Divine mediations : pentecostalism, politics and mass media in a favela in Rio de Janeiro
Oosterbaan, M.

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One Saturday morning at the beginning of my stay in the morro, I was helping Pastor Abrahão of the Assembléia de Deus with the construction work outside the church. The pastor was gradually improving the church building with the financial and manual help of the congregants. Two young men, Bernardo and Paulo, were scraping the top soil off the hillside, while I was loading it in a wheelbarrow. Bernardo and Paulo were making fun of me, according to them they could see the gringo was not used to tough manual labor. While we were working, the radio was on inside the church. The volume was quite low but the background music provided an audible rhythm that eased the work, nobody seemed hear the lyrics.

At a certain moment, however, one of the men became conscious of the fact that the rhythm which was coming from the church was that of funk music. It was only at that moment that we became aware of the type of music that was playing. I had assumed it was a Christian broadcaster and, apparently, so had the others. When we started to listen carefully it was clear that the radio was tuned to the local radio station Panorama (88.3 FM), that transmitted from CIEP directly below us. The pastor stopped working and ordered us to change the frequency and find a Christian radio channel. I asked him why we could not listen to the community radio station. He said: 'That is the community radio transmitting from CIEP. They play only baile funk music that has a lot of palavrao (swearing) and that speaks about using drugs and prostitution.' Abrahão said such music should not be heard, particularly not in a church. 'What if people were to hear such music coming from our church?' he added. Bernardo quickly found the Christian radio station, El Shadai (93 FM), that was very popular among people who attended the Assembléia de Deus in the morro.

Initially I was a bit surprised that those people who were at the church that day were speaking negatively about the radio comunitario, coordinated by Nelson Santos Pinto, an inhabitant of the morro. Many inhabitants were proud of the organizations and developments that were undertaken by people from the community for the community, especially in the light of the negative news about the favelas of zona sul. Many people

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23El Shadai is a popular evangelical radio station I will discuss below. This radio station is owned by Aroldê Oliveira, who also owns the record company MK Publicita. http://www.mkpublicita.com.br/
were proud of having a community radio and liked listening to it. It broadcast a variety of programs in which different music genres were aired. But that was exactly the problem for many evangélicos. There had been a gospel show on the community radio and some people believed it had disappeared because people did not like the fact that the gospel show had to divide the same air space with radio programs that featured funk or pagode music. One of the inhabitants who first explained this to me was Gilberto, Maria’s youngest son. Gilberto had followed a radio course for aspirant radio technicians at the radio comunitario. He claimed the radio comunitario stopped playing gospel music because listening to gospel on a radio that broadcast funk afterwards did not work: ‘The light does not combine with the darkness, that is why they play only gospel on el Shadai.’

Sound systems form an important part of the daily life of the people who live in the morro. Despite the difficult economic circumstances of many families, I encountered hardly a household that did not have a radio or sound-system (som), and in most of the houses in the favela I heard music throughout the day. Most of the sound-systems I encountered consisted of a radio, a CD and a double audiotape player. They often occupied a central place in the living-rooms of the inhabitants. Many people bought their sound-system on credit in one of the large household shops (Casas de Bahia, Casa & Video or Ponto Frio) in Copacabana or Ipanema. According to the data Perlman collected in five favelas in Rio de Janeiro, the percentage of people who had a sound-system in their house went up from 25 percent in 1969 to 79 percent in 2001 (Perlman 2003). This means that during her research in 2001 roughly four out of every five households had a sound-system. From what I observed in the morro I concluded that, besides having a sound-system or not, most people owned a transistor radio that could be easily carried from one place to another. Some people even owned a portable sound-system with a radio, a CD and an audiotape player.

During my stay in the morro, I noticed the persistent presence of radio/music in different spaces in the morro. During the day, many people who worked in and around the house tended to listen to music from disc or from the radio: the women that were cleaning their houses or were sewing clothes; the men that were working in the construction in the morro. While many people owned several CDs, for numerous people it was too expensive to buy many and therefore people often copied music from each other on tape or simply tuned in to the radio station that played their favorite music. People often listened in groups while working or chatting, but also on their own in the privacy of their living- or bedroom. In the combi (van) that took people up from
Copacabana, the radio was almost invariably turned on and likewise in the bars and biroshkas one could hear that the radios were turned on. The presence of all these electro-acoustic devices meant that, besides the amplified music of the funk and pagode that dominated the soundscape at particular times, there were countless others sounds present in the soundscape, perhaps not as pervasive but still very present. Sometimes as I sat on the stoop with friends, some young boys and girls would pass by with a portable sound system that played funk music. At other times, someone nearby would raise the volume of one specific song that probably was his or her favorite at the time.

In order to gain a better understanding of the way mass media shape Pentecostal communities in Brazil, we must go beyond a common approach that describes mass media as a mere technological means to spread a Christian message. Instead we should also pay attention to the way these media change the message because of the different sensuous appeals of different media, their common styles and formats. This does not mean we are obliged to adopt McLuhan's credo that 'the medium is the message'. That would leave little room for differences in style and content of one particular medium. It does mean that we have to take into consideration the particularities of the configurations between technology, style and content. My emphasis on the establishment of Pentecostal communities through different media links up with discussions on the place of style in social analysis (Maffesoli 1996) and, in particular, with the place of mass media and style in religious studies (see also introduction). Styles are crucial elements in invoking a sense of belonging that lies at the heart of many religious communities in contemporary society (Meyer 2004: 95).

In this chapter I will focus on the listening practices of people in the morro and on their accounts of the importance of music, radio and other electro-acoustic devices. In several ways, this chapter follows up the arguments in Chapter Two. In that chapter I have argued that sound and music are essential to the constitution of identities in the morro. In the density of the favela, different groups try to exercise a politics of presence through the sounds they produce. Among evangélicos sound and music are so important because they produce a confirmation of their own identity to themselves and no less significantly to other inhabitants. By and large, they oppose their 'Godly' sound and music to the worldly sounds of their neighbors and try to transmit the Holy Spirit to the other inhabitants in order to convert them to their faith. Whereas in Chapter Two I focused on such politics of presence, in this chapter I will focus more on narratives of self-declared evangélicos about the role of radio, music and sound in their lives.
At this juncture, I will argue that the relation between electro-acoustic technology and Pentecostalism is characterized by an elective affinity. Basing myself on the work of Derrida (2001), I suggest that electro-acoustic technology used by Pentecostals produces an experience of non-mediation and touch that verifies the 'real presence' of the divine. The authoritative voices of the pastors, the narratives of the testimonies and the emotional gospel music share with each other the quality that when transmitted or played, they produce a feeling of intimate contact with God for the adherents of the churches. A second argument I want to make in this chapter is that tuning in to certain evangelical radio stations or playing specific gospel music is not the outcome of the trajectory that leads to conversion, as it is often described. As I have described in detail in Chapter Five, conversion might better be described as the contextual assertion of a religious identity through specific performances, instead of a watershed between the old self and the new-born self, as Pentecostal doctrine would have it. Listening to radio, CD and audiotape is not the outcome of the process of conversion but a continuous reassertion of an identity that is much less fixed than presumed. Part of the continuous assertion of a Pentecostal identity in the morro is the awareness of the significance and potential of specific sounds in relation to the self and to the others. People use radio, audiotape en CD to understand, feel and demonstrate what the difference is between 'being in the world' and 'being of the world'. Listening to gospel music envelopes people in a Godly sound, hence protecting those who are 'in the world' from the harmful sounds and influences 'of the world', albeit it only temporarily. The continuous effort to separate the worldly and the Godly domain in the name of salvation and prosperity in the context of the morro, places the discussions on music (and radio) at the heart of identity politics. Listening to the sound systems involves a categorization of sounds and a 'training' in how to know what can and should be listened to, and what not. It is through these techniques that these people assert their evangelical identity in the morro. Consequently sound systems are sensitive tools that people continuously use quite self-reflexively to feel and demonstrate the difference between the worldly and the Godly. This also implies that technique does not stand outside the process of conversion as described in the previous chapter. Technique (mass media) does not merely provide a means for the distribution of the message (doctrine), it is an integral part of religious experience.
6.1 Pentecostal Radio (music) in Brazil

While it is recognized that anthropologists have long neglected mass media as a field of inquiry for understanding culture (Ginsburg, Abu-Lughod and Larkin 2002), the study of mass media in different cultural contexts has expanded during the last decade. More people have been focusing on film, television and the Internet in their ethnographic material. By contrast, radio and recorded music have received less attention, with some notable exceptions, for example, Debra Spitulnik (2001; 2001) who has written extensively on Zambian radio culture. Nevertheless, anthropologist and scholars of media studies have observed that radio and the practice of listening is a neglected field of academic inquiry (Lacey 2000; Tacchi 2000). Some scholars argue the neglect of radio must partly be attributed to its technological features; the fact that it transmits ‘only’ sounds and not sounds and images (Crisel 1994; Hendy 2000). Some have therefore described radio as a secondary medium in relation to, for example, television or film. Others, however, have criticized this view for not taking the specific properties of radio (audio) communication seriously (Åberg 1999; Hendy 2000), the cultural/historical development in the sensory experience of listening (Lacy 2000; Erlman 2004) and the potential varieties of radio use, ranging, for example from local (community) radio to international radio or from commercial to non-profit radio (Vargas 1995; Fardon & Furniss 2000).

This chapter focuses on radio broadcasts and recorded evangelical music in relation to listening practices. Since the introduction of radio in Brazil, recorded music of Brazilian artists has been very important to the popularity of radio and it continues to be important today (Cabral 1996). The first Brazilian record with national musicians was made in 1902 (Cabral 1996: 8). Radio was introduced in Brazil in 1922 and the first transmitter was set up in Rio de Janeiro in 1923 (ibid: 9). Initially, when there were not many radios and not a great radio audience, broadcasts were mostly non-commercial. While popular music was heard on the radio during the 1920s, it was only after Getúlio Vargas became president (1930) that commercial radio began to grow. In the 1930s, more radio transmitters emerged (Ortiz 1988), more music was recorded and more money was reinvested in radio and in recordings. Sambas recorded in the time of carnival became very popular and so did the radionovelas (Cabral 1996; Ortiz 1988).

Radio flourished during the 1940s and 1950s and since then has established itself firmly as one of the most pervasive means of mass communication in Brazil, alongside
television (Straubhaar 1995: 79). While the advent of television from 1950 changed the consumer market and television began to receive a growing share of advertising investment eventually surpassing radio, the number of radio stations kept growing during the latter part of the century. Most radio stations are privately owned and financed by advertising revenue. There is a great deal of segmentation among the radio transmitters, especially in the cities. While different stations transmit various genres, musical entertainment remains the most popular (Straubhaar 1995: 71). Straubhaar says there were about 57 million radios in Brazil, of which the most in the Southeastern region—which includes the cities Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo (ibid: 81). Most of the music transmitted on the radio is from Brazilian artists and, as Perrone and Dunn also confirm, the Brazilian music market is dominated by national acts: 'All genres included, national product accounted for up to 70 percent of unit sales of sound recordings in 1998, and all the top-ten sellers were Brazilian acts (Perrone and Dunn 2001: 30).'

