TELEVANGELISM IN ZAMBIA: AN APPLICATION

OF THE USES AND GRATIFICATIONS THEORY

By

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APRROVAL

This dissertation of ELIZABETH MAKUSA MWEENE is approved as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master of Mass Communication (MMC) Degree of the University of Zambia.

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iii

ABSTRACT

This thesis investigated the uses and gratifications that people get from watching religious programmes on the national television, Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC). It investigated the preferences of the audience regarding religious programmes and also the social, economic, religious, and demographic characteristics of the audience. The study focussed on the programmes aired on ZNBC since the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation in 1993 up to the year 2000. The data for this study was collected in three cities and towns; Lusaka, Mazabuka, and Ndola, using a four - paged questionnaire. Findings of this study suggest that the Zambian televangelism audience uses religious programmes both for religious and non - religious reasons. This shows that the audience makes choices for the satisfaction they want to derive from the religious programmes, depending on their needs. The audience therefore plays an active role in determining how they will be influenced by media content. Among the important characteristics of the profile of the Zambian audience are age, sex, marital status, economic and educational level and denomination. These features sometimes affect the frequency, format of programmes watched and the uses and gratifications sought from the religious programmes by individuals. This study was in many respects a confirmation of the findings of other researchers in the Uses and Gratifications (U and G) theoretical tradition.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

To my late mum Mrs Elizabeth Mooya Hamukwala Mweene, whose prayer and desire during her life time was that I should achieve academic excellence. Mama your prayers have been answered abundantly as the Lord has been graceful to me. May your soul rest in enternal peace.

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

APPENDICES

MAPS

ABBREVIATIONS IN THIS REPORT

BSA   British South African Company

BBC   British Broadcasting Corporation

CAC   Central African Council

CABS   Central African Broadcasting Station

CSA   Central Statistical Area

EA   Enumerators Area

ITCZ   Inter - Tropical Convergence Zone

MMD   Movement for Multi - Party Democracy

UNIP   United National Independence Party

UK   United Kingdom

NRBS   Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Station

NRBC   Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation

TBN   Trinity Broadcasting Network

U &G   Uses and Gratifications Theory

USA   United States of America

ZBS   Zambia Broadcasting Services

ZNBC   Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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The first part of this chapter is aimed at giving an overview of Zambia in terms of its geographic, economic and political structure. This is to give the work the necessary context. This is done because some background factors have affected the growth and nature of mass media in Zambia.

Geography and History of Zambia

The Republic of Zambia is a land-locked country, which lies between 8 and 18 degrees South, 22 and 33 degrees East, in South-Central Africa. It occupies elevated plateau country and has a total of 752, 614km (290, 586 square miles). The country is irregularly shaped; being constricted by the pedicle of former Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo, which divides the Copperbelt from the north-east. It is divided into nine provinces and shares a boundary with eight countries (see Map 1 on page 2).

The country is drained by two river systems: the Zambezi and the Chambeshi-Luapula. The Zambezi, from which Zambia gets its name, rises in north-western Zambia, crosses into Angola, and flows back into Zambia where it drops into the world-renowned Victoria Falls near Livingstone along the southern border. The Chambeshi-Luapula river drains north-eastern Zambia where it starts as the Chambeshi river, flows into Lake Bangweulu, and then flows along the border continuing into the neighbouring Congo.

