I'm from, because I'm from a town where everybody goes to church on Sunday and regular church on Wednesday, like, our lives revolve around Christianity, and you know, going to church. But here, I feel like, yeah, like on Sundays after church, or I go with my fiancé's family, I can kind of tell that not a lot of people went to church because of how they dress. You know, "that girl's not going to church in that crop top".
- VB** Have you ever felt that type of cultural shock inside a church?
- Not really, I mean, here at my church people wear jeans, and like a t-shirt, or sweater, or whatever. I don't feel like a lot of people would wear crop tops, just as an example.
- VB** So, it's not too different inside of church?
- Wait, no, like people won't wear like crop tops in church. Not that I've seen here.
- VB** No, no, no. I mean, it's not too different from church in the US. Church here, in terms of clothes.
- Yeah, yeah. But I mean, for church in America, we like to dress up. Like, I feel like I could wear heels anywhere. Because as a child, I grew up wearing heels every Sunday to church. I would have a new dress every Easter, Christmas, and my birthday. Like we would really dress up, dress up. Whereas here it's more casual, but yeah, I'm not going to see... Like, yeah, I would feel like it's more similar to church clothing rather than like everyday Portuguese clothing, I guess. No, for sure. For sure.
- VB** Do you think that there are specific types or pieces of clothing that you wouldn't be – not "not allowed" or be able to wear – but like, you wouldn't wear them because of your religion?
- Yeah.
- VB** Like what?
- I see girls with... I'm uncomfortable in tight clothing, so like, right now, even though I'm technically in a bodysuit, I have something over it. Like, I don't want something to be so tight on me where people can see every single hair that's on my body. I would never wear that. Like, I don't have tight clothing. Tight things, like cutouts, really low-cut things. Short things I would not wear. Like, if you could almost see my butt. Like, I'm not wearing... Just scandalous, I guess.
- VB** Do you think that the Bible has specific recommendations about how women should dress? And if yes. Do you remember any specific Bible verses or anything like that?
- Yeah. Like, I gotta think about it. I know there is, I just can't think about the verse at the moment. Because, like I was saying, the Bible studies that women would give to us in high school, they would bring them out. But now that you... You know, whenever someone asks you something, and you're like "Oh, if you hadn't asked me, then I would have known"? My grandmother would be so disappointed. But yeah.
- VB** What about the overall idea of what you think it says? Do you remember?
- No. I'm gonna keep thinking about it. I'm gonna fix the back of my head, and then later on, it'll come to me.
- VB** OK. What is modesty to you?
- Yeah, I feel like modesty to me is: number one, being comfortable in what you're wearing, but also not hindering somebody else's daily life. Or in this case, their faith. I would never want someone to stumble because they looked at me twice. Like lust is a sin, so if someone's gonna stare at me, because – you know – my leggings are too tight, or my shirt is too low. Like, I'm not being modest for myself or for that. Because I don't... Just the way I grew up, but also something that I believe in, I'm not gonna hinder somebody else. Like if they struggle with lust or if they struggle with – you know – adultery, then I don't want to hinder them and their faith.
- VB** That responsibility that you feel like you have, do you feel like men have that responsibility as well?
- Yes. But also, I know that men are more physical and women are more emotional. So I feel like for me, if I see a guy at the beach that doesn't have a shirt on, like, I don't feel as

lustful towards him, I guess, as he would look at me if I was in something really scandalous, because just men are wired that way. So, I mean, it's a proven fact.

VB Do you feel like you follow fashion trends?

I mean, I guess. I don't feel like I watch Paris Fashion Week, and I'm like, "I gotta have that handbag". I like to say that I'm like, original. I mean, right now I'm in jeans and a shirt. But like, I like what I like, and I don't like what I don't like. So, if it looks good, I like it.

VB Do you shop for clothes often?

Yeah.

VB Do you think that there's a connection between your consumption of fashion and your faith?

Honestly, I know that materialism can also be a sin. So like, whenever I was in the States, it's more thrown at your face. Like, I don't know how to put it. But I feel like I'm going to spend more money in America than I do in Portugal. Not that there aren't places to shop here. But I feel like I have to go out of my way. Because if I'm just leaving my house to go to the bus, I don't find a mall, or I don't find a shop to go – you know – browse in. Whereas in America, you have to drive everywhere. So, like if I drive somewhere, I'm like "oh, shoot, I can just stop in that Target real quick". You go in for a bar of soap and come out with 20 different things because all of a sudden, they're having so many sales. But here, I don't know, I don't feel that way. And I don't feel like I go somewhere and then just like randomly stop by a Pull & Bear and be like "oh, I actually need all of these items". Like I don't. But also, I think it's more of a Portuguese mindset not spend a lot of money.

VB We also have less money.

Yeah, exactly. Exactly. So like, because you earn less, you can't spend a lot of it. So, I feel like my friends have really helped me with that. Because when I first got here, I was like "oh, let's just go to the mall every single day, things are so cheap". And now that I live here, like full-time, I'm like "dang, I don't need all these pairs of jeans". Yeah, so I feel like in America I was more materialistic than here. So, now I'm like "oh, shoot, I can continue to wear these shoes", whereas in America I would have thrown these away, like, months ago.

VB Do you feel like your religion influences the way that you think about sustainable fashion and things like donations, charity jobs, buying ethical fashion, and things that were not made in sweatshops, or things like that?

Yeah, um, I definitely... I donate all my clothes. So like, I go through at least once a month, and try to get rid of a bunch of clothes and donate them to Humana. In America, we would do the same. We do it a lot, because we buy buy buy buy. So, in that sense, yes. Because I know there are Christian organizations like the Salvation Army that we would go and help sort through the clothes and do that sort of thing with our church, so that I relate back to my religion. But if I think about, like, Shein, for example, I can tell it's a bad company because of the sweatshops and all the things that have come out about them. I don't personally shop there. But I don't think it's because of my religion. I think it's because I would rather support a Portuguese person over doing something that's mass-produced.

VB How do you decide what to wear for different occasions, including religious events?

I try on like 15 things before I go. *laughs*

VB Do you think there's a difference between what you wear on your day-to-day and what you wear when you go to church?

Yeah. I would like to look nicer for church than I do day-to-day. I don't think I would wear this. I definitely wear nicer shoes, unless I walk to church, which sometimes I do. But most of the time, I would like to wear heels, or I like to wear something a bit nicer, and definitely do my makeup and do my hair. Just to look presentable, not for myself, but just to show respect towards the concept of going to church, rather than... But I feel like some people dress up for themselves, and they dress up to say, "hey, this is what I can look like", rather than dressing up for the purpose of going to church to show your respect. So there are two sides to that coin.

VB Have you ever worn clothing or accessories with religious symbols – that could be crosses or Bible verses or anything – to express your faith?

Yeah. Well... okay, so, growing up being involved in all of the youth groups and everything – and also, I went to a Christian school – anything that we wore had a Bible verse on it and a cross, so I had tons and tons of t-shirts, whether it be soccer, or softball, or cheerleading even. We always had a Bible verse on it. Every year, we would pick out a new one, and we put it in all of our shirts. For cheerleading, our cheer coach made us always

memorize the Bible verse. So like, it was really in our everyday lives, even at school, even in sports. So, yeah, to this day, my uncle's a pastor, and so like, I'll wear some of his shirts, but it doesn't outright say like "that is a Bible verse" or whatever. So, it's more subtle. I guess it's not one of those kinds of tacky shirts that you would think of whenever you think of Christian t-shirts, but yeah, I definitely have a lot of them.

VB Do you feel like there's a difference between that and what you see in Portugal?

Yeah, I don't have any of those shirts here; they're all in America. I didn't bring any of them.

VB Have you ever seen them? Or something like that around?

If I do, I would assume they're American. You know what I mean? Because the first year that I worked here, I worked for an American Christian school in *****, and everybody wore them, and so, if I see them around here, like if downtown in Lisbon, I'd be like "that person's probably from ****, they're a missionary kid, for sure". Also, Portuguese people don't wear t-shirts, you know what I mean? Not American t-shirts. I don't know how to explain it. You wear like, like... I'm looking around, and everyone is in a sweater or a nice t-shirt or something, like no one's wearing a t-shirt.

VB Like a slogan t-shirt?

Yeah, yeah.

VB Okay. Yeah, I understand. Let's move to the last section of this interview, where I will show you pictures.

I love pictures, I love visuals.

VB These are just in case you don't have something that comes to mind. But how do you feel about the representation of Christian symbols in the fashion industry?

Yeah, I know it's kind of controversial. I feel like it depends on how it's portrayed. Because, for example, I know, like, something that's on my Facebook with my friends from back home, who are Christians, like Lil Nas X, like whatever he does, it's not okay, because I feel like he's not respecting the religion. Whereas, like, I don't know, I feel like this cross dress, for example. Like, I feel like it is done in a more tasteful way rather than Adam and Eve, like I don't know. What's the purpose of it? I mean, Valentino's never going to be like "No, this is the purpose of my dress", but I would want to know, as a Christian, why are you using things from what we believe in?

VB You can zoom around if you want. These are from *Vogue Portugal*. How do these images make you feel?

Uncomfortable. The first one that I saw was Mary with MILF on it. I don't like... I don't get offended very easily – I'm an American living in Europe, that can't really happen very often – I just have to go with the flow. But yeah, I don't love that. Like, I can't explain it. I just don't love that. Every time I see a nun, I just think of *The Sound of Music*. So yeah. Is this like an angel bringing down something?

VB It's like *The Creation of Adam*.

Okay, yeah. I mean, I don't love that they use nuns in that sense. I don't have an opinion about nuns. So like, I can't say that that's offensive towards me, but this one is, I guess it's like, what's the purpose of it versus like, what's their intent? Because if their intent is to be malicious towards a religion, then yeah, it's offensive. But I don't know. I don't know... Why do you have to use a nun?

VB I was going to ask you: why do you think they do it?

To get attention, that's my only guess. Like I don't know.

VB Do you think that the inclusion of these religious symbols in fashion can be respectful, or do you think it's always disrespectful?

I think if it's done in a tasteful way and it's not meant to be really malicious then yeah, it can be a good thing, like to promote a cause. But if it's just for fun I don't know. I don't know why that made me so uncomfortable. Because yeah, I mean, not that Mary is an insignificant part to my religion, but like, we're not taught a lot about Mary. We don't talk to Mary or anything. So yeah, I think it can be, but why? You know, why did they need to use religion?

Appendix F6 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Leonor”

Date of Interview:	February 6, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	26:07
Characteristics:	28 years old, Castelo Branco, Portuguese, Student, Catholic

- VB** Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou denominação religiosa? Católica... Acho eu... Sim. Agora estava a pensar “como assim dentro do cristianismo?” mas já percebi. Há muitas.
- VB** Como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e valores religiosos?
Ui. Como é que eu descreveria? Eu acho que são fundamentalmente baseados em – não sei – nos mesmos valores que... Ou seja, não tenho valores religiosos e não religiosos. É quase a mesma coisa. Mas, sei lá, acho que se baseiam na bondade, na empatia. Tu perguntaste como é que definiria?
- VB** Ou mais, por exemplo, no que é que consideras que acreditas? Em termos de crenças.
Essencialmente na questão – neste caso cristã, católica – de seres empático pelas outras pessoas independentemente do credo, envolvimento, do meio de onde vêm. Acho que esse é o ponto em que me influencia mais.
- VB** OK. Como é que achas que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária? E, se influencia, como é que influencia as tuas escolhas de vestuário?
A minha vida diária? Eu acho que não influencia. Acho que é uma coisa que já está tão natural que acaba por... sei lá, às vezes acaba por ser quase uma voz dentro da minha cabeça. *risos* Acaba por ser quase uma coisa que já está no meu dia-a-dia e eu não noto que altere a minha rotina ou algo assim. Influencia, se calhar, de uma maneira positiva – claro – em certas escolhas mas estando já meio... é meio que um *input*. Não penso sobre isso. Sei lá, não vou pensar do género “os meus valores, a minha fé diz-me que devo fazer isto”, é uma coisa natural. E quanto à maneira de vestir não me altera nada. A minha parte de fé, de religião, nunca me alterou acho que nada, nunca me influenciou a vestir-me de uma maneira diferente.
- VB** Portanto, já que na tua visão pessoal e na tua vida não existe esta ligação direta, acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião em geral?
Em algumas... Para algumas pessoas que se calhar – eu não diria fanáticas – mas que levam tudo muito à letra, ou se calhar muito fundamentalistas, ou mais fundamentalistas, eu vejo que sim, que influencia. Fundamentalistas não com uma conotação negativa nem positiva. Mas acredito que sim – em todas as religiões, não estou a falar em nenhuma religião específica, em todas.
- VB** Achas que existem diretrizes específicas, no teu caso, por exemplo, da igreja católica sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?
Eu acho que existem... Eu acho que existem, a resposta é sim. Acho que existem... agora se são cumpridas, se a maioria das mulheres católicas as seguem, acho que não.
- VB** Mas achas que são diretrizes que ainda existem ou que existiram e agora já não existem?
É assim, elas existem, eu considero que existem. Agora de quem é que elas partem ou quem é que as implementa, honestamente nunca... Porque há por exemplo aquela questão da modéstia católica, vestir daquela maneirinha, tipo nada de decotes, e eu não vejo que isso seja propriamente da parte da igreja ou da parte – sei lá – do Vaticano. Mas elas existem.
- VB** Quais é que tu achas que são essas diretrizes?
No caso do católico? Acho que provavelmente a questão dos decotes – decotes não –, mangas mais compridas... isso é a ideia que eu tenho de coisas que vi por aí na internet. Mangas mais compridas, saias abaixo do joelho. Sim, acho que essencialmente é isso.
- VB** Mas tu no teu caso específico, não achas que exista um tipo de roupa ou uma peça de roupa específica que tu não possas vestir, por te identificares como católica?
Não, não acho não. Não me prende em nada.
- VB** E achas que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como as mulheres se devem vestir?
Recomendações é assim... *risos* É um livro muito antigo *risos* e que, como todas as coisas antigas, é assim, claro que se calhar tem uns apontamentos onde sugere algumas

coisas... Mas como todos os livros muito antigos – já foi há muitos anos – acho que deve ser reinterpretado e atualizado para os tempos atuais. Para o contemporâneo, não ficar preso...

- VB** Ao contexto da altura?
Sim, sim, exato.
- VB** Como já estavas a dizer – eu já tinha esta pergunta preparada, mas sei que já mencionaste – para ti, o que é que é a modéstia? Modéstia de que se fala tanto quando se fala sobre moda e religião.
A modéstia só? Ou a católica?
- VB** Neste caso podes considerar a modéstia católica. Em termos de roupa...
Sim, eu acho que a maneira como interpretam, e como eu também acabo por interpretar, essa questão da modéstia basicamente são roupas que não chamam a atenção, não têm cores muito fortes, não têm padrões muito espampanantes. Como há esta questão da sexualização do corpo, principalmente da mulher, e o facto de considerarem que andar com atributos ou com pele à mostra pode ser menos modesto. Acho que é por aí. A questão de andares com um decote, a mostrar um bocadinho do peito, um bocadinho mais até do pescoço, que seja, ou uns ombros, joelhos, isso será, aliás, mais o contrário da modéstia. A modéstia, lá está, é ter aquela forma muito sóbria de vestir, cores neutras tipo mais sóbrias e menos garridas.
- VB** E achas que estas ideias de modéstia, especialmente dentro da igreja, se aplicam igualmente aos homens e às mulheres? Ou achas que são mais impostas nas mulheres?
São mais nas mulheres.
- VB** Próximo tópico. Consideras que segues tendências de moda?
Sim.
- VB** E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?
Alguma... sim, relativamente.
- VB** Achas que existe alguma relação entre o teu consumo de roupa e a tua fé?
Não, com a fé não.
- VB** OK, então, como é que achas, ou se achas, que a tua religião influencia a tua visão sobre moda sustentável? Ou se consideras questões como *fast fashion*, condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, compras em lojas de caridade ou doações, ou, por exemplo, o conceito de consumo excessivo ao fazer escolhas de moda? E se achas que isso está relacionado com aquilo em que tu acreditas.
Em certa parte, se observarmos bem, por exemplo, eu tento ter um consumo moderado de roupa e comprar coisas em segunda mão. E em certa parte há aqui um valor de não ser em excesso, de não comprar em excesso, de não ter demasiado, se calhar, em certa parte, uma modéstia – se assim lhe quisermos chamar, mas mais na questão do consumo. Ou seja, não ser demasiado consumista, que está também ligada diretamente à parte sustentável e à parte ambiental.
- VB** Mas não ligas isso diretamente às tuas crenças religiosas, é mais...
Provavelmente não diretamente, mas acho que acaba por haver aqui assim uns 20% que estão aqui na parte de trás (da cabeça) que já vêm de tu teres aquela noção de que não deves ter demasiado. Aquela coisa católica de não – não é de não extravasar, agora também me está a faltar a palavra – mas de ter o essencial e o necessário.
- VB** Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Achas que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que vestes no teu dia a dia e aquilo que vestes, por exemplo, se fores a uma missa? E se sim, por quê?
Não, eu não tenho. Acabo por ir vestida da mesma maneira. Não me faz confusão, por exemplo... sei lá, aqui há tempos tinha uma colega, uma amiga, que dizia que achava mal uma senhora que estava num casamento numa igreja e notavam-se os mamilos no vestido de cerimónia. Não me faz grande confusão, se calhar há lá alguém a quem faça, agora acho que não me faz confusão. Não mudo a maneira de vestir e acho que é, lá está, uma questão a ser ultrapassada. Porque são mamilos, toda a gente tem. *risos*
- VB** Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos – por exemplo, cruzeiros – ou com versículos bíblicos como forma de expressar sua fé?
Já, mas não recentemente.
- VB** O quê especificamente?
Cruzeiros, sim. Agora, atualmente é mesmo mais uma questão de estética só. *risos* Estou-me a apropriar...
- VB** Se tu dizes que agora é uma questão estética, antes não era uma questão estética?

Em parte não. Não... Houve uma altura em que não. Lembro-me de que aquilo dava-me ali um apoio moral, aquelas coisas quase como uma superstição.

VB Como sentido de proteção e não necessariamente para as pessoas olharem para ti e saberem que te identificas com X ou Y?

Sim, sim.

VB OK, certo. Agora vou-te mostrar aqui umas imagens. Isto é só para teres uma ideia no caso de não te vir nada à mente com a minha questão. E a minha questão é: como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Gosto, gosto bastante por acaso. *risos*

VB Porquê?

Não sei, acho que esteticamente, primeiro gosto do contraste que há entre uma coisa que é muito sacra, quase que intocável, e muitas vezes cortes e designs mais atuais e contemporâneos. E essa mistura de duas coisas que são quase opostos, gosto, gosto. No geral gosto muito de ver essas misturas de opostos. E estes casos de usarem assim, por exemplo, sei lá, em unhas designs com... Gosto bastante de ver, esteticamente é bonito.

VB Agora vou-te mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal* e queria saber como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir.

São bonitas, acho que são agradáveis. Não me incomodam. Acho uma certa piada porque *risos* estou agora a ler o nome do artigo da figura 7 [Figure 24]. Não sei, não me faz confusão. Acho que tem a sua piada, a Senhora era mãe *risos*, portanto, acaba por até ser, em certa parte, não é bem um elogio, mas pronto, para ela. Mas não me faz de todo confusão. São agradáveis esteticamente.

VB A mesma questão, se estas imagens te fazem sentir de alguma forma.

Não. Acho que são agradáveis, acho que é um *statement* em certa parte.

VB Última questão, mais ou menos. Consideras que a inclusão destes símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa? Ou achas que é desrespeitosa?

Não, eu acho que pode ser respeitosa e que é respeitosa. Nenhuma das que me mostraste aqui eu acho que faltasse ao respeito, sendo que algumas até têm meio que um travo quase cómico. Acho que uma instituição tão antiga como a Igreja Católica tem que se saber desconstruir e perceber que isto acaba por ser quase boa publicidade. Não há propriamente... não ofende nada, não chama nomes a ninguém, há aqui uma série de paralelismos com as freiras. Qual é que era a pergunta de que eu já me esqueci?

VB Se achavas que era respeitoso ou que era desrespeitoso?

Sim, acho. Antes pelo contrário, até em certa parte aquelas fotos das roupas anteriores até estão, acho que em certa parte, a glorificar a igreja. Antes pelo contrário, é bom.

VB Por exemplo, esse vestido que está aí, o Valentino, estava na exposição do *Heavenly Bodies* do Met, que foi aquela exposição em que eles depois fizeram a Met Gala dos *Heavenly Bodies*, em que as celebridades foram todas para a *red carpet* com roupas inspiradas no imaginário católico. E na altura, nos Estados Unidos, houve imensas pessoas que acharam que aquilo era blasfémia.

Aquilo é Adão e Eva, não é?

VB Sim. Não era necessariamente este vestido, era aquela justaposição de celebridades e arte sacra no mesmo sítio, que eles acharam super desrespeitoso. Porque é que achas que, sabendo que vai haver um público que vai ficar ofendido com isto, os designers continuam a fazer isto?

risos Porque eu acho que isto é quase aquela conversa dos limites do humor. A arte também não tem propriamente um limite. A partir do momento em que não estejas a ofender ao desbarato, só porque sim, em que estás a fazer uma coisa que tem um processo criativo por trás, que foi pensada, que foi projetada, e que esteticamente se consegue avaliar um valor nela, não vejo porque não. Por exemplo, eu não sei quais é que eram os outros... quer dizer, sei, acho que tenho uma ideia de algumas celebridades dessa Met Gala e lembro-me de na altura, sem pensar muito nessa situação, achar piada a ver como é que cada um interpretava o tema na sua perspetiva. E acho que isso é que é a piada de todas as Met Galas, não é? Mas não acho que seja de todo ofensivo. E depois é aquela coisa de às vezes sabermos rirmo-nos de nós próprios da mesma forma que sabemos observar e perceber que as coisas não são todas muito sacras. Da mesma forma que entender que o corpo da mulher não é todo ofensivo, acho que é isso.

Appendix F7 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Amanda”

Date of Interview:	February 6, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	37:02
Characteristics:	25 years old, Setúbal, Brazilian-Portuguese, Events, Evangelical

- VB** Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou a tua denominação religiosa?
Eu sou cristã evangélica.
- VB** Como é que tu descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?
Em que sentido?
- VB** Aquilo em que tu acreditas.
Eu acredito na Trindade, acredito em Jesus Cristo como Senhor e Salvador, acredito no Espírito Santo e Deus, pai. Acredito no batismo como forma de renascimento. Acredito na ressurreição de Jesus. Acredito que ele vai voltar para que sejamos arrebatados e acredito na Bíblia como nosso manual de vida e de fé. Acho que é isso.
- VB** OK. Como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária e, mais especificamente, a tua maneira de vestir?
Eu acredito que, ou seja, a nossa forma de vestir ela é uma forma de nós transparecermos a nossa identidade. E, portanto, se a minha religião é uma parte – e é – uma parte central da minha vida, e eu me considero uma pessoa praticante da minha religião, eu acredito também que a minha vestimenta deve também transparecer isso. Ou seja, eu, enquanto cristã, preciso ter cuidado com as roupas que eu visto para que não sejam escandalosas. Nós, cristãos, acreditamos que precisamos viver de forma separada do mundo, então não vamos simplesmente seguir todas as tendências e então, por isso, também precisamos ter cuidado com a roupa com que nos vestimos porque somos embaixadoras do céu e, portanto, precisamos ter isso em consideração na hora de escolher a roupa.
- VB** Portanto, acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião?
Sim.
- VB** E, portanto, que a religião influencia a maneira como tu te vestes especificamente.
Sem dúvida.
- VB** Achas que existem diretrizes específicas da tua denominação ou da tua igreja sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?
Sim, ainda que não necessariamente para toda a gente. Na minha igreja o que acontece é principalmente pessoas que assumem cargos de liderança ou que fazem parte do ministério de louvor, que são pessoas que sobem mesmo ao púlpito e que estão ali num certo destaque, acabam por ser cara da Igreja e que, portanto, precisam dar o exemplo. Então, principalmente essas pessoas das quais eu também me insiro precisam ter um cuidado redobrado, obviamente, com as suas roupas. E principalmente tendo em consideração que nós estamos lá em cima e temos luzes muito fortes apontadas para nós – luzes brancas, luzes azuis –, temos câmaras que captam absolutamente tudo o que acontece no louvor. Nós precisamos ter cuidado, por exemplo, com o tamanho da saia, né? Obviamente não vamos estar com uma saia curta, porque ainda por cima estamos num púlpito ou num palco, obviamente ficamos num ponto mais superior, e as pessoas que estão lá embaixo mais facilmente veem por baixo da saia, se eu for com uma saia curta. Obviamente é preciso ter cuidado com decotes, com excesso de pele, com transparências – principalmente – também porque principalmente com as luzes, facilmente uma roupa que tem a mínima tendência para ser transparente acaba por escandalizar outras pessoas. E precisamos também ter em atenção que se calhar certas coisas que para a nossa geração de jovens são normais, se calhar para pessoas mais velhas não são e então precisamos de ter sabedoria ao vestir. Claro que uma pessoa que vai como visitante ou uma pessoa que, pronto, que simplesmente está lá e frequenta, nunca ninguém chegou para uma pessoa e disse “não podes usar isto” ou “não podes usar aquilo”. Não há qualquer diretriz de “só podes entrar se estiveres vestida de certa maneira”. Mas as pessoas que estão envolvidas e principalmente que estão na liderança e que precisam dar o exemplo têm sim esse cuidado. Uma outra situação também, por exemplo, em acampamentos de jovens em que nós damos, sim, diretrizes aos

participantes. Isto porquê? Porque no meio jovem muito facilmente pode não haver tanto bom senso, não é? Principalmente entre adolescentes. Talvez jovens já depois dos 20 anos, já têm – pronto – uma cabeça mais formada, acabam por também ter um pouco mais de bom senso nesta questão de como se vestir em determinado lugar. Mas às vezes os adolescentes não têm tanto ou não veem tanto a gravidade disso. E a verdade é que quando temos num lugar muitos jovens, muitos adolescentes com hormonas aos saltos a conhecerem outros jovens, sendo que o objetivo principal daquele contexto é o conhecer Jesus e aproximar-se da fé e não se desviar do foco, obviamente que certas roupas acabam por desviar do foco principal que estamos todos lá dentro e também criar a possibilidade de acontecerem conflitos entre adolescentes que não é suposto. E, principalmente, na visão de pessoa que também esteve na organização de eventos desses, nós precisamos também ter uma certa garantia para com os pais de que há um controlo, que é pronto, que aquele ambiente é um ambiente controlado e que os pais podem estar tranquilos de levarem os seus filhos – imaginem uma filha – e que não vai acontecer nenhum tipo de assédio, nenhum tipo de *boundaries* a serem ultrapassados num ambiente que é suposto ser religioso e cristão, e que, portanto, é preciso haver o respeito.

VB Se pudesses clarificar mais esse tipo de diretrizes e se elas são aplicadas de igual forma às raparigas como aos rapazes...

Há diretrizes tanto para raparigas como para rapazes. Obviamente que são diferentes, porque também são corpos diferentes, mas da mesma forma que para raparigas, por exemplo, nós costumamos falar do tamanho da saia ou então de *crop tops*. Não é? Ter cuidado, por exemplo, mostrar demasiada barriga. Claro que há sempre contextos. A roupa de piscina é diferente da roupa de ir a um culto religioso, não é? E isso eu, enquanto profissional também da área da imagem, uma das regras de ouro quando uma pessoa vai escolher o que veste – independentemente de ser cristão ou não – é: qual é o contexto? Para o que é que a pessoa se está a vestir? E num local religioso isso não é diferente. Então obviamente nós damos diretrizes, por exemplo, sobre o tamanho da saia – como eu disse –, sobre o tamanho de um crop top possivelmente, decotes, transparências, ou até mesmo roupas demasiado justas e que sejam escandalosas. Obviamente, pronto, nós usamos calças, usamos *skinny jeans*, tudo isso. Mas a pessoa, se calhar, usar ali umas leggings super apertadas com um *crop top* e umas cuecas fio dental, por exemplo, já entra num... pronto, num local de chamar a atenção que não é o objetivo num ambiente daqueles, que o objetivo é ser um ambiente respeitador de culto a Deus. Para homens, no caso, as diretrizes são obviamente não estar sem camisa no ambiente que não é suposto. Não é? Uma coisa é uma piscina, mas num ambiente de culto não faz sentido estar sem camisa ou estar com aquelas mangas cavas extremamente grandes, em que praticamente não há tecido ou até mesmo calções. Não é? Ter o cuidado de usar calções adequados que guardem o que é preciso guardar. Ou seja, basicamente haver o respeito de ambos os lados, não só para as mulheres, mas também para os homens. E em ambiente de piscina o que nós recomendamos é que, lá está, homens usem calções que tenham, pronto, o tamanho que devem ter não é? Não, porque também há aquelas – no Brasil chamamos sungas – não usar esse tipo de coisas que acaba por destacar certas coisas que estão suposto destacar. E as mulheres usar, idealmente, fato de banho ou então pode até ser um biquíni, mas idealmente com uns calçãoezinhos, ou mesmo que seja uma coisa pequenina que seja, mas só para garantir que a atenção e o foco estão no lugar certo, e não tanto nos corpos uns dos outros.

VB OK. Consideras que existe algum tipo de roupa ou peça de vestuário específico que não possas vestir devido à tua religião?

Sim, sim. Eu considero que roupas extremamente provocativas, por exemplo, um vestido que seja extremamente curto. Eu não me sinto bem a usar. E falando aqui na perspetiva de gestão de imagem, há um estilo que é o estilo sensual, mas mais do que sensual, há peças que são *sexy*, ou seja, que puxam mesmo pelo vulgar, eu acho que um cristão não deve usar roupas vulgares, seja o homem ou seja a mulher. Porque nós somos representantes de Deus, não é? Somos embaixadores de Deus aqui na Terra, portanto, a nossa imagem também precisa transparecer seriedade e credibilidade.

VB E consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas para como é que as mulheres se devem vestir e, se sim, se te lembras de passagens específicas?

Não me lembro de passagens específicas que falam sobre *dos and don'ts* da roupa. Mas sei que, pronto, há passagens da Bíblia que falam claramente que não devemos escandalizar, não é? E que tudo podemos, mas nem tudo nos convém. Portanto, eu acho que nós, enquanto cristãos, precisamos ter sempre acima de tudo o bom senso e cuidado

na forma como nós nos apresentamos. E saber que todos os excessos são maus, seja do que for, seja de comida, seja o que for. Excessos são maus e faltas também; é preciso haver equilíbrio em tudo e na forma de vestir também.

VB Uma das coisas de que mais se fala quando se fala de moda e de religião é modéstia. Para ti, o que é que é modéstia?

Acho que a modéstia entra nesta questão do bom senso. Em saber que a forma como eu me visto – lá está – acaba por representar a minha religião também e que então eu preciso de ter cuidado tendo, então, essa modéstia, não é? Que é, obviamente... Eu, por exemplo, e falando a título pessoal, eu uso algumas coisas curtas, mas não são demasiado curtas. Eu não tenho problema em usar acima do joelho. Isso para mim não fere em termos de modéstia, para outras pessoas sim, e por isso é que eu acho que não é uma régua simples, porque cada um tem a sua forma de ver. Acho que há coisas que são – obviamente que qualquer pessoa com mínimo bom senso sabe – obviamente eu não vou estar a usar uma minissaia que praticamente só me tape o traseiro e pouco mais do que isso. Mas pronto, eu sinto-me bem a usar um vestido no meio da coxa, se obviamente o resto do vestido não tiver muitas alusões sensuais, não é? Mas um vestido que seja fechado no decote que não tenha transparências e que seja um pouco mais curto, não há problema. Da mesma forma que também não sinto problema em usar um vestido que seja um pouquinho mais decotado, mas que seja cumprido. Ou então uma roupa que tenha algumas transparências ou que tenha assim algum corte diferente na cintura, mas que não tenha outros elementos que sejam provocativos. Portanto, para mim, a modéstia é algo que não é preto no branco, é uma visão que muda de acordo também com a visão da pessoa e o estilo pessoal da pessoa, mas que, acima de tudo, é ter cuidado para não entrar na vulgaridade.

VB Certo. Esta parte é engraçada porque já sabemos que a imagem é um dos teus trabalhos, portanto, consideras que segues as tendências de moda?

Depende. Eu não sigo todas as tendências de moda, porque nem todas as tendências de moda também se encaixam no meu estilo. Eu tenho um estilo e eu conheço o meu estilo. E aquilo que encaixa no meu estilo, o que faz sentido para o meu estilo, eu sigo. Sempre, obviamente tendo em consideração as preocupações que eu tenho em termos da minha identidade, não é? Porque lá está, o nosso estilo pessoal, ele deve transparecer a nossa identidade, porque nós precisamos reconhecer-nos na roupa que nós vestimos, seja a nossa religião, seja a nossa nacionalidade, seja a nossa cultura, seja a nossa personalidade. Tudo isso acaba por transparecer na roupa de uma pessoa que simplesmente siga todas as tendências da moda só porque são tendências da moda. Essa pessoa não tem um estilo pessoal definido. Portanto, uma pessoa que saiba se vestir e que tenha o seu autoconhecimento em dia em relação à roupa que veste segue sim algumas tendências da moda, mas não todas.

VB OK. E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Sim *risos*

VB E achas que existe alguma relação entre este consumo de roupa e a tua fé?

O consumo de roupa e a minha fé? Acho que não. Acho que, muito pelo contrário, acho que se houvesse alguma relação, eu compraria menos, mas também devido ao facto de eu trabalhar muito com a imagem, eu uso isso como desculpa para comprar muita roupa. *risos* Então acho que acaba por ser um pouco o inverso.

VB Esta pergunta é um bocadinho mais comprida, mas como é que a tua religião influencia a tua visão sobre, por exemplo, moda sustentável? Consideras questões como *fast fashion*, condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, compras em lojas de caridade, doações, consumo excessivo, estas coisas, todas de ética ao fazer escolhas de moda?

Essa é uma questão muito pertinente. E sendo muito sincera, acho que deveria sim influenciar, porque nós enquanto cristãos nós precisamos cuidar do nosso planeta, nós precisamos ter em atenção a ética das nossas escolhas. Mas na prática, isso não acontece, honestamente. E acho que, por um lado, pode ser devido a falta de informação. Por outro, acho que também pode ser devido aos preços que são praticados nas indústrias sustentáveis e até mesmo éticas, que muitas vezes acabam por ser incompatíveis com os rendimentos da grande maioria da população. E às vezes, até mesmo falta de consciencialização por parte do público, porque acho que é um tema que não é muito falado. Inclusive, eu acho que nunca vi ninguém falar desse tema dentro de igrejas ou dentro de contextos cristãos. Portanto, acho que pode, sim, ser feito um trabalho maior de consciencialização nesse sentido. Não sei se vai ter um grande impacto, sendo que no final das contas, precisamos ser realistas em relação à economia e o rendimento da população portuguesa, muitas vezes é incompatível com os preços praticados pelo

comércio sustentável ou pelo comércio ético. O que não quer dizer que não sejam preços justos, mas ainda assim, mesmo que sejam justos, continuam a não ser compatíveis com o rendimento da população. Então, de qualquer das formas, acaba por não haver uma solução propriamente dita nesse sentido.

VB Portanto, no caso do consumo excessivo...

Sim, sim, sim, sim, sim, sim.

VB Eu fiz uma entrevista no outro dia e pessoa que estava a entrevistar disse-me que deixou de comprar de algumas marcas de *fast fashion*, porque biblicamente ela sabe que tem que amar os outros e que sentia que ao comprar coisas que tinham sido feitas em *sweatshops* com más condições de trabalho, ela sentia que não estava a amar aquelas pessoas.

Wow. Isso por acaso é um testemunho muito forte. Eu nunca tinha pensado nesse sentido, honestamente. É um *insight* que me trazes agora e que faz todo o sentido. Sei que na prática é algo difícil de implementar, mas que faz sentido faz.

VB Vivemos numa sociedade... também é normal. E como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos?

Como é que eu decido o que vestir?

VB Mais especificamente, existe uma diferença naquilo que tu vestes no teu dia a dia e aquilo que tu vestes, por exemplo, para ir à Igreja?

Mais ou menos, depende. Eu quando são eventos da Igreja eu tenho um cuidado redobrado, o que não quer dizer que no meu dia a dia... eu continuo a ter esse cuidado, mas eu mais facilmente faço escolhas um pouco mais – não diria propriamente ousadas – mas acho que há roupas que por respeito ao local, mais ainda precisamos ter esse cuidado. Então... Eu não me visto de forma vulgar ou extremamente sensual de todo, mas, por exemplo, se vou a um evento de gala, não tenho por exemplo, o problema em usar um decote maior ou uma fenda maior que eu nunca usaria em contexto de evento cristão, por exemplo.

VB Então naquilo que estavas a dizer de eventos da Igreja, por exemplo, em piscinas ou na praia, ou assim, tu achas que se fosse uma ida normal à praia, que não fosse um evento da Igreja...

Eu uso biquíni normal.

VB Mas depois se fosse uma coisa organizada pela Igreja já não?

Sim, já não. Agora, por exemplo, mesmo quando eu vou à praia sozinha, sem ser em contexto de Igreja, eu não uso fio dental, por exemplo. Eu tenho cuidado com o tamanho da parte de baixo do biquíni, portanto, ainda assim eu tenho ali o nível de consciência. Mas sem dúvida alguma que em eventos de contexto religioso, esse nível de consciência é muito maior e muito mais intencional.

VB Só por uma questão de respeito, ou porquê?

Por uma questão de respeito e obviamente, também por uma questão de sociedade. E de exemplo também. Por exemplo, eu tenho amigos da Igreja, com quem eu vou à praia fora de contexto igreja e que eu uso normalmente o meu biquíni. Mas eu sei que há outras pessoas da minha igreja, até mesmo, por exemplo, pessoas mais velhas, que eu não me sentiria tão à vontade em estar tão exposta. Então aí ainda mais faz sentido, por exemplo, o uso de um calção. Ou então, mesmo sem ser este exemplo de biquíni... certas roupas que eu não teria problema, por exemplo, se eu estou com outras amigas que são da Igreja, são da minha idade, estão na minha faixa etária, eu se calhar, não tenho problema em usar uma pantalonas com um *crop top* com a barriga à mostra. Não tenho problema em usar isso com elas, mas talvez num ambiente em que eu vá estar com raparigas mais novas e que eu sei que eu preciso ser o exemplo, talvez eu tenha um cuidado redobrado.

VB Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos? Como forma de expressar a tua fé?

Sim, sim. Sem dúvida alguma.

VB O quê? Porquê?

Já usei, por exemplo... o que eu mais usei nesse sentido foi uma pulseira que é pulseira dos 4 pontos. E usei sim como forma de expressar a minha fé e realmente para ser reconhecida como cristã, porque eu, por exemplo, sei que quem usa essa pulseira normalmente são pessoas cristãs. Então, já em vários contextos eu descobri que certos desconhecidos eram cristãos, só pelo facto de eles estarem a usar a pulseira e isso já foi uma razão pela qual eu iniciei conversas até iniciei amizades, porque ao ver a pulseira eu sabia que aquela pessoa era cristã, automaticamente tínhamos ali um ponto em comum e da mesma forma, eu usava pulseira para também ser reconhecida e também como forma de desculpa para falar do Evangelho às pessoas. Porque também já aconteceu, de eu com

essa pulseira uma pessoa que não conhece perguntar “ah, o que é que isto significa? O que é que estes símbolos significam?” e aí é uma abertura que a pessoa dá e uma oportunidade que eu tenho de falar da minha fé. Também já usei t-shirts com versículos bíblicos ou com frases de alusão cristã. Também lá está, porque a forma que nós nos vestimos também nos inclui em grupos sociais de pertencimento, seja cristãos ou não, não é? E o facto de nós usarmos roupa que a fala de certa forma da nossa religião, mais uma vez, é uma forma de nós estarmos a gritar ao mundo uma parte da nossa identidade.

VB No caso das pulseiras, já mencionaste que eram dos 4 Pontos, mas no caso das roupas com versículos bíblicos, onde é que adquiriste essas peças?

Eu sei que eu tenho uma ou outra que são da minha igreja. Mas eu não uso muito, confesso. Porque hoje em dia não faz muito parte... Hoje em dia eu tenho um estilo pessoal muito definido e não faz muito parte. Então as vezes que eu usei foi em contextos mais descontraídos ou até mesmo em contextos cristãos. Com outras pessoas que também ou usavam esse tipo de coisa ou que – pronto lá está – para criar aquele sentido de comunidade e de pertencimento. Mas quando eu era mais nova, cheguei a usar também peças de roupa assim, mas na altura foi a minha mãe que comprou no Brasil, não sei de onde eram.

VB Achas que no Brasil existe uma maior quantidade desse tipo de peças do que aqui em Portugal?

Acho que sim, acho que sim, sem dúvida.

VB OK. Ah, e já agora, para termos as duas perspetivas, se também pensas que existe uma diferença daquilo que tu achas que é a relação entre a maneira de vestir e a religião em Portugal comparado com o Brasil?

É assim, eu acho que é importante mencionar que dentro da religião evangélica há muitas diferenças e mesmo dentro da própria denominação, muda de igreja para igreja. Eu acho que no Brasil talvez as pessoas sejam – quer dizer, depende, depois depende –, mas os cristãos tradicionais do Brasil têm mais a tendência ao exagero. Eu acho, até onde eu conheço. Têm mais a tendência de, por exemplo, não se pode usar calças de ganga, é uma realidade em muitas igrejas do Brasil; tem que ser saias até ao chão, não podem cortar o cabelo, não podem usar os ombros destapados, não se pode usar calções. Aqui em Portugal também há igrejas mais tradicionais, mas pelo menos do que eu conheço, acho que há uma abertura maior para quebra de paradigmas.

VB Achas que essas diretrizes que existiam nas igrejas mais tradicionais em Portugal eram mais prevalentes no passado e evoluíram um bocadinho mais agora, ou se calhar achas que se mantiveram?

Eu acho que sim. Eu acho que houve uma diferença. Até porque a própria sociedade e a própria mentalidade da sociedade também vai evoluindo, não é? E acho que hoje em dia – mesmo a pessoa que não é cristã – hoje em dia, os jovens vestem-se de forma muito mais despojada e até mesmo muito mais ousada, desde muito mais novos do que antigamente. Portanto, acho que a Igreja foi acompanhando, pelo menos até certo ponto, essa mudança de mentalidade.

VB Agora, vou-te mostrar umas imagens. Isto é só para teres uma ideia, no caso de não te vir nada à mente, mas gostava de saber como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

É assim, eu acho que, como tudo, acaba por depender do contexto, mas conhecendo estas marcas... Por exemplo, as que me estás a mostrar são marcas de alta... aí, como é que se diz? É *high fashion*, é o *Haute Couture*, né? São marcas que claramente não têm valores cristãos. Então, marcas que claramente não têm valores cristãos, não têm isso na sua identidade, não vivem isso, estarem a usar símbolos religiosos, eu acho que é blasfémia. Porque são símbolos que para quem acredita significam algo. E que se fossem marcas que tivessem valores alinhados com isso e que fossem usar por alguma razão ou com algum propósito – da mesma forma que há, há marcas de roupa cristã e que têm versículos bíblicos ou que têm a símbolos cristãos, símbolos religiosos. Mas uma marca que não tem essa identidade, acho que estar a usar símbolos que requerem sim um certo respeito, eu acho que acaba por ser sim uma falta de respeito e blasfémia. Porque estão a usar algo que nem eles sabem o significado e não sabemos também por trás – lá está – qual foi a intenção. E se não terá sido a zombaria, por exemplo, blasfémia.

VB Portanto, achas que é sempre desrespeitoso, se for de uma marca que não é uma marca cristã? Ou achas que pode ser respeitoso mesmo que não seja uma marca que segue os valores cristãos?

Acho que pode haver situações em que pode ser respeitoso, sim. Acho que tudo depende do contexto e da forma como é apresentado. Imagina, é uma marca que não é cristã – não é assumidamente cristã – mas que faz uma linha e que comunica mesmo e que usa da comunicação e do *storytelling* para explicar o contexto e explicar que pretendem fazer uma linha, por exemplo, para trazer visibilidade para questões cristãs ou então que desejam dar resposta a necessidades de um público cristão que é consumidor dessa marca. Tudo bem. Mas nestes contextos aqui, e nestas marcas em específico, eu tenho altas dúvidas de que haja algum contexto em que pode ser justificado, até porque são marcas que são conhecidas por muitas vezes terem atitudes ou terem campanhas ou, enfim, terem valores que não só não são cristãos, como são completamente anticristãos.

VB Aqui podemos ver, por exemplo, Versace e Dolce & Gabbana. No caso dos designers de Versace como de Dolce & Gabbana, eles são italianos e li num livro sobre este assunto que o facto de eles demonstrarem tantas vezes imagens da imaginação católica, neste caso, que se deve ao facto de eles terem sido educados naquela envolvência do catolicismo italiano, mas que não praticam na atualidade. Mesmo eles terem sido educados dessa forma, achas que continua a não ser apropriado eles fazerem esse tipo de inclusão da simbologia?

Pelo facto de ser algo mais ligado à cultura?

VB Por ser algo que está *in the back of their minds* por estar ligado àquilo que eles viram durante o seu crescimento, portanto, sim, cultura.

Mas ainda assim, para eles não tem um significado. Então eles estão a monetizar em cima de algo que não é simplesmente – não é batatas, não... – ou seja, é algo que tem muito mais coisa por trás. Há outras pautas também a nível social, a nível racial ou o que for que também está *in the back of our minds* e que não seria correto estar a usar para monetizar. Então eu acho que da mesma forma, por mais que faça parte da cultura, é preciso ter cuidado. Um dia também fez parte da nossa cultura a escravidão, por exemplo, e nem por isso somos monetizar com roupas com apologia à escravidão ou, enfim, a qualquer outra questão social que pode vir a ser sensível. Acho que no fundo é isso.

VB Portanto, sentes que eles estão, de alguma forma, “a apropriar o cristianismo”?

Sim.

VB OK. Agora vou-te mostrar estas imagens que são da *Vogue Portugal*...
Blasfémia, blasfémia total.

VB E queria que tu me dissesse como estas imagens te fazem sentir.

A primeira coisa que me vem à cabeça é totalmente blasfémia, é desrespeito, é sexualização da religião. Acho que enquanto não só cristã, como enquanto mulher cristã, acho que isto é completamente desrespeitoso.

VB Todas elas?

Deixa-me só ver aqui.

VB Podes fazer *zoom* se quiseres.

OK. Esta aqui é que eu estou mais em dúvida, porque estou a tentar compreender o que é que está por trás na figura 6 [Figure 23], do espelho meu espelho meu. Esta é que eu não compreendi muito bem o que é que está por trás. Mas todas as outras. A figura 5 [Figure 22], claramente uma alusão, possivelmente uma freira, uma mulher religiosa, mas com alusão à sensualidade, a forma como ela olha, o batom, as unhas... enfim, a posição. A figura 7 [Figure 24] aqui com “MILF” numa figura que, pronto, a nível religioso, é reconhecida como alguém que deve ser respeitada. A figura 8 [Figure 25] também – lá está – uma freira que é uma figura também religiosa, aqui, com demonstrações de sensualidade e de fantasia, quase como se estivesse a fazer uma alusão, uma fantasia sexual com uma figura religiosa. A mesma coisa também figura 9 [Figure 26], está aqui a vender um perfume, mas é uma freira que também tem expressões faciais e visualmente uma simbologia também faz alusão à sensualidade e à sexualidade. E aqui, no caso da figura 10 da Philips [Figure 27]... pronto, não acho que seja tão tão desrespeitadora como as outras, mas... “Evite o crescimento do pelo com Philips”. Acho que banaliza, acho que banaliza um pouco, mas esta por acaso não vejo tanto desrespeito assim. Tal como na figura 6 [Figure 23], pronto, simplesmente me parece uma pessoa religiosa, mas quer me parecer que esta imagem tem muita simbologia de que eu talvez não esteja consciente.

Appendix F8 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Daniela”

Date of Interview:	February 7, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	27:15
Characteristics:	25 years old, Almada, Brazilian, Museums, Evangelical

- VB** Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou a tua denominação religiosa?
Protestante. Evangélica.
- VB** Como é que tu descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?
Aqui, pela Bíblia. Pela Bíblia e pela parte moral que eu fui criada pelos meus pais, basicamente o meu compasso.
- VB** Como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida, no dia a dia?
Influencia nas minhas decisões, na maneira às vezes de eu pensar sobre o agir dessa maneira. Eu levo sempre em consideração – ou pelo menos o tenho que levar em consideração – a minha fé, naquilo que eu acredito, e como é que isso se encaixa dentro desse mundo.
- VB** E em relação às tuas escolhas de vestuário, como é que achas que a fé influencia?
Influenciou por muito tempo, bem intensamente, onde acho que foi um pouco para o extremo. Do extremo de não se vestir dessa maneira porque não era aceitável dentro do ambiente religioso e não pela minha fé. Hoje eu já encontro o equilíbrio do – como é que eu posso explicar? – se aquilo realmente vai ferir ou se é o mundo só da religião que me fez vestir dessa maneira.
- VB** Consideras que essa altura em que tu levavas as coisas mais ao extremo, que isso foi cá em Portugal ou foi no Brasil?
Foi no Brasil. Não, não, não, não. Foi aqui em Portugal também no início, nos primeiros 3 anos aqui.
- VB** Mas achas que era mais porque as pessoas da igreja te impunham isso e não porque tu achavas?
Sim, com certeza. Eu senti que, por exemplo, as minhas decisões eram baseadas mais em “olha, vou usar esse estilo porque as pessoas vão concordar ou não vão falar alguma coisa”. Então a escolha era muito baseada naquilo que eles pensavam, naquilo que eles iam falar. Então ao colocar um estilo de roupa ou quando eu ia comprar roupa, eu sempre pensava “o que é que esse determinado grupo vai pensar sobre isso?”
- VB** Porque sentias-te julgada se te vestisses de outra maneira dentro de um determinado ambiente?
Exato, eu sentia que ele não seria assim aceite. Não seria mesmo aceite e muitas vezes poderia ser até penalizada, dependendo do tipo de estilo.
- VB** Porque viste isso a acontecer com outras pessoas? Ou...
Sim, vi isso acontecer. Por exemplo, determinadas pessoas usavam – agora num contexto bem de igreja – as pessoas que usavam um determinado tipo de roupa, uma coisa mais colada, uma coisa mais decotada, automaticamente elas eram tiradas de onde elas já estavam. Ou seja, se elas tinham um papel, se elas tinham uma função ou tinham que subir lá para ficar mais público, elas automaticamente na mesma hora chegou, não podia ser feito. Então era um ambiente do tipo “eu tenho que sempre estar a pensar nisso, porque senão ou eu vou perder o meu lugar no ambiente, ou simplesmente as pessoas vão falar mal.”
- VB** Portanto, achas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?
Sim, existe. Eu acho que é muito fácil nós identificarmos, na grande maioria das vezes, há essa ligação quando conheces determinada pessoas pelo estilo dela vestir. Não 100%, mas grande parte das vezes existe uma ligação.
- VB** E no teu caso específico, achas que ainda influencia a maneira como te vestes?
Bem menos do que antes. Antes, acho que penso que influenciava mais. Hoje já não. Acho que eu já me desliguei muito dessa parte. E penso que se eu quero vestir de uma maneira hoje, eu já me visto dessa maneira, desde que eu não me sinta mal com isso. Hoje eu já deixei de ter em consideração tanto o que as pessoas fazem ou o que falam, mas por muito tempo, sim. Mediou completamente.

- VB** Achas que existem diretrizes específicas na tua denominação ou na tua igreja sobre como é que as pessoas se devem vestir? E mais especificamente as mulheres. E se sim, quais?
Sim, existem diretrizes muito específicas e são sempre as do género “nada que seja” – usando as palavras que são usadas dentro – “nada que seja escandaloso”, “nada que provoque”, “nada que seja muito fora do comum, do aceitável,” “nada que mostre muita pele”, “nada que seja assim”, por mais que não exista muitas vezes um papel escrito o que deve ser, acho que existe moralmente, dentro, dessas diretrizes que são faladas. Existem reuniões de ministérios e tudo, onde são passadas essas diretrizes, “não pode usar vestidas a certa altura”, “não pode usar esse tipo de decote, prints...” Agora não se fala nada sobre os homens.
- VB** E porque é que achas que não se fala nada sobre os homens?
Porque os homens têm aquela coisa, né? Tipo “ai, um homem não vai se preocupar com isso”. Então o homem ele pode ir com calções que não vão atrapalhar o outro, porque é muito na base do que o outro vai perceber, do que o outro vai achar provocativo. E existe essa conceção dentro desse universo de que o homem não causa esse efeito, mas a mulher causa esse efeito.
- VB** Portanto, achas que existe uma responsabilização das mulheres sobre os pensamentos e as ações dos homens?
Sim, existe uma responsabilização nas mulheres sobre os pensamentos dos outros.
- VB** Sobre essas diretrizes mesmo da igreja, achas que elas eram mais prevalentes no passado ou achas que acaba por continuar tudo igual?
Eu acho que elas eram, sim, muito mais prevalentes no passado. Porque minha família é toda de igreja, toda, o meu avô é pastor e tudo mais. Então já passaram várias fases. Então, escuto histórias de tudo mais, tudo que acontece, mas acho que também dentro do universo da igreja ainda existem denominações onde isso é muito forte e ainda é um extremo maior, mas ainda, sim, existe. Mas penso que antes eram mais.
- VB** Consegues pensar em exemplos de coisas que te lembres?
Sim, por exemplo, determinados tipos de denominações – não sei se aqui seria tão comum, mas, por exemplo, no Brasil – onde as saias têm que ser de uma determinada altura, não existe um cinto, porque o cinto não pode, uma bota não pode, um corte de cabelo não pode. Sim, e, por exemplo, hoje, na denominação em que eu me encaixo no momento, é mais a questão do não provocar, então, tudo o que não leve o outro a provocar. Então, mas penso que depende muito da denominação em que a gente se encaixa, mas existem, sim, ainda áreas extremas atualmente.
- VB** Já que tens a experiência dos 2 países, consideras que vês uma diferença muito grande entre o modo de vestir ligado à religião no Brasil, em comparação com isso em Portugal?
Sim, existe, existe. Eu acho que no Brasil são muito mais extremistas nessa questão do vestuário do que aqui. Existem, sim, alguns polos ou outros aqui de igrejas que eu já conheci que são assim, mas lá no Brasil é muito mais comum isso. Então a gente consegue identificar logo lá que tipo de denominação que a pessoa é, baseada na maneira dela se vestir, aqui ainda mescla bastante.
- VB** Consideras que existe algum tipo de roupa ou algum tipo de peça de vestuário que não possas vestir devido à tua religião?
Atualmente, não. Se fosse há um tempo atrás, eu falaria algumas, mas atualmente já não.
- VB** OK. E quando tu tinhas uma opinião diferente, o que é que tu achavas que não podias vestir?
Por exemplo, roupas muito decotadas, calções, calções muito curtos, roupas que revelassem algum tipo de transparência, roupas que fossem muito coladas, eram roupas assim que eu fugia para o outro lado.
- VB** Certo, e essa opinião mudou porque tu deixaste de querer saber tanto sobre a opinião das outras pessoas?
Exatamente. Quando eu parei... Quando eu percebi – né? Terapia – que a minha motivação estava sendo o que as outras pessoas iam pensar, e não realmente aquilo que eu acreditava, aquilo que eu sentia que era certo, eu comecei a mudar. Então hoje eu uso o que me faz sentido usar, só que é um movimento. Não é? Porque uma vez ou outra eu me pego pensando “Ah, o que é que essa pessoa vai pensar se eu aparecer com isso?” Então obviamente ainda tem esse movimento de volta.
- VB** Consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas para como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?
Eu acho que a Bíblia tem algumas diretrizes para todos, não para as mulheres em específico, mas não tão ao pé da letra como “Ah, não pode usar saia”, “não pode usar isso”,

	“não pode usar aquilo”. Acho que no geral a Bíblia fala muito sobre nós sermos prudentes e não necessariamente diretrizes do gênero igual... a igreja põe, tem. Eu penso que sejam essas diretrizes a nível de que são impostas atualmente.
VB	Consegues-te lembrar de passagens específicas que falem sobre esse assunto do vestuário?
	Não.
VB	OK. Um conceito que se fala muito quando se fala sobre o modo de vestir e a religião – seja qual for a religião, tecnicamente – é a modéstia, para ti, o que é que tu achas que é a modéstia?
	Modéstia, eu penso ser aquilo que faça sentido para mim, mas que também não afete fortemente o outro. Então eu vou ser modesto num assunto e eu vou ser justo num assunto. Eu não vou nem levar ao pé da letra a 100% o que o outro me exige, mas eu também não vou negar aquilo que eu quero. Então entendo muito modéstia nesse assunto como isso.
VB	Vamos mudar assim, ligeiramente, de assunto. Segues tendências de moda?
	Sim.
VB	E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?
	Compro.
VB	Achas que existe alguma relação entre este teu consumo de roupa e a tua fé?
	Pelo sentido, se eu compro mais roupa devido à minha fé?
VB	Ou menos...
	Não! Acho que atualmente não. Atualmente é mais pela tendência “ai, acho que isso ficaria bom para mim”, “acho que isso ficaria bom”, mas não, não tenho mais essa relação. Mas antigamente sim, eu acabava por deixar de comprar por conta disso, por não achar roupas que eram apropriadas para aquele ambiente. E porque antigamente era o ambiente que eu habitava apenas, então tudo o que eu comprava era baseado no que era aceite naquele lugar. Então basicamente ele fazia todo o sentido. Eu acabava por comprar menos do que o que eu compro atualmente.
VB	Como é que a tua religião influencia a tua visão sobre, por exemplo, moda sustentável?
	Acho que faz muito sentido a moda sustentável, e principalmente no contexto religioso onde se fala tanto sobre a gente cuidar do próximo e cuidar do ambiente. Acho que a moda sustentável, ela faz todo o sentido nesse contexto, ela habita nesse contexto.
VB	No teu caso específico, tu costumavas considerar questões como <i>fast fashion</i> ou, por exemplo, as condições de trabalho em <i>sweatshops</i> ou compras em lojas de caridade, doações e o consumo excessivo quando fazes esse tipo de escolhas de moda?
	Sim, atualmente eu estou numa vibe muito de ir a brechós – não sei se vocês chamam de brechós ou não – mas aqueles tipos de loja para poder fazer... uma pela questão de às vezes de estilos diferentes que eu acho, e outra é que eu acho que eu também posso dar um novo olhar para a peça de roupa, então eu posso modificar algum outro. Mas sim, ainda compro <i>fast fashion</i> , com certeza.
VB	Tens algum sentimento negativo – por exemplo, culpa ou assim – por haver esta “negociação” entre comprar <i>fast fashion</i> , sabendo que, eticamente, se calhar não é ideal em comparação com a tua fé?
	Não, nunca tinha parado para pensar sobre isso. Interessante.
VB	OK. Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos da igreja?
	Vai muito baseado no estilo do evento, se é uma coisa mais formal, se não, é mais formal. E atualmente é basicamente se eu estou com vontade de vestir aquilo, mas também se eu estou com paciência do que vou escutar, baseado naquilo que os outros vão falar. Não sei se faz sentido.
VB	Ou seja, tem mais a ver com as outras pessoas?
	As pessoas. Ou seja, aquilo... Se eu estou com paciência para aturar o que os outros vão falar, eu me visto da maneira que eu quero, se eu estou naquele dia em que eu sei que não estou com paciência e que a coisa vai para o outro lado, eu ajusto um pouco a maneira que eu vou pensar – dentro do contexto da igreja. Fora (da igreja) é baseado no tempo, aquilo que eu tenho vontade de vestir, às vezes um estilo de roupa ou outra que eu vi nas redes sociais e que eu quero me vestir igual. Então tem esses dois ambientes que vão ditar muito também.
VB	Existe uma diferença naquilo que vestes no teu dia a dia e em aquilo que vestes para ir à igreja?

Depende. No meu dia a dia eu me visto formal por conta do trabalho. Então eu tento ir mais para uma coisa não tão casual, num ambiente da igreja, então, assim, tem uma certa diferença.

VB Estava a fazer outra entrevista em que se falou sobre eventos da igreja fora da igreja, por exemplo, piqueniques, praias, piscinas. Achas que existe uma diferença naquilo que tu vestes nessas ocasiões em ambiente de eventos da igreja ou nessas ocasiões fora do ambiente da igreja?

Com certeza. Porque em eventos da igreja, pegando o exemplo de piquenique, tudo que envolve piscina e praia, sempre existe aquilo do “se vai usar um biquíni, precisa usar um calção, não pode ficar só com biquíni”. Então existe, sim. Isso muda muito a maneira. Então, se eu vou para a praia com o pessoal da igreja, eu vou colocar um certo tipo de biquíni e um certo tipo de calção, quando que se eu fosse com os meus amigos ou algo assim, eu vestiria diferente.

VB E porque é que tu achas que existe essa diferença?

Pelo papel da mulher, onde a mulher é a causadora dos problemas e que vai afetar o homem e que o homem vai se sentir provocado, pelo menos no meu contexto é muito guiado por isso, no sentido de “eu tenho que vestir um biquíni que seja apropriado e que não leve os homens a pecar, ou as pessoas a pecarem, porque senão a culpa vai ser minha”.

VB E sentes que o mesmo é feito ao contrário?

Não, não existe o mesmo efeito ao contrário.

VB Porquê? Porque existe uma diferença psicológica ou biológica entre os homens e as mulheres, ou simplesmente...

É, é, é uma construção da sociedade onde um homem ele não, não tem... Homem pode tudo. O homem, ele tem uma posição, infelizmente ainda, onde ele pode fazer o que ele quer e que ele não é... A visão do homem hoje da sociedade, no contexto da igreja, é de que eles, fisicamente, eles não conseguem ter o mesmo efeito que as mulheres têm. Seja... Eu não quero falar do machismo, patriarcado, mas caminha por esse lado, onde as mulheres são colocadas como problema e os homens não são colocados como problema nessa situação.

VB E, por exemplo, na tua vida achas que isso é uma coisa que te costuma incomodar? Ou...

Muito, muito, muito. Eu chego assim, em várias situações relacionadas à roupa, relacionada a comportamento é um assunto que me tira assim um pouco do sério. Porque as coisas não são assim preto e branco, mas também não é da forma que as pessoas pregam, ou seja, as pessoas colocam muito a mulher como problema, como tudo, e os homens têm um passe livre para fazer o que quer. Então existe essa diferença de peso e de medida quando se fala de relações de homens e relações de mulheres. Que se a mesma mulher fizer o que o homem faz, ela vai ter um julgamento totalmente diferente do que esse homem tem, principalmente no contexto da igreja.

VB Era isso que eu ia perguntar. Já usaste roupa ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos?

Já.

VB Porquê?

Porque no contexto em que eu estava era moda, era aquilo, a igreja estava fazendo blusas, estava fazendo coisas de versículo e era numa tentativa de me encaixar no contexto.

VB Ou seja, não consideras que era para expressar a tua fé?

Exatamente.

VB Era mais porque toda a gente fazia?

Hum-hum. (Sim)

VB E isso era em Portugal ou no Brasil ou ambos?

Não, isso foi em Portugal, no Brasil não. No Brasil eu usava símbolos como cruzes e tudo mais, mas porque eu realmente queria expressar a minha fé. A nível de roupa aqui em Portugal – foi nesse sentido de com versículos e tudo – foi mais no sentido de entrar e me encaixar no meio em que eu estava.

VB E essas peças eram adquiridas... era tipo *merchandising* da igreja ou eram adquiridas fora da igreja?

Era *merchandising* da igreja.

VB Vamos passar para outra parte em que eu vou mostrar aqui umas imagens. Como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Eu acho giro demais, atualmente. Acho que é um assunto muito relevante. E principalmente a maneira que é posto, porque eu sempre associei a moda e a utilização

de símbolos como algo brega, porque nunca era bonito. E atualmente eles têm feito peças incríveis e têm ficado lindas. Obviamente, vai depender da representação da imagem, mas sim.

VB Mas, em geral, achas que é uma coisa positiva?
Sim.

VB OK. Estas imagens aqui são da *Vogue Portugal*. Gostava de saber como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?
Desconfortáveis.

VB Porquê?
Talvez pela maneira que é representado algumas situações. Entende? Que sente um caráter sexual envolvido. A sensação que eu tenho nessas imagens é que tem sempre uma parte sexual envolvida.

VB E, portanto, desconfortável?
Hum. Hum. (Sim)

VB Temos aqui mais estas 3 também da *Vogue Portugal*. A questão é a mesma: como é que te fazem sentir?
Fazem sentir... – não desconfortável, mas faz-me sentir como se alguma coisa não estivesse certa – como se alguma coisa não fosse do jeito que é suposto ser. Acho que as outras fazem sentir mais desconfortáveis do que essas. Só que a sensação que eu tenho é que não é como é suposto ser.

VB Mas achas que é tipo, por exemplo, inapropriado?
Sim, algumas penso que sejam inapropriadas.

VB E porque é que tu achas que a indústria da moda em geral, não só os designers, porque neste caso estamos a falar de uma revista... Mas porque é que achas que eles incorporam estas representações?
Como uma maneira de ir contra a norma. Porque a igreja é um mundo tão grande e ainda tão poderoso, que é uma maneira de tentar – não confrontar, mas sim confrontar esse mundo e trazer esse mundo para fora – fazê-los sair e mostrar um outro lado que talvez não seja visto pelos outros. Uma maneira de confrontar essa sociedade da igreja.

VB Consideras que esta inclusão destes símbolos religiosos na indústria da moda pode ser respeitosa ou achas que em geral é desrespeitosa?

Eu acho que ela pode ser, sim, respeitosa, dependendo da maneira que é feita, mas na grande maioria das vezes ela é sempre desrespeitosa.

VB Porquê?
Porque eles sempre tentam sexualizar, por exemplo, esse exemplo da freira ou quando é um padre e uma criança. E acho que sempre tem essa maneira de confronto, só que também traz problemas sociais que acontecem dentro da igreja, que talvez também seja uma forma de denunciar isso, então é um dilema. Sim, é uma maneira talvez de confrontar essa sociedade da igreja em que existem regras muito específicas e que muitas vezes vão contra os princípios de design de moda, ou muitas vezes é a sensação de “eu quero denunciar algo que foi feito há muito tempo para que a sociedade veja”.

VB Mas em geral, por exemplo, no caso das peças de roupa que estávamos a falar não te faz grande confusão? É mesmo estas imagens que sexualizam mais...

Exato. Aquelas imagens das roupas, não. Na minha conceção não acho desconfortáveis, acho muito bonitas. Mas essas imagens, sim, já. Quando sexualiza, a questão entra muito no limiar do Santo e do profano. Aí na minha conceção, já são desconfortáveis.

VB Não sei se estás familiar com isto, ou se te lembras, mas em 2018 o museu Met, em Nova Iorque, teve aquela exposição do *Heavenly Bodies*, que depois teve a Met Gala *Heavenly Bodies*, em que todas as celebridades foram com vestidos e outras roupas que representavam o imaginário cristão – neste especificamente era um bocadinho mais o imaginário católico. E nessa altura houve muita gente nos Estados Unidos, e não só, que achou que aquilo era blasfémia e que não se devia poder fazer isso, porque havia aquela justaposição entre celebridades e aquilo que eles consideram que são imagens sagradas. O que é que tu achas sobre isso? Achas que é super blasfémia, ou...

Não, não vejo como blasfémia no contexto geral. Acho que é a tentativa de incorporar esses 2 mundos. Mas não penso, porque seja uma celebridade, que a pessoa vive a vida de outra maneira, que seja uma boa... Acho que tudo é a maneira como isso é posto, ou seja, da mesma maneira que uma roupa que a pessoa usou tem sido “nossa, ótima”, a outra também pode ter ido para um caminho já de desagradar ou de – não é impor – mas de eu provocar o outro. Acho que existe uma linha que é muito difícil de se alcançar, que é um equilíbrio entre “eu quero incorporar esses elementos” ou “eu quero realmente

provocar o outro”. Não acho que, no contexto geral, tenha sido uma blasfêmia, mas acho que a maneira como alguns representaram talvez possa ser sim. Não sei.

VB Portanto, em geral, religião e moda, aquilo que acaba por incomodar mais é quando existe uma sexualização tanto na roupa normal das pessoas na igreja ou no dia a dia como nas representações do cristianismo na moda?

Sim. Eu acho que a questão da sexualização, ela é um conceito que foi muito deturpado dentro da igreja, no geral. Então a maneira muitas vezes que a gente vê roupas, que a gente vê estilos, vai ser muito baseado naquilo que foi construído, das diretrizes da igreja. E hoje achar um equilíbrio é muito difícil, porque eu tenho aquilo construído, que é uma base construída. Então hoje, olhar para a moda e você tenta achar um equilíbrio, achar que realmente aquilo, baseado na sua fé, é um trabalho... Porque é muito mais fácil eu chegar baseado nesses conceitos que foram construídos pela igreja e pelas pessoas do que eu realmente parar para pensar o que realmente faz sentido e aquilo que realmente não faz sentido. Mas acho que existe um grande problema em relação da sexualização, tanto dentro da igreja quanto fora, mas não a sexualização da roupa em si. É a sexualização da maneira que ela é exposta. Não sei se faz sentido.

Appendix F9 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Matilde”

Date of Interview:	February 8, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	25:05
Characteristics:	40 years old, Covilhã, Portuguese, Fashion Designer, Catholic

VB Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou a tua denominação religiosa?

A minha base é a religião católica. Sim. Houve uma altura em que estive mais dentro da religião e agora, se calhar um pouco mais afastada, mas é sempre aquela a qual recorro é a religião católica.

VB Como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

Então, as minhas crenças e valores religiosos têm-se vindo a moldar também à medida em que eu vou crescendo e vou, se calhar, tendo outro *feedback*, não é? Do exterior e vou percebendo. Mas acredito – ou se calhar no meu caso – preciso de acreditar em algo que me dê uma força extra quando tenho uma decisão para tomar, uma situação, gosto de recorrer a – pronto – à minha crença religiosa. Não sou praticante ativa, digamos, de ir à igreja, de ir às missas de... Pronto, já fui mais do que sou hoje, mas sim, mas gosto. Tenho crença na Nossa Senhora, por exemplo, da religião católica, gosto de recorrer a ela. Não rezo frequentemente, mas sim esporadicamente. Sim, posso fazer isso.

VB Como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária e, mais especificamente, as tuas escolhas de vestuário?

Em termos de vida diária, gosto sempre de acordar e pedir para ter um bom dia, nesse caso da fé, “OK, vamos lá um dia novo, ajuda-me, estás aí em cima, vamos lá para correr isto tudo bem”. Em termos de escolha de vestuário, nunca pensei muito nisso, OK, assim diretamente, se faço alguma escolha em termos de religião. Eu acho que a escolha que eu faço em termos de roupa tem muito a ver também com a minha forma de ser e não tanto se calhar diretamente ligada à religião. Mas também acredito, ao mesmo tempo, pensando assim mais aprofundadamente, que as escolhas que faço poderão ter como base a aquilo que me foi ensinado desde pequena. E como desde pequena sempre fui inserida na religião católica – fiz catequese, fiz até ao Crisma, fiz os passos todos, ia à missa assiduamente ao domingo – talvez a questão de não expor tanto o corpo esteja em mim dessa forma, também por base da religião. Eu não gosto, sou uma pessoa que não gosto de mostrar o corpo de uma forma assim, mais recorrente, a não ser no verão, na praia, pronto, que assim o exige.

VB Então, acreditas que, se calhar, inconscientemente, esta tua educação católica influencia a maneira como te vestes?

Sim, posso dizer que sim. Não digo a 100%, mas de uma certa forma influencia sim. Sim, sim. Está nas bases.

VB Sim, e em geral, acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?

Sim, acredito. Acredito que pessoas que sejam mais, digamos, mais assíduas, na prática da sua religião, acredito que sim, que haja uma ligação muito mais forte na questão do modo de se apresentarem, de se vestirem. Sim, em quererem representar através da roupa a sua fé, sim, a sua religião. Acredito que sim.

VB Achas que existem diretrizes específicas, no teu caso, da Igreja Católica sobre como as mulheres se devem vestir?

Diretrizes específicas não direi que existam. Mas a verdade é que, por exemplo, aconteceu uma situação quando fui ao Vaticano, em que eu ia com os ombros descobertos – ia de cavas, foi no verão – e pediram para cobrir os ombros em sinal de respeito. Portanto, imagina, diretamente eu não tinha pensado nisso e quando fui confrontada com a situação é que tinha percebido essa tal questão de nos cobrirmos por uma questão de respeito, OK? Pronto. E aí senti essas diretrizes, mas no dia a dia ou de uma forma mais comum, não, não sinto. Sim.

VB E em Portugal, nunca sentes que isso tenha acontecido?

Não, nunca entrei assim num mosteiro ou numa igreja em que me foi dito para me cobrir ou para ter mais atenção com a minha roupa. Não, não, até porque nós podemos ver cada

vez mais quando há cerimônias de casamento e por aí fora, as pessoas vão – geralmente no verão, os casamentos acontecem no verão – as pessoas vão de uma forma mais destapada e nunca senti, nem vi isso à minha volta a acontecer.

VB Mas achas que, por exemplo, no passado já existiram estas diretrizes mais específicas?

Sim, sim, sim, sim, toda a evolução da, digamos, do ser humano, toda a evolução da civilização, da sociedade. Sim, isto digamos que tem sido uma evolução e nós vamos nos adaptando consoante a sociedade do momento e sim eram muito mais rigorosos, muito mais rígidos na forma como as mulheres entravam na igreja e não só, mesmo a forma como andavam no dia a dia vestidas. Sim, influenciava diretamente, sim, a forma como elas se cobriam e se tapavam. Eu falo em mulheres, pronto, homens também, mas pronto aqui no feminino mais evidente. Acho eu.

VB Achas que é igual para os homens e para as mulheres esta expectativa?

Não, não é igual. Digamos que acho que as mulheres sofrem um pouco mais disso na pele, são muito mais... São um foco, digamos. Chama mais a atenção e são um alvo mais a controlar, digamos, sim, até porque o homem não tem sequer tanta – não digo que seja uma necessidade –, mas não tem tanta necessidade de expor o corpo, e a mulher, se calhar, tem mais. Por uma questão de se apresentar perante os outros na sociedade, gosta de se expor, de pôr um decote, de pôr umas cavas. O homem, se calhar, não tanto, não é? Não sei. Mas sim, a mulher é mais, sim, neste aspeto.

VB Consideras que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário que não possas vestir devido à tua religião?

Não, não.

VB E houve alguma altura da tua vida em que tu achaste que existia?

Olha, nunca pensei nisso dessa forma, mas penso que não. Bom, imagina, se calhar quando era mais jovem e era mais praticante, não é? Ia à missa, à catequese, se calhar era impensável ir com as calças rasgadas, por exemplo. Houve uma altura na minha adolescência, na minha juventude, em que se usavam as calças rasgadas nos joelhos e na nádega. Se calhar não ia com a calça rasgada na nádega para a Igreja, não é? Pronto, por exemplo, não é? Nesse sentido, mas se calhar na escola ia uma vez ou outra. Sim.

VB Achas que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Acredito que deva ter, não sou leitora assídua da Bíblia, nem sei as passagens todas de cor, mas acredito que deva ter alguma passagem sobre isso, sim. Não me surpreenderia se tivesse, sim.

VB Um dos conceitos que mais fala quando se fala de moda e religião é a modéstia. Para ti, o que é que é a modéstia?

OK, modéstia... Em termos de roupa, de visual, não é, Vitória? Modéstia será não ostentar. Será não ostentar, se calhar não mostrar riqueza, não é? Não mostrar poder. Outra... Modéstia será uma roupa que, se calhar, passa mais despercebida nesse sentido. Não é evidenciar riqueza nem luxo. Sim, vejo por aí.

VB E não tanto pela exposição do corpo, por exemplo?

Sim, sim, claro que sim. Em termos de religião, a exposição do corpo aí também é fundamental, sim, então a questão da modéstia também poderá ser ter o corpo coberto. Sim, não ter, por exemplo, barriga de fora, umbigo exposto ou um decote mais profundo. Sim, modéstia será um decote mais subido, mais composta, mais recatada. Sim, em termos de religião, sim, muito por aí também.

VB Consideras que segues tendências de moda?

Não sou uma *fashion addicted* nem uma *fashion victim*, mas algumas coisas com as quais me identifico, sim, poderei seguir. Se calhar não é assim acerrimamente, mas poderei seguir alguma coisa, sim, sim. Com qual identifico? Por exemplo, tenho uma paixão por ténis, se há um tipo de ténis que fica na moda, que é uma tendência, se calhar aposto nessa tendência, pronto, sim, sim, mas não são todas, nem me identifico com todas, sim.

VB Costumas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Não. E cada vez menos. Por acaso, tenho vindo a mudar muito esta minha mentalidade do consumismo. Acredito que temos que ser muito mais conscientes ao comprar. Faço muito esse filtro em mim, penso “será que eu preciso de comprar isto? Não, não preciso”. Sai um sobretudo que até acho giro aquela cor, mas eu já tenho 5 sobretudos. Será que preciso de mais um? Não. Gosto muito da questão de... Eu tenho uma estratégia que já faço há alguns anos que é, imaginem 5 sobretudos que eu tenha de inverno – falando em roupa de inverno – ponho 2 ou 3 a uso naquele inverno. Os outros ficam guardados e só os uso 2 anos depois, para haver aquele fator de novidade e de reutilizar e de coordenar

de forma diferente, consoante o meu gosto também na altura. Sim, mas sou cada vez menos consumista. Compro muito pouco, sim, compro mais agora para os meus filhos, porque estão em crescimento e tenho que comprar, pronto. Sim, sim.

VB Claro! Sentes que existe alguma relação entre este consumo de moda e a tua fé?

Nunca pensei por esse ponto de vista. Este consumo de moda tem a ver com os meus ideais, com os ideais nos quais eu acredito. Com a fé assim propriamente nunca associei, não sei, poderá ter a ver com o facto de eu achar – eu sempre achei injusto o acesso às coisas, não ser igual para todos, OK? – Não sei se aí podemos pegar em fé. E então acredito que não preciso e tudo aquilo que eu já deixo de usar dou também a quem lhe faça falta ou a quem precisa e não tenha acesso às coisas de uma forma tão facilitada. Mas ligar assim diretamente com a fé, nunca, nunca pensei nisso, não. Não sei.

VB Eu também ia perguntar por acaso isso das doações e caridade e...

Sim, faço. Faço porque sinto necessidade de fazer. Acho que devo fazê-lo.

VB Esta preocupação mais ética do consumo e da circulação da roupa é uma coisa que tu fazes, mas não pensas numa relação disto com os valores do catolicismo ou...

É assim, talvez esteja relacionado com esses valores, porque eu vou-te dizer: eu faço isto porque desde pequena que fui – foi incutido pela minha mãe fazermos isto –, lembro-me de ser miúda, ser pequena e a minha mãe levava-me a instituições, geralmente religiosas, de freiras que acolhiam meninas – principalmente meninas – e a minha mãe levava-me lá para mostrar, não é? Que havia pessoas que não tinham a mesma possibilidade que nós. E eu recolhia, juntava em minha casa algumas coisas boas, ainda em uso e íamos dar a essas meninas. Portanto, isso foi incutido em mim desde pequena, talvez sim ligado à religião, aquilo em que a minha mãe acreditava e que passou para mim. Talvez sim, sim, Vitória. E tenho isso desde sempre. Eu sempre dei, eu não dou agora porque sim ou porque toda a gente fala nisso, não dou agora porque temos que reutilizar e reciclar. Eu sempre o fiz desde pequenina. Sim, sim.

VB Certo. Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos?

Olha, decido sempre baseado... eu tenho uma forma de ser muito vincada, tenho os meus ideais muito bem definidos, portanto, eu visto-me de acordo com aquilo que me faz sentir bem e aquilo que eu acho que deve ser adequado para cada momento. E a verdade é que eu gosto de distinguir os momentos e apresentar-me. Por exemplo, no dia a dia sou uma pessoa muito prática, muito descontrainda, não tenho sequer a necessidade de me maquilhar assiduamente, não é? Mas, por exemplo, para um evento, um casamento, uma cerimónia, um jantar de gala, qualquer coisa que possa acontecer, gosto de me apresentar de uma forma diferente. Posso me maquilhar, posso vestir uma roupa que eu ache adequada à situação. Não – lá está, isso parte de mim – não gosto de expor meu corpo, portanto, para mim, uma roupa de gala, sim, não tem que ser nada que me exponha o corpo. Por exemplo, um blazer de veludo agora que estamos no inverno, uma peça com corte diferente que me dê um ar elegante, no dia a dia ando de ténis se calhar posso levar uns saltos altos nesses eventos. Por exemplo, nos casamentos levo sempre saltos altos porque acho que favorecem a nossa imagem. Não é? Não sei se estou a responder muito bem aquilo que tu pretendes, mas gosto sempre de adequar a roupa aos eventos.

VB Sim, ia só perguntar se existe então uma diferença naquilo que tiveste no teu dia a dia e aquilo que vestes, se fores, por exemplo, a uma missa?

Não. Cada vez menos. Quando era mais pequena, havia, sim essa diferença. Tínhamos a roupa de domingo, digamos, que é uma coisa muito da religião, não é? A católica. E sim vestia, se calhar, a roupa que tinha mais nova ou mais bem cuidada e vestia uma roupa assim, mais bonitinha, porque a minha mãe incutiu-nos isso. A questão do respeito não é? A ir para a Igreja. Hoje em dia não. Sou capaz de ir com, imagina, neste momento estou com uma camisola e calças de ganga, calço uns ténis e visto o casaco de inverno e sou capaz de ir assim para uma igreja. Não tenho o mínimo problema, porque acho que estou decente. Acho que estou em condições de entrar numa igreja. Pronto, OK.

VB Claro. Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos, por exemplo, cruzeiros ou versículos bíblicos, ou assim, como forma de expressar a tua fé?

Já utilizei a cruz. Principalmente a cruz, em brincos, em fios, geralmente em acessórios. Em roupa diretamente, não. É engraçado que não sei se o fiz para expressar a minha fé, mas provavelmente inconscientemente, foi. Porque é o que está em mim, não é? É algo que me diz que eu gosto. Não é? Que me diz. E então sim, provavelmente o uso da cruz – ou crucifixo – foi. Digamos que também está na minha cultura, não é? Nas bases que me foram passadas. Sim, sim.