The first evangelical radio program to reach a large audience in Brazil was transmitted in 1943. Pastor Roberto Rabello hosted the program: 'A Voz da Provérbio' (The Voice of Prophecy), produced by the Associação Geral da Igreja Adventista, based in the United States (Fonseca 1997: 45). The first Pentecostal radio broadcast was transmitted in 1947 by a missionary of the Assembléia de Deus and, not much later, the US based Igreja do Evangelho Quadrangular, also Pentecostal, started to work in Brazil (ibid; Freston 1995). It had had plenty of experience in working with radio in the United States and turned it to its benefit in Brazil. In the period thereafter several other Pentecostal churches—including Deus é Amor founded by the Brazilian David Miranda—began broadcasts in the urban centers of Brazil. Radio became one of the privileged media through which to evangelize in Brazil. Freston states that the headquarters of Deus é Amor in São Paulo featured more than fifty plaquettes with names of radio stations on which Miranda's program could be heard (Freston 1995: 128).

Today, leaders of the Assembléia de Deus and the Igreja Universal both invest in radio. Yet, as I have indicated earlier, the Igreja Universal exerts a much greater control over its own media. The radio stations of the Igreja Universal are united in one overarching company called Rede Aleluia. In Rio de Janeiro, the Igreja Universal broadcasts its music and the messages of its Bispos on FM 105 and Copacabana AM. While pastors and members of the Assembléia de Deus in Rio de Janeiro are involved in
two popular radio stations: Melodia FM and 93 FM (El Shadai/Feliz da Vida), the church(es) themselves do not control these stations in the same manner as the Igreja Universal does. First of all, neither one of them is directly linked to one evangelical or Pentecostal church in particular. Radio 93FM presents itself as a gospel radio-station broadcasting Christian music and Melodia presents itself as an evangelical radio station. Superficial appearances are, however, deceptive and under the surface of this appearance several religious and political connections emerge. Radio Melodia is owned by the former federal deputy (deputado) Francisco Silva. He is affiliated to the Assembléia de Deus de Madureira, yet, the radio station is not officially linked to this church. The radio station is quite closely connected to the political projects of Rosinha and Anthony Garotinho. From Monday to Friday, Melodia broadcasts a program hosted by Francisco Silva, in which Anthony and/or Rosinha participate.

The case of 93 FM is slightly different from that of Melodia. Radio 93 FM is part of the company MK Publicitá, which contains a record label and publishing house that publishes the popular evangelical magazine Enfoque Gospel. It also produces the gospel television show Conexão Gospel. The company MK Publicitá is headed by the federal deputy Arolde Oliveira (PFL), who is secretary of transport of the city of Rio de Janeiro. Arolde Oliveira is a member of the same political party as the present mayor of the city of Rio de Janeiro, Cesar Maia (PFL), and Oliveira actively supports him on his website.

One of the opponents of Cesar Maia during the elections was Bispo Crivella of the Igreja Universal. Although Arolde de Oliveira congregates at the first Baptist church of Niterói (1ª Igreja Batista de Niterói – RJ), he has close connections with the leaders of the Assembléia de Deus. Several of the stars who are contracted by MK Publicitá, are people who congregate at the Assembléia de Deus. People who lived in the morro and attended the churches of the Assembléia de Deus often mentioned both radio-stations when I asked them what they regularly tuned in to. Importantly, also people who did not define themselves as evangélicos told me they liked the radio station.

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236 The radio station is no longer called El Shadai, but has changed its name into Feliz da Vida. During my research in 2002/2003 people who listened still called it radio El Shadai.
237 As I have indicated before, both Rosinha, who congregates at the Assembléia de Deus and her husband, who congregates at a Presbyterian church, put forward their religious background as assets in their campaigns.
According to its own representation of the figures of IBOPE, Radio Melodia was the second most popular radio station of Rio de Janeiro during the month of March 2005, with an average of 194,016 listeners per minute. Radio 93FM was the fourth most popular with 86,506 listeners per minute. These numbers indicate the enormous popularity of evangelical radio in Rio de Janeiro in general. Not only were these two stations the most popular evangelical radio stations in the city, they were in the top four of all radio stations in the city. This is not an entirely new phenomenon. Alexandre Fonseca notes that in the months of July and August 1996, the number of listeners was even higher. Then, two of the three most popular radio stations in Rio de Janeiro were evangelical radio stations (Fonseca 1997: 88).

Given this popularity, the link between media-entrepreneurs and politicians, which exists in the case of all three radio stations, is even more significant. The large audiences not only indicate the growing popularity of Pentecostalism in mainstream culture, but also its merger with a larger market of consumer products, advertising and political campaigning. Luther King de Andrade Santana (2005) claims this popularity is the effect of the strategies of religious media-businessmen such as Arolde Oliveira (93FM) and Francisco Silva (Melodia). Santana states that this group of men, which he describes as a group of *Mídia Empresarial Religiosa* (religious business media), is primarily interested in selling CDs of their artists to the widest possible audience. Therefore, they are not interested in proselytizing from the perspective of one specific Pentecostal doctrine but instead use a general Pentecostal language and symbolic goods (*bens simbólicos*) to attract an audience.

On the basis of a quantitative comparison between the three most popular evangelical radio stations in 1996: Radio Melodia, Radio 105FM (*Aleluia*) and Radio 93FM (*El Shadaí/Feliz da Vida*), Fonseca concludes that Radio 105FM (*Aleluia*) has the most exclusive audience from one denomination. The people who tune in are mostly

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239 In Brazil the audience ratings are measured by an independent private organization named IBOPE. The ratings are not publicly available, since these kinds of agencies sell their data to networks and magazines (Kottak 1990: 25).


241 An audience share of 0.95.

242 While I agree with Santana that we should not underestimate the market dynamic in the production of religious radio, his use of Bourdieu's distinction between the religious and the economic fields and their current merger (*transbordar*), reproduces the idea that they were once neatly separated. I am not entirely convinced by his market model of religious organization, which is supposedly primarily the result of pluralization in the religious field. As I have attempted to demonstrate in the preceding chapters, the growing popularity of Pentecostal churches is not only related to such a pluralization, but also to sociopolitical circumstances and transformations in the urban centers of Brazil.
people who attend the Igreja Universal (54 percent). That is not so surprising as that radio station is explicitly linked to the Igreja Universal while the other two are not linked to any denomination in particular. Yet, Fonseca does conclude that people of the Assembléia de Deus generally show a slight preference for Melodia and he links this preference to the consumer-class positions of the audience and the genre of music transmitted. Fonseca postulates that the audience of 93FM leans more towards the middle classes and he links this profile to the language and (pop) music of 93FM which resembles other popular FM radio stations more than Melodia. Conversely, ‘at Melodia the intersections with prayers are more constant and the music follows the patterns adopted in the Assembléia de Deus with popular rhythms (*baitão, forró, lambada*) that always speak of “fire” and “power”, generally associated with “the new heaven and the new earth” – common characteristics in the Assembléia de Deus (ibid: 91). My observations confirm the preferences Fonseca describes. Broadly speaking, those people who attended the Igreja Universal listened to 105FM and those that attended the Assembléia de Deus 93FM or Melodia. Most people who attended the Assembléia de Deus to whom I spoke – many of them youngsters - said they listened to 93 FM.

Notwithstanding the advantages of the statistical data gathering and analysis, Fonseca has not included ethnographic accounts of actual radio-listening practices. Such accounts are important because for most inhabitants of the morro there is a difference between what one would like to listen to throughout the day and what is actually heard. As I have tried to show above, there were many households in which a large number of people lived together in a small space. Therefore people often shared a radio and a television. In practical terms, that meant that, while everybody would have their own preferences, they could not always control what was on the radio or television. Bernardo, the young man who I introduced at the beginning of this chapter, lived in a very small wooden shack with his friend Carlos. Carlos had recently become father. He, his fiancée and their baby were living with Carlos in their small shack. Elizabeth attended the Igreja

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243 Audience and consumer research categorizes five consumer groups from A to E, of which A is the ‘wealthiest’. According to IBOPP in Fonseca (1997) the audience of Melodia consisted of 9 percent AB, 29 percent C and 62 percent DE, while 93FM had 8 percent AB 56 percent C and 36 percent DE. This pattern has not changed much but according to the representation of the two radio stations in March 2005 Melodia had 14.6 percent AB, 42.7 percent C and 42.7 percent DE, while 93FM had 23 percent AB, 49 percent C and 28 percent DE. http://www.melodia.com.br/pages/audiencia.php, accessed 25-4-2005 and http://www.radio93.com.br/ibopc/tabela.htm, accessed 25-4-2005

244 While I understand that such a general statistical correlation between income and radio preference is revealing, I think we should be cautious in making causal claims about denomination, preferred genre and income. As I have indicated in Chapter Two, there are differences within the Assembléia de Deus regarding musical performance, depending on the scale of the congregation, the hierarchy and the control.
Universal while Carlos attended the Assembléia de Deus together with Bernardo. Since Elizabeth was mostly at home and she liked listening to 105FM (radio Aleluia) more than any other station, that station was on the most. The others did not mind much, as long as it was a Christian broadcaster.

In other houses, people who did not all belong to the same church or did not all consider themselves evangélicos lived together. Under those circumstances evangélicos often have to cope with the (unpleasant) sounds of others in the domestic sphere, or the other way around. As I described in the previous chapters, many of Maria's children went to different churches, yet not all of them considered themselves evangélico. Everyone did love music though, and they all had to share the one room between the six of them who were living permanently in the very small house. More than once I was present during heated arguments over the music that was on. One day Carla was in the house with her youngest sister who was listening to quite loud gospel music. At a certain moment, Carla could no longer stand it and ran to the radio to put it on another frequency while she shouted: 'Enough of that church music!' Her youngest sister ran back to the radio and turned it back to the gospel music. This continued while both got more and more angry, until finally Maria turned the radio off and threatened them that none would listen anymore if they did not resolve their differences. These examples point to the fact that while radio-listening is often described as an individual exercise, it is not always possible to control what is on in the domestic context. As I will show later on in this chapter, such lack of control is often worrisome for evangélicos. Before I deal with this I will describe the relation between Pentecostalism and radio in more detail.

6.2 The Qualities of Radio

The first time I became aware of the specific place of radio in the lives of many evangélicos was when I had just moved in to the house of my evangelical landlord Jose. When climbing the small concrete stairs, leading up to the apartments, we all had to pass the door of Jose and his wife. One could always tell when they were at home because if they were, the radio was on. He mostly listened to 93FM or he put on an evangelical CD. Jose and his wife liked to listen to the daily debate, an evangelical opinion program in which experts discussed how to comport oneself as an evangélico in an environment.

245 Jose attended the Assembléia de Deus in Pavão-Pavãozinho
fraught with worldly attractions. Intriguingly, they had no television, something which made them an exception in the morro. When I asked why, he said: 'I don’t like television, I don’t have time for it. Besides what I hear on the radio programs is that television does not fit well with a Christian life. I’d rather read the Bible. The Bible is my television.'

Even though many Christians did have a television and watched it regularly with pleasure, the point is that Jose felt that the television was problematic. He could not work while watching and what it presented was not good in his view. Jose felt that watching television practically opposed Bible reading - it was either television or the Bible - but radio was not at all problematic. In fact, he trusted the evangelical experts on 93FM when they said specific programs on television were bad for evangélicos.

In the previous chapters I have described several important features of Pentecostalism in the morro. Here I wish to relate these features to the role of radio and other electro-acoustic technologies. I have argued that the spoken language is crucial to the success of Pentecostalism, particularly because of the emotional character of the conversion narratives, the sermons and the testimonies (Chapter Three and Five). Speaking and hearing is not the same as believing, but the language which adherents employ - its content and form - creates a shared understanding of reality that persuades plenty people to change their (religious) practices and start attending a Pentecostal church.

