

# INFLUENCERS OF CHRIST: evangelization on brazilian youtube channels fafismelo and fabibertotti continuing teacher education

INFLUENCIADORAS DE CRISTO: evangelização nos canais brasileiros do youtube fafismelo e fabibertotti INFLUENCERS DE CRISTO: evangelización en los canales brasileños de youtube fafismelo y fabibertotti

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#### **ABSTRACT**:

The YouTube platform is pointed as a space for growth of the evangelization on the internet. Evangelical youtubers use it for both evangelization and to gain visibility through it, by reaching a larger number of people, which is not possible in traditional evangelization events. Therefore, the aim of this article is to investigate how non-leader women in their religious segments conduct evangelization through their production. To achieve this purpose we analyzed the 10 most viewed videos on FafisMelo and FabiBertotti channels. While Fabiana approaches the issues from a biblical perspective, quoting verses in her speech, and says how a Christian should act in many everyday situations, especially sexual ones, Fabiola evangelizes more directly in a few videos, although she frequently presents Christian dialects and biblical principles in your thoughts.

**KEYWORDS:** YouTube: Evangelization; Youtuber: Internet: Religion.

### Introduction

Brazilian Christian institutions began to occupy several spaces in the open television programming, by the end of the 20th century, when they did not have their own TV stations. Such insertion caused the number of people who call themselves Evangelicals to grow from less than 1% of the population in the 1990s to 20.2% in 2009 (Silva & Nalini, 2015). The next step was to migrate to the then new media, the internet. These evangelical groups comprise Christians of various segments who have broken away over the past four centuries of Catholicism, especially with Protestant reforms, but with more recent subdivisions, such as Pentecostalism and Neopentecostalism.

The mediation through digital technologies by computers has transported interactions to a new environment, the cyberspace (Recuero, 2009). The digital



technologies are the infrastructure of this new (cyber)space, a new space for communication, sociability, organization and transaction, but also a new market for information and knowledge. (Lévy, 1999). According to Santaella (2004), networks happen when agents, their connections and their exchanges constitute nodes and links of networks characterized by the parallelism and simultaneity of the operational multimedia that unfold there. Budke (2015) explains that in cyberspace there is no need of physical space to celebrate a religious cult: the cybernetics is the sacred space, so the physical temple presents itself as an online temple.

Simulations of real world behaviors remain similar in the cyberspace, but communication that was unidirectional in the real world has become a two-way activity. Therefore, more than a sole broadcaster, social networks have provided several participants playing different roles in the communication process. In addition, Bernardazzi (2016) argues that as cyberculture develops through social networks, YouTube emerges as a main foundation fostering the discussion on paradigm and consumption changes of its most active users.

Youtube allows videos to be rated, commented and shared. The platform was created in 2005 and currently accounts for more than one billion users worldwide, whose videos are produced by big media companies, professionals and amateurs. The owner of a channel with many subscribers is called influencer because he/she literally influences behaviors on both the internet and the real world (Carreira, 2015). Their relevance is acknowledged by Youtube itself, which rewards content creators with silver, gold and diamond play buttons each time a channel reaches a pre-established number of subscribers.

This is how youtubers came about: they are people who post specific videos on Youtube on a regular basis and may receive a financial return and even turn it into a professional career. (Faria & Marinho, 2017). They are audiovisual content producers or recorders and create a channel on the platform to post their videos without required training in this area. For Bernardazzi (2016), the youtuber is not only the sender of the message because they are in direct contact with their viewers. Thus, the relationship between producers and consumers is enhanced, which fosters the dialogue and interactions. In other words, it is almost inherent in this medium the dialogue and interaction between producer and consumer, especially considering the logic of social networks and media.

Youtubers produce videos in a YouTube "pattern," which can be described as having fast, dynamic speech, few shots, sequencing, hard cuts and, according to Morris



(s/d.), they last six minutes on average. Of course, this also depends on the audience of each channel and the content being produced. The official length limit for regular YouTube videos is up to 15 minutes; to make it longer, the youtuber need to check his/her account status or split the video into smaller pieces. To check the status of the account, the user must inform his/her mobile number to which a message will be sent with the code that will allow uploading longer productions. Such videos can be made using smartphones or professional cameras, because there are many compatible audiovisual formats.