- VB** Achas que era mais para expressar a tua fé – ou tipo um *Conversation Starter* – ou achas que é mais com um sentido de proteção?
Ah, sim. Sentido de proteção acima de tudo. Sim, sim, todas as simbologias cristãs que eu posso utilizar é sempre como sentido proteção sim, não tanto para mostrar aos outros que a minha fé é esta ou aquela. Exatamente sim, sim.
- VB** Estas imagens são no caso de não te vir nada à cabeça neste tópico, mas suponho que devido à área, consigas pensar em coisas, mas... Como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?
Sim sim, sim consigo. Sinto em relação a quê? O facto de vestir? Se aprecio? Se não gosto?
- VB** Também, também isso, mas como é que te fazem sentir a existência destas imagens em peças de vestuário, por exemplo?
Eu vejo isto como exagero. Para mim, é um exagero. Não, eu provavelmente não usava assim estas peças, acho que são exageradas, OK? Claro que, por exemplo, o vestido preto, a segunda figura, se calhar, acho interessante. Pronto está ali, de uma certa forma, acaba por ser pronto, é ostensivo, mas acaba por ser mais discreto na questão das imagens da representação das imagens. Mas eu acho exagerado, sim, no meu... Se calhar não usaria. Dependendo do contexto, dependendo do contexto, mas se calhar não usaria, sim.
- VB** Em que contexto é que achas que se calhar usarias?
Sei lá, numa festa com um tema muito louco. Não faço ideia, sei lá, de que tivéssemos que ir assim tendo um tema. Talvez uma festa de sair à noite. Não sei, para o dia a dia, acho que é muito... Não sei.
- VB** OK. Vou-te mostrar umas imagens a seguir que são da *Vogue Portugal*. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?
É assim, não me fazem... Olha, a primeira que tem a cruz, crucifixo, o terço na mão, vejo isto de uma forma muito normal, não me faz confusão. A segunda, sou sincera que já vejo assim se calhar com um ar mais de seita, talvez não sei se isto fará sentido. Não, pronto, para mim não me identifico. E a outra já é aqui uma... manda aqui uma mensagem – pronto, não deixa de ser verdade – mas eu, se calhar, não faria isto.
- VB** Tenho aqui outras 3. A mesma questão: como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?
Lá está, a primeira, acho que é um exagero. Há aqui um exagero, aqui um ideal, não é? De... Exagero, diversão, a questão da freira, pronto. A segunda acho que sim, que uma freira tem direito a usar perfume, tem direito também, apesar de todas as indicações e orientações da Igreja acaba por ser uma mulher também. Tudo bem que é uma mulher que fez ali vários votos de sacrifício. É um contrassenso ao mesmo tempo, não é? Porque ela faz o voto da pobreza e de tudo mais não tem que estar a mostrar este luxo, digamos. A terceira é interessante. Não sei. É tentarmos trazer para o dia a dia, para as coisas banais, é tornar isto banal, talvez tornar-se em uma ideia mais banal. Estar a pedir e ter, né? Fazer um pedido e receber. Não sei, um bocado por aí.
- VB** Eu acho que é mais uma das várias representações que nós podemos ver em muitas coisas da *Creation of Adam* da Capela Sistina. Mas compreendo que este não seja o mais chocante em comparação com, se calhar outras referências que eles põem na revista. Em geral – esta é a minha última questão – consideras que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou achas que em geral é desrespeitosa?
Tendo em conta o contexto, não é? Por qual incluem os símbolos, pode ser ambas. Pode ser tanto respeitosa como desrespeitosa, não é? Eu costumo achar que há sempre uma linha, há uma linha que separa – não é? Como diz aquele anúncio – e acho que às vezes transpomos certas linhas que acho que não devemos. No meu caso, claro que há outras pessoas para elas não lhes fará confusão nenhuma. Claro que tem a ver com as bases, tem a ver com aquilo, com os ideais de cada um de nós. Eu acredito que sim, pode ser ambas, ambas respeitosa e desrespeitosa, não é? Forma como é adequada ou não ao contexto.
- VB** E porque é que tu achas – não sei, se calhar no caso específico dos designers – porque é que achas que eles incluem este tipo de simbologia?
Eu acho que é uma forma de chamarem à atenção, de marcarem uma posição, muitas vezes também de acordo com o que está a passar na sociedade, é uma forma de passar uma mensagem, não é? Aliás, nós todos, enquanto designers, nós usamos a roupa como uma forma de expressão. Usamos, criamos roupa como forma de expressão e acredito que seja colocando esses símbolos – não é? Religiosos – é uma forma de passarem uma mensagem, pode ser a mensagem dizendo que é religioso dizendo que acreditam, ou pode ser a mensagem que é completamente o oposto. Não é? Que não é de acordo, que quer fazer uma sátira, uma crítica, acredito que seja uma forma de marcar uma posição, sim, sempre como forma de marcar uma posição.

VB Por exemplo, no livro sobre a exposição e sobre a MET Gala de 2018 do *Heavenly Bodies*, eles estavam a explicar que, no caso de vários designers, mais especificamente nos italianos, por exemplo, D&G, Versace, que têm muitas muitas referências ao catolicismo nas peças deles. Mesmo muitas, por exemplo, o casamento da Kourtney Kardashian. Que se deve ao facto de eles (Dolce & Gabbana) terem crescido numa educação muito católica e que, apesar de eles em adultos, se calhar não acreditarem ou não praticarem o catolicismo, que continuam a viver dentro daquele imaginário super prevalente, porque o catolicismo é muito imagético. Então se calhar é por causa disso.

Pode ter a ver com as bases, exatamente. Porque assim tu, nem digo que seja inconscientemente, mas lá no fundo, se tiveste uma educação nesse sentido, nesse âmbito, não é? Eu, por exemplo, eu tive, não fui obrigada, sempre andei porque quis, gostava imenso de andar no grupo onde andava de catequese, eu segui aquilo. Digamos, os meus pais passaram os ideais deles, não é? Geralmente é isso que nós fazemos para os nossos filhos, eu segui esse caminho, OK, tudo bem, fiz até ao fim até ao crisma. Claro que conforme fui crescendo, fui percebendo que há coisas com as quais eu já não me identifico totalmente, algumas coisas até crítico na igreja, que não concordo, não é? Mas, por exemplo, posso dizer que não tenho os meus filhos, não vou pôr os meus filhos na catequese, mas meus filhos são batizados. Porque é a minha base, eu decidi dar-lhes uma base, eles um dia agora vão escolher o caminho que querem seguir, mas conhecem, sabem quem é Deus, a história, porque também a escola... Isto acaba por ser também uma questão de sociedade, não é? A escola onde eles estão, digamos, não é uma escola católica, mas é uma escola com bases e princípios católicos. Portanto, quando é Natal contam a história do Menino Jesus, portanto, os meus filhos acabam por entrar um bocado... E já fomos à missa uma vez ou outra para eles perceberem o que é aquilo, não é? Mas não levo diretamente, mas acabam, porque como é as minhas bases... Não é? Como é aquilo que eu conheço, acabo por lhes passar. Não tão intensamente como eu tive quando era nova, mas acabam por ter esse conhecimento. Eu costumo dizer que é bom, nós temos uma base e a partir daí nós podemos escolher, né? Se tu não tiveres uma base, tu não podes fazer uma escolha, não podes dizer se é bom, se é mau para ti, pronto, é um bocado por aí, decidi batizá-los nesse sentido, vou-lhe dar uma base a tal proteção em que eu acredito, vou dar essa proteção. E agora eles mais para a frente se quiserem seguir outra religião ou outro tipo de crença, são livres de fazer. Não vou mudar nem obrigar ninguém a manter-se, pronto. Mas acaba por ser uma influência da sociedade, por exemplo, essas influências que tu me falas... a Met Gala, o casamento da Kardashian, isso tudo mais foram criados nesta base católica. Claro que isso pode estar lá neles, pode estar enraizado neles, podem já não ser praticantes, mas estão lá, são as bases, então, digamos, é a religião deles base, né? Faz mais sentido para eles fazer um casamento nesse sentido do que estarem a fazer um casamento, sei lá, hindu ou noutra religião qualquer. Estás a entender? Porque são as bases que eles tiveram. Portanto, acho que é por aí. Não conhecendo outra religião a meio do percurso... Porque tu podes, podes dedicar outra religião e podes conhecer, eu tenho amigos que a meio do percurso de vida decidiram entregar-se e conhecer outras religiões e agora fazem parte de outras religiões – tudo bem, pronto – e agora neste momento vivem a vida de acordo com essas religiões. Pronto, mas acho que temos que ter sempre uma base, acredito nisso.

Appendix F10 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Teresa”

Date of Interview:	February 8, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	52:17
Characteristics:	19 years old, Odivelas, Portuguese, Student, Evangelical

VB Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou denominação religiosa?

Eu sou cristã evangélica e desde sempre.

VB E como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

É assim, eu nasci na igreja, por isso já é um bocadinho tipo parte de quem eu sou, mas na verdade o cristianismo é assim, não é bem uma religião, é um modo de vida e um relacionamento, por isso é nisso que eu me baseio. Tento ser cada vez mais parecida com Cristo, apesar de não ser nada fácil. Claro que depois vem toda uma série de – não é bem regras, mas pronto – coisas que nós devemos fazer, né? E isso acarreta muitas coisas, mas maioritariamente é um estilo de vida. É aquilo em que eu acredito e que dita não só como eu penso, mas também como eu falo e é isto.

VB Ia perguntar: como é que tu achas que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária?

Em todos os níveis e mais alguns. Tipo, é tão minucioso quando estás no meio do trânsito e só te apetece berrar com a gente toda, mas tipo “não, não, eu tenho que amar as outras pessoas, então vou ouvir aqui uma musiquinha que é para me acalmar”, tipo coisas assim. Mas na verdade influencia em tudo porque tudo o que nós fazemos, pelo menos pela minha ótica, e está descrito na Bíblia, deve ser para Deus. Por isso, na verdade, deves fazer tudo com excelência. Tipo acordas de manhã, levantas-te e dás o melhor de ti em todo o dia e para toda a gente e por isso afeta basicamente tudo o que nós fazemos.

VB E especificamente em relação às tuas escolhas de vestuário?

Então, eu por acaso penso muito naquilo que vou vestir. Eu acho que vestir de uma forma modesta tem vindo a ser uma trend hoje em dia. Também já passámos, por exemplo, na minha adolescência houve bué aquela fase dos tops super curtos e calças super baixas e tudo muito justo e não sei quê e, na verdade, ser uma criança meio influenciável nessas coisas, o que nos apetece é estar na moda, sentirmo-nos integrados. E por isso, na verdade, às vezes não nos apetece nada cuidar do nosso corpo – da aparência do nosso corpo – mas na verdade, eu gosto de me vestir de uma certa forma assim mais – tipo eu não quero dizer reservada, mas sim – reservada, porque na verdade, o meu corpo é meu e eu não tenho que estar propriamente a mostrar isso às outras pessoas. E isso também vem muito da minha fé, que é cuidar de mim, cuidar do meu corpo, isso é meu e nós acreditamos que “o meu corpo é o templo do Espírito Santo”. Eu não preciso de propriamente estar a vestir-me de uma certa forma em que me exponho demais ou que exponho coisas – sei lá, pronto – que eu não necessito de necessariamente estar a pôr para as outras pessoas, demasiado íntimo, pronto. Por isso eu gosto de me vestir assim, coisas mais... que tapam mais. Claro que eu gosto sempre de um decote, eu acho decotes muito giros, mas pronto, depois também há um bocado de balançar, percebes? Também não é ser demasiado exagerado... Para já, houve muito a cultura de Assembleias de Deus, de que só podias vestir saias e só podias vestir coisas largas e o cabelo tinha que estar sempre de uma certa forma. Não precisamos de chegar a esse extremo, desde que nós pensemos na nossa relação com Deus... E eu faço muito isso, eu penso na minha relação com Deus. Eu não me visto para os outros, eu visto-me para mim e para também honrar Deus. Como eu tinha dito, eu devo honrar Deus com tudo o que eu faço e a minha forma de vestir é uma das coisas que eu faço, não é? Eu é que penso no que é que eu vou vestir, então eu tento usar isso como uma forma de honrar Deus, e sim, isso implica não entrar n’algumas modas e coisas assim, mas na verdade depois, não é um peso, porque eu na verdade, estou a vestir aquilo que eu gosto.

VB Tu já mencionaste, mas eu vou perguntar na mesma, porque é uma das coisas que mais se fala quando se fala em religião, em moda, que é: para ti o que é que é a modéstia?

Isso é uma pergunta muito complicada, porque na verdade, há muitas definições de como se vestir de forma modesta, mas na verdade, eu acho que se vestirmos de forma modesta é só aquilo que eu disse, que é honrar Deus com a forma como nos vestimos. Porque

depois há muita gente que acha que temos que nos vestir de uma certa maneira e que não podemos, sei lá, tipo, saias acima do joelho “oh, meu Deus, isso não é nada modesto”. Não. Eu acho que tem muito a ver com a nossa relação com Deus, com aquilo que nós queremos passar aos outros, mas também com aquilo que nós falamos com Deus, pronto. Por isso eu acho que ser modesto não tem nada a ver mesmo mesmo aquilo que tu vestes, tem mais a ver com o teu pensamento. Tipo o pensamento de “eu estou-me a vestir para os outros”, ou “eu estou-me a vestir para mim”, ou “eu estou-me a vestir para também agradar a Deus com isso”. Acho que tem muito mais a ver com o nosso pensamento, do que realmente com aquilo que nós vestimos. Claro que depois também não podemos entrar no extremo, que é tipo “ah, eu visto-me assim toda descascada e não sei quê, mas como o meu pensamento está com Deus, está tudo bem”. Calma, também não é, não é preciso tanto, não é. Temos que ter aqui um equilíbrio. Eu acho que é um sinónimo de ser modesto. Eu acho que o equilíbrio é um bom sinónimo.

VB Portanto, acreditas que existe então uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião em geral?

Sim sim, eu acho que sim.

VB E, no teu caso, consideras que influencia a maneira como tu te vestes?

No meu caso, definitivamente sim. Até porque, como eu nasci num lar cristão, era muito... Eu nunca cheguei a comprar... Eu ia às compras, que minha mãe não é? E era sempre tipo “tens a certeza que queres levar isso?”. E depois também as nossas influências, as pessoas a quem nós olhamos, tipo como exemplos também nos ajudam nesse aspeto.

VB Pessoas dentro da Igreja ou, por exemplo, na Internet ou assim?

Ambos. Tanto para o lado bom como para o lado mau. Pessoas... Os nossos exemplos na Igreja podem guiar-nos para um lado bom na parte de vestir, tipo “vê lá se queres mesmo estar a vestir assim”, “vê lá se queres mesmo estar a andar atrás dos outros só porque é uma moda, ou queres te vestir da forma que tu te queres vestir?” E depois também tens do lado da Internet, pode levar para outro lado que é tipo “ah, toda a gente está a fazer isto, porque é que eu não posso fazer?”. Isso na verdade, é um pensamento muito que, principalmente os jovens cristãos têm, que é tipo “se toda a gente faz, eu não posso fazer porquê?” Por isso temos os dois lados. Temos que ter muito cuidado com aquelas pessoas a quem olhamos como os nossos exemplos. E na roupa é a mesma coisa.

VB Consideras que existem diretrizes específicas na tua denominação ou na igreja sobre como as pessoas devem vestir, mais especificamente as mulheres?

Hoje em dia, não. Já houve. E minha mãe e os meus avós contam histórias, que só se podiam vestir uma certa forma para ir para a igreja e, na verdade, ainda é a realidade de muitas denominações. Mas na minha eu acho que não. O que nós vemos mais é, por exemplo, quando estamos a servir na igreja, mesmo dentro do espaço físico da Igreja, claro que temos que ter cuidado com aquilo que vestimos, porque estamos a fazer – devemos ter cuidado sempre, eu não sei se eu me estou a conseguir explicar bem – mas dentro da Igreja é uma coisa um bocado mais sagrada entre aspas, porque estás literalmente a trabalhar para Deus. É uma coisa, é parte do dia que tu tiras para trabalhar para Deus e por isso é que muitas vezes há *dress code* para quem está a servir. Por exemplo, os fotógrafos levam tudo preto. Quem está no louvor não pode levar coisas tipo decotes, saia demasiado curtas, mas isso é num contexto de domingo, ou seja, de servir a Deus. Tipo se estás só a assistir ao culto, não acho que haja nada assim de restrições. Já houve, mas também acho que o nosso pensamento evoluiu um bocado para o lado positivo.

VB Esta dualidade de aquilo que se veste, por exemplo, no palco ou a servir *versus* aquilo que se veste, se não se estiver a fazer nada disso, porque é que achas que isso existe? Achas que é uma questão de respeito ou é mais uma questão de o que é que as outras pessoas vão achar ou ver?

Isso é uma ótima pergunta, porque na verdade é os dois. Primeiro, é uma questão de respeito, sem dúvida, porque se já devemos vestir-nos como para Deus no dia a dia, então muito mais o devemos fazer ao domingo – que nós crentes, cristãos evangélicos, consideramos que é o dia do Senhor e vamos à Igreja, estamos com outros – por isso, sim, em primeiro lugar, eu acho que o que vestes ao servi-lo é uma forma de respeito, sim. Mas também tem a ver com aquilo que os outros pensam, porque se nós vamos de qualquer maneira e feitio, por exemplo, para o palco – se estamos no louvor – também dá uma imagem para fora, para os incrédulos, que não é bem aquilo que a Igreja passa. Porque se vais vestir de uma forma provocadora ou com, pronto, com muito decote ou qualquer coisa assim... na verdade, não estás ali a dar nenhum espetáculo, não estás ali a dar

nenhum *show*, estás a fazer alguma coisa para Deus, estás a exaltá-lo e a engrandecê-lo. Por isso, claro que é uma forma de respeito, mas também tem a ver com o que os outros veem de fora, porque a imagem que tu queres passar é tipo “eu não estou aqui de qualquer maneira e feito, eu oro”, porque isso é uma coisa que nós fazemos, né? Nós oramos antes de servirmos a Deus, nós passamos tempo com Ele e isso faz com que nós tenhamos uma relação mais perto Dele e que nós queiramos também passar aos outros que não precisamos de nos vestir de uma certa forma ou assim, para estarmos com Ele. Podemos estar à vontade, e normalmente é isso, estamos à vontade, por isso é que se vê muitas vezes – mais na América, tipo – os videoclipes das músicas cristãs, está sempre gente com t-shirts, roupa buéda larga e calças de buéda largas, porque na verdade estás super à vontade para estar diante de Deus. Por isso eu acho que é um bocadinho dos dois. É respeito para com Deus, mas também tem um bocadinho a ver com o que os outros pensam. Não, porque nós queremos mostrar “ah e tal somos os melhores e fazemos isto”, “somos bué modestos e somos melhor que vocês todos”, não. É mesmo, tipo, com Deus não precisas de estar a preparar-te toda ou por tipo roupas super, não sei quê, podes estar super à vontade porque na verdade Deus só te quer a ti.

VB Consideras que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário que não possas vestir por causa da tua religião?

Eu, sim, mas isso sou bué eu especificamente. Isso depois tem a ver com cada pessoa e da forma como cada pessoa visualiza. Eu pessoalmente sim. Eu não gosto assim de coisas que... eu por natureza não gosto de coisas muito justas, mas isso sou eu. É bué pessoal, tipo, há pessoas que podem usar o que... As pessoas, na minha opinião, podem usar o que quiserem, mas eu na verdade sim, tudo o que seja demasiado sensual ou que mostre demasiado. Tipo, eu não sei explicar. Mas tudo o que seja assim demasiado – não é revelador, mas se calhar é – eu pessoalmente, não gosto de usar, mas isso sou eu, porque não me sinto confortável e eu gosto de me sentir confortável naquilo que visto, porque eu sinto-me confortável na minha relação com Deus.

VB OK. E consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como as pessoas se devem vestir? Especificamente as mulheres.

Específicas não. A Bíblia consegue ser muito específica em muitas coisas e muito vaga noutras tantas. Por isso, na altura – eu não tenho assim tanto conhecimento profundo do Velho Testamento para dizer isto, mas sim – na altura em que a Bíblia foi escrita, principalmente o Velho Testamento, havia muitas regras de como as mulheres se deviam vestir, mas eu acho que a coisa maior que a Bíblia passa em relação à roupa das mulheres, é que nós não nos devemos expor de forma inadequada, de forma que nós não precisamos. Por isso é que se fala tanto em vestirmo-nos de forma modesta. Mas eu acho que assim taxativamente não há nada na Bíblia que diga, tipo “ah ya, não podes vestir isto”. Isso eu acho que não. Acho que neste aspeto, a Bíblia às vezes é um bocado vaga. Mas isso sou eu.

VB Imagina se eu te disser que há, achas que é uma questão de contexto para altura ou seriam coisas que seriam para aplicar hoje em dia?

Depende. Imagina *risos* Claro que há coisas que estão descritas na Bíblia que é para a altura, mas também há muitas coisas que são escritas para a altura, mas a Bíblia é bué atual e nós podemos pôr hoje em dia. Por isso é um bocadinho, depende da passagem, depende do contexto, depende um bocado do livro também depende daquilo que eles estavam a viver na altura, porque muitas vezes nós vemos na Bíblia que às vezes o povo estava a viver uma altura de bué santidade, ou seja, um relacionamento mesmo próximo com Deus. E por isso havia algumas regras que eles tinham que respeitar obrigatoriamente, mas também há outras alturas em que o povo andava a fazer buéda porcaria e Deus chateava-se. Cada pessoa sabe de si, mas eu acho que tem muito a ver com a passagem, com o contexto bíblico e com o contexto social da época, mas é muito provável que se aplique hoje em dia, sim.

VB OK. Consideras que segues tendências de moda?

Algumas, depende. Já segui mais. Quando eu era assim, tipo *pre-teen*, na adolescência, eu acho que tentava seguir mais, tipo, não gostava de nenhuma das minhas roupas, queria sempre comprar roupas iguais às dos outros. Os outros vestiam-se todos buéda bem, eu não, mas hoje em dia nem tanto. Mas é claro que, eu adoro *trends* porque é uma ótima fonte de inspiração, mesmo que eu não tenha que seguir aquilo, aquilo está lá – tipo, não tenho que comprar aquele casaco exatamente igual – é uma ótima fonte de inspiração. Tipo, eu posso não gostar de uma *trend* e posso gostar de outra, por isso eu sigo as trends que eu acho que se aplicam à minha forma de vestir, mas não é tipo, sai uma *trend* nova

e vou logo a correr para aquilo, até porque eu normalmente sou tipo das últimas pessoas a saber das *trends* todas. Porque eu não ligo assim tanto a essas coisas, mas se eu gosto de uma *trend*, se calhar eu vou segui-la. Mas também se a *trend* acabar, se eu gosto daquilo, eu não vou parar de usar aquilo só porque a *trend* acabou, assim como se eu não gostar da *trend*, eu não vou usar só porque é uma *trend*. Eu vou usar, se eu gostar.

VB Costumas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Não. Eu compro roupa em saldos *risos* Estou a ser bem honesta. Eu e a minha mãe... Eu fui educada assim. Nós – os meus pais vêm de um *background* assim, já tiveram problemas financeiros também, mas nós vivemos confortavelmente, ou seja – os meus pais sabem o que é que é não ter dinheiro para comprar roupa. Então eu sempre fui instruída em só compramos roupas se precisamos, por exemplo, eu só compro calças fora de saldos, se eu precisar mesmo das calças. E o resto que é assim mais trivial é tipo em saldos e normalmente é com o meu dinheiro. Eu não me apoio nos meus pais para essas coisas, por isso eu não costumo comprar roupa assim, tipo, eu não sou daquelas pessoas que tipo “ah não tenho nada para fazer, vou ao *shopping*” – nada contra estas pessoas, ainda bem para vocês, é uma forma, vocês gostam, isso é ótimo – mas eu não gosto assim tanto de andar nas compras e andar a experimentar roupa e não sei quê, por isso não, eu não compro, assim, roupa muito regularmente.

VB Sentes que existe uma relação entre o teu consumo de roupa e a tua fé? Ou achas que tem mesmo mais a ver com a situação dos teus pais e aquilo que eles ensinaram por causa disso?

Sim, eu acho que sim. Eu acho que não tem muito a ver com a minha fé. Sim, acho que não.

VB OK.

Estava a tentar ver se desenvolvia, mas acho que não, não tem a ver.

VB Eu vou lá. Eu ajudo-te a desenvolver... Esta pergunta é um bocadinho mais longa, portanto... Como é que a tua religião influencia a tua visão sobre moda sustentável? Se costumas considerar questões como o *fast fashion*, condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, compras em lojas de caridade, doações, consumo excessivo e essas coisas todas ao fazer escolhas de moda por causa da tua fé ou não?

Isso é uma ótima pergunta. Essas perguntas são muito boas. Mas é uma pergunta difícil, porque, claro que... Eu posso dizer já que eu nunca comprei roupa em segunda mão, portanto, eu nunca comprei roupa que fosse de outra pessoa. No entanto, eu tenho uma prima mais velha e houve muitos anos na minha vida em que tipo quando a roupa não lhe servia a ela, eu ficava com a roupa dela e quando a minha roupa não me serve, eu dou a alguém. Eu, por acaso, por causa das igrejas em que eu já estive, tenho muita cultura de “se eu já não visto ou já não brinco com alguma coisa, eu dou”. Ou seja, há sempre alguém que precisa por isso nesse aspeto, eu tento não mandar roupa fora, dou a quem precisa. E isso, eu acho que vem muito da minha fé e por andar na Igreja e por saber que há gente que precisa, porque muitas vezes as pessoas não – há pessoas que têm consciência e simplesmente não querem fazer nada acerca disso – mas há pessoas que nem sequer têm consciência de que há gente mesmo com necessidades no nosso país. E num certo aspeto, a Igreja foi boa para isso, porque normalmente as igrejas, a que deriva dos cristãos, gostam muito de ajudar os outros, mas para ajudar, as pessoas têm que saber quem precisa de ajuda. Por isso, na verdade, uma coisa em que nós somos muito bons é em contacto com pessoas que estão em necessidade ou, por exemplo, tipo as organizações que sabem quem é que precisa e que fazem lá chegar coisas. Por exemplo, nós tínhamos uma coisa – numa das igrejas em que eu estive – que era, nós fazíamos mesmo uma feira de beneficência, e tipo, as cenas que nós já não usávamos, nós levávamos para lá e depois juntávamos tudo e dávamos a uma senhora do Centro Paroquial, porque ela conseguia fazer chegar a outras pessoas. E isso também é uma ótima forma de fazer diferentes denominações falarem entre si, comunicarem e juntarem-se para um bem comum. No que toca a comprar – isso, coisas que eu tenho para outros – no que toca a comprar, eu nunca comprei nada em segunda mão. Também porque tenho – não é medo, vá – mas tenho algum receio, porque, não sei, eu nunca comprei, não está muito nos meus ensinamentos, pronto. A minha mãe, por exemplo, nunca comprou, então eu nunca fui ensinada a isso, mas conheço gente que compra e tipo, tudo bem, é uma cena delas. Acho que fazem super bem. Eu não faço, mas eu tenho consciência de que ao comprar roupa nova, há alguém que está a sofrer e isso chateia-me um bocadinho às vezes. No entanto, assim que... Eu sou um bocado, tipo a leste das coisas, estás a ver? Então imagina, houve uma altura em que eu comprava bué coisas na SheIn, sem saber de nada e depois fui

começando a ler notícias da SheIn e agora eu praticamente não compro nada. Não estou a julgar quem o faz, mas se eu puder evitar que não sei quantas crianças ou mulheres sofrem de abusos numa loja, numa fábrica lá no meio do nada, se calhar eu faço a minha parte para talvez isso não acontecer. Por isso, desde que eu comecei a ler notícias sobre isso, eu parei de comprar em sites como, por exemplo, a Shein. No entanto, continuo a comprar roupa. E na verdade... Credo, agora vou parecer buéda má pessoa, mas não é uma coisa que me pese, por exemplo, ir à Pull ou à Stradivarius e comprar roupa nova. Porque primeiro, eu tenho mínima fé nas pessoas para que aquilo sejam empresas realmente de bom nome e que paguem bem aos seus trabalhadores. Outra coisa que eu faço é não ir pesquisar, por exemplo, na Shein eu fui pesquisar porque aquilo estava-me a aparecer bué é *shady* e estava a parecer bué mesmo tipo mafioso, mas pronto porque eu tentei também ir pesquisar... Porque se eu for pesquisar e encontrar coisas más, eu sei que vou parar. E não é um bocado querer ficar na ignorância, mas se calhar até é. Credo, eu estou a parecer uma péssima pessoa, mas eu não sou, eu juro. Mas pronto, claro que muitas vezes fico com peso na consciência dessas coisas, mas não é uma coisa que eu vá parar de fazer, porque eu preciso de me vestir, né? Mas pode influenciar o meu consumo. E isso tem a ver com a minha fé, porque Jesus tinha imensa compaixão das pessoas e é o que eu tenho que fazer. Eu tenho que ter compaixão dos outros e, claro que ver outros a trabalhar em condições precárias, só para eu ter uma camisola, claro que afeta o meu coração. Por isso em sítios como a Shein, eu parei de comprar, lojas assim online que não se tem tanta confiança... Continuo a comprar em sítios comerciais, mas pronto. Por acaso não posso dizer que já tenho orado por essas pessoas, mas é uma coisa boa para pensar, se calhar vou começar a orar por essas pessoas. Mas pronto, claro que a fé influencia aquilo que eu compro e como eu compro. Mas também como eu dou.

VB OK. Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Ouve uma coisa que o meu avô uma vez disse, nem foi a mim, foi a uma pessoa da igreja dele, que foi “se não usarias isto à frente do teu pastor, então se calhar não devias usar à frente de mais ninguém”. E eu era bastante – não era assim tão nova, mas vá – eu estava tipo na minha adolescência, quando eu ouvi a minha mãe a dizer-me isso. E até era de uma pessoa que eu conhecia e a pessoa, depois de ouvir aquilo, tipo, continuou a usar aquilo que queria sem fazer diferença entre se estava na igreja ou se estava na rua com outras pessoas e isso para mim tudo bem. Eu só tenho é que respeitar as outras pessoas, mas eu tento não fazer isso. Eu penso mesmo nessa frase, é uma frase em que eu uso bastantes vezes comigo própria, que é tipo “eu usaria isto na igreja?” tipo, eu tenho saias no meu roupeiro que se calhar são demasiado curtas e depois eu penso “eu usaria isto na Igreja?” e a minha resposta imediata é “não”. E depois eu penso “eu, se calhar, não devia também usar isto na rua”, então tipo, se não é apropriado para ir para a Igreja, que é um sítio onde tu podes ser tu própria... Claro que é um sítio onde tens de ter respeito por estar na Casa de Deus, então, se calhar também não devias usar no dia a dia e eu falo isto comigo muitas vezes, porque eu penso que eu sou um bocado influenciável. Então tipo, eu vejo uma saia – e estou a dar o exemplo de saias – vejo uma saia, tipo até curta numa rapariga, tipo as trends, eu vejo “ah mesmo gira”, depois encontro uma parecida, vou experimentar e penso assim “ya eu, definitivamente, eu posso usar isto em todo o lado, menos na Igreja” e depois, tipo, “OK, vou pôr a saia de volta, *how sad*”. Mas pronto, eu acho que se fizermos diferença, tudo bem, é com as pessoas. Eu não faço, por esta questão. Eu gosto de ser a mesma pessoa em todo o lado e isso também se aplica à minha roupa, porque a minha roupa faz parte de mim, não é? Eu visto-me. A forma como eu me visto transmite muito quem eu sou. Então se eu gosto de ser a mesma pessoa em todo o lado, se eu gosto de dar a mesma faceta de mim a toda a gente, então isso também se vai refletir na minha roupa e por isso eu gosto de me vestir em termos daquilo que eu visto – se é muito justo, se é muito largo, se é com decote, se é sem decote – da mesma forma, dentro da Igreja, ou com pessoas da Igreja, e fora da Igreja. Já para eventos já é um bocadinho diferente, porque eu gosto sempre de me vestir mais bonita para a Igreja do que nos dias normais. Porque eu acho que o domingo e ir para a Igreja é uma cena bué sagrada, que é o dia do Senhor, e se eu estou a dar o meu melhor para o Senhor, eu vou dar a minha melhor roupa para o Senhor. Claro que às vezes não apetece e eu vou de sweat e calças e está tudo bem. Mas pronto, claro que influência e eu gosto de dar a mesma faceta de mim a toda a gente.

VB Pois, eu também te ia perguntar se achavas que existia uma diferença entre aquilo que tu vestias no teu dia a dia e aquilo que tu vestias para ir à Igreja, mas... Sim, já houve mais. Que eu fui criada com “é domingo... vestidinho”. Não é necessariamente isso, não precisamos de ser assim, extremistas, tipo, só visto vestido ao

domingo e não visto vestido no resto dos outros coisos. Mas, se calhar, aquela roupa de que eu gosto mais, tipo, mesmo que sejam umas calças e uma camisola, tipo, se eu gosto mais, eu provavelmente vou levá-la para a Igreja. Porque mesmo que seja uma cena bué banal.

VB Tu estavas a falar sobre, por exemplo, de terem abordado alguém por causa da roupa que tinha vestido e dessa pessoa ter continuado a vestir-se da mesma maneira. Como é que tu te sentes em relação a quando pessoas da Igreja abordam outras pessoas sobre a maneira como elas se vestem? Achas que isso é uma coisa positiva, negativa, neutra?

Depende. Porque depende muito de quem está a fazer isso, porque se for uma pessoa random que eu não conheço de lado nenhum do meio da Igreja, que é só meu irmão na fé, e eu não tenho assim nenhuma relação com essa pessoa, eu posso ficar assim meia ofendida. Porque tipo a pessoa não sabe como é que está a minha relação com Deus, a pessoa não sabe aquilo que eu estou a pensar, a pessoa não sabe se eu tenho mais alguma coisa no meu roupeiro. No entanto, também depois temos que ver a outra parte que é tipo, se eu estou na Igreja, também tenho que os respeitar a eles. Por isso é que também a nossa roupa deve... Também é um bocadinho para os outros. Eu não me visto para os outros, mas influencia a visão que eu dou de mim aos outros. Depois temos o outro lado, se for uma pessoa, bué minha amiga, que sabe em que fase da vida em que eu estou e acha que aquilo não é apropriado e vier ter comigo e falar com amor... Porque depois temos muito disso, normalmente as pessoas da Igreja quando falam julgam imenso. E não é isso que está na Bíblia, nós temos que falar com os outros, sim, mas com amor, temos que fazê-los entender de uma forma que não seja tipo chamá-los à razão, só porque “tu estás a fazer mal, ponto”, não. Com amor. E aí, se calhar, eu vou orar e depois se calhar vou me vestir diferente. Depende muito primeiro da posição da pessoa na igreja, tipo, se for o pastor, ouves e pronto, e depois se tiveres dúvidas, falas com o pastor sobre isso e assim. Eu acho que é isto. Depende da posição da pessoa da Igreja. Se for o pastor, temos que ter ainda mais respeito do que às outras pessoas. Não é? Porque se ele pastoreia aquela igreja por alguma razão, tem um chamado de Deus para isso, mas depois tem muito a ver com a forma como a pessoa te aborda. Se a pessoa dá um comentáriozinho sarcástico, se calhar, não és tu que estás mal, é outra pessoa, mas se for uma pessoa que vá falar contigo e se calhar, fale com muita calma e com muito amor, e se for uma pessoa que tu até percebes... Se for só uma pessoa hipócrita, e que veste uma roupa na igreja e depois vai para a rua e veste-se igual ao que tu estavas na igreja. Aí se calhar, vamos desentender e isso eu acho mal. Agora, se for uma pessoa que está só a dizer aquilo da boca para fora, é um bocado grave.

VB Mas em geral, não irias ficar ofendida se alguém te dissesse para não te vestires de uma determinada maneira?

Acho que não, mas depende bué da pessoa, depende mesmo da pessoa, mas se calhar não. Iria pensar nisso, se calhar iria desabafar com alguém, se calhar iria perguntar à pessoa porque é que ela me estava a dizer aquilo especificamente tipo “OK já que não gosta, o que é que na minha roupa o estava a ofender?”. Porque depois isto normalmente ofende mais as pessoas do que ofende a Deus, mas pronto, a Igreja é feita por pessoas, por isso temos que respeitar.

VB Achas que que isso é mais uma coisa com as mulheres ou achas que os rapazes levam com a mesma recomendação?

Sim definitivamente. Não, eu acho que é definitivamente mais uma coisa com as mulheres. Também, porque as mulheres têm mais escolha, mais diversidade. Hoje em dia, os rapazes podem-se vestir como quiserem, mas na verdade é mais tipo calças, t-shirt, sweat, eles não variam muito. Claro que há rapazes que variam, mas eu acho que isso é mais com as mulheres. Primeiro pelo estigma e depois por causa da diversidade, nós vestimo-nos assim mais diferentes do que os homens. Os homens parecem quase sempre vestidos da mesma coisa. Por isso sim, eu acho que é mais com as mulheres.

VB E achas que é só por causa da diversidade de roupa que existe para as mulheres?

Vá, não só. Imagina, se for um homem casado. Não, espera. Provavelmente! Os homens, na verdade, estão sempre assim num patamar um bocado maior que as mulheres, só que isso não se pode muito bem dizer às outras pessoas porque ninguém entende. Mas isso na Bíblia está descrito, o homem é a cabeça do casal, por isso, na verdade, os homens estão sempre... Não é mais respeito, não é isso porque hoje em dia... Eu não me quero enterrar. Hoje em dia toda a gente deve ser respeitada igual, mas sim, pode haver um estigma, se calhar, de dizer uma coisa ao homem e dizer uma coisa à mulher. Primeiro, há de se dizer à mulher, tipo, nesta da roupa? Sim, claro. Ai, não sei. Se calhar não. Isto

está-me a fazer pensar imenso, isto é ótimo. Eu estou a adorar, mas não, se calhar não. Eu acho que é mesmo em termos de mais da diversidade. Eu acho que tem mesmo mais a ver com a diversidade daquilo que nós usamos e depois daquilo que eles usam. Também nunca tive assim nenhuma experiência que me possa dizer em contrário, por isso, se calhar se tivesse, conseguia formar uma opinião melhor acerca do assunto.

VB És a pessoa mais nova que eu entrevistei até agora, portanto, vou aproveitar para perguntar se achas que, por exemplo, em contexto de jovens, vestirias o mesmo para uma situação de praia ou piscina fora da Igreja *versus* uma situação de praia ou piscina dentro de um contexto de evento religioso?

Sim. E digo com bué certeza, porque isso já aconteceu. Assim como eu visto as mesmas roupas dentro e fora da igreja, com roupa de praia é a mesma coisa. Eu tenho uma cena limitada de biquínis e fatos de banho, e não sei o quê, e eu não faço distinção. A única distinção que eu faço é tipo "o que é que eu me sinto mais confortável, tipo para o dia que é?" e também para como eu me sinto, né? Somos raparigas. Às vezes estamos mais inchadas, outra vez estamos menos inchadas. É o que eu me sinto confortável para mim, tipo "hoje, o que é que me apetece vestir? Este biquíni? Este fato de banho? Aquilo? Outro?" mas não faço diferença, tipo "este é mais cavado, não vou levar porque vou estar com não sei quem" não, é tudo igual.

VB Achas que existem pessoas que fazem esse tipo de negociação ou achas que existem igrejas que impõem isso às pessoas? Pensamentos sobre isso?

Eu conheço pessoas que fazem este tipo de coisas, que usam uns biquínis e uns fatos de banho quando vamos só com amigos ou com a família, *whatever*, e depois usam outros quando vamos com a malta da Igreja. Eu conheço pessoas que fazem isso e é a escolha delas, está tudo bem. Também conheço o outro lado que é, tipo, muitas vezes – no nosso grupo de jovens, não – mas isto aconteceu no nosso retiro, que o sítio onde nós estávamos, que era um sítio cristão, pediu para nós levarmos ou fatos de banho ou então para pormos uma t-shirt por cima dos biquínis. É a escolha deles. Eu compreendo, porque é que eles fazem isso. Respeito e pronto. Acontece muito também porque nós somos crentes e uma grande coisa que isto acarreta é que a maioria de nós esperamos até ao casamento e é muito mais fácil esperar até ao casamento para ter relações íntimas não pensando neste tipo de coisas ou não nos expondo a esse tipo de coisas do que se nos estivermos a expor. Por isso, eu compreendo porque é que muitas vezes os grupos de jovens e estes sítios assim, para retiros e não sei quê, pedem esse tipo de coisas, porque estamos a fazer uma coisa crente, eu percebo que eles queiram passar a mensagem de "vá, aqui, calma lá, vamos lá a ter calminha, não é para andarem aqui todos..." Pronto. Eu entendo, mas... Não julgo, eu aceito e só tenho que neste caso obedecer, não é? Porque estou numa coisa de autoridade perante mim, mas também as pessoas que fazem distinção é a vida delas e desde que elas estejam felizes e estejam confortáveis e se entendam com Deus perante isso, está tudo bem.

VB Os rapazes também tinham de usar t-shirt?

Não. Não, não tinham. Pelo menos acho que não. Não. Acho que era... Não, dizia lá especificamente "das duas uma, ou as raparigas usavam fato de banho ou então as raparigas que quisessem usar biquíni, por não gostarem de fato de banho ou não ter, tinham que vestir uma t-shirt por cima".

VB OK. Já usaste roupa ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos como forma de expressar a tua fé?

Sim. Sim. É isso, até dá muito. Porque já fui questionada várias vezes. Por exemplo, eu tenho uma pulseira que é a pulseira dos 4 pontos – que é super famosa no meio evangélico – e já fui questionada muitas vezes por incrédulos. Eu lido com miúdos todos os dias e eu passo a vida a escrever e eu escrevo com o braço direito e uso a pulseira no braço direito por esta mesma razão. Então eu estou a escrever – para explicar aos miúdos um exercício qualquer, *whatever* – e muitas vezes já me perguntaram "o que é que é isso aí na mão?", "porque é que tem 4 coisas?" e é uma forma muito boa de evangelizar outras pessoas. Mas eu, na verdade, não uso só por usar, não uso só por tipo "ai ya, eu sou cristã, vejam aqui ya é isto" porque depois também nós não somos perfeitos e muitas vezes as atitudes que nós temos não são de acordo. Eu falo por mim muitas vezes, as atitudes que eu tenho não são de acordo com o que está descrito na palavra, e é normal, nós somos humanos, nós erramos. Desde que peçamos perdão a Deus, ele perdoa-nos, mas não é por uma questão de orgulho – vá, também é, eu orgulho-me em ser cristã – mas não é uma questão de orgulho perante os outros, não é tipo "vejam aqui, eu sou cristã, sou melhor que vocês", é muito uma questão de... Primeiro eu gosto, eu acho que é muito engraçado usar isto na

Igreja e depois é uma ótima forma de chegar a outros. É uma ótima forma de evangelização. Tenho pulseiras assim, tenho colares, tenho t-shirts e eu acho que é uma ótima forma de chegar aos outros. Porque é uma cena super banal – entre aspas, né? – porque é uma coisa que nós fazemos todos os dias e na verdade é incrível porque nós podemos simplesmente falar a outros tipo “ah, a minha *sweat*, aquilo que está escrito nas costas é uma cena bíblica” e depois explica-se e passas a mensagem do amor de Deus e do Evangelho e eu acho isso super bonito.

VB Para além das pulseiras dos 4 pontos que *keep coming up*... Portanto, t-shirts, camisolas e isso é tipo *merchandising* da tua igreja ou são coisas compradas noutros sítios?

Normalmente é tudo *merchandising* da Igreja. A nossa igreja teve há pouco tempo – e vai voltar – coisas e *merchandising* que teve a ver, por exemplo, com aquele retiro que eu estava a falar, mas também já comprei... Normalmente isso há mais à venda em eventos de igrejas, com mais pessoas tipo, normalmente, têm um tema ou qualquer coisa assim, mas acho que nunca comprei assim noutro lado. Quer dizer não, eu tenho os meus colares e as pulseiras normalmente não se vendem neste tipo de eventos, não é? Neste tipo de eventos, são mais sweats e t-shirts e não sei quê, mas as outras coisas, por exemplo, compramos em lojas normais, não especificamente cristãs.

VB OK. Vou passar à última parte da entrevista em que eu vou mostrar imagens. Consegues ver a minha tela? Isto é só se não te vier nada à cabeça sobre o tema, mas gostava de saber como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

É assim, depende muito da imagem que as pessoas querem passar. Por exemplo, se as pessoas querem passar uma imagem, assim, de impor aquilo que acreditam, eu não acho bem. Ou só usar por usar, isso também não concordo muito. Já se é uma pessoa ou uma marca que realmente acredita naquilo que está a fazer e acredita naquilo que está a demonstrar? *I'm all for it*, boa, vão, se calha, eu até compro. Mas depende muito porque se é usar só por usar ou usar só por chegar a mais gente ou muitas vezes – quer dizer, vá, isto se calhar hoje em dia não acontece muito – usar por gozar, isso eu não concordo. Não concordo em usar só por ser banal, só por ser mais um desenho. Se for uma coisa pensada, uma coisa que era mesmo aquilo que a pessoa queria fazer, era mesmo esta intenção que a pessoa queria passar, que o designer queria passar, com isso eu concordo perfeitamente e acho super bem, e como eu já disse, volto a repetir, é uma ótima forma de evangelizarmos outras pessoas.

VB Certo, agora vou-te mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Não sei. A última, a da "Milf"... Não sei como é que hei de expressar este tipo de emoções, porque eu não estou propriamente revoltada, mas é tipo “vá, malta era mesmo necessário? Se calhar não era”, pode ser um bocado desrespeitador. E talvez a primeira também. A segunda não entendi bem o que é que se está ali a passar. Mas vá, a segunda não me diz tanto... Mas pelo menos a primeira e a terceira, que são as que falam mais, a primeira porque parece que é uma cena assim, muito para o lado sensual e não sei quê e depois está ali o colar. É uma coisa que, se calhar, não se liga muito. Não sei bem explicar, mas a última é um bocado, tipo, “era mesmo necessário?”, se calhar pode ser um bocado respeitador, não? Tipo, não, só não. Não sei bem explicar, é um caso. A última deixa-me, assim, um bocadinho incomodada, as outras duas nem tanto, mas a primeira também se calhar não era necessária. Podia ser outro colar, qualquer que se calhar não... fazia o mesmo efeito e não era tão assim.

VB Acho que ela está dentro de um confessionário. Acho que é isso que está a acontecer, acho que é isso.

Ah, sim, a minha posição mantém-se, tipo, podia estar noutro sítio. A expor as roupas, não propriamente dentro do confessionário e com o terço ali. Não, não acho que sejam coisas que conjuguem muito, porque se ela se calhar tivesse outra expressão na cara ou pronto, se calhar mudava um bocadinho as coisas, mas parece uma coisa assim, muito vá, não é provocadora, mas, mas meio que é. Por isso, se calhar outro sítio tinha sido mais giro. A do meio não me faz grande...

VB Vou-te mostrar as próximas três, também da *Vogue Portugal*. A questão é a mesma: como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Estas já são um bocadinho mais... Tipo... Faz-me um bocadinho mais desconfortável que as outras, porque, por exemplo, não é propriamente a minha religião, não é? Porque nós não temos freiras e assim, não é da minha denominação, mas é algo que eu respeito, porque são mulheres que dão a sua vida a Deus e que se põem de parte para o servir. Por

isso eu não vejo a necessidade de pegar nisso e torná-lo numa coisa assim, tipo, para os anúncios. Como eu não vejo a necessidade de as pessoas se mascararem no Halloween de freiras ou de termos filmes de terror com freiras. Também não vejo necessidade disso. É a mesma coisa. Podiam estar vestidas de outra forma e se calhar até ficava mais bonita a foto. Não, não acho que seja uma coisa bonita de se fazer, porque é uma coisa muito espiritual, ligada a uma coisa muito banal e que tenta passar uma mensagem diferente, por exemplo, uma freira nunca na vida vestiria uma saia tão curta ou sem saia. Na primeira imagem, percebes? É ligar uma coisa que não é realidade – porque tudo bem, vestem-se com aquela parte de cima da cabeça, mas depois o resto do traje não é assim – só para efeitos de, se calhar, contentar outras pessoas ou coisa assim, por isso, sim, acho que não tem necessidade. E essas imagens, na minha opinião, são um bocadinho piores do que as outras. Quer dizer que a terceira imagem do outro não, da "Milf" é um bocadinho... A última, na verdade, a imagem original foi pintada. Se eu não estou em engano, ele não era assim crente autoproclamado. Por isso, na verdade, a última não me faz muita confusão, porque há muitos cristãos que gostam dessa imagem, da imagem original, mas depois há muitos cristãos também que não gostam dessa imagem original. Por isso, na verdade, essa última. Vago, não acho que esteja bem, não é? Não é uma coisa que eu iria olhar e a rir e tipo, "ah, que engraçado", não, mas pá, não me faz tanta impressão. A frase é que já me faz um bocadinho mais de impressão do "e fez-se luz" porque é uma coisa que está descrita na Bíblia e não era necessário estar ali. A imagem já passava o suficiente, não era preciso a frase.

VB Tanto no caso das revistas de moda, como em geral, e como no caso dos Designers, porque é que tu achas que eles têm este tipo de representação da iconografia, mais especificamente, normalmente da Igreja Católica – porque são a Igreja Católica que costuma ter mais simbologia em geral – porque é que tu achas que eles fazem isso?

A Igreja Católica é uma grande parte da nossa cultura. O nosso país, para todos os efeitos, é católico, porque é a Igreja Católica que manda na verdade, não é? Por isso eu entendo, sendo a *Vogue Portugal*, que eles também queiram mostrar parte da nossa cultura, porque, na verdade, apesar de eu ter uma denominação diferente, o Catolicismo faz parte da cultura portuguesa, e eu entendo que queiram aliar os dois propósitos de ser parte da cultura portuguesa. Mais do que isso, é um símbolo bastante universal. Tanto os colares dos terços como as freiras como, por exemplo, o conversatório, são uma coisa bastante universal em qualquer língua em qualquer país – vá, na maioria dos países – sabes quem é a Virgem Maria ou sabes o que é que é um terço ou qualquer coisa assim. Por isso não sei se é bem para ter mais visibilidade, mas eu acho que a cultura é uma grande parte disso. E depois, na verdade, não são coisas assim, muito apelativas, né? São coisas um bocado, chatas um bocado *boring*, então na verdade, depois aliar isso às outras coisas, à roupa, por exemplo, ao perfume, faz com que fique assim um bocadinho mais interessante para as revistas e assim. E também chama mais a atenção, porque estas coisas são bastante inteligentemente bem feitas. Isto não é uma palavra, mas pronto. Porque não chama só a atenção de quem acha bonito, chama também a atenção de quem não acha bonito, porque depois as pessoas vêm e vão reclamar, mas na verdade, isso tudo dá a exposição à revista e à marca.

VB Eu não sei se te lembras, por exemplo, mas em 2018, a Met Gala teve aquele tema do *Heavenly Bodies*, e na altura – eu acho que não foi só na América, porque eu acho também que vi alguns artigos do Brasil sobre isso – mas na América houve imensos cristãos que acharam que aquilo era blasfêmia, ficaram super chateados, mas não paravam de falar sobre isso. Então ao mesmo tempo. Tens aquele...

Sim, é uma dualidade, né? Que é tipo, nós podemos não concordar e temos que falar sobre isso, mas é q.b., porque quanto mais falarmos, mais vamos trazer o assunto à luz e mais pessoas que se calhar até não sabiam disso e se calhar até não tinham opinião a favor do assunto, depois vão começar a ter opinião a favor. E fica mais difícil para nós crentes, porque normalmente, as pessoas já nos vêm assim, com os olhos de retrógrados, que nós somos um bocado retrógrados, e depois este tipo de coisas em que nós não concordamos especificamente com esses temas ou com as modas, depois pioram isso um bocadinho. No entanto, eu acho que nós não podemos ficar calados, porque se alguma coisa nos afeta, eu acho que nós devemos falar sobre isso, mas temos que sempre ter conta, peso e medida. Devemos sempre ser equilibrados naquilo que nós falamos, não só para não ofender os outros. Tanto os designers como as celebridades que usaram, porque se não me engano, as celebridades também pensam naquilo que vão usar, não é? Portanto nós não ofendemos os outros, porque essa não é a nossa cultura, nós queremos amá-los e não

ofendê-los, mas também para passarmos a nossa opinião de “isto é um tema que não nos deixa confortável e que nos magoa por isso se nós vos respeitamos e deixamos fazer em tudo o que vocês querem, por favor também nos respeitem a nós e se calhar não liguem aquilo que nós acreditamos e que nós consideramos assim mais para o sagrado, a coisas mais banais do mundo”. Mas temos sempre que ter muito cuidado neste tipo de temas, porque falar isto a incrédulos é sempre um bocado complicado.

VB Última questão, consideras que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou achas que em geral é desrespeitosa?

Não. Pode ser respeitosa. E eu acho que sim. Seria um bocado hipócrita tendo coisas, elementos de moda, colares, acessórios e roupa que têm alusões a coisas religiosas, era um bocado hipócrita se dissesse que não. Mas eu acho totalmente que sim, mesmo de marcas de luxo que podem ser usadas com respeito. Depois também temos o outro extremo em que podem ser usadas simplesmente para abater os cristãos e isso eu já não concordo, mas eu, eu acho que sim, a moda é um mundo muito grande e na verdade, há um bocadinho de espaço para tudo. Só temos que encontrar o público-alvo certo e tentar não ofender as outras pessoas, por isso, sim, eu sou da opinião de que nós podemos usar símbolos religiosos em peças de moda, de forma respeitosa. Depois também tem muito a ver não só com o que se põe, mas também com o que se faz com essas peças de roupa. Se vamos usar essa peça de roupa e depois vamos tirar umas fotos super provocantes e super sensuais, há alguma coisa que também não está certa e até a peça pode ter sido feita com um pensamento assim de respeito para com Deus e para com os cristãos, mas depois a forma como está a ser utilizada não o é, e isso também é uma grande parte deste conjunto.

Appendix F11 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Patrícia”

Date of Interview:	February 13, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	22:05
Characteristics:	36 years old, Viseu, Portuguese, Nurse, Catholic

VB Dentro do Cristianismo, qual é que considera ser a sua religião ou denominação religiosa?

Católica, cristã.

VB OK, e como é que descreveria as suas crenças e os seus valores religiosos?

Em que termos? Praticante, não praticante? Ou a nível de crença?

VB Isso também. E no que é que acredita?

Acredito que existe uma força maior que nós, que existe um Deus. Que Deus existe e não acho que Ele seja diferente dos outros deuses ou dos deuses das outras religiões. É acima de tudo, acreditar nessa força maior, na existência de Deus e de Jesus que me move na fé, embora não seja o tipo de católico praticante, que se revê em tudo o que o que possa ser dito pela Igreja Católica Romana.

VB Sente que foi mais uma questão de educação no seu crescimento, se calhar?

Foi certamente uma questão de educação. Eu fui... Na minha adolescência, eu tive sempre religião e moral, tive catequese e fui catequista. Sou batizada. Sou crismada.

VB Certo, como é que a sua fé influencia a sua vida diária e, mais especificamente, as suas escolhas de vestuário?

Nas minhas escolhas de vestuário? Não influencia.

VB OK.

Na minha vida diária influencia-me numa tentativa de ser melhor a cada dia. De evolução pessoal, de crescimento pessoal. E às vezes também com algum temor a Deus, é certo. Que acho que nos é inculcado socialmente. Mas com algum temor do que é certo e do que é errado. Às vezes aquela visão de que às vezes podemos ter um bocadinho de castigo, não é? Se não nos portarmos bem, Deus castiga. *risos*

VB Mas, apesar de considerar que não a influencia a si, acredita que existe uma ligação entre a religião e a moda?

Ah, sim. Sim, principalmente para quem possa ser um bocadinho mais – não sei se “fanática” é a palavra certa, mas sim – acho que inclusive a nível da moda, aquilo que consideramos enquanto moda, que é o certo e o errado. Ou seja, eu digo que não me influencia nas minhas escolhas do dia a dia, mas se calhar naturalmente ou inconscientemente, a forma de eu ter crescido católica – não é? – cristã, influencia determinadas coisas que eu não visto, por exemplo, ou que acho que não me ficam bem, que são demasiado exageradas. Se calhar vem dessa minha cultura, não é? Porque eu ainda adolescente, lembro-me perfeitamente, eu não podia ir de minissaia à missa, eu não podia ir a Fátima com um top de alças. Hoje vou. Mas se calhar não uso muitas minissaias, porque acho que há um... Eu não lhe chamo pudor consciente, mas se calhar inconscientemente, pode haver um bocadinho essa associação.

VB Considera que existem diretrizes específicas no caso da Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres devem vestir?

Sim, existem.

VB Como por exemplo?

Como por exemplo... O simples de facto, por exemplo, se formos a Roma, não é? Temos que ir com os ombros cobertos, temos que ir com as pernas tapadas, se a nossa roupa for uns calções e um top porque é verão e estão 40 graus, temos que comprar uma túnica para nos taparmos. E da mesma maneira que eu estava a dizer, em criança, não podia, era impensável ir a Fátima com os ombros à mostra e de calções ou t-shirts, ou de minissaia. Ou à missa, mesmo à missa nos dias de festa. E acho que nos meios mais fechados nas aldeias, essa cultura ainda vai persistindo, principalmente nas pessoas mais velhas. A minha avó, por exemplo, ainda ia – agora já não –, mas lembro-me de que ia à missa com um lenço na cabeça. E, portanto, eu acho que essas diretrizes ainda existem, nós, enquanto sociedade, é que hoje somos mais ou menos a usá-las, somos mais renitentes ao uso delas, a seguir essas ordens, digamos assim, porque elas continuam a existir.

VB	Ou seja, eram mais predominantes no passado? Mas proeminentes no passado e nas pessoas mais velhas. Embora eu acredite, e sentimos isso por vezes que quando estamos a ser avaliadas pelas pessoas mais velhas, até em contexto de trabalho – não contexto religioso diretamente dito – principalmente nas mulheres, a forma como nos vestimos influencia a percepção que vão ter de nós.
VB	Sim, claro. Não é? Se formos a uma reunião formal executiva, uma entrevista de emprego com decote mais acentuado, uma na minissaia, etc., sabemos que vamos ser julgadas nesse sentido. E eu associo que isso tem muito a ver com esta nossa cultura de religião, do que é que fica bem e o que é que fica mal. Portanto, sim, a moda ainda é influenciada de certa forma por esse standard, embora cada vez menos.
VB	Certo. Eu sei que já mencionou mais ou menos isto, mas considera que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário que não possa vestir devido à sua religião? Ou se no passado já achou isso? Não há nada que eu não possa vestir. Mas há, certo, algumas coisas que eu, se calhar, não me identifico tanto – lá esta as minissaias, uma coisa mais decotada. Embora não seja consciente, não é? Não estou a pensar “não posso usar esta peça porque Deus não gosta ou porque é pecado”. Não, nada disso, mas se calhar, inconscientemente, fruto de ter crescido nessa cultura, acabo sempre por achar que é algo que não me fica bem ou que use muito raramente ou para um contexto muito específico.
VB	Considera que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir? Não. As interpretações que vão sendo feitas da Bíblia é que sim.
VB	Mas o texto em si, não? Nesse sentido não. Acho que é demasiado importante para entrar nesses preciosismos humanos.
VB	Um conceito de que se fala muito quando se fala sobre a ligação entre a moda e a religião é a modéstia. O que é que para si é modéstia? *risos* No sentido geral da palavra ou associada à moda? OK, sermos modestos na nossa forma de ser, acho que é sermos pessoas pacatas. Um bocadinho, como se costuma dizer o oposto, sermos exibicionistas dos nossos feitos, das nossas conquistas, ou seja, sermos humildes. Modéstia é sinónimo de humildade, sermos pessoas humildes. Na moda e no que toca à religião, modéstia será sempre mais associada à forma como nos vestimos, a uma forma modesta, ou seja, uma forma pouco exuberante que não chama atenção que nos faça passar despercebidos que não sejamos vistosos. Embora eu ache que a modéstia no sentido social pode ser uma coisa boa. No que toca à moda, eu acho que a modéstia é utilizada de uma forma pejorativa, principalmente em direção às mulheres.
VB	E porque em direção às mulheres? Porque standards e a moda são muito mais exigentes com a mulher, não é? A sociedade em si é sempre muito mais exigente com a mulher do que com os homens. E acho que a moda não é exceção nesse aspeto. Se calhar o facto de um homem hoje não ir para uma reunião executiva de fato e gravata é o equivalente a uma mulher ir com uma minissaia, mas não é objeto de contestação. Não é? Pelo contrário, é visto como evolução. E, portanto, acho que em relação à mulher há muito esse estigma ainda social.
VB	E acha que no caso da religião e no caso da Igreja, que este foco maior da modéstia está mais nas mulheres do que nos homens? E porque é que acha que isso acontece? Acho que está mais nas mulheres do que nos homens, um bocadinho disto que eu já estive a dizer. A exigência para com a mulher é muito maior. Socialmente, os padrões de beleza também estão sempre muito mais subjacentes à mulher do que ao homem, não é? Muito mais exigente, a maquilhagem tem que estar perfeita, a roupa tem que estar sóbria. No homem, não há tanto essa exigência. E depois porque a religião, desde o seu início, como nós a conhecemos, não é? Põe a mulher num papel somenos em relação ao homem. E, portanto, também depois nas questões sociais, isso transparece um pouco.
VB	Certo, certo. Agora, mudando ligeiramente o tópico, considera que segue tendências de moda? Algumas.
VB	E costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência? Menos do que antes, já comprei muita. Tento comprar cada vez menos.
VB	Sente que existe alguma relação entre a maneira como consome moda e a sua fé? Ou se calhar a sua educação católica?

Eu acho que sim, indiretamente, naquele que lhe disse há pouco. Que é que se calhar há peças ou mais decotadas, mais não sei o quê, lá está, que hoje estão mais na moda, não é? Pelo menos para as classes mais jovens. E que, se calhar, eu acho que não ficam bem o que é demais para mim, digamos assim, porque são estes standards culturais com que eu cresci.

VB E acha que a sua religião influencia, por exemplo, a sua visão sobre moda sustentável e estas questões de ética, *sweatshops*, caridade, no que tem a ver com moda especificamente?

Não acho que seja tanta religião que me influencia nesse aspeto. Sou consciente desses aspetos, muita da minha transição a tentar comprar menos, etc., vem dessa *awareness*, como se costuma dizer, não é? Mas não a associo à religião. Associo muito mais o meu lado cultural, sociedade, evolução, cultura, educação, muito mais isso.

VB OK, portanto, não vê uma ligação direta entre uma coisa e outra.

Não, até porque, infelizmente, acho que a religião estimula muito pouco a sustentabilidade. Se é que sequer tentou fazer alguma analogia. Acho que deveriam fazê-lo. Acho que seria mais do que pertinente. Mas não vejo assim no meu dia a dia grande relação desse aspeto.

VB Certo, certo. Como é que decide o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos?

Isso é sempre um drama para mim porque eu, cada vez mais, se pudesse andar todos os dias de fato treino andava. É algo que me faz sempre muita confusão, saber o que é que encaixa, em que contexto. E acho... E pode ser um bocadinho associado a isso, tentar perceber o que é demasiado formal, determinada peça de roupa é demasiado formal para este contexto, é de menos formal? Vou a um jantar, as pessoas vão mais convencionais, vão mais desportivas, vão mais... Tenho sempre muita dificuldade em perceber qual é que possa ser o contexto. E, portanto, acabo sempre por fazer as decisões de última hora um bocadinho, de acordo com o estado de espírito naquele dia. E se me apetece ir um bocadinho mais formal um bocadinho mais descontraída ou às vezes um mix dos dois – muitas vezes acaba por ser um mix dos dois. Para os eventos religiosos quando era mais nova, sim, havia toda uma preocupação com o *Dress Code* do dia, hoje em dia já vou muito, muito descontraída.

VB Acha que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que veste no dia a dia e aquilo que veste se, por exemplo, for a uma missa?

Não, acho que não.

VB OK, portanto, é mais se for um evento como casamentos, batizados e coisas assim?

Coisas assim, sim, sim. Certo, vá, se for um dia de festa, uma festa religiosa, tenho mais algum cuidado com a roupa, se calhar não vou de calças de ganga, se calhar punha um vestido, ou uma coisa assim... Mas muito dentro de coisas que eu continuo a usar nos outros dias.

VB Mas é um cuidado em termos de formalidade, não é necessariamente um cuidado em termos de “o que é que eu não posso vestir ali”?

Exato. Não é o que eu não posso vestir, não.

VB Já utilizou roupa ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou referências bíblicas, ou assim, como forma de expressar a sua fé?

Como forma de expressar a fé não. Quando era mais nova, usava um anjo da guarda, tipo, um fio de um anjo da guarda. Mas nunca achei particular piada aos crucifixos, quer dizer, até posso gostar de ver um crucifixo – ultimamente, aqui há dias até dei por mim a olhar para um que achei engraçado – mas mais como decorativo, não é? Para usar do que propriamente o facto de ser religioso. Mas não uso peças religiosas para definir a minha religião.

VB Ou seja, não é como um *Conversation Starter*, era na altura, se calhar mais como o um sentido de proteção?

Na altura era sim, sim, porque me tinha sido oferecido e etc. E, portanto, usava para me proteger. Era aquela questão para me proteger, mas nunca tanto naqueles sentidos para todo mundo saber que eu sou cristã e não haver dúvidas quanto a isso.

VB E agora seria mais estético, mais como um acessório talvez?

Sim sim.

VB Vamos passar à última secção em que eu vou mostrar aqui umas imagens. Estas imagens são só se não lhe vier nada à mente, mas a questão é, como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Eu vejo como arte.

- VB** Certo, ou seja...
Não vejo no sentido pejorativo de uma ofensa ou um ultraje. Não, nada disso.
- VB** Ou seja, é mesmo arte e não há qualquer de desrespeito?
Exatamente.
- VB** Certo, agora vou-lhe mostrar umas imagens que são da *Vogue Portugal*. Como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?
Esta última, particularmente a figura 7 [Figure 24], acho que tem um sentido provocatório que é desnecessário. Ou seja, acho que tenta levar o statement demasiado longe. Não fico ofendida no sentido de “como é que tem coragem de fazer isto?”, “isto é inaceitável”, não, mas acho que não há benefício neste tipo de provocação. Ou seja, poder-se-ia conseguir o mesmo impacto do ponto de vista de marketing sem precisarmos de ferir suscetibilidades de eventuais pessoas mais sensíveis. Pronto, a figura 5 [Figure 22] até acho engraçada, bastante atrativa, bastante sexy e a figura 6 [Figure 23] não me incomoda de todo. Faz um statement de seja o que for e pronto. Esta 7 [Figure 24] acho que, pelo próprio cariz, não é? O que representa o sagrado Coração de Maria para quem é cristão, para quem acredita, é associada à palavra “milf”, se calhar, não haveria necessidade de sermos tão provocatórios.
- VB** Certo, se calhar é um bocadinho mais desconfortável em comparação.
É chocante.
- VB** Certo, vou mostrar aqui mais umas imagens e a questão é a mesma, como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?
Esta última é o quê? Ah, “fez-se luz” e por causa disso, pois eu não consigo ver o que está atrás... É um anjo da guarda, exatamente...
- VB** É uma recriação de *Creation of Adam*.
Perfeitamente à vontade com todas elas.
- VB** OK, então era mais pela referência, se calhar um bocadinho mais sexual em justaposição com a Virgem Maria, certo?
Pela imagem em si. Pelo impacto... Pelo que a imagem em si representa para os cristãos, para os católicos, não é? Estamos a falar... E lá está, se calhar mais uma vez o statement de que estamos a falar. Da mulher mais importante de toda a religião católica. É chocante e exagerado. Todas estas eu acho muito giras, quer dizer, freiras de um ponto de vista artístico tão espetaculares. Não vejo aqui choque, não vejo aqui repulsa. A outra, se usassem uma imagem de alguém que parecia ser a Virgem Maria com um véu, ou com um vestido branco, com algo mais exagerado, acho que se calhar não me chocava tanto. E por usarem a imagem em si no seu sentido lato.
- VB** Certo, certo, certo. Considera então que esta inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou que é desrespeitosa em geral?
Pode ser respeitosa. Eu não o punha no sentido de ser respeitosa ou desrespeitosa. É mais um objeto como outro qualquer. Como usar uma outra fotografia. Sei lá, é como, há dias ria-me sobre isto um bocadinho que é, nós não vemos nada com a bandeira de Portugal: nem t-shirts, nem canecas, nem coisa alguma – com exceção dos nossos emigrantes da Suíça que as trazem nos carros e a Federação Portuguesa de Futebol – e eu vivi alguns anos em Inglaterra, e a bandeira da Inglaterra está em tudo que é China, bugigangas, porcarias, e é um orgulho ter uma t-shirt com a bandeira de Inglaterra, é um orgulho ter a caneca com a bandeira da Inglaterra, e eu acho que isto é muito cultural, é a forma como nós vemos o respeito, não é? Usar a bandeira de Portugal, não. O hino não se canta, há todo um standard para podermos cantar o hino. Há todo um standard para podermos usar uma bandeira de Portugal e eu acho que isto é muito a nossa cultura e acho que isto, a religião vai entrar um bocadinho também nessa nossa cultura de separação. Que eu acho que para mim não faz sentido, ou seja, ter um símbolo religioso ou ter outro – alguém que usa um crucifixo ou que usa um coração ao pescoço – é igual.
- VB** Existem pessoas que ficam ofendidas com alguns tipos de representações por vários motivos. Porque é que acha que tanto os designers, como por exemplo, revistas de moda, ou a indústria em geral, porque é que acha que eles continuam a incluir este tipo de simbologia?
Acho que há vários motivos. Por vezes há um objetivo de provocação, não é? Criar provocação, provocar determinado target cultural, nacional, determinado grupo. Muitas vezes há essa intenção de provocação e de criar o desconforto social, digamos assim. Desconforto, só no sentido de mexer com o que é convencional, choque. Pronto, que está sempre muito associada à moda, não é? E outras vezes acho que outros designers será apenas pela beleza da imagem, que acham que é aquela que melhor personifica o que

estão a sentir. E outros, se calhar, será aquela imagem como qualquer outra. Acredito que muitas vezes haja a intenção de cortar com o estigma social. OK, chocar, sim, criar desconforto social, mas muitas vezes também de cortar com estigmas, que é provocar esta reflexão.

Appendix F12 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Mónica”

Date of Interview:	February 16, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	33:51
Characteristics:	26 years old, Lisbon, Portuguese, Communication/Missionary, Evangelical

VB Dentro do Cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou denominação religiosa?

Eu sou evangélica.

VB E como é que tu descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

OK. Eu acredito que Jesus é o filho de Deus. Eu acredito que só através dele existe uma reconexão com Deus. E que através dessa fé com ele, um dia podemos estar eternamente no Paraíso, no céu. Acredito no Espírito Santo. Acredito – porque tenho convicções mais pentecostais – acredito que os dons do Espírito Santo ainda são para hoje. Acredito na ressurreição dos mortos, acredito no julgamento do último dia, ou seja, no julgamento no fim dos tempos em que Deus vai julgar todas as nossas ações boas e más...

VB Está bom. Como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida no dia a dia e mais especificamente, a maneira como tu vestes?

No meu dia a dia... De uma forma muito superficial, há coisas que eu faço, tipo sítios que eu vou por causa da minha fé, por exemplo, vou à igreja semanalmente, tento ler a Bíblia e fazer as minhas orações diariamente, mas pronto, isto é, se calhar de forma mais visível. Mas influencia a forma como eu me vejo, as coisas que eu quero, as coisas que eu procuro na vida, os meus objetivos. De forma muito prática, influencia a forma como eu trato os outros ou como eu tento tratar os outros. As coisas às quais eu decido gastar o meu tempo, as coisas nas quais eu decido gastar dinheiro, e a forma como eu visto... A forma como me visto faz-me pensar duas coisas. Faz-me pensar na forma como eu me visto, por exemplo, quando estou em contexto de culto, em contexto da comunidade cristã, especialmente se for naquele a que a gente chama a casa de oração, a Igreja, tento que seja uma roupa que seja respeitadora desse lugar, por exemplo, havia roupas que eu iria usar noutro sítio, mas que aí não iria usar. Por exemplo, eu uso biquíni na praia, mas não iria usar um biquíni na Igreja. Ou uso calções, mas não iria levar calções para a Igreja, ou pelo menos se forem muito curtos. Uso chinelos, mas eu não ia usar chinelos na Igreja. Pronto. Apesar de não haver regras tipo explícitas sobre isso, tento que a forma como eu me visto se coadune com o momento que estou a viver. E na vida diária tento que aquilo que eu visto não seja – bem, deixa ver se eu consigo pôr isto mais a nível de princípios e depois de uma forma muito prática – tento que aquilo que eu visto não seja excessivamente revelador do meu corpo. No sentido de que acho que se calhar a parte, sem dúvida da fé influencia isso, a forma como eu me vejo, mas acima de tudo eu não quero que as pessoas me objetifiquem quando olham para mim. E não quero que – especialmente os homens, não é? – quando interagem comigo, estejam mais a olhar para outras partes do meu corpo que não a minha cara propriamente. Então... E acredito que isso também vem em parte de uma consciência cristã, não só por causa da tentação – vá – que isso pode colocar nos outros, mas também pela forma como eu me vejo a mim mesma, não... Ou seja, a questão cristã não é só por causa da forma como os outros me veem, mas também – e eu acredito que isso na sociedade de hoje em dia, é estimulado – o facto das mulheres usarem a sua sexualidade de uma forma que lhes dá poder e que lhes dá autoridade, ou seja, é uma forma de poder e de exercer influência, a forma como elas, como nós nos vestimos enquanto mulheres. Ou seja, uma certa roupa pode causar certo impacto e também nos posiciona. Não é? E o posicionamento que eu quero ter para mim mesma... Obviamente, eu vivo a minha sexualidade, mas não de uma forma pública. Achas que preciso clarificar isto?

VB Não... Passaste por a maior parte das coisas que eu ia perguntar, mas eu vou perguntar na mesma. Porque assim... vamos lá. Portanto, tu acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião em geral?

Para mim? Ou estás a falar a nível de se eu acho que isso influencia não só a mim mas mesmo as outras pessoas?

VB Ambos, portanto a ti especificamente já...

A mim influencia, sim. Eu acho que também... Não tendo conhecimento de causa profundo de outras religiões, mas na cristã eu acho que se não influencia, pelo menos deveria influenciar. Porque nós temos a responsabilidade de não só cuidar de nós, mas também cuidar do outro. E a forma como nós nos vemos – de qualquer forma, como tu te vejas, qualquer que seja a tua ideologia ou a forma como os teus valores vão influenciar, tipo, invariavelmente a forma como tu te vestes, porque influenciam a forma como tu te vês – por exemplo, eu acho que até de uma forma positiva, o Cristianismo influencia a forma como eu me vejo, porque se eu olho para mim com uma filha amada de Deus, eu não vou me vestir tipo, como se fosse uma Zé Ninguém que aqui ando e tratar mal de mim e tratar mal da forma como eu me visto, não é? Não é só aquela questão de não usar minissaia, é também a questão de vestir-me com dignidade, tanto no sentido – vamos dizer assim – do comprimento, do tamanho das roupas, ou do quão apertadas ou largas são, mas também de olhar para mim, “não tipo se Deus está a fazer de mim uma pessoa bonita por dentro, vou também fazer por fora”. Pronto, se quiseres, acho que é melhor explicar isto depois.

VB Achas que existem diretrizes específicas da tua denominação ou da tua igreja sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

De momento não. Mas antigamente – para aí há alguns se calhar 30 anos atrás, havia – havia, não sei como... Lá está, não estava lá para ver. Mas havia pelo menos umas diretrizes bastante fortes, não vou dizer proibição, mas se calhar há 30 anos diretrizes bastante fortes para as mulheres usarem saia apenas nos locais de culto e não usarem calças. Depois, acho que passou mais a ser para – isto são histórias que eu ouço – mas depois as mulheres que têm visibilidade no culto, ou seja, que vão cantar ou dar uma palavra ou assim terem saia. E depois isso acabou na geração dos meus pais. Isso acabou por se ir denegrindo um pouco. A minha avó diz que até mesmo a forma de pentear o cabelo a influenciava... Ou seja, não. Eu acho que a questão do cabelo não era tão rígida, mas havia uma certa norma, na forma como era penteado. Acredito que hoje em dia... Eu acho que hoje em dia, infelizmente, conseguimos cair um bocadinho no quase no oposto, acho. Deixou, se calhar, de haver umas normas muito rígidas para quase não haver normas. E eu acho que às vezes, se calhar, agora... Estávamos mal, antigamente se calhar pela rigidez, e agora se calhar o nosso equilíbrio tem que ser voltar a pôr um bocadinho de equilíbrio, de bom senso ali na coisa para que... E pronto, eu acho que as gerações, especialmente as mais novas que não tiveram essa rigidez religiosa, nós temos um bocado mais tendência, por exemplo, a levar uma saia demasiado curta para a Igreja ou levar um top que mostre demasiado o peito ou... Não estou a dizer que é sempre, mas eu acho que o meu sentimento é que passamos de um extremo e que temos o risco de tocar no outro. Não estou a dizer que tocamos sempre, mas acho que estamos a pender mais para o lado de... Tu falaste em regras e normas, eu acho que no passado sim, agora acho que estamos a passar mais para uma fase mais liberal, mas obviamente que isto não é transversal a todas as situações e a todas as igrejas aonde eu já passei, mas em alguns sítios, se tivesse que tender para um lado, eu acho que agora esta a tender mais para o lado liberal.

VB Ou seja, achas que as pessoas já não têm uma ideia mental daquilo que devem vestir de acordo com a sua fé?

Eu acho que a maior parte delas têm. Mas ya, eu acho que a maior parte delas ainda tem, sim.

VB OK. Consideras que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário em específico que não possas vestir por causa da tua religião?

Uma peça que eu não possa vestir por causa da minha religião? Eu acho que eu posso vestir qualquer coisa, dependendo do sítio onde eu estou. E dependendo também do formato dessa coisa. Eu acho que eu posso vestir vestido, mas eu própria também tenho um bocado de... Também gostava que ficasse registado, porque tenho plena noção de que há certas coisas que eu penso que eu às vezes até enquadro como religiosas que são apenas preconceitos meus, são apenas fragilidades minhas. Mas eu posso usar um vestido. Eu posso usar uma saia. Não vejo limitação nenhuma em usar essas coisas. Eu acho que a questão é ver consoante o contexto, o bom senso, de usar... Pronto, ou mais comprido ou não tão apertado. Mas, por exemplo, em casa, se estiver em casa só com o meu marido, não, não tenho restrição nenhuma para usar nenhum tipo de roupa. Tem a ver, acho que, na minha perspetiva, tem muito a ver com o contexto em que as coisas se fazem. Não é? Por exemplo, eu posso usar, não tenho problema nenhum em usar um biquíni numa praia, mas não me sinto confortável a vir para o trabalho com um top que se assemelhasse a um biquíni, por exemplo. Lá está, acho que é o contexto. Sinto-me condicionada, ou

seja... Não é "sinto-me condicionada", mas pelo menos a minha consciência é sensível ao sítio onde eu estou. Mas eu acho que isso não é só cristianismo, por exemplo. Acho que ninguém acharia decente alguém ir a um funeral de calções e de chinelo no dedo e com uma camisa toda aberta. Acho que tem a ver com ter consciência do local onde estamos e do que é que isso significa, não é? Porque a roupa diz muito sobre a forma como nós vemos o local, não é? E acima de tudo, também, o facto de eu, por exemplo, não ir de chinelos para a Igreja quer dizer... Simboliza para aqueles que estão comigo a cultuar que eu respeito aquela situação. Não é? Que eu respeito, que eu reverencio aquela situação, não é? Estou a comunicar alguma coisa também quando eu me visto de certa forma, então... Se calhar já estou a falar muito...

VB Achas que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as pessoas se devem vestir? E mais especificamente, as mulheres?

Bem, eu acho que sei para onde é que estás a querer levar a pergunta, mas vou abranger aqui um bocadinho. Por exemplo, os sacerdotes no Antigo Testamento tinham formas específicas de se vestir no contexto do seu trabalho, e acho que era só isso que eu estou a pensar. Por exemplo, pronto. Mas isso tinha a ver com o contexto de trabalhos deles. Eu daquilo que é que eu consigo interpretar da Bíblia existe uma... A regra é a modéstia, não é? E a modéstia variou muito consoante os séculos e varia muito de sociedade para sociedade, não é? Por exemplo, se eu há 100 anos atrás tivesse vestida como eu estou hoje, não era considerado uma forma modesta porque estou com calças, por exemplo. Ou sei lá, por acaso não tenho aqui o peito um bocadinho aberto, mas se tivesse assim, um decote maior, isso era completamente escandaloso. Houve alturas em que mostrar-se tornozelos era escandaloso, ou seja, como eu leio a Bíblia neste quesito específico, é – não é propriamente um cinzento moral – acho que está claro que, especialmente as mulheres cristãs, e também, eu acho que também não podemos esquecer os homens – porque os homens também se podem vestir de forma muito pouco modesta e não estão menos desculpados por isso por serem homens, por não terem um peito assim saliente que eu acho que eles têm menos a responsabilidade por vestir um decote enorme ou umas alças que podem provocar dependendo dos locais onde eles estão, uma reacção que não vai promover a santidade nas pessoas estão à volta deles, tal como nós, não é? Portanto, eu acho que... Só que pronto também... Ou seja, não acho que essa questão da modéstia deve ser simplesmente aplicada às mulheres. Acho que existe um pender nisso para as mulheres, porque o nosso corpo – ou pela nossa sociedade ou mesmo pela forma como ele é, ou pela erotização da mulher, pronto – tem mais essa carga sexual do que a do homem. Pronto, mas eu... Ou seja, o princípio que eu acho que é claro é a modéstia. Agora, aquilo que é modesto numa sociedade varia para outra, ou se calhar varia de país para país. Eu acho que há um princípio, e é adequar esse princípio consoante a época em que estamos, o país em que estamos, a cultura em que estamos inseridos. Se calhar hoje em dia outros países, se eu fosse visitar uma igreja noutro local do mundo – por acaso, tenho uma amiga que esteve em São Tomé há pouco tempo e ela tinha que usar vestidos, era mal visto se ela usasse calças, por exemplo – aí estamos na sociedade de hoje em dia, aqui ninguém se escandaliza com ela usar calças, portanto, é uma questão também de respeito pela cultura das pessoas que estão à nossa volta. E pronto, e que isso não seja... Também existe uma parte aqui do vestir, não é? Como toda a vivência cristã, que tem também alguma abnegação, não é necessariamente anulares propriamente quem tu és, não é? Porque também Deus te fez como tu és e com os teus gostos, mas também existe uma certa parte de “OK, eu vou sacrificar, se calhar, eu estar 100% como eu quero para estar 90% ou 80% como eu quero por uma questão de respeito àqueles que estão à minha volta”.

VB Ia perguntar se te lembravas de passagens específicas sobre isso, mas...

Sei que há uma passagem no Novo Testamento que fala sobre... Talvez em Coríntios, Paulo fala isso, que as mulheres devem se focar na beleza do seu carácter, e não tanto na beleza exterior. Ya, é só isso que eu me lembro, pelo menos do Novo Testamento.

VB Uma coisa que se fala muito e de que tu também já falaste é a modéstia. Para ti, o que é que é a modéstia?

