

A simbiose entre religião e mercado: o sagrado como efeito de discurso

The symbiosis between religion and the market: the sacred as an effect of discourse

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Resumo: *Este artigo investiga a relação de simbiose entre religião e mercado cristalizada no discurso da Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus. Tendo como embasamento teórico as perspectivas do campo das Ciências das Religiões e do Consumo, neste artigo, especificamente, propomos investigar, por um lado, o sagrado como um efeito de discurso presente na narrativa publicitária para construção da natureza transcendente e da sacralização de produtos; por outro lado, pensar no sagrado como um efeito de discurso também nos permite analisar como a religião, por um processo inverso, transforma sua doutrina transcendente em produtos disponibilizados para consumo dos fiéis/consumidores. Adotamos como metodologia os pressupostos teórico-metodológicos da Análise do Discurso de Escola Francesa.*

Palavras-chave: *comunicação; consumo; religião; análise do discurso; Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus*

Abstract: *This article investigate the symbiosis relationship between religion and market crystallized in the discourse of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God. In this article, we propose to investigate, on the one hand, the sacred as an effect of discourse present in the advertising narrative for the construction of the transcendent nature and the sacralization of products; on the other hand, thinking of the sacred as a discourse effect also allows us to analyze how religion, by an inverse process, transforms its transcendent doctrine into products made*

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available to the faithful/consumers. We adopted as methodology the theoretical-methodological assumptions of the Discourse Analysis of the French School.

Keywords: *communication; consumption; religion; speech analysis; Universal Church of the Kingdom of God*

Introduction

This study presents findings of a wider research which resulted in a PhD thesis in which we proposed to study the discursive symbiosis between religion and market having as object of study the doctrinal and testimonial² discourse of Universal Church of the Kingdom of God. The appropriation of the biological metaphor was necessary due to the perception of the imbricated relationship of coexistence between these two instances (religion and market) crystalized in the discursive level.

Symbiogenesis, theory proposed for the first time by Margulis around 1960's, revolutionized the studies in the biologic field. Symbiosis, the tendency of organisms to establish a close relationship with one another, was already a widespread and popular theory. However, Margulis proposed the hypothesis that every life consisted in a type of long life symbiosis capable of producing new forms of life (CAPRA, 1996, p. 171). In the words of Margulis herself

Symbiosis refers to an ecological and physical relation between two types of organisms that is far more intimate than most associations. [...] Symbiosis, like marriage, means a life in common, in good and bad times; but, when the marriage is made between two different people, symbiosis occurs between two or more different types of living beings (MARGULIS, 2002, p. 132).

As one could notice, the biologist ruptures the dominant idea that evolutive life happened in a bloody battle for survival, in which the most fit would always win. Contrary to that, she says that the core of the evolution of species is cooperation, and not competition. This pact is often so intimate and strong that the death of one of the members of the alliance means the death of both parties (MARGULIS; SAGAN, 1995, p. 139, our translation) In other words, life on Earth is not a game where

2 Para a composição do *corpus* da pesquisa de tese de doutorado foram selecionados e analisados 305 testemunhos e 219 textos doutrinários publicados pela Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus entre os anos de 2010 e 2017 em seu portal na internet (universal.org) e em seu canal no YouTube (IURD TV).

someone win and someone lose, but rather the victory of cooperation in the art of coexistence.

The analogy has been used to explain the relationship of ritualistic practices between different religious matrixes (BENEDITO, 2006); in the relation between religion and media (RASLAN FILHO, 2015) or between religion, media and society (REFKALEFSKY; PATRIOTA; ROCHA, 2006). However, it is more about the use of the term as a label for a phenomenon than an attempt of explaining more deeply the relationship and how one benefits from the other.

The analogy appears to be very appropriate to comprise the intrinsic relationship between religion and market, the main purpose of this research. We understand that this relationship was born out of the tendency of these two organisms to develop similar ways of facing similar problems, establishing a relationship so intimate that, today, one does not survive without the other.