Christian religious leaders have a large number of subscribers on their YouTube channels, although most of their videos are not performed specifically for the platform. Most of them constitute recordings of cults and pulpit preachings, which are later posted on the channel. In such cases, there is no adaptation of format and content to the social media. As examples there are the pastors Lucinho Barreto and Tiago Brunet, as both boosted up to almost 700,000 subscribers. This non-adaptation is also present in the channels of priests Reginaldo Manzotti, who has over 800,000 subscribers, Marcelo Rossi, who account for almost 650,000, and Paulo Ricardo, who has almost 500,000 subscribers.

There are also channels of Evangelical youtubers that deal with many issues of this universe, but do not directly evangelize, as they only humorously quote situations from the gospel world, such as the following channels *Desconfinados*, accounting for almost 3,500,000 subscribers, *Tô Solto*, which has over 2,000,000, *Rodrigo Fernandes*, which has over 1,600,000, and *Tipo Assim*, accounting for over 600,000 subscribers. The channels about the campaign *Eu Escolhi Esperar* (I chose to wait), and *Projeto Luz e Vida* (Light and Life project) also deserve attention, as they account for over 950,000 and 750,000 subscribers respectively. Evangelization is the effective practice of proclaiming the message of Christ and refers to the preaching of Christian virtues and faith in Jesus.

Evangelicals, as well as Catholics, have as their principle the spreading of their own faith; that is why they strive to develop these media spaces. As a consequence, there is the missionary desire of proselytism between Catholics and Evangelicals, which is characterized by the simplification of God's message aimed at converting many people. Thus, proselytism aims at bringing people into the church and causing them to change their principles, opinions and beliefs. Hayes (2002) states that there is a strong tendency in proselytism to tell people how bad or wrong their current beliefs are. Biblical message simplification is also a tactic used by the youtubers analyzed in this



study. Among them two youtubers stand out: Fabiola Melo accounts for over 1 million and 600,000 subscribers and Fabiana Bertotti for almost 600,000. In addition to them, there is Pastor Antônio Júnior (who boosted up to almost 2,500,000 subscribers). The three youtubers have a significant number of subscribers and produce most of their videos especially for YouTube. There is no overlap with preaching recordings of videos produced for other social media, nothing but gaining recognition in the pulpits from that platform. Still, the relevance of the two women is healthy, since they are not traditional religious leaders, such as the priests and pastors mentioned above.

To choose the object of study, we searched for channels with large number of subscribers, and evangelistic productions made specifically for YouTube. Thus, humorous Christian channels were not interesting for this study, because even though their content is Christian in character, they do not directly evangelize, just joke with situations of the gospel universe. We also did not include pastors and priests who have significant number of subscribers but only disclose their full preaching on the platform. It is in this confluence that, by means of youtubers, the YouTube platform is pointed as a space for growth of the evangelization on the internet (Martins; Rivero, 2019, 2020). Evangelical youtubers use it for both evangelization and to gain visibility through it, by reaching a larger number of people, which is not possible in traditional evangelization events. Therefore, the aim of this article is to investigate how non-leader women in their religious segments conduct evangelization through their own production. To achieve this purpose we analyzed the 10 most viewed videos on FafisMelo and FabiBertotti channels. Among the aspects observed, there are the types of language, the topics covered and the treatment modes.

The nature of the research is descriptive (Richardson, 2008), in order to address the characteristics of the phenomenon of mediatization of religion through YouTube, identifying the way youtubers women use the platform to evangelize. We opted for a case study, as it is a research approach that consists in focusing in depth on a small amount of research objects. According to Günther (2006), the case study is a deep investigation of some phenomenon, from which it would be possible to generalize to other imminences. The research method used is qualitative, as it presents results through the authors' perceptions and analyzes.

## Christian Internet, the Cyber-Religion

The migration of the religious experience to the cyberspace allowed the birth of what Miklos (2010) calls cyber-religion, a virtual environment for religious communities.



The multiplicity of religious environments disseminated on the Internet shapes various theological and pastoral challenges for religions in the 21st century. Cyberspace interconnects the most distinct expressions of religiosity and, considering the traditional predecessor media allow us to rethink the celebratory models inherited from religious mediatization processes throughout church history (Budke, 2015). Cyberspace is the desire for connection taking place on a planetary basis, in other words, it's the connection between any human being on the globe in the same transmission network, which is only possible through telecommunication together with information technology (Lemos, 2004; Santaella, 2004).