É vestir-me de uma forma que respeite o local e aquilo que se está a passar no local. E que também não cause choque ou algum tipo de pensamentos indevidos na pessoa que está no meu lado. Para mim, lá está, eu acho que também já deu para perceber pelas outras perguntas que eu fiz, não acho que falta de modéstia seja só – obviamente, que está mais relacionada com a forma como expões o teu corpo, mas acho que – a vestimenta não tem a ver só com mostrar o corpo ou não. Tem a ver, por exemplo, com – mas se calhar não

tem tanto a ver com modéstia – mas eu acho que, por exemplo, é errado ir para a Igreja tudo... Se tu tiveres hipótese disso, obviamente, né? Mas com uma roupa que está descuidada, que está pronto... Isso se calhar não tem tanto a ver com modestia, mas para mim modéstia tem a ver com respeitar as pessoas e o ambiente em que tu estás.

VB A próxima questão é: Consideras que segues tendências de moda?

Eu sou um bocado... Não. Sigo coisas de que eu gosto, tipo, especialmente coisas que eu vejo. Tipo, literalmente na rua ou... Ou seja, eu não procuro as tendências, mas obviamente que consigo detetar padrões, e se calhar por serem padrões, eles me atraem de alguma forma, mas não estou propriamente preocupada em perceber o que é que é a moda daquele ano. Se eu vir que há um padrão ou até mesmo nas lojas – até porque a indústria própria nos condiciona naquilo que nós vestimos, não é? por causa das coleções e tudo mais... Mas eu já usava calças à boca de sino antes disso estar propriamente na moda. Não sei. E não e não vou deixar de usar só porque não está na moda.

VB OK. Costumas comprar roupa com muita frequência? [*Acenou “não”] E achas que existe alguma relação entre o teu consumo de roupa e a tua fé?

Eu acho que existe uma relação, no meu caso, ela não é... Eu acho que só se toca numa coisa que é quando isso se torna demasiadamente importante para ti e, por exemplo, cai num hábito não saudável, por exemplo, do consumismo ou de isso tornar-se... Acho que só pode tocar aqui na questão da fé, quando isso se torna uma coisa na tua vida que não é saudável, quando se torna uma coisa na tua vida que tem um lugar – a questão é, como é que é definido isto para cada um, não é? – por exemplo, para mim, se eu fosse todas as semanas ao shopping comprar roupa, isso para mim era consumismo e não me estava a ajudar, porque é uma coisa de que eu não preciso. Eu acho que a questão de estar sempre a comprar roupa pode tornar-se um pouco materialista. Mas também lá está, depende daquilo que é a vocação da pessoa. Sei que há pessoas de quem gosto muito e que eu não duvido nada da fé delas e elas têm muito mais ênfase na questão da roupa, porque também tem a ver com a exposição que as pessoas têm e com os gostos que Deus lhes deu. Eu acho que pode influenciar, tanto como qualquer outra coisa, tanto como o tempo que a gente passa a ver séries tanto como... Pode ser um lugar nocivo ou não. Mas não, não, não acho que seja propriamente pecaminosa a quantidade de roupa que compras. Acho que tem que ser como tudo o resto, moderado e ter o lugar certo na nossa vida.

VB Certo, eu não ia perguntar necessariamente por causa do consumo excessivo, mas eu sei que isso também é um problema na atualidade, mas era mais se achas que a tua religião influencia a tua opinião ou a tua atitude relativamente, por exemplo, moda sustentável ou doações, questões éticas, sweatshops, esse tipo de coisas.

OK. Eu pessoalmente, não, não faço conexão necessariamente entre uma coisa e outra. Gosto das coisas que... Que não uso, por uma questão prática e também por uma questão de perceber que também pode ser uma bênção para os outros, dar as coisas que eu tenho que estão boas e que podem servir a outras pessoas, ou que já não me servem ou que eu já não gosto. De poder dar. Mas não... É assim, vamos lá ver, por exemplo, eu acho que se eu soubesse que há uma loja que que invariavelmente, opá muito descaradamente – mas lá está, eu não sou completamente... Não sigo isto completamente à regra – mas se eu perceber que existe assim, por exemplo, vi algumas coisas da Shein, que eles fazem a apropriação do trabalho de artistas que não deviam fazer... Pá, moralmente não me sinto confortável a estar a comprar na loja deles, mas pronto, por exemplo, também compro coisas na Zara e sei que eles também fazem trabalho de exploração, portanto, não sou completamente... Se calhar devia, se calhar devia influenciar mais... Se calhar, talvez devesse influenciar mais isso... Esse aspeto, mas não influencia... Nem sempre é um fator decisivo nas minhas compras.

VB OK. Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Existe uma diferença entre aquilo que vestes no dia a dia e aquilo que vestes, por exemplo, para ir à igreja?

Não... É assim, eu como tenho um trabalho em que às vezes em meios religiosos tenho alguma exposição, ou tenho que falar para as pessoas, aí tenho mais cuidado, mas por uma questão de mostrar credibilidade. Eu também não sou... Não tenho propriamente assim uma cara de pessoa que tenha muita experiência de vida, então tento moldar ali a questão, mas não tem tanto a ver com a parte religiosa, tem mais a ver com a parte da comunicação, como qualquer outra pessoa que vai comunicar em público deve ter cuidado com a imagem que passa e o que é que isso quer dizer. Mas lá está, eu tendencialmente gosto de ir um bocadinho mais arranjada para a igreja do que estou no dia a dia, mas sinceramente depende muito do meu espírito. Assim, simplesmente é aquilo que eu já

disse, não vou usar alguma coisa que eu acho que seja demasiado curta ou que não seja apropriada à ocasião por causa de serem uns chinelos, ou, por exemplo, usar um boné na igreja. Eu, por exemplo, posso, e não tenho problema nenhum em usar um boné se eu for às compras ao centro comercial, mas quando vou à Igreja tiro o boné, tipo, entro e tiro o boné. Esse género de coisas, mas tem mais a ver com... Não tem a ver com o estilo de roupa que eu uso. Tem mais a ver com...

VB [Interrupção da entrevista]. OK, aqui esta última parte é engraçada tendo em conta o teu trabalho... Que é se já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos, como cruzeiros ou versículos bíblicos como forma de expressar a tua fé?

Sim.

VB Porquê? E onde é que adquiriste essas peças?

Então, existe... *risos* Porquê? Primeiro porque eu acho que acima de tudo e ainda partilhei isto numa palestra que dei no outro fim de semana, que é acima de tudo, esses símbolos primeiro são um lembrete para mim. Usar uma pulseira ou usar uma camisola é um lembrete para mim de que “eu estou aqui com um propósito, com uma missão, e quando eu saio à rua eu sou cristã e devo portar-me como tal”. E isso reflete-se em todas as áreas da minha vida, não só ao domingo, não só quando estou em casa e, primeiramente, é um lembrete para mim. Depois, por causa de uma questão de design, por causa de uma questão às vezes quase de orgulho, de sentimento de comunidade também e depois uma coisa interessante que acaba por acontecer naturalmente e que as pessoas perguntam, e as pessoas querem saber. Isso é uma forma também interessante de partilhar a fé de uma forma simples. Pronto, onde é que eu adquiro? Existem alguns criadores cristãos, não existem muitos, mas eu por acaso até trabalho numa associação que produz bastante conteúdo a nível de têxtil e de pulseiras e materiais e nós chamamo-nos Agape Portugal, mais particularmente os The Four. Nós fazemos camisolas, t-shirts, *sweats*, então às vezes eu também uso por uma questão de trabalho e de representar a organização e de promover a organização, mas é um lembrete para mim e é uma forma interessante de dialogar com as pessoas sobre a fé.

VB Certo, agora vou-te mostrar umas imagens. São mais para que se não tiveres uma ideia em mente daquilo que te eu vou perguntar, que é, como é que te sentes em relação à representação dos símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda? Podes fazer zoom se quiseres.

Eu sinceramente... Percebo a inspiração do ponto de vista criativo, percebo que é uma grande fonte de inspiração e de quase biblioteca visual, o cristianismo tem uma expressão artística muito rica. Mas eu não vejo propriamente... Não vejo benefício em pessoas que não têm estes valores e não o fazem porque se identificam com eles – se as pessoas fizerem isso porque se identificam com estes valores e querem passar uma mensagem que vá de acordo com os valores cristãos, eu acho que sim, devem usar – agora, eu acho que depende muito do propósito com que as pessoas usam isto. Sinceramente, para mim, que olho para estas imagens e algumas delas me dizem alguma coisa, por exemplo, o símbolo da cruz, eu acho que pode ser desrespeitador usar isso de uma forma leviana, como por exemplo, e usar qualquer outro símbolo que tenha outra conotação qualquer. Por exemplo, não acho que ninguém acharia piada em fazer alguma peça que tivesse alguma semelhança com uma burka – mas na verdade não fosse uma *burka*, fosse uma interpretação – por questão da moda, estamos aqui a lidar com a sensibilidade de pessoas, com pessoas que para elas, aquela peça significa alguma coisa. Então usar esses símbolos convinha... Eu acho que os símbolos podem e devem ser usados, mas não com leviandade e tendo consciência. Pronto, não com leviandade, com respeito por aquilo que eles significam para outras pessoas. Eu sentia-me mais respeitada, sinto-me mais respeitada assim. Não estou a ver aqui propriamente nada que me choque aqui nas representações que eu estou a ver, mas acho que... Ou seja, não acho que os símbolos cristãos estejam a ser desrespeitados aqui propriamente, mas deixa-me um bocado incomodada que as pessoas o tenham feito com leviandade e que não tenham percebido o sentido religioso ou espiritual que isto possa ter.

VB Certo, agora vou mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Podes fazer zooms. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

risos Lá está, fizeram-me vontade de rir algumas delas. É assim, acho que há aqui, esta da MILF acho que é desrespeitadora mesmo. Acho que não... Lá está, eu acho que hoje em dia existe uma cultura, supostamente, de respeito e de traçar respeito pelo aquilo que são as crenças do... Ou seja, temos muito uma cultura de que andamos, às vezes até tipo, nas pontas dos pés, com as piadas que a gente faz, ou com as coisas que a gente diz, ou com aquilo que a gente chama ou não chama às pessoas... Epá, e eu sinto que às vezes não

existe uma reciprocidade relativamente aos valores cristãos em relação a isso. Estas imagens, eu sinto que não respeitam o cristianismo. E sinceramente, lá está, precisava de perceber qual é que é o contexto artístico da questão, mas também acho que às vezes pode ser quase um subterfúgio criativo fácil para passar uma mensagem... Passar algum tipo de provocação – eu percebo a questão da provocação e tudo mais – mas sinto que às vezes, a nível da comunicação, a nível de arte, existe um bocado, dois pesos e duas medidas. Há uma coisa que sem dúvida não se faria com outros grupos sociais ou com outras comunidades e é tolerável fazer aquilo com o cristianismo. Epá, não... Percebo que do ponto de vista artístico possa ser interessante, é provocativo. Mas acho que lá está. Eu, como cristã e como criativa também, acho que também precisamos ter sensibilidade nas coisas que fazemos e acho que nem tudo é válido por uma piada, na questão do cristianismo e em qualquer outra. Não vale a pena fazer uma piada, existe uma pessoa do outro lado, não é? Ou seja, uma mulher, ou seja, pela questão racial... Não vamos estar... Quase parece um bocado... Isto aqui, se nós quisermos fazer uma comparação, quase parece que as publicidades racistas que havia se calhar há 50, 80, 100 anos atrás, para mim, é um bocadinho essa comparação. É usar do objeto cómico de uma coisa do outro.

VB E achas que o objetivo da indústria da moda, neste caso específico, quando fazem essas representações, é provocar?

Ah, sim sim sim.

VB OK. E consideras que a inclusão dos símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou achas que em geral é desrespeitosa?

Acho que pode ser respeitosa. Acho que sim. Depende de quem está a fazer. Não vejo... Não vejo isso como sendo impeditivo, depende, lá está, de quem faz e qual é que é a intenção com que faz.

VB Depende de quem faz, por exemplo, das crenças religiosas da pessoa que está a fazer? Ou do intuito?

Eu acho que as crenças religiosas, invariavelmente, vão mudar a forma como nós vemos a questão. Mas eu acho que uma pessoa não cristã pode usar de uma forma correta ou de uma forma respeitosa os símbolos religiosos. Mas acho que faz mais sentido, acho que faz muito mais sentido alguém que seja cristão usar os símbolos religiosos. Sim, acho... Acho... Acho que é quase uma questão de, talvez, legitimidade, mas acho que para mim, aquilo que me deixa confortável é que a pessoa entenda o que está por trás e não use de uma forma desrespeitosa, de uma forma cómica, de uma forma de sátira, de uma forma de provocação. Porque lá está é uma questão de... Não pode. Essa medida não pode ser... Nem estou a falar do ponto de vista religioso, estou a falar mesmo no ponto de vista social, não pode ser aceite que isso seja aquilo que é esperado para outras comunidades e com a comunidade cristã, o tratamento é diferente porquê?

Appendix F13 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Paula”

Date of Interview:	February 16, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	22:25
Characteristics:	27 years old, Sesimbra, Portuguese, Entrepreneur, Non-Denominational

VB Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou denominação religiosa?

Olha, é complicado. Porque foi um processo, é um processo. Eu nasci em família cristã, cristã não, católica. No entanto, num momento da faculdade, e à medida que fui estando na faculdade com muitas pessoas evangélicas, acabei por me identificar muito mais com a visão evangélica do que com a visão católica. Portanto, estou no limbo, ou seja, não sou praticante, mas sou... Mas aprecio muito mais a visão evangélica e proximidade evangélica que se cria com Deus do que a católica, que é muito mais fria e longe.

VB Portanto, se tivesses que te identificar com alguma com alguma denominação? Talvez mais evangélica. Ou cristã mesmo, só cristã.

VB Tipo *non-denominational*?

Exato. *risos*

VB Como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

Uma aprendizagem. É um processo, tenho fé, tenho muita fé em Deus. Mas às vezes não sou tão praticante como gostava por causa de viver numa família que não é muito ligada à religião. E então acabo por não conseguir estar tão próxima como às vezes gostaria. Há momentos em que estou muito mais próxima e que em casa faço momentos de reflexão, estudo da Bíblia... Mas há momentos, há alturas em que nem sequer agarro na Bíblia ou não me aproximo sequer da religião, nem sequer penso nisso.

VB Certo. Como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária e mais especificamente as tuas escolhas de vestuário?

OK. É uma espécie de “tico e teco”. É a minha voz da consciência. Às vezes sinto, por exemplo, quando estou a fazer alguma coisa errada, parece que sinto um martelo na minha cabeça a dar-me na cabeça. Como se sentisse um arrepio de cima a baixo dizer “não é por aí o caminho” ou então, pelo contrário, às vezes até sinto o mesmo de arrepio, mas dizer-me “estás a ir no caminho certo”. Parece que há ali uma força que a fé nos traz, que nos indica, dá-nos dicas do que estamos a fazer de bem e de mal. Pronto. No que toca ao vestuário, eu sinto que desde que me aproximei mais de Deus – apesar de não estar realmente muito próxima – sinto que me comecei a vestir de uma forma muito mais conservadora: a reduzir decotes – ou melhor, reduzir não, não ter decotes – uma visão mais feminina, eu uso mais saias e vestidos... Mas sempre a tentar não me sentir despida. Não, por exemplo, uma coisa que eu acho que me marca imenso é na praia... Eu não gosto de usar biquíni. eu comecei a usar só fatos de banho por causa dessa necessidade de me preservar e de não estar tão visível... Não sei... Mas por um lado quero manter um lado sensual, mas sensual sem ser extravagante e mantendo o lado feminino e o lado conservador. Não sei, tem aqui um mix complexo.

VB E então acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião em geral?

Sim. Acredito profundamente porque foi isso que me aconteceu. Eu não tinha... Não estava próxima da religião, vestia-me de qualquer maneira, usava decotes, não tinha cuidado, vestia biquínis, gostava e não me importava de mostrar o corpo. Quando, à medida que fui me aproximando de Deus, comecei a sentir que isso também se estava a refletir na forma como eu me estava a vestir. E comecei, lá está – foi o que eu disse há pouco – mudei a forma de vestir nesse aspeto.

VB Eu não sei se estás a frequentar alguma igreja neste momento, mas consideras que, por exemplo, que a religião em geral tem uma maneira ou diretrizes específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Não estou. Eu não sei se é propriamente a religião que dá essas diretrizes. Se dá, é inconsciente... Mas ao absorveres os valores que a Igreja te transmite, tu comesas a preservar-te enquanto mulher, não é? Faz-se refletir também... Não acho que seja só a Igreja em si que te impõe regras, mas tu própria é que as vais criando dentro de ti porque queres sentir-te bem com. Eu não frequento propriamente nenhuma igreja, como há

pouco respondi, mas... Porque, pronto, eu não tenho, não tenho tempo, não tenho a família que permita fazer isso de forma fácil. No entanto, de vez em quando vou com algumas amigas à Igreja delas, não é uma coisa muito, muito frequente, mas acontece e quando acontece é isso que eu sinto. Sinto essa ligação, mas não sinto essa pressão da Igreja nesse sentido.

VB Achas que existe algum tipo de peça de roupa que tu não possas vestir por causa das tuas crenças?

Não. Acho que é uma questão de adaptação aos contextos, sobretudo aos contextos, preservando o feminismo. Claro que, por exemplo, há peças... Por exemplo, no Carnaval, se calhar, nessas alturas, se calhar, arrojamos mais ou mudamos a forma de vestir para te adaptares a um contexto. Tudo tem um contexto e nós, eu acho que nós nos adaptamos mais ao contexto do sítio para onde nós vamos do que propriamente às nossas crenças. Mas, claro, há sempre aqueles pequenos detalhes de te sentires confortável com... E sim, pode ter influência da Igreja, mas não acho que te limite. Eu acho que foi um bocado confuso a minha resposta.

VB OK... Não, nós queremos é a realidade. Consideras ou achas que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Não sei responder a essa pergunta. Não explorei o suficiente a Bíblia para saber isso, sinceramente. Eu acho que acontece tudo num plano muito mais emocional – da conexão com – do que propriamente de regras ditadas. Mas a verdade é que eu não conheço suficientemente a Bíblia para ter essa visão.

VB OK, certo. Sem problema. Uma coisa de que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para ti, o que é que é a modéstia?

Não estou a conseguir responder a essa pergunta, honestamente. Mas eu acho que é vestires-te de uma forma que não chame demasiada atenção, que fica discreta... E que não te exibas demasiado, que não... Acho que é isso. Não sei explicar muito bem, sinceramente.

VB Portanto, tem mais a ver com não dar nas vistas e não tanto com cobrir o corpo?

Sim, sim, é tentar ser discreta.

VB E achas que isto se aplica de igual forma aos homens e às mulheres, por exemplo?

Sinceramente, não faço muito ideia do que é que é a moda para os homens... Portanto... *risos* Acho que não consigo responder a isso. Nós, mulheres, temos muito mais essa pressão social no que toca à forma como nós nos vestimos do que os homens, pelo menos eu sinto isso. Porque uma mulher se vestir uma coisa, uma peça mais curta não é? É logo vista como “está a pôr-se a jeito”. Os homens podem andar sem camisola, que ninguém lhes diz nada. Portanto...

VB É verdade... Consideras que segues tendências da moda?

Talvez um bocadinho, mas não de forma consciente. É uma coisa que acontece no inconsciente. Acabamos sempre por ser influenciados pelo que os outros vestem, até porque tem a ver com a oferta que existe nas lojas, não é? Mas nós podemos ser um bocadinho mais fortes do que isso e às vezes ir buscar coisas ao roupeiro dos outros anos e não ir comprar coisas novas às lojas, portanto... Acho que sim. Sigo um bocadinho as tendências. Mas, por exemplo, eu adoro vestir saias – este ano a moda das saias está uma porcaria, eu não consigo ir a uma loja e comprar um único par de saias, parece que são todas de lã, todas justinhas ao corpo, eu sinto-me horrível, não dá, não dá pronto – portanto, é uma questão de: OK, sim, podes seguir tendências, porque tem a ver com a oferta que tens disponível naquele momento, mas também tens um livre arbítrio para escolher se gostas ou não daquela peça de roupa. Não é? Pronto, acho que é aqui um meio-termo.

VB Claro. E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Sim. Não sou extremamente consumista. Portanto, eu não tenho o meu roupeiro a abarrotar de roupa. Uma vez, fui a uma casa de uma amiga minha e fiquei chocada porque ela tinha montes de roupa por estrear à volta da cama, não tinha espaço no roupeiro. Eu não chego a esse extremo. Sim, gosto de roupa, mas não a um extremo de ter *too much*. Se calhar, prefiro investir um pouco mais na qualidade da peça de roupa do que na quantidade. Prefiro uma peça que dure mais do que uma peça que use uma vez e que vá para o lixo.

VB E consideras que existe alguma relação entre o teu consumo de roupa e a tua fé?

Não.

- VB** Não? Porque eu ia também questionar, por exemplo, se tu achas que aquilo em que acreditas influencia, portanto, a tua visão sobre moda sustentável ou doações, condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, esse tipo de coisas.
- Não sei responder muito bem a isso. A verdade é que tenho estado a tentar entrar nalgumas plataformas, como é o caso da Vinted, para vender roupa em segunda mão. Não tanto, se calhar, não é tanto pela fé e pela rotabilidade da roupa, mas pela questão de dar jeito dinheirinho extra. Portanto, acho que acaba por, às vezes tenho essa necessidade de “OK vou pôr, vou doar roupa”, mas a verdade é que eu nunca o fiz. Tenho essas ideias, essa vontade, mas acabo por nunca o fazer, portanto, não me sinto muito capacitada para conseguir responder-te isso de uma forma clara a essas questões, não.
- VB** OK, certo. Como é que tu decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos e, mais especificamente, sentes que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que vestes no dia a dia e aquilo que vestes se fores a uma igreja?
- Sim. Sim. Eu, por exemplo, quando vou a uma igreja, vou de peças mais claras. Sinto uma necessidade de vestir roupa mais clara, mais branca, mais simples e se calhar, não exagero tanto na maquilhagem, por exemplo. Enquanto que no polo oposto, quando vou, por exemplo, para uma reunião ou um evento, acabo por vestir, se calhar, outro tipo de roupa. Eu gosto muito de vestir roupa com cor. Por acaso hoje não é um bom dia, porque estou bastante branca – mas olha, por exemplo, hoje eu vim ter contigo e pensei “já que venho aqui e vamos falar sobre Deus, não é?” e tenho essa noção, eu vesti uma blusa branca. Eu ia vestir... Eu tinha a roupa que tinha planeado vestir: era uma blusa preta, mas mudei para uma blusa branca por causa de vir falar de religião. Ou seja, essa tendência para as roupas mais claras está... Não é...
- VB** Não é consciente ou é consciente?
- Às vezes é consciente, por exemplo, neste caso eu vinha para este momento, não é? E pensei “vou levar uma peça de roupa mais clara, porque não faz muito sentido falar de Deus e estar de preto”. Foi mais pela cor, pelo peso da cor, do que propriamente pelo tipo de roupa, porque de resto mantive mais ou menos a mesma linha daquilo que ia vestir, só mudei a cor da camisola.
- VB** Já utilizaste roupa ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos, como cruzes ou versículos bíblicos como forma de expressar a tua fé?
- Não roupa, mas já utilizei... Costumava andar – e agora, neste momento, não tenho – com um colar que tem uma cruz. Uma cruz de Deus.
- VB** Porquê?
- Primeiro tinha um significado emocional associado. E, porque houve uma altura – isto aqui é uma parte, uma fase em que... Às vezes, os símbolos são uma coisa muito discreta e sinto essa, às vezes essa necessidade de colocar, mas não... Como há um certo julgamento social da situação, acabo por tentar esconder um pouco esse meu lado, porque às vezes... Nós somos moldados pelo que a sociedade acha ou pensa, ou não se encaixa na sociedade e, muitas vezes, influencia muito aquilo que nós fazemos ou que pomos. Por um lado, eu sinto que há a necessidade de utilizar esses pequenos símbolos em colares, bijuteria, às vezes até mesmo nas unhas. Ou seja, é uma coisa muito discreta para representar a minha fé, mas ao mesmo tempo... Eram coisas bem discretas por causa desse julgamento social. Por dentro das pessoas veem a religião, ou a fé com bons olhos, “és um maluco” ou “estás numa seita”. Há pessoas que têm visões muito *dark* da religião e da fé e às vezes, quando queres estar com essas pessoas, se calhar ocultas mais esses pequenos símbolos, mas ao mesmo tempo também te queres marcar, portanto, acaba por ser dessa forma mais discreta, mais calma.
- VB** Portanto, era mais para ti e não tanto para ser um tópico de conversa.
- Sim.
- VB** Certo, vou-te mostrar aqui umas imagens. Estamos quase a chegar ao fim. Vou-te mostrar umas imagens, é só mais no caso de não teres nada em mente. Mas a questão é: como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?
- Wow. Destas peças todas, a que talvez me sinta mais confortável seja talvez a figura número 2 [Figure 19]. As outras todas, acho que se tornam muito pesadas. Como disse, eu gosto de coisas mais discretas, e quando se torna demasiado pesado – até porque eu não gosto de usar roupa pesada e com ar pesado, gosto de roupa leve – acabo por sentir que estes são muito pesados. Mas por exemplo, se fossem mais, por exemplo, umas cruzes assim simples, não me importava de utilizar. Assim uma coisa muito discreta, pronto, acho que é mais por aí. Quando se torna elementos tão visuais como, por exemplo, o primeiro vestido em que culturalmente tens um Adão e Eva, não é? É um bocadinho

pesado demais, não me veria a vestir isto de todo, choca-me um pouco talvez. Acho que cria um pouco de choque.

VB Certo, agora vou-te mostrar umas imagens que são da *Vogue Portugal*. Podes fazer *zoom* se quiseres. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Isto parece-me uma crítica. Eu acho que estas fotos estão muito em estilo de censura, não sei. Deixa-me observá-las com atenção. Esta aqui dá a sensação... Parece-me um descaracterizar daquilo que é fé. Quer dizer, aqui nesta tens uma freira, não é? De saia super curta, em cima de um cavalo, com um batom extremamente vincado, uma maquilhagem extremamente pesada. Não me identifico. Sei lá, acho que não é isso que a fé quer mostrar. É a tal modéstia de que há pouco falaste. Acho que as imagens não representam, de todo, modéstia. Aqui, mas, por exemplo, quer dizer, esta aqui dá uma... Parece-me... É uma publicidade. Associa a religião à publicidade, mas quer dizer, por acreditares em algo, tens de vender algum produto? Eu sou sincera, a minha visão da religião é um bocadinho mais do que o próprio conceito de igreja, porque de certa forma eu também às vezes vejo a Igreja... As pessoas veem a Igreja como um negócio. E eu acho que a fé é algo que não se pode vender. E isto aqui é tudo aquilo em que eu não acredito. Estão a querer vender fé ou a vender produtos associados à fé. Não faz sentido. A fé é algo que tu adquires – às vezes tens um processo de adquirir, não é imediato – não te mostram as coisas e tu acreditas, não. Às vezes tu próprio podes duvidar e tens que ter uma prova de fé para acreditar. E no momento em que tu acreditas, a tua vida muda e eu passei por esse processo. E olho para isto e não me identifico de todo com visões cristãs, por mais que existam símbolos, acho que a religião não devia de estar muito associada à publicidade, muito menos a este conceito. Porque... Não. Não. É uma visão um bocado...

VB A última questão é se consideras que a inclusão dos símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou se em geral é desrespeitosa?

Não. Pode ser respeitosa. Espera, deixa-me só clarificar a tua pergunta, a tua pergunta é em relação à moda no sentido de indústria? Ou na moda, por exemplo, enquanto utilizador final, utilizar acessórios de moda relativamente...

VB Mais a indústria, por exemplo, os designers, a inclusão também em revistas de moda, esse tipo de representação.

Eu acho que é um assunto muito complexo e para poder tratar-se a religião na moda tem de se ter muito cuidado, porque há pessoas que utilizam a religião na moda como modo de censura para censurar. Eu acho isso muito errado. Mas, no entanto, se é porque tu acreditas e queres mostrar aos outros que acreditas, tens de ter muito cuidado na forma com que a demonstras, apesar de eu sentir sinceramente que cada vez mais, até mesmo a nível social, a sociedade está a ver cada vez com piores olhos a fé. E acho que na moda está a caminhar para esse sentido negativo. Não veem a fé com... Sempre, no geral, julgam as pessoas que acreditam. São um “bicho” à parte. Não é? E quando utilizam... E cada vez mais ao utilizar a fé no que toca ao contexto de moda, acho que estão a utilizar como forma de censura e não como forma de respeito. Eu acho que não é a melhor coisa a fazer. Acho que devia afastar. Acho que a moda neste momento está a fazer essa censura à religião.

Appendix F14 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Manuela”

Date of Interview:	March 4, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	20:53
Characteristics:	45 years old, Lisbon, Germany, Public Sector, Catholic

- VB** Dentro do cristianismo qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou denominação religiosa?
Sou católica.
- VB** E como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e valores religiosos?
Boa pergunta. Pronto, aquilo que eu pratico hoje em dia realmente também tem muito a ver com a minha educação, aquilo que os meus pais me transmitiram a mim e à minha irmã. Pronto, eu sou católica praticante, costumo ir à missa ao domingo. As minhas crenças... Em relação à religião, é isso?
- VB** Sim.
Eu acho que a religião, pronto, para mim é muito também um escape quando ou estou, se calhar, mais embaixo... A oração faz-me bem, é por aí, é por aí.
- VB** Certo. E como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária e, mais especificamente, as tuas escolhas de vestuário?
Em relação ao vestuário... Pronto, não sei muito sinceramente, deve haver aí uma influência, porque a maneira como eu me visto – não sei se é mais conservadora ou não – não sei se realmente há uma influência assim direta da religião, mas se calhar até há, nunca pensei assim muito sobre isso, mas provavelmente até há uma ligação. Provavelmente há, sim.
- VB** Acreditas que, em geral, existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?
Eu creio que não, Vitória, muito sinceramente. Pronto, há certas ocasiões, claro, quando eu vou à Igreja, também não vou com grandes decotes, mas também no dia a dia também não os uso. Mas provavelmente em certas circunstâncias, certas alturas, a ir a uma igreja, claro que a pessoa pondera se calhar mais aquilo que há de vestir. Mas assim no dia a dia creio que não. Acho que não...
- VB** OK, em geral não?
Acho que não.
- VB** E no teu caso específico, não achas que a tua religião influencia a maneira como te vestes?
Não sei. Se calhar. Mas se calhar é mais no meu subconsciente, percebes? Não é algo que eu... Por exemplo, se tu me disseses assim “olha, usarias uma minissaia?” – agora com 45 anos também já não – mas eu, por exemplo, nunca usei minissaia. Agora se me perguntares “tem a ver com a religião? Tem a ver com aquilo que os teus pais te...” Eu acho que não, eu é que não me sentia simplesmente bem. Eu olho para a minha filha e ela veste decotes, ela veste tops curtos que eu nunca usei e ela está a ser educada da mesma forma que eu também fui. Por isso, eu acho que se calhar no meu subconsciente, sim, se calhar há ali qualquer coisa que me diz “oh, pá, não vistas isto” ou “isto não te fica tão bem”, pode estar relacionado com a religião. Agora, de uma forma voluntária? Acho que não, não. Porque eu também vejo pela minha filha. Eu estou a transmitir aquilo que também me educaram a mim, que me transmitiram, e ela veste-se de outra forma que eu nunca me vesti enquanto adolescente e jovem. Não. Por isso acho que se calhar não.
- VB** Portanto, se acontecer é inconsciente, não é uma coisa pensada?
Eu acho que sim, poderá estar aqui no meu subconsciente. Sim, é por aí, acho eu.
- VB** No teu caso, consideras que existem diretrizes específicas na Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?
Lá está... Para assistir, se calhar, à missa e para ir à Igreja, sim, não é? Antigamente, por exemplo, eu lembro-me de que a minha mãe conta que elas não podiam ir à missa sem levar um lenço na cabeça. Não é? E pronto, isso agora já não existe, mas nós sabemos que para assistir à missa que, se calhar, não se deve ir com uma mini saia ou calções muito curtos. Se calhar por aí, sim. Não te dizer, se calhar, diretamente, mas é nos transmitido através dos pais, dos avós, que a gente também vai aprendendo essas diretrizes. Acho eu.
- VB** Mas consideras que antigamente se calhar diziam?

Sim, e acho que era pior. Pior no sentido de que, pronto, não havia esta liberdade, se calhar, de vestuário como há hoje em dia. Por exemplo, a minha filha já foi à Igreja com aquelas calças rotas, pronto, rasgadas. Percebes? Eu na altura, até lhe disse “oh filha, achas que estás em condições para ir à missa?” e ela assim “oh mãe, é só um rasgo aqui em cima, nem se nota” e ela foi, estás a ver? Mas se calhar é mesmo no meu subconsciente porque ninguém nos diz agora “olha, podes levar esse vestido”. Mas eu lembro-me daquilo que os meus pais me diziam quando era mais nova, também os meus avós, se calhar daí ter ficado isso como norma, percebes? Que não é suposto tu ires com determinada roupa para a Igreja, não é?

VB Eu por acaso vou aproveitar para perguntar porque é que nesse dia pensaste “se calhar umas calças rasgadas não são apropriadas para ir à missa”?

Porque se calhar é mais aquela ideia que possam ter de rebeldia. Não te sei explicar muito bem, Vitória, mas eu olhei para ela e pensei “oh, filha, se calhar, essas calças não são as mais adequadas”, mas ela não quis saber, ela disse “oh, mãe não, mas isto é só” – era só um rasgo assim por cima do joelho – “isto nem se nota, mãe”. E ela foi na boa pronto. Depois também a deixei ir, “tudo bem, se tu sentes bem pronto na boa”.

VB Mas achas que era por uma questão de respeito ao local em si ou por uma questão do que é que as outras pessoas vão dizer?

Se calhar era mais daquilo que as pessoas poderiam pensar dela. Podiam fazer aí um juízo de valor e não estar certo, não é? Porque realmente a roupa não nos define, não é? Podes ter o teu estilo, a roupa que tu escolhes, mas efetivamente a pessoa não é só a roupa que usa, não é? Mas naquele momento eu pensei mesmo “bem, a minha filha vai entrar assim” – ainda para mais ela canta no coro, não é? Está assim num local mais visível, eu pensei – “OK, vão olhar para ela como tipo ‘jovem rebelde’ que não sabe as diretrizes da Igreja”, lá está, percebes? Mesmo que hoje em dia, se calhar não se fale tanto disso ou que não seja tão severo, eu acho que... Pelo menos as pessoas mais antigas devem reparar nessas coisas, mas pronto, ela não quis saber e levou a roupa que escolheu. E foi... Se foi julgada ou não? Não sei, mas pronto, ela foi com essa roupa.

VB Consideras que existe algum tipo de roupa ou peça de vestuário que não possas vestir devido à tua religião? Isso também pode ter sido no passado alguma coisa que tu achaste que não podias vestir numa certa altura por causa da tua religião.

Pronto lá está, por exemplo, quando vamos à Igreja, sim. Quando vamos à missa, se calhar sim. Agora no dia a dia acho que não. Não sei se isto é um bocadinho contraditório, mas eu realmente – quando vamos à Igreja – acho que temos que respeitar o sítio onde estamos a entrar, não é? E sabendo que há... Se calhar é mais realmente como tu dizes, é se calhar mais para as pessoas não ficarem a pensar algo errado sobre nós, mas não a gente também... Acho que o respeito perante Deus e Jesus não é só a forma como tu te vestes. Mas eu sinto quando entro na Igreja que se calhar há ali certas coisas que não são permitidas ou que não deveriam ser permitidas. Mas é só nestes momentos assim, no dia a dia eu não acho que a minha religião influencie muito a minha maneira de me vestir. Não sei se estou enganada, se isto é contraditório, realmente também nunca pensei muito sobre isso. Estou curiosa depois para ler a tua tese, a conclusão a que tu vais chegar, porque se calhar até aí qualquer coisa que influencia, mas não sei, não tenho bem a certeza.

VB Disseste que se calhar há coisas que não usarias, que “não deviam ser permitidas”, o que é que tu achas que são essas coisas?

Sim. Pronto se tu mostrares realmente mini saias, aqueles calções mais assim curtinhos... Porque eu lembro também, por exemplo, quando fui ao Vaticano para entrar, nós também não podíamos ir de manga cava, calções curtos, saias curtas, não era permitido e realmente para entrar numa igreja, se calhar, não é o suposto.

VB OK. Eu ia perguntar isto mais à frente, mas vou perguntar já porque faz mais sentido. Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Sentes que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que vestes no teu dia a dia e aquilo que vestes se fores a uma missa, por exemplo?

No meu caso, não. Acho que é bastante linear. Porque eu também não gosto de saias curtas, pronto. Como eu estava a dizer, eu nunca gostei daqueles tops mais curtinhos como a minha filha, por exemplo, usa agora. Por isso acho que é bastante linear no meu caso, no meu caso, depois, quando a minha filha fizer a entrevista, se calhar, vai ser mais interessante. Não sei se ela realmente... Eu também não vou transmitir depois nada, para ser surpresa para ela e para ela depois também te responder de forma espontânea. Acho que é interessante também para ti ver se calhar as várias faixas etárias.

VB	Claro. É super interessante. Consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir? Eu creio que não.
VB	Não? Não. Creio que não.
VB	OK. Um conceito de que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para ti o que é que é modéstia? Modéstia... Boa pergunta. Modéstia para mim é uma forma de humildade também – acho eu – uma pessoa modesta para mim é uma pessoa humilde, simples. Passa por aí, pela simplicidade, diria que é isso. Sim.
VB	E em termos de moda? Moda... Se calhar uma maneira assim de se vestir mais discreta... Mais simples... Quer dizer, simples não tem que ser necessariamente discreto, mas para mim... Modéstia... Modéstia em relação à roupa, sim, eu lembro-me se calhar de uma coisa mais simples. Que não dê muito nas vistas, sei lá, por aí, se calhar.
VB	OK. Portanto, se calhar uma coisa que tem mais a ver com não dar nas vistas e não tanto com cobrir o corpo? Sim, para mim seria a primeira parte. Sim, não dar tanto nas vistas.
VB	OK, achas que se calhar este conceito de modéstia que é um foco tão grande é imposto de igual forma nas mulheres como nos homens? Não, eu acho que as mulheres... Exigem mais de nós mulheres, não é? Para sermos, se calhar, mais modestas. Sim, acho que sim.
VB	E porque é que achas que isso acontece? Opa, será que é aquela de fruto proibido que é mais apetecido? Se calhar quando se nota mais – estou aqui agora a pensar – não sei. As curvas das mulheres... Será que os homens depois sentem mais aquela tentação ou? Não sei. Se tu te vestires, se calhar, de uma forma mais simples, mais modesta, que não mostre, se calhar, tantas curvas femininas. Se calhar para o homem não cair em tentação. Não sei.
VB	Ou seja, uma responsabilização feminina pelas ações masculinas? Opa, sim, mas isto realmente... Não concordo muito com isso, mas pronto, poderá ser por aí. Acho que sim, poderá ser por aí. *risos*
VB	OK, vamos mudar assim ligeiramente de tema. Consideras que segues tendências de moda? Não. Não. Acho que não.
VB	E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência? Não, também não. Agora é a minha filha. *risos* Vou muitas vezes com ela, mas não eu. Eu, sinceramente, antigamente eu adorava ir às compras e ver as montras e comprar roupa para mim. Agora, muito sinceramente, eu parece que já nem tenho paciência. Pronto, eu vou com ela, ela escolhe a roupa dela, tudo bem, agora para mim não. É uma coisa qualquer, uma coisa simples e está a andar. Não tenho muita paciência, sou sincera.
VB	Certo. E sentes que existe alguma relação entre o teu consumo de moda e a tua fé? Não, isso não.
VB	Ok, então, mais especificamente – esta pergunta é mais comprida – como é que a tua religião influencia, se influencia, a tua visão sobre moda sustentável? E se consideras questões como <i>fast fashion</i> , condições de trabalho em sweatshops, compras em lojas de caridade, doações, consumo excessivo, essas coisas todas quando fazes escolhas que têm a ver com a moda... Sou-te muito franca, eu acho que a religião a mim nunca me influenciou nessa parte. Muito sinceramente, nunca.
VB	OK, ou seja, não houve uma ligação entre os valores católicos... Eu compro por necessidade, pronto, quando preciso, vou, mas essas situações assim eu acho que nunca estão no meu subconsciente, não. Compro mais, se calhar, pelo preço, o que for mais barato, e o restante não, não penso muito nisso, muito sinceramente.
VB	OK. Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos, por exemplo, cruzes ou versículos bíblicos e coisas assim? Roupas não.
VB	Ou acessórios. Acessórios pronto, tenho uns fios, uns colares, sim, isso sim. Agora roupas não.
VB	E porque é que achas que achas que usaste essas peças?

Porque me sinto bem, gosto de usá-las. Às vezes também é aquele valor sentimental ou foi alguém que me ofereceu. Pronto. Aí cruza-se a parte religiosa e também o valor sentimental. Mas porque me sinto bem em usá-las, agora roupa não. Creio que não.

VB Achas que é para expressar a tua fé ou como um *conversation starter* ou achas que é mais como, por exemplo, sentido de proteção?

Também poderá ser proteção, mas também é algo pessoal. Eu sinto-me bem a usá-las, não é para propriamente mostrar a outra pessoa que tenho essa fé. Sim.

VB OK, vamos passar para a última parte em que eu vou mostrar umas imagens. Como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Por acaso é algo que não se vê muito, pois não? Estava agora aqui a olhar assim para esta sweat e assim.

VB Depende da marca.

Pois, se calhar, depende da marca, porque eu acho que nem nunca vi assim muita roupa alusiva à fé e à religião. Mas é bonito, eu gosto. Fica giro. Acho que sim.

VB Portanto, sentimentos positivos?

Sim, sem dúvida, sim.

VB OK. Agora vou mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Eu dividi ao meio porque não cabia tudo, mas como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Se calhar vendo assim numa revista, às vezes a pessoa até pode se calhar pensar: será que isto é mesmo – como é que eu hei de dizer – verdadeiro? Querem mesmo mostrar a fé? Ou a poderão estar até no... Não é no gozo, mas estas imagens assim, se eu visse isto numa revista, se calhar pensava até “será que os símbolos aqui, religiosos, fazem mesmo sentido? Qual é que será o objetivo da revista?” Não sei.

VB E qual é que achas que é o objetivo?

Boa pergunta. Será que é chamar a atenção? Ou não sei... Eu acho que não é aquela ideia de querer chocar, não é? Se calhar há pessoas que até ficam chateadas ao ver imagens destas, eu não fico, mas ponho-me a pensar “qual é que será o objetivo realmente?” Não sei. Porque não estamos muito habituados a ver este tipo de imagens, não é? Isto é da *Vogue, Vogue Portugal*?

VB Sim, isto é tudo *Vogue Portugal*, sim. Vou mostrar as outras a seguir. A questão é a mesma: como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Pronto, a primeira, por exemplo, ali da freira parece que é assim contraditória, não é? Porque a imagem que nós temos de uma freira não é esta, não é? Aqui, até parece mais assim, tipo um *sex symbol* e a ideia que eu tenho das freiras não é esta. Oh, pá, não me choca, mas eu fico é mesmo com aquela na cabeça de “qual será o objetivo?” A do meio pronto, o perfume e a freira também. OK. “Evite o crescimento do pelo”. Muito sinceramente, não me choca, mas fico na dúvida, realmente o que é que será suposto? Qual será o objetivo destas imagens?

VB Consideras que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou achas que em geral tende a ser desrespeitosa?

Eu quero acreditar que pode ser respeitosa, sim. Quero acreditar que sim. Se calhar se houvesse mais publicidades ou revistas que usassem os símbolos religiosos, se calhar, até tínhamos outra abertura para estas imagens. Eu, como é raro ver, se calhar fico assim a pensar “será que estão no gozo? Será que isto realmente é verdadeiro? Estão a ligar aqui à religião ou não?” Fico assim um bocadinho... Porque não estou habituada a ver estas imagens assim, estas publicidades ou whatever, não sei se isto é publicidade, se é... Mas creio que sim, não é isto, é tipo imagens de publicidade?

VB As últimas duas eram, as outras eram editoriais.

Sim, a mim, pronto, a mim não me choca. Mas fico realmente com aquela “o que é que será suposto? Qual será o objetivo? O que é que tentam despertar no leitor?” E não pronto... Não sei muito bem.

VB E, portanto, sentes que, se calhar, se houvesse mais imagens dessas, tu não ias ficar ofendida e até se calhar ias apreciar?

Sim. Exato. Iria achar se calhar até mais normal. Porque, pronto, se calhar, devíamos tratar a religião, a fé, os símbolos de uma maneira mais normal, não é? Parece que às vezes ainda é *tabu*, pronto, se tratasse disto de outra forma, se calhar, era mais simples para nós também aceitarmos este tipo de imagens assim, não ficarmos chocadas, sei lá.

Appendix F15 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Cláudia”

Date of Interview:	March 5, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	01:00:20
Characteristics:	27 years old, Oeiras, Portuguese, Multimedia, Catholic

VB Dentro do Cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou a tua denominação religiosa?

Católica Apostólica Romana, que é o Catolicismo normal.

VB E como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

É uma pergunta muito profunda. Como é que eu descreveria? Eu sou uma pessoa que é muito ativa socialmente na Comunidade e em termos de fé. A Igreja Católica tem os sacramentos que são uma coisa a qual as pessoas devem recorrer com frequência. Portanto, também eu recorro a eles com frequência, portanto, estou muito conectada, tanto com a minha fé e a minha relação pessoal com Deus, como também com a minha relação com a Igreja e com a Comunidade à qual pertence a Igreja. Portanto, diria que é muito ativa, a minha vida espiritual.

VB E como é que achas que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária, e mais especificamente, as tuas escolhas de vestuário?

A minha vida diária, eu diria que influencia em tudo, porque eu tenho vindo a fazer uma caminhada espiritual que me tem ensinado que isso é um bom exercício a fazer. Eu gosto sempre de pensar em pequenas coisas que eu posso fazer que possam ou não estar a glorificar a Deus ou não, ou que estão de acordo com os evangelhos ou não. E muitas vezes são coisas que são às vezes moralmente neutras, mas que tem que se olhar bem para as intenções delas e para... Ou seja, os porquês de verdadeiramente eu estar a fazer isto que se consegue perceber se é uma coisa que seja agradável a Deus ou não. Portanto, sim, eu tenho no meu dia a dia... Eu dedico toda a minha vida a isto, na verdade, porque eu trabalho numa companhia que é a Companhia de Jesus, que são Jesuítas, que é obviamente uma instituição religiosa. Estou muito envolvida na minha comunidade, portanto, nos fins de semana também são muito passados aí. E mais em cima disso também estou muito envolvida com o Seminário de Caparide. Portanto, eles têm uma pastoral juvenil que é dedicada a retiros e então eu passo lá os meus fins de semana, e, portanto, eu sei que isto não é comum, mas é raro o momento na minha semana em que eu não estou ligada à fé de alguma forma. Pronto, eu acho... Eu diria que é isto. Ocupa, felizmente e graças a Deus, agradecer a Deus por causa disso é uma coisa que ocupa 100% da minha cabeça e agrado-me muito com isso, apesar de ter noção de que é estranho para algumas pessoas. Em relação à forma de me vestir, que também mudou muito porque eu fiz uma caminhada de afastar-me da Igreja, afastar-me da fé e para depois voltar a reencontrar, e essa caminhada passou muito por distinguir aquilo que o mundo dizia, aquilo que a Igreja dizia e aquilo que a fé, a própria fé, dizia. E em parte, apesar da questão do vestuário, enfim, roupa ser uma coisa que é moralmente neutra, há que ver – lá está outra vez – “quais são as minhas intenções por trás disto? Porque eu estou a escolher isto? Com que intenções? Mas de que lugar é que vem a necessidade para eu fazer X ou Y?” E então eu acho que o meu vestuário também foi um bocado pensando assim, não é? Eu via muito a forma como me vestia antes como... Eu não quero dizer sedutora, mas eu como pessoa muito insegura tirava quaisquer pormenores que fosse da vida para me poder apresentar melhor ou para poder criar uma melhor primeira impressão. E o vestuário acabou por ser uma forma disso porque – é assim, já não tenho, mas – na altura tinha um corpo muito jeitozinho, eu sabia disso, eu sabia que ia ser apelativo, então quanto mais eu mostrar o meu corpo, mais as pessoas vão pensar em mim de uma forma positiva, porque não é a [nome] enquanto pessoa, e a [nome] que se apresenta bem, que é toda jeitosinha e tudo mais. Enfim, já não é. Infelizmente ganhei muito peso. Mas eu tinha muito esta ideia de sedução na minha cabeça, que no fundo também vinha um bocado a tentar preencher uma necessidade de sedução para comigo mesma. Ou seja, havia esta coisa de “ai não, mas eu não me visto assim” – o que era mentira, na minha cabeça, eu não vou dizer que é mentira para toda a gente, mas na minha cabeça eu dizia – “não, eu visto-me assim para me agradar a mim própria”. Na verdade, o que eu queria era ter

atenção e queria elogios, portanto, tanto da parte masculina como da parte feminina. E uma coisa que me fez parar também foi “OK, mas porque é que eu estou a querer seduzir-me a mim própria? Se eu digo que é para mim própria que eu me visto assim, o que é que na minha vida está a faltar? Que buraco é que eu estou a tentar preencher na minha vida que estou a tentar cobri-lo com a forma como visto ou como eu me apresento?” E então, enfim, foi um bocado desconstruindo isto, voltando sempre, regressando à ideia de que eu não preciso de seduzir a Deus, porque Deus já me ama, e, portanto, tento sempre ver-me da forma como Deus também me olha, portanto, olhar-me como uma filha Dele e, portanto, consequentemente, também simplificar-me como tal, digamos. Portanto, tirar acessórios, tirar estas maquilhagens todas que existiam, para me apresentar verdadeira, não só a Deus, como a mim própria, como também ao mundo. Só assim, só [nome], era só isso que eu queria, só quero que fique outra vez só a [nome]. E então a parte de abandonar a forma não modesta como eu me vestia também acabou por ser parte dessa filtragem, ou seja, comecei a olhar para o meu guarda-roupa e pensar “bem, que tipo de olhares é que eu vou atrair com este com este guarda-roupa? Porque agora vou para a missa, certo? Vou para a Igreja, vou apresentar-me em frente daquilo que eu acredito ser o Deus fisicamente presente, o Deus vivo, porque é que eu me estou a vestir desta forma? Quero desconcentrar as outras pessoas da oração? Quero tentar seduzir Deus de alguma forma? Quero mais uma vez tentar seduzir-me a mim própria?” E então foi um bocado nesta coisa de “aos domingos pelo menos eu vou tentar não usar esse tipo de vestuário” e acabou por se tornar uma coisa consequência. Ou seja, quanto mais eu me aprofundava na fé, mais eu percebia que não precisava de seduzir ninguém, não precisava de chamar a atenção de ninguém, porque o que importa mesmo é a pessoa e não a objetificação da pessoa. Porque eu acho que também é uma coisa que acaba por acontecer muito quando algumas mulheres se vestem de alguma forma é que acabam por ser, ao olhar de muitos homens, objectificadas, e eu também não queria ser objectificada, nem queria eu própria a objectificar-me a mim própria, não queria olhar para o espelho e ver, tipo “ai olha, tenho roupa tão justinha” e tipo “*look at that ass*” e não sei quê, tipo... Não, OK, é bom eu reconhecer o meu corpo como uma coisa boa, mas dar-lhe demasiado valor, mais valor do que ao meu próprio ser, ao meu próprio espírito, aí uma coisa moralmente neutra que é a roupa já está a cair para o pecado, que é vaidade. Então, pronto, é isto.

VB Portanto, acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião e, no teu caso específico, tu achas que influencia a tua maneira de vestir.

Sim, sim. Eu acho que nestas pequenas coisas, especialmente na forma como nós nos escolhemos apresentarmos ao mundo, diz muito daquilo como nós estamos, como nós sentimos e como nós nos vemos e como nós queremos que os outros nos vejam a nós próprios. Porque digamos, se eu estiver em casa doente e depressiva, eu não vou estar, tipo, a meter umas calças de ganga, um top todo giro, não vou estar a arranjar o cabelo nem me vou estar a maquilhar, vou-me por confortável, e se alguém me vir desta forma, vai pensar “ah, por porque é que tu estás a escolher confortável? Porque estás desconfortável, porque é que estás desconfortável?” Então aí voltamos ao fundamentalmente daquilo que é a pessoa e não a forma como a pessoa se apresenta. Portanto, eu acho que subconscientemente, as pessoas fazem isto em todos os elementos da vida, seja a forma como falam, seja as pessoas com quem estão, os ambientes que frequentam... E a forma de vestir, enfim, lá está, eu acho que é uma primeira apresentação, digamos, é a primeira coisa que as pessoas veem antes de falar contigo. E então às vezes pode também existir esta necessidade de tentar controlar isto, “ok, vou tentar controlar como é que esta pessoa me vê”. Se eu quero que esta pessoa me ache uma menina certinha e bonitinha e que faz tudo certo, então eu aí vou arranjar-me como tal. Se eu quero que as pessoas me vejam como ‘eu não quero saber, estou-me nas tintas para isto’ e tudo mais, também isto vai apresentar na forma como eu me visto, porque não me vou vestir de forma igual, não é? E então eu acho que subconscientemente, as coisas estão muito interligadas e há que ter atenção nisto. Eu acho que, na verdade, as pessoas começam a crescer muito espiritualmente quando começam a olhar para a sua vida desta forma, para os detalhes.

VB Consideras que existem diretrizes específicas – no teu caso – na Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Numa palavra, é com modéstia, precisamente porque isto que eu te disse é basicamente aquilo que a Igreja ensina. É muito a orientação das mulheres... Tanto as mulheres como os homens, atenção, isto é igual para os 2, também não é aconselhável os homens irem de calções e chinelos e de qualquer forma para uma igreja. A modéstia é uma coisa que é

aplicada aos dois, da forma como vestir é tentares te apresentar com a dignidade com que Deus te fez e com que Deus te vê. E, portanto, isto, claro, não significa estar sempre no teu *Sunday Best*, mas perceberes inteiramente que há certos lugares onde há que estar de uma certa forma e há outros lugares onde podes estar de outra forma, não é? Há muita gente que eu vejo no verão, inclusive, que foi para a missa, acabado de sair da praia, portanto, de chinelos quase de toalha ao ombro e tudo mais. Isso não é forma de te apresentares perante Deus – porque ali é isso que tu estás a fazer – esta falta de compreensão do ambiente que te envolve também acaba por influenciar a forma como te apresentas, não é? Porque tu não vais da mesma forma para a praia como vais, por exemplo, como se fosses conhecer o rei de Inglaterra. Não é? Então é mais ou menos desta forma, vais estar no momento com o rei do universo, então apresenta-te como tal, se é isso realmente aquilo que tu acreditas e se é isso que tu compreendes, não é? Mas lá está, a nível de diretrizes da Igreja – eu não sei se sabes – houve nos anos 60 uma revolução muito grande a nível da Igreja Católica, um conselho chamado Conselho Vaticano Segundo em que basicamente as missas, que eram todas em latim, passaram a ser rezadas todas nas próprias línguas. Portanto, houve muitas reformas a esse nível. Uma das reformas foi precisamente a uma curiosidade que era o véu das mulheres. Antigamente as mulheres usavam o véu na igreja por várias razões, porque era quase como uma imitação a Nossa Senhora, e a Nossa Senhora enquanto mulheres é o nosso exemplo de feminilidade – nós não a vemos como uma deusa, mas vemos como uma mãe, como a mãe de Deus – e a forma como ela se apresenta como uma Santa – a Santa – e, portanto, como Santa é um exemplo e sendo exemplo de feminilidade, nós também olhamos para ela como a forma como ela se apresentava apesar de ser há 2000 anos atrás. Mas enfim, não é dogma da Igreja acreditar nas aparições, mas a forma como ela realmente tem voltado a aparecer – seja em Fátima, em Lourdes, em Guadalupe, em Medjugorje – ela continua a aparecer sempre vestida de uma forma muito modesta e sempre com o véu, portanto, o véu era sempre esta forma de também nós nos exemplificamos com a Nossa Senhora, também como uma forma de nos concentrarmos mais na Igreja, uma forma mais de humildade... Havia esta coisa, esta questão no passado de que o cabelo era também um objeto de sedução, ou seja, a forma como as mulheres arranjavam o cabelo também seria uma forma de seduzir ou não os homens. Entretanto, tapando também isto seria um ato de modéstia. Obviamente, isto não se aplica aos dias de hoje e por isso é que o véu também deixou de fazer sentido. Enfim, acho que existem muitas razões bíblicas por trás da questão do véu, há muita gente que continua a usá-lo, porque há muita gente que apesar do Vaticano – do Concílio Vaticano Segundo – continua a ir a missas em latim, existem várias paróquias aqui em Portugal que continuam a fazer isso. Existem no mundo inteiro, na verdade, o que não é proibido, ou seja, as pessoas podem fazer aquilo que lhes faz mais sentido, recorrer àquilo que lhes faz mais sentido. E, portanto, algumas mulheres continuam a usar o véu, continuam a rezar a missa em latim e educar as suas filhas também para fazerem o mesmo, portanto, querem continuar com as coisas como sempre elas foram. Acerca do véu eu não sei muito, isso é o que eu sei, mas sei que não existe aqui – um pouco, quase como um hijab – ou seja, não existe uma obrigatoriedade de cor, mas tradicionalmente mulheres casadas usavam véu preto e mulheres solteiras usavam um véu branco, mas não é linear, eu sei que agora é mais tipo cores escuras se és casada, cores claras se és solteira, mas não é uma obrigatoriedade.

VB Portanto, tendo em conta que o véu era uma diretriz no passado, mencionaste que continuas a achar que existem “diretrizes” – entre aspas – neste momento, quais é que tu achas que são essas diretrizes? Eu sei que é a modéstia em geral, mas especificamente, o que é que tu considerarias?

Sim, sim. Existem algumas coisas que... Algumas linhas de... Que nós conseguimos perceber que é... OK, é mais fácil se eu for dizer uma miúda que não está tão conectada com a igreja, tipo, “olha, veste-te com modéstia”, ela pode perceber mal isso, então às vezes ajuda eu especificamente dizer no que é que consiste a modéstia e dar algumas diretrizes específicas. Ora, traça-se aqui muito... Primeiro os ombros, não se mostram os ombros, inclusive – não sei se tu alguma vez notaste – mas se fores a um casamento ou batizado ou algo do género tendencialmente as mulheres que têm aqueles vestidos com *spaghetti straps* ou coisas que mostrem os ombros, elas têm sempre tipo uma quase que uma echarpe por cima, porque a Igreja orienta que é um sinal de modéstia tapar aqui um bocado os ombros. Não é linear e eu já vi muitas mulheres que se vestem com muita modéstia e que têm os ombros à mostra, portanto, também acaba por variar aqui um bocadinho que tipo de top é que tu estás a vestir, se for tipo um top tipo camisa em que

simplesmente está aqui uma parte do ombro ou se for tipo um top com decote com *spaghetti straps*, isso aí já cai ali um bocado com a falta de modéstia. Obviamente também os decotes, as barrigas à mostra, os calções, ou seja, saias e calções, diria ali pelo joelho, portanto, pela altura do joelho – sendo que calções não se aplicam aos homens, os homens nunca devem usar calções dentro de uma igreja. Também a nível de calçado, é diferente usares uma sandália elegante do que usares, tipo, umas Havaianas, não é? Lá está, mostra o ambiente onde te inseres e onde tu achas que tu estás a inserir. Portanto, eu diria que essas são as... Ah e calças rasgadas, não é que tipo ver o joelho seja uma coisa, mas vai lá, calças rasgadas já mostra ali um bocadinho de tipo "não quero saber" tipo "estou a tentar trazer o mundo para dentro da igreja" e a igreja, apesar de ser uma igreja que evoluiu com o mundo é um santuário, portanto, o mundo está lá fora e quando estás aqui dentro estás aqui dentro. Portanto, eu diria que mais ou menos são estas as *guidelines* específicas. Existe, no entanto – eu não sei se, por acaso, no catecismo está –, mas nós temos o catecismo da Igreja Católica que é um livro basicamente que explica a tradição, a Igreja, os costumes, a forma como nós, enfim, nos orientamos, portanto, estes são os dois grandes livros do catolicismo – são a Bíblia, que é a palavra, e o catecismo que é a tradição. Eu não sei se lá tem alguma coisa sobre... É muito capaz de ter alguma coisa sobre vestuário, mas se for, será assim um bocado em modo breve, porque lá está, a Igreja também não quer dar demasiada atenção a isto porque se dermos demasiada atenção a isto, vai se tornar uma coisa que não é. Simplesmente o vestuário é para ser uma coisa simples, e é para ser uma coisa modesta, se tivemos aqui a falar muito sobre o assunto, as pessoas também depois vão ficar malucas com isto e não é o objetivo.

VB Certo. Falaste do caso do catecismo e, no caso da Bíblia – eu sei que também já tinhas mencionado em relação ao véu –, mas consideras que a Bíblia tenha recomendações específicas sobre como é que, neste caso, as mulheres se devem vestir?

Eu sei que as cartas de São Paulo dizem algumas coisas, não sei especificamente o quê. Por exemplo, sei que diz alguma coisa sobre tapar o cabelo, daí a questão do véu. Mas não sei. Eu sei que tem algumas indicações também no Antigo Testamento, se bem que o Antigo Testamento é sempre levado com uma pitada de sal porque é o Antigo Testamento, não é? Eu sei disto, tudo aquilo que a Igreja ensina é sempre fundamentado, tem sempre um fundamento bíblico. E também com estas coisas, como estes assuntos são tão extensos, acaba por ser difícil perceber tudo aquilo que está numa só orientação. Portanto, há também esta questão, não é? Que os católicos são chamados a ter, que é obediência para a Igreja, que não é uma obediência cega, portanto, as pessoas são chamadas a fazer perguntas e investigar. Mas, no entanto, não sei. Eu sei que isto é a prática do assunto, mas sei que há fundamentos bíblicos, mas não sei dizer assim especificamente quais agora assim tipo de cabeça, se calhar pensar um bocadinho. Mas sim, é isso.

VB Também já falaste mais ou menos um bocadinho sobre isto, mas consideras que existe algum tipo de roupa ou algum tipo de peça de vestuário que não possas vestir por causa da tua religião?

Bem, sim. Eu diria tudo aquilo que me objectifica e tudo aquilo... Lá está, é uma linha tênue e é subjetivo, porque depois tens que analisar caso a caso e usar o discernimento, mas tudo aquilo que eu veja que me vai objectificar aos olhos dos outros, aos meus próprios olhos, que me vai tirar – e objectificando, tira-me a dignidade humana enquanto pessoa, então, isso sim. Isso está fora dos limites, isso para mim, por exemplo, imagina, claro que eu não vou usar um top com a barriga à mostra numa igreja ou num ambiente de oração, ou mesmo quando vou ter momentos com a minha comunidade ou no seminário, mas, por exemplo, se for para a praia, não tem problema nenhum, não é? Há que também ver e avaliar estas situações. Mas não sei, acho que... Imagina, eu obviamente passo por muitas lojas de roupa – eu e acho que qualquer mulher cristã acaba por também ver isto, passo por muitas lojas de roupa – e de vez em quando tenho um bocado de dificuldade em encontrar coisas com que eu me identifico, ou seja, por exemplo, eu antes fazia muitas compras na Bershka e na Stradivarius e tudo mais, e a verdade é que agora é um bocado complicado tu ires a uma Bershka comprar roupa de Verão, que não tenha algum nível de falta de modéstia. Para mim. E, portanto, para mim também, lá está, esta evolução começou também a mudar os locais onde eu ia comprar roupa antigamente. Mas sim. E também, lá está, eu, como faço a preparação para o crisma, estou com miúdos que estão agora no oitavo ano da escola e muitas vezes eles também fazem este tipo de perguntas, não é? Muitas vezes eu também tenho que chamar a atenção sobre certas coisas das meninas não se apresentarem de qualquer forma na igreja. Não porque a Igreja é opressora, e porque quer cingir as mulheres a certo nível de regras, mas porque a Igreja

quer ajudar-te a ti própria e aos outros a verem-te com dignidade e como a pessoa que tu és e não como aquela que tu queres apresentar por causa do estado de espírito que tens neste momento da tua vida, não é?

VB Ia perguntar também o que é que tu achavas que era a modéstia – apesar de que tu também já falaste muito sobre isso – portanto, se calhar podemos focar mais no se tu achas que a modéstia está mais focada no não dar nas vistas ou em humildade, ou se achas que pende mais para cobrir o corpo?

Lá está, eu não diria que é uma coisa tão linear quanto se cobrir o corpo, porque outra vez, vestir um fato de banho modesto, digamos, numa praia está tudo bem, mas se eu for para a rua ou a um jantar, aí já estou a usar uma peça que não é modesta. Portanto, varia, é uma linha ténue outra vez. E depende muito de caso a caso e a igreja confia muito no discernimento de cada pessoa para fazer essa decisão. Se eu acho que... Pá, não sei, lá está, é uma coisa que varia mesmo caso para acaso e tem muito a ver com o com o discernimento da pessoa. Não acho que seja também só sobre a humildade, porque não, apesar da humildade ser uma grande coisa, um grande aspeto, e ser aquilo que a Igreja Católica considera a maior das virtudes, eu acho que há muita coisa por trás disso. Eu no outro dia, expliquei a uma rapariga que me perguntou lá no seminário – porque faço muitos retiros, e lá no seminário – durante uma hora de jantar, ela fez-me precisamente a pergunta de “porque é que a Igreja dizia para as mulheres não se vestirem de X ou Y?” E eu expliquei-lhe, pronto – eu gosto de falar com os jovens muito em modo de exemplos e analogias – como se fosse um quadro do Harry Potter, aqueles quadros que se mexem e tudo mais, em que a pessoa passa no corredor e, à primeira vista, não tem nada, está tudo bem e é só um quadro, e é bonito e não tem nada de mal nem nada de bom, mas se nós nos formos aproximando deste quadro em específico, começamos a ver que atrás dele existe qualquer coisa de estranho e removendo o quadro, conseguimos perceber que há ali um túnel – um buraco com um túnel – que vai dar a outro sítio que nós nunca sequer sabíamos que existia. E, portanto, eu acho que a moda, a Igreja não diz “não, é só sobre humildade, é só sobre isto”, porque é muito pessoal e se nós nos aproximarmos desse assunto, pode levar-nos a outras coisas, outros buracos que nós temos dentro de nós, outros problemas que nós temos e outras coisas que nós temos que trabalhar, que nós nunca sabíamos que elas estavam lá ou que estavam sequer relacionadas. Portanto, é muito este trabalho pessoal que a Igreja considera a modéstia. Porque lá está, de cultura para cultura vai ser diferente, de pessoa para pessoa vai ser diferente, de espaço em espaço vai ser diferente, de estação a estação também vai ser diferente. E, portanto, é muito... Sempre, lá está, outra vez, olhando para ti própria com a dignidade de uma filha de Deus e evitando também criar – e eu sei que isto é um bocado controverso –, mas evitando também criar ocasiões de pecado para as outras pessoas. Ou seja, eu não quero que um outro homem peque porque ele olhou para mim e sentiu luxúria, e porque sentiu o desejo de luxúria, ainda que ele os tenha combatido e que tenha dito que não – não sei quê, não sei que mais – mas a verdade é que nós somos seres humanos e temos, enfim, temos estímulos naturais. E é um bocado aquilo que nos faz humanos e não animais: é a nossa capacidade de conseguir controlá-los, não é? Mas eu não quero ser ocasião de constrangimento para outra pessoa, nem quero ser ocasião de pecado para mim própria, porque eu própria olho para mim com orgulho e vaidade. Mas pronto, acho que é isso, varia muito, acho que depende muito.

VB E sentes que, por exemplo, os homens sentem o mesmo tipo de responsabilidade em relação a não provocar sentimentos de luxúria nas mulheres?

No dia a dia, não. Infelizmente. No entanto, acho que, e tendo esta relação próxima com o seminário – portanto, muitos dos meus amigos são seminaristas – neles, sim, eu vejo essa preocupação. Portanto, no seminário não implica automaticamente que eles depois vão ser padres, significa que eles estão só – especialmente no seminário que eu frequento, chama-se Seminário de Caparide – e há uma coisa chamada o ano propedêutico. O ano propedêutico é um ano que os rapazes fazem para discernir se querem começar a jornada de formação para padres, ou se foi só um ano para eles se alimentarem espiritualmente e, enfim, irem à vida deles. Portanto, é um tempo de discernimento, mas neste tempo eles têm aulas e têm indicações e vão dando orientações e também direção espiritual. E nestes contextos, eu vejo que já existe uma muito maior atenção para a forma como eles se apresentam e eles próprios falam disso, ou seja, “ah não e eu pá, eu tive que comprar roupa diferente, tive que comprar sapatos diferentes, porque a roupa que eu tinha podia – sei lá, lá está – ser ocasião de pecado para uma mulher ou podia, sei lá, de alguma forma, não mostrar-me com a dignidade a que pertence, ou seja, mostrar-me digno de um espaço

sagrado”. Portanto, enfim, neles, nestes ambientes muito mais próximos da fé e muito mais focados, vejo sim esta preocupação. Especialmente os padres, porque os padres também se vestem com muita modéstia, eles próprios têm esta orientação, eles têm que ter, porque se enfim, se um rapaz ou uma rapariga lhe for perguntar sobre isso, eles têm que saber responder alguma coisa. E então eu acho que é uma questão de educação, digamos. Muitos rapazes podem até nem estar a ter... Lá está, como mulheres podem nem estar a fazer isto intencionalmente, mas se calhar para eles também existe um buraco que eles querem tapar com aparências. E, então, eles próprios também têm que trabalhar nisso da mesma forma como as mulheres têm que trabalhar isso. Isso é uma indicação da Igreja, ou seja, a Igreja não diz “só as mulheres”, como eu tinha dito, a modéstia é para toda a gente. Mas infelizmente, nós vivemos num mundo que não é muito igual, e as pessoas não veem homens e mulheres como 100% iguais em muitos contextos sociológicos, e portanto também sentem que os homens não precisam de se preocupar com isso, quem precisa se preocupar com isso são as mulheres, quando na verdade isto vai tudo dar a uma origem muito humana que é inerente aos dois.

VB Certo. Vou mudar ligeiramente de tópico para te perguntar se consideras que segues a tendências de moda?

Sim, sim. Uma das coisas que eu fui fazendo, porque lá está, há sempre este receio quando uma mulher decide ou mete na cabeça que quer começar a vestir com mais modéstia “ai, agora é a aquela camisinha que tem uma gola até o queixo, branquinha e tem que estar sempre...” Enfim, não acho que não. Eu consumo muito redes sociais, existem imensas páginas de Instagram de mulheres que querem ajudar outras mulheres a vestir-se com modéstia e, portanto, têm conselhos de moda e têm dicas de combinações que podem fazer para sei lá. Inclusive usar peças não tão modestas para depois também fazer um *look* mais modesto. E, portanto, sinto que, outra vez, sendo que quando eu vou ao centro comercial aquilo que eu vejo nas montras nem sempre vai de acordo com a forma como eu me quero vestir, recorro muito a outras mulheres cristãs – outras irmãs, digamos – para me ajudarem também a perceber como é que eu posso reutilizar as coisas, né? Porque também há esta questão da sustentabilidade e não vamos estar sempre a comprar roupa, também temos de reutilizar as coisas. Mas sim, eu sempre considereei que tive muito o meu próprio estilo a nível de vestir, sinto que neste momento tenho... É o meu estilo, mas de uma forma modesta e mais simples, até porque já não tenho assim tanto tempo para fazer grandes *looks*, não é? Estou sempre de um lado para o outro e portanto para mim a simplicidade... Mas a coerência e a... Ou seja, claro que me incomoda eu aparecer mal vestida, não é? Tipo com uma... Eu não gosto da sensação de apresentar-me onde quer que seja – nem que seja só para ir comprar o pão, nem para ir ao supermercado – só com primeira coisa que apareceu a frente que nem combina nada com nada, não é? Sendo artista, dou muito valor ao sentido estético das coisas e, portanto, também tento trazer isto com a minha própria assinatura para a forma como me visto de uma forma modesta.

VB Estas mulheres de que estavas a falar são tipo *influencers*?

Sim, algumas são. Algumas são páginas mais pequeninas que eu vou descobrindo, por associação, *Reels*, e tudo mais. Mas eu tento ir dando *follow* sempre que vejo uma que pelo menos tem um estilo que eu gosto, ou seja, que está ali a dar sugestões com os estilos que eu gosto.

VB Lembras-te de alguém assim que seja tipo *top of mind*?

Espera aí, deixa-me aqui ver aqui no telemóvel. Há uma que eu gosto imenso. Para. Acho que a página... Desculpa é só mesmo porque eu sou péssima com nomes.

VB Estás à vontade!

Não estou a encontrar. Mas por acaso, enfim, encontrei uma loja brasileira que é especificamente para roupa modesta, mas não é muito meu estilo, que é – não sei se conheces – a loja Dulce Maria Modéstia. Uma loja brasileira. Pronto ela tem aqui vestidos modestos, mas não é bem o meu estilo. É muito “menina certinha” para mim, aquele *look* de... Eu não sou muito, não sou assim, portanto, não vale a pena também tentar fingir que sou.

VB Certo. E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Já comprei roupa com muita frequência. Já recorri também com muita frequência a *Vinteds* da vida e páginas de Instagram que vendiam e tudo mais, tive uma má experiência por causa de uma má vendedora, e acabei por também agora sempre que abro a *app* tenho alguma reticência em fazer algumas compras. Portanto, tenho essa atenção, mas ainda tenho um bocadinho aquele prazer de ir a um shopping ou de ir a uma loja e comprar

assim só uma coisinha, não é? Esse pequeno prazer. Não é com muita frequência, diria que talvez uma vez por mês e pode haver alturas em que, por exemplo, preciso fazer uma renovação, digamos, de calças, porque as calças de ganga que eu tenho já estão para o amarelado, então aí, OK, então vou fazer especificamente para calças e posso eventualmente também experimentar outras coisas que eu vejo e que gosto e aproveitar o momento também para levar outras coisas. Portanto, tenho prazer em comprar roupa, diria.

VB Em relação àquilo que estavas a dizer, de comprar roupa ou não comprar roupa, sentes que existe então alguma relação entre este consumo de moda e a tua fé?

Sim, e nem tem nada a ver com a parte da modéstia. Porque há uma coisa também muito importante que a Igreja ensina, que é a boa gestão do dinheiro e usar o dinheiro para coisas que realmente importam, ou seja, não esbanjar. E eu muitas vezes sentia que quando ia a lojas estava a esbanjar, porque estava a comprar coisas que não estava a precisar, estava a comprar uma sweat, se eu preciso de uma sweat? Não, tenho em casa. Estava a comprar aquela, porque eu gostava daquela e portanto, estava a ser um bocado de um ato de esbanjar o dinheiro, e também ensinam muito esta coisa “OK, olha bem para o dinheiro como uma coisa que é útil – não como uma coisa que é central – mas com uma coisa que é útil e que inclusive pode ajudar os outros”. E muitas vezes quando estou nestas lojas de roupa olho para certas peças – olha, imagina, lá está, umas calças que custam, sei lá, 25 euros e que até são muito giras – mas depois eu penso “bem, antes 25 euros podiam ajudar outra pessoa, podiam, sei lá, alimentar”. Imagina, não crendo também estar a falar muito sobre isso, mas eu gosto de vez em quando, sempre que encontro uma pessoa que precisa de necessidades e que pede dinheiro, prefiro pegar e ir a um café próximo, pagá-lhe uma refeição. Portanto, eu pensei “bem, 25 euros dava para, tranquilo, tipo umas 3 ou 4 pessoas almoçarem ou jantarem” e, portanto, faço um bocado essa contenção de despesas, até porque a situação em Portugal agora também não está fácil a nível financeiro e, portanto, tem que existir ainda cada vez mais a cortes financeiros e acho que a roupa foi honestamente... Estas pequenas peças de roupa que eu dantes sem problema nenhum levava, agora deixo na loja porque, enfim, também tenho que poupar.

VB Como é que a tua religião influencia a tua visão, por exemplo, sobre moda sustentável? E especificamente se tu consideras questões como *fast fashion*, condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, compras em lojas de caridade, doações e aquilo que estás a dizer do consumo excessivo, por exemplo, quando fazes escolhas de moda, achas que os teus valores católicos influenciam esta visão sobre a “sustentabilidade”?

Sim, sem dúvida. O Papa Francisco tem falado muito mesmo, muito, sobre o cuidado da casa comum – até lançou uma encíclica há pouco tempo sobre isto, não sei se é a “*Fratelli tutti*” ou não – mas é uma coisa que se fala muito dentro da Igreja católica, a sustentabilidade, a dignidade das pessoas que trabalham e o cuidado da casa comum. Eu tenho plena noção que a *fast fashion* não contribui para nenhum destes três. É que muitas vezes a grande parte do problema, eu sei que há de ser dos top de indústrias poluentes que existem no mundo. E, portanto, lá está novamente, a Igreja olha para estas pequenas coisas e diz “olha isto, vê estes problemas que existem, olha para os teus valores católicos, olha sobretudo para os evangelhos e faz o teu discernimento” e o discernimento acaba por ser este que é “então, OK, então não é bom estar a consumir isto com tanta frequência, especialmente quando é sem necessidade” Eu ainda sou um bocado culpada disto, digo mesmo, culpa mea. Porque de vez em quando gosto tanto de uma coisa que levo na mesma e não penso duas vezes sobre isto, sinto que já tive uma fase em que estava muito mais atenta a isto, especialmente a fase em que recorria quase única e exclusivamente à Vinted para comprar coisas e a feiras de segunda mão, por exemplo, a Feira da bagageira em Carcavelos – ia muitas vezes – e sinto que nessa altura estava muito por dentro deste assunto. Obviamente que depois, enfim, infelizmente outras coisas foram acontecendo, comecei a prestar atenção a outras problemáticas e esta acabou por ficar um bocadinho para trás, mas é uma coisa que eu tenho muito presente e que também tenho muita consciência e que sobretudo nestas indústrias também trabalham estas pessoas que são nossos irmãos em Cristo e pessoas dignas de boas condições de trabalho tanto quanto nós.

VB Uma das primeiras pessoas que eu entrevistei, não era católica, mas ela disse-me que achava que Jesus tinha dito que se tinha que amar o próximo e que ela sentia que ao comprar *fast fashion* de pessoas que tinham feito aquela roupa com más condições de trabalho, que sentia que não estava a amar o próximo ao comprar esse tipo de peças, eu achei interessante...

Sim, sim, sim, sim.

VB Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Existe uma diferença naquilo que vestes no teu dia a dia e aquilo que vestes, por exemplo, para ir à missa?

Sendo muito honesta, não. Porque mesmo no meu dia a dia já me visto com alguma... Tem atenção, eu trabalho com padres e portanto, no meu dia a dia, enfim, acabo por já ter um certo nível de modéstia que é linear para o resto da minha vida, não significa que o meu guarda-roupa ainda não tenha uma ou outra peça de Verão que não seja tão curtinha, mas o meu guarda-roupa é consistente, a forma como eu me visto é consistente e, portanto, eu sinto que estou sempre apresentável... Até porque eu vou à missa todos os dias, então estou sempre apresentável lá, digamos, para ir. Apresentável entre aspas, não é? Para ir à Igreja. Mas sim, lá está, sempre dentro do meu estilo, uns dias mais casual, outros dias menos. Eu acho que também a forma como nós nos vestimos flutua muito consoante como nós nos sentimos, não é? Há dias em que eu me sinto mais *bougee*, então vai tipo a saia bege com a camisa preta, com lacinho e com os brincos dourados e tudo mais, e há dias em que é tipo hoje, tipo eu tenho uma sweat e umas calças pretas de tipo, sei lá, não sei, uns ténis da Adidas e está a andar. Mas sim, acho que é isso.

VB Também estavas a falar na questão dos retiros. Eu não sei muito bem como funcionam esses retiros, mas são retiros que às vezes incluem atividades que têm piscina ou praia? Ou nunca, são?

Neste específicos que eu te falei, não. Porque são do seminário, portanto, são retiros muito específicos, com objetivos muito específicos. E são só de um fim de semana. A verdade é que eles também não fazem assim há muito tempo, eles começaram mais ou menos em... Eu integrei esta equipa em... Ou melhor, esta equipa começou em outubro e, portanto, não houve ainda sequer oportunidade de pensar sobre isso, mas duvido muito que alguma vez venha a acontecer, porque nós já corremos contra o tempo, com as coisas todas que podemos fazer e, portanto, acrescentar atividades dessas não ia acrescentar grande coisa. No entanto, no meu grupo de jovens da minha paróquia, que eu dou a preparação para o crisma todas as sextas-feiras, aí sim, nós temos acampamentos de uma semana, normalmente no verão, campos de férias, e recorremos à praia, recorremos, sei lá, às mangueiradas e coisas afins.

VB E consideras aí que aquilo que tu vestes na praia, se estiveres noutro contexto, é diferente daquilo que vestes na praia nesse contexto, ou achas que é mais ou menos a mesma coisa? Enquanto responsável, eu tenho um certo cuidado. Quando eu era... Quando eu estava do lado deles, estava um bocado... Não havia grande diferença. Se bem que se houver uma rapariga que estiver ali já no limite, ou seja, que estiver muito – enfim, tem em conta que são crianças, portanto – se já tiver ali numa coisa que já não é adequada para a idade dela, aí há que ter uma conversa com ela mesmo. E não uma conversa acusatória, mesmo uma conversa, tipo, mas lá está outra vez, olhar para ela como pessoa com dignidade, dizemos “porquê? Porque é que sentes essa necessidade?” E tentar ajudá-la a satisfazer essa necessidade, em vez de estar a condená-la por uma forma que ela arranjou de a tentar satisfazer. Portanto, os miúdos não, até porque eles têm noção e os pais também filtram muito – eu acho – os pais ajudam muito. Mas enquanto responsável, sim, enfim, também eu levo um biquíni normal, não levo tipo nenhum fio dental, até porque não tenho, não é? Mas normalmente fico assim, sei lá, tipo só com uma t-shirt ou algo do género para também não estar muito muito – entre aspas – exposta, digamos.

VB Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos como forma de expressar a tua fé?

Sim, eu tenho uma t-shirt de uma loja alemã chamada Mountain Movers. Umas t-shirts e umas sweats também, é uma loja muito, muito, muito gira. Eu gosto muito, infelizmente é um bocadinho cara, mas eu compro assim tipo, sei lá, em ocasiões especiais, tipo Natal ou assim só, e de vez em quando também compro para outras pessoas. Porque realmente são tipo *Street Wear/Street Fashion*, mais ou menos, mas com designs muito fixes e com passagens bíblicas e sinto muitas vezes que quando uso essas peças que pode começar uma conversa e, portanto, também olho para isso dessa forma, porque já começou conversas. E, portanto, enfim, olho para isso. Olha, hoje, por exemplo, estou com aqui com esta, não sei se consegues ver, que diz “*water means life*” que é do Thirst Project, que é um projeto católico. E, portanto, sim, vejo como uma possibilidade, como tudo eu acho que é, entre aspas, uma arte que pode ser um método de evangelização.