As I have described earlier in this chapter, the first electronic mass media Pentecostal churches employed were radios and nowadays several of the most popular radio stations of Rio de Janeiro are considered evangelical radio stations. The three radio stations I described here: Melodia FM, 93FM and Radio 105FM (Akluia) all play gospel music throughout the day. However, they also feature pastors who deliver sermons or engage in conversations with listeners. Melodia and 93FM both broadcast a debate between 11:00 and 12:00. In these debates contemporary social issues are discussed with (Protestant) experts so as to provide the listeners with answers about how to practice their faith in a complex society. At night radio 93FM broadcasts what it calls a culto doméstico - a domestic service - and Melodia broadcasts its Cristo em casa projeto - Christ at Home project -, which it describes as 'a real culto at home.'

Radio 105FM (Akluia)
broadcasts the words of the charismatic leader, Bispo Macedo, at noon and at night in a program called _palavra amiga_ – a friendly word.247

I would suggest that it is no accident the titles of these programs refer to the domestic sphere. On the basis of the work of Kracauer, amongst others, Kate Lacey argues that radio is closely connected to the experience of domesticity and intimacy. The rise of the popular use of radio occurred around the same time as the establishment of the living-room as the locus of family life. Radio, an apparatus which brings events that take place faraway into the living-room, reproduces a sense of domestic privacy, while at the same moment it overcomes the threshold between the public and the private. Shaun Moores says the following about the introduction of radio in Britain:

> The wishes created by an increasingly domesticated yet ‘outward looking’ style of daily living – the desire for a sense of home and security, but also for a contact with the world beyond – served to define broadcasting as a technology of mobile privatization. Radio consolidated and accentuated an ongoing historical process which (following Donzelot 1980) we might call ‘the withdrawal to interior space’ – and...the medium gave listeners access to a common calendar of quotidian rituals and great public occasions. Its contents, schedules and modes of address invited household consumers to ‘imagine themselves’ as part of a constructed national community (Moores 1993: 77).

Nevertheless, Moores also urges us to be cautious: ‘If broadcasting was to “capture” a place in the times and spaces of everyday life – to win an accepted and taken for granted position in domestic cultures - then this victory was less then immediate (ibid).’ In the case of the introduction of the ‘wireless’ in Britain, there were considerable disturbances in the daily routines and among family members. As with the fights between Maria’s daughters, power relations within the family were also being renegotiated in relation to the new device.

Not unlike the access to ‘a common calendar of quotidian rituals and great public occasions’, Brazilian audiences of the evangelical stations can also participate in a culto that is held somewhere else. This effect of radio particularly exemplifies its role in modern society. Kate Lacey interpreted Walther Benjamin’s work on mechanical reproduction of art in the light of radio. She noticed that several of Benjamin’s notions on the effects of the mechanical reproduction of art in the modern age can be equally applied to radio:

247 For a detailed analysis of the introduction of the word _amiga_ in the discourse of Macedo and the Igreja Universal at large see Kramer (2001: 151).
The radio offered access to a public world, compressing the distance in space between the listener and the event, and at the same time making the perception of that event accessible to a numberless audience of listeners, and celebrating the distance overcome in transmitting those events into the home. The microphone, like the camera, had traversed the aural landscape, giving the broadcast a sense of 'second nature'. The loudspeaker, often designed to blend with the fabric and furnishings of the home, offered the illusion of an equipment-free reproduction of reality. (Indeed, although the distance between spectator and object is always apparent in visual media, sounds, especially music, seem to enter the body and prompt a visceral response.) Moreover, the radio wrenched the sounds of concerts, speeches, plays and public events from the 'domain of tradition' and reproduced them in the listener's 'own particular situation' (Benjamin, 1992a: 215).

Reality was adjusted to the masses, and the masses to reality, with all that that implied for new modes of perception and for new ways of thinking (Lacey 2000: 285).

While such a connection between new mass media techniques and common perception urges us to take the critiques on the relation between the development of such a new electro-acoustic technique that eased the monotonous work of laborers and the advent of the capitalist production process seriously (Lacey 2000: 286-287), here I cannot do justice to the extensive work done by for example Adorno and Horkheimer (1973) or Kracauer (1995) on the historical relation between distraction, boredom and the capitalist society. Nevertheless, it was remarkable how often I observed people at work listening to evangelical radio. In one of the places I visited regularly, the workplace of *Corte Arte* in CIEP, I always picked up the sound of evangelical radio at the background, mostly 93FM. The six women who worked there attended different churches and congregations ranging from the Baptist church in the morro to the Assembléia de Deus in Leblon. Yet all of them considered themselves evangélicos and most of them attended Pentecostal churches. While visiting them, chatting and joking about things that were happening in the morro and in the city, I was often surprised by the oscillations between their attention for the radio broadcast, their work and the questions I or others posed them. Sewing away, they would often pay attention to me and to others briefly and then return to work on their machines as they softly sang along with a gospel song on the radio. I was never exactly certain if they had lost track of any three of the phenomena that demanded their attention. I believe they had not. Besides offering a description of the listening practices in the morro, this example implies an interesting link between capitalist

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production processes, labor and religious radio in Brazil that is worth investigating on another occasion.

In addition to such collective listening practices, during work and in or outside the home, I mostly heard from people that they listened to evangelical radio on their own. At home, people listened while they were cleaning, washing the dishes or performing any other household activity. Consequently, such listening practices were related to the home. Interestingly, I never heard anyone who said they substituted going to a culto in a church for a culto on the radio. While this does not mean it never happens elsewhere or that people not listen to these programs, it does imply that in the morro the culto doméstico was not generally seen as a substitute for the ‘real thing’. When I asked people what they listened to on the radio, they generally told me they listened to the louvores (gospel music) and the debates. Referring to the latter, people often pointed out they could learn plenty from them. Especially when an ‘authority’ spoke, these programs were considered very useful to their edificação (edification). People of the Igreja Universal also often mentioned the daily program of their charismatic leader Edir Macedo, which I will discuss in detail below. Before that, I wish to return to the particularities of radio-listening and its relation to Pentecostal broadcasting.

Several other authors have described particularities of radio-listening that are related to the remarks of Lacey above. David Hendy (2000), for example, builds on the work of Douglas (1999) and of Thorn (1997) to argue that the lack of images in radio listening provides for a sense of greater emotional experience than is often the case with television watching (and listening). This is not only because we are forced to imagine what we hear:

In other words, it is not just that radio ‘stimulates the imagination’ but that the innate pleasurable of such cognitive activity helps forge a strong emotional attachment to the radio medium itself, even in a predominantly televisual age (Hendy 2000: 119).

Besides paying attention to this cognitive faculty, Hendy refers to another quality of electro-acoustic technologies Douglas has described, the fact that the sounds they produce surround us: ‘Sight, Douglas argues, may allow us some power to gaze and dissect at a distance, to be apart of our surroundings; sound, in contrast “envelopes” us, pouring into us, whether we want it or not, including us, involving us (Hendy 2000:
Despite criticism of McLuhan’s distinction between ‘hot’ and ‘cold’ media—particularly the idea that ‘cool’ media like television would gradually replace ‘hot’ media like radio (Hendy 2000: 1) —McLuhan was aware of the particularities of radio, which the authors above also have noted.

Radio is provided by its cloak of invisibility, like any other medium. It comes to us ostensibly with person-to-person directness that is private and intimate, while in more urgent fact, it is really a subliminal echo chamber of magical power to touch remote and forgotten chords... Even more than telephone or telegraph, radio is that extension of the central nervous system that is matched only by human speech itself... The crossing of these two most intimate and potent of human technologies could not possibly have failed to provide some extraordinary new shapes of for human experience (McLuhan 1964: 264).

This evidence shows that various people have been struck by the sense of intimacy and emotional attachment that radio listening enforces. However, few people have attempted to link this particular quality of radio and electro-acoustic technology to Pentecostalism.

6.3 The Elective Affinity between Radio and Pentecostalism

Jacques Derrida suggested there exists an elective affinity between Christianity and mass media (Derrida 2001: 56-93). He argues that, in contrast to Judaism or Islam, the merger between Christianity and televisual technologies produces the ‘real presence’ of something that is otherwise mostly spoken about. The televised Eucharist and the televised miracles, ‘the thing itself, the event takes place in front of a camera... the thing actually takes place “live” as a religious event, as a sacred event. In other religions religion is spoken about, but the sacred event itself does not take place in the very flesh of those who present themselves before the camera (ibid: 58, emphasis in the text).’ Derrida argues the intersection of Christian movements and televisual media demonstrates a particular connection between faith and knowledge that hitherto was not as obvious:

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249 See also Schmidt 2000: 34
250 Radio would be considered hot in relation to a cool medium such as television: “A hot medium is one that extends one single sense in “high definition”. High definition is the state of being well filled with data... hot media do not leave so much to be filled in or completed by the audience. Hot media are, therefore low in participation, and cool media are high in participation or completion by the audience (McLuhan 1964: 36).”
There is no need any more to believe, one can see. But seeing is always organized by a technical (mediatic and mediatizing) structure that supposes the appeal to faith. The simulation of “live” transmission which has you to believe what you cannot manage to believe: that you are before “the thing itself”; you are there, at the Gulf War; there are reporters there, with their cameras, who transmit to you live without intervention without technical interposition… Now one knows very well – and this is the most rudimentary knowledge concerning what television is in reality – that there is never anything live. All of that is produced [monté] in a fraction of a second, in studios where one can instantaneously frame, efface, reconstruct, manipulate [truquer]. The presumption remains, and with it, the common prejudice, the structural credulity that television, by contrast with printed newspapers and radio, allows you to see the thing itself, to see what touches with the Evangelical dimension; one can almost put one’s finger on the wound, touching; you can touch; that’s coming one day; we’ll be able not only to see but to touch. Belief is both suspended in the name of intuition and of knowledge, and (at the same time, naturally) reinforced…There is no need to believe; one believes; no effort is necessary because no doubt is possible…This is the argumentative strategy that is actually used in all the milieus of proselytism, of conversion, of appeals to particular, determinate religions…Believe me immediately because there is no need to believe blindly, since certitude is there in the immediacy of the senses (Derrida 2001: 64).

We will return to this important affinity between televisual technology and Pentecostalism in the next chapter. Here I would like to suggest that if the promise of touch and of non-mediation (‘real presence’) lies at the root of this elective affinity between Christianity and the mass media, consequently perhaps radio and other electro-acoustic technologies deserve more attention than is given in many studies about Pentecostalism in Brazil. While it is clear that vision has a particular place in the historical discernments between faith and knowledge in modern society - and it is this discernment which Derrida is trying to unravel for us at here -, I would like to argue that electro-acoustic technology used by Pentecostals produces a similar experience of non-mediation and touch that verifies the ‘real presence’ of the divine.

Though I do not intend to describe in detail a hierarchy of the senses and its transformations in modern society, several writers on ‘religion and/as media’ (Stolow 2005) have suggested a more complex relation between the production of (religious) truth, mass media and the senses (Schmidt 2000; Hirschkind 2004; Stolow 2005). Schmidt especially eloquently reminds us that placing orality in a subordinate position to vision in Christianity is to follow the Enlightenment critique of religion too closely:

Religious ways of knowing that emphasize the aliveness of sounds, the power of scriptures to speak, the capacity of music to heal or to inspire
ecstasy, the voices out there that become doubled voices within, and the sympathetic vibrations that connect one body to another are immersed in inescapable relationships of exchange. Such animated forms of hearing are not mere vestiges or survivals, are not "archaic" or primitive,” but reveal still crucial elements of the tangled reciprocities of modern perception and signification...Religious affirmation of presence, whether in hearing and being heard or in seeing and being seen, need to be taken seriously on their own terms, but, at the same time, the acknowledgement of that intersubjective framing is not intended to free such experiences from the contextual densities of culture and power (Schmidt 2000: 35).