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1

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MAP 1: MAP OF ZAMBIA
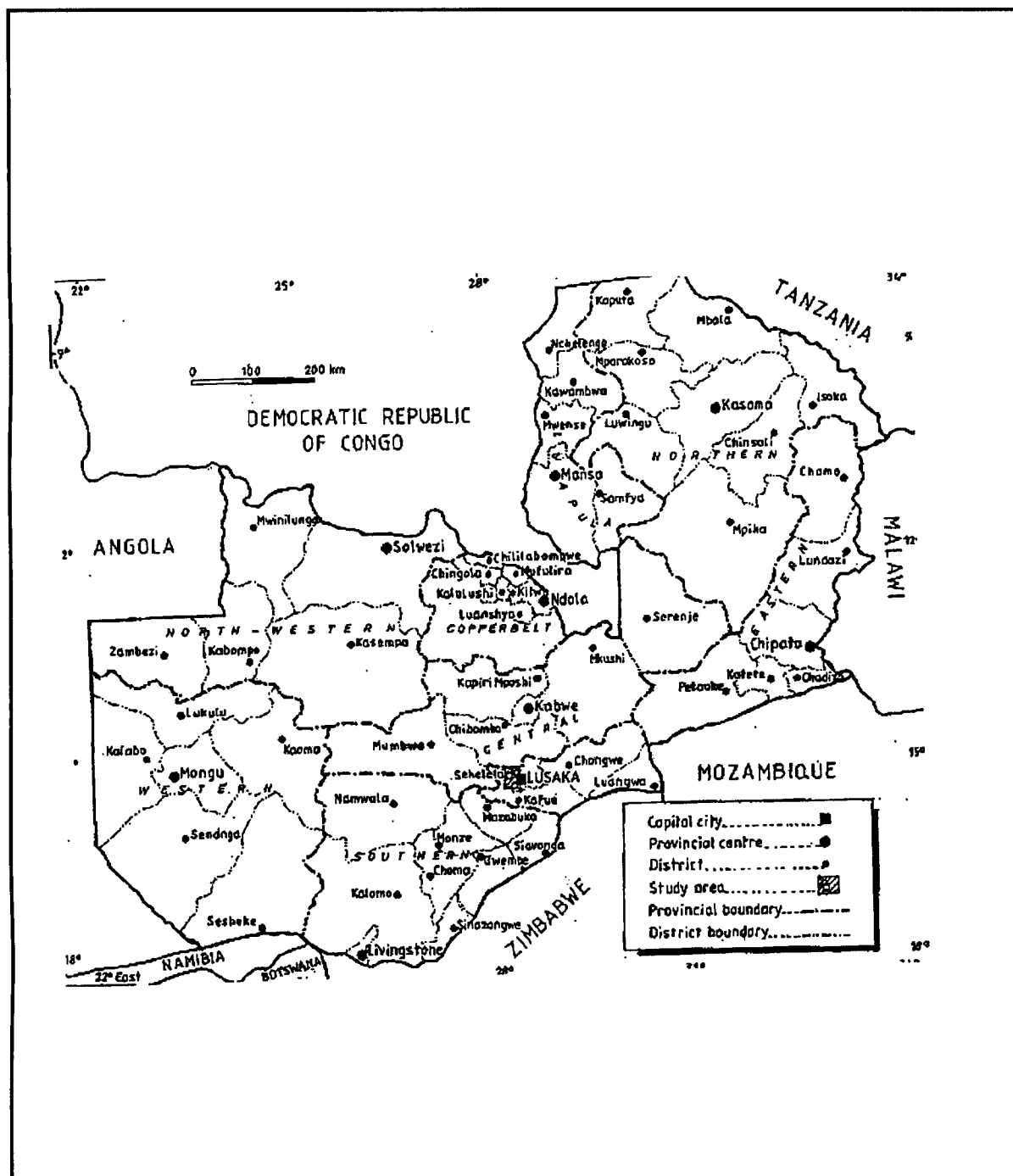
The topography of Zambia is dominated by the even skylines of uplifted savannah plateau land. Highest elevations are reached on the Nyika plateau border with Malawi in the East. Elevations decline westwards where the country extends into the fringe of the vast Kalahari basin. The dominant controls on the climate are Zambia's elevated position and the southward or northward movement of the Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone (ITCZ) low pressure belt. The former results in a cooler than expected climate, while the latter causes the changes in the seasons. Three seasons can be distinguished: *cool and dry* with temperatures of 16° C - 27° C (April - August), *hot and dry* with temperatures of 27° C - 32° C (August - November) and the *warm and wet season* (November - April). Temperatures are generally moderate with the highest mean maximum temperature exceeding 35°C only in extreme southern low-lying valley areas in the month of October.