- VB** E em relação a acessórios, eu sei que uma parte muito grande do catolicismo inclui a utilização de, por exemplo, colares com cruzes e tipo, medalhas e coisas assim. Suponho que também já tenhas utilizado esse tipo de...
Sim sim. *risos*
- VB** Achas que também é como *Conversation Starter*, ou achas que aí se calhar já é mais por um sentido de proteção ou alguma coisa?
Sim, eu vejo isto, por exemplo, eu tenho este fio que tem uma data de bugigangas que até já me estão a dizer que começam a ser demais... Mas deixa-me ver agora, porque todos eles significam uma coisa diferente. Todos eles são pilares da minha fé, digamos, e já muita gente me perguntou o que cada um deles significava ou o que é que era. Por exemplo, eu no ano passado fui a Taizé e havia uma rapariga que nem era católica, mas que tinha esta medalha que é a medalha milagrosa de Nossa Senhora e ela não fazia ideia o que era, tinha uma, mas não sabia o que era e então viu que eu também tinha uma e veio me perguntar o que é que era e aí eu comecei a falar sobre a história da medalha milagrosa. Tenho aqui estes todos. Vamos lá ver. Então tenho a Cruz de Taizé – não sei se conheces Taizé – Taizé é uma comunidade ecuménica que existe na França, tem muitas pessoas, inclusive é inter-religiosa, portanto, vão lá pessoas de muitas culturas diferentes falar especificamente sobre a fé. É um sítio lindíssimo, mas pronto eu lá aprendi a falar muito e a discordar com carinho, digamos, com pessoas, discordar fundamentalmente com muito carinho. E, portanto, sinto que aprendi uma nova dimensão de amar os outros e de amar os meus irmãos em Cristo. Depois tenho esta aqui que foi-me oferecida, que é uma medalha de São Bento, que é uma medalha exorcista, porque São Bento era muito ligado aos exorcismos, e que tem muito a ver com a intercessão dos Santos para mim, que é também um pilar fundamental do catolicismo. Depois tenho – isto é , tanta coisa *risos* – tenho esta conchinha. Era a concha de Santiago porque foi uma Peregrinação que eu fiz a Santiago de Compostela, a terceira, mas que foi muito significativa para mim e que, enfim, comprei esta concha porque é não só um símbolo de Peregrinação – porque toda esta vida na Terra é uma peregrinação – mas também como um símbolo evangelização e do testemunho dos próprios apóstolos que foram parar a todos os cantos diferentes do mundo, e Santiago foi parar a Espanha. Depois tenho, lá está, a medalha de Nossa Senhora, medalha milagrosa, que é para mim um símbolo de maternidade, da mãe de Deus, mãe de Deus e minha mãe também. E a Cruz normal foi a primeira que estava aqui neste conjunto que é obviamente a paixão de Cristo. Mas, sim, eu tenho estas bugigangas e muitas vezes as pessoas perguntam, e eu às vezes tenho até um bocado dessa esperança de que as pessoas perguntem porque gosto de falar destas coisas.
- VB** Certo. Vou-te mostrar agora umas imagens só para acabarmos mesmo. Isto é só no caso de não teres ideia daquilo que eu vou perguntar e aquilo que eu vou perguntar é: como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos da indústria da moda?
Depende de quem as fez, diria... Depende das intenções com que foram feitas. Eu sinto que muitas vezes estas coisas são feitas de uma forma provocativa, ou quase uma apropriação de algo que eles não compreendem e pode chegar a ser um bocado ofensivo também para a parte cristã. Por exemplo, o uso de – lá está, como estávamos a dizer há bocado – uso de símbolos cristãos em coisas que são extremamente não modestas aí já é uma conotação que eu diria que já puxa ali um bocado para o ofensivo. Agora em relação a cada um destes, não sei, não vejo assim grande mal. Por acaso até gosto, sem ser o 3, não amo. Mas também depende depois das inscrições que estão por baixo, não é? Aquilo que se diz para baixo, se as houver. Mas acho que os símbolos têm que ser usados com cuidado e muitas vezes as pessoas usam sem saber o que é que estão a fazer. E, por isso, acho que, lá está, varia, esta pode ser uma primeira impressão, mas depois se for ver, por exemplo, e se for um artista cristão e quer usar isto para glorificar a Deus, então OK, vamos ver isso de outra forma. Agora, se for um artista que por baixo está a escrever outras coisas provocativas, só porque pode fazê-lo e não porque é uma coisa boa, então aí já vejo de outra forma.
- VB** OK, eu estou a sorrir porque eu já sei o que te vou mostrar a seguir. Vou-te mostrar agora umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*, estão aqui metade, e depois eu mostro a outra metade a seguir. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?
A 7 [Figure 24] obviamente, enfim, é claramente um pouco provocativa, não é? Portanto, se é provocativa. Por que é que estão a ser provocativos? De onde é que isto vem? Há que olhar para isso. Agora, eu também, lá está, isto é um bocado olhar de artista a tentar perceber o que é que as pessoas estão a tentar passar com estas imagens, não é? Um bocado de interpretação desta imagem... A 5 [Figure 22], eu diria que ela parece estar aqui

num confessionário, não é? Com um terço, não sei, parece-me ser neutro. Não tenho inclinações particulares sobre isso, porque parece estar vestida até de uma forma modesta, portanto, e não está a fazer nada de controverso, digamos. A 6 [Figure 23] isto já é... Eu acho que isto já não é católico, pelo menos o chapéu sugere-me algo mais do género de Amish ou algo do género, nunca vi este tipo de roupa assim, mas também é moralmente neutro. Não vejo nada de mal. Não sei o que é que diz ali embaixo.

VB Ah, é a legenda das peças. Vou mostrar estas últimas 3. Também a questão é a mesma que é: como é que estas imagens fazem sentir?

A 8 [Figure 25], lá está, eu não gosto desta cultura de usarem os usar hábitos também, por exemplo, esta é aquela coisa de usarem fatos de Carnaval ou *Halloween* tipo *sexy nun*, tipo vá lá, haja respeito, não é? O hábito é uma coisa, lá está, é um vestuário de muita modéstia e muita simplicidade e de muita pureza. E estarem a usar isso, a distorcer isso só porque podem e porque querem, não vejo isso com muitos bons olhos. Portanto, é também um bocado por aí que vejo essa imagem. E, outra vez, a 9 [Figure 26] também, especialmente ter aqui a dizer “silêncio” também dá aqui um bocado à ideia de que o papel de uma religiosa é mais passivo, digamos, e que é mais oprimido e não é de todo, não é verdade de todo. Portanto, também não me agrada muito, mas não seria o suficiente para eu ir ter com alguém a dizer, tipo “ah, mas estão a fazer mal”, talvez começar uma conversa como muita bondade e com muita caridade. Agora esta tive que ver aqui as... Isto é um anjo na 10 [Figure 27]?

VB Eu acho que é uma reinterpretação da *Creation of Adam* da Capela Sistina. Na minha opinião, eu acho que é, porque pelo menos é uma representação que se vê muitas vezes e então parece-me que seja.

OK. É que como está mais na diagonal e normalmente vemos mais assim ao mesmo nível. Não sei. Lá está. Ter conhecimento de onde é que as coisas vêm também... Não sei. Impor certos limites eu acho que residem no próprio Deus, não é? Ou seja, quando nós podemos brincar com as pessoas todas, mas brincar com Deus para mim já entra noutro nível. Não sinto que esta imagem seja propriamente ofensiva, mas se ela estiver a dizer ou de alguma forma querer representar Deus como uma pessoa feminina, então aí já entra, para mim, um bocado para o absurdo. Mas também, outra vez, numa primeira vista: moralmente neutro.

VB OK. A última questão é se consideras que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou se achas que em geral é desrespeitosa?

Pode ser respeitosa. Neste momento, acho que de uma forma muito abundante é desrespeitosa. Especialmente, lá está outra vez, coisas que eu vejo nas montras e coisas que eu também vou vendo nas redes sociais e tudo mais. Acho que pode ser. Acho que os Mountain Movers, aquela loja que te falei, alemã, é um exemplo ótimo disso. Mas, no entanto, eu acho que vivemos num mundo que cada vez mais rejeita a igreja, cada vez mais rejeita a Deus e, portanto, não vejo tendencialmente – a não ser que as pessoas cristãs queiram de alguma forma começar a olhar para isso dessa forma, ou começar a fazer esse tipo de projetos com mais abundância – não vejo isso a mudar muito, ou seja, as pessoas a começarem a usar isso com boas intenções do que só a provocar aquilo que elas chamam de uma instituição antiquada, não é? Porque eu acho que é isso que eles querem no fundo fazer, não é? Esta coisa de artistas de provocar o mundo que nós sempre soubemos e a apagar os limites. Acho que a arte da moda também entra muito nesse raciocínio de desafiar tudo só porque se pode, só porque se quer, só porque sim, só porque é disruptivo, não tem que ter uma razão. Para além disto, isso também mostra muito aquilo que vai no Coração das pessoas, eu acho, no Coração dos próprios artistas, pode surgir de más experiências também que tiveram com igrejas, com pessoas religiosas. E, portanto, isso também é algo a tratar e algo a ver, lá está, aproximar-se e ver a pessoa como pessoa e com dignidade humana, em vez de só como aquilo que ela diz, faz ou se apresenta.

VB Por exemplo, no caso de alguns dos designers que eu te mostrei – que também são dos designers que têm mais inclusão de símbolos especificamente católicos nas suas coleções, por exemplo, Versace, Dolce & Gabbana... No caso de Dolce & Gabbana, especificamente eles recentemente – já há 1 ano ou 2, talvez – fizeram a maior parte das roupas para o casamento da Kourtney Kardashian. No livro sobre a coleção Heavenly Bodies do Met já há alguns anos, a explicação para essa inclusão de tanto simbolismo católico era que eles, apesar de não se identificarem como católicos – tanto no caso de Versace como de D&G e acho que havia mais alguns –, era o facto de eles, por serem italianos, terem crescido numa cultura que era extremamente católica. Então, apesar de eles não necessariamente

acreditarem, acaba por consumir o pensamento e a imaginação deles, porque culturalmente era aquilo que eles viam o tempo todo.

Sim, eis a grande questão – e isto é o que muita gente percebe mal sobre o catolicismo – é que ele não é hereditário, não é como o judaísmo que é hereditário, não é hereditário. Da mesma forma, não é necessariamente cultural, porque é uma coisa que se espalhou para o mundo inteiro e que existe em todas as culturas. Nós podíamos dizer a mesma coisa aqui de Portugal, não é? Que é tão predominante... A forma de cristianismo mais predominante em Portugal é o catolicismo, já há mais de mil anos. Portanto também podemos ver as coisas nessa perspetiva, ou seja, não é porque é abundante no lugar onde tu vives, que te dá o direito de tu assumires isso como uma coisa meramente cultural, porque depois aí também começamos a ver “OK, mas isto é um símbolo culturalmente”, “queres ver isso como uma coisa cultural? Está bem, mas tu sabes porque é que as coisas são assim? Tu sabes porque é que essa imagem está nesse lugar específico e o que é que ela significa culturalmente? E tu se tens tanta atenção ao nível do cultural, já pensaste, se calhar, para as pessoas que dão importância a isso pode se tornar ofensivo e estás a distorcer uma coisa e a apropriar-te de uma coisa que é importante para outros que lhe dão atenção e que lhe dão valor?” Eu acho que é muito por aí, portanto, percebo esse argumento, mas não, não concordo com ele.

VB Achas que pode ser blasfémia?

Em alguns casos, sim. Lá está, como eu estava a dizer, esta coisa, por exemplo, apresentar Deus como uma mulher ou assim, vai claramente contra os dogmas da Igreja, vai claramente contra tudo aquilo que a Bíblia diz e, portanto, não, não. Aí já entra na blasfémia, sim. Aquilo que entendemos como blasfémia, pelo menos na Igreja Católica, são pecados diretamente contra o Espírito Santo, e, portanto, há que também ter um bocado dessa perspetiva. Quer dizer, nós não andamos para aí a gritar aos sete ventos, tipo “blasfémia isto, blasfémia aquilo”, é um trabalho interior que a pessoa tem que fazer, perceber se faz isto ou não, mas acho que em alguns casos pode ser, sim.

Appendix F16 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Helena”

Date of Interview:	March 5, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	22:27
Characteristics:	18 years old, Loures, Portuguese, Student, Catholic

VB Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou a tua denominação religiosa?
Católica.

VB E como é que tu descreverias as tuas crenças aos teus valores religiosos?
Eu sempre fui habituada desde pequena a frequentar a igreja e a rezar, porque os meus avós também são muito religiosos. Então sempre desde pequena que fui habituada a ir à missa e a rezar, e eu sinto que pronto, as minhas crenças passam muito também pelos valores que a religião católica nos passa. Apesar de às vezes eu também ter interesses em outras religiões, porque eu sinto que neste momento estou muito mais aberta a ouvir outras opiniões e em perceber também como é que outras religiões funcionam, porque eu sinto que a minha religião, eu não preciso de ser só católica e seguir só os princípios do catolicismo, porque eu tenho uma amiga minha que ela é evangélica e eu fui uma vez à Igreja com ela e eu sinto que também há certas coisas que eu concordo que eles transmitem lá. Portanto, eu acho que as minhas crenças passam muito por aquilo que eu sinto que na minha visão é o certo para mim, pronto.

VB E como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária e, mais especificamente, as tuas escolhas de vestuário?

OK, eu acho que eu sou muito mais influenciada relativamente ao vestuário quando vou à Igreja, porque eu sinto que eu quando vou para a faculdade e quando vou para a Igreja não me visto da mesma forma. Há certas roupas que eu levo para a faculdade que eu não levaria, por exemplo, quando vou à Igreja. E no meu dia a dia, a religião influencia-me... Não sei, de certa forma, acho que tem a ver também com o facto de rezar e de certos pontos de vista que eu acho que a religião também me ajuda, porque abre-me horizontes diferentes do que, se calhar, as pessoas que não, pronto, não acreditam em nada, não têm fé em nenhuma dessas coisas.

VB Eu ia perguntar isto mais à frente, mas vou já buscar porque tu mencionaste mais ou menos, mas como é que tu decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos, sentes que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que tu vestes no teu dia a dia e aquilo que tu vestes se fores à missa?

Sim, por exemplo, acho que tem mais também a ver com a época do ano, porque, por exemplo, no verão eu ando mais uns calções e tops, e quando eu vou à igreja não acho que seja tão adequado levar, se calhar, um top tão curto ou então assim mais decotado. Tem a ver comigo, não é tanto pelo que se calhar, o que as outras pessoas vão pensar, mas na minha opinião, eu acho que tenho de estar assim como se fosse mais apresentável, porque eu estou a entrar na casa de outra pessoa e tenho que estar apresentável de acordo com o ambiente em que eu estou, porque, de acordo com o ambiente em que eu estou, tenho que me vestir de uma certa forma, pronto.

VB Ou seja, por meio de uma questão de respeito?
Sim, exato.

VB OK. Em geral, acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?
Sim, eu acho que dependendo da religião de cada pessoa, nós vamos ter uma maneira de vestir diferente. Sim.

VB Mas no teu caso específico não achas que influencie muito a maneira como te vestes, ou?
Não, acho que não. Não tem um peso muito grande na forma como eu me visto. É só mais em certas ocasiões, mas acho que não influencia assim num grande modo a forma de eu me vestir.

VB Certo. Achas que existem diretrizes específicas – no teu caso – da Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Sim, sinto. Eu acho que nem é tanto... Acho que é mais por parte... Porque a Igreja Católica tem muitas pessoas mais velhas, então eu sinto que como são pessoas mais velhas e também têm mentalidades diferentes, eu acho que elas também impõem muito, há

sempre muitas regras de "ah, não podemos levar, pronto, assim um vestido mais curto, uma saia mais curta, uma camisola mais curta", também às vezes, isto não é tanto de vestir, mas eu uma vez estava na igreja e estava de perna cruzada e depois uma senhora vira-se para mim e diz que eu também não devia estar assim. Pronto, há muito aquelas mentalidades de que devemos seguir um certo padrão para estarmos na igreja e que se não fizermos isso, não estamos a respeitar e não somos bons católicos e pronto, acho que pelo menos na Igreja Católica, há muito essas mentalidades de que temos de seguir um certo padrão para podermos pertencer ali.

VB E imagina, se fores abordada por causa de alguma coisa que estás a vestir, isso é uma coisa que te ofende ou achas OK?

Depende da abordagem! Mas nunca aconteceu, porque eu também tenho sempre esse pensamento antes de ir para a Igreja, do que é que eu vou vestir ou não. Também acho que também pode ter a ver com o que as outras pessoas possam dizer. Porque eu acho que, querendo ou não, nós somos um bocado influenciados pelas outras pessoas também, mas não sei, acho que levaria um bocado mal, porque às vezes as pessoas são um pouco... Não medem muito as palavras e às vezes pronto.

VB Essas diretrizes – entre aspas – eu sei que tu só tens 18 anos, mas achas que elas eram mais prevalentes no passado e que têm vindo a evoluir ou achas que acaba por ser mais ou menos a mesma coisa?

Eu acho que vai evoluindo, porque eu acho que as pessoas também vão experienciando outras coisas e os tempos vão mudando e eu acho que elas vão também evoluindo, não toda a gente, porque há muita gente ainda tem uma mentalidade muito retrógrada, mas eu acho que a maior parte das pessoas, a mentalidade vai evoluindo e vão-se largando certas coisas que antes tinham, se calhar, muito fixas na cabeça delas, mas acho que no passado era pior do que agora.

VB Tipo o véu?

Exato.

VB Consideras que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário em específico que tu sintas que não podes vestir por causa da tua religião?

Não, acho que não. Acho que eu posso vestir qualquer coisa. Nunca pensei “ah, eu não vou vestir isto porque como a minha religião é a religião católica, vão levar a mal ou vão olhar de lado”. Nunca pensei muito nisso. Acho que não.

VB Se calhar simplesmente não vestirias, era num contexto religioso.

Sim, exato.

VB OK, certo. Consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Eu, sinceramente, eu antes lia muito mais a Bíblia do que leio agora e não sei ao certo se a Bíblia tem recomendações ou não, mas pelo que eu me lembro das leituras da Igreja – que eu ouço na Igreja e assim – eles não falam muito sobre o vestuário. Penso eu. Mas também lembro-me de alguns filmes, e as mulheres são todas mais ou menos vestidas da mesma forma, mas acho que não. Tem a ver também com a altura, com a época, como as pessoas se vestiam, mas acho que não é uma coisa que seja imposta para os dias de hoje. Pronto. Era uma coisa que acontecia na época, mas pronto.

VB Um conceito de que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para ti, o que é que tu achas que é a modéstia?

Então, modéstia... Não sei, não sei. Sinceramente, nunca pensei muito nisso, por acaso, nunca tinha ouvido falar sobre a modéstia associada à moda e à religião, porque também a moda associada à religião, também nunca pensei muito sobre isso, porque nunca foram dois temas que eu associasse muito.

VB Portanto, se tu pensares em modéstia, ias pensar em humildade e coisas assim, e não necessariamente em cobrir o corpo ou não dar nas vistas?

Exato, exato.

VB Pronto, eu ia perguntar se esta ênfase que existe na modéstia das mulheres na Igreja, se tu achas que é posta de igual forma nos homens como é posta nas mulheres?

Eu acho que não. Mas eu acho que isso também é algo, assim no geral, porque os homens... Nós temos também mais variedade de roupa, temos saias, temos os vestidos, temos tudo e os homens é mais, pronto, eles vestem umas calças e uma t-shirt ou um casaco, um fato – pronto – e eles estão sempre muito mais cobertos – entre aspas – do que nós, então eu acho essa parte de ser exigido às mulheres uma coisa diferente acho que isso é sempre, acho que nós temos sempre mais aquela coisa de termos de andar mais

tapadas porque se mostrarmos mais o corpo somos mais... Pronto. Estamos a ser mais oferecidas, acho que é mais assim.

VB Consideras que segues tendências de moda?

Sim. Acho que sim.

VB E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Antes comprava mais. Agora sinto que também gasto o dinheiro em outras coisas que se calhar são mais precisas no momento, porque eu entrava nas lojas e nem que não precisasse ou se tivesse alguma coisa igual, se calhar dizia “ya vou comprar porque pode me fazer falta” e depois se calhar acabava por não utilizar. Agora eu sinto que penso mais sobre isso e que já não gasto assim dinheiro em roupa tão aleatoriamente.

VB Sentes que existe alguma relação entre, por exemplo, o teu consumo da moda e a tua fé? Não, sinto que não. Sinto que não, que não tem assim nenhuma relação específica.

VB OK. Esta pergunta é um bocadinho mais longa: Como é que a tua religião influencia a tua visão sobre moda sustentável? E consideras questões como *fast fashion*, condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, compras em lojas de caridade, doações, consumo excessivo e essas coisas todas quando fazes escolhas de moda?

Eu acho que isso com o passar do tempo, eu vou pensando mais nessas coisas, porque quando eu era mais nova, isso não eram coisas que me importavam tanto. Só que agora normalmente quando compro roupa, eu tento sempre ver no meu armário – ou até brinquedos e livros – nós tentamos sempre ver se há alguma coisa que nós podemos doar, porque nós temos até aquele contentor de roupa que podemos pôr para lá roupa. Eu tento sempre, pronto, ou ir a lojas de segunda mão também vou às vezes, mas a parte da mão de obra e tudo mais, pronto, porque agora há a Shein e todas essas lojas assim de compra online, que são mais baratas, mas também têm todas aqueles senãos por trás, que é a mão de obra mais barata e todas essas coisas. E eu por acaso comecei a pensar mais nisso, quando eu comecei a dar isso em inglês porque nós falamos sobre a parte da moda e eu comecei a pensar mais nisso, porque eu acho que quando nós compramos roupa não estamos a pensar em quem é que fez a roupa e de onde é que ela vem e se está tão barata, porque será? E eu comecei a pensar mais nisso quando fiz um trabalho para inglês, porque nós estávamos a dar a moda e a parte da mão de obra. Comecei a pensar mais nisso, e eu sinto que agora também penso muito mais antes de comprar e não faço compras tão, pronto, tão cabeça no ar e tento também, pronto, doar roupa, doar brinquedos, todas essas coisas.

VB E sentes que essa preocupação pode ter a ver com os teus valores que estão associados à religião ou achas que se calhar é só personalidade?

Não, eu acho que é um bocado dos dois. Também tem a ver com a religião, porque na igreja nós temos normalmente todas as semanas – se não for todas as semanas, é de 2 em 2 – temos vários grupos da Igreja que ou fazem doações para a casa dos pobres ou doações de alimentos para os pobres da paróquia. Por isso eu sempre fui, desde muito pequena, habituada e ouvi na missa que se nós quisermos doar alguma coisa... E então eu sinto que estes hábitos vieram sempre desde muito pequena, então também pode ter a ver com a religião, sim, com aquilo que eu ouço na Igreja e aquilo que nos transmitem.

VB Certo, já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos? Ou coisas assim?

Já. Mas eu costumo usar mais quando... Usei mais agora quando foram as jornadas – eu comprei imensas coisas assim das jornadas – e uso às vezes também porque eu ando no grupo de jovens da Igreja, então às vezes nós também temos t-shirts com – pronto – a dizer o nome do grupo de jovens. Também costumo às vezes usar bijuteria, colares e assim. Mas acho que assim roupa... Eu tenho uma sweat que eu uso às vezes que também é da Igreja, mas não uso muitas vezes, mas costumo usar sim.

VB E usas só, por exemplo, em contexto de igreja ou, se calhar, usas noutra contexto qualquer?

Não. Eu, às vezes, até levo para a faculdade. Principalmente a *sweat*, porque agora para a t-shirt está um bocado frio, mas a *sweat* costumo usar, sim.

VB E porque é que tu usas? Achas que era uma maneira de expressar a tua fé ou de ser um *conversation starter* ou?

Sim. Eu sinto que se... Porque acho que apesar de já se falar mais na fé e na religião, eu sinto que há muitos jovens que se calhar ainda não foram apresentados ou pensam que não vão ter interesse e depois se falarmos sobre isso até acabam por querer experimentar ou querer vivenciar essa experiência. Então eu sinto que às vezes posso não estar a falar diretamente sobre isso, mas se for uma referência, por exemplo, se calhar vêm a *sweat* e

depois chegam a casa e pesquisam alguma coisa ou... Não sei, pronto. Sinto que também pode ser um chamativo para a fé, para a religião, porque nem sempre é preciso estar a dizer às pessoas “ah eu acho que tu devias ir para a Igreja, acho que devias”, porque eu acho que impor isso nunca vai ser uma solução, porque as pessoas não vão porque tu dizes que ela tem de ir, tem que ser uma coisa que parta deles, mas que tu podes dar um pequeno empurrãozinho.

VB E se eles virem a camisola em ti e te perguntarem alguma coisa, tu não tens qualquer problema em explicar.

Não, não, não.

VB Certo. No caso da bijuteria – como tu estavas a falar – eu tenho visto nas entrevistas que muitas pessoas católicas referem que utilizam, por exemplo, aquelas medalhas com santos ou colares com cruzes e isso como forma de proteção e não tanto para expressar a fé deles, o que é que tu achas? Achas que também é por aí ou é mais como acessório ou para mostrar?

Eu em termos de bijuteria... o que eu uso mais para proteção e assim, eu costumo às vezes usar um terço que eu tenho que comprei, acho que foi em Fátima, às vezes anda comigo na minha mala. Mas a parte dos colares eu uso mais porque, pronto, porque eu gosto, não é? Mas não é tanto em termos de proteção, é mais porque me sinto confortável a usar ou também gosto de... Pronto, é outra forma de também mostrar e sim gosto. Mas proteção uso mais um terço ou assim, acho que o colar para mim não é tão pronto assim de proteção.

VB Vou passar para a parte das imagens. Consegues ver a minha tela? Consigo.

VB *Perfect*. Isto é mais se não te vier nada à cabeça para a minha questão, que é como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Acho que é importante. Porque há muitos jovens... Por exemplo, na Moda Lisboa – eu tenho imensas amigas minhas que elas gostam muito e que seguem muitas coisas da Moda Lisboa – eu acho que se a religião também for demonstrada nessas... Nessas... Não sei como é que se chama quando eles fazem...

VB Desfiles?

Exato. Quando se fazem esses desfiles, ‘desfis’, não sei pronto. Acho que é importante também passar essa mensagem, porque se está numa indústria assim grande como é a moda, acho que também pode levar os jovens a ter mais curiosidade sobre o assunto.

VB Achas que só por eles acharem que a estética é bonita, achas que isso podia levá-los a ir à igreja?

Se calhar ir à Igreja não tanto. Porque eu acho que não é por eles acharem bonito que vão começar a praticar, mas eu acho que pode levá-los a ter curiosidade e a pesquisar mais sobre o assunto ou até, por exemplo, das roupas e pesquisar mais sobre a roupa e depois perceber qual é a história por trás e depois, a partir daí, ler mais coisas. Acho que isso pode ajudar, mas agora virar realmente seguidor de algum tipo de religião? Não sei, acho que não.

VB OK, vou-te mostrar agora umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Não sei... Porque, pronto, algumas representam, sem dúvida, parte de religião, só que não representam com aquela normalidade que nós costumamos ver, aquilo que é Santos e é as pessoas – as meninas – assim vestidas com aquelas roupas mais compridas... É um estilo mais assim, provocador. Mas eu sinto que também têm uma mensagem que queira transmitir alguma coisa da religião, só que acho que acaba por chamar mais a atenção e as pessoas a quererem, se calhar, perceber o contexto da imagem. Mas também pode ser levado... Pode não ser bem visto por certas pessoas, porque acho que nem toda a gente consegue, às vezes, perceber o intuito de certos anúncios ou certas imagens, por isso acho que pode ter uma boa influência – tanto positiva como negativa. Porque também as pessoas darem um carácter negativo a estas coisas acabam sempre por ter mais visibilidade, então acho que também pode passar a fé, só que não de uma forma tão normal como estamos acostumados a ver.

VB Certo, mas tu pessoalmente não achas necessariamente ofensivo? Não.

VB OK, vou-te mostrar as outras 3 imagens. A questão é a mesma: como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Acho que é um bocado igual às outras. Estão meio a usar a religião para certos fins como esses anúncios. Mas não sei, eu acho que para mim não são ofensivas, mas para algumas

peessoas podem ser, sim, porque estão a usar a fé de uma maneira mais, pronto, errada. Porque quando nós vemos ou santas ou freiras imaginamos sempre com uma boa conduta e sempre bem comportadas, por assim dizer, e nestas imagens não é... Pronto, é diferente.

VB E porque é que achas que eles fazem isto?

Para provocar reações. E para também utilizar uma coisa que é bastante falada. Acho que a religião e a política dividem sempre muitas opiniões e é sempre um tema de debate de muita gente e acho que ao usar também a religião pode também atingir mais pessoas e também pode provocar mais reações. O que é pode ser bom para eles, para o anúncio que eles estão a fazer e também para ser alvo de debate e assim.

VB Em geral, consideras que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou achas que é desrespeitosa?

Não. Acho que pode ser respeitosa, porque está a incluir algo que é o dia a dia de muita gente em coisas maiores. Estão a dar mais visibilidade às religiões e à fé. Apesar de, se calhar, nem toda a gente levar isso a bem por ser diferente, mas nem sempre o que é diferente é mau. Acho que até pode ser uma mais-valia para a transmissão de certas coisas da religião.

Appendix F17 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Noémia”

Date of Interview:	March 6, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	28:38
Characteristics:	22 years old, Sintra, Portuguese, Student, Evangelical

- VB** Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou a tua denominação religiosa?
Evangélica pentecostal, acho que é esse o nome técnico.
- VB** E como é que tu descreverias as tuas crenças ou os teus valores religiosos?
É assim, eu acredito que Jesus é Deus encarnado e veio à Terra, basicamente. E que eu não sou perfeita, e por e por não ser perfeita, eu não mereceria o céu. E acreditando que Jesus veio à Terra e foi condenado por mim, então, apesar de eu não ser perfeita, eu vou para o sítio onde são os standards de Deus, ou seja, o céu. Basicamente, é aquilo que eu acredito, e como acredito que Deus é perfeito e justo, eu também acredito que Ele não deixaria que as pessoas que o seguem não acreditassem que a Bíblia seria o livro ou o manual de instruções que Ele deixou aqui. Por isso eu acredito na veracidade da Bíblia.
- VB** Certo, e como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária? E, mais especificamente, as tuas escolhas de vestuário?
É assim, as minhas escolhas... Eu acho que nunca disse “olha, não vou usar isto só porque sou cristã” também, pronto, se há um certo look que eu digo que não me dá prazer em vestir, é não dá prazer em vestir e acabou. Tipo, nunca me privei de nada, pronto, eu. Mas, talvez, quando vou à Igreja, eu tento – tipo – não usar decote ou assim, só porque... Não é por mim que eu sei que eu não tenho intenções nenhuma de sensualizar e assim, mas pode chocar – vá, pode causar má impressão – aos outros, pode ser incomodativo para outras pessoas, então eu não levo. É por isso.
- VB** OK. Acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião em geral?
A religião em geral? Acredito, claro. Ou seja... Mas estás a perguntar a religião cristã ou religião no geral?
- VB** Em geral, mas se quiseses falar do teu caso particular, na cristã.
Então é assim, eu acho que talvez haja, no sentido em que, pronto, um dos princípios da Bíblia é basicamente não, pronto, a não sexualização, tipo, propositada para o geral, basicamente. E talvez isso leve as pessoas – esse princípio – leve as pessoas a ter atenção: “OK, não vou com uma minissaia justa e um top justo assim para a rua, porque talvez isso chame uns piropos ou assim”. Só nessa questão. Mas não penso que se uma pessoa adotasse esse vestuário, não seria por isso que não seria salva, pronto.
- VB** E no teu caso específico, acreditas que a tua religião influencia a maneira como te vestes?
Não. Como disse há pouco, eu nunca me deparei com a situação de “OK, não vou vestir isto porque sou cristã”, só em contexto de ir à Igreja, tento tipo, se me apetece levar uma blusa assim mais decotada porque gosto – não é porque coiso, é porque é porque simplesmente gosto da camisa – digo “é pá, se calhar isto pode ferir um bocadinho as suscetibilidades” então não levo. Para o contexto da Igreja, não para usar no geral.
- VB** Então não consideras que exista nenhum tipo de peça de vestuário específica ou algum tipo de roupa que tu não possas vestir por causa da tua religião?
Desde que... Considero que haja, por exemplo, eu sendo cristã não vou levar uma t-shirt a dizer “*satan’s the best*” ou uma coisa assim, estás a ver? Uma coisa um bocado como antítese ou com uma cruz invertida, tipo, esse tipo de vestuário que tu olhas e dizes “esta claramente tipo é satânica”, uma cena assim, tipo não vestiria. Acho que pronto, mas pela imagem em si, sim, pelos elementos também que tem. Não sei se estou a ser clara, se estou a ajudar.
- VB** Não, sim, sim, sim. Ou seja, não tem tanto a ver com mostrar o corpo, tem mais a ver com coisas que estão mesmo lá escritas ou representadas?
Sim, sim, sim, sim, sim, sim.
- VB** OK, certo. Consideras que existem diretrizes específicas na tua denominação ou na tua igreja sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?
Não. Que eu saiba, não. Não faço ideia, acho que não.
- VB** E consideras que já existiram?

Considero. Acho que sim. Porque neste momento estou a fazer Erasmus em Milão e eu fui aqui a uma igreja evangélica – pronto, que é onde eu costumo ir – e eu vi mulheres com um véu, tipo a tapar a cabeça e eu achei engraçado porque na Igreja a que eu vou normalmente em Portugal, eu nunca vi isso. E depois eu falei, pronto, falei com a minha mãe e a minha avó e elas disseram que antigamente era uma prática comum, se não me engano, era porque os judeus tinham pouco cabelo quando era para prestar o culto a Deus, tipo, tapavam a cabeça pronto, acho que era por isso. Mas não é algo que neste momento seja obrigatório, mas acho que em tempos era uma prática comum. Era uma prática que as pessoas diziam “OK, isto é correto para fazer”.

VB Mas em termos de roupa, em termos de “não podem vestir isto” ou “têm que vestir aquilo”, não sentes que isso seja uma cena?

Não, não, não, não, não, não. Penso que não há diretrizes nenhuma, não. Que eu tenha conhecimento.

VB E na Bíblia? Consideras que existem diretrizes sobre como é que as pessoas, mais especificamente as mulheres, se devem vestir?

Em contexto de Antigo Testamento, ou seja, antes da vinda de Jesus em que o povo era, pronto, eram judeus e a mentalidade era super diferente da atual ou até diferente de uns anos depois, sempre no contexto histórico da Bíblia, havia... Havia. Penso que para não apelar à luxúria e assim porque era muito fácil, tipo, uma pessoa deixar-se levar na altura, porque a mente era mais “tacaña” entre aspas. Mas depois, seja em contexto de Novo Testamento, em que já houve um perdão dos pecados, ou seja, um bode expiatório que foi Jesus, hoje eu acho que esse tipo de práticas, tipo de regras que havia, deixou de fazer sentido de existirem. Como por exemplo, antigamente também sacrificavam animais para terem o perdão e depois de Jesus vir isso acabou, é só tipo saber que Jesus é por nós, arrependemo-nos e está a andar, não é preciso sacrificar nada. Da mesma maneira, o uso das roupas não poderia ser “isto e isto”, não se podia fazer tranças, não se podia...

VB Mas achas que, por exemplo, se houver alguma coisa no Novo Testamento que isso não se aplique necessariamente aos nossos dias, porque era mais também o contexto da época? Ou seja, que em geral não há nada na Bíblia sobre a maneira de vestir das pessoas que seja para se aplicar nos dias de hoje?

Eu penso que não. Eu li o Novo Testamento há já algum tempo, não me lembro muito bem de tudo, mas que eu tenha recordação. Eu acho que não.

VB OK, certo. Um conceito que se fala imenso quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia, para ti o que é que é a modéstia?

Modéstia... Sempre em termos de vestuário. OK. Deixa-me pensar... Talvez seja uma maneira de vestir que não dá muito nas vistas. Por exemplo, como eu estou agora, de fato de treino, não estou maquilhada. Talvez seja isso a modéstia, mas é relativo, para mim isto é vestir de forma simples. Eu normalmente, quando eu quero ir sair ou vou para a faculdade e assim, eu vou com um look mais, pronto, mais a meu gosto, não tão confortável – confortável, mas mais arranjado – gosto de me maquilhar um bocadinho... Talvez isso não seja tão modesto, mas também penso que seja um equilíbrio pronto. Mas para mim, modéstia, acho que é assim, vestir simples assim sem dar nas vistas.

VB Portanto, achas que tem mais a ver com não chamar atenção e não tanto com “esconderes o teu corpo”, entre aspas?

Acho que sim, acho que é mais não chamar a atenção, acho eu.

VB Em geral, existe toda esta coisa sobre as mulheres não se mostrarem muito e isso, achas que essa ideia é imposta da mesma maneira nos homens? Essa ideia de não sexualizar demasiado o seu corpo e de serem modestos nesse parâmetro?

Pá, eu acho que não. Porque é assim, também não é que seja bom – lá está outra vez, no contexto de Igreja – não é que seja bom alguém chegar lá em tronco nu. Aliás, mesmo nos batismos, em que nós vamos para uma piscina ser batizados, tipo, eles não vão de tronco nu, nem elas vão de biquíni, não tipo, é sempre... Vão de fato de banho por baixo, mas poem uma t-shirt e os calções. Mas em termos de contexto fora da igreja, eu acho que é muito mais fácil sexualizar o vestuário ou, pronto, a maneira de estar da mulher do que do homem, pelo simples motivo de que, pronto, a mulher deve esconder a parte superior e inferior e o homem, tipo, basta só esconder a inferior e está a andar, pronto. Não sei se fui clara.

VB Consideras que segues tendências de moda?

Algumas, quando eu gosto. Por exemplo, aquela moda que houve dos chokers eu segui, mas as pessoas, tipo, já tinham parado de usar e eu ainda usava porque eu gostava. *risos* Portanto, depende, depende de se me agrada. Sim.

- VB** OK. E costumas comprar roupa com muita frequência?
Não. A comparar com amigas minhas... Eu compro quando preciso, mas quando vou comprar, tenho que gostar. Gosto deste look de... Sou, sou pronto... Tenho a mania, vá... Mas não compro com muita frequência, não.
- VB** E sentes que existe alguma relação entre este teu consumo de moda e a tua fé?
Não. Acho que não. Não. Porque eu penso que a minha mentalidade quando eu vou às compras já é igual à que eu tinha quando não era crente, portanto, acho que não há relação nenhuma.
- VB** Como é que a tua religião influencia a tua visão sobre, por exemplo, moda sustentável? Sentes que consideras questões como o *fast fashion*, condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, compras em lojas de caridade, doações, *overconsumption*, e isso tudo quando fazes escolhas de moda? Ou também não sentes que...
Estás-me a perguntar se eu penso nisso quando vou comprar roupa ou se há alguma relação entre pensar nisso e a minha religião?
- VB** Se tu pensas nisso e se pensas ou se achas que existe uma ligação entre isso e a tua religião.
OK. Eu penso que a relação que existe – acho que para mim, a única relação que existe é tipo – é o respeito que nós vamos ter ao próximo, e é assim, eu acho que manter um planeta sustentável é uma forma de respeito ao próximo das próximas gerações, porque tu sabes os problemas ambientais que estão a haver e sabes, provavelmente, que a indústria têxtil é uma das maiores fontes de resíduos sólidos que há, pronto. E então quando eu faço as práticas de pensar na *overconsumption* e *fast fashion* e assim, é também algo que eu considero tipo “OK, isso pá, eu não vou... Eu sei que isto é tendência”, mas se eu não preciso de um casaco *biker*, se já tenho um parecido ou assim, não vou comprar outro e depois vou-me fartar dele e vai para o lixo. Sim, eu lembro-me disto quando faço compras, sim.
- VB** E associas pensares nisso aos teus valores religiosos, por exemplo?
Só nessa medida, em que para mim contribuir para a sustentabilidade é uma forma de cumprir o mandamento, vá, que é respeitar o próximo, amor ao próximo. Só dessa maneira.
- VB** Certo. Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Sentes que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que tu vestes no teu dia a dia e aquilo que tu vestes para ir à Igreja?
Sim, na medida que... Aliás, nem sempre, mas eu quando vou à Igreja eu faço o mesmo processo decisivo que no dia a dia, ou seja “ah eu gosto deste *look*, apetece-me usar este *look*, vou”, mas tenho um bocadinho mais de cuidado – como te disse há pouco – se visto e vejo “epá, isto tem um decote um bocado grande, se calhar não levo esta, levo a outra”. Pronto, para não ferir suscetibilidades, como te falei há pouco.
- VB** Mas existiriam coisas que tu vestirias no teu dia a dia, mas que não vestirias na Igreja?
Ou seja...
Sim, sim, sim.
- VB** Existe esta diferença de algumas peças?
Sim. Existe, existe um bocadinho. Sim, sim, sim.
- VB** E porquê? Achas que é por uma questão de respeito pelo local ou pela ideia de culto? Ou achas que tem mais a ver com a opinião das pessoas que lá estão?
É mais pelas pessoas que lá estão. Não que eu me incomode que elas digam “olha aquela ali veste-se à ‘tu sabes o quê’”. Não, é só porque eu sei que pode ser algo que lhes incomoda. Estás a perceber? Tipo, por saber que é algo que incômoda, eu não levo.
- VB** E alguma vez foste abordada por causa de alguma peça de roupa?
Não.
- VB** OK. E se isso acontecesse, achas que ias reagir bem ou achas que tipo ias ficar um bocadinho ofendida?
Eu acho que... Eu não ia faltar... Não me ia sentir muito bem, né? Mas acho que não ia falar ao respeito nem nada disso tipo “pronto é a sua opinião, isto para mim não tem maldade nenhuma”. Eu sei que eu quando levo, não levo com maldade.
- VB** Claro, porque já fazes essa negociação antes de sair de casa, já achas, em princípio, que que não vai causar nenhum desconforto.
Sim, sim.
- VB** Certo. Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos?
Não, acho que não. Talvez... É assim, naqueles conjuntos de brincos às vezes há umas cruzinhas. Eu posso ter usado talvez, mas não. Quase nunca.

VB	Portanto, não sentes que utilizaste nenhum acessório, nem nenhuma peça como maneira de expressar a tua fé ou assim? Não, não.
VB	Mas já viste pessoas nos sítios onde tu frequentas que utilizam esse tipo de coisas ou achas que não é muito comum? Sim, já vi. Às vezes têm umas t-shirts com uns versículos e assim. Às vezes. Não é assim muito comum...
VB	OK. Vou-te mostrar umas imagens, espera aí. OK, isto é mais, se não tiveres nenhuma ideia daquilo que eu vou perguntar que é, como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda? Símbolos? Sem falar tipo de imagens e assim?
VB	Símbolos, neste caso, inclui imagens. Ou seja, toda a iconografia. Ah, OK. OK, deixa-me pensar... Eu acho que desde que não se passa... Porque o que não é gozar para mim, pode ser gozar para outra pessoa. Mas eu acho – por exemplo, falando das imagens que eu estou a ver agora – não vejo problema absolutamente nenhum. Tipo eu acho que... Como é que eu vou dizer isto? Eu acho que existe um limiar entre o desrespeito e o resto. Por exemplo, eu acho que na representação de uma peça de roupa não devia haver contradição, tipo, de uma coisa que é que é santo e uma coisa que é tipo um bocado obscena, por exemplo. Se fossem a meter, por exemplo, a cara de Jesus naquele sítio nos boxers, pá, eu acho que isso já seria um pouco demais. Ou seja, não que o sexo seja contraditório à Bíblia, mas a Bíblia estabelece um padrão para sexo que poderia ser mal interpretado com essa peça de roupa, por exemplo, como eu descrevi. Mas em termos de usar cruzes e assim... Cruzes para mim não tem problema nenhum. Mas posso mudar de opinião se vir alguma roupa... Não sei, não sei se estou a conseguir descrever bem... Pronto, mas basicamente é isso. Para mim o que tem problema é usar um símbolo – principalmente tipo uma imagem de Jesus – nesse contexto que é um bocado contraditório ao que é os princípios da Bíblia, pronto, porque pode... Também é um bocado um desrespeito a quem acredita.
VB	Certo, ou seja, também tem muito a ver com o contexto. Sim, sim, sim, sem dúvida.
VB	Certo, vou-te mostrar agora umas imagens da <i>Vogue Portugal</i> – estão aqui metade, depois eu mostro as outras 3 – e a questão é, como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir? A do meio tipo para mim está OK. A da direita... É assim, não me fere, não fico ferida porque eu sou evangélica, então tipo Maria para mim é só pronto... Foi só uma boa mulher, tão boa que Deus decidiu que ela ia dar à luz Jesus. Mas acho um bocado esticado para se quem vir for católico, portanto, eu acho é... Essa essa imagem já acho um bocado no desrespeito. A da esquerda... Estou indiferente também.
VB	OK, vou te mostrar outras. A questão é a mesma: como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir? Eu gostei da imagem da direita. Pronto, gostei. Achei o conceito engraçado. Se for aquilo que eu estou a pensar que é um anjo tipo a dar o secador... É um secador, não é?
VB	Não, é um depilador a laser. Um depilador a laser? Pronto, mas está bem, está giro na mesma. *risos* Assim a do meio também não me faz muita confusão, sinceramente eu até acho graça. Tá... Acho que não há muito por dizer. A da esquerda... A da esquerda também me põe indiferente, tipo, não me provoca nada também.
VB	Mas achas que podia ser ofensivo, se calhar, para outras pessoas? É assim, talvez para freiras, não sei. Epá porque, pronto, eu não vejo nada de mal nos cavalos assim de carrossel tipo... Pelo menos para a minha interpretação da imagem em si.
VB	Sim, certo, certo. Vou parar de partilhar. Tenho só mais uma questão que é: se consideras que esta inclusão de símbolos religiosos na indústria da moda pode ser respeitosa ou se achas que, em geral, tende a ser desrespeitosa? Eu acho... Como eu disse, eu acho que é respeitosa. Eu acho que é respeitosa até as sexualizarem. Sexualizando-as ou pondo tipo em... Como é que se diz “join”?
VB	A justaposição? Juntando-as, misturando-as com, sei lá, ideias satânicas, uma coisa assim, para mim, essas duas coisas já entra no fora de questão. Agora o resto acho que não, não tem problema.
VB	E porque é que achas que as revistas e os designers incluem este tipo de simbologia e de imagens?

Depois novamente depende do contexto, porque podem querer representar uma coisa tipo mais Santa, se quiserem representar um paradoxo, entram naquilo que eu estava a falar de usar as imagens religiosas em contextos mais obscenos, vá. Se quiserem representar contradição. E sim, penso que seja isso... Ou, por exemplo, se usarem a imagem do Adão e Eva, talvez não sei, para chamar para alguma coisa mais do Paraíso ou assim. Não sei. É conforme o que eles usarem.

Appendix F18 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Vanda”

Date of Interview:	March 6, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	16:57
Characteristics:	54 years old, Loures, Portuguese, Public Sector, Catholic

VB Dentro do cristianismo qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou denominação religiosa?
Sou cristã, não sou praticante, atenção. Acredito na fé cristã, mas não sou praticante, mas de vez em quando também vou à Igreja.

VB Foi mais uma questão de educação ou assim?
Não, os meus pais até nem eram, portanto, questão de educação, não. Porque é assim, os meus pais têm uma ideologia política que é completamente contrária, portanto, à fé católica. Mas eu pronto em certas situações, acho que me sinto confortável. Umas vezes, por acaso, vou a Fátima, quando vou passear a qualquer lado, gosto de entrar nas Igrejas, gosto de estar ali um bocadinho no meu retiro comigo própria, portanto, gosto de fazer minhas orações, mas não sou praticante, não vou à Igreja todas as semanas. Isso não faço, não, mas quando sinto necessidade, gosto de ir.

VB Então e como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?
Como é que eu descreveria? Isso agora é um bocado difícil, é assim... Como é que eu descreveria isso, Vitória? Fizeste-me uma pergunta difícil. Deixa-me lá pensar. Ou seja, eu nem sei bem se são crenças católicas ou cristãs. Eu acredito que há algo eventualmente superior a nós e que eventualmente, em certas alturas, nos pode ajudar. Já tive situações – por exemplo, os meus pais já faleceram, os 2 numa situação um bocadinho complicada – e às vezes acho que há determinadas situações em que eventualmente a minha mãe, por exemplo, eu acho que ela poderá estar presente em coisas que eu vejo e em coisas que eu ouço. Eu acho que isso às vezes acontece e eu acho que é mais isso. Então eu acho que é mais isso. E o facto de às vezes eu ir tanto uma igreja, a um santuário é também pelo espaço envolvente, por aquilo que nós sentimos, pela paz, pela tranquilidade, e é por isso que, às vezes, gosto de ir, é mais por isso.

VB OK. E como é que sentes que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária?
Eu não acho que influencie, eu acho que eventualmente os meus valores, pronto, eu sei que tento fazer aquilo que, no meu entender, está correto. A minha mãe sempre me disse “não faças aos outros aquilo que não queres que façam a ti” e é mais nesse aspeto que eu tento fazer pronto, não é propriamente ler a Bíblia, seguir o que está na Bíblia. É a minha a minha Bíblia pessoal, ou seja, os meus valores. Eu acho se eu tenho esses valores, então eu tento fazer o meu melhor para que isso transpareça, é mais isso. Não leio uma Bíblia, não sigo uma Bíblia, não, isso não faço, não faço mesmo.

VB OK. E em termos de vestuário? Achas que a fé a influencia, ou no teu caso específico, ou por exemplo, que a religião em geral, influencia a maneira de vestir das pessoas?
No meu caso específico, não. Eu visto aquilo que quero, aquilo que me apetece. Pronto, ontem, por exemplo, fui a um velório, há que respeitar a mim, no meu entender, há que respeitar, portanto, não fui com decotes, não fui com roupas vermelhas, não fui tanto... Fui vestida com vestuário que a meu entender, era neutro. Portanto, também para respeitar tanto a dor das outras pessoas – eu acho que isso é importante – nós estamos ali para acompanhar alguém que faleceu, para acompanhar essa família e essa família não precisa de estar distraída com outras coisas. Portanto, temos que respeitar. Não tinha que ir de preto – pronto, por acaso calhou ir de preto – mas não tinha que ir, mas acho que no meu caso não influencia. Eu visto aquilo que eu quero, mas em certas ocasiões, por exemplo, não vou a uma igreja com os ombros à mostra, tenho o cuidado de tapar os ombros. Por exemplo, se vou para fora, já me aconteceu ir a países muçulmanos, respeito, portanto, – eles também não nos deixam entrar, primeiro – mas mesmo assim, se deixassem, eu respeito, ou seja, tapo os ombros, tapo os joelhos, não faço barulho, portanto, tento a fazer isso, não vou com os ombros à mostra, se tiver uma saia é uma saia mais comprida... Acho que há que haver um mínimo de respeito, portanto, se essas pessoas têm esses valores, se vamos entrar no espaço deles, temos que respeitar esses valores, não é? Portanto, também gosto... Por exemplo, faz-me confusão aqui na Europa, por exemplo, haver mesquitas, mas porque é que tem que haver mesquitas? Se nós, por

exemplo, nos países muçulmanos, na maior parte das vezes não podemos ter igrejas, não é? Tem que haver, portanto aqui uma... Não é? De um lado e do outro. Nós para respeitarmos os outros, também tem que me respeitar. Portanto, se nós na Europa permitimos que haja mesquitas, então, por exemplo, porque é que nos países muçulmanos não permitem uma Igreja católica, por exemplo? Quando eu digo uma Igreja Católica pode ser outra, não, não quer dizer, não é? Tem que haver ali um respeito. Faz-me confusão as pessoas andarem à guerra por causa de ideologias, cada um tem a sua e tem que ser respeitada. Não é? Em termos de vestuário e em termos de tudo, eu acho que se houver respeito eu acho que nós nos entendemos, e o problema é que aqui cada um quer impor a sua ideologia. Não! A minha é a minha, portanto eu não vou querer impor a minha aos outros, mas também tenho que respeitar a dos outros. Acho que é assim que nós temos que funcionar.

VB Claro, sim. Consideras que existem diretrizes específicas, no caso da Igreja Católica, sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

É assim, eu acho que neste momento já não se fala tanto nisso, se calhar há uns anos atrás, isso era um facto, acho que hoje em dia já não. Já não, não, acho que já não, não. Na Igreja Católica acho que já não.

VB Então aquela ideia do que é que não se pode vestir quando se vai, por exemplo, à missa... Aquilo que estavas a dizer, por exemplo, de cobrir os ombros ou assim, achas que não são diretrizes ou é mesmo uma ideia?

Acho que não, não acho que não. Porque é assim, tu vês, por exemplo, hoje em dia, as noivas, por exemplo, entram com um decote exuberante, por exemplo, não é? Acho nunca vi nenhum padre a dizer que não fazia, portanto, um casamento, porque a noiva estava muito destapada. Mas quer dizer... Não acho que existam propriamente diretrizes. Acho que tem que haver um bocadinho de bom senso. É só isso, mas “diretrizes diretrizes”, fundamentalismos, acho que não. Acho que já não. Na Igreja Católica acho que não, até porque o nosso Papa, hoje em dia já é muito mais flexível, não é?

VB Certo. Não sei se vais conseguir responder a esta questão, mas achas, por exemplo, que a Bíblia tem recomendações sobre como é que as pessoas se devem vestir?

Eu acho que tem recomendações, sim, sim, sim, mas que hoje em dia já não são propriamente seguidas.

VB E tens ideia de quais é que são esses tipos de recomendações?

Sou sincera, não posso responder que não me recordo, mas sei que existe, portanto, não um código vestuário, mas pelo menos, portanto, a humildade e a simplicidade em termos daquilo que se pode usar. É mais nesse sentido.

VB E em geral, no teu caso específico, não consideras que exista nenhuma peça de vestuário ou algum tipo de roupa que não possas vestir por causa da tua fé ou da tua religião?

Não, de todo. De todo.

VB OK, certo. Uma coisa que se fala muito quando se fala sobre a religião e a moda é o conceito de modéstia.

Sim.

VB Que está na Bíblia e também está nas outras religiões... Para ti, o que é que tu consideras que é modéstia?

É algo que não seja exuberante ao ponto de chamar a atenção de alguém, principalmente para o carácter sexual. Ou seja, uma saia muito curta, um decote muito profundo, onde se possa ver eventualmente atributos femininos considerados mais apelativos. Um decote, portanto, a zona mais íntima, pronto, acho que isso... Um bocadinho recatado.

VB Mencionaste atributos femininos, achas que este conceito de modéstia não é aplicado da mesma maneira aos homens?

É assim, fala-se mais em relação à mulher, geralmente. Isso é um facto, é mais em relação à mulher. Nunca ninguém fala disso em relação a um homem, não é? Mas eu acho que também deveria ser aplicado aos homens. Eu acho que tem a ver também. Sim, sim, eu acho que é a mesma coisa, portanto, um homem a andar, por exemplo, com uma calça muito justa, obviamente, vão-se ver a algumas zonas que, se calhar, não faz sentido estarem assim e, portanto de forma tão apelativa ou sugestiva, não é? Ou que não seja... E que não se veja de forma tão pronunciada as formas físicas, zonas que eventualmente nós possamos achar que não são para estar assim em público, não é? Se bem que quando estamos na praia, ninguém liga, não é? Ninguém quer saber, mas sim, sim.

VB Achas que, se calhar, os homens também pensam nisso quando vão, tipo, à missa da mesma maneira como as mulheres se calhar pensam? Ou...

Eu acho que pensam, eu acho que pensam, eu acho que pensam. Mas principalmente os mais velhos, porque eu acho que os mais novos já não ligam tanto. Eu acho que os mais velhos nesse aspeto são piores.

VB OK, certo. Achas que segues tendências de moda?

Não, acho que sigo aquilo que para mim faz sentido e aquilo que eu gosto, não é propriamente uma tendência. Pode estar perfeitamente na moda, mas eu não gostar e não compro, de todo.

VB E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Compro... Com muita frequência. Compro mesmo.

VB E sentes que existe alguma relação entre este consumo de moda e aquilo em que tu acreditas?

Não, não, eu compro porque me sinto bem, porque gosto. Há aquelas pessoas que, quando estão chateadas, por exemplo, sei lá, vão dar uma volta, eu vou dar uma volta e se vir uma peça gira, eu compro. É mais isso.

VB Achas que as tuas crenças religiosas influenciam a tua visão, por exemplo, sobre moda sustentável e questões como condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, doações, caridade, esse tipo de questões?

É assim, eu sou muito sincera, acho que a moda sustentável é tudo muito bonito, tudo muito interessante, mas os valores que nós pagamos pela moda sustentável são muitíssimo mais elevados. Portanto, tendo em conta o poder económico dos portugueses em geral, se eu tiver 2 peças, sou muito sincera, se me disseses que aquela é sustentável e outra não é – e é mais barata –, eu vou comprar a outra, como é óbvio. É triste, mas é verdade, é isso que eu vou fazer. É claro que se tiver o mesmo preço, aí sem sombra de dúvida para escolher a outra, porque foi feita num país que eventualmente não empregou, portanto, mão de obra infantil ou foi feito de uma forma, portanto, que tem a ver com o meio ambiente, isso de facto eu faço. Agora, se for mais caro, não vou comprar a outra, é triste, mas é um facto.

VB Mas existe algum tipo de sentimento de culpa que tenha a ver com a religião ou é mesmo uma questão de personalidade?

Não. Com a religião, não.

VB Ok. Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos, sentes que vestes o mesmo no dia a dia que usarias para ir a uma missa, por exemplo?

Sim, se fosse para ir a uma missa, sim, sim, sim. Era a mesma coisa, sim, tendo em conta aquilo que eu disse há pouco, portanto, tentar não descobrir muito os ombros... Aliás, eventualmente levaria, portanto, um lenço, uma echarpe. Sim, sim, uma saia mais comprida, sim.

VB OK. Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou, por exemplo, cruzeiros ou versículos bíblicos ou coisas assim?

Roupa não. Roupa não, acessórios sim, mas roupa não. Não, porque é assim, eu acho que estar a usar, posso estar, portanto, eventualmente a ferir outra pessoa, portanto, se tiver que usar, é uma coisa mais para mim, uma coisa não visível, portanto, um apontamento que não seja tão visível, mas de forma assim muito muito visível não, não.

VB OK. Portanto, nunca seria com o objetivo de expressares a tua fé?

Não, de todo.

VB Então seriam mais acessórios. Com que objetivo?

Acessórios, sim, por exemplo, assim, um fio, portanto, uma pulseira. Porque me sinto bem, porque me identifico, gosto de ter aquilo junto comigo porque me faz lembrar algo com o qual eu me identifico. Agora, por exemplo, usar uma roupa com uma cruz ou com uma cruz suástica, nunca iria fazer isso. Mesmo não acreditando eventualmente na cruz suástica ou com uma cruz, portanto, não. Não, não faria.

VB Claro. Então são acessórios, se calhar, mais com o sentido de proteção, talvez?

Exatamente, sim. É a palavra certa, Vitória, isso mesmo. Proteção, sim, sim, isso mesmo. Gostei da palavra... Proteção, sim, é isso mesmo. Acertaste. *risos*

VB Eu pergunto isto a toda a gente. *risos* Vou partilhar aqui umas imagens. Consegues ver a tela?

Consigo, consigo.

VB Isto é mais no caso de não teres nenhuma ideia sobre o assunto e... Como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Chateia-me. Não... Eu não compraria eventualmente, mas não me chateia. Por exemplo, o que eu estou aqui a ver quer dizer... O Michelangelo do outro lado, portanto, não, pronto não. O que está aqui não me choca, não.

- VB** OK, vou mostrar umas imagens também da *Vogue Portugal* – está dividido em 2 slides, porque não cabia tudo – mas como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?
Fazem sentir... Em que são imagens normalíssimas, não tenho, não vejo isso... São imagens bonitas, as poses são bonitas, portanto, são fotografias profissionais. Não. Para mim, são fotografias iguais a outras, independentemente de ter ou não, portanto, os símbolos religiosos, sim.
- VB** Nada é ofensivo?
Não, de todo, não, não, não, não.
- VB** Tenho mais umas aqui. A questão é a mesma que é, como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?
A da direita eventualmente... A da esquerda, aliás, no meu caso, é a da Kylie Minogue. Acho que essa se calhar... Portanto, estar a utilizar, portanto, o hábito de uma freira, não sei, com as pernas à mostra é como eu dizia, acho que para mim não é ofensivo, mas eventualmente, se calhar, não utilizaria, se calhar se ela tivesse... Acho que não. Acho que a do lado esquerdo, se calhar não, não. A do meio, apesar de ter realmente o hábito da feira também, não, acho que é bonita, está bem feito. A da esquerda, não gosto, pessoalmente, não gosto.
- VB** OK, é mais por uma questão daquela justaposição de um símbolo religioso com a sexualização?
Sim, exatamente, acho que não gosto.
- VB** E porque é que achas que tanto os designers como as revistas e isso, porque é que achas que eles fazem esta inclusão de símbolos e imagens que estão associadas à religião?
Para chocar, chocar a opinião pública, chamar a atenção... Para chocar principalmente. Acho que é para chocar, sim.
- VB** E consideras que esta inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou achas que, em geral, se calhar é desrespeitosa?
Depende como é que está feita, é como eu digo, a do meio para mim acho que é respeitosa e está bonita, está bem feita, portanto, não estão a... A do lado esquerdo eu acho que é um bocado respeitoso, portanto, está a mostrar... Se ela estivesse toda vestida, tudo bem, estar a mostrar a parte de baixo não me parece simpático, não gosto. Eu pessoalmente não gosto.

Appendix F19 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Dulce”

Date of Interview:	March 6, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	46:55
Characteristics:	18 years old, Loures, Brazilian, Student, Evangelical

VB Dentro do Cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou a tua denominação religiosa?

Eu sou uma católica protestante evangélica, pertencço à Igreja Lagoinha e somos uma comunidade cristã protestante, no caso. É católico... os católicos protestantes.

VB Como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

Bem diferente do que atualmente Portugal acredita, não é? Eu faço parte de uma percentagem muito pequena de cristãos, no caso dos evangélicos aqui em Portugal, acho que estão abaixo de 2% da média da população. Ou seja, dentro de uma escola, tende a ser muito difícil ter as minhas crenças, mas no caso eu acredito na Trindade, acredito em Deus, acredito em Jesus. E só acredito neles, o que faz diferença ali com os Católicos comuns porque eles acreditam em Santa Madalena, Santa Maria e eu tendo a ser contra isso, as imagens e tudo mais. Normalmente, isto causa algumas discussões quando colocadas em pauta em mesa, mas eu não tenho dificuldade nenhuma de defender aquilo que eu acredito. Eu acredito em Deus, o Pai, o Filho e o Espírito Santo, Jesus e Espírito Santo.

VB E como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária e mais especificamente, as tuas escolhas de vestuário?

Na vida diária influencia tudo. Como um bom cristão, tens que buscar sempre ter – como é que eu posso dizer? – um comportamento diferenciado do que aquilo que a população e que a nossa geração – a minha geração, principalmente – no caso. Por exemplo, às vezes os meus amigos querem fazer coisas ilícitas *risos* e eu sou aquela chata que não vai fazer. E normalmente, isto no dia a dia, eu sou sempre aquela pessoa que busca sempre trazer a paz num ambiente, trazer uma perspetiva otimista... E no vestuário eu sou sempre aquela chata que não é, não gosto... Não é que eu não gosto, eu aceito, eu respeito quem gosta daquela exposição a mais do corpo, principalmente as meninas, né? Que tendem a gostar muito de decotes e tudo mais. Eu compreendo que há ali momentos em que para uma festa, numa festa um decote é mais OK. Agora, por exemplo, na minha escola, há ali meninas que vão mesmo completamente... *risos* Vão ali só a tapar mesmo o necessário e eu sou sempre aquela que opta pela modéstia, não é? E eu tento sempre optar por looks mais modestos. Ainda mais porque estamos num país frio, eu não compreendo como é que alguém num frio de 2 graus consegue ir de top para a escola. *risos*

VB Então, em geral, acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?

Completamente, completamente.

VB E no teu caso, acreditas que a tua religião influencia a maneira como te vestes?

Sim, prontos. Eu, sendo evangélica, tenho a Bíblia e a Bíblia ela vai descrever o nosso corpo como um templo do Espírito Santo, ou seja, algo de sagrado. As mulheres, elas tendem a ser mais a vistas no lado visual. Os homens normalmente quando olham, olham mais na mulher como algo visual e quando nós deixamos este lado, expomos isto mais como um produto, bajulamos muito aquilo, damos vazão a este tipo de pensamentos a mais. Então eu acredito que eu, sendo cristã, defendendo a Bíblia, compreendendo que o meu corpo é algo sagrado, eu não posso estar a tratá-lo como se ele fosse qualquer coisa, então no meu dia a dia, eu sempre opto por coisas que vão trazer-me paz, eu sempre busco a paz nas minhas decisões. É uma coisa básica, quando eu sinto que algo está fora do que eu gostaria, do que faz parte de mim, eu já... corto. Se esta roupa não me faz bem, se esta roupa está a voltar-se mais para o meu lado “objeto humano”, eu já corto mesmo, então sim, com certeza.

VB Consideras que existem diretrizes da tua denominação ou da tua igreja sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Sim. Eu confesso que sou... nas igrejas, principalmente – eu sou brasileira – nas igrejas do Brasil, principalmente, há ali uma cultura e uma doutrina muito contra o uso de

roupas, de alguns tipos de roupa. Eu sou contra isso também, não acho que a pessoa seja obrigada a seguir nenhum padrão de roupa. Por muito tempo, as mulheres no Brasil, principalmente na igreja evangélica, eram oprimidas a usar e obrigadas a utilizar saias muito longas, aquelas roupas mais largas. Pronto, eu não acho que isso também seja certo. Existem. Existem, é um facto, mas vai de cada pessoa aceitá-las ou não. Eu não acho que tu és menos cristão, só porque tens uma calça, não é? Eu, por exemplo, não gosto de saias, quando eu vou ao Brasil, é algo que algumas igrejas ainda fazem diferença, aqui em Portugal sinto que sou muito mais livre para usar as roupas – adequadas, né? Obviamente – mas fazer o uso das roupas que eu quero. Lá já não. Existe ali uma doutrina de, pronto, não se pode cortar tanto o cabelo, não se pode usar tanta maquiagem, não se pode usar calça, mas isto pronto tem vindo a diminuir com o tempo. Atualmente, a nossa geração jovem é uma geração muito mais livre para usar o que bem quer, com cautela, claro.

VB Consideras que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário específica que não possas vestir por causa da tua religião?

No dia a dia, não é? Sim.

VB Ou em geral.

Sim. Sim, é assim, hoje em dia, alguns tipos de roupa que eles inventaram para aí que são umas roupas com esses... Alguns tops, por exemplo, realmente só tapam ali a zona dos seios, eu já vi uns tops que é como se fosse assim uma faixa na frente e atrás as costas também já são abertas e o resto é tudo aberto, é só mesmo a faixa. Pronto, é assim, primeiro eu não me sinto livre para fazer qualquer movimento com essa roupa, e depois acho que eu como cristã fazer assim uso desse tipo de roupa não faz parte do meu carácter, não faz parte de quem eu sou. Então eu acredito que há alguns tipos de roupa, coisas mais curtas, saias, por exemplo. Também varia do teu corpo, não é? Há pessoas que se usam uma saia mais curta, não faz diferença. Por exemplo, eu tenho um corpo mais rechonchudo, se eu usar uma saia, aquilo começa a subir cada vez mais, cada vez mais, pronto, daqui a nada, já estás a ver tudo. E pronto, acredito que uma pessoa que tem a visão cristã não deve nunca optar por esse tipo de desconforto assim no dia a dia, vai causar ali um desconforto em si e nos outros que estão a olhar.

VB Eu sei que já mencionaste mais ou menos isto, mas eu queria perguntar na mesma se consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Sim. A Bíblia é dividida entre o Velho Testamento e o Novo Testamento. No Velho Testamento, há ali partes um pouco mais – como é que eu posso dizer? – fala-se com uma certa... eles explicam mais qual é a vestimenta, qual é em específico para homens e mulheres. Só que também nós temos que olhar para o tempo histórico e a Bíblia, ela é um livro histórico. E lá naquele tempo do Velho Testamento, as mulheres eram ou tinham outra visão, as mulheres só serviam mesmo para trabalhar e para ter filhos, elas não eram mais do que isso. No Novo Testamento também tem partes que fala sobre a vestimenta, mas há ali uma zona de que eu já não me recordo, mas fala em específico sobre sermos o templo do Espírito Santo. Varia de pessoa para pessoa, mas eu quando leio isto, é aquela visão: isso mostra que então o meu corpo é um corpo sagrado, é um corpo que ele tem que ser cuidado com cautela. Então a roupa com que eu uso tem que ser também. Remete a isso: uma pessoa que é uma advogada não vai com um cropped para a audiência, da mesma forma que um cristão não pode andar no dia a dia com uma roupa que não lhe convenha. E também a Bíblia diz que “tudo lhe é lícito, mas nem tudo lhe convém”. Isso aí já é para tudo, ou seja, eu posso usar a roupa que eu quiser, eu tenho liberdade para usar a roupa que eu quiser, mas se não traz paz ao meu pensamento... Porque eu, eu vou-te dizer por conta própria, não é? Por uma experiência própria. Houve ali uma fase da adolescência, ali naqueles 13-14 anos que, prontos, por ver as minhas amigas a usarem todos aqueles tipos de roupa, eu quis usar todos os tipos de roupa que elas usavam, só que no dia a dia eu percebia que eu estava mais preocupada com o que os outros estavam a pensar de mim do que Deus estava a pensar de mim. E quando eu cresci é que eu percebi que essa chave tinha que mudar, então hoje em dia quando eu saio eu penso “OK, vou estar a andar na rua, vou estar confortável comigo mesmo e com Deus ou eu vou estar ali a pensar, ‘OK, será que os outros estão a olhar para mim, será que eu estou assim? Está bem?’” A Bíblia, ela não vai dizer “olha, usa este tipo de roupa” mas ela deixa muito claro que tu tens que ter responsabilidade por aquilo que tu fazes, e eu acho que faz parte também da tua vestimenta ter responsabilidade por aquilo. Tu saís ali na rua, vais ter pessoas a olhar, vais ter muitas pessoas a olhar inclusive, principalmente na escola, por exemplo. Se tu não tens cautela e responsabilidade por a roupa que estás a levar, vai ter

que haver consequências com isso. Então eu acredito muito que a Bíblia já dá espaço para todos este tipo de coisas. Há pessoas que optam só por ouvir aquela parte da roupa certa, que fala sobre a vestimenta da mulher, tem que ser uma vestimenta que não é justa, é larga e comprida, mas também há a parte fala sobre tu teres responsabilidade pelo... Tu podes tudo, mas nem tudo te convém, tu tens que ter cautela com aquilo, pronto, ela não vai dizer “olha, não uses um top”, não é isso que vai dizer, mas ela vai dizer “olha, quando fores usar a roupa, tem consciência do que é que aquilo pode causar”. Pronto, é isso que a Bíblia diz.

VB E achas que esses ideais são postos da mesma maneira nas mulheres como nos homens? Não, não, não.

VB E porquê?

Não, porque existe até uma frase, se não me engano, que é assim “os homens vão muito pelo que veem e as mulheres pelo que ouvem, é por isso que os homens mentem e as mulheres usam maquiagem”, existe essa frase. Essa frase existe, eu já vi mais de uma vez, e isso tem a ver porque a mulher – igual eu já disse também antes – que as mulheres, elas são mais vistas visualmente do que o homem. Nós, na verdade, nunca nos importamos tanto com a roupa de um homem como de uma mulher. Hoje isso... mas isso é básico, isso na média também é assim, às vezes um homem pode estar com a roupa mais feia do mundo, mas se a mulher com decote, ela vai ser mais falada do que o homem. Então eu acho que isso é em tudo, na Bíblia também vai ser assim, na nossa vida também é assim, não é só no meio cristão, isso é em tudo. A mulher sempre é mais visualizada do que o homem e sempre vai ter mais coisas impostas no seu visual do que o homem.

VB Certo. Tu já mencionaste, mas um dos conceitos que é mais falado quando se fala de moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia, para ti, o que é que é a modéstia?

Há pessoas que – eu compreendo e eu também respeito muito – quem opte pela modéstia do lado de tapar tudo, não é? Há pessoas que acreditam que é isso que a modéstia é: tu não mostras o teu corpo, então estás a ser uma pessoa modesta. Eu já não vejo tanto assim, a modéstia para mim é o facto de eu sair na rua e saber que as pessoas não vão estar a olhar para o meu corpo como objeto, não vão estar ali a medir todas as minhas proporções e a pensar “uau, qual é o tamanho disto? E também daquilo?” Não. Eu opto, no dia a dia, sempre por roupas que tapem mais, mas também adoro usar um top com um blazer prontos, por exemplo, mas porquê? Porque eu sempre opto por algo que me tape mais também. Então, por exemplo, se eu já sei que *cropped* vai ser algo que vai mostrar ali a zona da barriga e deixar ali mais explícito tudo aquilo, eu sempre coloco uma terceira peça que acrescenta ali um – como é que eu posso dizer? – um espaço mais tapado. É assim, a modéstia, no dia a dia no caso, eu para mim é assim, é mesmo isto, é de tu estares a andar em paz e saber que as pessoas não vão estar... óbvio, isso vai de pessoa para pessoa, não podes obviamente controlar o que os outros vão pensar de ti, às vezes eu acho que é um bocado ignorante da nossa parte pensar que a roupa vai facilitar um pensamento ou outro. A pessoa pensa o que quiser, a pessoa vai estar a olhar e vai pensar de qualquer forma. Então eu acho que para mim, a modéstia é a paz de sair e de saber que, pelo menos da minha parte e do meu lado, eu não estou a fazer aquilo para mostrar o meu corpo, é mesmo só porque eu estou-me a sentir bem com aquela roupa, e isso para mim é modéstia, é ter paz de andar no dia a dia sabendo que eu vesti aquela roupa a pensar em mim, a pensar no que eu gosto e a saber que Deus está ali a cuidar de mim no tempo inteiro e também não tem nada contra.

VB Portanto, não achas que sintas uma responsabilidade pelos pensamentos dos outros? É mesmo uma questão entre ti e Deus?

É assim, existem roupas e roupas, é universal e inevitável. Nós, como somos mulheres, somos mais visualizadas, como eu já disse, é inevitável. Há roupas que deixam mais explícito o nosso corpo e se nós estamos a buscar um respeito pelo nosso corpo, como é que tu queres usar? Eu, isso faz-me confusão, é uma coisa que faz-me confusão no dia a dia, é que as mulheres reclamam do tipo de pensamentos que os homens podem ter a respeito delas, sendo que elas querem usar o que lhes apetece. Então é assim, se tu queres usar o que te apetece, tens que estar com consciência de que as pessoas podem pensar o que bem quiserem. É assim, tu não podes obrigar as pessoas – e eu já vi pessoas a pensarem mal do corpo dos outros com roupas nada a ver – então é assim, eu não posso obrigar ninguém a pensar nada a meu respeito, mas eu tenho que ter consciência de que há roupas que podem levar para um lado mais vulgar. É uma palavra que eu não sei se ainda se usa no termo da moda, antigamente usava-se o termo “vulgar” e o termo “não vulgar”. As roupas que são mais extravagantes, com mais decotes, que deixam mais

explícitas áreas do corpo sensuais, não é? São denominados – pelo menos antigamente eram – de vulgares, é assim. Eu acho que eu – é uma coisa que a mim não me afeta, porque eu não tenho esse tipo de roupas – mas se eu tivesse, eu teria que já compreender antes de sair de casa que, quando eu saísse de casa, esse tipo de pensamentos podiam suscitar nos outros. Então é assim, a tua escolha, eu não posso obrigar os outros a pensarem nada sobre mim e nem posso também obrigar que eles respeitem, eles têm que respeitar o que eu sou. Então, se eu quero ser vista desta forma, eu tenho que estar consciente de que o que os outros vão pensar de mim pode ser uma coisa que eu não queira. Mas isso é em tudo, não é só nas roupas vulgares. É assim, hoje em dia abriu-se... Há uns tempos para cá, depois da pandemia, abriu-se um leque muito grande para a moda, as pessoas saem na rua com roupas muito diferente do que antes nós víamos – antigamente era muito mais padronizado – eu acredito que hoje, quando se anda ali para Lisboa, por exemplo, há pessoas que se vestem mesmo assim da forma que querem, usam saias em cima de saias e roupas em cima de roupas, prontos, elas saíram de casa... Eu já vi inclusive. Esses tempos atrás eu saí e vi uma rapariga que estava com vestido e com uma saia por cima e notava-se que ela estava com várias camadas de roupa, e ela quando saiu de casa ela tinha que ter noção que havia pessoas que iam olhar aquilo e pensar “uau” e havia pessoas que iam sair de lá e pensar “opá, esta pessoa não está bem” *risos*. Isso funciona para tudo. Eu acho que, é assim, nós não podemos obrigar o outro a pensar nada de nós, nós temos que ter consciência de que o que eles podem pensar pode não ser o que nós queremos. Eu acredito nisso.

- VB** Vamos mudar ligeiramente o tópico, mas já vamos voltar. Segues tendências de moda? Algumas, algumas. Eu tendo a seguir mais a questão de cores. Por exemplo, no Verão, por exemplo, se uma cor está em tendência tendo a seguir mais isso, não necessariamente em roupas em si, porque... mas acabo por seguir, por exemplo, as calças cargo agora entraram na moda, então eu tenho calças cargo – antes adorava calças mais justas, agora só me vejo de calças largas – então acabo por seguir assim, não tudo, mas algumas coisas sim. E acho que isso faz parte, é sempre assim, ainda mais no meio da escola, todas as pessoas têm tendência para ter uma roupa similar.
- VB** E costumes comprar roupa com muita frequência? Roupa roupa roupa não tanto. Sempre sempre... Com frequência é o quê? É assim todos os meses?
- VB** O que é que tu consideras? Tu é que tens que saber se achas que é com frequência. É assim, todos os meses eu acabo por comprar uma peçinha ou outra.
- VB** OK, então é com alguma frequência, diria... É com frequência. Sim. Mas eu tendo a comprar mais acessórios. Bolsas então... Bolsas, eu compro sempre bolsas, adoro bolsas, então eu tendo sempre a comprar mais acessórios do que necessariamente a roupa, mas todos os meses eu acabo por comprar uma coisinha ou outra.
- VB** OK. E sentes que existe alguma relação entre este consumo de moda e a tua fé? É assim, não. Eu acho que não deveria... Não deveria ser tão consumista a este ponto, mas é que eu, eu gosto muito de me expressar através da roupa, faz muito parte de quem eu sou. Então, por exemplo, como eu tendo a não usar tantas roupas curtas e demais, eu acabo por expressar mais a minha *vibe* nas cores, nas tendências novas... então, por exemplo, há uns tempos para cá, começaram a haver bolsas transparentes com brilho por dentro – não sei se já viste – e eu fui lá e comprei uma, comprei outra... Porque no dia a dia, tendo a expressar mais nessa vaga de acessórios de cores diferentes, de estampas diferentes – eu adoro estampas – então... Mas com a fé em si, o que vai definir ou não é a questão, por exemplo, se às vezes uma estampa tem ali uma coisa que não me agrada, o que pode acontecer, já aconteceu uma frase que não faz parte de quem eu sou, uma frase ou às vezes até um símbolo. Uma vez fui comprar um... estava à procura de um acessório, e tinha lá umas cruzes de cabeça para baixo e pronto, isso já são totalmente contra a minha fé, então eu nunca vou comprar aquilo. Mas no consumo em si, eu acho que não.
- VB** Como é que tu achas que a tua religião influencia a tua visão sobre questões relacionadas à moda sustentável? Como, por exemplo, as condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, doações, caridade a esse tipo de coisas... São coisas em que tu pensas quando estás a fazer escolhas relacionadas com a moda? É assim, eu tendo a não... Eu não olho tanto a produção do material e assim essas coisas. Eu sei que existe sim, inclusive existe uma polémica de uns tempos para cá – existem muitas polémicas – da escravidão para fazer a produção de algumas roupas, por isso é que são vendidas a preços baixos. Eu não tenho provas e também nunca fui muito a fundo

sobre nada disso, então assim, eu não olho tanto para esse lado, não sou aquela pessoa que busca por uma moda mais – como é que se diz’ – uma moda mais sustentável nem opto tanto por isso, mas eu entendo que faz parte também como cidadão. O cristão, ele sempre busca ser um cidadão melhor, então, eu acredito que – e isso é uma coisa que eu penso, pronto – o plástico. O plástico por muito tempo, e ainda hoje, é um problema muito grande na atmosfera, no mundo, no caso, né? Na biosfera, na hidrosfera. Eu como uma boa cristã, como boa cidadã, devo sempre optar por uma coisa que faz melhor ao meio ambiente, porque a Terra também faz parte do que nós somos. Mas eu ali nas roupas em si, na moda, não sou pessoa que opta por roupas sustentáveis e nada do género, mas eu sempre olho e eu fico feliz quando consigo encontrar algo que eu gosto e que também ajuda o meio ambiente. E adoro – e isso é uma coisa que faz parte de mim – e adoro fazer doações. E eu sinto-me mesmo muito bem quando posso doar, eu sempre faço doações. Como eu sou uma pessoa que compro com frequência, eu nunca deito fora as minhas roupas – só mesmo quando não têm uso, quando estão estragadas e assim não – mas não tenho pena de dar alguma roupa, nem de fazer doações de nada.

VB Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Existe uma diferença entre aquilo que tu vestes no teu dia a dia e aquilo que tu vestes para ir à Igreja?

Completamente, completamente! Eu num ambiente de igreja, como sou filha do pastor, né? Eu tendo a... A roupa também expressa muito aquilo que tu és e se tu queres muitas vezes mostrar mais respeito, as roupas também podem. As roupas falam, não é? Eu sempre ouvi dizer isso, e eu acredito muito nisso, que a tua roupa ela fala muito sobre ti. Então é assim, no meio de escola – e em todos os lugares a que eu vou, é aquele pensamento: tem que estar a me sentir bem e ter ali paz com o que estou a vestir – mas para ir para a escola a minha roupa é uma roupa muito mais casual do dia a dia. Tem que estar ali, vou andar no meio da escola, vou estar ali a sentar-me nas cadeiras desconfortáveis, vou para educação física, tem que ter uma roupa de fato de treino, não é? Vou para o ginásio, tem que ter uma roupa também de treino. Vou para a Igreja, não tem nada a ver, a [nome] na igreja usa saltos altos, bolsas super diferentes... Maquilhagem é uma coisa que eu não uso tanto no dia a dia, mas uso muito para ir para a Igreja, porque na Igreja, os meus pais sempre instigaram em mim este pensamento de que a Igreja é o meu momento de dar o meu melhor, e normalmente o meu melhor é em tudo. Então eu uso a minha melhor roupa, uso o meu melhor sapato, uso a minha melhor bolsa e faço a maquilhagem que... obviamente nunca nada muito extravagante, mas sempre aquilo que me deixa melhor e mais bonita no dia a dia, eu uso na igreja em si. Não sou aquela pessoa que vá a festas *risos*, então a Igreja é o meu momento de expressar tudo o que eu posso com a minha roupa e com a minha maquilhagem. E na escola é aquela do dia a dia mesmo, não tenho assim nada extravagante para ir para a escola.