The placing of emphasis on the ear in this chapter is not to say that electro-acoustic media do not invoke other senses, on the contrary. The senses are firmly entangled with one another. In addition, following Hirschkind’s discussion of Collingwood’s ideas on synaesthetic experience, ‘in listening to music or poetry people enjoy imaginary experiences completely outside the realm of sound, such as visual, tactile, kinesthetic and olfactory (Hirschkind 2001: 628).’ This is, above all, an attempt to link the seemingly equipment-free reproduction of reality and the visceral experience of sound – both features of electro-acoustic technology – with features of Pentecostalism in Brazil.

Such a connection is plausible because many of the spiritual encounters – negative and positive – of Pentecostals are acoustic. In their conversations and testimonies, people often tell of the voice of the devil and the voice of God Who has spoken to them (we will see an example below). Even if people did not hear a voice, they often said that God was trying to speak (falar) to them directly in such and such event. What I wish to suggest here is that there is an elective affinity between the Pentecostal discourse, the emotional character of the Pentecostal speech and electro-acoustic technologies. The emotional experience of radio listening, the experience of nearness and intimacy that radio produces, is especially suitable to the emotional character of Pentecostal language, a language that is often addressed to an individual who is in distress or wracked by emotional problems (Campos 1997; Kramer 2001; Mafra 2002).

Moreover, I wish to suggest that the seemingly equipment-free reproduction and visceral experiences of sound link up very well with the idea that God is directly accessible through the Holy Spirit without any other mediation. Remember, for example, some of the people I presented in the second chapter who felt that through louvor they could transmit the Holy Spirit to other people in the morro.

251 Collingwood 1966 cited in Hirschkind (2001: 628). The insights of Laura Marks (2000) who argues that visual media such as film spur memory of multisensory experience - for example touch and smell – may also confirm the synaesthetic approach to sound. See also Michael Bull in Erlman (2004).
While she does not discuss the role of radio in particular, I believe it is no accident that Clara Mafra (2002) starts her book on the performative power of words in the Igreja Universal with a radio fragment of a conversation between a pastor and a ‘client’. Besides Mafra, many authors who have written about the Igreja Universal in Brazil highlight the great importance of the performative language in rituals of the church (Campos 1997; Kramer 2001; Mafra 2002). Kramer and Campos also point to the power of language in relation to other practices of mediation in the Igreja Universal. In the Igreja Universal a heavy emphasis is placed on objects (pamphlets, envelopes but also stones, salt and other objects) and fluids (oil and water mostly) as Biblical mediators of the Holy Spirit and containers of curative powers. By means of their words and prayers the Bispos bless and consecrate these objects and fluids, after which the powers can be transmitted to individuals (Kramer 2001). Such powers of words to transform objects into mediators of the power of the Holy Spirit are also transmissible through radio and television. In television and radio broadcasts, the pastors of the Igreja Universal invite the audience to place a cup of water near the radio or on the television. Through the instrument of the oração forte – powerful prayer – the water obtains the curative powers of the Holy Spirit. At the end of the program, the audience is invited to drink the water together with the pastor and receive God’s blessing. Campos states: ‘In the IURD they believe that the temple [of the Igreja Universal] radiates (irradia) a «vital fluids» channeled through hertzian waves in the direction of radio or television receivers, materialized in the cup of water…’ (Campos 1997: 361). Patricia Guimarães (1997) tells of an experience of a woman who was watching a television program of the Igreja Universal on TV Record. During the program a woman called to speak with the pastor who hosted the program. She began telling him that she suffered from an illness and that she was thinking of committing suicide. The pastor ordered her to put a cup of water on the television, after which they prayed together to bless the water. After she drank the water a demon manifested itself and he took over the voice of the woman on the telephone. Unperturbed, the pastor began speaking firmly to the demon over the telephone. ‘Just by listening to the voice of the pastor on the telephone he [the demon] was burned (quiemado)’ (Guimarães 1997: 24).’ Such transmissions of divine powers through radio waves and electro-acoustic devices confirm a different kind of elective affinity between the mass media and Pentecostalism.

252 Mostly in relation to an oferta: the donation of money. I will not go into the important place of money in the Igreja Universal in depth. For further reading see Oro&Sémán 1999; Mariano 1999; Campos 1999; Kramer 2001.
Another example of such a link appears when reception of the Holy Spirit is imagined in relation to contemporary technological reception devices. Here I would like to mention briefly the performance of Pastor Ouriel de Jesus, who preached at a congresso de jovens of the Assembléia de Deus, which was broadcast on the 7th of July 2002 in the program Cristo o Vencedor. While the pastor preached to the crowd, he asked them to raise their hands as if they were an airwave reception dish (antena parabólica). He showed them how to raise their arms wide and shouted: 'are you seeing it, are seeing you, now receive!' While the program itself was broadcast on television and the pastor had to show how to hold one's body to receive the Holy Spirit, the reference to the antena parabólica suggest that the Holy Spirit is transmitted in the same way radio and television-waves do and that no other technological medium except the body is needed to receive the Spirit. In other words, the reception of sound, music and voice, reflect and duplicate the feeling of direct non-mediated reception of the Holy Spirit because electro acoustic technologies enhance a feeling of presence, nearness, directness and intimacy. I would like to suggest that it is this electro acoustic experience that enhances the imagination of the body as a receiver of the Holy Spirit in much the same way we receive sounds mediated by electro-acoustic technology.

6.4 Listening to the Radio

The intimacy of radio and its affinity with Pentecostalism is not merely a theoretical observation. Pragmatically the producers of evangelical media are also very aware of this affinity. A good illustration is the owner of the record company MK Publicidade, who is also the owner of the evangelical radio station 93FM:

Radio is a much warmer (quentel vehicle because it allows people to listen while doing other things. People may come together in groups. Moreover, radio is a warm communication instrument. Television is very cold because it is egotistical, television separates. Instead of uniting it separates...Now, from the evangelical perspective it is not necessary for the medium to create communitarian bonds, because salvation is individual; it is personal; it is the framework of values (tábu de valores) of each and every individual, so television is a very strong instrument indeed. I have seen programs, sermons very well constructed, strong messages that touch...radio is warm...it carries a much bigger appeal. With radio you feel much more

233 See, for example Steven Connor's work on the mirroring of communicational technologies in Spiritualism of the nineteenth and twentieth century (Connor 1999).
involved in the communicator, there is intimacy (intimidade). (Arolde de Oliveira in Fonseca 1997: 194, translation mine)

Besides my awareness of the many people who listened to the radio, I was also drawn to evangelical radio when I discovered that evangélicos in the morro often understood radio as an instrument that put them in touch with God, so as to achieve a divine state of being. For example, Rodrigo, one of my friends of the Assembléia de Deus, understood listening to the radio as part of the search for the Holy Spirit. When I asked Rodrigo how this search proceeded exactly, he said the following:

I began to fast. I began to separate myself. Sanctification, from saint (santo), means separated; to sanctify means to separate; sanctification means separation. I began to separate myself, fornication I already no longer indulged in, you know, Jesus had already liberated me. I said from now on only when I am married. That was already determined, that particular desire was taken from me. Then I began to search for the Holy Spirit, fasting, praying, reading the Bible. Early in the morning I woke up to pray. Sometimes I went to sleep very late because I was praying, listening to the word of God on the radio. I made a promise to God, I will only stop fasting after I am married, I kept searching. One week before I was married I received the Holy Spirit.

An interesting aspect of this quote is that he mentions radio as an instrument to separate himself in the religious sense of the word. He describes radio as an essential part of his search for the Holy Spirit and his effort to be in touch with the Word of God.

During my research in the morro I was fortunate to be able to visit the houses of several families regularly. There I could observe people watching television and listening to the radio. The house of Maria in Cantagalo proved to be a very fertile ground for observing the practical uses of radio, television and other electro-technical devices. Like so many other households in the morro, Maria had one som with a radio, a CD-player and a double audio-tape-player placed in the living-room beside the television. Her sons

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254 For people who attend the Assembléia de Deus, the wish to and expectation of being baptized by the Holy Spirit often follows the acceptance of Jesus and baptism in water. Since not all people experience such a baptism immediately or shortly after their decision to accept Jesus and join a congregation, people often feel they need to make an extra effort to live life according to Biblical norms.

255 Nevertheless, we should not forget that what may be experienced by some as a very intimate experience with the Word (or sound) of God, others experience as an intrusion in their private space. Remember, for example the fight between Maria's youngest daughters I described above. Furthermore, his emphasis on separation in the religious sense also points to the quality of radio as an electro-acoustic instrument that may help to separate someone in the physical sense of the word. Electro-acoustic devices can also create a sense of intimacy because they block other sounds in the environment; they can create a wall of sound that separates someone physically. Seemingly paradoxically, this feeling of intimacy (and separation) is achieved by means of an inherently public medium.
Gilberto and Paulo, both congregating at the Assembléia de Deus, were very fond of the debates on 93FM and listened to them frequently. Gilberto had dropped out of school and was working as an office boy at a video-store, which meant he had to deliver video-tapes all around Ipanema and Lagoa. Paulo had returned to school (segundo grau) at night and was trying to get his business as estofador (upholsterer) going. It was his wont to offer his services in the streets of Ipanema, hoping that passers-by would contract him.

Their working hours meant both were at home in the morning and regularly I found either one of them on the couch in the living-room of their home. Sometimes they would be watching video or television, but I also often found them listening with their eyes closed to the debates. Gilberto also had a small transistor radio he took to the bedroom in times of tumult or when others were using the radio. When Paulo was not listening to the debates or evangelical music, he also loved to listen to Radio Tupi in the company of his mother Maria. The program Patrulha da Cidade (City Patrol), broadcast between 12:00 and 13:15, featured violent and spectacular stories of the city, such as robberies and assaults, but also amazing rescues or strange occurrences. Paulo’s preference for both programs - mediated spectacular violence and religious debates - was not uncommon, and could best be analyzed in relation to each other, as I have argued in Chapter Three.

In general I found that the people who attended the Assembléia de Deus were quite pragmatic in their choices of sermon-audition, compared to the people of the Igreja Universal. Most of the latter preferred the words of their leader Edir Macedo above all others. Young people of the Assembléia de Deus exchanged video- and audio-tapes they thought were good, but they did not intensively debate preachers or specific sermons. Paulo, Gilberto and many of their friends of the Assembléia de Deus had several CDs of pastors of different Pentecostal churches and they copied all kinds of tapes from friends and church members. Contrary to many people of the Igreja Universal whom I knew, they and their friends had tapes from many Pentecostal preachers that were not affiliated to the Assembléia de Deus. Paulo and Gilberto, for example, had a CD from R.R. Soares, who is the leader of the neo-Pentecostal church Igreja Internacional da Graça de Deus. The title of the CD was: 'Tactics the Devil Uses to Lead Us Astray from God’ and they liked it very much. Once they had been listening to a tape of David Miranda, the charismatic leader of the Pentecostal church Deus é Amor, on the som in their home.

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256 Radio Tupi Rio de Janeiro AM 1280khz
257 "Técnicas que o diabo usa para afastar-nos de Deus." In the next chapter I will describe Pastor R.R. Soares in more detail.
On the tape, Pastor David Miranda preached fervently against watching television, when all of a sudden their television broke down. Despite the tragic loss of the television, everybody was laughing about the incident when I entered and Maria shouted to me: 'The television broke down while the pastor was preaching. The pastor said you should not watch television. It is better to sell it and buy bread.'