Zambia's present boundaries date from the dawn of the colonial era in the early 1900s, but habitation of the territory dates from the early Stone Age. There are no fewer than 73 different ethno-linguistic groups among Zambia's indigenous population. Major language groups are: Bemba in the north and north-east, Nyanja in the Eastern Province, the Tonga in the Southern Province, and the Lozi in the Western Province (Varghan, 1965, p.6). There are also some people of foreign extraction who have settled in the country during the last 200 years or so. English is the official language.

Population

Zambia has a population of approximately 9 million (projection from 1991 A.D. estimates) with a density of 10.0 inhabitants per square km. Nearly one third of this

population lives in Lusaka, the capital city. The other area of high population density is the Copperbelt Province, the centre of Zambia's mining industry. In all the other provinces, the population density is relatively low (see diagram of 1991 figures in Table 1 below).

Table 1.

Population Density figures of Zambia by region or province			
Province	Women	Men	Total	population
	(in thousands)	(in thousands)	(in thousands)	density per
				sq. km
Copperbelt	780	800	1, 580	50.4
Lusaka	600	610	1,210	55.2
Eastern	500	470	970	14.1
Luapula	270	260	530	10.4
Southern	480	470	950	11.1
Central	370	360	730	7.7
Northern	450	420	870	5.9
N.Western	200	180	380	3.0
Western	330	280	610	4.8
Total	3,980	3,840	7,820	10.4

*Central Statistical Office, April 1991

Furthermore, statistics also indicate that the Zambian population has a higher percentage of females than males. This is, however, by a small margin. On the other hand, the Copperbelt has the largest number of males as compared to the other provinces. This could be as a result of more males seeking employment in the mines, which are found in this province. The disparities between male and female are further elaborated in Table 2. Furthermore, age cohorts also indicate that the larger part of the population falls below the age of 35years (also see Table 2).

Political-Economy

Before independence, Zambia was known as Northern Rhodesia and was initially under colonial company rule of the British South African (B.S.A) Company. In 1924, due to economic problems, the company handed over its administrative role to the British Colonial Office. Although allowing the local European settlers a progressively larger say in government, Britain retained ultimate control of the territory until independence (Malford, 1967, p. 15).

Northern Rhodesia became the independent Republic of Zambia on the 24th of October 1964. The United National Independence Party (UNIP) ruled the new state throughout the First Republic (1964-1972). This period was distinguished by the existence of multi-party electoral competition, and lasted until December 1972 when the constitution was amended to provide for a one party democracy. This gave birth to the Second Republic (1973-1991) also under UNIP (Molteno, 1969, p. 20).

Table 2.

Population by Age and Sex			
AGE	MALE	FEMALE	BOTH SEXES
0 - 4	595, 163	603, 336	1, 198, 527
5 - 9	553, 193	564, 638	1, 117, 831
10 - 14	511, 845	516, 401	1, 028, 246
15 - 19	454, 345	485, 050	939, 395
20 – 24	329, 925	380, 836	710, 761
25 - 29	248, 186	284, 597	532, 783
30 - 34	210, 486	218, 863	429, 349
35 - 39	146, 636	150, 014	296, 650
40 - 44	126, 510	139, 051	265, 561
45 – 49	104, 291	109, 868	214, 159
50 - 54	92, 170	99, 813	191, 983
55 - 59	74, 276	66, 513	140, 789
60 - 64	59, 054	56, 498	115, 552
65 – 69	40, 674	33, 224	73, 898
70 - 74	31, 313	25, 196	56, 509
75 - 79	18, 347	11, 870	30, 217
80 - 84	8, 354	7, 587	15, 941
85+	7, 247	6, 532	13, 779
NOT STATED	5, 562	5, 603	11, 165

Central Statistical Office. 1990 projection

The Second Republic was inaugurated and its government institutions elaborated in 1973, when UNIP became the sole ruling political party (Malford, 1967, p.30). President Kenneth Kaunda's Zambian Humanism became the guiding philosophy even in non-political spheres of life. The state had, from the Matero Economic Reforms of the late 1960's, continued to entrench its control of 80 percent of the economy through the holding Zambia Industrial and Mining Corporation (ZIMCO).