Discourse Analysis as theoretical-methodological presupposition for the investigation of religious discourse

In the origin of every discourse, there is the interdiscourse. In other terms, “interdiscourse comes before the discourse. This means that the relevant unit of analysis is not the discourse, but a space of exchange amongst a variety of discourses conveniently chosen” (MAINGUENEAU, 2008a, p. 20). We understood as interdiscourse the manifold relation of a discourse with other discourses, in other words, a discursive space in which discourses articulate meaning exchanges, sometimes appropriating from one another, sometimes excluding one another (CHARAUDEAU; MAINGUENEAU, 2008, p. 286).

However, in the case of religious discourse, this relationship with other discourses is given in a very peculiar manner. To take the place of a maximally authorized discourse, religious discourse cannot recognize authority beyond their own, however, its constitution as discourse will

always happen in the interaction with other discourses. Religious discourse, however, denies this interaction and seeks to submit it to their principles:

Discourses like the religious discourse [...]Are defined by the position they fill in the interdiscourse, by the fact they don't recognize discursivity beyond their own and that they cannot be authorized except by their own authority. [...]in order not to authorize themselves, they must appear as connected with a legitimating Source. They are, at the same time, self and heteroconstituent (MAINGUENEAU, 2008b, p. 38-39).

Maingueneau perception points us to a double challenge that is put in front of the analyst of religious discourse. The first challenge is to handle its heterogeneity. Since there isn't any ground zero of discourse and that every discourse emerges from its relationship with other discourses, it is up to the analyst to apprehend the constant work of negotiation between statutes of discourses. The second challenge is to handle the discursive game that enables the religious discourse to deny its hetero constituent nature and present itself as self constituent. In addition, we dare to say that the polyphonic nature of religious discourse - in other words, the different voices constituting this discourse - is suppressed so that this is presented to the enunciate as a monophonic product, whose origin and legitimation comes from only one voice: divinity.

Similar forms of facing common problems: the symbiotic principle in the relation religion and market

The relationship between religion and market arises from the need for survival in an ever changing society. Both the transformation in the religious scenario and the market created necessities more or less common between them.

From the market side, we understand that three factors influenced this approximation with religion. With the arrival of new technologies that enabled the de centralization of communication, based before in a standard one for all and now in all for all, consumers began to produce

counter-narratives capable of refute, or at least call into question, the narratives that brands produced of themselves. The brand discourse begins to be rectified or even contested by the consumers, and, thus, the credibility of this discourse produced by the brand withers everytime it is put into doubt by the different social actors (SALMON, 2008).

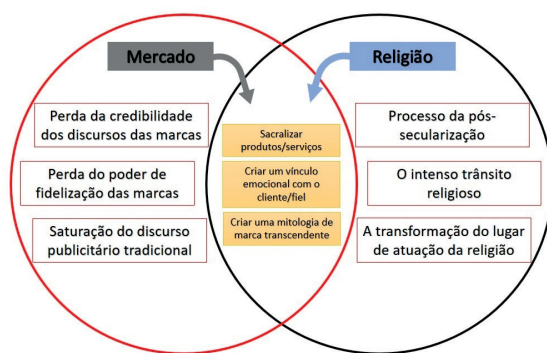
In Addition to that, there is a social transformation gradually built, in which hedonism become the main regulating agent of social life (CAMPBELL, 2001). With that, the form of adhesion of the customer to certain brands leave the field of family tradition and migrates to the individual quest for pleasurable experiences (LIPOVETSKY, 2007). Thus, the coveted client fidelization becomes a complex and delicate challenge, because this customer also narrates their experiences on social media, either it was positive or negative, and for their group of followers their narrative can be more trustworthy than the brand itself.

Thus, the advertisement discourse needed to go through a process of reinvention, adequation to these new factors. Mainstream advertisement already did not communicate efficiently with this customer that begins to look for products less due to their value of use and more due to the universe of meanings it gave access (BAUDRILLARD, 2008); Consumption dislocates from the materiality of objects for the universe of intangible of hedonistic experience. What begins to be consumed is not what the object is in its materiality, but rather its transcendent nature (SOLDEVILLA; ERRANDO; FELICI. 2014).