When several of my evangelical friends had mentioned their interest in the debates on 93FM and I had seen that not only Paolo and Gilberto listened to it, but also my evangelical landlord Jose and the young evangélicos who ran the biroshka, I collected a sample of the debates. All the samples, which I recorded with the help of Gilberto, featured one or two pastors and experts (psychologists, teachers, attorneys), who reacted to questions sent to the program by listeners. The pastors/experts generally belonged to different Protestant churches ranging from the Igreja Batista to the Assembléia de Deus, however rarely to the Igreja Universal. Questions often addressed interpretations of the Bible in the light of worldly matters or questions of comportment in and outside church. Among the questions in the sample was, for example, the question how one should behave during the part of the culto when the louvores were sang. Should one behave and move as one felt appropriate or should one follow the choreography of the pastor? In this particular broadcast the pastors reacted negatively to a tight control over the bodily movements of the congregation.

6.5 Broadcasting the Voice of the Pastor

Another example I wish to discuss briefly comes from the broadcast of 8 November, 2002. A woman had called the radio station to testify to the sexual abuse she had suffered in her childhood and her inability to come to terms with the experience until she accepted that the Lord was at her side. When He guided her through her recovery, she recognized that only Jesus could liberate such suffering. Pastor Silas Malafaia, a well-known media-Pastor, was one of the guests in the radio broadcast and he reacted to her story in the following manner:

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258 I recorded ten days of transmissions from 4-11-2002 till 15-11-2002
259 Debate 93FM 14-11-2002
I was listening to this sister (irmã) talking. I learned the following: I know that there are things in life that are traumatic, terrible, extremely violent but I also believe in a higher power. If I did not believe I would not have delivered my life to the Lord. I like to say that the evangelho does not provide a magic formula. The big question when you go to the doctor is not if he hands you a prescription, the question is if you are willing to follow the prescription that he has prescribed. The question of the evangelho is not if you know and are willing to admit that God is great or so, but that you apply to your life the prescription of the Creator. Paulo was violated, not sexually, but he was beaten; he was judged; suffered from psychological abandonment; he was banished from the city. But, if you read for example Acts 13:52, it says the following: “And the disciples were filled with joy and with the Holy Spirit.” I think that the powerful presence of God in our lives, if I grant Him space, can overcome many things, I can defeat many traumas. She [the sister] said something very important. Do you know that the therapeutic process starts with speaking (falar). When you speak you verbalize you throw it outside that is why praying is the best psychotherapy in the world. This why Paul says in Philippians 4-6: “Do not be anxious about anything, but in everything, by prayer and petition, with thanksgiving, present your requests to God.” I think that if a person was violated that person has to speak: “I am hurt, I was violated, tear this from my heart.” That person has to say this and search out serious people to talk to about it. It does not have to be a psychologist. Serious people from the church, seek out your pastor and talk. When she speaks she will get rid of that which is inside her and that is therapeutic...And something else, speak to God, fill yourself with the Holy Spirit and you will be able to defeat many things. (Silas Malafaia in the debate on 93FM, 8-11-2002, translation mine)

Pastor Silas Malafaia of the Assembléia de Deus in Penha, Rio de Janeiro was one of the best-known and most popular media-preachers among people of the Assembléia de Deus in the morro. I met several people who had his video-tapes, audio-tapes or CDs of him. I have chosen this radio fragment to highlight the manner in which he and other pastors use Biblical passages and apply these to the autobiography of the listener. This happens in much the same way as Susan Harding has described for the fundamentalist Baptists in the United States (Harding 2000). Harding eloquently describes the technique of witnessing, whereby the ‘saved’ witness aims to provide the listener with a new sense of reality. “The reality, or truth constituted in witnessing is in part a linguistic one: the supernatural manifests itself as God's voice and his spirit is communicated and experienced through words (ibid: 37, emphasis in the text).”

While Harding has not written specifically about radio, I think she has made it very clear what the importance of style is to proselytism. The techniques that Brazilian pastors display are very similar to the techniques Harding describes and such techniques are also applied in radio broadcasts. Though I will not go into detail into the rhetorical
movements Malafaia uses (as Harding does in the case of the fundamentalist Baptists), his combination of Biblical stories and proverbs with common-sense knowledge of psychotherapy and the woman's autobiography can be understood an attempt to place the life of the sister (and consequently those of the listeners) into a Biblical perspective. Through such discursive techniques listeners are invited to narrate their own life in Christian terms and to 'approach the Bible as a living reality (Harding 2000: 34)'.

I have also chosen this broadcast fragment by Malafaia to affirm the importance of the voice. Apart from the content of his response to the story of the sister (irmã), what struck me was that during this response the voice of Malafaia acquired an authoritative tone. Especially when quoting from the Bible, his volume rose and the timbre of his voice darkened a little. In general, in this radio broadcast but also on television and on his video-tapes Malafaia often addresses the audience in an authoritative tone while referring to the Bible lying in front of him on the desk.260 His style of preaching - the slight tremble in his voice, the emotional, almost aggressive tone - I heard over and over again in churches of the Assembléia de Deus. It was this particular style of preaching common to the churches of the Assembléia de Deus that was recognizable on the radio and affirmed Malafaia's authority to speak in the name of God.

Loudness is not the sole characteristic of this style. There is also a certain decisiveness that leaves little room for doubt or relativism concerning certain moral questions. More than once, I heard pastors and preachers shout angrily that we had to choose: 'We either belong to the people of God (o povo de Deus) and follow the Bible, or do as we please and belong to the satanas.' At first, I had trouble understanding the anger. Until I understood (I felt) that the anger expressed the Biblical authority of God to rule over us and, subsequently the authority of the preacher to mediate that message. The style of preaching was something that people could copy and appropriate gradually through mimesis. Young people, mostly men but sometimes women, were often given the chance to practise this style in church, reading and interpreting Biblical passages. Some could even conduct a culto de mocidade (service for the young people). Once, I even heard an eight-year-old boy preaching and shouting in this particular style on the stage in a culto of the Igreja Assembléia de Deus dos Últimos Dias at the quadra de Pavão. While it occurred to me it was difficult for a child of that age to maintain public authority - his physical appearance worked firmly against him - the content of his words, his tone and

260 Fonseca describes his preaching style as such: 'The majority of his words are accusations and grudges. He bangs the table, gesticulating prolifically, he uses the medium well (Fonseca 1997: 105)'
style more than made up for such a lack. His performance underlined the importance of style in the building of religious authority.261

Besides the voices of preachers of the Assembléia de Deus, I often heard the voice of Bispo Macedo echoing around the morro. It may seem remarkable that the charismatic leader of the Igreja Universal was only on television occasionally, while he could be heard on the radio every day of the week. Cogently, the choice to broadcast his voice on the radio instead of on the television is exactly what marks the affinity between Pentecostalism and radio I have spoken about above. Like the influential owner of 93FM, the producers of the Igreja Universal were highly conscious of this affinity:

We discovered that radio is a means of communication that has no equal. There is nothing like radio. Television has the power of the image, but it does not have the force of radio...Our dream is that the evangelical churches in Brazil will discover what it means to have a radio station. (Bispo Rodrigues in Fonseca 1997: 195)

Many people of the Igreja Universal listened to 105 FM, which featured Macedo’s program, *palavra amiga*, daily. The program, broadcast at noon, displayed several characteristics similar to the cultos of the Igreja Universal, particularly its emphasis on individual suffering.262 For example, the announcement of the start of the program on 15 February 2003 features soft violin music as background to a warm voice that says:

At a moment humanity suffers from so much lovelessness, from hunger, from wars, from the drugs (*tóxicos*) that nourish the violence in our city this radio station brings you moments of love, peace and happiness by means of a program that is made with affection for your heart. [violin music swells up] and now for you ‘a friendly word’ (*palavra amiga*) from Bispo Macedo.

Then Macedo starts speaking softly in a comforting manner, accompanied by piano/synthesizer music:

Hello my friends, may God bless all of you abundantly in the name of the Lord Jesus. We will enter into the presence of God, all of you who hear me this moment and who are in pain, perhaps in the hospital, in prison or

261 Despite the stress placed on sermons, I did not find the same intensity of moral debate about the practices of listening as, for example, Hirschkind describes for his informants in Cairo. In public people listened carefully when an interesting passage happened to come up on the radio or tape. Certainly people displayed their own routinized ways of listening and bodily comportment, but I did not see, and nobody told me, that there was a specific physical composure required. I also did not witness the kind of interactive participation Hirschkind describes in the case of Egyptian sermon listeners (Hirschkind 2001).

262 I collected a sample of ten broadcasts of the program *Palavra Amiga* recorded between December 2002 and February 2003.
perhaps at home, perhaps driving in your car. You can join this prayer, you put your faith in the God of Abraham, in the God of Isaac, in the God of Israel, and you will receive an answer directly after this prayer.

[The piano/synthesizer music goes up in volume briefly, until the prayer begins]

Lord, our God and Father, Father of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. In his name we enter Your presence. For the benefit of those people who can hear me, anywhere in the world, persons who are living only because they are alive, many of them, my Lord, have no reasons to live, they are people who carry within them sadness, agony and pain. These people are oppressed and depressed. They have lived only to stay alive. Because since their early days, very early when they were children, they began to suffer because of several causes. But the Lord has not made humans to suffer, ... There are those who teach that it is karma or destiny or approval. There are even those that say that people are purified through their suffering. If this suffering brings purification, my Father, I prefer to stay unclean. I prefer to live impurely, because I was not born to suffer and no one was born to suffer my Father. People were born to express Your Glory in this world. The Lord has said I come to bring life, life is the objective of the Lord in the hearts of all of us. There are so many people who suffer because they do not know Your Word, they do not know Your objective with them. Holy Spirit, I ask you come and descend upon your people. First tear away these futile, useless thoughts, we may even say stupid thoughts. Because these are not Godly thoughts. Godly thoughts are thoughts of life of victory, of laughter and happiness. O my Father I humbly ask You to touch all the people who hear me at this moment. Touch all those who participate in the prayer directly or indirectly, liberate them we ask You and thank You and who believes with all his heart say amen and thanks to God.

[Piano/synthesizer music swells up once more and a song/ballad starts]

After this opening prayer and music — to enter the presence of God — Macedo focuses on the Book of Revelations and the Apocalypse. His tone of voice changes from an emotionally soothing tone to an informative tone, which displays the authority of a theologian rather than a comforting healer. Macedo has a very persuasive radio performance. He often addresses the listener personally, as if he is talking to him or her personally. The tone of his voice during the prayer is soft and he speaks in a soothing manner while piano music is heard in the background. (He can also speak firmly and even angrily, displaying the same kind of authority that characterizes preachers of the Assembléia de Deus). The emotion Macedo expresses in his broadcasting is accompanied

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263 In this particular broadcast he focused on the Book of Revelations, in other broadcast he discusses other topics or Bible interpretations.
by references to the personal suffering of people who live in difficult circumstances, which arguably makes his evangelical message very compelling:

In IURD television and radio programs, it is as if the pastor, by his choice of words, background music, conversational tone of voice, and indexing of the roles of speaker and listener, sought to signal and establish a sympathetic connection with his audience. This “direct” style of announcing is a feature of broadcast media, which addresses an imagined listener and his “demands, gaze, and responsiveness” (Goffman 1981: 235, 241). Mário Justino (1995: 47-48), in his memoir of his experiences as a IURD pastor, describes the qualities behind the church’s radio and televisual success: “We worked directly with the emotions of people. For this reason many people affirm that when they listen to the radio they feel as if the pastor were speaking directly with them” (Kramer 2001: 149-150).