In 1991, the government system yet again changed to multi-party politics, and the opposition Movement for Multi Party Democracy (MMD) went into power. In 1993, after the election of the MMD government, new policies were introduced which liberalised the economy and the airwaves. It became possible for private individuals and non-government organisations to apply for broadcast licences.

Mining, especially of copper, and by-products such as cobalt, a heat-resistant metal mainly used in jet engines and the making of magnets, remained the country's most important economic activity, providing, until recently, about 95 percent of foreign exchange. Other sectors such as agriculture and tourism, also play smaller parts in the economy (Turok, 1979, p.15).

Having looked at the general overview of Zambia, it is important to also look at the media situation in the country. Since television is the area of focus for this study, only the broadcasting industry will be looked at.

Background to the Broadcast Industry

Broadcasting in Zambia started with radio in 1941. This was two years after experimental broadcasts by the Copperbelt Amateur Wireless Club on the Copperbelt (Fraenkal, 1959). The Northern Rhodesia Government established the first small radio station in Lusaka, at the city airport, known as the Northern Rhodesia Broadcast Station (NRBS) (ibid.). The station initially broadcast in the main six vernacular languages then spoken in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia (Nyanja, Tonga, Bemba, Lozi, Ndebele and Shona). This station carried out 1-hour transmissions for 3 days of a week (ibid.). Since the World War II was in progress at the time, the main purpose of the station was to inform the people about the progress of the war. However, very few people, especially Africans had radio receivers (Colonial Reports, 1951).

The need to expand access to radio for Africans led to the introduction of the 'Sauce-pan Special' - a hardy but cheap radio set, designed in the then Northern Rhodesia, but actually made in the United Kingdom (U.K). This set was designed by the then Director of Information, Harry Franklin in conjunction with the Eveready Company. The first batch of the green coloured sauce-pan special arrived in Northern Rhodesia in September 1949 (Fraenkel, 1959).

In 1950, the station became known as the Central African Broadcasting Station (CABS). This was after an agreement was reached between the Federal government and the Central African Council (CAC) that the station concentrates on local-language broadcasting (i.e. all languages in Rhodesia & Nyansaland). Another station which was

based in Salisbury (now Harare), the capital of the then Southern Rhodesia would broadcast in English (ibid.).

In 1958, after the formation of the federation of Rhodesia and Nyansaland, the Federal government took over the responsibility of broadcasting. At this time, the Federal Broadcasting Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyansaland was born. When the federation ended in 1963, Northern Rhodesia established its own station which became known as the Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (NRBC). After independence in 1964, it was renamed Zambia Broadcasting Corporation (Colonial Reports, 1952).

The station was largely run as a service by the government. This is because at this time, it may have been impossible to get broadcasting started on a commercial footing. In 1966, the government turned the corporation into the Zambia Broadcasting Services. It, however, was changed back to a corporation in 1988, and remains so up to date.

Television

Television was initially provided in 1961 in Kitwe by the London-Rhodesia Company (Lonhro). The station initially broadcast for two hours per week in 1961. By 1971, it had increased its broadcast to 45 hours per week. At this time, the signal was not very strong and most provincial centres could not receive it. When Zambia became independent in 1964, this station was bought by the new government and became the Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS). It became a department of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting (Mensah, 1998, p. 163). In 1986 micro-wave links and booster stations had

been established. This improved the signal and most provincial centres were able to get the signal. In 1988, through an Act of Parliament, ZBS became the current Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC). However, this change was more in name than substance as ZNBC continued to operate as a service up to the writing of this dissertation.