The main contemporary religions have bowed to the power of the internet and its possibilities. The internet was initially preached as what would destroy religions, but it has actually strengthened them as the forms of evangelization throughout history have always used the media innovations of their time (Carvalho, 2016). The digital social networks of religions have become virtual temples that can be accessed any time and without need of locomotion. According Gil Filho (1999), the territoriality of what is sacred would be the institutional action of symbolic appropriation of a sacred space. Thus, territoriality is conceived in a symbolic space as a strategy for controlling relationships in sacred places, as occurs on YouTube.

For Souza (2016), religions and media belong to each other because the very act of media communication implies fundamental questions about the limits of human experience, such as our fragile bodies, our faulty memories, our difficulty in keeping in touch with distant people and our dream of disembodied and transcendent communion. From this perspective, media is important to materialize religious experiences as well as to expand man's own capacity of belief in something transcendental. Through the process of mediatization media influences and transforms various elements of religion, including its authority as an institution, the symbolic content of its narratives, faith and religious practices.

The association between religion and media does not culminate in the emergence of a new religious segment itself, but in a new social and cultural situation in which the power to define and practice religion has been changed (Rosa, 2016; Sanchotene, 2011). By using forms, content and performances typical of the media, the relationship between religion and the faithful, which before had no easy voice in the Christian community have changed from being just spectators of cults, with no space for expressing their ideas and opinions (Martino, 2014, 2016; Pérsigo & Fossá, 2010). Through digital media, especially social networks, the faithful can now question



institutionalized authorities and the messages they preach, and even create their own religious content, becoming an influence in the Christian milieu. This phenomenon is predominant in Christian youtubers who, through the popularity of their channels and posts, have gained visibility in the gospel space, becoming religious influencers of a large number of people, Christian or not.

According to Fantoni (2016), preaching on social networks is not always based on religious precepts, but on the ordination of a conduct that should be followed by the faithful. For example, it is not in every video that Christian youtubers talk about the gospel, but usually these productions have a discourse based on Christian principles. The Internet enables the creation of these connective leaders, i.e. faithful who are now also in a digital territory.

We live the age of the urgent and of convert yourself now. The marketing of faith has changed the form, the way, the music, the route, the context, and the preaching content. Suddenly announcing God's word to the people became announcing to multitudes. The desire of reaching multitudes became more pressing than the desire to evangelize with content. Such mutation is attributed to mediatization, which crosses the religious field, changing the way of offering and producing contents. (Oliveira, 2004 apud Fantoni, 2016, p. 128).

The internet has become a space of communion that calls the religious community to be more united and connected. Social networks, aided by its fluidity and interactive spaces, act as agents of the circulation of discourses; for religion, they are protagonists of the process of interaction and circulation in the religious field. Social networks, as interconnected digital systems, are micromanifestations of this religious field. To reach more people in their evangelization strategy, Christian churches first adapted to electronic media such as radio and television and afterwards conquered the digital media such as the Internet and social networks, especially Facebook and YouTube.

#### Fabiola Melo

FafisMelo channel was created by Fabíola Melo on May 5, 2011, and the first video was published on August 2, 2012. Currently she has over 1,600,000 subscribers, posts three videos every week, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. Her playlist is organized into 16 themes, such as Fabi e Sam (Fabi and Sam), which features videos related to herself, her husband, and their married life experiences; De frente com Fabi



(Facing Fabi), in which she interviews influential personalities from the Brazilian gospel setting, such as Marcela Tais, Priscila Alcantara and Caíque Oliveira; Papo de mulherzinha (Women's talk), in which she develops a tutorial on makeup, hair and looks. Her husband, Pastor Samuel Cavalcante, appears in some videos and even produces individually for his wife's channel, receiving messages from the male audience.

Fabiola casually addresses Evangelical themes to attract young converts or not, mostly about romantic relationships, from the stage of her courtship to her marriage to Cavalcante. Even though she is daughter and wife of pastors of the Assembly of God Church, she had no voice in the gospel setting; therefore, it was from the visibility that YouTube gave her that she was listened to not only in her church, but in several Christian churches in Brazil. Her posts on social networks reveal that as a digital Christian influencer, she travels throughout Brazil at the invitation of Evangelical churches to preach, most often, about Christian dating.

The opening video of the channel, Narrei a sua vida por um dia (e deu dó) (I narrated your life for a day and I was sorry), deals with "self-victimization," in which the youtuber plays two characters: one who just complains, sees difficulties in everything and feels wronged by society but does nothing to improve her life; and the other who appreciates the opportunities she has, grabs each one and does her best to make her life as fine as she can. To compare both of them the youtuber describes their day, from early morning to late evening when they go to sleep. The theme of this opening is neither related to religion, without Christian jargon, biblical quotations and "traditional" clothing, nor does Fabiola's speech during the narration refers to anything related to religion or Christian principles.