This set of factors created three needs in the market universe: 1) Sacralize products and services - build a sacred aura around products/services giving them a transcendent nature (SCHWERINER, 2010); 2) Creating an emotional bond with the client - to attend this search for pleasurable individual experience, the brands needed to create an emotional bond with their clients (MARTINS, 1999), something that overcomes the previous form of adhesion, based on tradition; 3) Creating a transcending brand mythology - brands needed to link themselves emotionally and spiritually to their customers (RANDAZZO, 1997). For that it was necessary to mythify it.

According observation in the following image, besides religion we also present other three factors linked to what is close to the market. First we highlighted the gradual process until getting where Habermas (2008) called post-secularized religion. If the Weberian forecasts (2004) of secularization weren't concretized with the weakening of religion and loss of their power of influence, what happened in contemporaneity is that the forms of religious adhesion were metamorphosed. A form of religious adhesion based in a type of hereditary familiar transmission - from parent to children - is replaced by the same impulse characteristic of the marketing universe: the individualized quest for a pleasurable experience [with transcendent] (LIPOVETSKY, 2007). With that, the faithful becomes more faithful to himself than the institution. That originates an intense religious transit.

IMAGE 1 - Space of intersection between religion and market



Source: Made by the author

The necessity of an individualized and personalized experience with the transcendent induce this believer to a constant quest for the best experience, creating dissatisfaction and hope. Dissatisfaction with the former experience and the hope to find it in the next door of some religious temple. This individual does not seek the meaning of life in explanations about his origin and his destination, but rather in current

experiences that guide him and prepare him for the immediacy of daily life. That obligates religion to dislocate their place of action. For a hedonistic society, pleasure cannot be present in another life, there cannot be a time lapse between desire and satisfaction. Religion turn towards here-and-now (BAUMAN, 1998).

Before, religion was occupied with existential issues like the origin and destination of humans, therefore, their experience before life and after death³. In other terms, the religious specialty was about that nothingness that precedes and succeed human history. However, religion finds in contemporaneity an audience absorbed in living History. Thus, religion faced the necessity of producing new goods and services, as well as producing their own consumers sharpening “the needs destined to be filled by their services and, therefore, transforming their indispensable work” (BAUMAN, 1998, p. 210). A new type of religion geared towards consumption arises.

Based on the above considerations, we can say that these factors created in religion similar needs to the market, such as: 1) Producing sacralized products and services - if on the market side, it was necessary to sacralize products and services, from the religion side it was necessary to objectivate sacrality and transform it into products and services for consumption; 2) Building an emotional bond with their believers/customer - if before the christian religious discourse was centered in the appeal of gaining souls to God, now, it is necessary to gain the soul of the believer/customer first for the religious brand, producing in him an empathetic identification with the name/brand; 3) create a brand mythology - in this marketing religious scenario, different denominations behave as any other non-religious brand, competing against each other for the believer/customer⁴. The religious brand appeals to the mythological universe to build its transcending nature.

3 Basta recorrer aos escritos de teólogos puritanos, tais como Richard Sibbes, John Owen e Richard Baxter (só para citar alguns), para comprovar isto. As ideias ascetas destes teólogos demonstram um grande contraste se comparadas com a teologia neopentecostal praticada pela Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus.

4 Para as intenções deste artigo, no entanto, nos concentraremos especificamente em evidenciar a maneira como a religião transforma sua doutrina em produtos e serviços para consumo.

As we can perceive, from these common need among apparently different species arises a symbiotic relationship, in which religion and marketing benefit from and cooperate with one another. Let's see that in detail.

Sacred as effect of discourse

Facing this symbiotic relation between religion and market, we propose ourselves to first analyze the appropriations of sacred through the advertisement discourse. In order to do that, we come from the presupposition that the sacred can be apprehended as an effect of meaning of the discourse.