While Justino presents these qualities primarily in the light of his attempt to ‘unmask’ the manipulative techniques of the Igreja Universal, among many young obreiros in the morro these attempts to condition the modes of address were not considered manipulative. Instead they were seen as ways of helping people who suffered from all sorts of problems. One of the best-known programs of the Igreja Universal on their television station Rede Record in Rio de Janeiro is O Ponto de Luz (The Moment of Clarity), of which the S.O.S. Espiritual is an important feature. The S.O.S. Espiritual consists of the possibility for the audience to call and talk to the Bispo about their personal problems. In Ponto de Luz, they would often invite an ex-feitiçaria or ex-macumbeira (mostly women) to talk about their past involvement in Candomblé or Umbanda and describe how their lives had been ruined because of this. Sometimes they would show dark and hazy images of people with candles skulking in cemeteries, but a great deal of the program showed a pastor or Bispo who was talking to the people who called to talk about their spiritual/psychological problems. During the calls the Bispo addressed the people often while looking directly at the camera.

When I asked a young obreiro which persons he thought watched this program, he said: ‘People who are depressed, who don’t sleep at night. These programs are more for those who don’t sleep, who are depressed. They put on the television and there they see it. They look at S.O.S. Espiritual, then they call, looking for help.’ Another obreiro of the Igreja Universal saw this program as an excellent example of the manner in which

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264 Fonseca (2003) refers to exactly the same quote of Justino to explain the focus on the negative aspects in the lives of the audience by the Bispós and Pastors (Fonseca 2003: 42).
one should talk to other people and he watched it primarily in order to learn the techniques:

O Ponto de Luz. I try to watch that. I try to learn something from it. I try to sum up the program to study how to converse with the youngsters. Because I am not the only one who watches it, the youngsters also watch it. I have to understand that preaching so I can pass it to the youngsters... Ponto de Luz is a program that shows you the truth. They try to attend (attendender) people “live”. They try to demonstrate the truth, the difference between good and bad. There is a God who can do everything, but there is also the bad that unfortunately can also do everything, or almost at least. It is a program that helps you spiritually, it informs you and it also functions as a lesson. You learn how to deal with a certain situations. If you watch that program it often shows you what to do. I think that is the most important program of the day.

I always thought the format of Ponto de Luz resembled a radio program more than a television program. People sat in a row at a long desk in the studio with a microphone in front of them and there were hardly any visual effects, just the occasional zooming in and out on the pastor or the guests. I thought it was a bit dull, until I understood that this was probably the reason for its success. It is the dialogue between the pastor and the caller, which is most important. Eric Kramer says the following about the mode of address in programs of the Igreja Universal:

...the IURD’s programs share a mode of addressing audiences which ranges from a common set of lexical terms to narrative frames and formats which presuppose, in Goffman’s language, a certain “footing” (ibid.) in relation to the listening audience of potential and actual converts. The “production format” (Goffman 1981: 144) of the announcer/Pastor’s speaker role is one where the “author” and “principal” modalities are aligned with corporate and biblical referents. The pastor speaks from a position of authority for the IURD and more generally, in the name of the Bible and God. His words and the tone, rhythm, and inflection of his voice resemble those of other pastors in the Universal Church, especially those of bishop Macedo. (Kramer 2001

While the images of the pastors are often very important, the mode of speaking is crucial to the translation of psychological and physical problems to Biblical passages. In addition, the emotional tone of the caller in distress (calling from somewhere ‘out there’) left much to the imagination on the part of the audience. The story of the caller begs for an empathic response and it is the Bispo or pastor who gives it. The pastor or Bispo who attends the call, speaks while facing the camera so as to address the caller personally and directly, while simultaneously he is addressing all of us who are watching, leaving space
for us to identify with the caller. The young obreiro did not see all this as a technique that had to be 'unmasked'. He saw it as a legitimate technique to attend to people and to help them.

Next to the program Ponto de Luz, this obreiro also liked the show Vidas Transformadas, which also appeared quite late at night on Rede Record. The program was modeled on the common Pentecostal practice of the telling of the testimonies. Testimonies can be considered a separate genre in the mass media of Pentecostal churches. They can be delivered 'live' in church, but there is also a lively market of testimonies on audiotape and CD, and they appear in books, folders and newspapers (Folha Universal). While both the Assembléia de Deus and the Igreja Universal both use the genre quite often, the Igreja Universal has adapted it most eloquently to television. In Vidas Transformadas the people who tell their testimony are filmed in close up while they narrate their story. This story is always framed in a form of 'before and after' they began to attend the Igreja Universal. Their decision to join is always presented as the watershed between a ruined life full of suffering and a joyful life of prosperity. Here I will not go into detail about the format of this television program. Instead I will briefly focus on one recorded testimony, which allows me to return to the matter of the elective affinity between electro-acoustic devices and Pentecostalism.

Besides the testimonies on television, there was a lively interest in recorded testimonies. In Chapter Three I discussed the example of the audiotape of Missionária Edineia, whose interview with me often resembled her existing standardized testimony on tape. I also spoke of the people who wanted to obtain a copy of the interview/testemunha or progação to send to other pastors and believers. Many of them hoped to be invited to other churches in Brazil and to preach there or to give their testemunha. As in the case of the ex-traficante from São Paulo whom I discussed in Chapter Three, obtaining public reputation as a powerful preacher in circles of the Assembléia de Deus provided these people with a possibility to travel and perhaps even become famous outside Rio de Janeiro.

Many of the testimonies I heard in the morro contained stories of experiences of violence, personal suffering or a sense of discomfort that were followed by an encounter with an evangelical institution that provided people with a Pentecostal perspective, which helped them to overcome their problems. Recorded testimonies of others were often mentioned as decisive contributions to such turn of events. Take the words of Paulo, the oldest son of Maria, for example:
I felt an emptiness in my heart, something was missing. I was going to the bailes staying with the girls there, but I saw the crentes and I thought ‘One day I will be part of those people’. One day there was a pagode that went on the whole day, but I saw that the crentes were passing by. I was thinking of returning to Jesus. One day at home I was cleaning the house and I saw a tape on the floor and I decided to put it on, I thought it was a tape with funk music. But when I listened I discovered it wasn’t funk, it was a testimony and as I listened my eyes started to open. I was getting a different vision: If God is truly so powerful, I didn’t know the power of God. We can only know it when we accept Him. Then we see who God really is. I only knew Him by name, but we only know Him really when we accept Him in our hearts and He is with me up to today, even if I have been through trials and tribulations. I am happy.

M: Do you remember which tape it was. Which testimony?

Alex Macedo, testimony of an ex-traficante. Every week he had to drink blood. He was macumbeiro. There were many other things. I remember he did an arrastão on the beach while I was there surfing. I saw the arrastão that he perpetuated, but then I didn’t know it was he. When I listened to the tape I thought ‘If God changed his life’. I had proof of what happened at the beach because I was there, it was an arrastão in which nothing was left, everything was taken. I know it was a real testimony because I was there and I thought if God has done that in his life…and from there on it began. Jesus began to talk with me, a voice in my head said ‘If you don’t enter the church today you are going to regret it’ and I was thinking ‘Am I going crazy?’ But I wasn’t crazy I was just ignorant. It was God talking to me and today I am in the church.

In another conversation I had with Paulo, he affirmed it was the tape that had converted him (in the quote above he also affirms that he was already thinking of joining the group of crentes). I have chosen this fragment because here we see an example of the entanglement between the different senses, the production of religious knowledge and the socio-cultural environment. Besides this, Paulo’s words bring us back to the elective affinity between electro-acoustic devices and Pentecostalism I have argued for above. The conversion narrative of Alex Macedo was reproduced on audio-tape. Paulo was caught by the narrative on the tape while working in the house. As he listens he gets a ‘different vision’, a different perspective on life in general and his life in particular. Clearly, he is even more impressed by the story because he has seen the very arrastão Alex Macedo spoke about. Arrastão is a type of collective robbery that happens from time to time on the beaches of Rio de Janeiro. A large group of people runs along the beach and

265 *Arrastão* is a type of collective robbery that happens from time to time at the beaches of Rio de Janeiro. *Arrastar* can be translated as 'to carry away' (snatch).
the participants grab everything they can carry causing great chaos, which helps them to get away without getting caught. Having been witness to the arrastão in which Alex Macedo participated proved Macedo’s spoken words. Paulo’s new insights mark the beginning of the relationship with Jesus, Who then started speaking to Paulo directly. At first he thought he was crazy until he understood that this was part of his newly obtained relationship with God. This example clearly describes the complex relationship between the production of (religious) truth, mass media and the senses (Schmidt 2000; Hirschkind 2004; Stolow 2005). The combination of Paulo’s sense perception, his memory of the arrastão and the narrative on audio-tape, verified the knowledge he already had of Pentecostal viewpoints and allowed him to experience the ‘real presence’ of the divine. As we will see in the next section, in which I discuss evangelical music in the morro, devoted evangélicos also often feel the presence of the divine when they listen to recorded and broadcast music.

6.6 Crentes listen to Gospel Music

Music is perhaps the clearest example of the entanglement between style and discourse. On the one hand the melody and rhythm of music reveals ‘the nature of feelings with a detail and truth that language cannot approach’, as Suzanne Langer put it. On the other hand, it is useful to repeat the words of the ethnomusicologist John Blacking once more: ‘The musical performance is only able to communicate to the participants because they have learned to make links between different kinds of knowledge and experience... no music has power in itself. Music has no consequences for social action unless it can be related to a coherent set of ideas about self and other bodily feelings (Blacking 1987: 35).’

For many people who attend Pentecostal churches, music is one of the most important features of the culto. On their way to the Assembléia de Deus most people carried a small book called the Harpa Christã, which contains texts of songs ( louvores) that are sung at the beginning of each culto. In and outside church, people listen to the songs of popular Pentecostal artists. Many young men who attended churches of the Assembléia de Deus in the morro played an instrument, were having or wanted lessons and were eager to be part of the church band of musicians. Electric guitar, bass, synthesizer and drums were the most popular instruments among the young evangelical men in the morro. Women were often asked to sing, either solo or in a choir. During the
church services I experienced the importance of music in the cultos. Not unlike other Brazilian religions, it is the music that inspires people and sets in motion the emotional participation that leads to the reception of the Holy Spirit demonstrated by people who start shaking, dancing and speaking in tongues. Many a times, I witnessed how the interaction between musicians and other members would lead to an exalted state of being. The repetition of chords and lyrics, the increased tempo and loudness, together they would set the tone and environment for the Word of God to be preached with the right fervor to move the people in the church. When the pastor began to preach in the right emotional style that characterizes most Pentecostal sermons, people would respond with *Hallelujah*, *Gloria* or *Jesus*.

Gospel music consists largely of songs of praise or worship, which Brazilians call louvores. For many people who attend Pentecostal churches, music is considered an important means of communicating with God. Take, for example, Gilberto, Maria’s youngest son, who attended the Assembléia de Deus de Cantagalo:

God talks to you by means of louvor. It is louvor that is giving you the Word of God. You feel the power of God through louvor. God talks to you on these CDs, I brought this one by Cassiane. It is a blessing. It has the power of God as well, there is a louvor on this one in which God talks to you profoundly. The more you listen to these CDs the more you want to get closer to God.

While Brazilian gospel music has incorporated many styles and genres (rap/hip-hop, hard-rock, forró), during the last decade the average Brazilian gospel music demonstrates a distinctive influence of North American gospel music, which itself is influenced by: Jazz, Rock and Pop. It is therefore not surprising that in record stores the genre is still often defined by the English term ‘gospel’ rather than the Brazilian equivalent louvor. To give an impression of the kind of music to which people listen I would like to give some examples of different artists who were (and still are) very popular among evangélicos and who were played repetitively on the radio and on discs: Kleber Lucas and Cassiane, both under contract to *MK Publicitês*, and Marcelo Crivella of the Igreja Universal logically affiliated to Line Records, the record company of the Igreja Universal.