The ten most watched videos on the channel are: Primeira vez| Vergonha| #VIDADECASADA (First time| Shame| Married life); FRASES QUE UMA GAROTA CRISTÃ NUNCA DEVERIA FALAR (Phrases a Christian girl should never say); 5 COISAS QUE TODA ESPOSA FAZ (5 things every wife does); Dia dos Namorados – Entre IGREJAS diferentes (Valentine's day – among different churches); Casamento Fabiola Melo e Samuel – EMOCIONANTE HISTÓRIA DE AMOR (Fabiola Melo & Samuel wedding – thrilling love story); TIPOS DE JOVENS CRISTÃOS (Types of Young Christians); Como saber se ela está interessada em voce! | INFALÍVEL (How to tell if she is into you! | Infallible); PROFETADAS AMOROSAS | feat. To Solto (False love prophecies); TIPOS DE CRUSH NA IGREJA (Types of crush in church); PARÓDIA POXA CRUSH/ VERSÃO GOSPEL (Pôxa crush parody | Gospel version). Eight out of the ten videos talk about



love relationships and the other two talk about young Christian behavior. Their wedding video was not analyzed, as this type of production is similar to what pastors do when they preach and either edit or fully post such records, i.e. they are external productions only copied to YouTube.

Although the first video deals with issues not prominent in the gospel, such as the intimacy of a couple, Fabiola brings some biblical principles and explains them to her audience in a subtle way, making everyone, Evangelical or not, understand her message. In the second video, she humorously presents what attitudes Christian girls should not possess, spreading the gospel in such a way. In 5 coisas que toda esposa faz, she mentions only the habits acquired after marriage by "all" wives, without aspects directly related to the gospel, although there is some use of the Christian jargon. The fourth video does not present evangelization, but those who do not know the Evangelical denominations do not fully understand it because it presents, in a humorous way, the way doctrines of each church are and how they differ from each other. Therefore, the couples of the scenes seem unlikely because, even being Christians and Evangelicals, they follow very perspectives.

In Tipos de jovens cristãos, as in the Valentine's Day video within Evangelical denominations, there is no evangelization, though Christians may understand it better. The following video is the only among those analyzed that contains no Christian content, not even the jargon commonly used in videos without evangelistic content; in addition, it is the only video intended exclusively for boys. The video Profetadas amorosas is composed of staging of possible false revelations about loving relationships. It is full of Christian expressions, although it does not actually evangelize. The following video present the comic aspect of the previous ones, in which there is a profusion of jargon and knowledge about the Christian universe, but without directly promoting evangelization. Finally, she plays with the lyrics of the song "Pôxa, crush!" setting it in the gospel world without necessarily following the precepts of the gospel.

## Fabiana Bertotti

Fabiana Bertotti addresses topics considered unusual or taboo by Christians, such as masturbation, sex, homosexuality, divorce, and politics, especially for a Seventh-day Adventist church adherent. The channel FabiBertotti was originally created on March 16, 2009 to disclose her reports as a journalist, and the first video was published on March 16, 2009 and the next two just a day later. Currently, her followers account for almost 600,000 subscribers, the channel has weekly periodicity and a playlist divided



into 20 themes, such as: Conversa Íntima (Intimate conversation), featuring videos about sex; Fala, bonita (Speak, beauty!) About beauty tips; Casamento dá certo (Marriage works), recorded with her husband, pastor Rodrigo Bertotti. And Fabiana's journalistic articles for the Brazilian TV station SBT in 2009 are still available in Reportagens (Reports).

Fabiana's opening video features the first issue of the magazine Mulher de Fé (Woman of Faith), which she created for Christian women. Early on, she introduces herself as a journalist, writer and Christian, showing competence in creating a magazine in this style, as she always wanted a women's magazine addressing beauty and health with Christian principles, but could never found it for sale. The magazine seeks to build women's lives by bringing stories that can be used in their personal lives and help them grow spiritually. To this end, it brings history about the women of the Bible without the geographical and historical context of that time, showing that women of biblical times have much in common with modern women, such as conflicts, dreams, hopes, family, marriage and self-esteem dilemmas. Thus, Fabiana says it is not necessary to be inspired by celebrities, because it is possible to be inspired by the women of the Bible and her channel follows this path.