Our hypothesis is product of the observation of three theories about the issue of sacrality. First, we assume sacrality as the supernatural dimension revealed in common objects of human experience. In the words of Eliade, the sacred stone, the sacred tree are not worshiped as a stone or as a tree, but precisely because they are hierophanies, because they 'reveal' something that is not a stone or a tree, but sacrality in itself" (ELIADE, 1992, p. 13).

In Berger (1985) we find a wide and convincing explanation that the place of manifestation of sacrality is in the everyday experience. The everyday experience is where we recognize sacrality, because it is there where the sacred is manifested and, at the same time, this manifestation is only perceptible because it transcends the common experience of everyday life. Sacred is what is beyond common everyday experience.

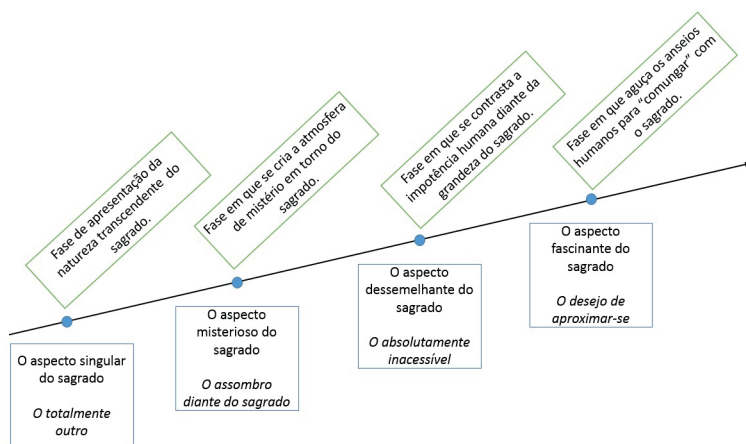
Finally, we identify in Otto four aspects of sacrality that arouse in the human being a outpouring of feelings. They are: 1) The singular aspect of sacrality; 2) The mysterious aspect; 3) The dissimilar aspect; 4) The fascinating aspect. To validate your answer, Otto (2007) took two biblical narratives of sacrality: the experience of Moses in the desert facing burning bush that never consumed; and the vision narrated by the Apostle Paul⁵. Otto (2007) wanted to check manifestations of the sacred and

5 Moisés e o encontro com Deus no deserto (Êxodo 3); e a visão do Apóstolo Paulo (II Coríntios 12).

the reaction of individuals facing them. We take to ourselves the same biblical narratives, however, in a discursive perspective, with the aim of apprehending sacrality as an effect of discourse. Our guiding question was: How is sacrality built in the narrative?

Based on Otto's (2007) study and in discourse theories, we arrived to a proposal that allowed us to check our hypothesis analyzing sacrality as an effect of discourse. Let's see in the image below the narrative scheme that enables that analysis:

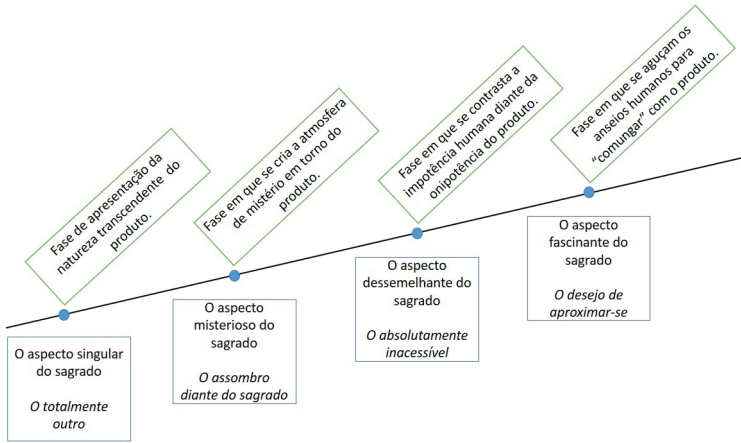
IMAGE 2 - Sacred as an effect of discourse