At the time of this study, the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation's television and radio studios were situated in the capital, Lusaka with a sub-station in Kitwe. However, with the liberalisation and deregulation of broadcasting stimulated by the market reforms of the current government, new private radio and satellite cable television stations have come up around the country. Some of the new radio stations are urban-based but some rural districts like Mazabuka and Chipata also have new stations (See Appendix I for details).

However, television reception in Zambia is mainly restricted to the line of rail and provincial capitals. Transmission to the provincial and district centres is only possible to within an average radius of about 80 kilometres of these centres. The signal is taken to the far-flung administrative centres via a network of micro-wave links and booster stations. According to a survey carried by the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (1996), there is an estimated 600 000 households with television sets around the whole country (see Table 3).

Table 3.

Number of house-holds with television sets by province	
Province	No of house/holds with sets
Central	60 000
Copperbelt	170 000
Eastern	38 000
Luapula	16 000
Lusaka	132 000
Northern	27 000
N/Western	16 000
Western	27 000
Southern	66 000

Another survey by ZNBC in 1999 estimated the viewing audience (above 15 years) to be around 2.5 million. This is about a quarter of the total population of Zambia. The low viewership can be attributed to the cost of a television set which may be described as relatively high for the generally poor Zambians.

On the other hand radio has a wider reach than other media in Zambia due to its relatively low cost. An audience survey carried out by the Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) World Service in 1991 indicated that radio is the most important source of news and entertainment (Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1996). Radio is broadcast mainly from

medium and short-wave transmitters along the old line of rail from Livingstone to the Copperbelt and in the provincial towns. However, Frequency Modulation Transmission is also carried out mainly along the line of rail.

According to the 1996 ZNBC survey households with radio sets were estimated at more than 1.5 million (see Table 4).

Table 4.

Number of house/holds with radio sets by province	
Province	**No of house/holds with radio sets**
Central	94 500
Cooperbelt	231 000
Eastern	126 000
Luapula	63 000
Lusaka	157 000
Northern	105 000
N/Western	63 000
Southern	115 500
Western	84 000

The listening audience was estimated at 6 million (radio 1,2 4).

Narrowcasting Television

The country has private television companies like MultiChoice Zambia, a partnership between the ZNBC which owns 30 percent of the shares, and South Africa's MultiChoice

which owns 70 percent shares in the company.   At the time of writing, a smaller but growing narrowcasting television enterprise was the Cable and Satellite Television (CASAT) company.

Apart from digital satellite narrowcasting service for selected subscribers, MultiChoice Zambia also runs a terrestrial narrowcasting service for other subscribers with analogue decoders.   However, this station is mainly a news and entertainment narrowcasting station and does not have any televangelism programmes.   Also, this study focussed on the televangelism programmes run on ZNBC as alluded to earlier.

Zambia also has the Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN) station set up by TBN International through an initiative of Deputy Minister of Finance and Economic Development, Reverend Danny Pule.   This is mainly a religious television broadcaster only transmitting to Lusaka but planning to expand coverage to the whole country and beyond.

Although this station also runs programmes which constitute televangelism, it is not included in the study because this study focussed on programmes aired on the ZNBC television channel.   TBN was left out because, at the time of this study, the Network was only transmitting to Lusaka, as earlier pointed out.   Since this study was looking at televangelism in Zambia, ZNBC was most ideal as it covers the whole country. Furthermore, ZNBC is the only indigenous television station to which the Zambian population has access.

Before discussing televangelism on ZNBC in Zambia, it is important to look at the origins of this practice which have been traced to America. In this regard, it then becomes imperative to look at religious broadcasting, which was the earliest practice in America and was later overshadowed by televangelism. This is not to say that religious broadcasting no longer exists, nor even that the two are separate from each other. An explanation of what may distinguish the two will be given later in this chapter.