VB Não sei como é que hei de dizer isto... achas que te arranjares mais e usares saltos altos e isso tudo, achas que isso acontece porque estás num ambiente, se calhar que culturalmente também é diferente? Ou achas que se fosses a outra igreja qualquer também irias fazer isso? Estás a perceber?

Mais ou menos, queres saber se é por causa da Igreja em si ou se é por causa do ambiente da Igreja no geral?

VB Imagina: achas que é por causa da tua igreja específica ou por causa das pessoas que lá estão? Ou se achas que, se fosses a outra igreja com um ambiente diferente, ias adaptar a tua roupa a esse ambiente, ou se também ias maquilhada e de saltos altos da mesma maneira?

Eu, [nome], vou da mesma maneira. Eu, [nome], nunca olho para a Igreja assim... Enfim, olho para a Igreja como um ambiente, obviamente pessoas cristãs e tudo mais, mas eu tendo a ir mais mesmo por mim e por Deus. Não tenho essa coisa do que é que os outros querem saber que eu estou a vestir, eu vou com aquilo com que eu me senti melhor, então é assim. Eu canto no louvor e tudo mais, não é fácil estar ali em cima uma hora e meia com saltos altos, então, às vezes opto por uns ténis ou por um salto. Mas isso é a única coisa que varia de uma igreja para outra, é se eu vou estar a cantar, se eu não vou ter que estar a cantar, se eu vou ter que estar lá em cima por muito tempo, se eu não vou ter que estar em cima muito tempo, fora isso, não. Fora isso, eu em qualquer igreja a que eu vá, eu sempre levo a vestimenta de que eu gosto mais no caso, que normalmente tem muitas cores.

- VB** Sim, eu estava a perguntar, porque dentro da moda dos cristãos, têm-se vindo a ver pessoas muito mais descontraidas na sua maneira de vestir e era mais por aí que eu estava a tentar perceber.
- Sim. Eu sou a pessoa que ainda vou... Ainda vou mesmo. Eu sei. Existe muita, incluído na minha igreja agora, atualmente, os jovens vão muito mais descontraidos. Eles vão mesmo assim com aquelas roupas mesmo do dia a dia, super tranquilos, e eu apoio. Acho que as pessoas têm que ir conforme se sentirem melhor, mas eu para ir para a Igreja, eu gosto muito de dar o meu melhor, e o meu melhor expressa-se ali muito também na moda, então eu uso os blazers de que eu mais gosto, eu uso as capas – eu tenho cá muitos blazers e muitas capas assim de colocar por cima – é sempre nesses ambientes da Igreja que eu uso. Então, não importa a Igreja, só vai fazer diferenças... Por exemplo, eu já fui fazer missões... Eu não vou parecer nas missões com saltos altos e roupas muito extravagantes, nesses ambientes. São os únicos que eu opto sempre por... Quando nós estamos em missão, nós temos que ver o que é que o outro sente em relação a nós, não é? Então eu tenho que adaptar-me ao ambiente em que eu estou. Fora isso, não. Fora isso, a Igreja que eu for aqui, se eu for em Braga, se eu for ali para Portimão, vou sempre optar por a roupa que eu quiser, que eu me sentir melhor.
- VB** OK. Certo. Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos? Isto pode ser versículos bíblicos, inclusive.
- Já, já. Já usei colares, já usei camisolas, já usei... Meu Deus, tantas coisas. Até mesmo, sim, colares, colares é muito fácil, as pessoas usam os crucifixos, não é? São muito fáceis. Mas também já usei com versículos, já tive e tenho ainda pulseiras com os 10 mandamentos, 5 de cada lado. Tenho muitas roupas com estampas, inclusive atualmente existem muitas roupas que misturam ali o que está na moda e também a moda cristã, então às vezes nem se nota que é algo cristão, mas sim está lá, então eu tenho assim roupas que aparentemente parecem roupas super comuns, mas na verdade tem ali algo escrito relacionado aos cristãos, algum versículo escondido... E tenho muitas explícitas também, tenho uns que dizem "*I love Jesus*", *risos* aquelas coisas bem básicas, sim, eu tenho muitos acessórios assim.
- VB** E no caso específico dessas roupas, onde é que adquires esse tipo de peças?
- É assim, normalmente sempre mandado fazer. Os acessórios não, os acessórios são mais fáceis de encontrar. Mas quando é roupa mesmo, camisolas e tudo mais, das duas uma, ou manda-se fazer, não é? Às vezes, numa campanha ou num congresso da Igreja, eles mandam fazer camisolas, prontos, e depois também hoje em dia já existe aí algumas – como é que diz? – marcas independentes, que têm esse tipo de vestimenta. Não é fácil, não se encontra em lojas físicas, não é? Tem que ser tudo online, então tem que ser tudo adquirido de forma online. Os acessórios, não, o acessório é mais fácil de encontrar, um crucifixo ou mandar fazer um colar é muito mais fácil numa lojinha assim física, mas as roupas em si são tudo do mercado online.
- VB** Sentes que essas roupas são mais comuns no Brasil do que em Portugal? Já que tens mais ou menos as duas experiências.
- Muito mais. No Brasil é totalmente diferente, no Brasil já existem muitas lojas físicas que vendem esse tipo de roupas, inclusive até mesmo... No Brasil existem os centros comerciais menores, não é? Igual nós temos aqui as galerias, e existem andares que são só de roupa de moda evangélica, roupa cristã e assim... Aqui já não se encontra nada disso, aqui não é nada fácil, pelo menos eu nunca vi.
- VB** Das entrevistas que eu fiz até agora, lojas físicas também não. Há algum *merchandising* de Igrejas, lojas online existem, mas físicas duvido. Mas também acho que isso pode ter a ver com o facto das lojas físicas também já estarem assim um bocadinho a perder...
- Sim, e a demanda aqui em Portugal não faz valer a pena, não é? Nós – igual ao que eu disse no início – nós somos ali 2% da população. Uma loja física não vai render a esse nível.
- VB** Quando usas esse tipo de peças ou de acessórios, usas porquê?
- Eu sou aquela pessoa que veste o que quer, então eu visto mesmo assim... Obviamente já houve momentos em que eu usei – em momentos de evangelismo – uma coisa mais específica, mais explícita, mais direcionada à minha fé, mas no dia a dia eu uso porque eu gosto. Eu tenho peças muito bonitas, eu tenho umas camisolas também muito giras que têm ali a estampa cristã, né? Tem ali algum acessório ou uma coisa assim, e eu uso porque gosto, não é nada assim... Eu sempre respeitei muito as pessoas que estão ao meu redor, então eu nunca fui aquela pessoa ativista no meio assim de ter que estar sempre a falar sobre isso, não, eu uso mesmo por mim e depois se alguém perguntar, eu vou responder

conforme o que eu achar, não é? Portanto, tenho ali uma Cruz, a Cruz para mim, para um cristão, não deve ser uma coisa comum, a Cruz significa algo e se alguém perguntar, eu respondo, mas não uso por esse motivo.

VB Vou partilhar aqui umas imagens. Espera aí. Consegues ver a tela? Isto é só no caso de não teres nada em mente sobre o assunto, mas como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Sim. É assim, eu sinto que de há uns tempos para cá, começou a haver um grande desrespeito, não é? Existem algumas marcas de moda que usam mais em tom de ironia e de zombaria do que necessariamente para representar algo em que eu acredito, não é? Igual eu disse, a Cruz significa algo para nós, então é assim, existem muitas marcas de roupa que hoje em dia usa em tom de gozo. Não é? E isso já me afeta, eu já me sinto respeitada, não é? Mas é assim, se for algo genuíno, se for algo ali mesmo genuíno, não vejo mal, é uma forma de expressar algo também, a nossa fé é uma expressão. O cristão tem a fé como expressão de vida, então se um cristão quiser fazer uma peça de roupa que tenha símbolos que remetem a isso, eu não vejo mal. O que me afeta é que hoje em dia existem muitas marcas que já usam em tom de zombo.

VB E se não for necessariamente para gozar com as pessoas, mas se for feito por designers, por exemplo, que não são cristãos na atualidade, achas errado?

É assim, eu não sei se para as pessoas vai fazer sentido. É assim, eu entendo e eu não acho mau. Mas eu não... Para mim, faz-me confusão uma pessoa que usa uma coisa que não compreende, porque não... Eu não vou usar uma fórmula matemática se não entender, e os símbolos cristãos, eles remetem a algo, eles simbolizam algo, então, usar isso sem compreender o que aquilo significa para mim faz-me um pouco de confusão, mas eu não me sinto desrespeitada nesse nível. Eu só me sinto desrespeitada quando é mesmo em tom de gozo e zombaria. Mas se a pessoa quiser fazer uso disso para a moda, só mesmo em questão de moda e não tem nada de mal, eu não vejo também mal nisso. A pessoa pode fazer o que bem entender.

VB OK, vou-te mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Estão divididas em 2 slides porque não cabia tudo no mesmo. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

OK. Pronto, eu fico ali um pouco sem entender. *risos* Eu penso assim, sabes me dizer o porquê que eles estão a usar... Porque é que é que eles fizeram isto nestes artigos em específico?

VB É assim, pronto, se quisermos mesmo ir por aí, no caso da primeira era a acompanhar um artigo sobre uma série portuguesa que saiu que era sobre a Madre Paula do convento de Odivelas, e então esta era a atriz que fazia a personagem e por isso é que ela está dentro de um confessionário com um terço. Na do meio não sei qual é o contexto. Na terceira imagem [Figure 24] havia outros pratos, eu é que selecionei este para mostrar...

OK. Sim, é assim... Faz-me sentir um bocado confusa do porquê, pronto, de porque é que a *Vogue* decidiu usar isto em específico neste momento. Por exemplo, ali no meio a menina está ali e depois “espelho meu” é o título, não é? Do editorial. O que é que tem ali uma Cruz e porque é que ela está a fazer aquilo em específico? Faz-me sentir confusa do porque é que estão a associar algo, pronto, que para nós é um símbolo sagrado, é algo que significa, algo simbólico. Faz-me ali um pouco de confusão. Eu não me sinto mal, não me sinto desrespeitada, não é bem a palavra aqui, mas confusa do porque é que fazem uso disto sem contexto específico religioso. A Cruz é algo que é religioso, é remetida ao termo religioso, eu não entendo porque é que usam à toa.

VB OK. Vou-te mostrar outras imagens. A mesma questão: como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Prontos, aqui já... *risos* Aqui para mim já é questão de gozo sim. Não necessariamente de gozo, mas estão totalmente a – como é que eu posso dizer? Ai, meu Deus, como é que eu posso dizer isto? – estão a descontextualizar isto, no caso. Eu não sou católica, então esta vestimenta da freira, não é? Isto é uma roupa de freira? Não me diz nada, mas eu como cristã e os católicos também fazem parte dos cristãos, não é? Eu fico assim “porque é que estão a usar?”, a mulher que decide ser uma freira é uma pessoa que deixa a vida inteira de parte, tudo o que poderia ter, ela renega aquilo para viver ali dentro de um convento e ter ali um estilo de vida muito restrita e tudo mais. Este tipo de capa não remete a nada do que uma freira realmente é, pelo contrário, acaba por desrespeitar um pouco ali, porque a freira é aquela mulher que, no caso, ela nega a vida humana do dia a dia, normal de uma mulher, e opta por fechar-se ali num convento e viver ali devota a Deus. Ela nunca que usaria este tipo – eu esqueci-me de como é que se diz estas meias? – mas é meia arrastão, não é? Não é meia arrastão?

- VB** *Collants?*
Collants exato, *collants*. É que como no vocabulário brasileiro nós não dizemos assim, eu penso tipo...
- VB** *Meia-calça?*
 Exato, meia-calça, exato. Pronto, uma freira nunca se deixaria exposta a perna desta forma. Então, nestas primeiras duas, em específico, as duas primeiras, eu olho e penso “eles com certeza não estavam a pensar em ter respeito pela imagem de uma freira, eles estavam ali a fazer uso disso para chamar a atenção”. E eu se fosse freira, ia me sentir desrespeitada, eu nego a minha vida lá fora para viver uma vida a totalmente fechada do mundo e depois expõem a minha vestimenta como algo para chamar a atenção. E na primeira foto, não necessariamente, mas é o primeiro pensamento é que é algo mais sensual, e a cara da segunda também nota-se que é. Então é assim, nessas duas – e como eu disse, a vestimenta de freira para mim não me diz nada, faz parte dos Católicos, não é? – mas eu se fosse uma freira, sentir-me-ia desrespeitada, completamente, e na segunda... Prontos, supostamente aquilo lá em cima supostamente é um anjo, não é? A entregar algo, acho que é depilação. Pois, primeiro que o anjo não tem sexo definido, não é? Na Bíblia. *risos* E prontos, eu fico a pensar “porque é que as pessoas não fazem?” É mesmo para chamar a atenção. Eu compreendo. Eles querem atrair o público e isto é algo que suscita em nós questionamentos, então eu compreendo uma empresa de marketing querer fazer uso destas coisas para chamar à atenção mesmo. É o trabalho deles, não é? E eu acho que na terceira imagem não está a desrespeitar nada, está ali um tom engraçado, não é? A mulher está ali a entregar algo sagrado do céu que é para a depilação, mas pronto, eu questiono-me porquê. Mas é aquilo é uma forma de chamar a atenção do público e eu entendo que é o trabalho deles, não é? Pronto, eu só acho que tem que haver um limite de respeito pela nossa fé.
- VB** Última questão: consideras que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou achas que, em geral, é desrespeitosa?
 Eu acho que pode ser respeitosa completamente. Eu acho que em muitas situações – e eu já vi situações – em que são usadas mesmo com respeito, é mesmo ali como símbolo de... Na primeira ou na segunda imagem que me mostraste tinha ali um vestido cheio de cruzes com umas pedras assim mais preciosas, prontos, aquilo ali eu não vejo mal nenhum naquilo, pelo contrário, estava um estilo muito bonito, muito extravagante e bonito. Pode com certeza ser respeitoso, eu acho que vai da pessoa e da intenção da pessoa naquilo, o que é que a pessoa quer mostrar com aquilo. Se a tua intenção é chamar a atenção negativa – por exemplo, nas últimas imagens obviamente que as primeiras imagens estavam ali para algo mais sensual – se tu queres chamar a atenção para isso pronto, já me sinto desrespeitada e não faz sentido nenhum. Estás a associar a visão da vida da freira a uma vida sensual, porque é justamente ao contrário. Mas ela pode com certeza, ser respeitosa, varia da pessoa que estiver a criar aquilo ter a ter a consciência de que está a falar com um público diferente, não é? Quando fazes uso de um símbolo cristão... Não só cristão, na religião existem muitas religiões. E prontos, eu acho que hoje em dia – e isso é uma coisa que me afeta um pouco – hoje em dia, pelo cristianismo ser a potência religiosa, não é? Acaba que é muito mais zombado, é muito mais visível e tudo mais. Mas eu não vejo que existe esse tipo de ataque em outras religiões. Prontos, eu não vejo ninguém – pelo contrário – eu não vejo ninguém a atacar, por exemplo, as muçulmanas que fazem uso da burka, não é? Pronto... Se nós trocarmos ali o papel ali da freira que estava ali em cima do cavalo e colocamos ali uma muçulmana, com certeza a sociedade ia massacrar por completo. E eu penso assim “prontos por sermos cristãos, este tipo de diálogo já não existe”, mas nós temos a nossa fé à mesma, há que haver respeito, não é? Eu acho que tem que haver o respeito por sermos uma religião. Está a falar connosco, está a falar com a nossa fé, aquilo que nós acreditamos e vivemos, então não podemos estar a usar isto como tema de zombo. Acho que havia de haver respeito por todas as religiões deste nível, da mesma forma que a freira está ali, poderia ser uma mulher muçulmana com a burka e com certeza a sociedade nunca ia admitir isso. Eu também não acho que deviam admitir isso com uma freira. Mas pode com certeza ter sim respeito. E eu não me sinto mal porque as pessoas façam uso de símbolos cristãos para expressar moda. Eu acho que faz parte. Às vezes as pessoas querem e fazem uso daquilo com uma intenção boa e com respeito, e eu nunca vou me sentir desrespeitada por isso. Agora tem que haver um limite. Acho que existem limites.

Appendix F20 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Elvira”

Date of Interview:	March 7, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	44:50
Characteristics:	32 years old, Lisbon, Portuguese, Photographer, Evangelical

VB Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou a tua denominação religiosa?

Eu sou evangélica.

VB E como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

Ok, como é que isso se põe? Conservadora, sim, de certa forma. Ou seja, sou conservadora na minha teologia, mas considero-me liberal na aplicação dessa teologia. Pronto, não sei. Isso é uma pergunta assim um bocado...

VB Eu tento deixar em aberto que é para as pessoas dizerem aquilo que quiserem dizer e não eu estar a...

Ya, porque normalmente é aplicado a alguma coisa específica dentro da religião, então não sei se estou a responder aquilo que querias que eu respondesse.

VB Sim, era mais só em geral. Como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária?

Até a forma como eu organizo o meu tempo, como eu organizo as minhas prioridades dentro do próprio dia diário, a forma como eu também... O ritmo, o ritmo de vida, o facto de eu, a partir da minha fé – que é cristã, que fala muito sobre como viver o próprio ritmo – ou seja, o facto de eu tentar não ter um ritmo demasiado acelerado, ou não deixar que o tempo controle demasiado a minha vida, ter mais controlo sobre o tempo e sobre a gestão do meu dia a dia, faz tudo parte dessa cosmovisão cristã e da minha fé. Sim. Tem uma influência muito grande, a minha fé em relação ao meu dia a dia, sim.

VB E relativamente às tuas escolhas de vestuário? Acreditas que a tua religião influencia a maneira como te vestes?

Sim. Sim, o facto de eu ser cristã, há um cuidado – bastante – na forma como eu escolho o que visto, sim. Como eu decido como me visto em determinados momentos, ou seja, eu escolho... Para determinadas ocasiões, quer dia a dia, quer ocasiões especiais, quer determinados espaços, é tudo pensado e eu penso muito porque tenho essa influência da minha fé.

VB E acreditas que, em geral, existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?

Do modo geral sem ser pessoas religiosas, é isso? Incluindo toda a gente?

VB Neste caso seria mais de pessoas religiosas. Ou seja, se a religião em si influencia a maneira como as pessoas se vestem, em geral.

Eu acho que sim. Eu acho que sim e não só... Também por uma questão moral em relação à abordagem da roupa, mas também por questões estéticas. Acho que também há uma certa influência no estético, não só numa abordagem moral, mas também uma abordagem estética, sim. Portanto, sim, acho que sim.

VB E consideras que na tua denominação ou na tua igreja existem diretrizes específicas sobre como é que as pessoas se devem vestir? Se calhar mais especificamente as mulheres.

Na minha igreja não. Não diria, nem indiretamente. Ou seja, pode ser uma coisa não falada, não aberta, mas mesmo... Ou seja, eu vivi isso, não era super falado, mas de forma indireta sentia-se que havia um certo cumprimento em relação às mulheres, no que toca à questão moral, mas também aos homens em relação a algumas questões que também não podiam usar certas coisas, por ser demasiado informal, por exemplo. Não tanto por uma questão moral, mas por ser considerada demasiada informalidade. Mas na minha igreja atual, eu não sinto que viva qualquer tipo de “código de vestuário”, quer de mulher quer de homem, nem direta nem indiretamente. Não sinto qualquer tipo de pressão nesse sentido.

VB Na experiência passada de que estavas a falar, quais é que sentias que eram as diretrizes que as mulheres e os homens tinham que seguir? Se calhar foca mais nas mulheres.

Sim. Eu acho que as mulheres também, mas a abordagem é diferente. Enquanto que eu acho que na mulher, de facto prende-se muito a questão moral, ou seja, não mostrar certas partes do corpo – sim, principalmente isso –, mesmo que não mostre, não salientar

demasiado. Eu diria que seria por aí, sim. Nos homens é muito por uma questão formal, ou seja, não usar calções quando se está a tocar, por exemplo – num contexto técnico, se está exposto a muita gente –, ou não usar chinelos como se viesse da praia, por exemplo. Isso também não era nada aceite e era visto... mesmo se a pessoa não tivesse uma responsabilidade na igreja – no sentido de ter que estar exposta no palco, por exemplo – de certeza que se fosse de chinelos para a igreja, de certeza que alguém ia mandar uma boca mesmo que fosse a brincar, ou seja, havia um certo desconforto por parte dos homens também, eu diria. Sim, por aí.

VB Achas que existe – ou achas que alguma vez pensaste nisso – que há alguma peça de roupa que tu não possas vestir por causa da tua religião? Ou alguma vez houve?

Sim, sim, eu diria que sim. Sim. Eu nunca tive esta conversa com um líder de alguma igreja, em que me dissesse de forma clara para não usar este tipo de roupa, ou peça, etc., mas de facto, pelo meu crescimento, há uma certa... Olho para certas peças de roupa e, se calhar, penso “ah a minha igreja não permitia ou de certeza que eu ia receber algum tipo de crítica pelos meus amigos cristãos”, por exemplo. Então sim, há peças muito específicas que eu não usaria por ser cristã – não sei se se não fosse cristã se usaria na mesma – mas o primeiro pensamento que vem é que “por ser cristã não vou vestir isto”.

VB E que peças é que seriam? Exemplos.

Eu acho que tipo, por exemplo, um vestido demasiado justo, mesmo que tape o corpo todo, se for demasiado justo e salientar muito a forma do corpo, pronto isso era algo que eu não usaria. Talvez usaria se não estivesse de todo num contexto/ambiente cristão, mas mesmo assim acho que iria sempre ter um mini sentimento de culpa e de sentir que não estava... Que poderia ter escolhido outra coisa. Portanto, esse tipo de roupa, ou seja, roupa demasiado justa, peças demasiado justas, também diria que, por exemplo – agora não se vê tanto – mas calções muito muito muito curtos que expõem muito já a parte acima das pernas, isso também não usaria de todo por ser cristã. E acho que também não usaria se não fosse cristã, mas pronto, por ser cristã. E sim, diria tipo tops que pronunciem muito o peito, por exemplo, eu não uso de facto, por uma questão de... sim.

VB Consideradas que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Eu acho que o Velho Testamento tem. Eu nunca explorei isso... Ou seja, isto é um tema que eu realmente gosto, interesse-me muito sobre isto, porque eu gosto muito de roupa e gosto muito de moda, mas de facto eu nunca investiguei a partir de uma perspetiva bíblica de que forma é que a Bíblia possa explicitamente... Mas o Velho Testamento tem várias, tem algumas normas sobre como é que os homens e as mulheres, mas se calhar mais as mulheres se devem vestir ou apresentar-se. No entanto, no Novo Testamento já não temos muito esse tipo de... Ou seja, o Novo Testamento é muito diferente do Velho e vive-se numa altura muito diferente e foi escrito numa altura muito diferente então não tem tantas ênfases nesse sentido. Pode dar... Ou seja, pode ter para algumas questões... Algumas cartas de Paulo pode-se interpretar que está a falar sobre a apresentação da mulher, mas é meramente interpretativo, não tem coisas, não tem indicações diretas e claras sobre como vestir, e de facto, acho que no geral a ênfase não começa tanto pela roupa ou pela apresentação, mas começa mais por dentro. Ou seja, vai sempre primeiro à consciência e ao coração e depois, conforme tu estás a nível de coração e de consciência, é como te vais apresentar. Portanto, nunca é de fora para dentro, mas de dentro para fora. Então eu diria que não há assim no Novo Testamento, que é o que realmente importa neste momento viver, não diria que tenha essas indicações a nível de vestuário para as mulheres.

VB Certo. Um conceito que se fala muito quando se fala sobre religião e moda é o conceito de modéstia. Para ti, o que é que é a modéstia?

Ya, é uma boa pergunta. Porque a modéstia, e acho mesmo que começa no coração, na consciência, na mente, e que passa pelo conceito de simplicidade e que isso depois pode... a forma como a pessoa é vai transparecer na forma como se veste. Portanto, para mim, a modéstia não tem tanto a ver com ser muito discreta na forma como se veste e como se apresenta visualmente, mas começa muito mais dentro – no próprio coração, na própria consciência – de perceber, de saber ler os sinais onde está. Ou seja, modéstia é ter noção dos ambientes em que está, de com quem está, de não querer deliberadamente chocar as pessoas, respeitar, e escolher os locais. Portanto, eu acho que uma pessoa, uma mulher pode ser modesta – se estiver só no seu grupo de amigas, também cristãs – e aí sente uma certa mais à vontade para se vestir de certa forma. Está entre as suas amigas e as suas amigas conhecem-na, e conhecem o seu coração e sabem que ela não está a vestir-se

daquela forma para mostrar alguma coisa ou para... Mas também, modéstia é quando se vai à igreja se calhar não usar certas roupas porque não quer chocar, e acho que não querer chocar é uma coisa sábia, não é uma coisa de opressão, mas de respeito pelas pessoas também. Então, para mim a modéstia parte sempre de dentro para fora e parte desta noção de com quem se está, de uma certa sabedoria para ler os ambientes e as pessoas com que está, e mediante isso escolher a sua apresentação visual.

VB Certo. Segues tendências de moda?

Sim.

VB E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Sim.

VB Sentes que existe alguma relação entre o teu consumo de moda e a tua fé?

Sim, totalmente! Então, neste momento o meu consumo de roupa é praticamente 80% em segunda mão e isso tem um ponto de partida da minha fé, em que eu, a partir de uma reflexão sobre sustentabilidade, sobre a nossa postura enquanto pessoas que vivemos neste mundo e que temos – enquanto cristãos – que nos foi dada responsabilidade para cuidar deste mundo, eu percebi que, realmente, o consumo de roupa em segunda mão – já que é uma coisa que eu gosto, roupa – é uma postura sustentável que provém do resultado dessa reflexão. E que contribui para a sustentabilidade e para uma economia mais estável e mais verde e mais circular. E realmente eu só cheguei a essa conclusão por causa da minha fé, não tanto pela consciência que se está a despertar neste momento por causa da crise climática e etc. – isso também pode ajudar, porque traz mais informação, as pessoas estão despertas a isso e há mais informação a circular sobre o assunto – mas de facto, por convicção e devido à minha fé faz sentido para mim esse tipo de consumo. E, pronto, ou seja, o facto de eu estar... Eu quando compro em segunda mão, eu vendo em segunda mão. Ou seja, há sempre aqui... está sempre aqui a circular, não há uma questão de acumulação, e isso também tem um bocado a ver com a minha fé, tem a ver com uma reflexão e com investigação e pesquisa que eu fui fazendo acerca daquilo que é a forma de um cristão viver a sua própria economia e a forma como consome coisas. E tem resultado nisso, pronto, num consumo ou numa apropriação das coisas – neste caso a roupa em segunda mão – e também a não acumulação da mesma.

VB Eu por acaso ia perguntar como é que a religião influenciava a tua visão sobre moda sustentável, por isso é engraçado teres mencionado logo. Mas consideras questões como as condições de trabalho em sweatshops, é isso? Achas que isso é influenciado ou tem alguma ligação com os valores cristãos?

Eu acho que tem totalmente. Acho que pelo menos também as coisas que eu faço, uma das razões é também a questão da sustentabilidade e a questão ambiental, mas também é a questão da dignidade humana das pessoas que trabalham. E também porque eu estudei artes e sou fotografa, ou seja, eu tive contacto com processo de criação e o tempo que as coisas levam e como é que as coisas chegam até às lojas, há todo um processo, toda uma cadeia gigante desde o designer que desenha até aos fornecedores dos tecidos, até às fábricas, até... ou seja, há um processo mesmo muito grande que, de facto, se for respeitado e se for considerado, estas *fast fashions* não podiam existir, pelo menos não podiam vender a roupa ao preço que vendem e na quantidade que vendem. Então, por causa disso, não só compro roupa em segunda mão, como faço mesmo muita questão de comprar marcas sustentáveis, marcas nacionais, há uma grande intenção minha nesse sentido. E claro que eu acho que se eu, por alguma razão, entrasse no mundo da moda – na indústria em si, criasse uma marca por exemplo, ou estivesse dentro do meio, como cristã, ia procurar que realmente as pessoas envolvidas tivessem condições de trabalho dignas, que os próprios produtos fossem de uma boa qualidade, vindo de sítios em que foram produzidas de forma respeitosa para com o ambiente também. E pronto, tudo isto, todas estas indicações partem da minha fé, sim, da forma como eu vejo que o mundo deve ser tratado e as pessoas também.

VB Certo. Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões incluindo eventos religiosos? Sentes que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que vestes no teu dia a dia e aquilo que vestes, por exemplo, para ir à igreja?

No meu caso não há uma grande diferença, porque eu, de facto, tento que não haja essa “dupla pessoa” em que fora do contexto de igreja veste-se de uma forma radicalmente diferente e depois na igreja – ou em contextos mais religiosos – veste-se de uma forma completamente oposta, até. Então eu tento que realmente eu chegue a um consenso no meu estilo em que eu não tenha que ter essa polaridade de estilo. Então, neste momento, eu diria que não. Diria, claro que nunca iria de fato de banho para a igreja, por uma

questão de que realmente não é o espaço, mas não tenho problemas em usar fato de banho com os meus amigos da igreja na praia. Pronto. No entanto, evito publicar fotos no Instagram de fato de banho, por exemplo. Também não fazia isso por ser cristã. Mas no meu caso, mesmo quando penso em casamentos, por exemplo, que normalmente são quase todos religiosos, tenho muito cuidado no vestido que escolho, no *outfit* em geral, e eu diria que de facto, por exemplo, quando eu saio à noite pode haver um estilo diferente, a nível de exposição do corpo não há diferença nesse aspeto, mas a nível de maquilhagem sim, claro, e a nível de exuberância da própria peça, mais brilhos, tipo eu não levaria roupa brilhante para a igreja – só por achar que não é apropriado no sentido em que não é festivo, não é, pronto, não é uma questão de modéstia. Então sim, ou seja, há certas ocasiões e sítios onde há uma certa diferença, mas a diferença não é muito abismal. Pronto, acho que é isso que eu quero dizer.

VB Por acaso, tu mencionaste e eu acho interessante, por exemplo, que tu usas fato de banho na praia, mas não irias publicar uma fotografia na internet de fato de banho. Por que é que sentes que é feita essa negociação entre aquilo que tu fazes/vestes e aquilo que pode ir para as redes sociais?

Pois. Eu questiono muito... isso, pode-se realmente tirar fotos na praia e publicar, é uma coisa que se faz muito, as mulheres fazem muito, muito mais que os homens, há muitas cristãs que fazem, e a minha questão é sempre “porque é que estão a fazê-lo? Porque é que sentem que têm a necessidade de publicar uma foto em que estão com muito pouca roupa e dá para ver muito o corpo?” Penso muito em qual é que é a mensagem que querem transmitir. E de facto, pronto, eu nunca perguntei a alguém que tenha publicado uma foto assim, nunca perguntei diretamente porque realmente acho que nunca calhou – porque não teria problemas em perguntar – mas de facto... Ou seja, eu acho que há essa mensagem que se quer transmitir, não é só o facto de se estar a publicar uma foto de bikini ou de fato de banho, é o que é que eu quero dizer quando estou a... é para me mostrar? Ou é só porque fiquei bonita ou porque a paisagem é bonita? Pronto. Nunca se percebe muito bem. E há muitas, por parte das cristãs, há muitas que poem publicações – publicam fotos – na praia e depois poem versículos, por exemplo, na descrição, e eu não sei o que é que uma coisa tem a ver com a outra e não consigo mesmo... acho que é super descontextualizado, não consigo perceber onde é que querem chegar com aquilo. Ou seja, acho que tudo o que publicamos – tudo, desde a foto na praia à foto na neve em que estamos todos altamente vestidos – tudo tem uma mensagem, tudo... Mesmo que possa ser uma mensagem simples e nada profunda, tudo transmite qualquer coisa, e eu não percebo o que é que se quer transmitir quando se está a pôr uma foto em que se vê muito do... em que o corpo está muito exposto. E pronto, porque normalmente quando se... ou seja, nós quando metemos uma foto no Instagram é para ter/receber *likes* sempre, sejam muito ou sejam poucos, é isso que nós procuramos e, portanto, fico sempre com esta questão de se a pessoa quer receber *likes* porque está bonita na foto, porque está a mostrar o corpo, então é por isso que eu... essa é a minha questão. Eu nunca publicaria, porque de facto não sinto necessidade de o fazer, de expor o meu corpo, não sinto que o deva fazer, por ser cristã, sinto que não o deva fazer e há muito outro tipo de conteúdo que posso pôr no Instagram sem ser uma foto minha a mostrar muito do meu corpo. Sim, pronto, para já é isto.

VB Já utilizaste roupa ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou com versículos bíblicos, por exemplo?

Muito pouco. Eu tenho... com versículos não, com cruzes não, acho que não, mas tenho só uma t-shirt de uma marca cristã que tem uma mensagem, à frente diz “*God of*” depois tem um traço e atrás tem “*grace*”, “*love*”, ou seja, é tipo “*God of*” e depois atrás “*grace, love*”, etc. E comprei-a, é uma marca inglesa, do UK, sim, cristã. Acho que é a única coisa que eu realmente já usei mais aproximado de religião, sim.

VB Consegues te lembrar qual é que é a marca?

Acho que é Hosea Clothes. Hosea de Oséias em inglês. Acho que é isso.

VB E sentes que quando utilizas esse tipo de peças que é para expressar a tua fé? Ou tens outro motivo para usar esse tipo de roupa?

Pois. Eu agora estava-me a lembrar, eu também tenho uma *sweat*, um *hoodie* do GBU que tem também uma frase do GBU e o símbolo do GBU. Eu trabalho no GBU, portanto, também não é só por isso que eu uso o *hoodie*, mas também tenho essa peça. Ou seja, tenho essas duas que provavelmente são alusivas à minha fé. Eu uso porque... eu não sei se quero exatamente passar uma mensagem. Ou seja, eu quero passar uma mensagem, passo sempre uma mensagem com qualquer tipo de roupa mesmo que não tenha nada

escrito, eu raramente uso roupa com texto. Eu passo sempre uma mensagem, sempre, até as cores que eu escolho naquele dia, o tipo de calças, o tipo de casaco, há sempre uma mensagem, essas peças que têm uma mensagem mais clara e mais direta não são muito diferentes daquelas que não têm nada. Então, eu tento passar uma mensagem, mas não necessariamente de que sou cristã, pronto. Mas, na verdade, uma das peças é porque é dum sítio de que eu realmente gosto muito, que é o GBU e que faz sentido de sair e estar com alguma identificação e a outra peça até foi mais para apoiar o negócio. Portanto, não foi muito pela questão de passar alguma mensagem com a roupa acerca da minha fé.

VB Não sentes que era como um *Conversation Starter*?

Eu acho que isso pode acontecer, mas não era o meu objetivo. Mas pode ser usado como tal. Se calhar a acontecer isso, eu desenvolvo a conversa e posso a partir daí ter uma conversa, mas não, não uso com esse objetivo.

VB Esta é a última parte das questões, em que eu vou só partilhar aqui umas imagens. Estas imagens são mais no caso de não teres nada em mente sobre o assunto, mas acredito que como pessoa que gosta de moda em princípio deves ter ideia de alguma coisa. Mas... como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Eu acho que... Ou seja... Eu sei que faz parte da moda, acho que estão a passar uma mensagem que não é necessariamente religiosa, não é de todo, à partida. Mas é transformar um bocado os símbolos ou as imagens ou as pinturas que representam a religião – episódios religiosos, personagens ou supostas personagens da religião – num sentido muito mais estético. E, portanto, acho que a mim não me faz confusão, provavelmente eu não usaria porque ia gerar demasiada polémica e não estaria disposta a estar sempre a responder a perguntas das pessoas, mas a mim não me faz confusão. Eu acho que é uma boa forma de ler a cultura e a sociedade e a geração da moda em que nos situamos. E, portanto, pronto, a mim não me faz confusão e eu vejo isto como arte e há sempre conceitos por trás e razões por trás dos criadores que utilizam estes ícones e estas figuras mais religiosas e que simplesmente é moda. Não há assim muita explicação a dar sobre isso. Isto era a minha primeira resposta, sim.

VB Vou mostrar agora umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Está dividido em 2 slides só porque não cabia. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

OK. Pois. Eu acho que é representativo daquilo que a sociedade vê em relação à religião. Muito aqui a questão... de facto aqui a figura da mulher é muito importante e depois a moda acaba por pegar nisso e refletir um bocado sobre a figura da mulher religiosa e transformá-la numa espécie de figura da moda. Eu acho que isso atrai, e pode-se partir desse conceito para gerar um novo tipo de moda, de figura de mulher e, portanto... isto é para dizer o que eu sinto, é isso?

VB Sim, sim.

Eu acho que é tudo muito sobre conceito e sobre mensagem, “o que é que a moda quer?”, se quer aqui... Está-me a faltar as palavras... Ou seja, eu acho que realmente se querem... Portanto, a moda serve para vender, de certa forma, e também para começar movimentos – dita muitos movimentos, dita muito o que se passa, como é que as pessoas se vão vestir nos próximos tempos, o próprio espírito da sociedade, etc. – e eu acho que realmente para pessoas, por exemplo, mais religiosas, mas que gostem da moda, eu acho que pode ser uma boa mensagem. Eu imagino inspirar-me em algumas destas imagens para a minha própria roupa, por exemplo, para me vestir, num contexto de estar na moda, por assim dizer. Portanto, a mim não me ofende, lá está, eu estudei artes, eu sou do meio das artes e eu percebo qual é que é o ponto de partida, muitas vezes não é para desconstruir a religião propriamente dita – pode haver – mas muitas vezes nem é, é mais para pegar em conceitos para os próprios criadores se inspirarem e arranjam inspirações para criarem as suas peças e as suas coleções, eu diria.

VB Vou mostrar as outras imagens. A questão é a mesma: como é que te fazem sentir?

Sim, eu acho que, mais uma vez, é pegar em conceitos religiosos, como a mulher recatada, a mulher religiosa que é santa, que é pura, para depois criar uma personagem a partir daí e eu acho que é para vender, na realidade. Pronto, é para criar... pode haver uma intenção de choque, mas à partida é para vender e depois pegam nesse tipo de figura religiosa para depois dar aqui um twist, que é um bocado estas imagens. Portanto, a mim não me choca, eu percebo, para mim tudo OK, é meramente conceito artístico, então tudo OK com isso.

VB Não é uma coisa que te deixe particularmente desconfortável ou ofendida.

Não, porque eu parto muito do pressuposto de que os criadores por trás destes conceitos têm só uma ideia super generalizada do que é a mulher religiosa, portanto, pensam em freiras – pensam numa mulher que está vestida dos pés à cabeça, que não faz nada e que

não se maquilha e não usa perfume e essas coisas – portanto, acho que há uma tendência de se olhar assim para a mulher religiosa. Ou seja, há uma ideia errada, portanto, para mim eu não me identifico com isto, no sentido em que eu não sou esse tipo de mulher, então não estão a falar de mim quando se trata desse pressuposto da mulher religiosa e, portanto, não me ofende. Acho que é só mesmo pegar numa ideia popular do que é que é uma freira, do que é que é uma mulher religiosa para depois fazerem conceitos a partir disso e venderem. Pronto, diria isso.

VB Portanto, achas que em geral o objetivo é vender?

Eu diria que sim, o objetivo principal e primário é mesmo – pronto, não é explícito – mas eu acho que sim, tendo em conta a minha experiência no meio tanto artístico como da moda. Pode haver alguma intenção de chamar à atenção certas questões – para dizer que “as mulheres podem vestir-se assim e assado, não faz mal” e etc. – mas honestamente eu não sinto que haja esse tipo de mensagem primária, pronto. Então articulei que é para vender. Lá está, eu não me identifico, não sinto que estejam... Eu nunca iria ficar ofendida porque eu não sou a mulher religiosa da ideia popular que pessoas que estão na moda, os criadores que se calhar... alguns podem ter algum *background* religioso, especialmente os italianos, os designers italianos por causa do país em que estão e quase todos eles – das criações que tu mostraste – mas eles olham meramente para a mulher religiosa como uma personagem que eles vão pegar para depois desenvolver um conceito e desenvolver uma coleção e produtos, etc. para depois vender. Porque, de facto, eu acho que a mulher religiosa – e se calhar freiras e etc. – podem ser interessantes numa perspetiva conceptual em que... pronto, é interessante, é uma mulher que é muito recatada, que só veste certo tipo de roupa, que não se maquilha, não usa perfume – pelo menos excessivamente –, eu acho que para essas pessoas, do ponto de vista do criador pode ser interessante explorar essas ideias e esse tipo de personagens. Pronto, e eu como fotógrafa tenho que, também, quando estou a criar alguma coisa – como criava na faculdade para trabalhos – eu também tinha que partir de inspirações para criar trabalhos fotográficos, e acho que é um bocado isso que a moda também faz, é partir de inspirações, e neste caso de vez em quando lá se inspiram em fenómenos e pessoas religiosas e ícones para depois desenvolver produtos e coisas. Então é não levar muito a sério, sinceramente. Nesse sentido, sim.

VB Última questão: Consideras que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou achas que em geral tende a ser desrespeitosa?

Eu acho que... não sei... respeito... pois. Eu acho que pode ser respeitosa, sim, não acho que seja na maioria. Na maioria... Um dos símbolos mais usados é a cruz, principalmente em joalharia e pronto, eu acho que são mesmo muitas as mulheres que têm um colar com uma cruz ou o que seja e não são religiosas. Eu não sei, ainda não consigo muito bem explicar esse fenómeno, tem a ver com o *background* tradicional de cada país, mas de facto... pronto, qualquer mulher tem um colar com uma cruz e todas as marcas da moda desenvolvem muitos produtos a partir da cruz e eu acho que é meramente para vender. Acho que pode ser desrespeitosa quando se usa em publicidade, por exemplo, como vimos aí algumas, aí usaram certos símbolos que não eram a respeitar, mas ao mesmo tempo eu como evangélica – quer dizer – os símbolos valem o que valem, na realidade. Por normas os evangélicos não ligam muito aos símbolos, lá está, é um símbolo e o símbolo em si não é algo sagrado, é só algo representativo e se deixar de existir esse símbolo, a fé não acaba. Portanto, neste caso, os evangélicos normalmente não têm necessidade de usar, não usam terços, nem usam outras coisas e professam e vivem a sua fé sem essas coisas, portanto... podem ficar um bocado... quando há principalmente a questão da cruz – no nosso caso, evangélico – quando é mal usado acho que pode causar uma certa angustia, mas é só isso, é só porque nós sabemos, ou nós achamos que sabemos o que é que aquilo significa historicamente falando e simbolicamente falando, mas no fundo é só um símbolo e portanto vale o que vale. Não é assim muito grave, portanto, eu diria que não faz mal se usarem de forma não respeitosa.

Appendix F21 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Aurora”

Date of Interview:	March 7, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	25:46
Characteristics:	27 years old, Porto, Portuguese, Missionary, Evangelical

VB Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou a tua denominação religiosa?

Igreja dos irmãos.

VB OK. E como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

Ui... OK, sintetizado, eu acredito em Deus, acredito que a Bíblia é a palavra de Deus. É isso? É por aí?

VB Por mim é por onde tu quiseses.

Certo, pá, não sei esta. *risos* Acredito na Trindade, que Jesus veio à Terra e morreu por nós, veio para nos reconciliar com Deus, para nos perdoar os pecados e tudo o resto flui daí.

VB Certo.

Muito resumido, diria isso.

VB Como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária e, mais especificamente, as tuas escolhas de vestuário?

Olha, eu diria que é inevitável uma coisa não estar ligada à outra, não é? Não é como se a minha vida espiritual fosse um anexo da minha vida normal, mas é toda uma mesma vida, uma mesma experiência. A nível do vestuário, por acaso é algo que eu acho – eu cresci na igreja, OK? – então sinto que de várias formas e em várias áreas da minha vida, houve coisas que eu acho que vão sendo sempre transformadas, OK? Mas o facto de nascer na Igreja acho que talvez não tenha tido aquele choque de mudança drástica, sabes? Então há mudanças que são mais longas no tempo e eu diria que esse aspeto é um deles, ou seja, foi algo que no início, se calhar, não ligava muito, não tinha muito em conta, não valorizava muito e cada vez mais tenho tido. Portanto, ao longo do tempo tem crescido essa responsabilidade, essa noção, o impacto disto também, e... portanto, agora... é assim, tem um grande peso e sinto que também ainda estou nessa transformação, mas sim, é isso.

VB Certo.

Respondi à pergunta? Eu às vezes posso divagar um bocadinho, portanto, se eu não responder...

VB Não, podes divagar a vontade. Em geral, acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião?

É assim, lá está, eu não gosto muito do nome “religião”, mas eu compreendo, sim, e acho que sim, porque lá estás tu, tens esse estilo de vida, não é? Porque lá está, uma vez mais, não acho que seja um anexo da tua vida, se tens esse estilo de vida é inevitável não estar relacionado com todas as tuas decisões, pequenas e grandes, com a tua vivência diária, é por isso... e depois lá está, há coisas muito claras na Bíblia também em relação a isso e em relação ao nosso corpo ser o templo de Deus, não é? E, portanto, isso tem que ser protegido. Então, sim, há uma escolha. Há uma escolha intencional nesse sentido, há um cuidado que eu vejo também crescer e que espero que cresça mais.

VB E achas que na tua igreja ou na tua denominação específica existem diretrizes ou regras sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Não. Acho que se for demasiado chocante pode ser chamado a atenção, mas também não me recordo disso acontecer assim especificamente. Diria que é à base do bom senso e as pessoas têm ido de acordo com isso, mas não, não há.

VB E consideras que houve alguma época em que tivesse havido? Se calhar no passado.

Creio que não... Ah, quer dizer! Desculpa. Estava a pensar que, se calhar, mais no tempo dos meus avós, é possível. Aquela questão de as mulheres não usarem calças ou essas questões, mas não tenho nada comprovado nesse sentido, portanto não sei.

VB Os teus avós já praticavam a mesma denominação que tu?

Sim.

- VB** OK. Consideras que exista algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário específica que não possas vestir por causa da tua religião?
Opá... Eu acho que tudo aquilo que mostra demasiado não vai de acordo com a com aquela que é a vontade de Deus, tudo aquilo que expõe o teu corpo que... podemos concretamente falar, sei lá, um decote, uma mini saia, tudo o que compromete a isso acho que não é bom. E não é bom porque não, não é bom porque não te está a proteger, não está a proteger aos outros à tua volta, então sim.
- VB** Quando dizes proteger os outros, estás especificamente a falar sobre homens?
Sim. *risos* Maioritariamente sim.
- VB** OK. Consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?
Sim. Ou seja, por exemplo, eu acho que, partindo até do que eu mencionei antes, de que o nosso corpo é o templo de Cristo, acho que também isso está inevitavelmente ligado, não é? E depois toda a questão da mulher virtuosa e tudo mais, se realmente pusermos em comparação com a questão do vestuário, acho que vais notar questões que de facto não vão bater certo com uma determinada conduta a nível do vestir, então acho que sim.
- VB** Ia perguntar se te lembravas de passagens específicas sobre o tópico, mas é sempre complicado.
Opá, eu acho que não, acho que não me estou a lembrar de nenhum em específico.
- VB** Tranquilo. Um conceito de que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para ti, o que é que é a modéstia?
risos Eu acho que é... Está muito ligado com a simplicidade e com a honra eu diria. Ou seja, de uma forma mais alargada acho que é muito isso é... Respeito, é por aí.
- VB** Portanto, achas que tem mais a ver com não dar nas vistas e se calhar, não tanto com cobrir o corpo?
Sim. Eu acho que, lá está, é o bom senso, acho que é... porque imagina, eu não acho que nós agora tenhamos que todos usar, por exemplo, uma burka. Não é essa a questão. Eu acho que tu podes vestir bem, acho que podes ter boas escolhas no teu dia a dia e estar, inclusive, de acordo com a moda que vai surgindo, mas dentro disso fazer/tomar decisões que, lá está, que protejam o teu corpo, sei lá, por exemplo, roupas *oversized* são um exemplo, não é? E tiveram muito na moda, eu não estou assim 100% a par disso, mas eu diria ainda estão até algumas. Isso é uma forma de não evidenciar o teu corpo, então não acho que seja o tapar, mas o tomar boas decisões.
- VB** Certo, sentes que essas “boas decisões” são recomendadas tanto aos homens como às mulheres?
Não. Acho que é só para mulheres. Espera aí, estamos a falar à luz da Bíblia ou na sociedade?
- VB** Na Igreja.
Mas segundo o que a Bíblia diz? Ou o segundo... OK, espera, OK, certo. Opá por acaso lembro-me de um exemplo em específico, a questão do chapéu. Se calhar, podemos entrar aí noutro campo mas não me lembro assim nada muito mais específico. A nível do dia a dia da Igreja não sinto que isso seja cobrado da mesma forma, mas também acho que não há tantas formas de se exporem como nós, não é? A nível do estilo do vestuário, mesmo das próprias peças que existem para o homem, não. Acho que não compromete tanto quanto às mulheres podem comprometer.
- VB** Mesmo naqueles ambientes que às vezes há de retiros de jovens, praias, piscinas?
Ah, OK, certo. Certo, aí devia haver mais cuidado. Sim, acho que devia ser mais comum aos dois, esse cuidado, ou seja, tanto ao sexo feminino como masculino, mas acho que não existe essa precaução, seja a nível da sociedade ou entre nós. Acho que, inevitavelmente isso está... está-me a faltar a palavra que é... tipo, está na Bíblia de forma intrínseca noutras coisas até que é dito, isso acho que é pedido a ambos. Sim.
- VB** Certo. Consideras que segues tendências de moda?
Sim, não diria que sou fanática e que estou sempre... eu acho que é muito do género eu gosto de ver e também me habituo a ver, isso acontece muito, eu vejo uma peça às vezes digo “ai que horror, nunca na vida” e passado um bocado habituei-me tanto a ver aquilo que efetivamente até imagino a usar. Mas não sou fanática do tipo “isto agora é moda eu tenho que ter aquilo”. Há uma coisa que acontece muito, que é o meu gosto pessoal e aquilo que me é confortável, que eu também tenho que andar confortável, não dá para ser de outra forma e se eu efetivamente gostar do que vejo que é moda, então concilio isso. Mas sim, tenho alguma atenção àquilo que é a moda corrente.
- VB** E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência?

O que é muita frequência?

VB Não sei, tu é que tens que dizer o que é que tu achas que é muita frequência?

OK. OK, eu não diria que compro muita de uma vez, mas vou comprando. Então, sei lá, de 2 em 2 meses ou 3 em 3, varia muito, varia mesmo muito. Se calhar antes de cada estação faço umas compras maiores. Cada estação, ou seja, mais inverno e verão, no outono e na primavera vão as mesmas coisas. Talvez então antes desse início de estação possa haver uma maior procura, mas se não é uma peça ou outra, assim diria de 2 em 2, 3 em 3 meses.

VB E sentes que existe alguma relação entre o teu consumo de moda e a tua fé?

Eu diria que não. Consumo, ou seja, lá está, quero ter a intenção dessa questão de escolher peças que sejam modestas, mas acho que não vejo de outra forma. Não sei se sou eu que não estou a perceber.

VB Em termos de consumo, por exemplo, esta questão é um bocadinho mais longa, mas... sentes que a tua religião influencia, por exemplo, a tua visão sobre moda sustentável? Ou se consideras questões como ética, condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, doações, caridade, esse tipo de coisas, quando fazes escolhas de moda?

Olha, honestamente, gostava de dizer que sim, mas não. Ou seja, lá está, acho que faz parte deste trabalho. E por acaso eu já trabalhei na Zara, por exemplo, e ouve-se muito falar disso, não é? Da forma como são produzidas as peças, e por acaso muitas vezes ia ver a etiqueta de onde é que vinha e pensava “muitas crianças podem ter sido expostas a trabalho ou até ‘escravidão’, não é?” E isso mexe um pouco comigo, agora, ainda não me fez deixar de comprar roupa na Zara, por exemplo, mas devia, para não apoiar esse tipo de causas, e reconheço isso. De resto, não sei se isso também foge um pouquinho da pergunta, mas outro fator que pesa é o sermos bons mordomos daquilo que temos, então eu também tenho que ter estratégias para não gastar demasiado em roupa, não é? Porque, por exemplo, uma coisa que acontece muito é que quanto mais vejo nas *Apps* ou assim de lojas, mais quero comprar, então eu evito. E às vezes tenho uma estratégia também, que é: ponho no carrinho e fecho a aplicação e venho-me embora, então acho que isso também é uma coisa que influencia. Lá está, não sei se fugi um pouquinho, mas esta questão de sermos bons mordomos também com o dinheiro e não gastar, ou seja... Porque eu digo uma coisa muitas vezes, mas que não é real “ah, eu não tenho roupa”, eu tenho roupa e quero... O meu marido disse que está a ouvir. *risos* Mas eu não tenho roupa. Não, mas é isto, acho que facilmente podemos também cair no consumismo e acho que isso não é bom de forma nenhuma.

VB Achas que existe uma ligação entre o consumismo e os valores cristãos?

Acho que deve existir, sim, se calhar não existe tanto quanto deveria, ou seja, na prática, mas acho que devíamos ter atenção a isso, sim, porque, lá está, é-nos perdido para gerirmos bem aquilo que nos é dado, não é? E, sendo cristã, é inevitável não ver o dinheiro como uma bênção de Deus que pertence a Deus, não é? E é também muito relacionado com aquilo de “onde está o teu tesouro, aí está teu coração” e então aquilo em que tu investes mais – e eu tenho aprendido muito sobre isso também – é aquilo que revela as tuas prioridades, aquilo que tu... Ou seja, investes o teu tempo e pensamento além do dinheiro, pronto, então se agora começarmos a investir demasiado em roupa, por exemplo, isso vai nos trocar um bocado as prioridades, não é? E aquelas pessoas que precisam? E a igreja local? Então sim, acho que está ligado.

VB Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Sentes que aquilo que tu vestes no teu dia a dia é o mesmo que vestes quando vais à Igreja?

Sinto que maioritariamente sim. Quando se altera é mais porque... acho que é para melhor, no sentido de me arranjar um pouquinho mais, porque também vou estar num ambiente diferente, porque é fim de semana, porque é mais tranquilo, porque à semana também tenho a questão do teletrabalho, eu trabalho muito a partir de casa, então sinto que isso também mudou muito a minha rotina e a questão do vestir e do escolher a roupa, né? Às vezes opto por coisas muito mais confortáveis – isso tem de ser sempre confortável – mas quando estou em casa ainda mais confortáveis, mais quentinhas e não estou a ver se se conjuga assim tão bem ou coisas do género. E quando tenho eventos, então tenho esse cuidado pronto e a Igreja acaba por entrar nesse núcleo, porque lá está, é um evento diferente daquilo que eu tenho durante a semana, então tenho um pouquinho mais de cuidado e também gosto de ter esse tempo para fugir da rotina e dedicar-me um pouquinho mais.

- VB** Esta questão também é engraçada tendo em conta o teu trabalho. Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos ou assim?
Sim. Inclusive, já fiz alguns, portanto, sim. *risos*
- VB** O quê? Porquê? Onde é que adquiriste? Esse tipo de coisas...
OK, então, já cheguei a adquirir, em tempos, dos The Four, não é? Onde a [nome] trabalha, já cheguei a adquirir também, por exemplo, o mais recente que me estou a lembrar foi o ano passado nas jornadas nós tivemos um grupo da nossa organização, mas da Suíça a vir e eles fizeram umas *t-shirts* muito giras que diziam Jesus e depois tinha assim umas frases giras e chamativas, então essa foi a mais recente. Porque é que eu uso? Isso era uma questão, não era? Eu acho que é uma boa oportunidade de – dependendo também do núcleo onde estás –, não é? Se calhar, desconhecidos não te vão abordar – mas se estiveres com um grupo de amigos ou conhecidos, se calhar facilmente podes começar uma conversa por ali. Não podes simplesmente marcar a diferença, porque acho que hoje em dia tu declarares no meio de uma de uma multidão que Jesus existe – porque Deus existe – já por si só choca muita gente, não é? Então acho que é uma boa marca e que pode deixar muitos a pensar também.
- VB** Mas eram maioritariamente peças feitas pelas organizações em específico? Ou seja, não era tipo de lojas online, marcas...
Não, organizações específicas. Se bem que eu tenho imensas – ainda hoje pus mais – é uma loja que eu tenho visto que tem peças lindíssimas com esse tipo de conteúdo, só que é dos Estados Unidos, então ou é impossível vir para cá, ou os portes ficam caríssimos, portanto, é mais por falta de acesso do que propriamente por qualquer outro motivo, porque de facto, gosto muito.
- VB** Vou partilhar aqui umas imagens. Consegues ver a tela? Isto é mais no caso de não teres nada em mente sobre isto, mas como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?
Sim. Olha, eu diria, se não visse estas imagens, diria quase que são inexistentes. Vendo isto, aquilo que também me parece muito é muito ligado – sobretudo as últimas 2 imagens – fazem-me ligar muito à Igreja Católica, e parecem-me coisas assim mais, por exemplo, o segundo acho que tudo que é com Cruz e tudo mais assim mais tradicional, mais antiquado até, de certa forma.
- VB** Vou-te mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Elas estão divididas em 2 slides, mas é só porque não cabiam. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?
Alguma... Alguma revolta.
- VB** Porquê?
Porque é claramente... acho que estão claramente a usar para ofensa.
- VB** Sim? Porque é que tens essa sensação?
Porque acho que... é assim, na verdade, eu pus isto logo vendo a última, não é? Portanto, foi logo assim a que me chamou mais a atenção. Mas as outras, não me parece que sejam algo a apontar para a religião, mas mais a tentar contorná-la ou fazer com que choque. Muito ligado também, por exemplo, aqui a primeira, à sensualidade e tudo mais, então acho que não bate certo.
- VB** Certo, vou-te mostrar as outras. Mais uma vez, como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?
É a mesma coisa, lá está. Acho que é um denegrir mesmo dessas questões e uma vez mais também ligado à mulher, à sensualidade e que não bate certo de acordo com aquilo que vemos na Bíblia que deve ser a imagem associada à religião, não é?
- VB** E porque é que tu achas que os criativos da área da moda – tanto os designers que metem estas representações em peças de roupa ou mesmo as pessoas das revistas que fazem estas representações nas páginas – porque é que tu achas que o fazem?
Olha, eu acho que é para criar muito este choque, para criar atenção, porque acho que isto chamaria a atenção a qualquer pessoa. Acho que também é muito por ingenuidade ou falta de consciência daquilo com que estão a brincar. Mas diria que é por isso, para criar um foco de atenção maior para impactar.
- VB** Última questão: Consideras que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou achas que em geral tende a ser desrespeitosa?
Não, acho que pode ser respeitosa, sem dúvida. Vejo muito e lá está, se calhar um pouquinho mais neste mercado americano, eu vejo imensas vezes isso a acontecer, coisas lindíssimas. Até mesmo a imagem da Cruz que muitas vezes eu associava, lá está, um bocadinho mais “ah um bocadinho feio”, ou seja, quando posto assim em roupas, acho que me habituei muito àquela cruz tradicional e até ligada mais ao catolicismo, portanto

coisas mais antigas, mas a verdade é que tenho visto coisas lindas, minimalistas que eu também gosto muito e acho que, sem dúvida que isso pode ser conjugado.

VB Mas achas que é mais neste mercado mesmo de moda feita de cristãos para cristãos?

Idealmente não. Eu acho que seria para todos. Acho que seria facilmente aplicável, até porque sei lá, por exemplo, às vezes com versículos que tu possas pôr, eu acho que facilmente as pessoas, se não soubessem, ou seja, se tivessem alguma coisa contra a Bíblia e não soubessem que é da Bíblia, facilmente vestiriam, por exemplo. E há imensos que podem até ser confundidos com frases banais, por exemplo. Por isso eu creio que pudesse chegar ao mercado geral.

VB E a ti não te incomodaria o facto de pessoas usarem versículos sem saberem que estão a usar versículos? Nem o facto de criativos que não necessariamente acreditam no cristianismo em geral usassem esse tipo de referência?

Assim à partida, diria que não. Acho que tudo depende da motivação com que isso é feito. Lá está, se é uma motivação para chocar, para brincar, para denegrir de alguma forma, que até não seja perceptível para nós, aí não, agora de outra forma, epá que que seja bênção para aqueles que entenderem, porque acho que não há mal nenhum em partilhar isso.

Appendix F22 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Carmo”

Date of Interview:	March 11, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	22:30
Characteristics:	40 years old, Fundão/Brussels, Nurse, Catholic

- VB** Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que considera ser a sua religião ou denominação religiosa? É sobretudo... Cristãos romanos. A Igreja romana, não é? Aquela que nós... Em Portugal.
- VB** Católica? E como é que descreveria as suas crenças e os seus valores religiosos?
Boa pergunta, eu faço uma distinção entre aquilo que é a minha fé e aquilo que é a Igreja. A Igreja para mim é uma instituição. Não é? Que foi criada por homens. A minha fé é aquilo em que eu acredito. Acredito que sim, que existe um Deus, uma força um pouquinho maior do que a nossa e acredito sim que existem os anjos e os Santos, que são manifestações divinas. Agora, não sou daquelas pessoas que rezam todos os dias, vão todos os dias à missa e isso. Eu acho que me considero mais espiritual, mas dentro daquilo que o cristianismo professa, né? De ter existido Jesus e haver os Santos e os Anjos. É assim que eu me considero mais.
- VB** Acha que também tem a ver, se calhar, com a sua educação?
Sim, sim, sem dúvida, sem dúvida.
- VB** E como é que considera que a sua fé influencia a sua vida diária? Se influencia.
Influencia. Sobretudo para me tranquilizar, ajuda-me a tranquilizar face a circunstâncias um pouquinho mais complexas e desafiadoras, né? Sou enfermeira, trabalho em cuidados paliativos, sobretudo em cuidados em fim de vida, e então é tranquilizador saber que há um suporte espiritual para a nossa passagem aqui, sobretudo em momentos de sofrimento e que – não num sistema de compensação como nós fazemos muito que é “se eu fizer isto então Deus vai me dar aquilo” – mas perceber que apesar de todo o sofrimento, há sempre um *outcome* positivo, sobretudo no desenvolvimento da nossa existência, não é? Não só enquanto pessoas, mas enquanto essências, enquanto alma, espírito. Então, isso ajuda-me a tranquilizar naqueles momentos pronto em que a vida se torna mais difícil, ou que eu presencio situações muito difíceis de outras pessoas.
- VB** E no seu dia a dia em questão a escolhas de vestuário também considera que a sua fé influencia?
Não no sentido de professar a minha fé, mas, ou seja, eu não uso crucifixos nem nada alusivo ao cristianismo, mas agrada-me muito algumas tendências que já se veem, onde se utilizam ícones ou imagens cristãs para passar uma mensagem. Seja essa mensagem de “eu acredito que Deus existe, mas isso não quer dizer que eu seja submisso aos dogmas da religião” ou uma mensagem mais espiritual que é nós na Igreja aprendemos que Deus é supremo e que Deus castiga, e sim muitas vezes há certas tendências da moda que nos vêm dizer o contrário: que nós somos iguais a Deus, que nós fomos feitos todos iguais, como está escrito na Bíblia, não é? Então se eu... Quando eu uso, é mais *t-shirts* com anjos e isso, é mais no sentido não de professar a minha fé, mas de mandar a mensagem de que “sim, no fim somos todos iguais e se nós fomos criados à imagem de Deus, como diz a Bíblia, nós também somos Deus, nós também somos anjos, nós também somos santos”.
- VB** E quando usa esses acessórios ou esse tipo de peças de roupa com referências religiosas onde é que adquire esse tipo de peças?
Sobretudo na Internet, porque nas lojas físicas em Portugal é difícil encontrar esse tipo de peças.
- VB** Certo. Em geral acredita que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião?
Sim. Sem dúvida, e se nós formos além do Cristianismo – e Portugal já se vê muito –, os muçulmanos, toda a sua indumentária está ligada à sua religião, não é? As mulheres que se tapam, os homens que usam “*thobes*”, não é? Aquelas vestimentas tipo um vestido.
- VB** Mas no seu caso, a maneira como a religião influencia a forma como se veste tem mais a ver com a uma questão estética?
Sim, sim, sim.
- VB** Considera que existem diretrizes específicas, no caso da Igreja Católica, sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Eu não sei se existem diretivas específicas implementadas, mas implícitas sim. Não é? Eu, por exemplo, se eu tiver que ir a um batizado, um casamento, ou se eu quiser mesmo ir assistir a uma missa, eu não vou usar mangas de cavas, não é? Porque isso na minha cabeça foi-me incutido que nós não devemos usar mangas de cavas na igreja ou não devemos usar um decote, não é? Ou não devemos ir à missa de mini saia, não é? Quando os homens podem ir de calção, por exemplo. Então explícitas não sei se existem – porque acho que não –, mas implícitas sim.

VB E considera que já existiram?

Eu acredito que sim, já devem ter existido.

VB Mencionou que no caso dos homens não existem grandes regras, porque é que acha que existe esta diferença?

Porque vivemos numa sociedade machista, porque a Igreja foi criada por homens, então eu acho que... e por isso é que para mim a Igreja é uma instituição, foi um grupo de homens que pegou nos valores religiosos e espirituais, mas depois a subverteu ali um bocadinho a coisa para uma dominância mais masculina, não é? Por alguma razão no Catolicismo Romano não temos mulheres padres, não é?

VB Sim, certo. Considera que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário específica que não possa vestir por causa das suas crenças?

Não. Para mim, não. Isso não, não existe.

VB OK. E acha que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

O pouco que eu conheço não. Não diz isso, não, não fala disso. Como é que elas se devem vestir? Não.

VB Ou como é que não devem?

Eu creio que não.

VB OK. Um conceito de que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para si o que é modéstia?

Modéstia é simplicidade, é o contrário de ostentação, é ser simples, usar só o essencial, não é? Ter só o essencial. Não tem a ver com valores, né? Porque eu posso usar uma t-shirt de 300 euros e mesmo assim considerar a minha indumentária é modesta, não é? Acho que tem a ver só mesmo com a simplicidade e não ter nada que não precisamos, que esteja a mais.

VB Portanto, é um foco mais em não dar nas vistas e não tanto em cobrir o corpo?

Sim, sim.

VB Considera que segue tendências de moda?

Nem por isso. Eu gosto de ver, mas não quer dizer que só porque este Inverno saiu aquele modelo de casaco que eu vou seguir. Eu gosto de ver porque gosto de moda também, gosto de ver o que surge de novo, mas não sigo as tendências.

VB E costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Nem por isso, talvez 3 vezes por ano, por aí.

VB OK. Sente que existe alguma relação entre o seu consumo de roupa e a sua fé?

Não. De todo.

VB Mais especificamente, como é que a sua fé ou a sua religião influencia a sua visão sobre, por exemplo, moda sustentável? Acha que considera questões como a ética, as condições de trabalho em sweatshops, doações, caridade? E se isso está relacionado, se calhar, com os valores cristãos?

Sim, isso sim, não é? Porque muitas vezes, por exemplo, se eu estou no *shopping* e vejo uma camisola que eu gosto, umas calças que eu gosto, mas não preciso, né? E talvez aí nesse instante não tenha disponibilidade financeira para adquirir o produto, eu creio que sim, que me surgem sempre essas questões do “mas eu não preciso”, “mas eu não tenho que estar a contribuir para toda a energia que nós gastamos na produção de, por exemplo, de uma *t-shirt*, na parte do tingimento”. Quando vou comprar tento sempre comprar coisas mais sustentáveis, quando eu sei que são sustentáveis. A questão do algodão e do tingimento da roupa, isso tenho sempre atenção. E sim, estão sempre ligados a esses valores que a religião nos ensina ou pelo menos que me foram transmitidos.

VB Portanto, é uma coisa que sempre pensou a vida inteira consequência, se calhar, de uma educação mais católica?

Sim, sim.

VB Como é que decide o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões incluindo eventos religiosos, sente que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que veste no dia a dia e aquilo que veste, por exemplo, se for uma igreja?

Sim.

VB Em que aspetos?

Tento não levar... Por exemplo, eu gosto muito de *t-shirts* passem mensagens, então eu tento não levar *t-shirts* que possam ser a chocantes para estar a numa igreja. Gosto também muito de usar alças e cavas, então tento não usar isso. Ou se eu for num evento, por exemplo, um batizado ou um casamento, se eu usar alguma com cavas, tento levar uma echarpe para estar na cerimónia e depois poder tirar quando estamos na parte das festividades e do convívio.

VB E porque é que faz essa negociação?

Porque não sinto que me seja permitido mostrar o corpo dentro de uma igreja.

VB Certo. Por uma questão de respeito ou por uma questão daquilo que as pessoas pensam? Por uma questão daquilo que as pessoas pensam.

VB E no caso, por exemplo, das *t-shirts* com mensagens?

Também por aquilo que as pessoas pensam. Porque para mim – segundo os meus valores cristãos naquilo que eu depois fui formulando e solidificando ao longo da minha vida – Deus nunca disse que era homem, Deus nunca disse que era branco e se nós formos ver a história, né? Provavelmente até tinha um tom de pele muito mais escuro do que o tom de pele que nós na Europa lhe damos. E se eu levar aquela t-shirt que diz “eu vi Deus e ela era negra”, não é? Isso é chocante para estar numa cerimónia religiosa. Na minha cabeça, no meu coração, naquilo que eu sinto e que eu acredito, não vai entrar em conflito com os valores cristãos, mas para a Igreja/Instituição, isso sim, entra em conflito. Ou então *t-shirts* alusivas à comunidade LGBT, porque como eu sou lésbica tenho algumas dessas t-shirts e a Bíblia não diz nada em concreto que isso é pecado, mas a Igreja diz-nos que isso não é aceite, então eu tento nunca usar. Eu acho que nunca usei esse tipo de indumentária em eventos religiosos.

VB Também para tentar evitar algum tipo de comentário ou algum tipo de discussão que se calhar não seria necessária?

Sim, sim.

VB Certo. Vou-lhe mostrar umas imagens. Estas imagens são mais se não se não tiver nada em mente sobre o assunto... Mas como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Eu sinto-me bem, eu sinto-me feliz, não é? Eu sinto-me muito feliz que eles estão manifestados, né? E na forma como estão aqui apresentados, eu acho que estão apresentados de uma forma respeitosa. Não provocam nada, nem ninguém, são reais, não é? Agora, acredito que ir a uma missa com esse tipo de roupas, possa ser chocante e até mal visto por um padre, por exemplo, mas para mim são objetos lindíssimos.

VB OK, e porque é que acha que se calhar um padre podia achar a ofensivo ou assim?

Por exemplo, ali o primeiro vestido – da esquerda, o Éden – o facto de estar a mostrar a nudez, de estarem a invocar a tentação de Eva para com Adão, não é? O da direita em que tem a mulher mostra um decote, mas depois tem o Menino Jesus logo ao lado... Eu acredito que para eles isso possa ser – não encontro a palavra – mas possa ser uma provocação. Uma profanação das imagens religiosas.

VB Certo. Agora vou-lhe mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal* – está dividida em 2 slides só porque não cabia num – mas como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?

OK. Algumas provocam. A da direita, “milf” é um bocadinho provocatória. A da esquerda, para mim, em que ela está no confessionário, para mim é uma imagem muito realista e que e que fala muito, não é? O termos que guardar segredo, sabes? Ou “não podemos falar abertamente das coisas” ou “só podemos confiar nos padres”, é provocatória nesse sentido. Porque, apesar de ser isso que a Igreja nos institui, não deveria ser isso que nós devíamos praticar, porque a própria Igreja guarda muitos segredos e muitos atentados à dignidade humana. Pronto, ali a “milf” *risos* deixa-me um bocadinho a pensar, acho que é mais provocatório, não é? Mas não consigo explicar em que sentido. Isso era uma imagem que eu nunca iria usar, apesar de não – pronto – não ser assim “má má má” mas, lá está, não deixa de invocar as mães, né? E haver alguém a falar da mãe ou da minha mãe, né? Porque encontrei no sagrado Coração de Maria, uma representação de todas as mães, depois com ali o “milf” reporta muito a aquelas brincadeiras que tínhamos em criança nos anos 80, “a tua mãe é isto”, “ai mas eu vou comer a tua mãe”. Então penso que tem mais a ver com isso do que a própria imagem em si. A do meio não me diz especialmente nada.

VB Vou mostrar as outras imagens. A questão é a mesma, como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?

Estas por mim já são mais brandas. Não sinto provocação nenhuma. Não sinto que haja profanação sequer da parte religiosa ou mesmo das mulheres, não é? Das freiras. Quando eu olho para elas, o que elas me dizem é que, independentemente da nossa profissão religiosa, a parte do prazer deve estar sempre lá. Do prazer, do autocuidado, né? Como é o secador, como é o perfume, como é o divertimento na imagem da esquerda. Estas para mim não são provocatórias, não são “profanatórias”. São boas imagens tecnicamente, são bonitas para mim.

VB E porque é que acha que – no caso dos designers e no caso das revistas de moda – porque é que acha que são feitas estas referências?

Eu creio que é para sairmos um pouco da nossa zona de conforto, que é para sairmos um pouco de todos os dogmas da Igreja que, sendo de uma forma, professando de uma certa religião, não podemos fazer certas coisas: não podemos pôr perfume, não podemos usar as mini saias, não podemos andar nos carrosséis, não é? E eu creio que é mais por aí – é sair – é uma imagem que nos faz sair dos dogmas, sejam eles dogmas da Igreja, sejam dogmas da própria sociedade, não é? Porque acho que também há alguns que são da sociedade, que “as mulheres não podem fazer isto” e “as mulheres não podem fazer aquilo” e para mim é mais por aí.

VB Uma última questão. Considera que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou considera que, em geral, tende a ser desrespeitosa?

Não. Pode ser, pode ser respeitosa. Sim, sim. O desrespeito é aquilo que as pessoas veem, né? Porque mesmo aquela imagem do Sagrado Coração de Maria com “milf”, para mim mexe comigo, porquê? Porque me reporta aquelas memórias de infância, mas talvez se eu não as tivesse já não seria tão chocante para mim, porque a parte do “milf” associada até a uma mulher que – pronto, que na sociedade ou que na religião – é a mulher das mulheres e é a mulher perfeita, não é assim tão chocante. Eu acho que é chocante quando nos reporta a memórias e coisas mal resolvidas que nós temos. Nunca encontrei nada que fosse chocante na moda. E muitas vezes trazem mensagens que de outra forma não conseguiríamos manifestar, não é? Sobretudo para a Igreja Católica.

VB Certo e, por exemplo, não tem nenhum problema com a designers que não se identificam com o catolicismo ou cristianismo em geral fazerem este tipo de representações?

Não, de todo. Nós também fazemos o contrário, não é? Nós também nos “apropriamos” – entre aspas – de algumas tendências e de algumas nuances de outro tipo de modas, não é? Os padrões muçulmanos das cores e isso, nós apropriamos também muito os padrões dos índios da Amazônia, nós também nos apropriamos muito disso, e não é por isso que estamos a entrar em desrespeito, não é? Acho que faz-nos pensar, faz-nos ir à procura e talvez até nos faça encontrar um caminho que é mais em contacto com aquilo que deveria ser, né? Ou a religião e sair da “religião-instituição”, pelo menos é isso que faz comigo.

Appendix F23 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Ivone”

Date of Interview:	March 11, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	26:28
Characteristics:	62 years old, Santarem, Retired, Catholic

- VB** Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que considera ser a sua religião ou a sua denominação religiosa?
Católica.
- VB** Certo, e como é que descreveria as suas crenças e os seus valores religiosos?
Como é que eu vejo? Como é que eu veria?
- VB** Como é que descreveria?
Como é que eu descrevo? Opá, é uma parte importante de mim para a minha espiritualidade. Traduz-me tranquilidade, formação também de certa maneira, e cria-me, pronto, valores para eu conviver com uns com os outros de uma forma harmoniosa.
- VB** E sente que tem a ver com a sua educação ou que ainda é uma coisa que pratica muito hoje em dia?
O quê? A religião?
- VB** Sim.
Se pratico? Sim, pratico porque me faz sentir bem e, portanto, acho que me melhora como pessoa.
- VB** E no dia a dia, como é que a sua fé influencia a sua vida diária?
De certa maneira, pronto, baseado nos mesmos valores cristãos, tento aplicá-los no meu dia a dia na relação com os outros. Sobre tudo na relação com os outros, claro, pronto, eu acho que é uma fonte para eu me socializar e, portanto, comunicar com os outros. Tem por base os valores cristãos, sim, tenho em atenção isso. Sim.
- VB** E relativamente às suas escolhas de vestuário, como é que a sua fé influencia? Se influencia...
As cores não, nessa parte não me sinto obrigada a usar as cores nem é imposta na religião cristã/católica – nesta que eu pratico – não me impõem cores nenhuma, embora existam fases no ano em que a própria Igreja utiliza cores como uma simbologia. Portanto, na Quaresma é o roxo, pronto, o vermelho na altura do Crisma. Mas não impõe isso às pessoas, nem eu me sinto obrigada e sou livre de vestir aquilo que quiser nessa parte do vestuário. Não me sinto com obrigações nessa área.
- VB** Em relação a nada que tenha a ver com vestuário?
Sim, não.
- VB** OK. E acredita que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião em geral?
Quer dizer, acho que na Igreja Católica não existe. Agora vamos para as outras religiões. Sim, pronto a muçulmana – e a gente sabe – ou então a Hindu, têm realmente trajes que dão a própria identidade à pessoa e a gente sabe qual é que é a religião a que ela está incluída, vá, ou a que pertence, de certa maneira.
- VB** E, no seu caso, acredita que a religião influencia a maneira como se veste?
A mim não influencia.
- VB** E acha que já influenciou de alguma maneira?
Não, não. É claro que eu tenho um certo – e também vai da minha própria maneira de ser – É claro que eu não vou a um ritual católico vestida de calções nem de minissaia nem tudo, portanto... sei lá com roupa muito decotada isso assim, mas eu própria porque me sinto mal, há pessoas que o fazem e pronto. Mas, de uma maneira geral, não, mas de certa maneira não, não são postas de lado, por isso. Agora, talvez noutras religiões são capaz de ser mais censuradas. Até ao momento, há certas ocasiões, por exemplo, quando é pela primeira comunhão, nesses rituais incluem os pais e normalmente as mães jovens vão pronto ali de uma certa maneira que eu não me sentiria bem, mas a própria Igreja não as proíbe de elas irem assim. São livros de, pronto, de irem como querem.
- VB** E considera que existem diretrizes específicas na Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Não. Não, não sinto isso, pronto.

VB E no passado sente que existiu?

Quer dizer, no meu passado eu não me recordo. Pronto, no meu passado não me recordo, mas eu sei que, pronto, pela história que as mulheres quando iam à missa tinham que usar um véu. Pronto, isto aqui há uns anos, da minha da minha mãe ou da minha irmã, vá pronto, era mais essa tradição e as mulheres iam e cobriam o cabelo com um véu. Agora não, nem nunca eu usei nem a própria Igreja impõe qualquer imposição em questão de vestuário, não.

VB OK. E considera que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário específica que não possa vestir por causa da sua religião?

Pronto, é assim, é como eu já disse, não, da maneira como eu sou e da maneira como eu me visto, não me sinto limitada. Pronto, visto aquilo com que eu me sinto bem, e nunca senti “porque eu não vou vestir isto por causa da minha religião”, não, porque eu também não me sinto bem com aquela peça, pronto. Mas não, nessas na questão, nunca fui, pronto... A própria religião católica, eu já presenciei situações em que há crítica por parte das pessoas, pronto, olham e acham que não é o vestuário adequado que aquela pessoa devia vestir para aquela ocasião. Mas nem o próprio padre faz qualquer questão nem distinção. Não, não obriga. Há uma certa censura por parte das pessoas que estão lá e que acham que aquilo não é adequado, mas eu própria nunca me senti, porque também não gosto de me vestir assim. Pronto, gosto de uma coisa mais discreta, mais sóbria, tudo o que não dê muito nas vistas.

VB Que tipo de peças é que sente que são criticadas ou censuradas?

Por exemplo, ir para uma igreja de calções e com uma super minissaia – minissaia é uma coisa por cima do joelho – agora super minissaia eu acho que é provocar, pronto, são coisas que não se adequam àquela ocasião que é uma religião em que existe um certo recato e respeito e uma certa sobriedade – não sei se é a palavra mais indicada, mas pronto – acho que é nesse aspeto. Agora alcinhas, isso acho que, pronto, isso não. Agora como uma pessoa como eu já vi – pronto, uma mãe jovem – e ali com uma minissaia quase a ver-se as cuecas, eu acho que é uma situação provocatória. Não, não, não. É para provocar mesmo a situação, acho que não é adequado.

VB E sente que essas críticas que fazem a esse tipo de vestuário são feitas de igual maneira aos homens como são feitas às mulheres? Ou acha que nem sequer existe isso para os homens?

Pois é assim... O modo de vestir dos homens é um bocadinho diferente, não é? É tal as calças e camisa ou t-shirt e pronto vai assim. Vão assim pronto, mas não é tão censurada porque não expõe tanto o corpo, e com a mulher existe essa coisa do símbolo sexual e da questão de ir de minissaia é uma provocação sexual. É na minha maneira de ver e é aquilo que as pessoas às vezes comentam, não é? Agora em questão aos homens acho que eles nessa situação, não, o modo de vestir deles, não se expõe assim dessa maneira como uma mulher, penso eu.

VB Mas não tem conhecimento de alguma vez alguém numa posição de liderança dentro da Igreja, como um padre, ter ido falar com alguém ou abordar alguém por causa disso?

Não, não, não.

VB Considera que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Pois eu acho que não. Se existe, olha, nunca as li. *risos*

VB OK. Certo. Um conceito de que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para si, o que é que é a modéstia?

Modéstia é uma coisa simples, talvez. Uma coisa regular básica, básica. Uma coisa que pronto, simples, só, de certa maneira.

VB Ou seja, é um conceito mais focado em não dar nas vistas e se calhar, não tanto em cobrir o corpo? Ou acha que é as duas coisas?

Se calhar as duas coisas... Para mim é as duas coisas.

VB OK, certo. Segue tendências de moda?