Source: Created by the author

Through this preliminary conclusions, understanding that sacrality can be apprehended as an effect of discourse, we started to verify the incidences of these narratives of sacrality in the advertising universe. Our goal was to identify this discursive symbiosis between religious and advertising discourse. Facing that, we concluded that in the advertising discourse, the narrative of sacrality is built the following way:

IMAGE 3 - Discursive construction of sacrality in advertisement



Source: Created by the author

In the advertisement narrative, the first phase of this structure is always focused on the presentation of the singularity of the product. Even though the changes may be merely cosmetic, like little design alterations of the product or even the label, this product is always presented as holding an absolute singularity (BAUDRILLARD, 2012, p. 99), something which the customer never got in touch with. A surprising product that may have come from another world and does not belong to the natural order of life.

In the second narrative phase, the advertising discourse creates the atmosphere of mystery around the product. There will always be a secret formula, a brand new technology, coming from the future to now and available for the customer. Mystery sharpens the desires of the customer and that becomes an invitation to discover it.

In the third narrative phase, the binomial problem/solution enters the advertisement discourse. Advertisement narrative creates a problem beyond the capacity of human control and resolution. Then, arrives an omnipotent product that solves the problems and re-establishes the order in chaos. The product always has the exact measurements of human wants and needs. This idea is applied from the sale of an insecticide to

the sale of life insurance. Here, the dissimilar aspect of sacrality gets the contrast of natural with supernatural. Sacrality is exactly that that differs from the natural world for its beauty, strength, or other super-human attribute.

In the fourth and last phase, the advertisement discourse leaves an appeal that evokes the approximation between the customer and the sacralized product. It is exactly this dissimilar nature that provokes a desire of getting close to and get in communion with sacrality. In this case, the contact with sacrality seems to also sacralize the own human experience. In the advertisement discourse, this appeal can come in the shape of an advise, a suggestion, an order or even a provocation. All the transcending and mysterious aura built around the product is converged into the incitation of human desires in relating themselves with the sacralized nature of the product.




We admit that this division we proposed is purely for didactic purposes, since in the discursive level, in some cases, these phases intertwine and complement each other. We will analyze an advertisement of the car manufacturer Hyundai⁶ in the release of HB20 model 2016. The advertisement was broadcast on prime time in the main TV channels and also on the internet.

The process of sacralization of the product in the advertisement discourse

For a better understanding, we transcribed the advertisement below. It is interesting to notice the logical chain between images and narration.

6 Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WxuJblPGU1k>. Accessed in: Dec. 2016.

IMAGE 4 - Transcription of the advertisement of the new HB20

IMAGE	VOICEOVER
	<p>You see HB20 and soon perceive that the new front</p>
	<p>Is very aggressive.</p>
	<p>That the rear is</p>
	<p>A dive in design.</p>

	<p>And the interior</p>
	<p>Something from another world.</p>
	<p>Too bad this isn't yours yet! - Relax! Happens every time.</p>
	<p>New HB20. Hyundai did it again.</p>

Source: Hyundai/Youtube.

The narrative begins establishing a scenario that locates the object on everyday life. A pedestrian walks on a street where the car is parked. He is attracted for the singularity of the product, for its totally surprising nature. The voiceover reinforces the imagetic text: “Whoever sees HB20 soon perceives the new front is very aggressive” (Our highlight).

The narrative sequence builds throughout all the advertisement the transcending nature of the product. Once attracted to the irresistible desire to get to know the product, the pedestrian starts to establish tactile contact with the product and, every time that happens, he is immediately transported to another world, argument that also integrates the voice over: “and the interior is something from another world”. We can see that the object of consumption inserted into everyday life, despite having a form from the physical point of view a materiality similar to all other cars (rubber, steel, plastic, etc), it differs from all of them precisely because of what it stopped being: a car. The hierophany of the object of consumption is built throughout the narrative as the element of desire is no longer the object in itself, but this singular character and this other world it promises to give access to.