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266 See also Chapter Two.
267 Unfortunately I have not encountered a detailed description of the history of influences in Brazilian gospel music and the continued efforts to keep them ‘pure’. In Chapter Two I have discussed the attempts of people in the morro to incorporate *samba* and *pagode* and the resistance to it.
Kleber Lucas was born on 27 June 1968 and joined the Pentecostal church *Igreja Nova Vida de Niterói* in 1985. Besides being a musician, Kleber Lucas is a composer and a pastor. He is undoubtedly one of Brazil's most famous male evangelical singers. He has sold hundreds of thousands copies of his CDs and has performed at all the major gospel music gatherings at the beginning of the twenty-first century. His music is joyful and mostly up-tempo, fusing North American music styles such as pop, jazz/funk and rock. His performances, that are recorded on video, are barely distinguishable from what might be seen at a pop concert. He dances while singing and bright lights follow him across the stage. Yet, as the lyrics also indicate, Kleber Lucas is performing in service of the Lord.

Kleber Lucas: *Aos Pés da Cruz, 2001*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Track</th>
<th>Song Title</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>01</td>
<td>Cantai ao Senhor</td>
<td>Portuguese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sing to the Lord</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
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The music of this particular song is an up-tempo fusion of jazz and rock that expresses what Brazilians would most probably call *alegria* — happiness. The lyrics praise the Lord while simultaneously calling upon the audience to do the same: 'To be good in your congregation, sing for the Lord... Sing with your body and double the anointment.' The lyrics not only praise the Lord, they also provide a normative subtext that describes the appropriate relation between the listener, his or her body, God and the congregation.

I heard his music at many different occasions in the morro, not least in church or at public manifestations of evangélicos in the morro. In many of my interviews, people mentioned his name when I asked them what kind of music they liked.

Another singer who was often mentioned during my interviews was Cassiane. Cassiane was born in 1975. Her family took her to the Assembléia de Deus de Nova Iguaçu, where she still congregates today. Most of Cassiane's songs are low tempo ballads that express great emotional experience in relation to life and God.
Cassiane: Recompensa, 2001
05 - Não reclame
(Samuel Waldison)

Nesta vida que você vive
Enfrentando sei que há
Muitos espinhos pra pisar na caminhada
E as vezes sem querer, você começa a reclamar

Porque se cansa de lutar e não vé nada

A sua fé parece que se abaía
Na oração você se cala
Acabou - se o argumento
Esque o que eu te digo agora
Não desista gême e chora
Deus trará o livrarnento

Cassiane: Retribute, 2001
05 - Don't complain
(Samuel Waldison)

In this life which you are
confronting, there are
Many obstacles to tread on your path
And at times, without wanting you begin to
complain
Because you are tired of fighting and you see
No results
It seems your faith is crumbling
During the prayers you are silent
The argument has ended
Hear what I have to tell you now
Don't give up, moan or cry
God will set you free

Gilberto adored her. The way he talked about her resembled the way other people would speak of a rock-star or other celebrities: 'I would do anything to watch a show of hers', he said. Franck, a young man of nineteen, who attended the Assembléia de Deus also adored her. He said the following in an interview:

I watch Conexão Gospel, which is broadcast on channel nine. This program is very good, all the singers from MK, of radio MK feature there. Conexão Gospel is broadcast every Sunday and Thursday. It is very good. There are video-clips and interviews with singers who have a new CD. Do you like louvor? Of louvor, lately I like very much Diante do Trono, but above all I like Cassiane. These are louvores in which you really (verdadeiramente) feel an artist of God. These are singers who sing as though anointed, you know, it makes you say, yes, that is good.

Noteworthy is the fact that Franck not only listened to his favorite gospel music, he also liked to watch his favorite singers on music television programs such as Conexão Gospel broadcast on CNT. More people of the Assembléia de Deus mentioned this program as one of their favorite television programs and many knew it was affiliated to the record company MK Publicitá and its radio station 93 FM.

Contrary to the Assembléia de Deus, the Igreja Universal does not often feature large bands of musicians in their churches. They do sing collectively in church, mostly accompanied by an amplified synthesizer. I personally often witnessed the importance of the collective singing of people gathered at a culto. At the beginning of each service, but also after the collective oração, when the loud screaming had ended in catharsis, the collective voice of hundreds of people provided a sense of peace, tranquility and togetherness. Besides these musical practices during the cultos, the Igreja Universal also
encourages people to participate in and buy music of the musicians under contract of Line Records, for example, that of Bispo Marcelo Crivella, who is the third singer I want to mention here. Marcelo Crivella, Bispo of the Igreja Universal, boosted his singing career when he declared that all the revenues from his CDs would go to the Projeto Nordeste. Although Crivella is affiliated with a different record company, he also recorded the duet *Glória a Jesus* with Cassiane on his CD *Ajuda Teu Irmão do Sertão - Help your Brother from the Sertão* (dry hinterland). Most of his songs are low tempo ballads. The lyrics are generally hymns of praise, yet on some occasions he refers to the Igreja Universal as the source of mediation between the audience and God. Marcelo Crivella was quite popular among the inhabitants of the morro who regularly attended the Igreja Universal and many experienced his music as genuinely dedicated to God. This is what Dona Dora, a woman of fifty-two who attended the Igreja Universal in Ipanema had to say, when I asked her if she listened to music of a particular kind:

I have more CDs of Bispo Crivella. I like his music. He has a charisma. You feel that when he sings, they are very strong. His louvores, I like them very much. I feel the presence of God when he sings. I feel the presence of God in his music because he sings with his heart. You can feel he does it with love. He doesn’t record for the sake of recording, he records with love.

These quotes unequivocally show that music is an important aspect of Pentecostalism in the favela. As I have also indicated in Chapter Two, gospel music is continually reproduced in the morro. People play certain discs in the church and sing along or they play live-songs they know from the radio. In other words, a clear-cut distinction between live-music and reproduced music – *schizophonia*, as Shafer has coined it – is disputable. *MK Publicitá*, the company of one of the biggest evangelical radio stations in Rio de Janeiro, is also the company of one of the record labels to which several of the best known evangelical artists who perform during religious events (Cassiane, Marquinhos Gomes, *Novo Som*) are under contract. The fact that they also produce the music-television program *Conexão Gospel* on public television in Rio de Janeiro (CNT) indicates

\[268\] For example in the magazine *Ester* and the magazine *Plenitude* of Universal Produções, the publishing house of the Igreja Universal, his CD *Coração a Coração* is promoted as Gospel Romântico. (Ester no 5, November 2001; *Plenitude* no. 82, 2002) In other media of the Igreja Universal, for example, the newspaper *Folha Universal* Crivella’s CD’s are promoted (*Folha Universal*, April 7-13, 2002). The song *Fonte Universal* is promoted here and in an article about his religious work in Brazil (*Folha Universal*, January 5-11, 2003).

\[269\] See Chapter Three for a description of Crivella’s project in Bahia in relation to his political campaign.

\[270\] “Schizophonia refers to the split between an original sound and its electroacoustical transmission or reproduction (Shafer 1977: 90).”
that media (radio, television, discs) and live music are part of a continuum of reproduced sounds. In other words, instead of treating schizophrenia as a one-way process - from original sound to its reproduction - it would be better to look at it as a circular process (Feld 1994: 260). Feld criticizes Shafer for his normative judgment on the status of the copy (and the original) in the age of mechanical reproduction (Benjamin 1968), a process, which has often been linked to distinctions between high and low (mass) culture. While matters of commodification should not be regarded uncritically, Feld states:

Schizophrenia thus needs to be imagined processually, not as a monolithic move in the history of technology, but as varied practices located in the situations, flows, phases and circulation patterns that characterize particular cultural objects moving in and out of short and long commodity states, transforming with the experiential and material situation of producers, exchangers, and consumers (Appadurai 1986), located in historically specific national and global positions vis-à-vis late capitalism and development” (Castoriadis 1985), cultural domination (Schiller 1976), modernity and postmodernity (Berman 1983; Harvey 1989) (Feld 1994: 260).

The flow of a song, a piece of music or a testimony from live performance (original sound) to reproduction is constant. Such a movement also indicates how Pentecostal mass media are woven into the social fabric of life in the morro.

6.7 Moral Attunement

Despite their seemingly straightforward love for the evangelical artists, all the joy people experienced from these three singers should be seen against the background of the normative separation between música do mundo (music of the world) and música evangélica (evangelical music) that church leaders and adherents try to maintain (see also Chapter Two). In this context, the words of the pastor-musician Ronaldo Bezerra on the website of radio Melodia are appropriate. Ronaldo Bezerra responds to three often-posed questions:

Can we enjoy secular music (música secular)? Does God concern himself with the question? Is it a sin to enjoy secular music? To answer these three questions quickly: 1) You can enjoy (curtir) secular music. You can also throw yourself in front of a truck. You can even go to hell should you want to (there is more to life besides 'can or cannot'). 2) Certainly God concerns Himself with the question 3) No, it is not a sin to enjoy secular music. But
it is also not a sin to cross the street with your eyes closed. It is only not very smart....The Bible says: All things are lawful to me - but not everything is beneficial. All things are lawful to me - but I will not be controlled by anything (1 Co 6:12). As far as I am concerned music is one of these things. Enjoying secular music itself won't take anyone to hell. However, it will not bring anyone closer to the Lord. On the contrary, depending on the music, it could even freeze us spiritually.

This last example illustrates a preoccupation I heard over and over again during my fieldwork - the fear of a possible contamination of Christian life-style as the result of listening to the wrong music. During my observations of and conversations with people who attended the evangelical churches, I witnessed people who reacted to the music that was audible in the public domain of the morro with delight. Yet, the same people often expressed alarm, disgust or other negative comments. By and large, people commented on the dangers of contamination of the música evangélica by the música do mundo, or the dangers of contamination of evangelical space by music of the world. In other words, most people expressed their worries about the disappearance or transgression of boundaries between what they considered the divine and the worldly realm.271 Whereas earlier in this dissertation I have described some of the basic dynamics involved in the constitution of the distinctions between the música evangélica and the música do mundo, for the most part I have discussed radio and music in terms of the politics of presence that different groups exercise (see Chapter Two). Here I would like to focus more on the radio listening practices of individuals who described themselves as converted evangélicos.

For many evangélicos in the morro, radio and other electro-acoustic devices were considered a medium that has to be handled with care.272 During talks and interviews people often expressed their love of gospel music, yet they also frequently talked about their aversion to other popular types of music, specifically non-Christian music. Funk and pagode music were mentioned particularly as music it would be better not to listen to. In other words, for the majority of them, it was not only important to know what to listen to get closer to God, but equally important to know what should not be listened to. The concerns were not only about the inner experience, they were also about their role as

271 The often-made distinction between música evangélica and música do mundo does not imply that people no longer listen to pagode music. Distinctions between música evangélica and música do mundo are contingent and therefore change continuously. As I explained in Chapter Two, the current incorporation of pagode, forró and rap into gospel music indicate these transformations.
272 As we will see in the next chapter, this also holds for television television, though in a slightly different manner.
devout Christians in relation to others. Let me recall the example with which I started this chapter. This concern of the pastor about the music transmitted by the community radio Panorama (88.3 FM) was not primarily that he found it ugly. He was particularly worried that other people would hear that such music was coming from the church and that as a result he would lose his moral authority to correct people who did not follow Biblical prescriptions in the light of the doctrines of the Assembléia de Deus. In other words he was very worried about what it would do to his moral authority and that of his congregation. From this example and others, it follows that the experience of radio/music listening involves both an aesthetic component - people may or may not enjoy the music - and simultaneously it involves what Hirschkind calls a ‘moral attunement’ (Hirschkind 2001: 624). To be able to discuss this concept in detail, let me say something about the reception of mass media in relation to Pentecostal identity.