Se eu sigo tendências de moda? Ah, eu não tenho dinheiro para isso. *risos* Tinha que renovar o meu guarda-roupa todos os anos e não posso. É assim, gosto de me sentir bem e gosto às vezes de saber quais são, pronto, de ver às vezes determinadas coisas, mas sei que já não se adequam determinadas coisas a mim e já não me importo. Gosto de me sentir bem com aquilo que visto, pronto, não com uma preocupação – não é para dar nas vistas nem mostrar aos outros que tenho uma peça nova – mas pronto, com aquilo para uma determinada situação, ou para um casamento ou para um batizado ou coisa... Gosto

de me sentir eu própria bem com aquilo que vou, também honrando o momento, não é? E de certa maneira não, não ir pronto... acho que é uma provocação a gente ser convidado para um casamento ou um batizado e ir ali toda mal-arranjada, não é? Também é falta de respeito pelas próprias pessoas que nos convidaram – pronto pronto – nesse aspeto tenho essa preocupação, agora, que eu sigo tendências de moda? Não, porque pronto não, não tenho, financeiramente não posso seguir isso. *risos*

VB No seguimento... costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Não, olha, olha. Às vezes há estações em que não compro nada. Compro com frequência? Sim, talvez eu compre, todas as estações do ano compro uma pecita, pronto, compro ou um vestido, agora comprei um *kispo* e uma camisola, coisas que são básicas e necessárias para o dia a dia. Fatos de treino, que é o que eu uso aqui em casa. Mais ou menos, mas sim, pronto, normalmente nas estações do ano, compro uma ou duas peças. Sim.

VB E sente que existe alguma ligação entre o seu consumo de moda e a sua fé?

Não, não. Eu nunca me senti restringida nem influenciada pela Igreja nesse aspeto, não faço escolhas baseadas na religião. É com aquilo que eu me sinto bem, que eu gosto.

VB E, por exemplo, acha que a sua fé influencia a maneira como pensa, por exemplo, em moda sustentável ou as condições de trabalho nas fábricas e essas coisas?

Eu, às vezes, olho quando vou comprar aos chineses e vejo roupas, assim pronto, que são tão baratas e às vezes incomoda-me um bocadinho pensar que aquela peça foi feita por pessoas, quase como escravos, não é? Pronto, se calhar que não tinham os direitos que deviam ter. Isso incomoda-me, isso às vezes faz-me sentir mal, mas também eu sozinha não consigo mudar as coisas, não é? Pronto e não vou dizer que não compro. Às vezes penso nisso e sinto-me assim um bocadinho mal comigo própria também, mas compro.

VB Mas acho que se sente mal por causa dos valores católicos ou é uma questão de personalidade?

Ai, sinto-me mal porque começo a imaginar... porque vejo, já vi determinadas reportagens e vejo às vezes as crianças ali a serem exploradas, sobretudo numa reportagem que me impressionou muito na Índia. Foi na Índia. Crianças assim com más condições ali na máquina de costura e por aquilo que diziam que trabalhavam 16 horas por dia e, pronto, e quando estou para essas roupas baratas, faz-me impressão. Vem-me à ideia essas coisas. Mas também os agentes económicos é que deviam atuar mais do que eu, embora pudesse dizer assim “a gente também se deixar de comprar, deixa de haver”, não é? Mas olha, infelizmente a gente às vezes também somos baseados com um fraco orçamento.

VB E questões como doações e caridade. Acha que é uma coisa que pense?

Ah, sim. É assim, a minha roupa vai até ao final. Mas a caridade quer dizer da roupa? De dar roupa?

VB Sim.

Sim, quer dizer, a minha roupa eu às vezes faço modificações e reutilizo, etc. Mas há certas coisas que eu dou naqueles contentores que existem da roupa, depois aquilo acho que é distribuído... Agora eu dar a pessoas concretas não faço, pronto. Dou com a convicção de que aquelas pessoas que gerem esse tipo de coisas – de contentores – que fazem a distribuição às entidades que necessitam. Pronto, nesse aspeto, não sou capaz de chegar ali e deitar um molho num lixo ali vulgar, não, ponho no contentor da roupa. Com esse objetivo, sim.

VB Certo, como é que decide o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Sente que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que veste no dia a dia e aquilo que veste, por exemplo, para ir à missa?

Ah, sim, pronto, eu quando vou à missa vou mais um bocadinho arranjadinha. Aqui em casa ando de fato de treino ou assim com umas calças já assim mais velhas ou assim. É claro, quando vou, no dia de ir à missa – ao domingo – vou mais arranjadinha, visto uma roupinha melhor, um casaquinho, vou mais ajeitadinha. Acho eu, também para me sentir bem e é como digo, também pronto, vou para um lugar que é importante para mim e que é um momento solene e eu tenho de honrar aquele momento de uma maneira de me sentir também bem e confortável. Pronto, e eu própria também me sinto bem em haver um dia em que eu me preparo para ir à missa, um lugar/sítio solene, vá, de certa maneira, sim, vou com uma roupa melhor.

VB Então, mas o que é que veste no dia a dia que não vestiria na Igreja?

Ai então eu no dia a dia ando aqui de fato treino. Eu não vou para missa de fato de treino, por exemplo, ou visto um vestido, ou visto umas calças e uma camisa ou um casaco. É diferente pronto, porque também no meio-dia a dia, no meu trabalho aqui – como agora ando na horta e nas limpezas – isso sim, tem que ser uma coisa mais prática, de outra

maneira, pronto. Com camisas e isso assim já não me sinto tão bem e posso estragar a roupa... E nesses dias, nesses momentos, visto uma roupinha melhor, sim, faço uma maquilhagemzinha, ponho um batonzinho, prontos.

VB Por uma questão de respeito?

Também. Também por respeito, mas para me sentir bem. Eu não gosto muito de muita maquilhagem, mas pronto, mas ponho um batonzinho e arranjo o cabelo e isso assim. Por uma questão também de respeito pelo momento que vou viver, sim.

VB OK, certo. Já utilizou roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos, como cruzes – ou assim – ou versículos bíblicos?

Não, não, não tenho nada, nada religioso pronto, não tenho. Usei uma altura que tinha um fio de ouro e tinha um crucifixo. Mas no momento não tenho nada, não uso nada de símbolos, nem nada pronto, não exponho nada de símbolos religiosos, não.

VB E quando utilizava, porque é que utilizava?

Quando utilizava, sobretudo, o crucifixo, era para sentir proteção.

VB OK, certo. Ou seja, não era para mostrar às outras pessoas?

Não, eu às vezes até metia a Cruz para dentro... *risos*

VB Certo. Vamos passar à última parte em que eu vou mostrar umas imagens. Vamos lá ver. Consegue ver a tela?

Consigo, pronto, é a moda agora deste ano. 2017. 2014. Ah, pronto já estou a perceber... e símbolos religiosos, não é?

VB É, então isto é só se não tiver nada em mente, mas a como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Ai, não acho que não... Quer dizer, até nem são assim muito feios, mas acho que isto é também uma forma de provocação, acho eu. Pronto. Se é com o sentido de mostrar a religiosidade que eles praticam, ponto, e gostam de exibir e mostrar, portanto, qual é que é a inclinação religiosa, se é com essa intenção não censuro. Agora se isso é para uma forma de provocação aos crentes, se é com essa intenção, acho mal – pronto – acho mal. Não acho assim muito correto usarem esses símbolos para nesses... Quer dizer, estão a usar os símbolos religiosos para lucrarem com isso. Que é no fundo a essência deve ser. A moda é uma indústria, não é? Que liga muito dinheiro e utilizam esses símbolos porque sabem que há uma grande camada de pessoas que são religiosas, não é? E que pertencem a estas religiões e provavelmente é uma forma também de marketing, não sei.

VB Portanto, acha que que os designers que não são cristãos não deviam fazer este tipo de peças?

Ai, acho que não, acho que não. Porque acho que estão a fazer uma exploração de uma coisa... Porque isto aqui, se é essa a base, é precisamente para poderem lucrar com isso, porque sabem que há muita gente – quase toda a gente, não é? – tem uma religião e uma grande camada têm a religião cristã. E, de certa maneira, isso é uma forma também de lucrar, portanto, se está na base, esse princípio acho muito mal lucrar com isso.

VB Aqui neste caso, por exemplo, muitos dos designers que fazem este tipo de coleções com imagens associadas ao catolicismo principalmente são italianos. Então para a maior parte deles a justificativa é que, apesar de eles não serem católicos atualmente, eles cresceram no meio do catolicismo e que, então, como faz parte da imaginação deles, apesar de eles não acreditarem. Pronto é mais uma questão cultural, se calhar. Acha que é inadequado na mesma?

Ah, é inadequado, eu acho que sim, acho que sim. Ainda com essa agravante de que eles foram e deixaram de ser. Então, quer dizer, ainda é pior, acho eu. *risos*

VB OK. Agora vou-lhe mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Está dividido em 2 slides porque não cabia tudo num. Mas como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?

Pois... é o mesmo que eu disse agora, eu acho que isto é uma forma só de eles obterem mais proveitos. Utilizarem este tipo de imagens, não é? Utilizar este recurso é para uma forma de eles próprios deles terem mais proveito do que estarem a manifestar a sua fé, porque se fosse só com essa intenção de manifestar a sua fé, não precisavam pronto, não punham à venda, porque estes símbolos não é estas coisas são para vender, não é?

VB Alguns são, mas alguns são editoriais, acho que às vezes é uma forma mais artística.

Ai, é? É assim, se realmente é a intenção de mostrar a sua fé, porque há uma moda, acho eu, ou se não há agora já houve, em que as pessoas tinham vergonha de dizer que pertenciam a uma determinada religião. E se estas pessoas, portanto, que são ícones, não é? Que são pessoas famosas e conhecidas e etc. e utilizam a religião como uma forma de mostrar “eu não tenho vergonha de mostrar a minha religião e de ter uma religião” até acho positivo, pronto, pode influenciar. Quer queiramos quer não, a religião é uma base

de valores, de solidariedade, cristandade, não é? Pronto, que é no fundo o cristianismo é a solidariedade entre uns e outros. Se eles usam esses símbolos para mostrar e para influenciar outros jovens nesse sentido positivo, acho que é positivo, pronto, agora se utilizam só para chocar ou porque não praticam aí acho muito mal.

VB E estas imagens aqui, para continuar. Como é que a fazem sentir?

Ui. *risos* Estas aqui, pois, é das tais coisas, isto aqui é mesmo para provocar. As outras anteriores de certa maneira eram mais subtis. Agora, estas aqui são uma forma de provocar. Pronto, símbolos que estão ligados a um certo respeito, porque esta é aqui do meio, não é? Mesmo a posição dela tem um cariz sexual, não é? Pronto, mostra ali uma certa... e todos eles, vá, praticamente que aqui estão. Portanto, isto aqui é uma provocação, estão a utilizar símbolos para contrariar aquilo que está na base e isso acho muito mal. É provocar e é não ter respeito pelos símbolos e pelas pessoas que professam a Igreja que nesta questão é o catolicismo. É o que eu acho.

VB Considera blasfémia?

É um pouco. Não na totalidade, mas se calhar um pouco, sim.

VB Última questão: considera que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou que, em geral, tende a ser desrespeitosa?

Ah, desrespeitosa.

VB Sempre?

Naqueles primeiros casos que tu mostrastes, não achei, não achei desrespeitosa, não achei. Agora nestes últimos achei desrespeitosa sim.

VB Então é desrespeitoso quando há uma ligação entre a religião e, se calhar, a sexualidade? Sim.

VB OK, ou seja, quando há símbolos religiosos com nudez ao mesmo tempo, por exemplo?

Sim, com nudez... Não é uma nudez pura, aquilo não é uma nudez pura. É uma provocação. É isso que eu acho pronto, porque no caso de uma freira, uma freira é mostrar-se sóbria, não é? E ali está a utilizar essa imagem, mas de uma maneira provocante. Agora, nesse aspeto acho mal, acho que é a provocar e não ter respeito pelas pessoas que professam aquela região porque são símbolos. Embora exista na igreja católica agora, pronto, com estas coisas da pedofilia está um bocadinho agora manchada, não é? Pronto e eu também sou contra isso. Mas, de certa maneira, acho que é uma religião que se dá ao respeito e pronto. E nesse aspeto acho que é desrespeitoso estas últimas imagens, sobretudo.

Appendix F24 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Adriana”

Date of Interview:	March 13, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	27:01
Characteristics:	30 years old, Covilhã, Researcher, Catholic

VB Dentro do Cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou denominação religiosa?

Católica cristã.

VB E como é que tu descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

Então, eu sou sempre pela ajuda da vítima – e não sei se isso tem a ver com o Cristianismo – se não, é porque os valores que me foram incutidos é ajudar o próximo e ter compaixão. E acho que era para isso.

VB E como é que sentes que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária?

Olha, eu rezo. Quando me levanto, rezo, quando tenho alguma dificuldade, também rezo, porque encontro na oração uma força, uma força para caminhar em frente. No dia a dia eu agarro-me a Deus quando tenho alguma dificuldade, também quando tenho alguma alegria, eu agradeço. Pronto, é isso, Deus está no meio da minha vida.

VB E em relação à maneira e às tuas escolhas de vestuário no dia a dia, sentes que a religião influencia a maneira como te vestes?

Eu comecei a pensar nisso sim, quando respondi a primeira vez – e única – ao teu questionário, e de facto não vejo limitações na minha forma de vestir. Claro que tenho que ter alguma sensatez, não é? O sítio onde eu vou, ao sítio onde eu estou, com as pessoas com quem estou, mas encontro também na fé em Cristo que tenho liberdade para as minhas escolhas. Tenho liberdade para o meu ser criativo. Não há nada que me impeça. É só simplesmente ser sensata de onde estou e para onde vou, é só isso.

VB Então e sentes que existe alguma peça de vestuário específica ou alguma roupa que tu não poderias vestir por causa da tua religião?

Não, eu uso tudo. Eu acho que visto tudo. Quando saio à noite, também visto-me assim um bocadinho mais hot, mas acho que não, não, não me impede em nada, não. Eu acho que até pelo contrário, foi o que eu te disse, sinto-me livre. Livre nas minhas escolhas. Simplesmente acho que tenho que respeitar o próximo e a mim mesma, porque se eu quero ter respeito e que me respeitem também tenho que me respeitar a mim mesma. Mas não é por mostrar um bocado de pele a mais que isso acho que vai fazer diferença. Acho que não. Acho que não. É as nossas ações e a forma como estamos.

VB Certo, mas em geral, acreditas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?

Sim. Em certas crenças, sim. O islamismo abafa a mulher de uma tal forma que a mulher nem os olhos se veem. Mas acho que é só isso. E outras crenças, claro, que incutem – principalmente na mulher – certas formas de estar e de agir e de vestir e isso influencia a individualidade das pessoas. Mas eu não sinto isso em mim.

VB Sentes que, no caso da Igreja Católica, existem diretrizes sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Olha, sou sincera, se existirem, eu não as conheço, e também, no tempo em que nós vivemos, eu não quero muito saber disso. Porque o que eu digo e o que eu penso é: as minhas ações são que descrevem aquele que eu sou, não é aquilo que eu visto, não é aquilo que eu uso – matéria – é aquilo que eu faço sentir às pessoas, não é? Pelas minhas palavras, pelas minhas ações. Mas se existem, não as conheço neste momento atual em que vivemos. Não sei.

VB Mas consideras que no passado se calhar existiram? Regras -

Sim, com certeza, sim, sim, sim. E que maltrataram muito a mulher, principalmente. Porque a mulher foi sempre o ser que espezinharam durante o tempo todo da humanidade, não é? Os mais fracos são sempre as crianças, as mulheres e os idosos.

VB E porque é que achas que estas regras – entre aspas – eram postas mais nas mulheres do que nos homens?

Não sei, talvez porque... O homem sempre se achou superior. Porque a Igreja foi criada por homens, se bem que Jesus veio ao mundo para ter uma palavra de amor e de

- solidariedade para com os mais fracos, mas os homens não quiseram assim e foram eles que tomaram conta disto. Mas a Igreja não é do Homem, a Igreja é de Cristo, portanto...
- VB** Consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as pessoas – e mais especificamente as mulheres – se devem vestir?
- Não. Não. Eu vejo lá a palavra sensatez. Eu nunca li a Bíblia toda – porque eu ainda não consegui – comecei a ler, mas não consigo, porque o primeiro testamento é um livro muito violento, é. Mas não, não acho que a Bíblia diga isso. Apesar de ter sido escrita por homens, não acredito. E também se lá tiver alguma coisa escrita, também não vou ligar muito a isso, sinceramente.
- VB** Achas que seria mais, se calhar, para o contexto da altura? E não necessariamente uma coisa a ser aplicada nos dias de hoje?
- O que lá há para ser aplicado no dia de hoje é realmente olhar para o próximo, ajudar o próximo. Para mim, isso é fundamental, ajudar quem precisa, quem está a cair no chão. Agora, o que se veste e o que não se veste, isso são só palavras que os homens inventam, sinceramente.
- VB** Um conceito de que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para ti, o que é que é a modéstia?
- Para mim a modéstia – na minha cabeça – é a sensatez de saber estar em todos os sítios, só isso. Agora modéstia... Se for um homem a falar nisso, para ele o que é modéstia? Certamente é não mostrar o peito, não mostrar a barriga, não mostrar as pernas. Não sei, não é? Isto, a modéstia, se calhar, é muito relativo para certas pessoas.
- VB** Mas para ti tem mais a ver com humildade, se calhar?
- Mas eu fui criada já num tempo... Em que... Não vejo por aí, não vejo por aí.
- VB** OK, certo. Consideras que segues tendências de moda?
- Não, eu visto o que me dá na gana, sinceramente. *risos* Mas gosto de saber o que se usa, sim, e algumas peças eu vou pela tendência, mas há outras coisas de que eu não gosto. É como toda a gente, não é? Mas sim, gosto de seguir algumas tendências, algumas peças, mas não sigo muito, não.
- VB** E costumes comprar roupa com muita frequência?
- Não, gosto mais de fazer *upcycling* das peças já velhas, já passadas, alguns feitos e assim. Aprendi isso com a minha mãe até e gosto. Tenho montes de roupa porque, lá está, uma pessoa está sempre a renovar as peças, mas não sou muito consumista. Não. Gosto de comprar, óbvio, mas não. Se comprar 2 ou 3 peças por ano, já é muito, porque é um desgaste enorme para o planeta estar sempre a comprar.
- VB** Sentes que que a tua fé tem alguma influência neste teu comportamento de consumo relacionado com a moda?
- Pois, então é assim, o que eu estava a dizer era: eu não sei muito bem se isso tem a ver com eu ser católica ou se é a forma como fui criada pelos meus pais. Mas eu sinto que tenho respeito pelo planeta, porque consumir demais afeta os recursos e não é necessária tanta compra, tanta compra. Aliás, eu até já trabalhei numa loja de roupa em que o consumo era demais, a sério. Demasiado. Eu só trabalhei naquela loja por precisar mesmo de dinheiro, porque era horrível. Era horrível porque o *fast fashion* é demais, para mim é demais. A moda não tem... Aliás, as peças não têm qualidade, as pessoas compram todos os dias, eu cheguei a ver lá pessoas a comprar todos os dias peças diferentes. A loja estava carregadíssima de peças e as pessoas – é verdade – nós sabemos que as pessoas não precisam assim tanto de roupa. Mas pronto, é o momento em que estamos na vida.
- VB** Já falaste um bocadinho sobre estes temas, mas achas que a tua religião influencia a tua visão sobre moda sustentável? Ou se consideras questões como a ética, as condições de trabalho em *sweatshops* e essas coisas quando fazes escolhas de moda – ou doações e caridade – por causa da tua fé? Ou achas que não está relacionado?
- Pois é assim, a minha educação e a minha fé estão conjugadas. E sim, eu acho que sim. E... Desculpa, perdi-me na pergunta.
- VB** Se achas que existe uma ligação da tua religião com pensares e considerares esse tipo de questões quando fazes escolhas de moda ligadas à sustentabilidade e à ética?
- OK, sim. Pronto, era isso que eu estava a dizer, sim, desculpa. A minha religião e a forma como eu fui educada certamente que se conjugam e... ver a sustentabilidade... bom, como é que eu posso dizer? Acho que já respondi mais ou menos. Sim, afetam o meu modo de pensar e a minha forma de escolher e de doar roupas, sim como como tinhas perguntado. Porque tudo se conjuga na minha vida, então não sei bem às vezes distinguir se é a forma como fui educada ou se é a minha forma de praticar a religião.

- VB** Mas sentes que existe uma ligação entre os valores católicos e estes valores que têm a ver com a sustentabilidade?
Sim, sim, sinto. Sinto isso porque nos obriga a respeitar a casa onde vivemos, que é o planeta. Se o planeta não tem recursos para o ser humano, então, o que é que nos vai acontecer?
- VB** Nestes comportamentos mais éticos em relação à moda, que, quando os fazes, achas que é mais por uma preocupação com o planeta ou uma preocupação com as pessoas? Ou achas que uma coisa está ligada à outra?
Bom, isso é uma boa pergunta, porque na realidade é com os dois. Mas há sempre mais uma tendência para um lado, não é? Porque é assim, se é mais com o planeta... é que sem o planeta, o ser humano também se extingue. Mas também é pelas pessoas, porque há pessoas que sofrem muito no planeta e sofrem pelos nossos abusos, na verdade, não é? É 50/50 na verdade.
- VB** OK, certo. Como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Sentes que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que vestes no teu dia a dia e aquilo que vestes, por exemplo, para ir à missa?
Não, não. Vou à missa todos os fins de semana, sim, mas não, não sinto. Vou de calças de ganga, vou até de minissaia se for no verão, porque agora as coisas já estão um bocadinho diferentes e também é com o nosso caminhar e também nós, principalmente mulheres, fazemos essa diferença. Mas infelizmente também às vezes quando vou à missa – eu também não ligo ao que dizem – mas também ou de calção ou até de salto alto a tendência das mulheres mais velhas é sempre olhar. Mas nós temos que ultrapassar isso, porque se não formos nós, mulheres jovens, a fazer diferença, quem fará? Não é? Porque nós é que temos ainda a força para andar para a frente, para mudar para outras mulheres que venham mais jovens atrás com outros pensamentos. Porque também foi assim que nós agora temos liberdade, foram outras mulheres que lutaram por nós – mais duramente, sim – que nós agora podemos estar livres, podemos ter as nossas escolhas de pensamento e de vida. Mas respondendo diretamente, mas não, não, não faço essa mudança. Porque eu também, é assim, pronto, a minha forma de vestir acho que não é muito escandalosa, acho eu, não sei. *risos* Escandalosa no sentido de... como é que hei de explicar... de ir assim muito à mostra, não é? Porque eu também, a minha forma de estar na vida é ser recatada, na verdade. Mas eu não vou julgar as pessoas que se vestem com menos roupa. Cada um... Eu não me sinto tão à vontade, porque não é... Pronto. Cada um tem as suas formas de se sentir ou bem com o corpo ou mal com o corpo, pronto, não é? Cada um, mas pronto. Eu não me sinto assim tão à vontade, mas não faço diferença nenhuma de vestuário.
- VB** Certo e sentes que este julgamento vem maioritariamente por parte de mulheres?
Mulheres. Sem dúvida.
- VB** OK, ou seja, nunca houve nenhuma situação em que tu sentisses que estavas a ser julgada, por exemplo, por um padre?
Não. Eu nem quero saber o que ele diz ou o que ele pensa. Sinceramente só lá estou para ouvir a palavra de Deus, mais nada. Porque isto cada um... às vezes falam muito, mas quem tem telhados de vidro não atira pedras, não é? Então, não, não. Mesmo se fizerem esse julgamento, eu não estou nem aí.
- VB** OK. Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos, como, por exemplo, cruzes e assim?
Não, não gosto, desculpa, desculpa, desculpa.
- VB** Não, não, não. Não utilizaste nunca?
Não, não gosto, não gosto. Tenho um fiozinho de prata com umas medalhinhas e assim, mas não gosto. A mim, a mim não gosto de me ver com brincos com cruzes, a mim, mas cada um é que sabe.
- VB** Mas, por exemplo, o fio de prata de que estás a falar, as medalhas eram medalhas relacionadas com a religião?
É uma medalhinha de Nossa Senhora. Sim.
- VB** E quando usas essa medalha, porque é que usas?
Porque eu sinto que me dá proteção.
- VB** Ou seja, é mais por sentido de proteção e se calhar não tanto para expressar a tua fé?
Não, não, não. É mesmo para... tanto que eu ando sempre com ela para dentro. Sempre, sempre, está sempre aqui para dentro.
- VB** OK. Certo, certo, certo, certo.
Não é para mostrar, é só mesmo uma simbologia para mim.

- VB** OK, certo. Vou-te mostrar aqui umas imagens. Consegues ver a tela? Isto é mais no caso de não teres nada em mente, mas como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?
- Consigo. A mim... pois, isto é mais a conotação. A mim realmente causa-me estranheza. Não sei porquê, não sei porquê. Mas... acho que não, sei lá, acho que não... também, às vezes não sei o que é que querem dizer, não é? Porque tinha que ser analisado, mas não sei se às vezes é alguma representação da fé por parte dos Designers ou se é algum escárnio da fé. Eu não consigo perceber, não é? Tinham de ser analisadas as imagens e a coleção de moda. Olha, por exemplo, eu o primeiro gosto muito, adoro o vestido. E também adoro segundo, o segundo adoro, tirava era as cruzes, não gosto. Não gosto, tirava as cruzes, mas a adoro. Pronto.
- VB** Mas achas que é ofensivo ou achas que –
- Não, não, isso não parece nada ofensivo, mas não sei se é alguma exaltação da fé por parte do designer, se não, mas... há algumas coisas que são ofensivas, mas neste caso a mim não me parece nada. Mas não, não acho nada ofensivo.
- VB** E achas que isto depende então das crenças religiosas dos designers?
- Talvez ou talvez o que queiram passar ao público.
- VB** Certo. Vou-te mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal* – está dividido em 2 slides porque não cabia tudo num – mas como é que te sentes em relação a estas imagens? Como é que elas te fazem sentir?
- Pronto, lá está, esta última [Figure 24] com a Nossa Senhora, não gosto. Só porque tem aquilo ali a dizer. Não gosto, porque isso, sim, para mim, é ofensivo. Também há muita coisa com que podem brincar, não é preciso brincarem com a Nossa Senhora. *risos* A primeira é uma atriz portuguesa, não é? Joana Ribeiro... Não me estão a ofender em nada. E a do meio, sinceramente, eu não sei. Só a última é que eu não gosto muito porque as outras duas eu teria de as analisar. Porque, Vitória, eu no meu mestrado, na dissertação de mestrado eu analisei as imagens das capas de revista da *Vogue* de um ano – eu analisei 13 capas de revista – e as capas de revista da *Vogue* tem muitos signos, muita simbologia. E eu adoro isso, só que eu aqui estas duas eu não estou a perceber o que querem dizer, não estou a perceber.
- VB** Também o objetivo é ter assim uma primeira impressão da *vibe*. De como é que elas te fazem sentir. Se criam desconforto, se não criam desconforto...
- Olha, só a última é que me cria desconforto. A primeira, eu não consigo perceber se ela está a mandar calar – não sei – ou se quer dizer alguma coisa com a Cruz, com o terço. E a do meio assusta-me um bocado só por causa das velas e ali da Cruz ser visível. Mas pronto, é só isso.
- VB** Certo. Para estas próximas a questão é a mesma: como é que estas imagens fazem sentir?
- *risos* Ah, sério que parvoíce. Isto tem um significado! Mas é assim, eu com as freiras já nem me importo muito que gozem, sinceramente. Mas não me causa problema nenhum. Esta aqui, a última, pois estão a fazer assim uma conotação entre Deus e com aquela imagem... mas não, não causa desconforto nenhum.
- VB** OK, última questão, consideras que –
- Oh, Vitória, se eu estiver a ser muito objetiva ou não estiver a responder àquilo que tu queres...
- VB** Não, não, eu quero respostas naturais de primeiras impressões sobre as coisas, portanto, sim. Consideras então que esta inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou que, em geral, tende a ser desrespeitosa?
- OK. Em geral, eu acho que tende a ser de escárnio, de gozo, contra a religião. Mas lá está, há muita simbologia por trás das imagens, das capas de revista e até das revistas de moda. Mas eu tenho sempre essa ideia, essa noção, que é sempre de alguma brincadeira de mau gosto. Mas pronto.
- VB** E porque é que achas que – tanto os designers como as revistas de moda – porque é que achas que eles incluem estes símbolos?
- Eu não consigo compreender. Às vezes eu não consigo saber se é mesmo para a exaltação da religião ou se é para fazerem uma certa analogia entre o que a Igreja – que por trás há muita coisa má, muita porcaria – se é sobre isso – porque a Igreja é feita por homens, como eu já disse – e se, pronto, fazerem essa analogia entre as coisas más da Igreja e quererem-na passar para um local onde há muita ostentação, muita luxúria até, e até sexualizar a religião de uma certa forma, mesmo por causa da Igreja querer passar uma imagem que não é. Muitas vezes, não é, porque a Igreja que nós temos é feita por homens,

mas a palavra de amor foi Cristo que a cá deixou, portanto. Não sei, não consigo perceber se pode ser isso, pode ser outra coisa, não sei.

VB Certo. Achas que, por exemplo, no caso dos designers italianos, muitas vezes eles não necessariamente praticam o catolicismo, mas cresceram numa cultura muito católica. Achas que é apropriado eles fazerem estas referências na mesma? Apesar de não praticarem a religião, ou achas que se calhar não deviam fazer?

É assim, eu não sou contra isso porque há muita coisa que designers não praticam e que expõem na sua criação de moda e de coleção. Também só assim é que as pessoas têm a sua originalidade, mostram a sua criatividade, o seu trabalho. Acho que uma coisa não impede a outra.

Appendix F25 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Dalila”

Date of Interview:	March 13, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	12:56
Characteristics:	42 years old, Loures, Public Sector, Catholic

- VB** Dentro do Cristianismo, qual é que considera ser a sua religião ou denominação religiosa?
Eu sou católica. Não sou praticante, mas ensinaram-me e transmitiram-me as ideias católicas e tenho mantido na católica.
- VB** Como é que descreveria as suas crenças e os seus valores religiosos?
Bem, apesar de eu não ser praticante, considero-me uma pessoa com fé e gosto de ajudar os outros e transmitir, às vezes, alguma coisa sobre a parte católica, mas não muito, não. Porque acho que agora ultimamente as pessoas também não querem, e eu também não sou muito dessas pessoas de estar a impor “tens que ser católico” ou não. Acho que não deve escolher aquilo que quer seguir...
- VB** Certo, e como é que a sua fé influencia a sua vida diária e, mais especificamente, as suas escolhas de vestuário?
A nível de escolhas de vestuário não me influencia nada. Aquilo que quero vestir eu visto. Se a nível da fé, se eles acham que não gostam de ver aquela roupa, temos pena que é assim como se diz. Porque não, visto aquilo que quero e faço aquilo que quero dentro dos meus – como é que eu hei de dizer – não é objetivos, crenças, daquilo que eu acho que confio e que é para o fazer.
- VB** Então não acha que é a sua religião influencia a maneira como se veste?
Não.
- VB** E em geral acredita que existe alguma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?
É assim, acredito nas pessoas assim, se calhar mais velhas, as pessoas de certa idade, isso acredito. Eu até nessa questão de, por exemplo, na terra dos meus pais e onde eu vou, as pessoas gostam muito de ir à missa com o seu xailezinho, mesmo se morre alguém tem que ter/vestir a roupa preta, as saias, meias, tudo, e cá é totalmente diferente, não usamos isso, prontos. Uma roupinha preta ou, não se vestimos a rigor, ou às vezes pessoas até não usam. Não critico. Acho que influencia mais na maior parte dos idosos. Acho que sim. Agora os novos...
- VB** Certo. Considera que existem diretrizes específicas na Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres devem vestir?
É assim, eu acho que que eles podem ter. Eu dou um exemplo, eu fiz a catequese andei tudo e, por exemplo, quando nós íamos à missa o padre – ou se nós fôssemos ler na Igreja e tudo – eles diziam que nós não podíamos ir com uns calções curtos, tínhamos de estar mais compostas, não podíamos, por isso... eles até transmitem, às vezes, que nós não devemos a andar assim com roupas curtas ou decotes, mas eu acho que... transmitir, eles acho que transmitem, mas depois as pessoas só fazem aquilo que querem.
- VB** Sim. Acha que essas diretrizes eram mais específicas antigamente?
Eu acho que sim. É assim, aqui em Lisboa, não sei, penso que fosse mais aberto, mas a nível de assim para cima, para as terras interiores, sim. As pessoas, principalmente as mais antigas, tinham que ir ali com o seu xaile, bem tapadinha, não se podia... acho que sim, que era mais rigoroso.
- VB** E em relação àquilo que estava a dizer, por exemplo, sobre as recomendações que eles davam para as pessoas – para as mulheres, principalmente – dentro da Igreja, acha que existe uma diferença muito grande entre aquilo que era dito às mulheres e aquilo que era dito aos homens?
Sim. Porque aí está, os rapazes podiam ir de calção – está bem que não podiam ir com o calção assim mais curto – mas eles também se calhar na altura também não usavam o calção mais curto. Mas tinha que ser, sim, íamos mais arranjadinhos e não podiam ir assim com roupa mais desportiva. Eles às vezes falavam assim, tinham que ir mais arrumadinhos quem fosse ler, por exemplo, a entrar mesmo no altar e tudo, quem fosse ler e assim, tinham que estar mais bem compostos.

VB	Portanto, acha que era igual? Sim.
VB	Certo. Considera que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário específico que não possa vestir devido à sua religião? Eu não.
VB	E nunca achou? Não.
VB	OK, certo. Acha que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as pessoas se devem vestir? Não. Também nunca li a Bíblia toda. Não sei de tudo. Mas acho que não.
VB	Um conceito de que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para si, o que é a modéstia? Aí está... Modéstia... O conceito entre o vestir?
VB	Pode não ser, depende, mas também... Mas especificamente sim, mas... Bem, a nível do vestir eu não sei se... a modéstia no vestir, eu acho que as pessoas devem vestir realmente aquilo que querem e o melhor. Tentarem ver o que quiserem vestir. Não sei, vamos passar esta.
VB	OK. Segue tendências de moda? Algumas. Mas eu gosto de ver e gosto de ver as tendências e às vezes vejo e gosto de às vezes tentar pôr e ver se fica bem e tudo.
VB	E costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência? Sim.
VB	E sente que existe alguma relação entre o seu consumo de moda e a sua fé? Ah, não.
VB	Ou seja, acha que a sua religião influencia – ou não – questões como a visão sobre a moda sustentável ou questões éticas, as condições de trabalho, e isso? Doações, caridade... São coisas que lhe passam pela cabeça? Sim, doações a gente pode... lá está, eu mesmo com os brinquedos da minha filha e a nível de moda e tudo a gente – pronto – se não quer, doamos coisas que estejam a passar para outras pessoas que estejam em condições, mas... e faço. Mas tirando isso, não.
VB	Não sente que existe uma ligação entre estas questões e, se calhar, a educação que teve dentro do catolicismo? Acho que não.
VB	Como é que decide o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Existe uma diferença entre aquilo que veste no seu dia a dia e aquilo que vestiria se fosse, por exemplo, à missa ou algum evento religioso? Nada. Visto igual.
VB	Da mesma maneira? Da mesma maneira.
VB	Já utilizou roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos? Sim, sim, sim, cruzinhas sim.
VB	Cruzes, mais alguma coisa? Assim aquelas medalhinhas com as santas, sim. Eu primeiro utilizava mais isso, agora já não ligo tanto, mas sim. Aí está, nós também dávamos em ouro as medalhinhas e usávamos e tudo. Agora... Mas utilizei muitas vezes.
VB	Quando utiliza essas peças, utiliza porquê? É porque eu gosto. E, às vezes, porque acho que – como é que hei de dizer – gosto, por exemplo, da nossa Senhora de Fátima, tenho uma nossa Senhora de Fátima e se tiver a cruzinha, às vezes sinto que como se fosse às vezes ela a proteger-me, mas é...
VB	Então é mais no sentido de proteção e não tanto de expressar a sua religião? Ou de mostrar às outras pessoas. Sim, sim, sim. Isso de mostrar não.
VB	OK. Certo, vou mostrar aqui umas imagens. É mais se não tiver assim uma ideia. Mas como é que se sente em relação à representação dos símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda? A mim não me choca. Eu não usava, mas a mim não me choca. Não me choca.
VB	Não choca? Não.
VB	Certo. E agora vou mostrar... Estas imagens são da <i>Vogue Portugal</i> – pode fazer zoom se quiser – a questão é: como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?

É assim, a mim, acho isto uma naturalidade assim... Há pessoas que podem dizer que não, as freiras aqui no seu cavalo, aquela fotografia com o perfume, coisas mais “atraentes”, mas a mim não... Não me faz diferença.

VB Em geral, não acha ofensivo?

É assim... Ofensivo a nível das freiras, isso é. É assim, dizer que ofensivo ofensivo... Como é que hei de explicar? Não é bem a ser ofensivo. A gente cria/idealiza uma freira que tem que estar ali, não se pode... tem que estar sempre ali com aquele traje, tem que estar ali sempre a rezar e não pode fazer, se calhar, muita coisa que nós temos ali naquela mentalidade de que aquela pessoa é só assim. É mas, afinal, elas são como nós, só estão com aquela veste, com aquela farda, vá, e quando estão ali na Igreja, mas acho que são pessoas normais como nós e podem-no fazer.

VB Tenho mais umas questões pequeninas, que é: em geral, considera que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa, o que em geral tende a ser desrespeitosa?

Eu acho que pode ser respeitosa. Eu acho que sim.

VB E porque é que acha que é feita esta inclusão de símbolos? Porque é que acha que os designers ou as revistas de moda incluem esta simbologia, esta imaginação, normalmente do catolicismo?

Olha, porque há pessoas também para tudo, não é? E sei que há pessoas que vão gostar e vão querer ter e comprar as peças e tudo com os símbolos. Há pessoas mesmo fanáticas – não é fanáticas, mas como é que eu hei de dizer – pronto, gostam mesmo e querem ter aquela peça e mostrar às pessoas que se calhar... não sei se é.

VB Acha que são mais as pessoas religiosas que apreciam este tipo de peças ou as que não apreciam?

Eu acho que se calhar mais as que apreciam. Acho que sim.

VB Acha que em geral os católicos gostam de ver esse tipo de representações?

Eu acho que sim. Eu acho que sim.

Appendix F26 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Eunice”

Date of Interview:	March 13, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	26:09
Characteristics:	33 years old, Loures, Public Sector, Agnostic Catholic

VB Dentro do Cristianismo qual é que considera ser a religião ou denominação religiosa com que se identifica mais?

Portanto, a parte do Católico, do Luterano, é? Pronto, seria mais o católico que acho que é o que mais influencia o sul da Europa ainda. Mas embora haja características do luteranismo e do calvinismo que eu também considero importantes, principalmente porque têm uma visão mais simples. Porque a Igreja Católica, até mesmo a ver com a moda – vamos assim dizer – sempre foram muito mais pomposos embora puguem a simplicidade, sempre foram mais pomposos na maneira como se vestem. Mesmo os papas e tudo mais, os cardeais, quando nós vemos, nós vemos que eles realmente têm uma postura mais pomposa e os luteranos são mais simples, são mais... têm uma outra perspectiva e mesmo... Eu fui à Islândia – porque era o meu sonho ir à Islândia – e a Igreja deles em Reiquejavique – portanto, eles são luteranos – e realmente a Igreja é extraordinariamente bonita, mas muito simples, diferente das nossas igrejas.

VB Certo. Como é que descreveria as suas crenças e os seus valores religiosos?

Eu penso muito sobre se existe alguma coisa ou não, porque não consigo conceber na minha cabeça que tenhamos vindo do nada. Mas nós temos sempre aquela visão temporal de início e de fim, e se não existir início e não existir fim? Só que é difícil para nós concebermos, porque nós temos como na nossa vida, desde o nascimento até a morte, não é? Temos um período limitado. E então às vezes penso assim “será que existiu o início? Será que há início? E se esse início, quem é que começou? Ou quem é que começou?” Porque aquela teoria básica do *Big Bang*... “Sim, mas o que é que despoletou isso?” Não é? “Será que há uma força maior?” E então coloco isso mais em causa, portanto, eu considero cristã de criação, mas talvez mais agnóstica no que toca a crenças.

VB E como é que a sua fé – ou neste caso, se calhar mais a educação católica – influencia a sua vida diária e mais especificamente as suas escolhas de vestuário?

Supostamente nós devemos – o que que é pregado na Igreja – é que nós devemos ser simples, não devemos ter assim umas roupas muito chamativas e tudo mais. Mas isso é aquelas visões quadradas. Hoje em dia as pessoas já fazem o que querem. Se nós depois formos levar isto depois para outras situações, como, por exemplo, os direitos das mulheres, as situações das violações, dos assédios e tudo mais, isso também tem muito a ver com a religião. Porque – e a religião cristã católica – porque o que é pregado é que as mulheres têm que se vestir de maneira a não criar o ímpeto sexual nos homens. E ainda existe muito aquela ideia de que quando existem violações e tudo mais, a culpa é da mulher, porque se vestiu de determinada maneira, porque se comportou de determinada maneira. E isso nós acabamos por incorporar, nós acabamos por às vezes nas nossas roupas, na maneira como nos maquilhamos, os sapatos que utilizamos, e tudo mais, às vezes pensamos “bem, deixa-me lá ver, agora vou ter uma reunião visto-me de determinada maneira, se for sair à noite visto-me de outra maneira”, porque parece que existem códigos no nosso dia a dia que é “o que é que é aceite?” E isso é muito imposto pela religião, embora as pessoas considerem que não, isso é muito imposto pela religião, pela nossa tradição. Depois temos os muçulmanos, por exemplo, que já têm uma visão ainda mais fechada sobre a situação e, sim, isso acaba por influenciar, sim. Porque às vezes há roupas que nós vemos e gostávamos de usar, só que eventualmente são consideradas mais chamativas e então nós acabamos por não usar. Isso acontece.

VB Portanto, acredita que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir e a religião?

Ah, sim, sim, sim, sim. Sim, sim, sim. Porque mesmo que nós... A maior parte das pessoas hoje em dia não faz catequese e tudo mais, mas nós ainda temos aquela ideia, ainda passamos aquela ideia de que temos que ter cuidado, cuidado com os decotes, cuidado com os vernizes, porque... hoje em dia já não é tanto, mas ainda há muito pouco tempo as mulheres aqui em Portugal que usassem verniz vermelho eram consideradas umas

mulheres devassas. E isso tem muito a ver com aquilo que que é pregado e nós ainda temos muito essa mentalidade, portanto, sim. No local de trabalho, por exemplo, onde só existam mulheres, nós às vezes acabamos até por ousar mais nas roupas, porque sabemos em princípio – pronto depois disso, dependentemente da identidade ou da orientação sexual das pessoas – mas nós sentimo-nos mais à vontade até para utilizar decotes, minissaias e não sei quê. Se estivemos num ambiente mais masculino, tendemos a ter uma postura se calhar mais retraída.

VB E acha que isso também é uma consequência da religião?

Tem a ver com, sim. É uma consequência da religião. Ainda temos essa visão. E se formos aqui a Espanha, a postura já é diferente, embora também sejam cristãos católicos por tradição, não são tão fechados como nós. Nós ainda somos fechados. Agora está a mudar um pouco porque também temos a parte de muitas pessoas que vêm de outros países que têm uma postura às vezes mais leve em relação à roupa. Mas nós aqui ainda tínhamos muito fechado, por exemplo, quando vieram agora uma grande vaga de imigração de brasileiros, por exemplo... antigamente nós não usávamos – nós, mulheres, aqui – não usávamos – e mesmo os homens – assim os fatos de treino tão colados ao corpo, e hoje em dia já usamos, já toda a gente usa. E isso é uma coisa que veio que veio de fora e que tem muito a ver também com a religião: a maneira como é vista a religião no Brasil e a maneira como é vista cá, que é mais conservadora. Eles também têm outras religiões lá e, portanto, é diferente.

VB Considera que existem diretrizes específicas na Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Sim, eu acho que – embora hoje em dia já não já não seja tão taxativo – sim, existe essa situação, por exemplo, dos decotes, das minissaias, que devem que devem ser evitadas. É aquela situação sempre do ser chamativo por causa das situações sexuais, porque depois isto acaba tudo por estar interligado. Portanto, a visão da religião com depois a nossa visão no local de trabalho, a roupa que vestimos... Porque depois a maneira como as pessoas nos veem ou não, se nos respeitam mais ou não, e isso tem muito a ver com a religião. Porquê? A tradição. Porque nós ainda temos pessoas – que agora são os avós e tudo mais – que vêm ainda dessa parte que iam à catequese e que todas as semanas iam à missa e tudo mais. E nós não nos podemos esquecer que há umas dezenas de anos atrás, as mulheres até tinham que ir obrigatoriamente de véu para entrar na Igreja, e hoje em dia nós evitamos, por exemplo, de ir com grandes decotes ou mini saias para a Igreja. Pronto, ainda temos essa perspetiva... E não sei aonde, não sei se foi aqui em Portugal, acho que foi aqui em Portugal, penso que mais lá para o Norte, que houve um padre que não deixou entrar uma senhora porque ela tinha roupa muito decotada. Isto foi uma coisa que aconteceu há uns anos atrás, ainda antes da pandemia, mas isso aconteceu.

VB Considera – ou alguma vez considerou – que existia alguma peça de roupa específica ou algum tipo de roupa que não podia vestir por causa da sua religião?

Não, não, que não podia vestir por causa da religião, não. Especificamente por causa da religião não.

VB E considera que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres – ou as pessoas em geral – se devem vestir?

Eu não li a Bíblia de ponta a ponta, só li a parte do Pentateuco – que são os 5 primeiros livros – e depois li o Apocalipse. Só assim de muito relance é que vi os outros livros. O que acontece é que sim, há lá algumas recomendações, sim, da maneira como as pessoas se devem vestir. Novamente, a situação da simplicidade. Como é... Qual é a outra palavra que eles utilizam muito? Agora esqueci-me... Era as pessoas... Não era a pessoa ser contida...

VB Modéstia?

Modéstia, exatamente. É isso mesmo. A pessoa ser mais modesta, mais contida na maneira como se veste. Porque também há toda aquela situação da parte sexual em que supostamente nós só praticamos sexo para nos reproduzirmos. Portanto, a existência de uma roupa mais ousada não faz sentido. Porque supostamente não é para ter relações sexuais noutras alturas, que não seja para procriar, portanto, sim.

VB Eu também ia perguntar, tendo em conta que este conceito de modéstia é o que mais é falado quando se fala sobre moda e religião, para si, o que é a modéstia?

Acho que a modéstia tem muito a ver com a simplicidade e, de alguma maneira, a pessoa não se sobressair em relação aos outros. Porque, repara, na igreja existe aquela ideia do “grex” que é o rebanho, sermos agregados e, portanto, se nós somos todos um rebanho e fazemos todos parte dum núcleo, não há espaço para que haja uma pessoa, portanto, a

cintilar – vamos assim dizer – a sobressair. Tanto que até existe o conceito de ovelha negra, que, portanto, que é aquela ovelha que sai do rebanho, que é diferente do rebanho, porque ela testou. Portanto, acho que a modéstia acaba – um bocadinho como a expressão que os ingleses dizem – “*plain*”, uma coisa simples, básica.

VB Portanto, tem mais a ver com não dar nas vistas e não tanto a ver com cobrir o corpo?

Exatamente. É mais não dar nas vistas. É pertencer a um rebanho, não querer ser mais nem menos do que ninguém. Eu acho que eu acho que é mais esse o intuito quando a religião fala de modéstia.

VB Já falou um bocadinho sobre isto, mas relativamente àquelas imposições que são feitas mais às mulheres do que aos homens, porque é que acha que isso é feito dessa maneira?

Sim, sim, sim, sim. Porque ainda existe aquela ideia de que existe o ímpeto sexual nos homens que é incontrolável porque as mulheres elas – mudou muito – mas desde há muito, desde sempre, que elas são consideradas uma propriedade. Só de há umas dezenas de anos para cá é que as mulheres começaram a ter vontade própria, coisas no seu nome, propriedades no seu nome, decisões próprias. E, portanto, sendo visto como um objeto, então nós temos que caracterizar o objeto da maneira que achamos que é mais conveniente. Por isso eu acho que a Igreja acaba por objetificar mais a mulher do que o homem e, portanto, nós temos uma coisa, nós queremos uma mesa determinada maneira – a mesa é quadrada e é castanha, porque é para combinar assim, porque é uma coisa e é nossa – e, portanto, acredito que seja mais isso, mais essa imposição por nós acabarmos por ainda ser vistas como um... Já não tanto hoje em dia, na parte ocidental não, na parte oriental é diferente e do Médio Oriente, mas aqui, a parte ocidental, essa ideia já acabou, acredito eu. Mas pronto, ainda são tradições, ainda há as avós e as mães que dizem “cuidado com aquela rapariga porque ela veste-se de determinada maneira” essas situações assim... “Oferecida”, porque se a pessoa estiver vestida ou com um batom vermelho na boca, é... Já não é tanto visto agora também por causa da moda e a moda ajuda muito nesse aspeto porque faz ver às pessoas que é arte. Maquiar é arte. A maneira como nós nos vestimos é arte, é a conjugação daquilo que nós queremos, portanto, tudo isso é arte. Não é “eu estou a vestir-me assim porque quero provocar a outra pessoa”. Não! É como nós nos sentimos bem, é quando olhamos para o espelho e “sim, olha, eu gosto, sinto-me bem.”

VB Certo. Considera que segue tendências de moda?

Ah, sim. Algumas coisas porque acho bonitas, outras coisas porque, infelizmente, acaba sempre por haver alguma aceitação ou recusa das pessoas que estão à nossa volta de determinada moda. Ainda acho que existe isso. Eu por mim as pessoas vestiam-se todas da maneira que quisessem, até se quisessem se vestir à dama antiga ou como um cavaleiro e tudo mais. Acho que até houve uma rapariga que apareceu – acho que foi na semana passada – vestida à século XIX num autocarro no Brasil, acho eu, e todas as pessoas tiraram fotografias porque é uma coisa diferente. Eu acho que as pessoas podem se vestir como quiserem, mas a verdade é que depois nós somos alvos de comentários se nós nos vestimos de determinada maneira. Parece aquela coisa que aparece nas crianças – quer dizer, as crianças não tanto – mas ali os pré-adolescentes e adolescentes que andam sempre a ver qual é que é a marca dos teus ténis e se tu estás na moda ou se não estás e não sei quê, acaba por quando são adultos são um bocadinho assim também.

VB E costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Não. Agora comprei. Comprei mais porque necessitava mesmo de atualizar o vestuário também porque fui mãe, e então depois há algumas coisas que deixaram de servir, mas não, mas não compro assim tanta tanta roupa quanto isso.

VB Sente que existe alguma relação entre o seu consumo de moda e a sua fé ou a educação dentro do catolicismo?

Não sei. Nunca pensei nisso, mas é interessante. Acho que a parte de... supostamente nós é outra e outra coisa do Cristianismo da Igreja Apostólica Romana é não sermos esbanjadores, não é? E, portanto, acho que também isso acaba por existir. Mas quer dizer, hoje em dia não sei até que ponto, porque nós vivemos numa sociedade de consumo. Eu acho que essa ideia que era muito típica e muito frequente antes, agora com todas estas mudanças no mundo a partir da Segunda Guerra Mundial, o capitalismo e tudo mais, e este consumismo, e agora temos a China como basicamente fábrica para todo o mundo e há muitas vezes a preços muito acessíveis, levam muitas pessoas a consumir. Portanto, acho que hoje em dia isso acaba por ficar esbatido na minha mente também. Eu vou mais, sinceramente, pela capacidade económica e porque tenho projetos para mim e para o meu filho e então... é mais nesse sentido.

- VB** Como é que, se calhar, a sua educação dentro do cristianismo influencia a sua visão sobre moda sustentável? Se influencia. E se considera questões como o *fast fashion*, as condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, compras em lojas de caridade, doações e esse tal consumo excessivo ao fazer escolhas de moda? É uma coisa que pensa?
- Sim, por exemplo, comprar para depois não utilizar, sendo que há pessoas que têm dificuldades até em ter acesso a roupa, sim. A ideia de caridade... Embora eu não goste muito da palavra caridade, porque a maneira como ela é vista hoje é no sentido de ter pena das pessoas e “então toma lá uma esmola” e eu não gosto disso, porque eu acho que as pessoas estão todas ao mesmo nível, elas podem ter depois mais ou menos capacidade económica e podem ter feito boas ou más escolhas na vida. Pronto, há pessoas com índole boa e há pessoas com índole má. Mas acaba por ser porque nós, pelo menos na minha altura, sempre que as roupas deixavam de nos servir, nós levávamos às lojas de caridade porque há meninos que não têm roupa e então nós fazíamos sempre isso. Portanto, acaba por ser sim, porque também é uma ideia de sustentabilidade, está lá subjacente. Mas existe também essa ideia de sustentabilidade porque a sustentabilidade também tem muito a ver com a cooperação e, portanto, se nós todos cooperarmos, portanto, se uma pessoa deixa de usar uma determinada peça de roupa, mas outra pessoa pode utilizar, então podemos fazer isso. Portanto, acaba sempre por influenciar, acaba sempre tudo por nos influenciar, acaba por estar tudo interligado em maior ou menor medida, mas sim influencia sim.
- VB** E acha que isso está também interligado com os valores do cristianismo?
- Sim, talvez também por aquela ideia do rebanho. Nós temos que partilhar as coisas entre nós, temos que funcionar em conjunto e se nós formos a ver, a ecologia é um ciclo, não é? Os valores ecológicos é para formar um ciclo para que as coisas sejam sustentáveis e a natureza consiga recuperar, portanto, sim.
- VB** Como é que decide o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Sente que a roupa que veste no dia a dia seria a mesma roupa que vestiria se fosse uma missa ou algum evento religioso?
- Não, provavelmente não. É aquela situação de não ter decote, não ir com as pernas todas à mostra, embora sinceramente é assim, eu faço isso por respeito à visão que as pessoas ainda têm aqui, porque para mim tanto me faz as pessoas estarem decotadas ou não estarem decotadas. Não é por isso que a pessoa é mais ou menos religiosa, tem mais ou menos fé, é melhor ou pior pessoa, pronto. Mas sim, tenho/teria esse cuidado também porque não gosto propriamente de dar nas vistas e não gosto de estar a entrar num sítio e todas as pessoas a comentarem, e então acabaria assim por condicionar a minha escolha de roupa, sim.
- VB** Esta negociação é feita, então, não por uma questão de respeito ao local ou à ocasião, mas mais por uma questão daquilo que as outras pessoas podiam pensar ou dizer?
- Sim, porque assim... Acho que sim. Sendo verdadeira, sim. Porque não é isso que dá... Não é porque nós temos uma peça de roupa de determinada maneira que estamos a respeitar mais ou menos o local. Acho que nós também quando vimos ao mundo, vimos nus, quando somos batizados – embora haja roupinha de batizado – mas, muitas vezes, até o bebé poderia estar nu. Não a cristã católica, mas há certas partes do mundo com determinadas religiões, que às vezes as pessoas, até quando morrem, também vão também nuas, quer dizer, são banhadas e depois vão nuas e depois têm que ir flores por cima, qualquer coisa assim. É assim, não é por aí que eu acho que haja mais respeito ou menos respeito. Vitória, peço desculpa se eu estiver a ser muito fastidiosa.
- VB** Não, não está, não. Está ótimo. Já utilizou roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou cruzes ou versículos bíblicos ou medalhas e coisas assim?
- Já. Na altura que eu adolescente ainda havia muito aquela moda de usar as cruzes aqui ao pé desta zona aqui do pescoço, usávamos aquelas coisinhas, então sim usei, sim. E também tenho um fio de ouro, pronto, aquela coisa tradicional que quando é o batizado as madrinhas e os padrinhos dão uma pecinha de ouro e não sei quê. Isso sim também. Com uma cruz.
- VB** E quando utilizou ou quando utilizava esse tipo de peças, porque é que utilizava?
- Sendo muito sincera, por serem bonitas, não tinha a ver com a parte religiosa.
- VB** Era mais uma questão da moda da altura?
- Da moda e por eu achar bonito.
- VB** OK. Vou mostrar aqui umas imagens. Como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Ai, eu acho lindíssimo. Eu acho lindíssimo. Eu acho que este isto é tudo arte, isto é tudo arte. As iluminuras que existiam nos antigos também todas muito bonitas. Eu acho isto lindíssimo, isto faz tudo parte daquilo que nós somos, da história da humanidade, da nossa tradição, da nossa cultura. Eu acho tudo bonito e não acho nada desrespeitador. Eu acho que isto é lindíssimo, então este vestido aqui é fabuloso.

VB Agora vou mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*, pode fazer *zoom* se quiser. Como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?

Sinceramente eu sei que isto... portanto, sendo mais racional, eu sei que estar aqui uma freira com as pernas à mostra em cima do cavalo pode ferir suscetibilidades. Mas eu sinceramente acho que é lindíssimo, porque é uma peça de roupa, não é isso que faz a pessoa a ter mais ou menos fé ou estar a respeitar ou não respeitar. É arte que se faz. Claro que, pronto, estão a puxar aqui um bocadinho também, não é? Pela audácia, mas eu acho bonito, eu não acho nada feio, acho bonito.

VB E porque é que acha que os designers e as revistas de moda fazem a inclusão destas representações?

Para chamar a atenção. Porque quanto mais chama a atenção, é aquela famosa história: “Falem bem ou falem mal, o que interessa é falarem.” E então sim, é para chamar a atenção.

VB Certo. Última questão. Em geral considera que a representação destes símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou que tende a ser desrespeitosa?

Não. Pode ser respeitosa, sim. Pode ser respeitosa. Essa parte de o que é que é o desrespeito para com a religião? Porque a pessoa tem um desenho de um anjo ou de um querubim ou de uma situação, sei lá, da pessoa – não é a nascer, mas pronto – ali como algumas figuras que ali nós vimos. Acho que não é desrespeitoso. E depois é assim, os artistas gostam de pensar em tudo em geral e, portanto, não estamos só na base e, portanto, ver o que é que existe, pensar “porque é que isto é assim? Ou porque é que é assado?” E, portanto, mostram isso através da sua arte, esses seus pensamentos e eu acho que sim, acho que o devem fazer. Não acho que isso seja desrespeitoso. Pensar em algo, acho que não é desrespeitoso, e mostrar aquilo que se pensou, acho que não é desrespeitoso.

VB Mas acha que há algumas pessoas que pratiquem várias denominações dentro do cristianismo que possam não concordar? Que isso pode ser, de facto, desrespeitoso?

Sim, há sempre aquelas pessoas. Nós também temos, por exemplo, a situação do Charlie Hebdo que eles foram mortos porque foram gozar tanto com a religião cristã como com o Islão. E sinceramente, eu acho que para o humor – pronto, haverá coisas que terão limites – mas eu acho que é bom nós sabermos brincar com as coisas e vermos... torna as coisas mais leves e também baixa-nos um bocadinho a crista – vamos assim dizer – e perceber “epá, somos todos iguais, isto existe, não é por tu seres desta religião e outro ser de outra que são melhores ou tens uma visão e o outro ter outra visão”. E então sim.

Appendix F27 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Tânia”

Date of Interview:	March 13, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	15:32
Characteristics:	59 years old, Loures, Public Sector, Catholic

- VB** Dentro do Cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou denominação religiosa?
É assim, não praticante, mas sou católica.
- VB** Certo, e como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e valores religiosos?
Epá, é assim, há qualquer coisa que nós temos que acreditar, não é? Pronto, e eu acredito em Deus. Por exemplo, há qualquer coisa que nos faz ter alguma crença. Não é? É por isso que temos... Eu digo que sou católica, sim, senhora, mas não sou praticante, não é? Mas acho que é uma crença, qualquer coisa que nós achamos ali que nos faz para frente.
- VB** E sentes que tem a ver com a educação?
Talvez.
- VB** Tiveste uma educação católica?
Sim, ou seja, eu fui criada com uma senhora que era católica. 100%. Ela era mesmo, e talvez daí eu ouvi desde pequenina, sempre ouvi ela falar e ir à Igreja e não sei quê. E a partir daí, sim, fui interiorizando isso. É normal em pequena que a gente vá começando a, pronto, depois com os meus pais que não eram praticantes também, mas sempre – o meu pai não ligava assim muito a isso – mas a minha mãe sim diz que é católica, não praticante, mas sim.
- VB** E como é que a fé ou, se calhar, esses ensinamentos católicos influenciam a tua vida diária e, mais especificamente, as escolhas de vestuário?
Não, nem pensar.
- VB** Não influencia? Certo. E em geral, achas que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?
Eu acho que não. Não.
- VB** Em nenhuma religião?
Sim, algumas, eu acho que sim. A gente nota que sim, que vestem conforme a religião que têm, não é? Eu por mim não, nem pensar nisso, não é? Tivesse a religião que tivesse, eu visto-me como eu quero, era agora só o que me faltava. *risos*
- VB** Não sentes que existe nenhuma peça de vestuário ou nenhuma roupa que não possas vestir por te identificares como católica? Ou no passado mesmo...
Não. É assim se fosse a igreja, sim, é lógico. Se calhar não iria uma roupa toda descapotável ou com uma minissaia, uma coisa assim. Isso não, não. Também temos de ter noção, mas o resto não.
- VB** Portanto, existe uma diferença entre aquilo que vestes no dia a dia e aquilo que vestes se fores, por exemplo, a uma missa ou um evento religioso?
Não, porque eu no dia a dia também já não visto... visto normal para entrar em qualquer lado, em qualquer sítio. Eu acho que fico/estou apresentável, portanto, não. Também não me visto com roupas no dia a dia que depois se for a um tipo de situação dessas eu tenha que me pôr... Não.
- VB** Mas achas que existem roupas dessas? Que não se podem utilizar?
É assim, há coisas também... uma coisa, por exemplo, vais para ali com um caicai, com uma roupa com o peito todo a mostra, praticamente, acho que isso também podemos evitar. Portanto, não há necessidade disso. Mas quem gosta e quem faz questão, acho que não tem mal. Eu, por mim, não tem mal nenhum.
- VB** E podemos evitar porquê?
Porque aos olhos das outras pessoas se calhar não... Aquelas pessoas mais... São capazes de olhar assim um bocadinho de lado para a pessoa e “como é que vem”. Acho que, pronto, só por isso. Eu, a mim, não me faz diferença nenhuma. Se eu tivesse que usar e tivesse essa ideia de andar assim vestida, tanto me fazia olhar como não olhar. Cada um tem a sua ideologia. E não era por isso que eu deixava de ser menos católica que a outra pessoa que estava ao meu lado que estava vestida de outra maneira.

VB	E essas pessoas que achas que censuram? São pessoas que frequentam a Igreja ou pessoas que têm posições de liderança na igreja? Eu acho que são as pessoas, porque eu tenho ouvido algumas coisas e são pessoas que praticam a igreja.
VB	Que coisas é que tem ouvido? Lá está, como tu dizes, a maneira de "vem vestida assim, devia ir com outras roupas, devia se portar de outra maneira". E eu fico assim a olhar e acho que isso não tem nada a ver com o que a pessoa é, para mim não, não vou por aí.
VB	Consideras que existem diretrizes específicas na Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir? Não. Epá, que eu tenha assim conhecimento, não.
VB	E achas que já houve? É capaz, em tempos. Se calhar já. Se calhar nem eu era nascida ainda.
VB	Não te lembras de ouvir histórias nem nada do género? Não, não.
VB	Certo, e consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as pessoas em geral – ou mais especificamente as mulheres – se devem vestir? A Bíblia? Que eu tenha conhecimento, não, eu nunca ouvi isso. Dessa senhora com quem eu fui criada, que eu considero a minha avó, nunca ouvi ela dizer nada disso que. Não. E até dizia que há pessoas que dizem certas coisas que não era aquilo que estava escrito na Bíblia. Não, isso não.
VB	Certo. Um dos conceitos de que se fala mais quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para ti, o que é modéstia? Como é que eu te vou explicar? Não sei bem... modéstia? Não sei o que é que posso responder aqui. Não sei.
VB	É uma coisa mais ligada à humildade ou uma coisa, se calhar, mais ligada a não dar nas vistas ou a cobrir o corpo? Pois talvez. Tem a ver com humildade de cada um, tem a ver com... Lá está, é tudo a maneira como a pessoa se veste, não é? Isto é tudo um circo, não é? Eu acho que não é por aí que a pessoa é mais honesta ou menos honesta, ou mais humilde ou menos. Eu acho que não, para mim, não tem nada a ver com esse tipo de coisas. Porque se calhar aquela pessoa que se veste toda muito rigor e vai à Igreja e não sei quê, se calhar tem mais mau íntimo em certo tipo de coisas – em que gosta de falar, que gosta de criticar – e no fundo vai para lá ela toda vestidinha enquanto a outra pessoa que não vai assim não liga esse tipo de coisa e vai lá porque é crente em qualquer coisa. Penso que não...
VB	Certo, estas pessoas que criticam e que têm ideias sobre como é que as pessoas se deviam vestir na Igreja – e fora da Igreja, se forem cristãos – achas que têm a mesma "imposição" de maneiras de vestir para os homens como têm para as mulheres? De modéstia. Não, acho que não.
VB	Que não existe diferença ou que existe uma diferença? Que existe diferença para os homens, é capaz de haver, sim.
VB	Que tipo de diferença? Opa, eles estão aqui todos mais... pronto, é assim, normalmente quando se vai à Igreja nós vemos que os homens ou vão de fato ou levam um casaquinho mais... ou alguns até vão de gravatinha. Se calhar sim, eles têm essa maneira de pôr o homem assim vestido na Igreja, mas também, lá está, também vamos e vejo que há pessoas o mais simples possível.
VB	Certo. Segue as tendências de moda? Gosto. Sim, sim. Gosto. Até gosto da moda, sim, gosto de vestir algumas coisas que eu acho que tenha corpo para isso também, atenção. Eu gosto da moda, mas nem toda a moda. Também há entre parênteses, há coisas que não vou vestir, porque não me não fica bem, já não sou jovem. Portanto, quando era jovem, vestia tudo e tudo ficava bem. Depois há também há aquela que nós temos que perceber, o que é que nos fica melhor, não é? Há situações em que a gente vê que veste uma roupa e "epá, eu não me sinto bem com isto", não é? "Já não é para a minha idade. Já tive.
VB	Mas no teu caso, era sobre a imagem que tinhas ti própria e não tinha nada a ver com os valores do catolicismo? Não, não, não, não, não. É comigo. Eu sinto-me bem, não, não tem nada a ver.
VB	OK, certo. E costumavas comprar roupa com muita frequência? Alguma. Gosto de comprar roupa.
VB	E sentes que existe alguma relação entre este consumo de roupa e a tua fé?

- Não.
- VB** De todo?
De todo.
- VB** E achas que a religião influencia a tua visão sobre, por exemplo, moda sustentável ou um consumo ético, as condições de trabalho das pessoas, doações, caridade?
Não, não, não, nada disso não.
- VB** Não sentes que é educação ligada ao catolicismo influenciou nesse aspeto?
Não, não, a mim não.
- VB** OK, e achas que em geral existe uma ligação entre os valores e...
Eu acho que é muito pouco.
- VB** Achas que não é uma coisa que é falada?
Não acho.
- VB** Certo. Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos?
Não.
- VB** Nada? Cruzes, medalhas...
Nada. Nada nada.
- VB** Porque?
Porque não, não ligo a isso. Para mim isso – como é que hei de dizer – isso para mim não tem significado nenhum. Para mim não significa nada, é aquilo que eu sou ou deixo de ser. Portanto, aquilo que eu sou. Não é por usar uma cruz ou alguma roupa que tenha um símbolo... nada, nunca usei.
- VB** Pronto. Mas não era por não querer mostrar às pessoas que acreditavam numa...
Não, não, não. Sou eu que não... nunca me deu para... quer dizer, se calhar se houvesse algum vestido se calhar era capaz, mas nunca vesti nem nunca... nunca nada. Há pessoas que têm aqueles fios, aquelas coisinhas e não sei quê. Não, nunca... é assim, por exemplo, posso usar qualquer coisa, mas não tem a ver com... porque eu gostei. Percebes? Porque eu gostei, não é porque é a Cruz, porque tem um significado associado à religião. Eu posso usar outro tipo de coisa. Agora, com cruzes, esse tipo nunca usei.
- VB** E se usasse seria esteticamente, só?
Nem mais!
- VB** Vou mostrar aqui umas imagens, que é só se não tiver nada em mente, mas como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?
Como é que me sinto... Aquela que eu mais gosto?
- VB** Por exemplo... Ou como é que se sente em geral? Sobre eles fazerem este tipo de representação.
Não gosto. Porque acho que são coisas muito pesadas. Não sei. Não gosto deste tipo de roupa. Usar não gosto. Com símbolos e...
- VB** Mas achas que é desrespeitoso? Ou que podia ser considerado desrespeitoso?
Não é desrespeitoso, eu própria é que não gosto desse tipo de roupas.
- VB** Mas é gosto pessoal?
Sim. Sim.
- VB** OK, certo. Vou mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*, podes fazer zoom se quiseres. Mais uma vez, como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?
Gosto, por exemplo, esta aqui – da primeira. O resto... O resto eu não gosto.
- VB** Mas é desconfortável em alguma maneira?
Acho que sim. As pessoas... umas porque estão muito tapadas, outras porque têm lá as figuras. Para mim, acho que o mais natural é esta que está aqui.
- VB** Mas e as outras são ofensivas de alguma maneira?
Não, não são ofensivas, só que a mim não... Eu, pessoalmente, não gosto deste tipo de coisas. Não, não me diz nada isto.
- VB** E porque é que achas que os designers e as revistas de moda fazem este tipo de representação?
Epá, eles têm que fazer alguma coisa, não é? Para vender também têm que ter coisas diferentes. A gente sabe que há, depois há pessoas para tudo e o que está aqui, umas agradam-me a mim e outras agradam a outras pessoas e não podemos agora ser tudo igual. Não é? Porque tudo o que está aqui... claro que há pessoas que vão gostar e eles têm que fazer designs diferentes e aí concordo plenamente.
- VB** E em geral acha que agrada ou que não agrada à maioria das pessoas?
A maioria... eu acho que a maioria não.
- VB** Especialmente as que são religiosas?
Sim, eu acho que não, eu acho que isto não tem nada a ver com...

- VB** Acha que as pessoas religiosas podem achar ofensivo?
Sim, eu acho que elas vestem-se o mais natural possível, as pessoas vestem a roupa do dia a dia que nós vemos é que está na moda, mas claro que pode haver – e há – outro tipo de roupas diferentes e que há pessoas que gostam. Como a moda, há pessoas que gostam da moda, outras não gostam tanto daquela, vestem outras e aqui será a mesma coisa. As pessoas não... Eu, por mim, acho que não...
- VB** OK, certo. Última questão que é se consideras que, em geral, a inclusão destes símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou se, em geral, tende a ser desrespeitosa?
Não, pode ser. Tem que ser respeitosa. Temos que respeitar tudo o que... não vamos agora só porque eu não gosto “não é respeitado”, não, temos que respeitar, cada um tem a sua ideia, cada um tem sua maneira de se vestir. Temos que respeitar tudo isso, não é?
- VB** Mas acha que eles não estão a desrespeitar ninguém ao fazer esse tipo de...
Não. Eu acho que para mim não. Podem apresentar isso. Não tem problema absolutamente nenhum. Não estão a desrespeitar, acho, na minha opinião, ninguém.
- VB** E também não tem a ver com a fé que eles praticam?
Não, acho que não.
- VB** É mesmo uma questão artística?
Nem mais.

Appendix F28 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Bruna”

Date of Interview:	March 13, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	25:31
Characteristics:	54 years old, Loures, Public Sector, Jehovah's Witness

- VB** Qual é que considera ser a sua religião ou denominação religiosa?
É assim, eu neste momento estou sem estar a fazer nada, mas inicialmente era Testemunha de Jeová.
- VB** E como é que descrevia as suas crenças e os seus valores –
Baseadas na Bíblia.
- VB** E como é que a sua fé influencia a sua vida diária?
Influenciava mais por tentar, acima de tudo, – e isso ainda continuo a achar – respeito dos outros, por todos, independentemente das suas orientações e religiões. Depois, continuo a pensar dessa forma, não abduco. Desde que que não entrem em choque comigo, que me limitem de alguma maneira. Obviamente, eu considero que ainda somos um país livre de ideias e de tudo, portanto. Esta é a minha maneira de pensar.
- VB** E em relação às escolhas de vestuário, a fé influencia?
É assim, há considerações a ter. Tal e qual quando se vai a uma entrevista de emprego, ninguém vai de chinelos de praia e biquíni, se calhar, quando se vai reunir a um salão ou uma igreja, não se deve de ir de qualquer maneira, deve-se usar o bom senso. E o bom senso associado ao que a Bíblia propriamente diz, que é a mulher os interessar, quer dizer, cuida de si, do seu cabelo, das suas coisas... agora, o excesso de excentricidade para chamar a atenção, é assim, isso é um assunto pessoal e cada um é que leva a peito. Não há... vamos lá ver a Bíblia. Existem princípios bíblicos e a lei bíblica, portanto, nós podemos é ter princípios e na Bíblia que te dá é princípios. Neste caso eu acho que é o bom senso que joga também.
- VB** Também ia perguntar se considera que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as pessoas se devem vestir?
Não, não, não, não. É assim, o que se diz é “modesto”. Pronto, se tu fores encontrar na Bíblia, tu vês é “modesto”. Tanto que Jesus na altura usava – naquele tempo – pelas fotografias e tudo, toda a gente usava vestidos. Agora, se calhar se tu vires um – sem ser *cult*, não é? – um homem de vestido, és capaz de ficar, tipo “olha, pronto um árabe ou isto ou aquilo”. No entanto, é a tal coisa, uma pessoa que seja modesta, não seja excêntrica, passa discreta, não é? Portanto, é consoante a ocasião em que está, se tiver um casamento, é óbvio que a pessoa pode, dependendo de ser de manhã, se é à tarde, se é à noite, vai variando a etiqueta. Embora que hoje em dia nós sabemos que cada qual faz a sua etiqueta e por vezes não é a melhor, mas eu continuo na minha: desde que não me venha a mim diretamente afetar, para mim está tudo bem.
- VB** Para si o que é que é a modéstia?
Uma pessoa ser modesta é uma pessoa vestir-se de acordo com as suas posses. Se eu não tenho 100 euros para gastar comigo e se eu tiver 10, mas andar limpa, higiénica e não cheirar mal e andar com uma roupinha que não tem nódoas e que não está toda, pronto, com aquele ar estranho para mim é uma forma modesta. Se eu tiver possibilidades para comprar um vestido de 1000 euros, isso poderá ser modesto também porque tenho essa possibilidade. Agora, eu não passo fome para manter um aspeto. Isso é que quando se falavam mesmo a nível de princípio bíblico, da modéstia era consoante... Havia pessoas na altura, já do tempo de Jesus, que tinham possibilidades e eram tesoureiros e era coiso... Portanto, era possível e ouros e tudo, portanto. É consoante a nossa possibilidade. Não podemos é esticar a perna para além daquilo que nos podemos. Isso acaba por ser uma dica para a vida em todos os aspetos.
- VB** Portanto, para si o conceito de modéstia tem mais a ver com humildade e se calhar não tanto com tapar o corpo?
Exatamente.
- VB** Acredita que existe uma ligação em geral entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?
Alguns, sim. Foi o caso dos muçulmanos, as burkas.

- VB** E dentro do cristianismo, acha que não existe tanto?
Poderá haver uma parte mais clássica onde as pessoas não usam – por exemplo no cristianismo geral, até – grandes exclusivos decotes em que praticamente vai com a racha das pernas, não é? Porque isso é exuberante e, por exemplo, não conheço assim nenhuma estrela de cinema que seja cristã. São de todas as outras religiões, mas cristão não é, porque será? Então, se calhar tem a ver com a roupa também.
- VB** Acho que existem alguns.
E como é que se vestem?
- VB** Se calhar da mesma maneira dos outros.
Mas não tão excêntrico, não tão...
- VB** Considera que existem diretrizes específicas na sua denominação sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?
Não.
- VB** E considera que já existiram?
É assim, se calhar, há uns anos atrás é possível. Mas isso eu não... é assim, pronto, depois tem a ver um bocado com a tua maneira de ser e a tua liberdade. Eu nesse aspeto nunca me deixei moldar. É assim, se eu vejo que estou considerada decente... porque repara uma coisa, uma minissaia não precisa de ser a mostrar o rabo e a perna, pode mostrar acima do joelho e para mim é decente. Se me estiver a mostrar as cuequinhas, se calhar para mim já não é decente, portanto, isso depende, mas não me afeta. Mas se for um filho meu ou assim, sou capaz de dizer “epá, gostas disso?”. Se ele disser “gosto”, eu vou ter que respeitar, é a opinião dele, não é a minha. No entanto, eu formo a minha ideia, no entanto, se a pessoa quer e insiste...
- VB** Mas nunca em nenhum contexto de religioso sentiu que havia uma imposição nem nenhuma proibição de nada em termos de roupa?
Não, não. Em termos de roupa? Não, nada.
- VB** Portanto, não considera que existe nenhum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário que não possa ou que não pudesse vestir em alguma altura da sua vida por causa da sua fé ou da sua religião?
Não. Mas, por exemplo, como eu te dei há bocado o exemplo do biquíni para uma entrevista de trabalho, também pode acontecer o seguinte: uma roupa completamente transparente, que se vê até os contornos do corpo mesmo tendo lingerie, é óbvio que isso pode ser considerado uma recomendação de não mostrar, ser demasiado sexual e atrativa, não é? E uma forma bizarra, de certa forma, de se apresentar. E, no entanto, há muita gente que veste assim, quando é as galas dos grandes filmes... critérios, que se calhar de acordo com a Bíblia, não são os mais corretos, portanto, os princípios, não há tipicamente a dizer “isto não pode, aquilo não pode, aquilo não pode”, a pessoa tem os princípios e depois rege-se por eles. Se calhar eu posso ter uma blusa ligeiramente transparente que se vê o sutiã e a mim não me incomoda, à minha filha pode incomodar, mas isso tem a ver com a pessoa.
- VB** Certo. Sente que estas ideias de se calhar cobrir um bocadinho mais o corpo e isso, que são prevalentes dentro de comunidades mais religiosas – seja qual for a religião – sente que estas ideias são mais impostas nas mulheres do que nos homens?
No caso, acho que é ambos. Porque tens o caso das calças *slim*, há calças em que o homem fica tão tão tão coladinho que também revela o sexo todo dele, praticamente, se o tem, não é? Pronto, porque às vezes aquilo pode não estar muito bem... é a mesma coisa quando tu vês de biquínis, ou quando iam de biquínis para a praia, não sei quê, portanto, reveladores e brancos que vinham da água transparentes... pronto, são pequenas coisas que eu, para mim, tem a ver mais de princípio com aquilo que a pessoa quer demonstrar. Ela tem necessidade de fazer isso, é bom senso, não é? pronto.
- VB** Mas, em geral, não considera que exista uma ênfase maior nas mulheres?
Não, atualmente acho que está... sempre houve mais o cuidado de chatear mais as senhoras, é verdade, até porque o nosso país era muito mais machista. Aí sem dúvida, no entanto, atualmente como há cortes de cabelo e cabelo comprido e uma série de coisas, está “taco a taco” para os dois. Portanto, na questão de que, por exemplo, as pessoas poderão dizer “ai, mas o cabelo comprido”, cabelo comprido na parte de um cristão não é visto assim muito bem. Porquê? Pronto, porque não mostra... há casos de caras que não mostram, deixa-te na dúvida se é mulher ou se é homem, pronto. E aqui tem haver uma ligeira definição, se é varão, se é homem. Pronto é um corte de cabelo mais adequado... porque o que não é adequado para mim, mas a outra pessoa pode achar que está adequadíssimo, portanto, aí já é o princípio.

VB	Portanto, acha que deve haver, nas pessoas que praticam o cristianismo, uma diferenciação entre, por exemplo, a aparência de um homem e a aparência de uma mulher? Em termos de roupa, cabelo...
	Deve de haver uma ligeira alteração, sim. Porque, é assim, não tenho nada se o cabelo comprido – há homens que têm o cabelo comprido, lindíssimo e bem cuidado – a questão é esta, é que hoje em dia está a haver tanta tanta diversidade que chega a um ponto que não percebemos muito bem se é apenas o homem, se é as duas coisas, se é indefinido, não é? E isso está a escalar por uma... pronto. Lá está, é uma questão de a gente respeitar as opções dos outros, mas não está nada relacionado com a Bíblia, de maneira nenhuma.
VB	Vou aproveitar, já agora... No caso das Testemunhas de Jeová, sente que existe algum estereótipo que as pessoas tenham em relação à roupa das pessoas que pertencem à religião?
	Algumas sim.
VB	Que existe um estereótipo?
	Sim, algumas, sim.
VB	E o que é que considera que é? E se acha que corresponde ou não à realidade.
	É assim, a roupa tem que ser devidamente bem-apresentada, cuidada e de preferência não mostrar, não ser reveladora, não é? Tanto no homem como na mulher, ponto. E agora tu dizes “então pode ter racha?” Pode. “Vai mostrar o umbigo? Vai mostrar o rabo?” Aí já não é correto. A Bíblia diz que deve-se vestir com modéstia. O homem pode usar barba? Claro que pode, então imagina que ele tem um problema qualquer de pele. No tempo de Jesus também havia barba, agora é novidade? Se calhar agora recentemente é, porque é a evolução dos tempos. Eu saio mais da caixa, de fora, completamente, mas por exemplo, a minha filha não achou graça eu ter feito isto, fui eu que fiz.
VB	Um segundo furo na orelha?
	Três. E só não fiz mais coisas... mas fui eu que fiz, pronto. Ela não gostou.
VB	Mas por motivos religiosos?
	Não, porque eu quis e ponto final.
VB	Não, não! Mas não gostou por motivos religiosos?
	Sim, sim, sim. Não gostou.
VB	Mas então, mas existem diretrizes – entre aspas – se calhar, mentais sobre o que é que se –
	Cá, existe. Tu vais aos Estados Unidos, vais a outro sítio, as pessoas... lá está, a consciência é que te faz mover para algumas coisas ou não. E tens o princípio, e há pessoas que vêm pelo princípio de que isso não afeta nada, não é por aí. Tu tens muitas pessoas que têm tatuagens, porquê? Porque tornaram-se Testemunhas de Jeová, ora bem, já tinham tatuagens e não iam gastar dinheiro, uma fortuna. Não, não é isso que interessa. O que interessa, de facto, é aquilo que a pessoa acredita relativamente a respeitar a Bíblia, as regras e os princípios. Agora, se me disseres “ah e tal, vai fazer uma tatuagem”, eu é que decido, em consciência, independentemente do resto, e eu faço isso em tudo. Pronto.
VB	Sente que, por exemplo, quando estão na rua tipo a evangelizar e isso, que existe alguma uniformidade em relação à roupa das pessoas? E isso é uma coisa que é recomendável?
	Olha, eu sempre vi, desde miúda, mas é recomendado como eu já te mencionei há pouco.
VB	Sim, ou seja, ninguém diz para as mulheres não irem de calças?
	Não há um padrão... Mas não vão porque a calça é usada pelos varões. Mas há saia-calça e há pessoas que às vezes usam. Aqui a questão é não... Por exemplo, a mulher transformar-se. Usar tipo cortes de cabelo muito curto não há problema absolutamente nenhum. Mas agora de perfil, vês ao pé de uma porta, ou assim, uma mulher de calça e de fato, tailleur, corte pequeno e não sei quê, de costas, pensas “se calhar é um sujeito”, se ela não tiver rabo, é um sujeito. São pequenas coisas que isso cabe a consciência de cada um. Mas por norma, não usam calças na porta quando vão falar com as pessoas. Não se usa. Porque pronto, olha, sempre foi assim.
VB	Tradição? Certo. Ou seja, mas não é uma coisa que é dita, é mesmo porque toda a gente chegou a essa conclusão?
	Sim sim sim. Assim como, antes, os alentejanos, as mais velhotas, tu vês todas de preto, vais para norte vês de preto... acaba por ser um pouco... habituaram-se, é a tradição, é uma mistura.
VB	OK. Certo, certo, era mesmo só curiosidade. Segue tendências de moda?
	Algumas que me fiquem bem. Sim.
VB	E costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência?