The ten most watched videos on the FabiBertotti channel are: O cristão e a masturbação (The Christian and masturbation); Quantas vezes fazer sexo? (How often should you have sex?); Só para mulheres casadas (Just for married women); Tatuagem é pecado? (Are tattoos sinful?); Os cristãos e os homossexuais (Christians and homosexuals); 50 tons de cinza – razões para fugir (50 shades of gray – reasons to avoid); Deus, Kéfera e uma lição (God, Kéfera and a lesson); Porque ser sexy? (Why be sexy?); Calça X saia (Pants vs. skirt); Sexo pode? (Is sex permitted?). Six out of the ten videos are about sex, two of which addressing the behavior of Christian women; and the other four featuring diverse themes such as clothing, homosexuality, tattooing and the Brazilian youtuber Kéfera.

The most accessed video is about masturbation, and the youtuber brings several aspects of the gospel of why it would not be right to do so. The video about how often to have sex is the second most accessed and follows the pattern of the previous one, with Bible-based opinions. The following production, aimed only at married women, preaches how they should behave in their relationships, always with the gospel as a support. Tatuagem é pecado? is the fourth most accessed and discusses it from various passages and quotations from the Bible. The next video is about homosexuality and evangelizes by saying that this practice is condemned, but it is also wrong to judge



someone because of it. The 50 shades of gray movie is considered inappropriate for Evangelicals, especially girls, who must remain virgins. The following video criticizes a post by youtuber Kéfera, who, according to Fabiana, insulted God by making a sexual joke. The next two most watched videos are about the issue of women's dress only in relation to the (abominable) sensuality, in the first, and to the (consented) pants, in the second, both with opinions based on gospel quotations. Finally, the tenth most accessed video is about the possibility of premarital sex that is evidently full of Christian indoctrination.

## **Final Considerations**

The YouTube channels of Fabiola Melo and Fabiana Bertotti were evaluated in order to understand how evangelization crosses the issues of videos, the way that the authorized discourse of the evangelical universe is acquired on YouTube and the relationship between the traditional language of evangelization with its own resources platform and the youtubers. A revealing aspect for both is the issue of dress, especially for women. While Fabiola dresses outside the standards of her church, although she uses that stereotype in some videos, Fabiana usually appears in more conventional clothes, almost always with covered arms.

In her opening video, in which she presents the channel, Fabiola appears taking a shower – even showing only her bare shoulders, it suggests that she was naked – and wearing unconventional clothes, such as unicorn pajamas. These garments do not match his religious side, as she is a member of the Assembly of God Church. Although she does not wear stereotyped clothes, she uses clichés to treat members of other religious segmentations, such as the Bola de Neve Church, when she wears black clothes and presents his boyfriend with a tattoo, in the video "Valentine's Day – among different churches", because that segment is labeled as liberal and, unlike most, does not see the tattoo as a sin. In "Pants vs. skirt", Fabiana treats the theme with a prejudiced view at the beginning of the video, saying that, because of the clothes she was wearing, the people might think she would make an offering to lemanjá. In the video "God, Kéfera and a lesson", however, she says that people should respect each other's religion.

The most discussed topic on Fabiola's channel, among the ten analyzed videos, is about relationship. Only two of them do not treat of that subject: "Phrases a Christian girl should never say" and "Types of Young Christians". The other eight videos are about relationship, giving boys tips to let them know when a girl is liking them, in "How



to tell if she is into you! | Infallible", humorously representing Christian couples in the videos "Valentine's Day – among different churches" e "False love prophecies", or presenting their own experiences, as in "First time| Shame| Married life" and "5 things every wife does".

In all of her videos, Fabiana approaches the issues from a biblical perspective, quoting verses in her speech. In this way, it is possible to perceive that evangelization crosses the thematic of videos, since it extends to the fact of the propagation of Christ's virtues and principles, such as love of neighbor, respect and chastity. Sex is the main topic addressed, although these and other taboo subjects are always justified by her, as she would receive many requests for them to be discussed on the channel. The youtuber talks about it without shame, with tranquility and a little humor. The videos "The Christian and masturbation", "How often should you have sex?", "Just for married women", "50 shades of gray – reasons to avoid", "Why be sexy?" and "Is sex permitted?" treat sex always with a perspective of marriage and from a Christian perspective. The other four videos analyzed address different subjects such as respect for all religions, tattoos, homosexuality and clothing.