All of the examples above demonstrate that in different mass media, a recorded piece of music, Internet, and television are employed to spread a Pentecostal message how one should behave if one wants to receive God’s grace and to be(come) a crente. Much has been written about this transition from ‘living in the world’ to being crente, in which the change in modes of conduct and dress and regular participation in church-life are inward and outward signs of a new social identity (Novaes 1985; Burdick 1993; Mafra 2001). All authors note that, apart from the explicit norms written in the Bible, many evangélicos stress the importance of specific modes of behavior: no drinking or smoking, no cursing and swearing, no illicit sexual affairs, no idolatry and so on. In other words, apart from the explicit sacred activities like going to a culto, one has to be aware not to perpetrate those mundane practices, which are considered sinful or could lead to a possible contamination of a Christian life-style. According to Burdick, for many evangélicos the consequences of the distinction between mundane and Christian life-styles can be observed in the activities in ‘leisure time’ (Burdick 1993: 83). The normative differences between Godly and mundane life-styles stimulate people to fill the few ‘free’ hours they have with activities that bring them closer to the Lord: helping in church activities, listening to gospel music or reading the Bible. Talking about the crentes in the favela Dona Martha in Zona Sul of Rio de Janeiro, Clara Mafra describes how many people are driven by an ideal of ‘sanctification’ and that: ‘Consumption is also regulated by this ideal of sanctification, it is common that friends and parents of crentes promote a rigid control over the music that is heard, the TV programs that are permitted, the written message that one reads (Mafra 1998: 288)’.
Listening to the Radio  269

Here Clara Mafra hints at a very important aspect of mass media in the daily life of people who consider themselves crentes: its role as signifier of an identity in the dense social spaces of the morro. Her remarks point to the fact that mass media are not merely the source of knowledge that offers people the means to formulate a 'new' identity as is generally thought, but that mass media can also be used to demonstrate such an identity to others. Demonstrating that one listens to certain kinds of music and watches certain kinds of television is itself an important feature of identity politics. While the content of mass media/programs and their significance in the social domain logically complement each other, I think it is important to stress that, instead of solely being the bearer of the Pentecostal message that may or may not influence an audience, mass media in general are the object under religious/moral scrutiny and as such are tokens of a particular 'sanctified' position in the life-world of the morro.

As I described in Chapter Five, various people in the morro explained that their conversion was accompanied by a sudden dislike of pagode and funk. Pertinently, they also often related their disliking of such music to the life-style of the people who participated in the baile-funk and the pagodes, whose sexual behavior and love of beer and cachapa, were often associated with demonic influences. Expressing love for gospel carried an implicit religious/moral statement about life in the morro and hence also often meant expressing aversion to the wrong, mundane life-style. As I have also explained in the previous chapters, the status aparte proclaimed by many of the evangélicos was precarious. As church leaders and co-congregants would often state: 'Crente tem que ser diferente' (The believer has to be different). The only way they could claim a certain 'sanctified' position in the environment of the morro was to 'truly' demonstrate that they practiced what they preached. This largely meant no partying at the baile funk, no smoking, no drinking but also no deliberate listening to funk or pagode music. This regulation of mass media practices through normative statements by church leaders and social control of co-congregants is simultaneously an effort to ensure that people become and stay 'sanctified', as it is part of identity politics.

273 In many ways this argument resembles Bourdieu's insistence on seeing (musical) taste in relation to the drive for distinctions between social classes (Bourdieu 1984: 19). Yet, there are considerable differences between Bourdieu's concerns and mine. First, the distinctions between música evangélica and música do mundo that people make to distinguish between them and others are made by people who could be considered to belong to the same economic class and mostly have enjoyed the same amount and type of schooling as the people from whom they want to distance themselves. It is therefore not socio-economic class per se or scarcity of cultural capital that inspires the appropriation of a different musical taste.
If we take this regulation of mass media practices as a starting point, we might also understand that the relationship between mass media and conversion cannot be described in terms of causality. We will be mislead if we follow the Christian conceptualization and treat conversion as a definite, irreversible moment, a watershed between the old and the new self. In the previous chapter, I have argued that we should not adopt such a conceptualization uncritically. Norwithstanding the fact that people often narrate their decision to join a congregation (community) as something that took place at a definite time and place and is often considered permanent, the life-trajectories of most people show that many people go through a process of gradual transformation and many also (temporarily) leave the church again after they have converted. Therefore in Chapter Five, I proposed the Pentecostal language and behavior be understood in relation to conversion as a (self-disciplining) performance that positions people in a field of power relations. Such a perspective on conversion entails that being a crente or a fiel (believer) is not an unchallenged identity either inside or outside the church group but rather one that has to be enforced.

Radio and music was an integral part of this dynamic. The training to be attentive to the kind of music one plays and listens to, is part and parcel of the identity politics. In the dense social spaces of the morro, social control over music/radio listening is exercised by friends and relatives but also by non-evangelical neighbors who question the sanctity of their fellow inhabitants. If conversion is an assertion of a Pentecostal identity through particular (self-disciplining) performances, rather than a clear break between past and present, tuning in to certain radio stations is not the outcome of, but integral to the conversion process. The awareness of the significance and potential of specific sounds in relation to the self and to the others is crucial to the maintenance of a Pentecostal identity in the morro. Consequently, listening to radio, CD and tape is not the outcome of the process of conversion but a continuous reassertion of an identity that is much less fixed than presumed. The following fragment comes from an interview with Franck, who appeared earlier in this chapter. This excerpt demonstrates the considerations and worries of many evangélicos concerning radio use and their self-disciplining media performances:

M: Do you listen to the radio?

If I listen to radio? If I could I would listen to the radio twenty-four hours a day, I love radio, it is my thing. Today a colleague will bring his radio to work. He will bring his som. You know, you can put CDs on and [audio]
tapes. Tomorrow I have to work in the morning and I will take my CD box. I will take my tapes. I will work and listen the whole day, radio is my thing, 93 only 93 FM.

M: No other?

(clicks with his tongue)
No other, only 93FM. My CDs, my tapes and nothing else, there is no other radio.

M: But 93FM, that is only Gospel.

Only Gospel.

M: Do you never listen to other music?

Never to other music, only Gospel, Gospel, Gospel. When I did not belong to the church, I liked pagode and samba very much, I danced the samba (sambavda) a lot, but then I did not belong to the church.

M: Why don’t you listen to pagode any more?

It doesn’t edify me, no. Today, if you were to listen to the music of today, if you could hear rap or funk, if you would see the lyrics, these are things. I think a child should not hear the things they hear today. In the past the raps and the funk were like this for example: [starts singing] “I went to the corner of the school where everything began, I was looking at her...” you know, that was how it went and nothing more. Today, I can’t even tell you. You hear the pagode and the funk of today. They only talk about garbage. Let’s see if I remember one of them, no I don’t want to sing it, no. You know when you hear it all the time you record (grava) it. The music is so indecent, I think it should not be sung. Rap is really absurd, it is a load of garbage that only leads people to prostitute themselves. When that music is heard people prostitute themselves faster, understand. I do not agree, I would rather not listen to it. As I told you, either you grant space to God or you grant space to the devil. That music doesn’t take you to God. It doesn’t make it to the throne of God. That’s why I can’t listen to that music. I prefer to listen to the louvores. It is difficult, you know why. If I were to arrive at work for example and I put pagode on, my colleagues who do not belong to the church would come in and hear that music, they would say: “Are you listening to this music, aren’t you a crente?” I can’t give them an opening to talk like that, they will judge you. Because a crente can’t look at women, a crente can’t listen to musica do mundo, a crente can’t dance, a crente can’t go to a baile, he really can’t, so when we give them the smallest opening people will take advantage of it: “Oh that crente there is listening to pagode.” We would lose that authority, that thing of the Christians. We have to be cautious.
M: Who is judging you?

The *impios*, *impios* are the people who have not accepted Jesus. They can do it, but we can't. They judge. So afterwards, when we want to talk about God they say: "You are talking about God to me? You are no crente, you don't belong to the church, you were dancing there."

M: But that must be difficult here in the morro. There are always people from the church or *impios* in the vicinity?

That is why you have to be very careful.

M: How do you do that?

You have to make the separation. Grant space only to God. Try to do the good things, the things that please God. You understand, You should never again listen to worldly music. Don't put it on the radio. Surely we do hear worldly music, music that is not from the church, that isn't gospel. We hear it the moment we step out of the Assembléia de Deus. But not on my radio that is playing. I won't put it on. I am not singing it either. I won't arrive at home and put on a pagode, a samba or a rap. I would never tune into a mundane radio channel on my radio. That is music that praises the devil. The music on my radio pleases God. It brings the Word to my brothers, the pastor gives a Word that educates, I want to improve every day and every moment in order to make sure that people won't see my failures and accuse me afterwards when I pass by with my folders saying to the people that God loves them. They will attack me: "How can you say 'God loves you', when you are doing that?" They say that. It is better to be cautious. We are different.

The dynamic which becomes obvious in this quote from Franck resembles to a certain extent Hirschkind's elaborate description of sermon-listening in Egypt - as my emphasis on 'moral attunement' may have already indicated. Among my informants, the idea was widespread that listening to Pentecostal radio or music would instill certain Christian virtues, 'enabling to live more piously and avoid moral transgressions (Hirschkind 2001: 627).’ Yet, unlike in the case of Hirschkind's informants, my informants did not recognize particular and elaborate bodily dispositions and emotional states in or during the actual act (performance) of listening. Certainly there were all kinds of emotional states people described, however there were no widespread instructions about or techniques for how to listen to experience sermons in correctly, as Hirschkind describes for his informants. In relation to my informants moral attunement was literally related to the tuning of the radio to an evangelical broadcaster so as to demonstrate that one led a virtuous life.
6.8 Conclusion

As I have tried to demonstrate in previous chapters, the Pentecostal narrative of the batalha espiritual acquires its meaning in relation to the popular cultural practices in the morro. People of both churches attempt to alter behavior by defining the popular practices in the morro as diabolical. By means of a religious/moral language on media content, people of the two churches attempt to discipline their public to look and listen to mass media according to the doctrines of the churches. In order for these doctrines to be made intelligible in relation to the life-world of the morro, the batalha espiritual is mostly localized around popular practices common in the morro. People define the work of the devil through their (previous) engagements with the popular practices, which are deemed diabolical. Mass media are therefore not only an important bearer of Pentecostal messages, they are also the instruments through which religiosity is expressed and experienced.

The continuous effort to separate the worldly and the godly domain in the name of salvation and prosperity in the context of the morro places the discussions on music (and radio speech) at the heart of identity politics. Therefore, listening to the sound systems does involve an elaborate recategorization of sounds and a ‘training’ so as to know what can and should be listened to and what not. Sound systems are sensitive tools that people use continuously quite self-reflexively to feel and demonstrate the difference between the worldly and the godly. This also implies that electro-acoustic technology is not external to the process of conversion. Technology (media) does not merely provide a means for the message (doctrine). People use radio, tape and CDs to understand (feel) and demonstrate what the difference is between being in the world and being of the world. From this also follows that to present believers (jiéis) as an unchallenged social category is to leave little room for change, ambivalence and discontinuity on the part of the people who attend the churches. Radio, sound system and television occupy and important place in the daily life of the people (before during and after the so-called conversion moment). Subsequently the ideological clashes between people are heavily informed by mass media.