Agora não tanto, porque o dinheiro está escasso, mas sempre posso, sim, faço assim um *clean* no armário e vou a um “banho de loja” que sabe muito bem ao ego.

VB Sente que existe alguma relação entre o seu consumo de moda e a sua fé?

Não, não tem nada a ver.

VB Nunca sentiu que havia uma ligação entre a religião e a sua visão, por exemplo, sobre questões ligadas à moda sustentável, como a ética, as condições de trabalho naquelas fábricas?

Nesse prisma... sim, talvez.

VB Talvez uma ligação entre os valores cristãos e –

Talvez porque, por exemplo, eu, algumas roupas que estavam boas, eu dava-as. Para além disso, tentar comprar roupa que tem maior durabilidade é uma forma sustentável. Mas isso também é uma forma económica.

VB Como é que decide o vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Sente que aquilo que veste no dia a dia era o mesmo que vestiria se fosse a um evento religioso?

Sim. Por exemplo, hoje estou de vestido, poder-me-ia era pôr outro vestido, mais... depende da hora, se for à noite ir arrumada e é a tal coisa, tem a ver com o meu brio, com a minha maneira de estar. Há pessoas que se calhar isso para elas é indiferente.

VB Ou seja, era por uma questão de gosto pessoal e não necessariamente por causa daquilo que as outras pessoas podiam dizer, ou respeito, ou coisas assim?

Exatamente, exatamente. Sim, sim. Mas eu, toda eu sou assim.

VB Certo, certo. Já utilizou roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos ou coisas assim?

Não.

VB Nada? Cruzes? Nada?

Não. Não porque não me chamou à atenção.

VB Nunca?

Nunca é uma palavra muito forte, mas é verdade. Eu nunca tive nada que me levasse assim. Por exemplo, olha, às vezes há anéis de cobras, disto, aquilo do outro, e epá, eu até gosto do animal, mas não.

VB OK, mas não foi por nenhum motivo religioso? Foi por uma questão de gosto?

Não, não. Em relação à cruz, é por um motivo religioso, porque a Bíblia diz que Jesus foi pregado numa estaca. Estacas não é cruz.

VB Ah, então não usaria uma cruz por motivos religiosos?

Sim.

VB OK, certo certo certo certo. Vou mostrar algumas imagens. Que é mais no caso de não ter nada em mente, mas... Em geral, como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Perfeitamente normal. É assim, a moda tem tendência sempre para inovar e chamar à atenção sempre de modos diferentes. Há roupas aqui até que possivelmente nunca... só são usadas por pessoas mesmo que sejam modelos ou que usem este tipo de fatiote em festas muito específicas. Pronto é assim, obviamente que eu não caberia em nenhuma delas. A primeira por tamanho. E depois porque também tem aqui alguns desenhos, dos quais, por causa das cruzes – pronto – e também sinceramente, também não sou de anjinhos, não sou de pronto. Mas isso sou eu, portanto, florzinhas... há muita gente que mete muitas florzinhas, eu se tiver, são pequeninas, uma coisa discreta. Não, não gosto. Não quer dizer que de hoje para amanhã não me apeteça, percebes?

VB Mas em geral acha ofensivo ou acha –

Não. Eu Não.

VB OK, certo. Mas acha que pessoas se calhar mais religiosas podiam ficar ofendidas?

Podem achar, sim. As mais velhotas de certeza e até mesmo mais novas.

VB OK, vou mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Se quiser, pode fazer zoom, mas a questão é: como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?

Bem.

VB Não tem nenhum sentimento negativo em relação a estas representações?

Não, não. Não. Nada.

VB Mas sente que mais uma vez, outras pessoas poderiam achar isto problemático?

Sim sim, sim, sim. *risos* É assim elas viriam, olhariam, mas se usavam ou não, isso depois é o critério de cada um. Se iam aparecer ou não, porque nós também temos revistas que também têm estas...

VB Sim, isto é a *Vogue Portugal*, portanto, são páginas de uma revista portuguesa.

Pronto exatamente, mas mesmo nós, Testemunhas de Jeová, também têm revistas com símbolos. Portanto, não se pode... porque é que eu vou condenar aquela quando eu também tenho?

VB Acha que não podem fazer a diferença entre “as pessoas que são cristãs podem fazer este tipo de representação”, mas “os outros que não praticam não podem”?

Não.

VB Porque é que acha que os designers e as revistas de moda apresentam este tipo de símbolos?

Não sei, também gostava de saber, mas eu penso que eles usam qualquer símbolo que lhes chama a atenção e que até fique bem naquele modelo. Eu acho que eles vão criando porque a criatividade deles não é estanque, está sempre... e então é possível que usem isso, usem depois outros símbolos mais abstratos, que depois usem a natureza, usem e aparece com um bocado de relva na cabeça... é assim, eu lá em casa, mais a minha filha víamos muita moda daqueles *Top Models* e de vários países, Londres... portanto, elas umas vezes estavam vestidas de animais, outras vezes... era lindíssimo. Mas lá está, também era para sessões de fotografia, passagens de modelos, etc. No dia a dia vê-se? Não, é pena. Pelo menos nos bailes muito, pronto, de temas não é? Mas pronto é assim. Há coisas que no casual ou no usual tu não estás habituada a ver e, portanto, quando vês, portanto, olhas. Olha, havia aí um rapaz – agora eu nunca mais o vi – loiro, usava uma saia cortada, depois tinha calça com cortes, depois tinha o braço cheio de tatuagens e depois usa maquilhagem e unhas... eu cumprimento-o, digo, “olá, tudo bem?” e tal. Há pessoas que olham para eles assim... e nem são Testemunhas de Jeová, nem pouco mais ou menos, são outras pessoas, sei lá eu quem são, tipo “ew”. No continente, eu dava-me bem com um rapaz que é bissexual e usa cabelo comprido, unhas grandes e tudo. Nas Testemunhas de Jeová, se esse mesmo rapaz entrasse lá, ninguém lhe ia dizer nada. Porquê? Primeiro, enquanto ele não souber os princípios da Bíblia e coisas da Bíblia, ninguém vai dizer coisa nenhuma. É um direito que ele tem. Se o fizerem, estão a fazer muito mal.

VB Mas depois iria haver uma expectativa de que mudasse a maneira de vestir?

Ele próprio terá que chegar a essa conclusão se ele quiser, se ele não quiser, não.

VB OK. E ninguém iria dizer nada?

Ninguém... repara uma coisa, com Deus nunca é ninguém obrigado. Por isso é que eu agora tenho estado de parte, porque acho que há alturas que eu “sim, Senhora”, há outras que não, porque não me sinto bem e porque ando com outras coisas. E é assim, a minha maneira de ver é: se estamos num país livre, mentalidade, em princípio também, não é? Então eu vou quando eu sei e tenho vontade, porque há que ser honesto e sincero. Eu não vou vestir uma roupinha só para agradar àquela ou outra ou outra, ou vou fazer dieta para agradar esta aquela ou à outra. Eu ensinei isso aos meus filhos. Vestem porque vocês querem, comem, mas tenham atenção ao corpo e à vossa saúde, que é o principal. Agora, temos que ser responsáveis por nós próprios e eu já tenho um com 19 e ela com 27, também já ambos trabalham e às vezes pedem-me opiniões e eu digo “o que é que tu achas?” Eles dizem, e eu “Ótimo, então é isso”. Eu sou muito independente e quero que eles sejam. Em tudo.

VB Última questão. Considera que a inclusão destes símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou que, em geral, tende a ser desrespeitosa?

Não, isso para mim não é desrespeitoso, nem pouco mais ou menos. Perfeitamente normal. Porque é moda. A moda tem tendência para pôr muita coisa na berra, até pode virar a Madonna ao contrário, pôr coisas... agora, eu por mim não vejo dessa forma.

Appendix F29 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Carlota”

Date of Interview:	March 13, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	19:38
Characteristics:	42 years old, Loures, Public Sector, Agnostic Catholic

- VB** Dentro do Cristianismo, qual é que considera ser a sua religião ou denominação religiosa?
Hm... Não tenho nenhuma. A educação foi Católica Apostólica.
- VB** Mas agora, se calhar, já não se identifica tanto com...
Não. Agora já não.
- VB** OK. Como é que descreveria as suas crenças e os seus valores religiosos?
É assim, eu acredito que tem que haver alguma coisa, né? Agora, o que é, não sei.
- VB** OK, pronto. E é em termos de educação, foi uma educação católica. Ia muitas vezes à Igreja? Como é que...
Foi foi foi. Sim sim, sim. Ia à Igreja, tenho... fiz todos aqueles sacramentos. Tenho desde o batismo até ao crisma pronto.
- VB** Como é que a sua fé – ou se calhar mais esta parte da educação católica – como é que influencia a sua vida diária?
Influencia... Por exemplo, a despedir assim de pessoas, por exemplo, “até amanhã se Deus quiser”, sai-me automaticamente. É inconsciente. Pronto é um exemplo.
- VB** E em termos de escolhas de vestuário, acha que influencia?
Não. Eu acho que não.
- VB** Mas e em geral, acredita que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião?
Talvez. Eu acredito que aquelas pessoas que são mais religiosas talvez tenham cuidado na maneira como é que se vestem. Ou seja, se calhar não... há coisas para elas, há certas maneiras de vestir que para elas não são bem-vindas, vá, ou que são pecados. O exemplo, por exemplo, do decote, uma minissaia. Pronto.
- VB** Considera que existem diretrizes específicas na Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?
Indiretamente sim.
- VB** E quais é que são essas diretrizes?
Não mostrar muito do nosso corpo, pronto.
- VB** E sente que essas diretrizes são impostas de igual forma nas mulheres e nos homens?
Não. Acho que são mais para as mulheres.
- VB** Porquê?
Porque o corpo da mulher, acho que, para a religião, é mais... falta-me o termo. É mais sagrado, vá. Pronto, não sei se estou a utilizar bem o...
- VB** Sim, acho que sim. Acha que essas diretrizes – que se calhar não são ditas – eram mais prevalentes no passado?
Sim, sem dúvida.
- VB** Tem alguma história ou assim que alguma vez lhe tenham contado sobre isso?
Olhe, por exemplo, eu lembro-me de ir à Igreja quando era criança e adolescente e isso e estarem sempre a comentar como “olha aquela vem de um vestido muito curto” ou “veio assim para a Igreja”, pronto, esse tipo de comentários. Tinha de ser tudo... As mulheres tinham de ir todas tapadinhas, não é? Para a Igreja.
- VB** E sente que quem fazia esses comentários eram pessoas que estavam na igreja ou eram pessoas que tinham posições de poder dentro da igreja?
Que estavam na igreja.
- VB** Ou seja, pessoas “normais”?
Sim, sim, sim, sim.
- VB** Considera que existe ou que alguma vez tenha existido algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário em específico que não pudesse vestir por causa da sua religião?
Pronto. Um exemplo, ir de vestido curto com decote ou minissaia ou com calções para a Igreja, por exemplo.

- VB** Mas só na Igreja? Fora da Igreja acha...
Fora da Igreja não, acho que não.
- VB** Como é que decide o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Sente que aquilo que veste no seu dia a dia é o mesmo que vestia se fosse a uma missa ou um evento religioso?
Sim, eu sim.
- VB** E sempre achou isso na sua vida inteira ou acha isso agora?
Eu agora também não frequento a Igreja, não é? Mas se eu fosse à Igreja, eu vestia-me tal e qual como me visto no meu dia a dia.
- VB** Certo, certo, certo, certo. E durante o seu crescimento, na altura em que se calhar ia lá mais vezes, pensava da mesma maneira? Também a roupa que vestia no dia a dia era a mesma roupa que vestia para ir, por exemplo, à missa?
Sim, sim, sim.
- VB** Nunca houve nenhum tipo de negociação de...
Não, não, porque eu também nunca fui assim de usar assim roupa assim extravagante. Vá lá, que chama a atenção.
- VB** Certo, certo, certo, certo. Considera que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as pessoas – e mais especificamente as mulheres – se devem vestir?
Oi, essa agora... *risos* Não lhe sei dizer. Eu não sei dizer, mas eu acho que sim. Mas não lhe sei dizer, porque é assim, essa é a minha opinião, lá está. Mas dizer se há ou se não há, não sei porque não li a Bíblia toda, não é? Não, não, não li, não sei, não tenho conhecimento.
- VB** Sim, sim, pronto. Achando que sim, acha que esses tipos de passagens se referem ao contexto da altura ou acha que são coisas que é para se fazer hoje em dia?
Eu acho que tem vindo a – assim pronto – a haver uma melhoria. No passado acho que eram mais exigentes, a Igreja era mais exigente na maneira como as pessoas, como as mulheres, principalmente as mulheres, se apresentavam vestidas.
- VB** Certo. Um conceito que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para si, o que é a modéstia?
Para mim, a modéstia? Bem, só me lembro da palavra simplicidade. Agora não sei se...
- VB** OK, então para si a modéstia é mais focada no não dar nas vistas e não tanto no cobrir o corpo?
Não, não nesse sentido. Cobrir o corpo, mas na simplicidade, no prático.
- VB** Acha que é cobrir o corpo para não dar nas vistas? Ou cobrir o corpo –
Cobrir o corpo, mas de maneira simples, não sei se me estou a fazer entender.
- VB** OK. Sim. Ou seja, humildade e esse tipo de coisas.
Exatamente. É isso mesmo, humildade.
- VB** Certo. Segue tendências de moda?
Não.
- VB** E costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência?
Eu normalmente só compro quando preciso.
- VB** Sente que existe alguma relação entre o seu consumo de moda e a sua fé?
Não. Acho que não.
- VB** Como é que as suas crenças ou os seus ensinamentos dentro do catolicismo influenciam a sua visão sobre, por exemplo, a moda sustentável e as questões éticas? O trabalho naquelas fábricas da China e nos outros países, por exemplo, compras em lojas de caridade, doações. Sente que os valores cristãos que lhe foram ensinados influenciam este tipo de pensamento?
É assim, influenciam na teórica, porque na prática sabemos perfeitamente que não é aplicável. Não é?
- VB** Mas é uma coisa em que pensa quando faz escolhas de vestuário?
É assim. Não dá muito, mas como é que hei de explicar? Posso pensar, só que é assim, eu não tenho elementos que digam “aquilo foi feito por crianças” ou “aquilo foi feito por materiais recicláveis” ou não sei, não é? Não sei, portanto, eu não posso... Talvez se me dissessem “olha, foi feito por crianças”, talvez assim eu não comprava. Mas não tenho como saber.
- VB** Portanto, se houvesse mais informação...
Sim, se houvesse mais informação aí, talvez selecionaria o que estava a comprar. Precisava, mas entre o precisar selecionava as várias peças de roupa que tenho – pronto – e escolheria aquela que realmente seguisse essa ética, vá.

VB	E sente que existe uma ligação entre isto e os valores que lhe foram passados pelo Catolicismo ou seria só uma preocupação em geral de personalidade? Existe, existe, existe, mas volto a realçar: existe, mas na teórica.
VB	Porque sente que a Igreja não está propriamente a falar sobre o assunto? Ou as pessoas, é que não... Não, porque a própria Igreja... porque a própria Igreja não... não vamos mais longe, o Papa, por exemplo, veste-se de material reciclável? De roupas feitas com material reciclável? Não, se calhar não, não deve vestir-se. Veste-se de tudo o quanto é – eu não sei onde é que é feito – mas não sei se é feito por crianças, se não é, mas eu... É assim, eu acho que ele não – como é que hei de explicar – ele se tiver que comprar algo, compra, mas não vai perder o seu tempo a tentar saber onde é que foi fabricado, onde é que não foi fabricado, o material... Portanto, tudo teórica.
VB	Já utilizou roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos? Ou versículos bíblicos ou coisas assim. Acessórios já, roupa não. Agora, por exemplo, acessórios, por exemplo, um fio com um terço, estilo um terço, um fio com a cruz. Sei lá, pronto, a cruz, sim.
VB	E quando usa esses acessórios, porque é que utiliza? Boa pergunta. Porque talvez eu... não sei, talvez tem a ver com o senso comum. Não sei.
VB	Mas por uma questão estética ou por uma questão de expressar a fé? Ou uma questão de proteção? Talvez porque se usa, não sei. Porque se usa, talvez, no meu meio familiar. Pronto.
VB	Portanto, “uma questão de moda”, entre aspas? Talvez. Moda, mas é a restritiva.
VB	Sim, sim, dentro de um grupo está na moda. Sim, pronto. Exatamente.
VB	OK. Vou-lhe mostrar umas imagens só para ter assim uma ideia. Como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda? Como é que eu me sinto? Mete-me arrepios. *risos*
VB	Deixa-a desconfortável? Deixa.
VB	Porquê? Porque... porque é coisas que... sei lá, coisas assim... faz-me lembrar assim o além, coisas espirituais e que não gosto desse tema e desse nome. Como é que hei de dizer? Não gosto desse tema pronto, não gosto, porque deixa-me desconfortável.
VB	E são representações que a deixam desconfortáveis em todos os contextos ou especificamente em vestuário? Eu acho que em todos os contextos, livros, televisão e... sim, todos.
VB	OK, vou mostrar agora umas imagens da <i>Vogue Portugal</i> . Pode fazer zoom. Como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir? Não as quero. *risos* Nada.
VB	Mas acha ofensivo de alguma maneira? Sim. Porque estão a utilizar... quer dizer, estão a utilizar assim coisas religiosas que... não sei. A mim sinceramente assusta-me.
VB	É um desconforto? É um desconforto, exatamente! Por exemplo, aqui acho que é a nossa Senhora de Fátima, não é? Por exemplo, aqui a nossa Senhora de Fátima, está... Isto é o quê? Um símbolo de uma roupa talvez.
VB	É um prato. Era um editorial que me mostrava... Tinha vários pratos. Ah, é um prato. Não. Eu, para mim não compraria. Não. Acho que um prato tem que ser simples. *risos*
VB	Sim, mas também não são pratos para comer, mas... São para enfeitar?
VB	Acho que é arte. Mas não, não. Eu gosto das coisas simples, mesmo em casa, é tudo simples.
VB	OK. E em relação às representações das freiras e isso, tem alguma opinião? Acho que aí já está misturado um bocadinho da religião com a moda, porque aí já há exibição. Ou seja, pronto para mim, pessoalmente, acho que a moda é um bocado assim... A moda de hoje em dia é exibicionista. Pronto, e acho que aqui está... pronto. Já não há a pureza, já não há... aqui já é... já é, pronto, aqui com as pernocas à mostra, com as meias pretas, o preto... aqui já a pôr perfume, já veio de outro lado de questões.
VB	Acha que algumas pessoas podem considerar isto ofensivo?

- Eu acho que sim.
- VB** E considera ofensivo?
É assim, estas aqui... estas aqui não são. Não são. Pronto. Mas acho que estão a utilizar a pureza, não é? Para chamar a atenção de... ou seja, estão a exhibir a pureza. E isto para mim está contra os meus princípios.
- VB** Certo, e porque é que acha que os designers metem essas representações em peças de roupa e coleções? E porque é que as revistas incluem este tipo de imaginação?
Marketing.
- VB** Acha que é para vender?
Claro! Para chamar a atenção, isto é tudo marketing.
- VB** Última questão: Considera que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na indústria da moda pode ser respeitosa ou que tende a ser desrespeitosa?
A indústria da moda? Atual?
- VB** Sim. Por exemplo, nas revistas e nas coleções...
É desrespeitosa.
- VB** Sempre? Ou tendencialmente?
Nem sempre, claro que não, nem sempre.
- VB** Portanto, pode ser respeitosa.
Pode, pode. Mas na maioria, para mim, é desrespeitosa porque... eu se calhar, é assim... é a maneira como eu fui educada e a maneira como eu... pronto, talvez tenha a ver um bocadinho que eu... não... para mim, tudo o que seja extravagante e para chamar a atenção a isso, para mim é tudo... pode até assustar. Lá está, pode até assustar-me. Não faz mesmo o meu feitiço.

Appendix F30 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Florbela”

Date of Interview:	March 13, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	18:49
Characteristics:	65 years old, Odivelas, Public Sector, Catholic

VB	Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que considera ser a sua religião ou denominação religiosa? Sou católica.
VB	E como é que descreveria as suas crenças e os seus valores religiosos? Sou católica, não sou praticante. Procuro, portanto, fazer o bem sem ser facciosa. Acredito na religião em si, mas no facto de ser facciosa, não, isso não. Fanatismo não está fora de questão.
VB	Sente que tem a ver com a sua educação? Foi educada de uma maneira católica? Fui. Sou batizada, fiz a primeira comunhão e depois já não fiz o crisma, não...
VB	Certo. Como é que a sua fé influencia a sua vida diária? Tenho... acredito na religião em si, portanto, tenho os meus momentos quando preciso, mesmo que não precise, eu acredito que há algo acima de mim. E tenho o meu Deus e acredito.
VB	E em relação às suas escolhas de vestuário, acredita que a sua religião influencia a maneira como se veste? Não. Respeito, mas não influencia.
VB	E sente que alguma vez influenciou? Não. E andei num colégio de freiras... E não.
VB	Elas não impunham nada? Ou havia farda? Portanto, até à quarta classe andei num colégio de freiras e tínhamos uma farda pronto, mas isso pronto faz parte do colégio. Mas em termos de religião, não teve influência absolutamente nenhuma, não. Nem me senti pressionada, ao contrário de muitas pessoas que dizem que as freiras... têm uma má impressão de um colégio de freiras, eu não tive, não fui pressionada em nada.
VB	Acredita que, em geral, existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião? Penso que já houve mais. É provável que determinadas pessoas de determinada faixa etária, que ainda exista. Mas não, acho que já existe menos.
VB	Isto no cristianismo ou noutras religiões? No cristianismo. Noutras religiões provavelmente serão mais... exercem mais uma pressão. Penso que sim. Na católica, acho que não, não exigem tanta tanta pressão. Depois é uma questão também de respeito que nós possamos ter, é evidente que eu não vou entrar numa igreja totalmente decotada ou assim. Se sei que vou para lá, se efetivamente não sei se tenho necessidade de entrar, se calhar também entro, não tenho problema. Não é por aí que eu vejo que se é mais ou menos ou se tem mais respeito ou menos respeito.
VB	Sente que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que veste no seu dia a dia e aquilo que veste, por exemplo, se for a uma missa ou um evento religioso? Não. Não. Não, porque o meu vestir no dia a dia também não é assim. Não é algo que possa chocar. Eu sei que tenho... vivo em sociedade e, portanto, tenho perante mim, perante a minha pessoa, uma determinada postura que acho que não choca.
VB	Certo. Considera que existem diretrizes específicas na Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir? Acho que sim, que ainda existe, sim, provavelmente que sim, ainda existem.
VB	E quais é que são essas diretrizes? Até da postura, realmente, das pessoas, mas isso acho que vem de já de trás, não... Não é que se imponham muito, pelo menos aquilo que eu vejo e daquilo que eu ouço quando vou, não me parece assim que seja tão tão tão...
VB	Mas considera que no passado existiam diretrizes mais fixas? Ah, sim sim sim, sim, sim.
VB	Lembra-se de alguma história que lhe tenham contado ou alguma coisa sobre o que é que se podia ou não se podia vestir?

Ah, sim, as pessoas não podiam ir com decotes, as pessoas não podiam com as pernas muito coisas, as pessoas tinham que levar o véu na cabeça. Havia assim uma série... Havião, sim.

VB Mas hoje em dia já não considera que nada disso seja um problema?
Eu não considero.

VB Mas acha que dentro da Igreja podem considerar?
Claro que sim! Há com certeza pessoas que ainda consideram, mesmo até pessoas novas, acho que sim, ainda é provável que sim. Pronto, mas no geral eu penso que não, que já não é assim tão... Não é.

VB Pessoas “normais” que frequentam a Igreja ou pessoas em posições de poder dentro da Igreja?

Ambos. Porque as pessoas ditas “normais” são influenciadas, às vezes, por casos de pessoas de toda a igreja que os possam influenciar.

VB Acha que existem padres que comentam sobre a maneira de vestir das pessoas que vão à missa?

Provavelmente sim. Ainda há. Ainda há muita velha guarda que ainda tem muito enraizado determinados hábitos e acham que é por aí que se vê se é um bom cristão ou um bom católico.

VB Considera que existe algum tipo de roupa ou peça de vestuário que não possa vestir – ou que em alguma determinada altura da sua vida não pudesse vestir – por causa da sua religião?

Acho que sim que. Evidente que eu não vou para uma igreja – como não vou para nenhum para nenhum sítio determinado da religião – de biquíni, por exemplo, não vou. Mas isso também não vou para outros sítios. Não é para só pelo facto de ser a igreja, mas não vou, como é lógico. E se me sentir muito decotada, também me sinto... Mas lá está, isso depois vem da educação que se teve e do respeito. Não sei. Há ali um... Que naturalmente isso aconteça. Agora, mas eu não me vou vestir de maneira diferente porque vou à Igreja, isso eu não vou, porque eu naturalmente/normalmente eu não ando mal, portanto, não vou melhor para a Igreja...

VB Mas e houve alguma altura da sua vida em que tivesse de pensar nesse assunto?
Não, nunca me senti, não.

VB Sempre foi linear a mesma roupa em todo lado. Considera que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as pessoas – mas mais especificamente as mulheres – se devem vestir?

Acho que sim, sendo milenar, portanto, tem. Acaba por ter.

VB E o que é que acha que são essas recomendações?

Da maneira de vestir? As mulheres deviam estar todas muito protegidas, muito tapadas, muito... Nós hoje falamos do islamismo e de que as mulheres andam... mas nós também temos, também éramos assim, não é? Também andávamos mais protegidas, muito mais, não andávamos com as burkas, não assim, mas também andávamos...

VB Há um conceito que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião, que é o conceito de modéstia. Para si, o que é a modéstia?

Moda, religião, modéstia? Modesto, eu acho que andarmos normais, não temos que... Porque se vai aqui ou vai ali, ter de ser modesto. Eu considero-me modesta, mas não... é vestir aquilo que eu quero, vestir o que eu considero que estou bem, independentemente da opinião dos outros. Os outros, se calhar, modesto e andar... sem grandes... olha que não sei definir bem o que é que eu posso considerar a modéstia em relação à igreja e àquilo que eu sou, mas acho que é o normal, é o vestir-me normalmente.

VB Está mais associado, se calhar, à simplicidade e a humildade e se calhar não tanto ao cobrir o corpo.

À simplicidade. Não tem nada a ver com o cobrir o corpo, para mim não tem nada a ver com o cobrir o corpo. Eu posso não ser modesta e cobrir o corpo de cima a baixo.

VB Sim, certo. Em geral, em várias religiões – no cristianismo e nas outras – as pessoas que são muito religiosas tendem a vestir-se de uma maneira que cobre mais o corpo e tende a haver indicações sobre isso. Sente que no caso do catolicismo, essas indicações são da mesma maneira impostas nos homens como nas mulheres?

Não, não.

VB Porquê?

Porque a sociedade é assim, infelizmente ainda hoje há uma grande diferença entre o homem e a mulher. Em muita coisa, em tudo. Embora se tente melhorar, e já se vê grandes melhorias, mas ainda há muita diferença. A mulher ainda é muito apontada.

VB	Certo. Segue tendências de moda? Não. Gosto da moda, mas não visto porque é moda, visto porque gosto. E por vezes gosto nos outros, mas não gosto para mim e é moda, mas pronto, acho que não se adapta, portanto, não. Procuro se gosto de ver, e se gosto muito bem, mas se não gosto, não sigo, não é?
VB	Costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência? Não tanta quanto gostaria, mas gostava muito.
VB	Sente que existe alguma relação entre o seu consumo de moda e a sua fé ou os ensinamentos católicos? Não, não. Provavelmente nós às vezes devemos, porque cometemos excessos e não deveríamos cometer, não é?
VB	E acha que exceder-se vai contra os ensinamentos católicos? Se olharmos àquilo para o lado e olharmos às necessidades que terceiros poderiam ter e que nós às vezes não olhamos assim tanto para o lado quando deveríamos, não é? Se formos por aí, sim.
VB	Como é que a sua religião influencia a sua visão, por exemplo, sobre moda sustentável e aquelas questões éticas das fábricas, das más condições de trabalho, doações, lojas de caridade? Isso é uma coisa em que pensa? Penso. E acho que às vezes nós poderíamos doar muito mais do que o que doamos e esquecemo-nos um bocadinho.
VB	E acha que existe uma ligação entre isso e os valores do catolicismo? Há. Ensinam-nos isso de... mas nós praticamos pouco.
VB	Certo. Acha que a Igreja poderia contribuir para as pessoas se comportarem de outra maneira quando tem a ver com o consumo excessivo de roupa e esse tipo de coisas? A Igreja tenta que isso aconteça, mas ela própria por vezes também não dá muito bom exemplo. Porque as pessoas por vezes até fazem algumas doações e depois as coisas são muito mal... porque enfim, a Igreja é feita por homens, portanto... e aquilo que devia ser um exemplo, por vezes, não é.
VB	Sim. Já utilizou roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos? Não. Não, sejam eles quais forem. Não gosto de roupas com símbolos. Não é por serem...
VB	E acessórios? Acessórios, tenho alguns. E uso quando, pronto... tenho a Cruz de que gosto e uso muito. É o que tenho.
VB	E quando usa, por que é que usa? Porque me apetece, porque gosto e às vezes é o momento e há uma história naquela Cruz que eu tenho.
VB	Mas, por exemplo, emocional de quem ofereceu? Emocional, sim, sim. Emocional e, portanto, pronto toda a história à volta de quem me deu, como deu, em que data me deu, tudo isso.
VB	Sente que utiliza por alguma questão de proteção ou não está correlacionado? Também... também. Há momentos em que tenho necessidade de ter essa peça.
VB	Ia perguntar se não acha que seja para, por exemplo, expressar a sua fé ou assim? É mais por uma questão emocional. Não, não, não, Senhor, não. Eu não preciso de mostrar. Eu preciso de mostrar a mim própria, perante mim sim, agora mostrar aos outros não. Aliás, eu vou à Igreja quando me apetece ir à Igreja. E sinto-me muito bem, muitas das vezes sozinha naquele espaço. Isso não preciso de mostrar, não mostro, não quero, não faço. Não tenho necessidade de mostrar. Tanto estou sozinha como acompanhada, mas gosto muito de ir e meditar sozinha ali.
VB	Vou-lhe mostrar umas imagens. É assim só mais em geral se não tiver nada em mente. Mas como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda? São opções. Se as pessoas se sentem bem, se acham que é uma maneira... se gostam, porque não?
VB	Para si não há mal nenhum? Não, não vejo mal nenhum, absolutamente nenhum. Desde que as pessoas sintam aquilo que estão a fazer e sintam... não me choca absolutamente nada. Eu não gosto, seja ela qual for, mas não me choca nada. Ao contrário de algumas pessoas que dizem que... a mim não me choca.
VB	Porque é que acha que essas pessoas ficam ofendidas?

Eu não entendo porque é que ficam ofendidas, porque o facto de se ter uma imagem de uma Nossa Senhora, um Cristo, isto ou aquilo, não altera absolutamente nenhuma a fé nas pessoas ou acreditarem... não, não consigo entender porque é que as pessoas têm esse tipo de atitudes.

VB OK. Vou mostrar umas imagens aqui da *Vogue Portugal*, pode fazer zoom se quiser. Como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?

Bem, e acho que têm beleza.

VB Não há nada que provoque desconforto?

Não. Acho esta muito bonita. Gosto também muito desta. E gosto muito desta.

VB Em geral, nada a ofende e não tem...

Não, não vejo isso como uma ofensa, porque é que há de ser uma ofensa? Não.

VB Porque é que acha que os designers e as revistas de moda incluem este tipo de referências?

Para provocar e alertar também as pessoas, se calhar, não?

VB Alertar as pessoas para o quê?

Para o mundo em que se vive. Que não podem estar parados, têm de ver as coisas de maneira diferente. Pronto. Porque não é isto que vai alterar a postura e a maneira de ser das pessoas ou...

VB Certo, tenho só uma última questão que é se em geral, se considera que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou se tende a cair no desrespeito?

Eu acho que com o tempo tem que ser respeitosa.

VB Mas acha que é?

Ainda não e ainda há muita gente que não respeita. Mas tem de ser. A moda tem de passar por isso, tem que...

VB Mas estas representações não achou que fossem desrespeitosas.

Não considero. Eu não considero.

VB OK. Então o que é que considerava que fosse desrespeitoso se fosse feito? Algum exemplo?

Considero desrespeitosa uma imagem de agressividade, teres uma imagem e mandarem-te... olha, como fazem agora, as tintas para cima, não sei quantos. Mas isso tanto é para a religião como para outra peça de arte qualquer, por exemplo. Acho que é uma falta de respeito, mas não estou a ver assim...

Appendix F31 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Luísa”

Date of Interview:	March 13, 2024
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	31:56
Characteristics:	29 years old, Cascais, Education, Catholic

VB Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que consideras ser a tua religião ou denominação religiosa?

Católica.

VB E como é que descreverias as tuas crenças e os teus valores religiosos?

Bem, então eu nasci e cresci numa família católica, andei num colégio também católico e fui sempre à missa ao domingo e sou uma pessoa bastante religiosa. Portanto, fiz retiros, campos de férias, andei sempre na catequese, depois dei catequese, pronto, fui sempre fazendo parte de muitas atividades cristãs e católicas.

VB E como é que a tua fé influencia a tua vida diária?

Bem, influencia muito. Agora, se calhar um bocadinho menos, mas muito. Imagina, todos os meus valores eu acho que advêm daí ou são muito próximos daí, claro que também da minha família, mas a minha família também é muito católica. Nós somos 5 irmãos na minha família e eu considero que eu até sou uma das mais – nós tratamos de “as beatas”, não é? – porque sou uma das pessoas que mais levei sempre o cristianismo e a fé muito à risca. Portanto, para mim, o que era dito na igreja era importante. Sempre li sobre isso, sempre quis saber mais, fiz parte de vários grupos, portanto, para mim a fé acaba por influenciar tudo um pouco. Não é? Influenciou a forma como eu vi a vida, como via as minhas amizades, como vi os meus namoros, como... pronto, foi influenciando sempre a minha vida mesmo.

VB E em relação às tuas escolhas de vestuário, acreditas que a tua religião influencia a maneira como te vestes?

Acho que sim. Ou melhor, acho que influencia e influenciava mais quando se calhar era mais nova, alguns cuidados, especialmente quando tínhamos coisas católicas, não é? Tipo, imagina, se eu vou à missa ao domingo, não vou de calções curtos, não vou com um decote enorme... Portanto, nas coisas religiosas eu tinha muito esse cuidado de não ir a assim toda espampanante e acho que também isso levou a que eu que eu tivesse mais cuidado no meu dia a dia. Mas também acho que é um bocadinho meu. Eu não gosto muito de decotes muito grandes, ficava um bocado inibida, um bocado desconfortável, mas, por exemplo, eu sempre usei vestidos curtos, usei saltos altos sempre. Eu tinha amigas minhas que eram mais obcecadas com essa parte do vestuário – de achar que podia querer dizer alguma coisa a forma como... – eu não acho, acho só que se calhar me levou a ter mais alguns cuidados a mais. Pronto, e depois também acho que – mas isto tem muito a ver comigo, não é? – eu acho que, por outro lado, também não sou uma “gastadora nata” pronto, se calhar também por ter esse cuidado de pensar um bocadinho mais na vida e pensar do género “não vou gastar aqui porque se calhar posso usar ali”, “não vou estar sempre, sempre, sempre a gastar”. Não sei se vem exatamente da minha fé, mas de ter algum cuidado e, portanto, também nessa parte. Sei lá, claro que gosto de moda e adoro ver quais é que são as tendências, sei quais são as tendências, mas eu [nome], não sou uma pessoa muito de andar sempre atrás das tendências, porque também não há budget sempre para andar atrás das tendências e, portanto, pronto é um bocadinho isto. Mas em algumas coisas, eu acho, por exemplo mesmo... Desculpa, só voltando atrás mesmo na parte dos fatos de banho e biquínis, sempre usei biquíni, nunca achei que usar biquíni trouxesse algum mal ao mundo. Não acho. Conheci alguns grupos mais beatos que que achavam que a mulher não devia... eu não tenho nenhuma dessas crenças. Mas também como sou, também não adoro biquínis mínimos que mostrem imensa coisa, mas também acho que às vezes pessoas que não têm fé nenhuma também não gostam, não é? Mas pronto. Acho que pode ter influenciado se calhar um bocadinho a forma como me vejo, não é? Do género “não acho que seja preciso a pessoa estar...”, mas pronto, mas sempre usei biquíni em vez de fato de banho.

VB Achas que então existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião? Em geral.

Acho que sim, acho que sim. Porque quer dizer... acho que as pessoas podem ter mais cuidados porque desde sempre que foram ouvindo algumas coisas. Em alguns casos, acho que até pode ser castrador se a pessoa não tiver a capacidade de discernir um bocadinho de “isto faz sentido ou não faz sentido”. Acho que sim. Eu tinha uma grande amiga minha – que depois foi para freira – que a certa altura tinha muito estas conversas comigo, de “ah, mas olha que um vestido curto ou justo...”. Eu não acho. Acho que a pessoa veste o que quiser vestir. E depois as minhas primas diziam “vê-se que a [nome] é mais beata, parece sempre uma freira, tem sempre um topzinho por baixo” e não sei quê. Pronto elas diziam isto sempre com graça, nunca me chateou, mas se calhar por eu ser mais – não sei – mais certinha achava que se calhar não devia... Por exemplo, sou incapaz de usar uma camisa transparente sem pôr um top, sou, é verdade. Não sei se tem diretamente a ver com a fé, mas eu acho que molda-te de alguma forma que depois a forma como tu vais escolher intrinsecamente aquilo já está em ti, não é? Mas pronto e acho que sim, acho que há outras religiões em que vemos mais isso, não é? Porque é que os muçulmanos, as mulheres continuam a usar as burkas? Não é? Porque também faz um bocadinho parte da fé delas, apesar de tudo. Não que a beleza... São super preocupadas com a beleza, se tirarem qualquer coisa que tu vais ver, não é? Lê-se muito isso, não é? Tipo impecáveis, mas aquilo para elas também diz alguma coisa.

VB Consideras que existem diretrizes específicas na Igreja Católica sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?

Acho que hoje em dia não existem diretrizes. Hoje em dia não, mas acho que em tempos houve. Até havia muito o como é que a mulher devia de ir para a Igreja, não é? Ir com uma renda na cabeça, não ir com os ombros descobertos. Ainda há, por exemplo, algumas coisas que eu tenho em atenção: quando vou para um casamento – para a missa do casamento, imagina – tenho sempre aquela coisa de “ah, os ombros não vão descobertos, tipo, não vou não sei quê” ou “não vou com caícaí”. Quer dizer, hoje em dia cada vez menos, eu acho que nós cada vez estamos mais tranquilas com isso, mas acho que diretrizes mesmo se calhar não, mas há alguns cuidados. Imagina, mesmo quando estamos a fazer campos de férias da paróquia – que era os que eu fazia – se as miúdas aparecem com uns calções que se vê um bocado o rabo, qualquer coisa, ou um top muito curto, nós dizemos “olha, não é preciso também”. Portanto, sim, não é que haja diretrizes, mas há alguns cuidados que se calhar nós vamos dizendo, principalmente quando era a hora da missa: “Olha, na missa não é preciso irmos assim”. Pronto, não sei, não eram diretrizes obrigatórias, mas alguns cuidados que nós íamos tendo. Mas também pode ser uma questão mais geracional, se calhar, na minha geração se calhar não se usava tanto e na de baixo já se usa muito mais, mas pronto. Portanto, acho que hoje em dia já não há tantas diretrizes, mas que em que tempos houve, acho que sim.

VB Nesses campos de férias da paróquia, sentes que essas indicações que se davam às raparigas também eram dadas aos rapazes?

Sim, sim. Só que tinha uma questão, é que os rapazes ou estão de calções ou estão de t-shirt. E os calções dos rapazes são sempre calções, tipo, os rapazes não têm calções muito curtos, não é? Porque, quer dizer, eles usam quase todos os mesmos e as t-shirts também. Portanto, se eles aparecessem com umas calças rotas, a diretriz era a mesma tipo “não vão de calças rotas para a missa” não é? Só que o que eu acho é que os rapazes no Verão têm uma roupa muito sempre igual, não é? Uma t-shirt e uns calções de banho ou uns calções e pronto, as raparigas não, porque nós temos tantas variações, não é? Tantos tops que podem ser desde tops de gola alta até tops curtos, que a questão acaba por estar mais nas raparigas por causa disso. Agora se um rapaz a aparecesse de calças rotas... Mas que são menos os rapazes que que aparecem com calças de rotas, porque no Verão estão mais de calções. Pronto, Mas, por exemplo, isso é interessante eu não sou contra uma rapariga ir de calções para a missa, acho que não tem mal nenhum, porque também não dizemos aos rapazes que eles não podem ir à missa sem ser de calções. Agora, o cumprimento dos calções é que, se calhar já se tem atenção nas raparigas e nos rapazes não se tem porque os deles dificilmente são muito mais acima do que a coxa e, portanto, pronto. Portanto, acho que as diretrizes são iguais mas nos rapazes há menos necessidade, aparecem menos com coisas mais curtas ou qualquer coisa.

VB OK. Tu já falaste mais ou menos disto porque tu falaste sobre as camisolas transparentes, mas consideras que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário específica que não possas vestir por causa da tua religião?

Não, não sinto. Eu não sinto. E mesmo isso do transparente, imensas pessoas que, se calhar, estão nos mesmos grupos que eu que usam. Eu acho que eu é que se calhar sou menos confiante e então penso “ai, meu Deus, não vou pôr isto que sinto-me super nua”, é um bocado isto, a sensação que eu tenho e não gosto dessa sensação. Portanto, acredito que se calhar naquilo que eu fui crescendo para mim não faz muito sentido, mas acho que não há assim nada que digam que não se pode usar. Posso usar, é um bocado... Não sei, acho que não há assim nada que me tenham dito alguma vez tipo “não se pode usar não sei quê”, acho que não.

VB Mas já ouviste dizerem alguma coisa a alguém?

Não, que não se pudesse, não. Não. Tinha esta conversa com uma das minhas grandes amigas, que era muito beata, muito beata e que dizia estas coisas de “ai, olha que ficas provocadora” e eu “ôh [nome], é assim, filha, ficando ou não, isso era o que faltava, não é? O homem que olha para mim não tem que olhar para mim dessa forma”, não é? Eu não tenho essa visão, portanto eu acho que às vezes é um bocadinho como cada um interpreta também um bocadinho a sua fé. Mas nunca ouvi tipo “não podes”, mas lembro-me desta minha amiga que tem exatamente a mesma idade do que eu – nós crescemos sempre juntas – e que a certa altura tinha esta questão e alguns grupos – mas isto é mesmo verdade – hoje em dia na igreja, como em tudo na vida, porque na política também é assim, não é? Apareceu o 8 e o 80, não é? E como as pessoas todas precisam dos extremos para viver, não é? E querem muito, hoje em dia existem fações da Igreja mais extremistas em que se em que se fala da roupa. Imagina, uma amiga minha recebeu um convite para um casamento em que dizia expressamente qual é que era o *Dress Code*. O *Dress Code* era tão específico ao ponto de “não pode ir com os ombros à mostra, o vestido tem que ir até ao joelho”, estas a ver? Uma coisa completamente antiquada que jamais na minha vida, no meu casamento, eu diria isto a quem quer que seja, “é me indiferente, vocês vêm como vocês quiserem e eu vou como eu quiser”. Portanto, eu acho que hoje em dia há fações extremistas que voltam a tocar em coisas que se calhar no passado na igreja existiam. Como a renda no cabelo.

VB Sim, exato. Há muita gente neste momento que ainda usa véu na missa ou que voltou a usar?

Voltou a usar, exatamente, completamente.

VB Certo, consideras que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as pessoas – e mais especificamente as mulheres – se devem vestir?

Não. A Bíblia, não. Não, por acaso não considero... estava a pensar se havia assim alguma... Mas nem me lembro de nenhuma leitura que fale sobre roupa. Eu acho que não. Acho que na Bíblia ninguém estava preocupado com isso, sinceramente. Os Homens é estão, nós é que nos preocupamos com essas coisas, a Bíblia é muito mais – principalmente o Novo Testamento, não é? – é muito mais virado para coisas importantes da vida. Eu acho que a Igreja é que é feita de homens e os homens é que se preocupam com coisas mais pequeninas. Nós às vezes a brincar até dizemos “achas que Jesus estava a reparar como é que estava vestida Maria Madalena? Não estava, pronto”. Tipo assim meio a brincar uns com os outros. A Bíblia, não, eu acho que Igreja é que é feita de homens e os homens é que mais tarde vieram a achar que algumas destas coisas podiam ser importantes ou não.

VB Certo. Um dos conceitos de que mais se fala quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia. Para ti, o que é que é a modéstia?

Ah, é difícil. Esse é muito difícil. A modéstia... Eu vou um bocadinho pelo contrário, eu acho que o contrário é exuberância, não é? Pronto. Eu vou ser sincera, eu hoje em dia eu já não ouço tanto falar sobre a modéstia, acho que antigamente a modéstia era a pessoa não... não sei... Eu acho que era não exagerar, não aparecer, não ser exuberante. Porque no fundo se fala muito sobre a humildade, sobre a pessoa não se demonstrar muito, mas a verdade é que se nós olharmos para os tempos antigos, os reis de modéstia tinham muito pouco, não é? E eram todos supostamente católicos e não sei quê. Portanto, acho que é uma certa... hoje em dia não se ouve falar muito sobre isso e hoje em dia as pessoas são muito mais preocupadas com a moda. Acho que a modéstia... eu hoje em dia, sinceramente não sei como é que se vive a modéstia, porque é tão difícil nos nossos tempos, com tantas modas e com tudo o que nós gostamos de ter, os ténis Adidas, a roupa não sei quê da marca “nanana”, eu tenho alguma dificuldade. Acho que é mais num contexto de a pessoa não estar sempre a comprar, comprar, comprar e comprar quando na verdade se calhar podia usar algum desse dinheiro para outras coisas mais importantes na vida. Tenho algum cuidado, confesso, nesse tema.

- VB** Era isso que eu ia perguntar: se costumava comprar roupa com muita frequência?
Eu não sou o melhor exemplo. Eu não compro... Eu sou uma forreta – não é forreta – mas eu sou daquelas que fico a namorar as coisas durante não sei quanto tempo e quando – o meu marido é que diz sempre isto – e quando vou comprar já esgotou. Portanto, eu não compro imenso, sou assim um bocado mais tímida a comprar. Adoro ver, sei todas as tendências, namoro uns ténis seis meses e depois tipo chega aos meus anos e se calhar compro, mas isto porque eu – até te posso contar porque tem graça – em minha casa a minha mãe não me comprava muita roupa, havia duas alturas do ano em que se recebia roupa, era nos meus anos e no Natal. Entre os meus anos, que são em junho, e o Natal, a minha mãe tudo o que comprava guardava e depois dava-me no Natal e depois nos meus anos. E depois de vez em quando, claro, em meia estação também comprávamos. Hoje em dia, eu vou-te confessar, como eu tenho muita roupa, porque eu sou daquelas que não deita fora, tenho imensa vergonha de ir comprar roupa nova, porque acho “ah, eu tenho tanta em casa, que grande vergonha agora vou comprar não sei quê”, eu sou um bocado assim. Mas eu não sei se isto tem a ver com a minha fé. Acho que tem a ver um bocado com tipo “ai eu estou com tanta roupa em casa, não dei, já podia ter dado algumas coisas, então também não vou estar a comprar”, mas compro assim, imagina, eu acho que de dois em dois meses compro qualquer coisa para mim, mas compro uma peça ou duas. Sou mais do género de comprar numa Zara do que comprar numa Massimo Dutti ou numa mais cara, custa-me um bocadinho dar muito dinheiro por uma peça. Apesar de depois ficar toda invejosa quando vejo alguém “ah, ela comprou, era espetacular”, mas pronto, eu sou um bocadinho tímida a comprar.
- VB** Eu ia perguntar-te se achavas que existia alguma relação entre o teu consumo de moda e a tua fé?
Não, acho que não. Existe esta coisa de achar que tenho muita roupa e que podia dá-la, não é? Pode fazer falta alguém, isso eu acho que existe. Nós fomos sempre, nos grupos em que eu estive havia sempre muito este cuidado do “se não usas tipo aproveita”. Nós fazíamos sopa dos pobres e não sei quê, e, portanto, o conceito de pobreza é um conceito que me é próximo, não é? De conhecer, de saber que nós também temos este... para nós é importante poder ajudar alguém, portanto, se eu tenho roupa, a mim chateia-me estar a comprar quando ao lado alguém podia precisar e eu podia dar. Portanto, acho que existe esse cuidado, não é? Enquanto eu tenho, se eu tenho 5 camisas, ou dou uma e compro uma, ou então se calhar não compro. Apesar de não acho que seja sempre assim, porque eu sou péssima a dar porque eu acho sempre que se vai voltar a usar e portanto, pronto, mas acho que existe este conceito pelo menos do não estar sempre, sempre, sempre, sempre a comprar. Porque podia dar. Mas também sou do género, dou 3 sacos de roupa “ah, então agora posso ir comprar umas peças” ou “estou mais triste, se calhar posso ir comprar uma peçinha para mim”, isso também faço.
- VB** Pronto, já mencionaste o consumo excessivo, caridade e doações, mas como é que tu achas que a tua religião influencia a tua visão sobre moda sustentável? Costumas pensar em questões ligadas à ética e às condições de trabalho em *sweatshops*, por exemplo, e esse tipo de coisas, quando fazes escolhas de moda?
Sim. Acho que quando eu era mais nova, tinha mais impacto. Mesmo quando saíram aquelas notícias de que as grandes marcas, a Zara e a Mango e essas todas, faziam no Bangladesh com o uso de crianças e a Nike, houve ali uma fase que eu acho que foi assim um bocado bombástica nestas notícias que a pessoa se ficava assim um bocadinho, tipo “ai, eu compro aqui e realmente estão a abusar ali, não é?” Hoje em dia confesso que penso menos nisso. Mas eu sou uma pessoa que a área da sustentabilidade e da ética, eu gosto muito dessa a área, acho graça, mas confesso que verdadeiramente no meu dia a dia a comprar eu não tenho isso em conta. Não tenho. Mais rapidamente compro na Zara do que compro, por exemplo, numa marca portuguesa que eu sei que é mais cara porque na verdade está a usar mão de obra qualificada e, portanto, todo o caminho é muito mais sustentável do que as outras, mas não deixei de comprar e não sou aquelas pessoas que só comprem marcas portuguesas. Gosto imenso das marcas portuguesas e a mim faz-me imenso sentido, mas não compro especialmente aí por ser isso.
- VB** Mas vês uma ligação entre esse tipo de consumo e os valores do catolicismo?
Não vejo, confesso. Apesar de achar que os valores do catolicismo estão em várias escolhas, sem eu pensar muito nelas, mas isto acho que não, pelo menos para mim não tem.

VB Também já tocaste um bocadinho nisto, mas como é que decides o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Existe uma diferença entre aquilo que vestes no teu dia a dia e aquilo que vestes para ir à missa?

Não, no dia a dia normal não. Mas, por exemplo, no verão tenho algum cuidado, por exemplo, eu não acho que a pessoa não possa ir à praia e ir à missa, apesar de haver pessoas que não vão, tipo se vão à missa e se foram à praia o dia inteiro vão a casa tomar banho e depois vão para a missa. Para mim, tipo, eu vou da praia para a missa, mas a roupa é diferente do que se calhar num dia em que eu não fosse à missa. Por exemplo, se calhar ponho um vestido mais comprido, se calhar não vou com um decote com as costas todas abertas, se calhar não. Pronto, eu aí tenho cuidado no verão, no inverno é muito mais fácil porque a pessoa está sempre quente e, portanto, vai. Mas, por exemplo, também não adoro ir de roupa de desporto para a missa, imensa gente vai, eu é que não gosto porque pronto. E depois, onde é que eu tenho mais? Por exemplo, nos casamentos tinha aquele – hoje em dia tenho muito menos –, mas existe muito aquela coisa da pessoa não ir à missa com os braços e os ombros destapados, não ir de alcinhas e “nananana”, hoje em dia eu confesso que não tenho tanto isso nos casamentos. Porque também à medida que fui crescendo, fui percebendo que há coisas mais importantes, tipo que não pode ser tudo levado à letra, que não pode ser... Não é as alcinhas que vão dizer se eu sou mais ou menos católica, não é os ombros à mostra. Porque na nossa igreja – eu não sei se tu és católica ou não – mas onde eu cresci a certa altura, há tantas regras que a pessoa segue um bocado cegamente e que de repente há ali uma idade em que tu pensas “calma, mas que sentido é que isto tem? Porque é que os ombros vão ou não vão destapados?” No fundo é uma forma de respeito, como é que eu estou na igreja ou não estou. Não vou nua, mas eu também não tenho vestidos propriamente... tipo, nunca vou para um casamento de caikai, barriga toda à mostra e calções, não é? Não vou toda... eu normalmente já não iria e para uma missa de um casamento também não. Se calhar tenho o cuidado de se calhar ter uma echarpe, nem que faça só um lado ou assim, mas pronto, é um bocadinho isto.

VB Certo. Já utilizaste roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos?

Sim, si. Então eu uso sempre uma medalha de Nossa Senhora. Usei durante imenso tempo um anel que era uma dezena para me lembrar de rezar o terço. Usei o escapulário, que é um colar também, que tem dois lados e que diz que protege, se a pessoa morresse, é como se tivéssemos protegidos. No fundo é isto. Usei imenso tempo uma Nossa Senhora das Graças, uma pulseira que me deram quando eu fiz voluntariado em Calcutá, a Nossa Senhora das Graças diz que quanto mais nós pedimos, mais Deus nos dá, e a Nossa Senhora das Graças é um desses símbolos. Bem, eu usei imensos. E usei uma Cruz durante imenso tempo, um fio de prata com uma Cruz e várias medalhas que ia recebendo. Pronto, sim, portanto, fui usando imenso.

VB E em termos de roupa?

De roupa não. De roupa só *t-shirts* de campos de férias, mas que era uma coisa um bocado... mas nunca usei assim nada que tivesse um símbolo mesmo.

VB No caso dos acessórios que tu mencionaste, quando utilizas porque é que utilizas?

Então, por exemplo, a Nossa Senhora – esta nossa Senhora do Carrapito – eu gosto muito da imagem e porque é que eu utilizo hoje em dia? É uma grande pergunta. Hoje em dia eu acho que é só porque eu gosto muito desta Nossa Senhora e me sinto um bocadinho protegida de a ter comigo. Foi a minha mãe que me deu num ano especial. E as outras também, às vezes até para me lembrar a mim própria durante o dia, tipo “olha, Jesus olha por ti, está aqui contigo também, é teu amigo”. Há aqui um certo sentido de cuidado tipo “está a olhar por mim, está a cuidar de mim”, eu para mim eu uso porque tem este sentido quase querido, não é? De cuidar de mim.

VB Então sentes que é mais por uma questão de proteção e não tanto por uma questão de expressares a tua fé? Ou achas que também pode ser por causa disso?

Hoje em dia não é tanto de expressão da minha fé, é menos, é mais para me proteger e porque eu gosto. Mas, por exemplo, na minha filha eu gostava imenso de lhe por um fio de prata – se calhar por também achar que fica giro, não é? – e também acho que é um bocadinho um símbolo... Eu acho que há fases da vida, quando eu usava o fio de prata, era um bocadinho mais símbolo, houve ali umas fases que eu acho que sim, mas hoje em dia não é para demonstrar, é mais para mim, é mais proteção, é mais cuidado, é mais para mim.

VB Mas nessas alturas em que podia ser mais para expressar a tua fé, achas que era porque gostavas que fosse, por exemplo, um *conversation starter* ou não era tanto por aí?

Não, não. Primeiro, não era preciso porque eu fazia disso sempre um *conversation starter*, eu era uma pessoa super de falar sobre a fé. Não, era para que as outras pessoas também... às vezes eu acho que... quer dizer, eu acho que às vezes intriga os outros, não é? Tipo “porque é que esta pessoa usa uma Cruz? Porque esta pessoa usa uma dezena?” E às vezes de facto é bom. E eu acho que há fazes da nossa vida, pelo menos na minha houve fazes em que eu achava, tipo, “isto é bom às vezes para dar espaço para o outro também poder dizer ‘ah, eu também faço, eu também rezo’”. Acho que sim, acho que pode ter sido, sim, acho que também pode ter sido nessa ótica de conversation starter, mas mais para a outra pessoa também se sentir, tipo, “ah, olha, eu também concordo” ou “eu também faço parte da mesma coisa que tu” ou “acredito do mesmo que tu”.

VB Olha, vou mostrar-te aqui umas imagens. Diz-me se consegues ver a tela. Se quiseres, eu posso fazer zooms porque eu sei que estás no telemóvel.

Consigo, sim. Mas eu acho que consigo ver bem.

VB Pronto, isto é também mais em geral, se não tiveres nada em mente, mas... como é que te sentes em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?

Ah, eu confesso que eu não gosto nada destes.

VB Porquê?

Bem, não gosto porque eu não gosto de usar, acho que fica sempre meio feio. Tipo esta camisola da Dolce & Gabbana [Figure 20] a mim faz-me um bocado de confusão, que isto é assim uma imagem que mais rapidamente havia numa igreja do que numa camisola e, portanto, eu não gosto muito. Não acho bonito e acho às vezes um bocadinho intrusivo quase, quase que obriga a pessoa... entre ali... não sei explicar. Para mim é assim um bocado... mesmo o de Adão e Eva, do primeiro, do Valentino, aí, eu acho que isto é uma história contada, ótima, mas num vestido morro. Eu não sou muito de estampados também, assim, mas pronto eu não adoro, confesso-te.

VB Mas deixam-te desconfortável?

Deixam, deixam. Porque é quase como se estivesse a obrigar o outro a ter de – sabes? – a ter de viver isto. Não sei. Eu acho que, para mim, a minha fé é uma coisa um bocado mais pessoal. É como quando as pessoas usam aquelas cruzes enormes, também me faz sempre um bocado de confusão. Eu não usaria. Acho, não sei, mas pronto.

VB Achas que estão a obrigar os outros a querer saber?

Sim, não é tanto. Sim, exatamente. Uma coisa é se tu usares um símbolo pequenino, que pronto, outra coisa é... eu não gosto, mas quer dizer, eu não usaria, não adoro, não compraria, não vestiria. Mas pronto, também acho que há formas diferentes de expressar a fé, não é? Há pessoas que gostam.

VB Mas é só mesmo por causa disso? Não achas que seja inapropriado?

Imagina, também acho um bocadinho, mas só porque... inapropriado, na medida em que não percebo muito bem a finalidade, é mais isso. Não é? Porque é que se põe uma imagem de Nossa Senhora que devia de estar numa igreja? Eu não sei, é assim. Para mim é tipo descontextualizado, sabes? É um bocadinho isso. Eu não usaria.

VB Vou mostrar-te umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Está dividido em dois slides só porque não cabia num. Como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

Ai, bem, só agora é que vi a terceira. Ai, meu Deus! Então vou começar pela terceira. A terceira custa-me porque também, às vezes, o que eu tenho a sensação é que hoje em dia se pode dizer tudo aos católicos e nós temos que ficar calados e se for ao contrário, nada se pode dizer, nós não podemos dizer muita coisa. Mas custa-me um bocado, não é? A Nossa Senhora e aquilo em que eu acredito, de repente pôr-se “MILF”, pronto, também não gostava que chamassem “MILF” à minha mãe e, portanto, à Nossa Senhora também não gosto. A primeira tem aqui o terço, não é? A primeira, imagina, eu até acho que pode ser um bocadinho uma representação de uma realidade, não é? Muito santa, muito santa, mas depois se calhar até... sabes? Que também existe, não é? Tem um terço, mas do outro lado está a fazer um “chio”. Pronto aqui, é uma representação que no limite eu até percebo que se queira fazer, às vezes também ver que nem tudo é tão santo quanto possa parecer. A segunda não sei, a segunda parece-me assim, aquelas... aí, como é que se chama? Os Amish, sabes? É o que me parece que é assim muito ortodoxo. Com esta não me identifico nada.

VB Vou mostrar-te as próximas. A questão é a mesma: como é que estas imagens te fazem sentir?

A primeira, pronto, também não gosto muito, mas isto existe muito, não é? Pôr-se as freiras neste lugar de quase provocadoras ou quase... pronto, a mim faz-me um bocadinho confusão, porque, pronto, também porque me é próximo, não é? Porque tenho amigas

que são freiras e que estão em clausura e portanto, não tem nada a ver com isto, é quase... não tem nada a ver com a realidade, é mais isto que me faz sentido. A terceira é mais indiferente, parece que vem assim um anjo ou assim uma coisa do céu, mas a terceira não, não me coíso tanto. Como é que se diz? Não me impacta tanto.

VB As outras achas que podem ser consideradas ofensivas?

Imagina, para mim não são ofensivas, mas acho que podem ser consideradas ofensivas, sim. Porque se põe a freira num primeiro de... quase como quando uma pessoa se mascara de freira *naughty* no Carnaval, não é? Para quê? Pronto, não é suposto, a freira não é *naughty* e não sei quê. Mas pronto, a enfermeira também não é e também põe a enfermeira *naughty*... Portanto, acho que no fundo acho que podem ser ofensivas, claro. Porque põe-se aqui numa posição diferente do que elas deveriam ser. Acho que podem ser consideradas. Eu não as acho ofensivas, só acho um bocado pena, porquê pôr uma freira numa situação destas? Porquê? Percebes? Mas pronto.

VB Mas porque é que achas que eles fazem este tipo de representações tanto nas revistas como nas coleções de moda?

Estas últimas? Porque é põe assim tipo uma freira ou –

VB Em geral, os símbolos religiosos em geral.

Para chocar. Eu enquanto católica o que sinto é que hoje em dia, imagina, pode-se gozar com tudo, portanto, pode-se ir até ao limite de quase tudo, menos das minorias que hoje em dia são importantes de defender e portanto, eu acho que as pessoas que são católicas e religiosas também podem estar sempre no centro das discussões e impor-se nestas exposições sem que ninguém diga nada, porque nós, católicos também... a verdade é que não devemos estar sempre a discutir, não queremos estar sempre a dizer que somos contra, não queremos... mas pode ser um bocado desconfortável, não é? Porque eu acredito em Nossa Senhora e Nossa Senhora de repente tem um “MILF”, não é? É o fim. Acho que foi um bocadinho para chocar, para ver “até onde é que estes vão? Até onde é que estes aguentam?”

VB Última questão: consideras que a inclusão destes símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou que tende a ser desrespeitosa?

Depende muito. Acho que pode ser respeitosa. Acho que pode ser respeitosa porque algumas pessoas que querem só... por exemplo, eu acredito que o Dolce & Gabbana não faz aquilo para ser desrespeitoso, faz porque é um símbolo e quer ver se aquilo funciona ou não, não é? Agora, acho que nem toda a gente que tenha fé vai ter a mesma opinião do que eu e que pode achar que é. Por exemplo, as segundas, não é? Aquelas em que aparece a Nossa Senhora com “MILF”, as freiras e não sei quê, aí já acho um bocado mais desrespeitoso. Mas acho que no limite, fazem para testar, para ver o que é que dá, quase no fundo, qual é que vai ser a resposta do público. Mas se calhar por eu ser de gestão e ter trabalhado marketing para mim também é um bocado mais... às vezes é um bocado tentativo erro, “vamos ver o que é que vai acontecer, será que dá um *buzz* enorme? Até pela negativa, mas que leva pessoas a ver mais a marca não é? Porque às vezes faz-se isto, não é? De “vamos ver o que é que este *buzz* vai dar e até traz mais audiência”. Outras vezes é porque aos próprios criadores lhes diz alguma coisa, e depois acho que há que há outros que é só mesmo para... que é um bocado em desrespeito, tipo, “vamos gozar com esta realidade” também.

Appendix F32 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Cátia”

Date of Interview:	March 23, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	15:26
Characteristics:	64 years old, Odivelas, Education, Jehovah's Witness

- VB** Qual é que considera ser a sua religião ou denominação religiosa?
Eu sou Testemunha de Jeová, há muitos anos.
- VB** Certo, e como é que descreveria as suas crenças e os seus valores religiosos?
Aquilo que escreveriam? Eu... nós baseamo-nos mais a nível do que está na Bíblia. Baseamos muito a nossa crença na Bíblia, nos princípios que estão na Bíblia.
- VB** E considera-se muito praticante?
Sim, muito praticante.
- VB** Certo, e como é que a sua fé influencia a sua vida diária?
Influencia, talvez na maneira como hei de agir com as pessoas, a maneira de falar com as pessoas, do vestir, de agir com as pessoas, o normal de falar de uma pessoa, não é?
- VB** Mencionou a maneira de vestir, acredita que a sua fé influencia a maneira como se veste?
É, sim, sim. Porque a Bíblia diz que nós nos devemos de vestir com modéstia e bom juízo, que é assim que a palavra de Deus nós diz. Que nos devemos vestir com modéstia e como deve de ser. Não é assim à balda.
- VB** Eu também ia perguntar – porque os um dos conceitos que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é o conceito de modéstia – para si, o que é que é a modéstia?
Modéstia é uma pessoa não se exibir, não ser melhor que a outra, acho que é mais é isso.
- VB** Portanto, acha que tem mais a ver com não dar nas vistas e não tanto com cobrir o corpo?
Sim, não dar nas vistas sim. Não propriamente com cobrir o corpo, não. Mas anda vestido decentemente para que não haja aquela coisa das pessoas, principalmente se calhar os homens, olharem para nós com um outro sentido. Outro sentido diferente, pronto. Desde que se vista com modéstia e bom juízo que é como a Bíblia diz...
- VB** E acredita que, em geral, existe uma relação entre a maneira de vestir das pessoas e a religião?
Existe uma maneira de vestir... sim, porque nem todas as religiões se calhar vestem da mesma maneira dependente das culturas. Talvez, não é? As culturas de cada pessoa, por exemplo, os muçulmanos vestem aquelas coisas compridas, mas isso é a cultura deles. A Bíblia não diz exatamente o que é que nós temos que vestir: se calças, se saias, se vestidos cumpridos. Mas vestir como deve ser, para que não seja marcada no nosso corpo, o aspeto.
- VB** Considera que a Bíblia tem mesmo recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres de devem vestir?
Sim tem, sobre como se devem vestir, sim.
- VB** Quais é que são essas recomendações?
Lá está. Devemos ser com modéstia e bom juízo. 1 Timóteo 2:9-10 diz mesmo isso: devemos vestir decentemente com modéstia para que Deus se agrade da nossa maneira de vestir.
- VB** Considera que existem diretrizes específicas na sua denominação sobre como é que as pessoas – e mais especificamente as mulheres – se devem vestir?
Se há diretrizes nesse aspeto? Só se for a nível da religião.
- VB** Mas considera que, por exemplo, dentro dos Testemunhas de Jeová não existem – não é regras – mas recomendações sobre como é que as pessoas se devem vestir?
Não há regras, não há, mas há recomendações. Por exemplo, agora nós temos uma recomendação a nível do corpo governante da nossa organização, que é o JW.org, em que agora saiu de lá até há pouco tempo, saiu de lá agora uma nota, uma notícia que os homens já podem usar barba – antigamente não usavam barba –, as mulheres já podem vestir calças, mas formal não a marcar o corpo, não é? E os homens podem andar sem gravata também. E saiu agora, dia 16 de março saiu essa notícia do corpo governante.
- VB** Mas antes, as mulheres não podiam usar calças?
Não podiam... não é não poder. Por exemplo, nós para a pregação que andamos aí na rua a falar com as pessoas, ou para as nossas reuniões, íamos mais era saia, mas não de calça,

porque a calça marca muito o corpo. Agora já... mas só se pode... não é quer dizer que só se pode... agora já podemos vestir com o fato de calça, mas não a marcar o corpo. Fato formal, não é aquela calça de ganga justinha, não são aquelas leggings, não é esse gênero de roupa, é roupa adequada. Mas já saiu agora essa notícia e muitas pessoas da organização que já andam de fato, mas é um fato como deve de ser, não são aquelas leggings agarradas à perna, a definir o corpo, porque isso dá mau aspeto.

VB E quando só usavam saias e vestidos, era mesmo por causa disso – de não mostrar o corpo – ou era aquela diferenciação entre o homem e a mulher?

Não mostrar o corpo, exatamente. Não, era mesmo para não mostrar o corpo, para não sermos vistas como que andamos aí para nos mostrarmos. Não.

VB E considera que existe algum tipo de roupa ou alguma peça de vestuário específico que não possa vestir por causa da sua religião? Ou que em alguma altura da sua vida sentiu que não podia vestir?

Não, não quer dizer que não possa vestir, mas, por exemplo, aquelas camisolas assim tipo com o peito à mostra, assim muito a dar nas vistas. Acho que isso não é muito adequado para nós assistirmos a uma reunião pública, uma nossa, não é? Nem andar na rua. Nem andar na rua, não é? Nem vamos andar na rua ali com a coisa aqui toda a vista.

VB Sim, era isso que eu também ia perguntar. Acha que essas ideias que nós temos do que é que podemos ou não podemos vestir, acha que são iguais para os homens e para as mulheres?

Quer dizer, para as mulheres é capaz de ser mais específico, porque os homens vestem umas calças, uma camisa, não têm nada que... não usam leggings, praticamente. A mulher é que usam mais aquelas roupas, aquelas coisas. E sei de pessoas amigas minhas que vão à Igreja e vão de alças a mostrar os ombros, não acho adequado, essa maneira de vestir perante uma religião ou perante Deus mostrarem-se assim. Na minha opinião.

VB Mas por uma questão de respeito ao local?

Por uma questão de respeito a onde nós estamos.

VB Sim, não tanto pelos comentários das outras pessoas, pelas opiniões dos outros?

Não, não é pelos comentários das outras pessoas, é ter respeito a Deus, ser temente a Deus e na maneira de vestir adequada, decente.

VB Na sua organização alguma vez teve alguma experiência de alguém comentar sobre a roupa de alguém ou de --

Sim, normalmente... sabe que nós somos imperfeitos, não é? E normalmente as pessoas às vezes comentam “olha fulana traz uma saia muito agarrada, vê-se muito o rabo” ou porque “traz uma camisola muito decotada, inapropriada”. Se levarem uma camisola decotada, até podem pôr um lençinho ou, por exemplo, com uma saia mais curta metem um lenço nas pernas, porque não se sentem à vontade! Porque gostam de andar a mostrar...

VB Sim, houve alguma vez alguém de liderança que tivesse dito alguma coisa sobre a roupa de alguém?

Não, essa pessoa em questão não é pastor – nós chamamos Ancião – o que não quer dizer que lhe chamasse a atenção. Mas, por exemplo, há certas coisas que... nós temos uma reunião pública e nessa reunião pública há certas... ele diz “olha, saiu isto do corpo governante que diz que devemos andar vestidos como deve de ser, não mostrar o corpo”, mas não, eles não mandam na maneira da pessoa, a pessoa é que tem que ter a consciência já treinada para saber o que é que está vestido. Não é preciso estar a dizer “olha, tens que usar isto ou tens que usar a saia comprida”. Não! A pessoa tem de ter consciência daquilo que está a vestir, se se está a vestir como deve ser, mesmo perante as pessoas da rua como perante Deus. Está a representar Deus, né?

VB Considera que segue tendências de moda?

Não, eu não sigo tendências de moda. O que não quer dizer que não haja pessoas que não sigam, mas eu não sigo.

VB Claro, no seu caso pessoal. E costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência?

De há um tempo para cá não. Porque tenho muita roupa e há um tempo para cá que não compro assim muita, mas quando compro – lá está – nunca compro aquelas roupas que eu acho que não estão adequadas à minha maneira de eu andar na rua. Mesmo a maneira de eu vestir.

VB Sente que existe alguma relação entre o seu consumo de moda e a sua fé? Por exemplo, considera questões como a moda sustentável, doações, condições de trabalho naquelas fábricas que utilizam, por exemplo, escravatura? Isso são coisas em que pensa relativamente à moda por causa da sua fé?

- Não.
- VB** OK, não acha que possa haver uma ligação entre os valores religiosos que tem e estas atitudes de consumo mais ético?
- Eu acho que não há relação de uma coisa com a outra.
- VB** OK. Já tinha mais ou menos mencionado isto, mas como é que decide o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Sente que veste as mesmas coisas no dia a dia do que veste-
- Não. Não, porque é assim, eu para o trabalho vou mais talvez mais à vontade com certas roupas que, pronto, que me mexo melhor, estou mais livre. Agora, se for para um evento religioso, gosto de me vestir melhor, gosto de me vestir bem. No dia a dia, posso andar com uma coisa mais casual e gosto de me vestir bem quando se tem alguma...
- VB** Já utilizou roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos?
- Não.
- VB** Nada? Porquê?
- Nada. Porque não. Porque acho que não faz parte do que eu estou a aprender na religião e na Bíblia, não vamos estar a pôr essas coisas como ídolos.
- VB** Portanto, existe também uma indicação de não o fazer?
- De não o fazer, exato.
- VB** OK, certo. Agora vou mostrar-lhe aqui umas imagens só no caso de não ter ideia. Mas como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?
- Quer dizer, há aqui modas um bocado estrambólicas estranhas, não é?
- VB** Isto é só um exemplo de algumas coisas.
- Se isto faz parte da cultura... não é? Faz parte da cultura. Há aqui coisas giras, pronto. Talvez este género de vestido, por exemplo, seria o meu. Para vestir. Já isto não, isto também é de homem, por isso também não, esta também não, mas, por exemplo, este já vestia.
- VB** Mas, em geral, não considera que seja ofensivo?
- Não, não, não.
- VB** OK. Vou mostrar-lhe umas imagens da revista *Vogue Portugal*, pode fazer zoom se quiser. Como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?
- Há aqui algumas que não são muito adequadas para a minha maneira de ver e para a minha crença. Não é? Por exemplo, esta aqui. Esta, esta. Esta também. Esta também. Olha, no geral são todas.
- VB** Mas porque é que considera que não são adequadas? Pode explicar?
- Pois para explicar, é que já é um bocado complicado. Não quer dizer que esta rapariga por ser freira não possa usar perfume, mas pode, não é freira? Acho que usar perfume não tem problema nenhum, não é nível dela estar a usar perfume. Já esta aqui a usar estas cruzes e isso, porque a Bíblia diz que não devemos adorar imagens. Não é? Esta aqui, é uma imagem também, mas nós não veneramos imagens, na Bíblia diz que não devemos adorar imagens somente a Deus.
- VB** Portanto, em geral, é uma questão de usarem símbolos, porque não considera que os símbolos façam parte das suas crenças. Mas em geral acha que é ofensivo eles fazerem este tipo de referências?
- Não faz parte esses símbolos, não. Quer dizer ofensivo... não sei se diga que sim ou se diga que não, mas em parte pode ser ou não, não sei, depende de a maneira da pessoa ver, não sei. Já é tão usual usarem as cruzes, e essas coisas da Maria, do Coração de Jesus e do Coração da não sei das quantas. É assim um bocado...
- VB** E porque é que acha que a indústria da moda e os designers e os estilistas e as revistas... porque é que acha que eles decidem incluir este tipo de imagem?
- Para fazer publicidade talvez à religião. Porque a religião, a maioria é católica.
- VB** E acha que os católicos gostam?
- Sim, gostam. Gostam, gostam. Gostam de tudo, até gostam de usar!
- VB** Mas acha que no caso da moda que eles se sentem confortáveis com isso?
- Sim, gostam. Porque eu tenho visto pessoas amigas minhas usarem este tipo de coisas.
- VB** Última questão: Considera que a representação de símbolos religiosos na moda possa ser respeitosa ou acha que em geral é desrespeitosa?
- Alguma é desrespeitosa, alguma é.
- VB** Consegue lembrar-se de alguma coisa que achasse que fosse desrespeitoso?
- Por exemplo, esses que cantam, esses cantores, essas bandas trazem aquelas grandes cruzes – enormes, grandes – mas depois tem um estilo um bocado esquisito, estranho,

todos pintados, aquelas coisas todas. Fará parte lá da banda. Não sei. Mas acho que isto, essas coisas assim a nível de religião – como a católica ou outra religião qualquer – não deviam de pôr este tipo de símbolos, usar isso como ídolos. Para eles são ídolos, para mim não, eu não...

VB Ou seja, não tem a ver com a questão de serem pessoas que não acreditam naqueles símbolos e os usarem tem mesmo a ver é com o facto de eles acreditarem no símbolo? Acreditarem naquilo porque é o que eles acreditam e até acham que aquilo faz parte deles.

Appendix F33 - Interview Transcript: Participant “Judite”

Date of Interview:	March 26, 2024
Medium:	In Person
Duration:	17:20
Characteristics:	73 years old, Lisbon, Retired, Evangelical

- VB** Dentro do cristianismo, qual é que considera ser a sua religião ou denominação religiosa?
Eu sou evangélica.
- VB** E como é que descreveria as suas crenças e os seus valores religiosos?
Descrevo como uma religião boa, de que eu gosto muito. Não nasci na Igreja evangélica, já tinha aí à volta dos meus 30 anos quando conheci Jesus pela primeira vez através da Igreja evangélica. Até ali era católica não praticante, mas não percebia nada – também não nos explicavam muito na minha altura, pronto – os meus pais como eram católicos, assim me levaram à Igreja, fui batizada, lembro-me de fazer a primeira comunhão e lembro-me de fazer... Como é que se chamava? Era o coiso do Bispo, já não me recordo e também não interessa porque são coisas que já passaram, já não faz parte de mim. Agora na igreja evangélica gosto, gosto em todos os aspetos e estou feliz com os conhecimentos que tenho e pronto e assim continuarei até morrer. *risos*
- VB** Como é que a sua fé influencia a sua vida diária?
Influenciar... não sei bem assim explicar a influenciar... mas que me sinto bem, que me sinto mais feliz, que penso muitas vezes em Deus e em Jesus, peço muito quando estou, pronto, ou maldisposta ou com alguma dor e depois clamo a Jesus. E é isso, não sei explicar melhor.
- VB** E em relação às suas escolhas de vestuário, acredita que a sua religião influencia ou que alguma vez influenciou a maneira como se veste?
Não, não. Quando era católica, sim. Nunca se... até antes do 25 de abril não se usavam calças. Lembro-me de usar as primeiras calças aos 19 anos e já no barco, onde fui para a África. Até ali eram saias e não muito curtas, que me lembre. Agora também não tenho a idade já para usar assim grandes minis. Sou do tempo da minissaia, mas não uso minissaia também perante a idade, mas gosto de ver e acho que não é mal nenhum desde que cada um saiba o que anda a fazer e os pensamentos. E que não use aquilo como como outras ideias, más pronto.
- VB** Acredita que existe uma ligação entre o modo de vestir das pessoas e a religião em geral? Ou as religiões.
Na religião evangélica não conheço. Não tenho assim por conhecimento essas coisas. Noutras religiões ouço dizer que influencia em certas coisas, mas na igreja evangélica, não me apercebo dessas coisas.
- VB** Portanto, não considera que existem diretrizes específicas na sua denominação ou na sua igreja sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?
Não, porque cada um dentro... um jovem sabe como se há de vestir na parte jovem. As pessoas de idade, acho que na minha idade não ficaria bem um degote muito grande, nem uma minissaia. Sei ver isso perante a minha idade, mas se o vejo numa jovem desde que saiba aquilo que está a usar, não vejo mal nenhum. O erro está na cabeça das pessoas.
- VB** E acha que não existem regras de como é que as pessoas se devem vestir na Igreja?
Não conheço, acho que não, pelo menos que eu tenha conhecimento disso, não.
- VB** E acha que já existiram?
Na igreja evangélica, não sei. Como não sei de momento, também não sei do passado. Agora na Igreja Católica, isso sim. Ainda hoje se entram na Igreja Católica com um decote muito grande ou com uma saia muito curtinha ou certas coisas fica... não é expulsa da Igreja, mas fica tudo a olhar e pronto... até ninguém entra! Nunca vi ninguém a entrar assim com uns decotes muito grandes ou umas minissaias muito grandes dentro da Igreja Católica, nunca vi.
- VB** E nunca viu isso acontecer numa igreja evangélica?
Não, não, assim tão provocantes nunca vi ninguém.
- VB** Não! Comentários sobre as roupas das pessoas?
Não, não!