The mystery around the product is precisely constituted of this singularity. In the narrative, every time the pedestrian touches one of the “new” parts of HB20 (front, rear and lateral glass), it’s clear in the imagetic text his astonishment for the direct contact with the transcendence of the object and the other world that becomes possible.

The more the narrative exposes the singularity of the product and builds a mystery around it, the more it gets evident the dissimilarity of the universe of the sacralized object for the profane universe of the customer. The product is presented as absolutely inaccessible for the pedestrian that limits himself to the tactile contact and a little peek through the glass of the car. Remembering McCracken, the more the object of consumption seems unattainable to the customer, the more it will be desired by him. The power of seduction and attraction of a product is exactly in the exploitation of its unattainable nature. The customer will always desire what is beyond his reach (MCCRACKEN, 2003, p. 147).

It's this atmosphere that creates the fascination for the product and creates the desire to have it, since having the sacrality means also covering oneself and appropriating its sacrality. The narrative merge these two phases together around the same object and its unattainability and its possibility; inaccessibility and accessibility: "Too bad this isn't yours yet" (Our highlight).

This paradox is built in the narrative when the pedestrian is brought from the other world due to the sound of the alarm of the car coming from a remote in the hands of the owner: "Relax! Happens every time." The second character, even though he belongs the natural world as much as the first one, is presented as superior to him precisely because he already participates in the transcending nature of this sacralized object. He already has access to this other world experience enabled by the transcendence of the object of consumption. The singular nature of the sacralized object singularizes and sacralizes the own human experience.

Sacred for consumption

The religious field, in this perspective, can be defined as a field of forces where the specialized agents (priests) act in the production of salvation goods that fill the demands of certain social groups (uninitiated). The priests in Bourdieu's (2007, p. 25) opinion, are agents of a certain institutionalized symbolic instance, employees of a permanent company organized in bureaucratic terms and counts with special installations for cult. The specialization of these priests goes through the dominion of doctrinary discourse and learning from a wide array of practical problems that reach the uninitiated, recipient of this doctrine, whose everyday life must be regularized by it. In other terms, religion acts with on demand services.

One of the visible brands of the hyperconsumption society in the Iurdian logic is the segmentation of their services, enabling the believer/customer to find what they are looking for. The Universal Church maintains their temples open 12 hours per day, every day of the week. Their

cults are segmented into themes that offer services of orientation to solve central problems that afflicts most people.

Monday is dedicated to solve financial issues, in the Meeting of Prosperity. Tuesday is the day to overcome frustrations and failure in the Meeting of Combat to the Dream Destroyer. Wednesday is dedicated to spiritual issues, reconciling the individual with god in the Meeting of God's children. Thursday is the ideal day for those who want to solve sentimental problems on Love Therapy. On Friday, they exorcize evil that prevents prosperity, personal well-being, in addition to fighting evil eye and envy in the Meeting of freedom. And to those who wish to accomplish the impossible, Saturday is the day for it, in the fast of Impossible Causes. And to close off, Sunday is the big day to learn how to use faith in an intelligent and rational manner in Meeting with God⁷.

This dynamics enable the believer/customer the control over their own agenda, selecting in this catalogue of options the best days and schedules that fill their needs and desires. However, this possibility of personalizing religiosity does not end here.

The church disposes in its internet portal a page called Online Pastor, available 24 hours, every day of the week, where the believer/customer gets in a direct conversation via chat with a pastor. In the lower part of the page, the believer/customer selects which is the area of interest amongst the following options: marriage problems, pain or illness, spiritual problems, financial difficulties, family fights, doubts. We observe that all the propositions of solution are towards issues that afflict the everyday life of the believer/customer.