Early Religious broadcasting

The roots of religious broadcasting can be traced to America. Carpenter (1985, p. 49), observed that the 1930s characterised the great period of mass evangelism. This period was, in many ways, sparked by the discovery of radio. However, early moves by churches and individual evangelists to build radio stations and begin broadcasts were not without controversy. Carpenter (1985, p. 50) reported of one Bible institute which built a radio station in 1923 only after it overcame the fears of its leaders that airwaves were the realm of Satan. The misconception arose from a misunderstanding of the fact that the fallen angel is termed in the bible as 'the prince of the power of the air' (Ephesians 2:2). As time progressed, radio became a popular medium for evangelists as it gave them a reach they had never had before. The content of these early broadcasts was largely *preaching* and *worship* as takes place at crusade meetings. After the introduction of television in the 1950s, most of the mainline churches running programmes on radio moved into television as well.

The first religious television program in America, produced by a major denomination was *This is the Life* produced by the Missouri Synod Lutheran Church. The Lutherans made the programme out of broadcast funds raised from their successful radio program, *The Lutheran Hour*. Later, other denominational and ecumenical programs followed, including the Lutherans *Lamp Unto My Feet* and the *Catholic Hour* (Hoover, 1982, p.47*). Therefore early religious broadcasting was done mainly by the mainstream churches.* The content of the broadcasts were mainly preaching and crusade type of worshipping.

With time, however, there started a new form of religious broadcasting. The airwaves were slowly taken over by individual religious broadcasters. This marked the beginning of televangelism in America.

At this point, it is important to explain why this kind of religious programming became to be known as televangelism.

Religious Broadcasting Vs Televangelism

There cannot be said to be a clear demarcation between religious broadcasting and televangelism. This is because religious broadcasting does sometimes constitute televangelism. Though this researcher has not been able to find a given definition for religious broadcasting, it can still safely be described as being broadcasts, which constitute any religious material, aired on either radio or television. Therefore, since televangelism constitutes broadcasts of a religious nature, it can be considered as

religious broadcasting. However, the distinction between the two can be made mainly in terms of the content objective and medium used.

Differences in Content Objectives

According to Hadden (1993), the sacred texts of Christianity command the followers of Jesus to preach the Gospel to every living creature on earth. Evangelical Christians take this commandment seriously and many among them view the development of television as an instrument sent by God to help them fulfil this Great Commission (http://www.utexas.edu/depts/comtech/fall96/usu-grat.htm). Therefore, the main focus for televangelists is to evangelise. This evangelisation is done in different programme formats such as worship service, direct evangelisation to audience at home, discussion, music etc.

Religious broadcasting programmes are not necessarily always aimed at evangelisation. Instead programmes may at times just focus on activities of a given congregation, including worship.

Differences in the media used

Televangelism is said to be a combination of the words television and evangelisation. (http://www.dictionary.com/cgi-bin/dict.pl?term=televangelism). Therefore, as the term televangelism may insinuate, this is evangelisation done exclusively on television. On the other hand, religious broadcasting is used to refer to programmes aired both on radio and television.

Furthermore, early religious broadcasting is conducted by mainline churches like Catholics and Protestants. These churches, other than the programmes done on television, also have other worship centres all over the world and also in various locations in a given country as the case may be. For them, these programmes are therefore not the 'main service'. On the other hand, for televangelists, the programmes aired on television constitute the main programme. They do not usually have many centres as the mainstream churches do, though there may be a few exceptions.

Another consideration for a distinction between the two could be sustainability of programmes. According to Hadden (1993), evangelicals, like automobile and personal-hygiene manufacturers, have a product to sell and the airwaves are a market instrument. This means that the product for evangelicals is Jesus Christ and his gift of eternal salvation for all who accept. Televangelists usually depend on the viewers to help pay for the broadcast of the programmes they run on television. In other words, if viewers feel spiritually enriched from a particular televangelism programme, they either opt voluntarily, or are asked to help pay for the broadcasts through donations or pledges.