VB	OK. Considera que existe ou que tenha existido em alguma altura – falou no caso das calças, por exemplo – algum tipo de roupa ou peça de vestuário que não pudesse vestir devido à sua religião?
	Não. Mas era assim que se vivia na altura, nem deixariam. Tenho a certeza de que em jovem se eu fosse com uma minissaia ou um decote maior que não me deixariam entrar na igreja e que era chamada à atenção por alguém que me viesse chamar a atenção e dizer que eu quê não estava em condições de entrar na igreja.
VB	Mas isto por se tratar de uma igreja católica ou por se tratar de estarmos a viver numa ditadura?
	Ambas as coisas, acho que talvez as duas coisas. No tempo, de coisa era assim.
VB	Considera que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como é que as mulheres se devem vestir?
	Não, não, não tenho esse conhecimento.
VB	Uma coisa que se fala muito quando se fala sobre moda e religião é a modéstia. Para si, o que é que é a modéstia?
	A modéstia de talvez seja por... não sei se terá a ver com a modéstia da maneira da pessoa, lá está, o saber se vestir, não ir a chamar muita atenção das pessoas com maus pensamentos e que será essa uma parte da modéstia. Acho que não tem a ver com a modéstia de vestir mais pobre por ser esse motivo, mas sim por não...
VB	Cobrir o corpo?
	Nem tanto por cobrir tanto o corpo, mas pronto, mas mais até por isso, se calhar, penso eu.
VB	E considera que estes ideais de modéstia são impostos da mesma maneira nos homens como são nas mulheres?
	Se às vezes são os homens que até pensam... que levam as coisas... olham para uma mulher e levam os pensamentos mais não tão sérios, levar um lado mais de maldade. A mulher talvez não, pronto, penso eu.
VB	Portanto, não há... tal como há aquela situação das mulheres não poderem usar decotes na missa ou na Igreja, para os homens considera que não existe esse tipo de indicação?
	Exato. A pessoa se tiver a mente aberta e saiba respeitar as coisas tanto olha para uma mulher vestida como nua, pronto.
VB	Considera que segue tendências de moda?
	Não.
VB	E costuma comprar roupa com muita frequência?
	Ai, sim! *risos*
VB	Sente que existe alguma relação entre o seu consumo de moda e a sua fé?
	Não.
VB	Acha que existe alguma relação entre a sua religião e os seus pensamentos direcionados a questões como, por exemplo, a moda sustentável, as condições de trabalho em fábricas de lojas de roupa mais barata, questões éticas, doações, caridade? São questões que acha que estão relacionadas à religião e em que pensa?
	Sim, acho que sim, que as pessoas devem de dar. Não é nesse ponto de vista que é a pergunta?
VB	Também, mas também se considera essas questões da sustentabilidade e de, por exemplo, do trabalho forçado quando faz escolhas direcionadas a comprar roupa?
	Não, não, não penso nisso. Não, não, não, não, na parte da escravidão. Embora a gente saiba que em certos países as crianças são muito exploradas a fazer os trabalhos de costura, mas em Portugal, pelo menos eu não tenho conhecimento dessas coisas e acho que cá que não. No estrangeiro ouço falar.
VB	Mas, portanto, não pensa nisso quando está a fazer--
	Não, não, não, não. Eu não penso nisso.
VB	Como é que decide o que vestir em diferentes ocasiões, incluindo eventos religiosos? Sente que existe uma diferença entre aquilo que veste no seu dia a dia e aquilo que veste para ir à Igreja?
	Ah, visto a mesma coisa, mas claro que para ir à Igreja gosto de ir sempre um bocadinho mais bemposta, pronto.
VB	Não existe nada que não usasse na Igreja que usaria nos outros dias?
	Ah, usaria tudo, embora guarde sempre a roupa melhor para ir ao domingo, como a gente costuma dizer.
VB	Já utilizou roupas ou acessórios com símbolos religiosos ou versículos bíblicos ou coisas assim?

- Não, não tenho acessório nenhum com... que me lembre, não. Uns brinquinhos só com uma cruz. Acho que tenho uns brincos só com uma cruz há anos.
- VB** E na altura em que era católica tinha?
- Aí ainda muito menos, a gente não usava, não tinha [dinheiro], não tinha nada de acessórios...
- VB** OK, vou mostrar-lhe umas imagens. Estas imagens são só se não tiver nenhuma ideia sobre este assunto, mas como é que se sente em relação à representação de símbolos cristãos na indústria da moda?
- Para mim aqui o primeiro vestido representa o Adão e a Eva, não é? Mas coisa que nunca usaria. Ali aquela parte. Esta parte dos vestidos com a Cruz, com o, pronto, brilhante, já era capaz de usar num acessório, usava, isso usava. Esta aqui de baixo, não usava. Não. Nem esta. Destes dois, sei, não usava, gosto, mas esta aqui usava.
- VB** Mas em geral, acha ofensivo ou desconfortável de alguma maneira?
- Para mim, sim, para mim. Agora nos olhos dos outros, não... se as pessoas usariam não as censurava. Para comigo podia “eu não usava aquilo, mas...”
- VB** Porquê? Mas porque é que era desconfortável para si?
- Porque eu nunca gostei de ver imagens nas roupas. Não, não, não gosto.
- VB** OK, mas porquê?
- Também aí não sei bem explicar, mas de mim própria nunca gostei. Assim como eu também não gosto de quadros com Santos – ou Santos ou dizer que são Santos – pronto com imagens não gosto, nunca gostei de ver.
- VB** Agora vou mostrar umas imagens da *Vogue Portugal*. Isto aqui dá para fazer zoom e mexer se for preciso. Como é que estas imagens a fazem sentir?
- Ah, não é que me sinta mal, não vejo... olha, aqui esta nunca usava, o primeiro. A Cruz simples, sim, com o Cristo não. Esta faz-me lembrar a bruxaria, para mim, os meus olhos, as velas, aquela coisa, mas faz-me lembrar...
- VB** Já houve várias pessoas a dizer isso sobre a Figura 6 [Figure 23].
- Olha, vê. Esta aqui é que antigamente usavam o coiso. Esta aqui, uma freira no cavalo, não vejo isso também com bons olhos, para mim, para os meus olhos. Não vejo. Com o perfume, acho que sim, qualquer pessoa pode usar o perfume, não vamos agora, ao menos acho que sim, que o perfume não vejo coiso nenhum aos meus olhos, E esta aqui com o anjo, não sei, não gosto, não faz parte, não gosto.
- VB** Mas acha alguma ofensiva?
- Não. Para mim, de ofensivo para mim, só estas duas figuras porque não gosto de ver. Se considera uma pessoa religiosa e estar em cima de um cavalo, não vejo, não gosto de ver e perante o geral e dos conhecimentos que agora tenho, esta faz-me lembrar a bruxaria, não gosto.
- VB** E, porque é que acha que as revistas e os estilistas e os designers colocam este tipo de imagens religiosas nas peças e nas páginas das revistas?
- É uma maneira de publicidade e de chamar aos olhos das pessoas de todas as crenças e depois cada um interpreta à sua maneira por sua crença essas imagens que são publicadas nas revistas e nos jornais. Eu acho que penso...
- VB** E acha que em geral as pessoas gostam de ver este tipo de imagens?
- No geral, no geral, não. Depois depende. Considero para mim que cada religião pode ir puxar um bocadinho à sua crença e dizer “olha, eu não não”. Embora a mim só as coisas assim diabólicas é que eu não gosto, assim dependendo com bruxedos, muitas velas, muitas coisas assim a lembrar assim uns bruxedos. Isso é que eu não gosto.
- VB** Ou neste caso aqui também a sexualização de uma mulher religiosa.
- Ah, pois também não gosto, não gosto. Acho não, pronto, não gosto de ver.
- VB** Certo, última questão: considera que a inclusão de símbolos religiosos na moda pode ser respeitosa ou que tende a ser desrespeitosa?
- Eu, por mim, acho que tende a ser desrespeitosa.
- VB** Porquê?
- Porque acho que são coisas de Deus, são coisas da religião e que é feio expor assim. Não, não, a meu ver.

Appendix G - Interview Transcripts | Experts

Appendix G1 - Interview Transcript: Anna-Mari Almila

Date of Interview:	January 10th, 2022
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	00:57:58
Interviewer:	Vitória Bernardo (VB)
Interviewee:	Professor Anna-Mari Almila (AMA)

VB Do you think that fashion is influenced by religion in general? Or do you think it is influenced by one's level of religiosity?

AMA Fashion is fundamentally, if paradoxically, influenced by religion because it gets established in a time when autonomy from religion is being gained in society. So, in the European historical context, fashion is influenced by religion as a counterforce. However, today fashion is influenced by religion, because religiosity in fashion is actually 'in fashion'. Deeply religious people might be very interested in fashion, may not care about it, or might be strictly against fashion.

I think what is interesting about fashion and religion is that complex forces influence it. At some point, fashion scholarship operated on the assumption that religion just does not belong there, which I think is wrong in many ways. That has changed over the last 10 years, as there has been a recognition that the relationship between fashion and religion is very complex. I think there is a problem if religion is dismissed from any bigger field of research just because people think the fields are not connected. That is, unless there are good reasons for that, or it really has nothing to do with it. In terms of fashion, it has a lot to do with it.

VB As a society, we all think that everything is very secular and that nobody is religious anymore. But, according to statistics (Jenik, 2021; Sherwood, 2018; Hackett & McClendon, 2017; Pew Research Center, 2017), 84% of the world population identifies as being part of a religious group. Also, religious individuals are often younger and more likely to have more kids than their non-religious peers, meaning that the world is becoming more religious rather than less. So, it does not make sense to not talk about it: religion influences fashion because it is a thing that influences people in general.

AMA Indeed. The case of Italy is interesting as the Vatican and the history of the Catholic Church has fundamentally influenced Italian society. Nonetheless, a lot of Italians are deeply secular – they go to church, and they do the crossing, go to the Mass, and they often also baptise their children, but they do not necessarily believe – but the religion is fundamentally there. And Italy gives some really interesting examples of fashion and religion, one of my favourites is Federico Fellini's film *Roma* (1972), where there is the Papal Fashion Show. Outrageous. He had a very difficult relationship with Catholicism, as many Italian artists do and the Papal Fashion Show was one place where he expressed it (see Inglis and Thorpe, 2019). Another thing that I noticed was that when The Metropolitan Museum of Art had the *Heavenly Bodies* exhibition, one of the most photographed was Versace – that is Italian again. Italians are obsessed with Catholicism, even if they do not like it, so I can imagine that it must be equally present in Portugal, but whether it is commented upon or not, that will be very culturally varied as well.

Spain does not differ that much either – I have spent a fair bit of time in areas like Valencia – and religiosity is there in the background very strongly and it influences, for example, ideas of modesty. There is a different idea there than in Protestant countries where I have lived, like northern Germany, Finland, and Scotland.

VB I think it also depends on the country: in Brazil, there was a study that I read recently (Caixeta, et al., 2012), about the differences between Catholic women and Protestant/Evangelical women in their ways of dressing. The study found that Protestant women take their religion more into mind when dressing themselves,

	whereas Catholic people did not really care. I thought that was interesting because I feel like in Europe that would be different.
AMA	Another thing here that is always significant is who are the majority and who are a minority. The majority tends to care less. So, if you feel even in some way that you are in the minority, then the expression of religiosity may be more visible, more conscious, or more committed. Ultimately, it is whether you feel that you are the underdog or not. And how do you then react to the minority position? Is it about integration and invisibility? Does religion become completely personal? Or is it about saying I want to show off my religion, I believe in it, it is important?
VB	When we talk about fashion and religion, why do we always focus on covering up instead of focusing on other ways in which religion can impact someone's consumer behaviour relating to fashion? Such as an influence towards ethical, ecological, or sustainable fashion or perceptions of luxury or status consumption.
AMA	Halal fashion is very important for a lot of young Muslims. Halal can range from ideas of credit and profit: some interpretations of Islam say that you can lend money, but you must not profit from it, so to borrow money from a commercial bank might be non-halal for some believers. So, how you start your fashion business is the first step, and people may be very open about how "our funding is halal". Another example is what makeup can contain, and those young Muslim women I have spoken with added environmentalist and animal rights elements to this. They say that this fits completely with the Quran, because we are supposed to be kind to animals and the environment is our home, so it can be very important how fashion was produced as well. There are fashion companies started by Muslim women in Europe that hire other Muslim women as seamstresses and pay a fair salary, providing employment in conditions where it can be very difficult to find it when you are in a minority position. The ethical involvement is quite big, and it is sadly not researched much, because there is this obsession when it comes to Muslim fashion, where the first reaction always is "explain yourself", "why do you wear the scarf?" When I started my PhD, I made a conscious decision never to ask that question. When I went and did my fieldwork, my first question was "where do you shop?" This surprised the Muslim women I spoke with because they are so conditioned to explain themselves. I believe there is a massive bias, even more so in public discourse - because so many journalists and politicians go around saying "why do you do that?" Academic discourse has focused more on actual fashion recently.
VB	Is modest or Islamic fashion extremely politicised due to the eurocentric imperialist gaze or is it a consequence of patriarchy and sexism?
AMA	Both! When we look at history, Europe becomes obsessed with Muslim women, harem, and veils already during and after the Crusades and definitely in colonial times. Europeans do not like the idea that women have their own separate space that the European conqueror cannot enter. You are a white man, you are supposed to get everywhere, but you cannot, there is this space that is absolutely forbidden from you! There is a massive obsession, and it goes through colonial times and travels through to the post-colonial time. And of course, patriarchy: in both the Muslim world and in Europe, and how patriarchal Europeans like to say that "Muslim patriarchy is evil, we need to liberate these women" and I am like "well you are not any less patriarchal, both sides have serious problems".
VB	In this case, how would you explain the imperialist gaze?
AMA	We must remember that for a long time full veiling actually meant veiling everything including the face. When in the 1920s, in Egypt, Huda Sha'arawi and her feminist friends started unveiling, they first removed the face veil, so they were still otherwise covered. There is this issue of covering the face that Europeans are particularly obsessed with because it is a fundamental denial of gaze, which is a very radical statement of privacy nowadays. Today, when you think under which conditions you are allowed to cover your face so that people do not get uncomfortable, it is a very controlled action. A lot of people feel very uncomfortable about Covid masks (Ingilis & Almila, 2020) because we are so used to faces being central to our communication, but they do not have to be. There is no particular reason why they would have to be, and that is part of the obsession. So, when the imperialist gaze meets a fully covered body and face, it is seen as an extreme denial of gaze, and therefore really irritates the colonialist who wants to feel they are in power.
VB	You said in previous research that even though most of the academic and political

	attention has been almost exclusively on the associations between Islam and fashion, people of other faiths also make decisions concerning fashion, and “these choices are worth researching just as much as the more politicised phenomenon of Islamic veiling” (Almila, 2020). Since Christianity is the world’s most popular religion, why do you think there is so little research on Christianity and fashion?
AMA	I think it is because it is so easy to see clerical dress and monasteries as being sort of removed from everyday life, and then you do not research those people who just have Christian convictions in their everyday life. It is always easier to pay attention to the spectacular, the more subtle something is, the less it tends to fascinate researchers. I also suspect that part of it is that it is easier to get funding to research Muslims. No one has been throwing money at me because I wrote about Christian Körtti dress (Almila, 2019), but it was possible to get money to research Muslim dress in Finland (Almila, 2018b). What is politically visible is often defined as more worthy of study. This is something that after my PhD when I started getting away from the Muslim fashion element, has been very important to me, I want to look at stuff that is not just screamingly political, because there is a whole massive field that is absolutely worth researching.
VB	Another thing that I found very interesting is the “aestheticization of Christianity” (Almila, 2020:1). What is that? And how has the Western fashion industry contributed to it?
AMA	In its simplest form, this means that the fashion industry both takes themes from Christianity and also provides aesthetic means for religious people to express their religiousness (Neal, 2019). In that same special issue, there is an interesting paper on Christianity and theology (Ambrosio, 2019). And he also speaks of this. And I just found his writing so interesting, because he is a theologian, so he came to it from a completely different angle: <i>If theological aesthetics is an attempt to understand beauty within a framework that refers to the Christian Revelation, for example, fashion might in turn fall into this perspective, because – as stated at the outset – according to Christian tradition itself, nothing escapes religious interpretation. But if theological aesthetics is, rather, an opportunity to perpetuate the whole Christian Mystery by putting it within the category of beauty, fashion, and all art forms, are only an indirect component of this thinking.</i> (Ambrosio, 2019:5) I like Ambrosio’s thinking of ethics, because we are talking of a moment when fashion studies must think about ethics very seriously. We are talking of one of the most unsustainable industries in the world, and fashion researchers have to recognise that more and more (Niinimäki et al 2020). I am not just talking about environmental unsustainability – which is already bad enough – but it is socially unsustainable, it is extremely unequal. And all of this is something that fashion scholarship just has to deal with, and therefore, the ethical element necessarily enters. Of course, there are a lot of secular ethics and morals, but I think religion is quite powerful and could work towards saying “well, this is important, this is ethical, we should think about this”. And I would like to see religious leadership comment more on that, because as you say, a lot of the world is religious, and if we talk of something as purely a secular thing, we might be losing opportunities of actually having some influence for better, more ethical choices.
VB	I read an article recently about how closing shops on Sunday influenced people to be a little bit more sustainable in the fact that they were not participating in overconsumption that much because shops were closed (Sadowski, 2021). And I think that had to do with how, in Poland, the population is highly Catholic.
AMA	Politically, Poland is in a mess, and I cannot say that I like the current trend of conservative Catholicism and right-wing leadership. But everything can be always used for good and bad, so religion can also do good.
VB	How would you describe ‘Modesty’ from an interreligious point of view?
AMA	If we talk of Abrahamic religions, the understanding of modesty is fairly similar. Modesty has two elements: sexual and behavioural. And typically, both have patriarchal elements, such as the belief that women must not be sexually proactive, and that they must hide their bodies; as well as behavioural elements: women must not be too visible, too loud, etc. If we look at the Abrahamic understanding of modesty, historically, it is a pretty

patriarchal construction. However, when believers change, understandings of religion necessarily have to change. You cannot force religious interpretations on people in the long run, as they will eventually make their own views. There are still certain interpretations of sexual purity but are not as crazily patriarchal for many believers as they used to be. There are still elements of behavioural norms, but for example, the idea that women should not express their own opinions, a lot of women will say of course we express our opinions, but we can do it modestly. I think what is interesting about that concept is that people can define their own understanding of modesty as a virtue. A lot of the Muslim women I have spoken with say that modesty in terms of sexuality is good, because of the exploitation of the female body in the capitalist system. And that is a fair argument because the capitalist system is notorious for exploiting the female body in popular media, advertisements, etc.

Another element of modesty that is less discussed is the integrity of it: modesty is only worth it if you believe in it, whereas external modesty - if you are doing it for show or because you are forced to do it - is just meaningless and not spiritually important. And this is a rather feminist argument because it says "modesty is only meaningful if it comes from me, so if you impose it upon me, it is meaningless".

VB For my dissertation, I also interviewed modest fashion influencers, and when I asked them to articulate the meaning of modesty for themselves, the answers were divided into modesty as being discreet and modesty as a way to prevent other individuals from seeing their bodies. Both Muslim influencers explained the concept as "carrying yourself in a way that is not very over the top or flashy or drawing attention to yourself" and "not just covering up, it is tied to the mindset, behaviour and intentions of one's actions", similarly, a Jewish influencer described modesty as "how one presents themselves in dress and behaviour". On the other hand, a Jewish stylist said that the meaning was more focused on "choosing who gets to see certain parts of you", compared to the Christian blogger who believes modesty is crucial in keeping her body private to herself and her future husband. And I thought it was interesting how they had different views in regards to modesty, even though they dressed quite similarly.

AMA That is very typical, there are not that many categories of modesty that are used, but different people stress different categories, creating very different readings. And while it can be very similar from one religion to another, it can also vary massively within the religion.

When I was speaking in Finnish with the women, the problem is that modesty can be translated in a couple of ways, so I had to think quite seriously about these different words for modesty because those created different understandings as well (Almila, 2018b). Modesty, as some sort of an umbrella term, is very popular, but it needs to be looked at quite carefully so that one can understand what it means to different individuals.

VB In another one of your articles (Almila, 2016: 91), you mentioned that some of the interviewed modest dressers considered mini-skirts and tops to be "morally corrupting". How exactly can a garment be morally corrupting? Would it be morally corrupting to the wearer or to the males around them?

AMA First of all, not everyone considers them morally corrupting. But for some, there was an aspect of women's vulnerability, the thought that if you wear a miniskirt, you are more liable to sexual harassment, which, of course, we know is not the case, but that was a view that some expressed. One woman said that it is better for society if women do not compete with each other with looks, because that way, you are always the most beautiful for your own husband because he has never seen anyone else, which was an interesting interpretation as well. She framed it as a sort of female solidarity: you do not go and show your body to your neighbour's husband, because your neighbour is your sister.

Some of the women did believe that men are drawn by their sexual drive and that nothing can be done about it. These kinds of views were typically expressed by older women or women who followed more conservative interpretations of Islam, so again, definitely not by everyone.

And having said that, this is what a lot of non-Muslims believe: If you look at any of the "oh my goodness, this girl came to school in an open-top" moral panics, most of the public discourse says "boys cannot be expected to focus on schoolwork", in some cases, it has even been "male teachers cannot focus on schoolwork", but what sort of

teacher is so disturbed by a 15-year-old girl? It is not a person I would like to be near teenagers. This is by no means just a Muslim element, it is typical of any patriarchal society which assumes female responsibility for male reactions.

VB I think that is very interesting because it is offensive both ways: It is offensive to women because it is anti-feminist, and then it is also offensive towards men because it is assuming that they are all predators.

AMA I know, and here we are actually speaking of research or ethics: When you enter a religious community as a nonbeliever and people give you their trust, as a researcher, you cannot go around judging their views, no matter how much you might disagree with them. So, in my reporting of these cases, I have simply reported it, no matter what my views might have been about it. And it is a challenge for the researcher who comes from outside to deal with the fact that: yes, I will meet people whose views will be different from mine but they are sharing those views with me and they have given me their trust, so how do I deal with it as a researcher? And it was really interesting during the research process, to learn about that.

In my youth, it was completely standard to say you must not dress like that, because men just cannot control themselves, and boys cannot control themselves, and no one can control themselves - so it is a woman's job to control herself. And this is the case across Jewish, Christian, and Muslim narratives. I do not know enough about Hinduism and Buddhism, but I would be astonished if there were not similar conversations. I sometimes find myself awfully weary of all these debates. One of the reasons why I decided to stop researching Muslim fashion is that I got so tired of the silly arguments that were repeated all the time and that make absolutely no sense. But I was also aware that I could just walk out of it, but if you are a believing Muslim woman who wants to wear those clothes, then you cannot walk out on it, you are going to have to listen to those stupid comments, time and again. I am fortunate because I am an outsider and can decide to say "okay, you know what? I have done my share. I have tried to show that this is far more complex".

VB In my research I also found that both the Muslim and the Christian content creators agreed that the worst type of judgment tends to come from people inside their communities, often masquerading their disapproval as advice, worry, and care.

AMA That happens a lot in Finland as well, and it is typically framed as some sort of positive caretaking: "I remind my sister that that is not the right sort of hijab", or, in the case of Finnish Christian dress that I also research, one woman said "I saw this woman in new Körtti dress, and that was far too glossy" – and this is a very tolerant Christian sect that we are speaking of here - so someone will always have something to say.

Again, one of the things that I think is important to remember, is the question as to whether you are in a minority position – which often is the case – because there might be a very real concern about the reputation of your community. In some cases, it is also past experiences of racism – especially in Muslim cases – that can turn into serious mistrust of anything that you see as Western, so you are worried that your relatives may get corrupt by a country that you quite justifiably see as fundamentally racist. The idea of "I am a second-class citizen anyway, I am not going to adapt", and then seeing your sibling saying "well, actually, I am going to take these ideas from this society" can seem almost as a betrayal. I understand the emotional side, but the outcome may be putting terrible pressure upon typically younger members of the community to behave and dress in a certain way. And this may very often come from people who, at the same time, say "if modesty does not come from inside of you, it is worthless", but then they put external pressure on others. And typically – with the women I have spoken with, inside the Muslim community – it is about experiences of being in a minority position, of facing hostility, or just not trusting the surrounding society, but then it takes the very unpleasant form of pressure.

VB What are your thoughts on non-religious people wearing religious clothing? Is veiling (or covering the hair) as a non-Muslim considered appropriation or disrespectful?

AMA I was taken sometimes for a Muslim during my fieldwork, because I needed to wear a scarf in certain situations, for example, in mosques, so there was a good reason for me to do that, and I had no need to necessarily correct the mistake. But I do think that elements of cultural appropriation certainly exist.

I was in a public panel discussion in Finland where this was brought up: this was the time when hipster fashion was emerging on a big scale, and one Somali guy was asking about this and saying that if he wears those clothes and that beard, then that is very

Muslim, and he gets abused for it. But when a white guy wears the same style, he is a "totally cool hipster". We had an interesting conversation about that and concluded that it does not look like actual cultural appropriation as per the definition of it, which would be, for example, financially benefiting from Indigenous minorities. If you are a Black guy and you wear certain things, you are going to be seen as a Muslim, but a white guy can wear those and be seen differently. And the white guy might be a Muslim. How do we know? But he will be defined as a hipster.

I wear scarves, but I know a fair bit about reading scarf styles, so that I can wear a scarf that Muslims would not consider Muslim. My grandmother always wore a scarf because of her Körtti religion – my family history has scarves – but I just happen to like them as fashion items. However, I do take care of wearing it in a style that I know that local Muslim communities would not read as Muslim.

VB What you just said actually reminded me of Kim Kardashian at the 2021 Met Gala, and how when it is on the red carpet, and donned by a celebrity, it becomes a funny internet meme and makes it to best-dressed lists, but “when a garment providing the same level of coverage is worn by a Muslim woman, it instigates public uproar over immigration, fundamentalism and feminism” (Lodi, 2021); and also the Balaclava craze versus Muslim women being criticized for covering their hair (Nguyen, 2021; Lee, 2021; Roby, 2021), especially the case of Nemah Hasan, also known as Nemahsis, who is a famous Muslim TikToker/singer who recently shared her opinion and an incident that happened to her regarding the balaclava trend. The singer had been using balaclavas as hijab for a few years, and it used to be clear that she was covering her hair for religious reasons. However, because of the rise of the balaclava as a fashion statement over the last few months, the accessory was normalized. And as a consequence of this, a security guard at an airport removed her head-covering because he just assumed it was a hood (Hasan, 2022).

AMA I did a test during my PhD where I covered my hair going through airport security, and most times, no one said anything or stopped me. Nice being blonde and white, is it not? Because I swear, if I had been brown or black, they would have taken me to extra security. Once, at Heathrow, they were like "you need to take that off" and I was like "I do not want to do it in front of other people." I did not say anything else, and they were like "that lady guard is going to handle it, please go there" and behind a curtain I removed it. They did not ask me for any reasons, or anything. But I do very strongly suspect that I got off easier because I am white. We know that border agencies have different standards of behaviour according to skin colour – it is a known fact – but I wanted to see what would happen. I was mostly just left to do whatever I pleased with my scarf; no one was interfering in any sense whatsoever. So, it is a very racialised experience in many ways.

About celebrities and covering the hair or the body, there is the case of Nigella Lawson in Australia some years back. The celebrity chef wore a burkini at the beach and was heavily criticised, she explained it as being worried about the powerful sun because she is so light-skinned, but apparently, modest swimwear is so religiously associated that she was criticised for wearing it.

VB It is quite crazy because various religions have modest swimwear, and they are all quite different in their similarities...

AMA And there are quite a lot of professional athletes who wear covering swimsuits... It is very politicised. There even were the 2016 burkini bans in France that were just absolutely ridiculous – even the French courts found them ridiculous!

VB In an article, you mentioned that "no one is fully outside of fashion systems today" (Almila, 2020:1), but what about fundamentalist groups who adhere to fossilised clothing? Like the Amish or Mennonites (Scott, 1997)?

AMA They actually have fashions! Research confirms that there are subtle changes, flexibility, and that they are not completely fossilised. They are, of course, furthest away from the mainstream fashion system, but you cannot be completely outside the surrounding society. It is impossible! (I guess you could be a hermit in the middle of a forest, but you would better be a really good farmer or hunter to survive.) Those communities are very interesting because they have fossilised certain elements – but it is not full fossilisation (Hawley, 2017).

Another interesting case is the Vatican guards because they are supposed to still be wearing a renaissance dress today. But of course, the fabrics are not the same, as I am sure they do not sit in a nunnery weaving those fabrics in the same way as hundreds

of years ago. And the design has changed, too. They may look similar, but something will always change.

VB Could you explain the difference between anti-fashion and non-fashion?

AMA Anti-fashion is conscious – it is consciously against fashion, whatever the reason, and there are a lot of different reasons. It may be moral, it may be environmental, but it comes with a statement. Non-fashion is not caring much. For example, my father would be non-fashion because he does not care, but he is not outside of it, because my mother will insist that he wears something that does not have too many holes in it and looks decent. You may not care about fashion, but you cannot stay out of it completely. You can be consciously against it for many reasons, and then that would be anti-fashion. Very fashionable people may make anti-fashion choices as well: I make quite a lot of choices that would count as anti-fashion in a sense of anti fashion industry – I still wear clothes from 20 years ago, because I take care of my clothes, I do not throw them away, and I mend them, and that is also sort of anti-fashion action – but I am deeply interested in fashion, it is something I was trained in and something I have studied for years.

VB So not all anti-fashion discourses are fundamentalist?

AMA Not at all. I have done some supervision of MA fashion design theses in a fashion institution in Finland, and the students do a lot of anti-fashion stuff because they are very much against overconsumption. They are not against fashion altogether but are highly critical of some elements.

VB I know that the interfaces of fashion and religion are no longer your main field of research, but while you were focusing on those connections, what were the main methodologies you used, and what was the most surprising or interesting thing you found out?

AMA I started with ethnography. My early work is very much about hanging out with the community and talking with people. An important element of this was haptic: because I was trained as a fashion designer I know a lot about fabrics, so in my fieldwork, I always kept notes on materials – I touched a lot when I did wardrobe interviews, I tried some clothes on – and I always sketched quite a bit in my notebooks. Later, I ended up reading legal texts because when you start looking at the clothes and the politics of it, you need to read law and political debates concerning law sooner or later. It is interesting how much legislation there is around dress, and debates as to whether there should be legislation about dress and nudity. When I started looking into Christianity, I did museum and archival work because I wanted to pick up the history as to what happened within this certain 200-year-old sect in Finland.

I do not know whether it surprises me anymore, but what fascinates me most, is that it is always dialectical. There is always a little bit of pull and a little bit of push and something new coming out of it. Because generations are new, societies change, things change around you. But things also change within communities. What sort of boundaries does a religious group want to build? Do they want to have very strong boundaries and control their members? Or do you want the boundaries to be open, which comes with the risk that the community might just dilute and die? These are all very strongly present in dress decisions and preferences, and it is the dialectics of all of this that fascinates me. Also, to come back to the previous point, anti-fashion and fashion are about dialects, they always pull and push each other – they influence each other – and that is what interests me most in fashion, and all research in fact.

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Appendix G2 - Interview Transcript: Lynn S. Neal

Date of Interview:	March 18, 2023
Medium:	Zoom
Duration:	01:12:36
Interviewer:	Vitória Bernardo (VB)
Interviewee:	Professor Lynn S. Neal (LSN)

VB What inspired you to research the intersection of fashion and religion and to write *Religion in Vogue* (Neal, 2019a)?

LSN My first book project is on women who read and write Christian romance novels. And I loved that, but I had answered my question, so I knew I needed to find a different topic. I think there are scholars that do one thing, and then there are scholars that do lots of things. And I'm a "lots of things" scholar. So, I kind of worked around for a while and liked different ideas, and then the work that I had done on religious intolerance in the United States... I kept coming up with examples of clothing, mostly t-shirts, that had horrible rhetoric on them and things like that. And I did a lot of reading for that research on clothing, fashion and how to study fashion. I then became really interested in fashion and clothing and dress, all the related terminology, but I didn't want to just write about intolerance. It just was too narrow. So that's where I went "I will start to go a little more broadly", and then, in the early 2010s, there was a lot of uproars, at least in the media, around these bathing suits. I don't know if you remember them. There was one Lakshmi bathing suit that came out by an Australian designer, and there were a couple of others. But then what I was really interested in and that made me think about was "When did fashion start putting religious imagery on dresses and around clothing?". That's how I kind of came up with my guiding question, which was "How does God get on a dress?". And the only way I knew to answer that question was historically, to go back and trace it and see what I could find. And the only way I knew that was to go to magazines. So that's kind of how it happened. And then it was just months of sitting – like probably what you're doing – sitting in the stacks of the library flipping through *Vogue*, Harper's Bazaar... but mostly *Vogue*. And then seeing what I found, and then there was a couple of years of figuring out "How do I make sense of what I've found?". I think you can see that in the book, the trajectory, going from the idea of surrounding fashion, and how we think about it with the language, the articles, the ads, and jewellery. So that was the inspiration.

VB What do you hope readers take away from your work? And what impact do you hope your book has/will have on the broader conversation about fashion and religion?

LSN I tend to study things that people think are obvious and try to show that there's greater complexity and a bigger story. I would hope people would take away an understanding that this isn't just like "Oh, it's just a money grab", "These are cheap designs", or "They'll get media attention". I think that might be part of it. But I don't think it's all of it with the use of Christian symbols in fashion, because I think people would see through that, or people argue that "it's everywhere so it doesn't mean anything", I would hope the takeaway is that people would see that there's something important happening and that the use of Christian symbols in particular, I think, is it still attracting people. You know? If people didn't want it, they wouldn't design it, right? If it didn't still mean something, it wouldn't matter. I hope people take away that there's something more going on than just the superficial, and that it says something important to us about the ways people are thinking about and interacting with religion. However, they define that – and spirituality, and kind of trying to construct meaning – in different ways outside of traditional religious institutions. In terms of impact, that's harder for me to think about: I hope it does what it's done for you, right? Help emboldened people to study this more. I really had no models, so it was hard – it was the hardest thing I've ever written – because it's a little more abstract than I'm used to. Because a lot of it is very conceptual. Other than the ads and the tangibility of it. At the same time, I think the argument is a little more abstract. I hope the impact would be people bringing together Christianity, religion, fashion, more and more. Because I didn't find a lot of help in religious studies for the project. I found more help just thinking about it in terms of fashion theory, and people who study fashion, maybe because it's a younger field and

people are more open in fashion, they know it's interesting, I don't know, they're both interdisciplinary, but I just hope the impact is that more people think about it and study it.

VB In your book, you explained that the use of *Vogue* as a primary source guides academic research into what values, ideals and designs the modern fashion industry expects to become part of the lives and wardrobes of potential consumers, could you clarify how that happens?

LSN Not in any kind of mechanistic way, but I think in the ways that *Vogue* contributes to and sets expectations around what's stylish, tasteful, and fashionable, which is, as we know, always changing. It kind of is going through this trickle-down approach. It sets expectations and guidance, and then "oh, this is trendy, this is trendy", and then somehow people adapt that through the ways those styles then trickle down into the stores, ready-to-wear clothes, jewellery, and accessories. But I don't think it only works one way, I think it can also work from the ground up, and there's been a lot of studies that show that too. I think in terms of *Vogue*, it's still kind of a go-to within the fashion industry. I still think about that one cover with the Lacroix cross being Anna Wintour's debut cover. I think there's something still really important about that. I think magazines and that prescription of what are the ideals of fashion still exists, it's more contested maybe than it used to be, but I still think it exists and kind of influences how people think about what's fashionable. Especially now with the internet: people can look up the shows online, look at *Vogue* articles online, or do little subscriptions online to *Vogue* and not just the magazine. Maybe it's more powerful than it used to be. I don't know. Something to think about.

VB I know you also looked at other magazines, but why did you choose *Vogue* specifically?

LSN I think you could make arguments for other ones. In one way, it was what I had the most access to. The semester I really worked on that I was in Richmond, Virginia for a semester. Virginia Commonwealth University had all of the volumes in the stacks. So, every morning, I'd get up, drive down there, park, take my little self in there and pull volumes off the shelf. I had some access to *Harper's Bazar* but not quite as much. And then I was finding the same things, so that's why I did a little less of a deep dive on that one and more select just to see. I think you could make an argument for other things like *Women's Wear Daily* and a couple of others. *Vogue* made a lot of sense for what I had, and I think I can make a strong argument for why it's important in the industry and the power it wields.

VB You were quite lucky because *Vogue Portugal* only launched in 2002, but still, the first two years are very difficult to find. And it's 2002 to 2004 so it shouldn't be that hard. But hopefully, I'm gonna find them. And also, most of the other fashion magazines in Portugal got cancelled in the past few years. I feel like *Vogue* really is the only one. There are of course some niche fashion magazines or smaller ones, but I don't feel like they're as relevant.

LSN I did that *W* magazine too – you're making me remember – because the library had some of that, but it's a little different. And we didn't have *Elle*. Some of it's just what you have. And *W* is a little more artistic and it's just slightly different than your standard fashion magazine. It can be vexing.

It's barely 20 years ago. You should. I hope you find it. I will say, I did buy some. There was a Benetton magazine, a religion one, with God on the cover, it's a speciality that was referenced a lot in some different things - I bought that one. I bought a couple of others that were kind of more niche. But then I want to buy more things, and I have to stop myself. It is hard for me. It was hard not having access to the garments. One reviewer said "it's like reading a cookbook where they haven't cooked the recipes" or something, and I think it's a fair critique. I haven't seen the clothes; I haven't touched them.

VB I love theory, so I never even think about it. You also mentioned fashion history. Through your knowledge of fashion history, could you explain how elements of the Christian imagination began appearing in clothing? I feel like this would be more easily associated with accessories like crosses and saint medals, but with actual clothing, I would love it if you could talk a bit about that.

LSN I agree. I started the projects in the fifties. It gave a kind of clear starting point and demarcation, and that is when I started to see more religion and more Christianity, but then you do see some Madame Grès in the thirties. If we're thinking about Christianity in fashion, I think you would even see some hints of it in the 30s because there's those

angel gowns. But it's hard, I don't know that there is a clear, definitive starting point. I think you're right; I think the jewellery definitely comes first. I would put more into the 50s, especially with the influence of ideas about the nun dresses and the priest dresses. So, I would say the 50s. But some are earlier. I haven't seen it much earlier than the 30s. I think you're right, it's harder to pinpoint. What I would say is it's become more over time. Which I think maybe is the more important thing to think about right? Or why? Why more imagery in fashion as organized religion is declining? I don't know how. One is going down, and the other going up.

VB Doesn't make a lot of sense, but it's exactly what is happening.

LSN Maybe it's giving people ways to still hold on to symbols, maybe there's nostalgia or maybe there are ways people are still staying connected to the ideas or the memory of the ideas even as their ways of engaging with it are changing. I think that's part of what's going on.

VB Honestly because I'm still quite young, this was news to me, and also, I was not raised Catholic, so I didn't know. But my mom, when she was really young – so this would have been like the 70s or 80s – used to be Catholic, and they used to dress up as angels or biblical characters for processions. And then I met a photographer in Portugal, and her work focuses on taking pictures of those types of events where people are literally dressing up as Jesus and Mary and all of that. And I didn't know it was a thing. And it is still a thing to this day, and I find it really interesting. She has some really interesting pictures. I didn't know people did that. I was like “I'm definitely going to mention that in my work because it's people dressing up as biblical characters in 2023”.

LSN Yes, yes, yes! I think you definitely need to mention that and think about it. But that's where I think it's not all one way, right? It's not all the fashion industry. If you have a history of that practice, of dressing up as Jesus or dressing up as Mary, that might make you more upset when you see it in a fashion context, but it might make you more open to seeing it, it might work either way, right? You might be more open to seeing it in a fashion context, or at least more familiar with it. It's interesting, also, that it's a procession that it's in the streets, it's public in a certain kind of way. And not just in a home or in the church. And that is photographed. That's good. That's fascinating. And I think about it in the States with Christian t-shirts. I've presented on this in England before and they were like “what are you talking about? This doesn't happen over here. People wear these in the States?” and I'm like, “well, sometimes, in some places”. They were shocked. But I also think it accustoms people to seeing religion in terms of symbols, in terms of fashion, in terms of decontextualized pieces that you can extract from the tradition, and it gets people more familiar with that practice, and then I don't know why they always pretend to be shocked because it has happened for years.

VB For example, in the case of the 2018 Met Gala, many Catholics considered the inclusion of this symbolism in the dresses worn by celebrities as blasphemy. You also mentioned in your book chapter about the Dolce & Gabbana ‘Tailored Mosaic’ collection that “people in both religious and fashion circles characterize the incorporation of religion in fashion as an act of profanation.” Overall, do you think that these representations (either in fashion or in fashion magazines) are seen as inherently wrong by followers of a Christian doctrine?

LSN No, I don't. This is a really good question. I think the answer is complicated. I think the answer is going to necessitate somebody doing a lot of ethnographic work. I think there are a few things to think about: 1) I just taught a half semester of a “Christianity and fashion” class, and it was interesting to see my students respond. Some of them did think these things were wrong like “this is blasphemy” or heresy or whatever. They come from Christian backgrounds. I had others, though, from different kinds of Christian backgrounds say “no, these are costumes in a way, the Met Gala is about costumes and performance”. So, I think it depends on what kind of Christianity – and maybe a conservative or liberal spectrum there – and who's wearing it. So maybe that matters. Jared Leto versus Chadwick Boseman versus Rihanna versus, Lady Gaga. Maybe the body of the wearer makes a difference in how that person is perceived in their relationship to religion. I also think it's interesting to think about: are people understanding the references? Are the references they're making accurate? I'm thinking about Katy Perry and the Joan of Arc dress from the 2013 Dolce Gabbana collection. People thought it was Mary or Joan of Arc on the dress, but it was an angel figure from the mosaics in Montreal. And I just did a little bit of a study, a little survey and a lot of people just didn't know. They thought “oh, that's Jesus” but it was a king,

it wasn't Jesus. Which is what Grace Davie (2000), and Danièle Hervieu-Léger (2000) write about: amnesia. People know it's religious, and they know it's Christian, but they don't know much else: "oh, it's probably Mary, I know Mary and I know Jesus and angels, so it's one of those three" but what if it's not one of those three? What does that mean? I think that complicates it too, that people can be outraged and not even know really what they're looking at. They know it's spiritual or religious, but they don't know exactly who it is, or they think they know and they're wrong. I think that's interesting to think about. I also wonder if it will become even more fraught with these conversations about cultural appropriation and using things from other cultures and religious traditions, is it going to be harder or more controversial to do this moving forward? I'm kind of curious about that.

VB Do you think they always associate them with the commercialisation of their faith, attempts at manipulation or proselytising? Or do you think they might feel flattered and validated when other people see this Christian imagination? Or do you also feel like it could also depend on the denomination of Christianity that they belong to? Because I feel like that changes things a lot.

LSN I agree. I did hear some students say "oh, they're just doing it for money", and I have heard some bloggers say that too like "oh, this stuff isn't copyrighted, it's easy money, easy press". It's weird to me for people to make the argument, though, that it's like commercialisation when everything right now is commercial. I think people are still going to be making those arguments, I've heard them make these arguments in my class. But I don't think that changes what I was saying before: that it doesn't mean other things aren't happening. That's not all it means. And there's a long history; fashion didn't invent or begin the commodification of religion. Religious people commodified religion a long time ago, through various things like trading and relics. I think it's more complex than that, but I think those are parts of it.

VB I also read your papers on Evangelical Christian fashion and specifically t-shirts (Neal, 2017), I feel like your research notes that there are parodies of Evangelical t-shirts that both criticise and reinforce the power of the religious movement. Can you expand on this idea and discuss the potential implications of this phenomenon?

LSN Sure, sure. I just reread that for that class, and it worked really well, it got them thinking. I think it works similarly in this Evangelical context and in this broader context that we've been talking about (of fashion and Christianity more broadly). The parodies, they're important because parody doesn't work if people don't understand what's being parodied. If you have the atheist Reese's t-shirt and the original Reese's t-shirt, which all depend on you knowing the Reese's logo to begin with, which is another reference, this is only funny if you know what this is. So that's where I mean they're problematizing and making fun of Evangelicalism, but at the same time, they're drawing attention to Evangelicalism and showing they know what the arguments are, what the T-shirts look like, what Evangelicals are doing. It's kind of simultaneously trying to destabilise Evangelicalism and critique it, but in doing so you're making people think about what Evangelicalism is and who Evangelicals are. In that way, it can be re-reinforcing or drawing attention or acknowledging the power of that group. Whereas if you just ignored them, people wouldn't think about them. I think that's part of that dynamic that I think is fascinating, right?

VB Do you feel like these t-shirts with Christian symbols and quotes gained popularity due to the phenomenon of *Cool Christianity* where younger Christians are influenced by the streetwear of celebrities who wear brands like Fear of God, Kanye West's or Hillsong's merch, for example? Do you feel like this trend is dying out? Why?

LSN Like all fashion trends, it kind of comes in, then it subsides, and later it comes back. So, I think I think you're right, like in terms of cool Christianity, that's more recently been a part of it. I think in the 80s, the trends were different. It was more part of a sub-cultural identity, claiming a place in the market. The context was different, and the culture wars, and things like that. I think we'll see it shift a little, maybe. I don't know what's gonna happen. I'm wondering too if the pandemic will change anything long-term or even in terms of religion for young people, especially, is religion going to be a source of meaning? Or is it just gonna continue to be one thing among many? I think that's a good question. I think it's something to watch. With Kanye now being more – you know, he's always been controversial – but even more controversial now, and controversies about Hillsong... I don't think those are gonna be the references anymore, right? So, it might be a little bit of another, but I feel like it'll come back, it always does.

- VB** Let's go back to *Vogue*. You looked at words, symbols, settings, etc. in the pages of *Vogue* to see how fashion utilized Christianity and how the magazine evoked the Christian imagination, where did you draw the line? How could you tell between an apple and "Eve's apple"? How did you know that when a model posed "with their hands clasped in prayer" it was definitely a religious reference and not just a pose?
- LSN** Oh, it's very difficult. It's an excellent question. It was a combination of factors, so for the hands, it was usually combined. What made it kind of come in was the lighting as well, if it was from above and had this kind of Halo or "divine revelation" kind of lighting. Or even the language that they used, combined with it, to frame it in a certain way. So, usually there was more than one cue, trait or characteristic that would shift it. The other kind of factor would be knowing certain campaigns over time. I knew Lenthéric uses a lot of religious language, like the Miracle perfume or the lipstick. I kind of learned some of the advertisements and I was like "oh, they're just adapting what they've done before". Before doing this research, I wouldn't have... and I think if I showed one of those ads to the students, they wouldn't think anything about it, they would just think it's an apple. But seeing how it changes in that context, I think matters. That's why I think history is important, right? Now it might just be an apple, or people might think it's just an apple, but it had this history. That's how it got here, right? But yes, with some of them, it was very difficult to know, and that's why it took a long time too. I really had to count things, and I'm not a great stats person – I wish I was – but I would just keep track of patterns in the language and the way I coded things to see that it wasn't just me being drawn to certain imagery or certain ideas and that there's more about this than other things. If they use apple imagery and the word "temptation", so it was usually combinations of things and histories that helped me in that. Things that were more difficult like Eve or prayer were some of the uses of classical or Greco-Roman religion and that statuary... that was very difficult.
- VB** I was going to ask that because sometimes I struggle with considering angels part of Christian symbology as it's hard to tell without context if they would be a biblical reference or part of Greek or Roman mythology.
- LSN** No, you don't know. You don't know. I don't think you can. I just tried to keep track. For me, classical religion initially was going to be a bigger part of it, and then it just kind of became less important over time as I got more focused. As you're working on these projects, you start very broad and get more narrow. Even when I started, it wasn't going to be specifically Christianity, but then that's what I was finding. So that's where it got more and more narrow. I think I could have done more with angels, I had lots more than I found. It just didn't seem as important as some of the other things. You collect what you can and then see, as you move through it, what you continue to prioritise, and research questions shift.
- VB** Yeah, I specifically mentioned apples because, for some reason, I find so many apples. We could literally write a book called "Apples in *Vogue*". Apples everywhere. I don't know why.
- LSN** So many apples! Red apples, gold apples, pink apples.
- VB** Some pomegranates here and there. And obviously, not all of them have meaning. But sometimes I'm like, "here's another apple, should I consider this one?" and I'm like, "No, but like another one?"
- LSN** I totally understand what you're saying. When I was looking through *Vogue* – I used my phone and I would take pictures and write down "okay, picture, this volume this page" so I had the citations – and there were some.
- VB** Another thing that I'm struggling with considering is cross tattoos on models. Where do you draw the line? They could Photoshop them out if they didn't want them to be in the pictures... But also like...
- LSN** Where do you draw the line? It was too much for me because I think it's slightly different. It's definitely related, but I was like "No, I'm gonna stick to these categories".
- VB** I feel like sometimes they are there on purpose. There was an editorial that I saw which had lots of religious references. And there was a specific picture of a foot in a high heel. And she had a full rosary tattooed. And the picture was literally a picture of her tattoo of a rosary. So that clearly is a reference. But sometimes it's just someone who has a tiny cross tattoo on their finger.
- LSN** Yeah. At this stage, you note it, write it down and then see later, as you move through, how important that is in your story, and your research. But I would definitely notice it because I'm sure there's more of that in this contemporary period than there was in the

period I studied. It might be the next step! We think about the progression of this divine getting closer and closer to the body. That means the next step is on the body, right? That could be how it pushes. So, yeah, I would definitely keep track of that.

VB You wrote that “Conceptually and rhetorically the divide between “witness wear” and “cool” cross jewellery was clear; however, in reality, how could you tell if the wearer of a cross pendant was an Evangelical testifying to her faith, a fan of Madonna’s style, or some combination of both?” (Neal, 2019a) do you think that it is actually possible to tell them apart? And how does this secularisation of religious symbols impact a study specifically that looks at them?

LSN I guess it depends on the context. I think generally, if we're just looking at the garments or the objects, I don't think you can tell the difference. If we saw the same things that Madonna wore, but not on Madonna, I think we wouldn't know. I think that's where the objects don't exist apart from their consumers or their wearers, their contexts in that sense. So maybe that's what I think about who wears them, the context in which they're wearing them, and that relationship takes on more and more meaning and becomes more important to study. I also think the fact that there are, for example, so many cross necklaces. I have students at some of my upper-level classes, which are a little smaller, introduce themselves through an object, and so many, especially the women, wore little cross necklaces. So many, many, many, so many. I do think there's something. Usually, it's a tie to a rite of passage, like confirmation, or a gift from a grandmother or both, or something like that, or a mother. I think that's different from Madonna or Lady Gaga. But then I think that at the same time, we are used to associating these symbols with conservative forms of Christianity. And not more liberal or more progressive forms of Christianity. And so, I think, why? I think it's important to think about that.

VB What I've seen on TikTok with Gen Z is that apparently, rosaries are a trend right now, because of the whole "coquette aesthetic". And most of them are probably atheists. But like, it's just because it's fashionable. It fits the aesthetic that they're going for. I find that very interesting.

LSN I think that is interesting. Especially in this TikTok-Instagram-Social-Media era. These certain aesthetic trends... I think it makes religion and religious symbols more accessories to identity, right? And identity performance, and identity statements. I think that always gets framed negatively.

VB If people are wearing things ironically, they're free to do so.

LSN I just think sometimes people perceive that shift to wearing religious things ironically or just purely aesthetically as some kind of loss. That there's a loss. But it does, it kind of shows that these symbols now are decontextualised from their origins or the institutions, and that allows for these different possibilities, which I think are interesting. They're still meaningful, but maybe in different ways.

VB Also, could you explain the concept of *fashionable religion* or *fashionable Christianity*?

LSN I think it came down to thinking about a concept to kind of capture what I saw going on and kind of create this touchdown concept for the book and the research. There's a question on the Pew Religious Landscape Survey about feeling a sense of wonder or awe about the world. And in thinking about wonder, awe, all these kinds of experiences and then religion. And then thinking about the rise of spiritual seekers in the 60s and people questioning how religion/God/the divine isn't only accessible through organized religion. And so, then, thinking about that in relationship to the circulation of the symbols, this Christian language, and the wearing of the symbols. For me, fashionable religion was a way to kind of make sense of that and talk about how fashion provides people with a repository of religious symbols and ideas that are about wonder, about experience, that are often maybe temporary, but powerful in that moment, like the awe of seeing this amazing dress, or a model come down dressed as Mary or seeing the Sacred Heart on a gown, and then trying to capture the significance of that, potentially. I think it's the potential significance because I didn't do ethnography, so I don't know. But for me, it was a way to capture the possibility and the potentiality of these ideas and the way they circulate. So, I think that's really what I was trying to get at with that concept. And the parts of religion that are about experience, wonder, drama, emotion, that and, kind of supernatural power, perhaps, that people often associate with objects or the category of magic. Maybe they wear the cross and think about it as good luck, like "I have a cross on the back of my door", right? I think that's

- what I was trying to capture with that concept. And that religion isn't just about rules and regulations and doctrines. It's about feelings, aesthetic experiences, and emotions.
- VB** Yeah, that was good. Good explanation. I don't know if you kept a spreadsheet and actual numbers on this – because you mentioned you didn't like statistics – but, over the years did the representations of Christian symbology in *Vogue* decrease or increase?
- LSN** Oh, I'd have to look. I feel like definitely. I think the symbols maybe increased and the language decreased. That's why I organized it the way I did. My students are just finding the recent Dolce & Gabbana line or the priest dress again. And some of these things, you're like "oh, it's back again". I felt like it was consistent. But maybe there were little tweaks within that, right? I don't know if there were many articles on religion. Many ads use it, isn't it? I don't know. I'm interested to hear what you have found. And if it is common? That's a good question. I don't know if I have a good answer for you.
- VB** I feel like from what I've seen on the very few – 40-something – magazines that I looked at, they have a lot of articles on it. Usually, you could tell it's in a more critical way. But it's still there. Also, I feel like *Vogue US* is a lot different from *Vogue Portugal*, because *Vogue Portugal* had this whole transformation a few years ago, where they decided they were going to be a lot more artistic. So like, every magazine is over 300 pages. And it's more expensive because of that.
- [intermission where we showed each other the differences between Vogue US and Vogue Portugal]*
- We have only a few questions left. How does the use of religious symbolism in fashion impact the way that people view Christianity and religion in general?
- LSN** I think in a couple of ways. I think for some it makes religion seem, like you were saying before, more of a commodity, more commercialised, maybe? I don't think these are mutually exclusive interpretations. I think for some, religion is more associated with this criticism, like you're talking about, which makes religion be seen more negatively. So, I think some can see it in that way. And then I think for some, it probably is affirming and inspirational to see religious figures or to think about the power of religion or the possibility of religion. So, I think those are maybe three ways. And some people could hold all those views, maybe that it's inspirational and commodified all at the same time.
- VB** Are you aware of anyone who has replicated your methodology in a different magazine or a different country?
- LSN** No, no, just you. I'm so excited. And I was so excited when you emailed me because the book came out right before the pandemic. It came out in December, and then three months later, we were in lockdown. And I think it kind of disrupted conversations that might have happened otherwise. I presented the book at our religion conference two years ago. And very few people came, some of it was still hybrid. So, I just feel like I haven't gotten a lot of feedback on it. So that's why it's really nice to talk to somebody about it.
- VB** It was really interesting and like, changed the course of my life?! But when I was doing my Master's – it was like a similar topic – I definitely could have mentioned it, but I didn't know it existed. I researched a lot, and I didn't find it. I only found it because I talked to Dr Anna-Mari Almila, and she was the one who mentioned it. And I was like "yeah, that was very interesting". And I also like to ask, what other books or authors do you recommend to someone doing a study similar to yours?
- LSN** I think for me, some of the most helpful things I read were by Birgit Meyer (2004;2012). There are two pieces, two articles or lectures cited in the book by her. I think that, and the work of David Morgan (1998; 2005; 2009) on imagery and material culture. Those, I think, would be the two biggest influences. And because they helped me shift how I think about religion. Meyer talks about religion always being mediated. Religion is always mediated through something right? It doesn't exist without mediation. And she talks about those blurry boundaries like you were talking about "how do you know if it's an apple or an apple?" right? She talks about that. And David Morgan is trained as an art historian who focuses on religion and works in a religious studies department. So, his work is good because he combines the theory and he knows imagery and knows the art history piece, and then can combine that with, like, a historical sensibility and a knowledge of religious studies.

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Appendix G3 - Interview Transcript: Robert Covolo

Date of Interview:	April 4, 2024
Medium:	Email
Interviewee:	Professor Robert Covolo

What inspired you to investigate the intersection between fashion and Christianity?

There were a number of tributaries that lead to me deciding to investigate the intersection of fashion and Christianity. First, I have family in the fashion industry. Second, I was a pastor to university students at a university in California that has a large fashion studies program. A number of the students in this program attended my church. I did not know how to help them think through the relationship between their faith and fashion, and I did not find any satisfying academic resources, so I decided to provide a serious engagement of the two arenas of investigation. Third, while doing research I stumbled on a 150-year-old essay by a former Prime Minister of the Netherlands (Abraham Kuyper) talking about the relationship between fashion and secularization.

What do you hope readers take away from your work? And what impact do you hope your book has/will have on the broader conversation about fashion and religion?

Fashion Theology has two primary audiences. My first audience are theologians. I want them to understand that theologians need to take fashion studies serious precisely because theologians have taken dress/fashion serious in the past. In other words, I want modern Christian theologians to claim their theological inheritance. My second audience are those in fashion studies. I published an academic work from a university press so as to talk about those in the academic field of fashion. For these, I wanted them to know that they are a bit late to the conversation. That fashion studies is not a purely secular discourse that arrived with Simmel or Barthes, but that serious engagement with fashion has been taking place among theologians long before the modern period.

How would you explain the concept of fashion theology?

To think “theologically” about X is to simply think about X from the vantage point of the Christian faith and/or the Christian intellectual tradition. So “fashion theology” is simply thinking about fashion from the vantage point of the Christian intellectual imaginary (i.e. the broader Christian intellectual tradition).

How do you perceive the evolution of this intersection between fashion and religion over time? Do you see emerging trends in the intersection between fashion and religion that will be relevant for the future?

This is a difficult question to answer because fashion is not a simple thing; rather, fashion is a complex phenomenon that works on multiple registers and embodied multiple intellectual movements as it engages: aesthetic, political, economic, etc., etc. realities. Similarly, Christianity is not static set of beliefs but a living faith that is comprised of people from numerous cultural and intellectual worlds working within various registers. So really, the question needs to be investigated in terms of particular thinkers within fashion studies/theology. For example, around 2000 fashion studies took the “embodiment” turn (e.g. *The Fashioned Body* by Entwistle). With this movement, fashion studies simultaneously moved towards liturgical theologians (who have long pushed embodied knowledge) but distanced itself from analytic theologians (who prefer discursive approaches).

As far as future intersections, I see fashion and theology engaging around issues of what constitutes (personal) identity, the basis of social order and the fragility and promise of our bodies as sites of meaning.

In your book, you mentioned how the Heavenly Bodies exhibit might have explored the Protestant imagination more than the Catholic one, contrary to what most might have understood. Why is that?

This is because the Protestant imagination approaches are more conceptually. Think, for instance, about the altar piece that Lucas Cranach made for the German Protestant Reformer Martin Luther. It is conceptually driven. This turn from the eye to the ear—from sight to words—is a mark of the Protestant Imagination. With this in mind, we can see the Heavenly Bodies exhibit is really a conceptual engagement with the intersection of religious and secular art objects, and this conceptual approach is very Protestant.

Similarly, you also mentioned the sponsored fashion spread by the Bible Society in British Vogue. What is your perspective on the inclusion of religious symbols in the fashion industry?

This is another tricky question as it brings up issues of how meaning is made, the roll of free speech, and even theories of what religious symbols can and can’t contain (spiritually speaking). My short answer is: Religious symbols have official and unofficial meanings. That is because symbols are like visual metaphors—they have fuzzy edges that enable them to take on a range of associations. Of course, a symbol can be used to blaspheme (transgress) a religious value or concept. But because meaning is highly constructed within “fashion statements,” what may appear to be blaspheme might actually be something with a very different meaning. (One thinks of Andrew Serrano’s *Piss Christ* controversial artwork. Although he was accused of blaspheme, it turned out, Serrano is a person of Catholic faith.) Given meanings include such a subjective element, it seems to be ridiculous to police the use of religious symbolism within a democratic, pluralistic society. Indeed, in a democracy, free speech in a *sin qua non*. So yes, there is such a

thing as transgressive dress. But charity and civility (another value within a pluralistic societies) requires us to respect those around us—believers, unbelievers, etc. (By the way, I was asked a similar question by the *New York Times* here.)

For example, in the case of the 2018 Met Gala, many Catholics considered the inclusion of this symbolism in the dresses worn by celebrities as blasphemy. In general, do you consider these representations (whether in fashion or in fashion magazines) to be inherently wrong or controversial in the eyes of followers of a Christian doctrine?

The conflict was inevitable due to Catholic views of sacramentals (the religious role of material objects in religious practice). Fashion has a history of pushing boundaries (particularly gender boundaries). To take these religious symbols and deconstruct them is to move them from expressing agape (altruistic objects pointing to God's great acts of love), to vehicles suggesting corruption and abuse within a purely immanent frame. We must remember that the Catholic imagination sees Christian symbols as pointing to cherished truths about God. Such actions were meant to be "controversial" in the most benign sense. (Sadly, our appetite for celebrities requires a predictable level of controversy.) Were such actions "wrong"? I am not Roman Catholic (I am a Protestant theologian), but I do have a deep appreciation for the way my Roman brothers and sisters employ visual culture so as to make the visual sacred. Undoubtedly, some of the dress at the Met Gala was intentionally transgressive of the Roman faith. Yet (in contrast to the depth and beauty of the Roman aesthetic tradition) it is hard to take these celebrity performances any more serious than the celebrities themselves.

Do you believe Christians tend to associate these representations with the commercialization of their faith, attempts at manipulation, or proselytism? Or do you believe they may feel flattered and validated when others see this Christian imagination? Or do you feel that this may also depend on the Christian denomination they identify with?

Different Christians and Christian traditions respond differently to the use of religious symbols in fashion. Whereas Roman Catholics may fear sacred art is denuded when it is drug down into the world of fast fashion. In contrast, American Evangelicalism is a populist movement. And as such, it is drawn to a religious themed t-shirt. After all, the t-shirt is a personal form of proselytism—whatever the cause! [I would recommend the book by McDannel, *Material Christianity* (Yale University Press) if you wish to explore this more.]

Lastly, what Bible verses do you think are the most relevant when it comes to the relationship between Christianity and fashion? And do you think the focus of these writings/ideals is more on the concept of identity or modesty?

The Bible has numerous verses that speak about dress. Modesty is not a significant theme in the various ways the Bible speaks about dress. Identity does show up as a more frequent theme. But the particular use of dress is definitely genre specific. For instance, the giving of the garments in Genesis 3:21 is not so much about identity, but a proto-evangelion that foreshadows God meeting us in our shame and need by way of the death of an innocent.

Undoubtedly, Genesis 3:21 is a locus classicus. While most theologians see a proto-evangelion, I should mention there is an ancient Jewish tradition (the “garments of light” tradition) that was picked up in Christian patristic interpretations of Genesis 3:21. This is worth exploring as an alternative reading. [For a contemporary exposition of this interpretation see Jonathan Pageau’s “Garments of Death and Garments of Light”.]

Another important verse regarding clothing is Jesus’s admonition regarding worry and clothing in Matthew 6:25-34. We are not told to worry because dress doesn’t matter (is vain, etc.), but because we can be assured God will dress us such that we will be more glorious than the best dressed king (Solomon).

The theme of “putting on Christ” (as a garment) is a central trope for St. Paul. This theme is tied into Paul’s view of the relationship between social identity markers and personal identity being rooted in Christ (Galatians 3:26-28).

There are many other verses on clothing in the Bible [I’m currently writing a book on the subject.]

Additionally, do you have any book or author recommendations on the topic of fashion and Christianity that you believe would be valuable for further exploration?

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- Steve Turner, *Popcultured: Thinking Christianly About Style, Media and Entertainment*
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- C.S. Lewis, “The Weight of Glory” in *The Weight of Glory and Other Addresses* (New York: Harper Collins, 1980), 3-19.
- Willson Cory and Robert Covolo, “When is a Mall Just a Mall? The Complexity of Reading Cultural Practices” in *The Other Journal*, published online February 2, 2012.

Appendix G4 - Interview Transcript: Marina Seibert Cezar

Date of Interview:	April 15, 2024
Medium:	Email
Interviewee:	Professor Marina Seibert Cezar

O que a inspirou a investigar a interseção entre moda e o cristianismo?

Possivelmente por eu ter uma curiosidade científica nata em questões que estão fora da minha alçada pessoal. Fui buscar entender um pouco mais como se dá esse efeito dominó dos gostos estéticos baseado em ideologias que ajudam a traduzir as pessoas. Me intriga perceber a ideia de que no interior de uma massa, todos se tornam muito parecidos. Tanto é que inicialmente pensei em pesquisar sobre tribos urbanas, mas como ficaria amplo, no decorrer, resolvi direcionar para algo voltado a fé. Pelo fato de eu ser atea, acho fascinante a fluidez que a moda permite brincar com a construção da aparência nos corpos, então trabalhar com pessoas que creem e estudar suas normativas no vestir foi um desafio pessoal. Também pela disposição psicológica à imitação que todos nós trazemos, pelo simples fato de sermos animais sociais. Nosso senso de pertencimento é gigante, por essa busca de similaridade – que inclusive é própria da linguagem da moda, e, portanto, auxilia a responder dentro desse impulso coletivista. Mesma lógica do meu outro livro, sobre identidade de gênero – por eu ser uma mulher hetero, isso me obrigou a buscar muito em campo e leituras que o próprio público fazia e indicava.

Como é que vê a evolução desta interseção entre moda e religião ao longo do tempo? Vê tendências emergentes na interseção entre moda e religião que serão relevantes para o futuro?

Vimos de um tempo para cá, tentando ser mais diversos na aceitação de outras crenças, embora saibamos que as mais tradicionais – aqui no Brasil ao menos – serão sempre em maior número e peso. Mas isso faz com que, assim como muitos outros âmbitos, essa relação se torne menos impositiva. A aplicação da real diversidade está extrapolando o campo sobre usar ela apenas com o que eu concordo, de quem meus semelhantes são ou de quem pensa igual a mim. O que está auxiliando a disseminar aquelas religiões mais marginalizadas, estigmatizadas.

Como descreveria o conceito de modéstia ou pudor de um ponto de vista ligado à moda e ao cristianismo?

Sendo a moda uma das mais poderosas ferramentas de comunicação não verbal, a modéstia entraria como uma maneira da sua portadora conseguir reportar um dos seus valores morais mais marcantes, sem necessariamente precisar ficar falando sobre ele. É uma forma de se apresentar na sociedade, já que o vestir-se é um encontro com nós mesmos, mas também um início de relação com o outro. Ademais, a noção do pudor é considerado um dos três motivos pelos quais iniciamos historicamente a cobrir nossos corpos, o que só reforça esse fato. E dentro desses grupos, a coesão

é realmente incrível, é como se todos estivessem falando a mesma frase, ao mesmo tempo. Quando dentro de qualquer grupo que lhe é vital para a sobrevivência social e psíquica, gera-se um comportamento natural da cópia, já que estamos (de forma velada ou literal) sempre em busca da aprovação social.

Considera que a Bíblia tem recomendações específicas sobre como as mulheres se devem vestir? Quais versículos considera serem os mais relevantes quando se trata das conexões entre o cristianismo e a moda?

As Escrituras se focam mais na noção da modéstia de forma geral, de não chamar atenção ao corpo, e sim aos atos. Compreendem que a aparência é algo a ser comedida, aceitando a natural como um presente divino, logo, sem precisar manipulá-la. Poucos versículos são literais nesses direcionamentos, e os que mais se mostraram relevantes quando pesquisava, foram os que já citei na própria obra. A título de curiosidade, uma aluna minha deste semestre, que está fazendo a sua coleção final de curso sobre moda modesta e é crente, reforçou no seu portfólio essas duas partes como seus nortes, que então vale observarmos: “A beleza de vocês não deve estar nos enfeites exteriores, como cabelos trançados e joias de ouro ou roupas finas. Ao contrário, esteja no ser interior, que não perece, beleza demonstrada num espírito dócil e tranquilo, o que é de grande valor para Deus.” (1 Pedro 3:3-4). E a outra que replico aqui: “Da mesma forma, quero que as mulheres se vistam modestamente, com decência e discrição, não se adornando com pérolas ou com roupas caras, mas com boas obras, como convém as mulheres que declaram adorar a Deus”. (1 Timóteo 2:9-10).

O seu livro foca muito uma responsabilização feminina pelos pensamentos e ações do sexomascualino. Considera que os ideais de modéstia bíblica são igualmente recomendados aos homens como são às mulheres? Porquê?

Na realidade foi uma grande crítica, na qual fui trazendo autoras do próprio ramo, que são lidas pelas mulheres evangélicas, para confrontar com a realidade atual sobre tantas conquistas femininas que vemos diariamente. Então não, não são igualmente recomendados esses ideais. Visivelmente são muito mais marcantes para o universo feminino, mas isso é uma concepção patriarcal que data antes de Cristo e que está em praticamente todas as nossas esferas sociais, já que, como diria Beauvoir (2009, p.16), ‘a humanidade é masculina’. Por isso que, como categoria filosófica, o mundo é muito parecido com eles: competitivo, mercantilista, frágil, tendo papéis definidos (dualismos), o não reconhecimento da alteridade, e a compreensão de que os corpos dos outros (isso inclui o dos gays através dos preconceitos, o das mulheres pelas cobranças, o dos animais pela industrialização da carne etc.) estão a sua disposição e submetidos a crítica, sendo considerados públicos, subalternos. Ademais, a insatisfação feminina é altamente lucrativa e controlada.

Considera que existem características da moda feminina brasileira que são reveladoras da influência religiosa? Na sua opinião, as percepções de modéstia religiosa no Brasil diferem significativamente das interpretações em outros contextos geográficos e religiosos? Se sim, de que forma?

Aqui há um estereotipo bastante cristalizado sobre essas mulheres usarem da roupa para levar a sua religião onde forem. E como elas são condicionadas a disseminarem a palavra divina, dificilmente passam despercebidas no ambiente público. Como se qualquer momento fosse propício para evangelizar o outro que supostamente ainda não foi salvo. Com isso em mente, se utilizam da moda como um outro suporte para tal disseminação. Ademais, desde a ascensão da extrema direita no Brasil, toda a concepção do evangelho vem se mostrando mais forte, mais assumido e seguro, e como consequência, lojas especializadas em roupas para as mulheres especialmente, parecem ter aumentado – já que é uma parcela considerável de seu público votante.

No mesmo livro, também fala sobre o "mercado cristão" e lojas de roupas evangélicas. Considera que estas lojas são comuns no Brasil? A roupa que vendem foca-se na modéstia ou em peças que expressem a fé dos utilizadores?

Cada vez esse mercado cresce, especialmente com a ascensão de políticos mais conservadores que deram vazão a certos conceitos mais tradicionalistas. As peças são bastante limitadas, com modelagem mais solta, que não marcam nenhuma parte do corpo feminino. Há especialmente saias e vestidos longos, uso de rendas fechadas, cores claras e babados discretos. Aquela estudante que comentei, como ela é religiosa e ama a sua área, percebe na pele a falta de produtos com mais apelo estético, sem deixar de lado suas ideologias na forma de roupa.

Considera que a compra e uso de roupa e acessórios com representações de símbolos/frases/imagens associadas ao Cristianismo é comum?

Frases e imagens associados ao cristianismo são raras de se ver por aqui. O que tem de nas peças seriam apenas através das cores mais sóbrias, flores miúdas. Ademais, são pela modelagem. Talvez porque, pela cultura material, chamaria muita atenção, pois a pessoa precisaria ficar olhando para o peito da mulher para conseguir ler uma suposta frase.

Em geral, considera que estas representações (seja em roupas, na indústria da moda ou em revistas de moda) podem ser vistas como desrespeitosas pelos seguidores de uma doutrina cristã? Acredita que eles as podem associar à comercialização da sua fé, tentativas de manipulação ou proselitismo? Ou acredita que possam sentir-se lisonjeados e validados quando outras pessoas veem esta imaginação cristã? Ou ainda, sente que isso também poderá depender da denominação cristã a que pertencem?

A ideia de evangelização é algo muito presente na nossa cultura, então o que tiverem de oportunidade para converter mais seguidores, melhor. Não me parece ter uma grande reflexão sobre tais usos, conversas sobre relativismos culturais, revisionismo histórico – pelo contrário, são doutrinas seguidas há milênios. Muito diferente das de matrizes africanas e indígenas que temos. Seus praticantes – talvez pela opressão histórica, exclusão e lutas simbólicas diárias – parecem ter maior discernimento sobre os atributos de significados e poder de escolha (seguem porque descobriram que faz sentido para eles, e não por continuísmos). Com isso, quando há o uso de elementos desse tipo de religião, é bem mais comum ter a expropriação, numa tentativa de apagar traços identitários, já que os não praticantes não enxergam como uma ferramenta de resistência. Então o cuidado em não cair na apropriação cultural quando se veste (e até na condição de criadores) é algo cada vez mais latente, para não remover tais símbolos do seu contexto, muitas vezes permitido pela lógica de dominação (estrutura colonialista). É alguém que um grupo dominante simplesmente pega algo próprio de uma outra cultura, sem dar os devidos créditos, ou autorização, retribuição, sem qualquer comprometimento com o que está por trás daquilo, como o turbante por exemplo, pois cada grupo parte de um lugar muito diferente dentro do sistema de privilégios. Ao vestir algo muito literal sem cuidar da onde veio e esvaziar de significado, se torna um problema moral. Ou até uma prática, como foi o caso da ‘Capoeira Gospel’ e do ‘Bolinho de Jesus’, que estrategicamente desvirtuaram as referências dos antepassados para ser mais palatável aos consumidores. Assim como usar do corpo negro ou indígena como fantasia, vendendo a ideia de homenagem.

Por fim, tem alguma recomendação de livro ou autor sobre o tema da moda e do Cristianismo que considere ser valiosa para uma exploração mais aprofundada?

Na época, usei aquelas listadas na minha bibliografia, que fui descobrindo aos poucos, e principalmente, amarrando com a parte da semiologia e entrevistas de campo. Hoje certamente tem mais pesquisas, especialmente em artigos científicos. Caso lhe interesse, eis as plataformas de pesquisa científica na moda que mais usamos:

- www.coloquiomoda.com.br
- www.harvarddesignmagazine.org
- <https://libgen.is>
- <https://doceru.com>
- www.livrosabertos.sibi.usp.br
- www.researchgate.net
- <http://livroaberto.ibict.br>
- www.scielo.org
- <http://books.scielo.org>
- www.culturaacademica.com.br
- <https://librarygenesis.net>
- www.dominiopublico.gov.br
- www.infodesign.org.br

- www.revistas.udesc.br
- www1.sp.senac.br/hotsites/blogs/revistaiara
- www.cult.ufba.br/enecult
- www.revistas.udesc.br/index.php/ensinarmode/index
- <https://dobras.emnuvens.com.br>
- www.ufrgs.br/periodicos
- www.revistas.usp.br
- <https://estudosemdesign.emnuvens.com.br/design>
- <http://revistas.unisinos.br>
- <https://periodicos.unb.br>
- www.journals.elsevier.com/design-studies

Annexes

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Annex 1 - Ethics Committee Approval [Parecer Comissão de Ética]



Comissão de Ética
Universidade da Beira Interior

comissaodeetica@ubi.pt
Convento de Santo António
6201-001 Covilhã | Portugal

Parecer relativo ao processo n.º CE-UBI-Pj-2023-057-ID1934

Na sua reunião de 17 de outubro de 2023, a Comissão de Ética apreciou a documentação científica submetida referente ao pedido de parecer do projeto " **Christian Symbology in Vogue Portugal and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion**", da proponente **Vitória Bernardo**, a que atribuiu o código n.º CE-UBI-Pj-2023-057.

Na sua análise não identificou matéria que ofenda os princípios éticos e morais, sendo de parecer que o estudo em causa pode ser **aprovado**.

Covilhã e UBI

A Presidente da Comissão de Ética

Assinado por : **AMÉLIA MARIA MONTEIRO
FERNANDES NUNES**
Num. de Identificação: BI102417849
Data: 2023.10.26 10:19:52+01'00'



(Professora Doutora Amélia Maria Monteiro Fernandes Nunes)

(Professora Auxiliar)

Annex 2 - Consent Form (CLIE): Interviews with Christian Women

Christian Symbolism in Vogue Portugal and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion | Vitória Bernardo

CONSENTIMENTO LIVRE, INFORMADO E ESCLARECIDO (Entrevistas com mulheres cristãs)

O meu nome é Vitória Rodrigues Bernardo e sou aluna do doutoramento em Design de Moda na Universidade da Beira Interior (curso em associação com a Universidade do Minho) estando, de momento, a conduzir entrevistas para a minha tese “Christian Symbolism in Vogue Portugal and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion” [Simbologia Cristã na Vogue Portugal e a Influência da Religiosidade na Moda Feminina do Século XXI] que pretende explorar as percepções individuais e experiências das mulheres cristãs em Portugal relativamente à influência da sua fé no seu modo de vestir. Isto permitirá uma compreensão mais rica e detalhada de como as diferentes denominações cristãs e ideais religiosos afetam as suas escolhas de vestuário e como percebem a modéstia religiosa em comparação com outras culturas e religiões. Este estudo também pretende compreender como é que estas mulheres reagem à incorporação de símbolos ou referências religiosas em revistas de moda, peças de roupa e acessórios. Este trabalho não dispõe de apoio financeiro e envolve como orientadora a Doutora Catarina Moura e como coorientadora a Doutora Cristina L. Duarte.

Venho pedir a sua colaboração, solicitando a sua participação numa entrevista semiestruturada de profundidade, sendo que não existem riscos/inconvenientes/contrapartidas para os indivíduos estudados devido à sua participação neste estudo. Os benefícios esperados para os indivíduos são principalmente de natureza intelectual e informativa, visto que a sua participação lhes proporciona a oportunidade de contribuir para uma investigação académica na confluência da moda e da religião. A participação que solicito é voluntária, e pode decidir não participar desde o primeiro momento ou noutro qualquer, sem que daí advenham quaisquer prejuízos para si em qualquer perspetiva. Uma vez que a sua decisão de participar é voluntária, livre e informada pelo presente documento, mas também esclarecida em tudo o que tiver dúvidas, qualquer pergunta, dúvida ou informação adicional de que necessite para a sua decisão poderá ser-me colocada ou transmitida via email (vitoriabernardo@gmail.com).

A sua confidencialidade está garantida através da atribuição de um pseudónimo a cada participante para substituir o seu nome verdadeiro quando necessário referenciar o mesmo na tese e publicações científicas consequentes da mesma, sendo que apenas eu (Vitória Bernardo) tenho acesso aos seus dados, os quais em todo o caso não serão divulgados, pois serão utilizados sob codificação.

Espaço de assinatura da investigadora

Ao assinar este documento confirmo que transmi toda a informação nela contida, e expliquei e dei resposta a todas as questões e dúvidas apresentadas pela participante.

Documento datado e assinado pela autora.

Espaço de assinatura da participante

Ao assinar esta declaração assumo que irei colaborar livremente, que li e compreendi a informação e os esclarecimentos que me foram dados acerca da minha participação. Aceito participar na entrevista, sabendo que nada me impede de mudar de posição, sendo que poderei manifestar o desejo de não colaborar, sem que tal implique quaisquer perdas de direitos ou acarrete prejuízos pessoais. Entendo que participar deste estudo envolve participar voluntariamente numa entrevista que será gravada e consequentemente transcrita em forma de texto. Concordo que os meus dados sejam tratados no âmbito desta investigação/tese de doutoramento. Concordo que os resultados do tratamento dos dados sejam divulgados em publicações científicas, assegurando o anonimato. Concordo que o meu nome verdadeiro não seja utilizado e que, em vez disso, seja usado um pseudónimo. Autorizo a gravação de áudio. Tenho conhecimento de que um original deste documento, assinado por ambos os subscritores, fica em minha posse.

Documento datado e assinado pela participante.

Annex 3 - Consent Form (CLIE): Expert Interviews [Portuguese Version]

Christian Symbolism in Vogue Portugal and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion | Vitória Bernardo

FORMULÁRIO DE CONSENTIMENTO PARA ENTREVISTAS COM ESPECIALISTAS (PT)

Reconheço por este meio que fui convidado/a a participar numa entrevista como parte de uma investigação com o título "Christian Symbolism in Vogue Portugal and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion" [Simbologia Cristã na Vogue Portugal e a Influência da Religiosidade na Moda Feminina do Século XXI], conduzida por Vitória Rodrigues Bernardo, aluna de doutoramento em Design de Moda na Universidade da Beira Interior. Este trabalho não dispõe de apoio financeiro e envolve como orientadora a Doutora Catarina Moura e como coorientadora a Doutora Cristina L. Duarte. Compreendo que o propósito desta entrevista é reunir informações relacionadas ao tópico de investigação mencionado acima.

Participação Voluntária:

Compreendo que a minha participação nesta entrevista é inteiramente voluntária, e tenho o direito de recusar responder a qualquer pergunta ou retirar a minha participação a qualquer momento durante a entrevista sem quaisquer consequências adversas. Estou a participar voluntariamente e compreendo que as minhas respostas serão usadas para fins de investigação académica.

Confidencialidade e Uso de Dados:

Como especialista, reconheço que o meu nome será mencionado na tese em questão e em quaisquer publicações científicas subsequentes resultantes deste estudo. Estou ciente de que o meu nome não será mantido em sigilo, e dou o meu consentimento para este uso do meu nome na investigação.

Utilização do Conteúdo da Entrevista:

Compreendo que esta entrevista será conduzida através de correspondência por email. Dou o meu consentimento para que os dados da entrevista, fornecidos em formato escrito, sejam utilizados no projeto de investigação. Entendo que o conteúdo da entrevista por email será copiado e utilizado na referida tese.

Questões e Preocupações:

Tive a oportunidade de fazer quaisquer perguntas que tinha sobre esta entrevista e o projeto de investigação. As minhas perguntas foram respondidas de forma satisfatória, e compreendo completamente a natureza e o propósito da minha participação.

Assinatura:

Concordo em participar na entrevista para o projeto de investigação/tese de doutoramento intitulada "Christian Symbolism in Vogue Portugal and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion".

Documento datado e assinado pelo/a participante.

Assinatura da Investigadora:

Confirmando que forneci todas as informações necessárias sobre o projeto de investigação e respondi a quaisquer perguntas ou preocupações levantadas pelo participante.

Documento datado e assinado pela autora.

Annex 4 - Consent Form (CLIE): Expert Interviews [English Version]

Christian Symbolism in Vogue Portugal and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion | Vitória Bernardo

CONSENT FORM FOR EXPERT INTERVIEWS (EN)

I hereby acknowledge that I have been invited to participate in an interview as part of the research study titled "Christian Symbolism in Vogue Portugal and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion" conducted by Vitória Rodrigues Bernardo, a doctoral student in Fashion Design at the University of Beira Interior. This project does not have financial support and it involves Doctor Catarina Moura as advisor and Doctor Cristina L. Duarte as co-supervisor. I understand that the purpose of this interview is to gather information related to the research topic mentioned above.

Voluntary Participation:

I understand that my participation in this interview is entirely voluntary, and I have the right to decline to answer any questions or withdraw my participation at any time during the interview without any adverse consequences. I am participating willingly and understand that my responses will be used for academic research purposes.

Confidentiality and Use of Data:

As an expert, I acknowledge that my name will be mentioned in the research thesis and any subsequent scientific publications arising from this study. I am aware that my name will not be kept confidential, and I consent to the use of my name in the research.

Use of Interview Content:

I understand that this interview will be conducted via email correspondence. I give my consent for the interview data, as provided in written format, to be used in the research project. I understand that the content of the email interview will be copied and utilized in the aforementioned thesis.

Questions and Concerns:

I have had the opportunity to ask any questions I had about this interview and the research project. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I fully understand the nature and purpose of my participation.

Signature

I consent to participate in the interview for the research project/doctoral thesis titled "Christian Symbolism in Vogue Portugal and the Influence of Religiosity on 21st Century Women's Fashion."

Document dated and signed by the participant.

Researcher's Signature:

I confirm that I have provided all necessary information about the research project and have addressed any questions or concerns raised by the participant.

Document dated and signed by the author.