Fabiana's form of evangelization is in some respects similar to that of pastors in the church, since she uses biblical references to explain the themes and bring them to the Christian context, even though the language used is different, as it is adapted to the logic of YouTube, with more informality, dynamism, objectivity and slang. This conduct does not correspond to the doctrine of her church, Seventh-day Adventist Church, a traditional, conservative church that strictly follows the Bible, still maintaining principles considered archaic, such as not working on Saturdays and women not wearing pants.

Fabiola, on the other hand, rarely uses Bible verses in her videos and, when they appear, it is humorous, although her reasoning logic on the subjects denotes an evangelical perspective. Only in the videos "First time| Shame| Married life" and "Phrases a Christian girl should never say" it is possible to perceive the presence of direct evangelistic discourse, when she talks about virginity and about the attitudes that Christian girls should not have. In two videos, she doesn't say anything about Christianity, she doesn't even presents Christian dialects: "How to tell if she is into you! | Infallible" and the opening video of the channel "I narrated your life for a day and I was sorry".

When she evangelizes, the youtuber use more interpretations and guide her speech in biblical verses; although her speech is based on Christian principles, they are



diluted and less explicit in his productions than those of Fabiana. In "First time| Shame| Married life", when addressing sex, unlike Fabiana who is not ashamed, Fabiola doesn't even say the word "sex", always trying to replace it with other words. When treating her honeymoon, she makes a speech with Christian principles, when she says that people should remain virgins until marriage and, for those who have already lost their virginity, she defends that "God can restore her/his purity".

Fabiola approaches the themes in a humorous way, with a language with Christian dialects such as: "varão" (religious man), "vase", "mantle", "profetada" (false prophecy), among others, showing the behavior of several Christians and churches. Unlike Fabiola, Fabiana does not uses interpretations and, when she does, they are not well designed and they are short-lived. Proselytism does not always seem prominent in the videos of youtubers, to the detriment of a wide evangelization, since they propose, above all Fabiana, the spreading of Jesus message, often through the biblical sermons or, like Fabiola, the dissemination without necessarily quoting it, but loaded into everyday practice.

Even though the two channels belong to Christian women, they differ a lot, from the scenario and framework to language and dress. Another difference is in relation to the subjects and the way they express themselves and reveal their religiosity. Each addresses religious issues from a different perspective, one with seriousness and the other with humor, which may be a reflection of the age difference or the intentions of each youtuber in relation to her channel – perceptible in their opening videos –, with greater or lesser adaptation to the productions and channels of greatest successes in this social media, based on their languages and logics.

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#### **RESUMO:**

O YouTube é uma plataforma apontada como um espaço de crescimento da evangelização na internet. Os youtubers evangélicos usam não apenas evangelização, mas para ganhar visibilidade, alcançando mais pessoas do que em um tradicional espaço religioso. Este texto busca investigar como mulheres não líderes dos seus segmentos religiosos realizam evangelização através das suas produções digitais. Para isso, foram avaliados os dez vídeos mais acessados nos canais FafisMelo e FabiBertotti. Enguanto Fabiana evangeliza em todos os assuntos, incluindo citações da bíblia e apontando como uma cristã deve portar-se diante de diversas situações, sobretudo sexuais, Fabiola evangeliza mais diretamente em poucos vídeos, embora apresente dialetos cristãos e princípios pensamentos bíblicos em seus frequentemente.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVES**: YouTube; Evangelização; Youtuber; Internet; Religião.

#### **RESUMEN:**

YouTube es una plataforma identificada como un espacio para el crecimiento de la evangelización en Internet. Los youtubers evangélicos lo utilizan no solo para la evangelización, sino para ganar visibilidad, llegando a más personas que en un espacio religioso tradicional. Este texto busca investigar cómo mujeres que no son líderes de sus segmentos religiosos llevan a cabo la evangelización a través de sus producciones digitales. Para eso, se evaluaron los diez videos más visitados en los canales FafisMelo y FabiBertotti. Mientras que Fabiana evangeliza en todos los temas, incluidas citas de la Biblia, y señala cómo un cristiano debe actuar y comportarse en situaciones, especialmente las sexuales, Fabiola evangeliza más directamente en algunos videos, aunque con frecuencia presenta dialectos cristianos y principios bíblicos en sus pensamientos.

**PALABRAS-CLAVES:** YouTube; Evangelización; Youtuber; Internet; Religión.