In the upper segment of the page, two sentences clearly define what the chat is about: "Why are you suffering? Thousands of people arrived here with their lives destroyed by problems. However, after the service, they could now smile again"⁸. We perceive that, in every case, what is sought and what is proposed is happiness and personal satisfaction of the believer/customer. This is the expertise and the field of action of

7 Available at: < <http://www.universal.org/reunioes>>. Accessed in: Aug. 2015.

8 Available at: < <http://www.universal.org/pastoronline>>. Accessed in: Aug. 2015.

Universal Church: provide services of orientation to convert any human suffering into personal accomplishment and satisfaction. It is important to mention a quote from Lipovetsky:

From a religion centered in the salvation in the afterlife, Christianity became a religion operating towards intramundane happiness, emphasizing values of solidarity and love, harmony, interior piece and total accomplishment of the person. The hyperbolic universe of consumption wasn't the grave of religion, but the instrument of its adaptation to modern civilization of terrestrial happiness (LIPOVETSKY, 2007, p. 131).

As a service provider, Universal Church also releases sacralized products that are tool to orient their believers/customers. It is what we will see next.

The transformation of sacrality into a product for consumption

We will not talk in this topic about this the common liturgical procedures in the neopentecostal field to transform common objects into sacred objects, as it is the case in the Rose of Prosperity, Coarse Salt to expel evil eye and the traditional anointed oil. In these cases, mundane objects become sacred after the pastor's prayer.

We want to study the process that enables the Universal Church to materialize their doctrinarian teachings, therefore, their sacralized services, in sacralized objects of consumption. Recovering the term proposed by Eliade (1992), it is interesting to us this hierophany constantly performed by IURD. We will list some of these cases below.

Shielded marriage

The show *The Love School* airs every week on Rede Recor at noon. The idea of the show is to offer "practical orientations to those who recognize the value of married life and desire to protect it from the risk

of separation”⁹. The orientations given by the couple Renato and Cristiane Cardoso, doctrinators of Universal, were transformed into a series of books: *Shielded date*, *sShielded marriage*, *120 minutes to shield your marriage*, in addition to the DVD *Sex in a shielded marriage*. The success of the books, especially *Shielded Marriage*, that became a bestseller in the country, originated a whole collection of sacralized products.

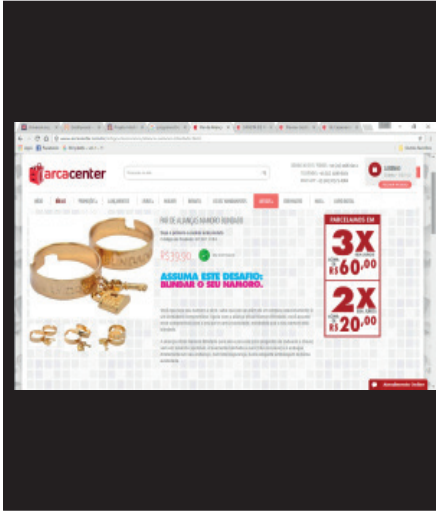
It is the case of the porcelain mugs *Shielded Marriage*. An object taken from the ordinary life and presented with a sacralized dimension, result of a hierophany performed by the Universal Church in the following sales pitch: “it is much more than a gift, it is a tool to shield your marriage”¹⁰. The product stops being desired for its profane materiality (porcelain object), to become an object of desire in the sacred dimension (a tool to shield your marriage).

Another product of this collection is the commitment rings *Shielded Date*. Let’s see next how the profane description of the product’s materiality lives with its sacralized description. The substance of which the product is made gives place to what the product has power to do. What the object means exceeds its physical value.

9 Available at: < <http://entretenimento.r7.com/love-school-escola-amor/quem-somos-10042015> >. Accessed in: Dec. 2016.

10 Available at: < <http://www.arcacenter.com.br/artigos/canecas/caneca-de-porcelana-casamento-blindado-modelo-feminino.html> >. Accessed in: Dec. 2016.

Image 5 - Ad for the official ring Shielded Date



You, who take your relationship seriously, know it goes beyond a simple relationship: it is a real commitment. Now, with the official ring Shielded Date, you take on this commitment with your couple and with society, showing that your relationship is shielded.

The official ring Shielded Date for him and for her [with pendants of lock and key] come in adjustable size, is lightly coated with gold [does not go dark] and it is directly delivered to your address, with full security, in an elegant velvet package. (Our highlight).

1 Available in: < <http://www.arcacenter.com.br/artigos/aceessorios/alianca-namoro-blindado.html> >. Accessed in: Dec. 2016.

Source: Universal.org

The sales pitch of the product always revolves around its transcendent meaning and nature. In the case of the Shielded Date T-shirt, after a very direct description that is a product 100% cotton 40wt, comes the following text: “The single women can show they are preparing themselves to be in a heartbreak-proof relationship. And the ones committed can show everyone they have a shielded relationship and are walking towards a divorce-proof marriage.”¹¹

Intellimen and Godllywood

Other two examples of this process of hierophany practiced by the Universal Church are the projects Intellimen¹² and Godllywood¹³. The proj-

11 Available at: < <http://www.arcacenter.com.br/artigos/vestuario/t-shirt-namoro-blindado-feminina.html> >. Accessed in: Dec. 2016.

12 Intellimen is a project made for men and has the duration of one year. It consists in practical challenges that the participant must comply and that involves different areas of life, such as: Family, business, personal human development, among others.

13 According to the directors of the project, “Godllywood has the goal of rescuing forgotten values in female Society, forming better women in all aspects, joining personal care with social

ects basically consist in a series of weekly tasks that the believer needs to accomplish to become a better person. Due to the success and the acceptance, the project was turned into a book and also gave origin to a collection of products.

It is the case of the Intellimen pen, whose sales pitch is the following: “Made out of metal in a premium model, the official pen Intellimen is ideal for man that want to make a difference and leave their mark wherever they go.”¹⁴ We highlight the Planner Godllywood as well, an ordinary personal appointment book at first sight, but presented to the customer the following way: “The Godllywood 2017 appointment book is an opportunity for you to live the life you always dreamed of”¹⁵ It is very interesting that a pen or an appointment book get attributed so eccentric, and even, transcendent. It is thus that the Universal church transforms their doctrines into a service provision, and, finally, in collections of sacralized products available for the believer/customer.

The list of products is so big, that the Universal Church opened an online store to receive their clients. Products include squeeze bottles, hats, pens, key chain, T-shirts, planners, mugs, etc. All following the same logic: doctrine - service provision - sacralized products.

Final Considerations

The rigid frontiers between sacred and profane that restricted advertising to the limits of profane and religion to the limits of sacred became fluid, enabling to find the sacralized religious in advertisement and profane advertisement in the religious.

The own concept of sacred is changed in this relation, in such way we cannot talk about sacred as a noun - the sacred -, but rather, as a temporary state of something or someone. Therefore, sacred is much

support”. Self-help group that clearly has a position against feminist philosophies.

14 Available at: < <http://www.arcacenter.com.br/artigos/acessorios/caneta-de-metal-intellimen-er169b.html> >. Accessed in: Dec. 2016.

15 Available at: < <http://www.arcacenter.com.br/planner-godllywood-2017.html> >. Accessed in: Dec. 2016.

more linked to the transitory relationship with the meaning of experience than a permanent nature of the object itself.

Sacred is much more about the hedonistic relationship with a transcending experience that emanates from the meaning of objects and gives meaning to being - and, therefore, glorifies and exalts the human, subject in this relation - than the property of a specific relationship that is comprised in itself the transcendence and immanence going back to the deity itself. In consumption society, sacred is that meaning of objects that distinguish humans and not that distinguish objects from one another.

This new way of thinking about the sacred propels the Christian religion to rethink their place of action and give a new meaning to all their doctrine. In order to justify their existence and legitimate their place of action, the Christian religion, more specifically the neopentecostalism, gave a new meaning to their doctrinary discourse. If on one hand, the market learned with religion to communicate with the human spirit and satisfy their wishes, religion learned with the market to value the physical dimension of human beings, integrating desire and satisfaction as the maximum objectives of a unique being.

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