Furthermore, viewers are also requested to give tithe and offerings to the televangelist through television. This is the reason why this kind of tithe, and offering giving is at times referred to as the 'electronic plate' (Fore, 1987).

In contrast to evangelicals, most mainline traditional churches running religious broadcasts such as Protestants and Catholics are not so heavily committed to proselytization.

From the characteristics that set aside televangelism from religious broadcasting, one can understand why the individual evangelists that started coming on the airwaves during the beginning of religious broadcasting in America came to be known as televangelists. The dominance of evangelicals on the television airwaves over mainstream churches in America has continued for more than two decades now. This situation has now also overflowed to countries like Zambia.

Early American Televangelists in America

Among the first televangelists to hit the airwaves was Rex Humbered (Carpenter, 1985, p.57). He started his program at his Independent Temple in Akron, Ohio, in the early 1960s (ibid.).

Oral Roberts started his long career as revivalist and faith healer on television began with the broadcast of his tent meetings in 1954. In the mid-1960s, he left television, and the healing circuit, to start a university in Tulsa, Oklahoma. He returned to television in 1969 with an entertainment-oriented music and preaching program called *Oral Roberts and You* (Harrel, 1985, pp.30-31).

Pat Robertson became popular with his *700 Club* and the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN). CBN was the first of the television ministries to lease satellite time to distribute the *700 Club* to cable television systems throughout North America (Stout & Hatch, 1986, p. 56). The *700 Club* evolved from a televised prayer and Bible-study program in the early 1960s into the first of the "Christian talk shows" of the electronic church era (ibid.)

Jimmy Swaggart, before his sex scandals and fall from grace, was also a renowned preacher. His program involved teaching and preaching in a television studio using visual aids such as blackboards, charts and others.

From the above discussion, it is clear that televangelism started mainly in America. In most African countries like Zambia, televangelism is a relatively new phenomenon. An interesting observation, however, is that most of the early televangelists in America are among the televangelists currently airing their programmes in Zambia (e.g. Pat Robertson, Oral Roberts etc). Furthermore, American televangelism has had a great bearing on the televangelism which currently exists in Zambia. Most local televangelists (Danny Pule, Joe Imakando, Elvis Mwewa) have followed the American programme formats and also the way of preaching.

Before looking at the current situation in Zambia regarding televangelism, it is important to first look at how evangelism started in the country. This is because early mainstream churches started by missionaries who brought evangelisation in the country, were the

ones that later started religious broadcasting on television. These have now currently been overshadowed by televangelism as was the case in the American situation.

Evangelism in Zambia

Missionaries like David Livingstone were the first to travel to Africa in 1853. Evangelism was introduced by such missionaries who came to Zambia to spread Christianity. The purpose was to develop the Christian faith. The other purpose was to establish trade between Britain and Africa. As a cotton miller in Lancashire, Livingstone thought that the same technology used in Britain could be exported to Central Africa, especially Northern Rhodesia (Andrew, 1976, p.6).

David Livingstone's first journey lasted for three years (1853-1856). His second (started in 1858), and the third journey (1866 - 1873), made him come to Zambia where he became the first European to see the Victoria Falls. During these two last trips he worked not as a missionary but as a British Consul.

Because of his influential reports, he reactivated interest in the British government about Central Africa. As a result of this, two Scottish missionaries from the Church of Scotland and the Free Church settled separately in the Shire highlands and at Livingstonia, south of Lake Malawi. Meanwhile, the London Mission Society, initially starting from Zanzibar's east coast, went south following Lake Tanganyika, and opened mission stations among the Mambwe-speaking people in 1887 and 1889 respectively. Other churches like the

Church Mission Society and the Scottish Presbyterian Churches also penetrated from the east coast to the interior of Zambia (Akuffo, 1997).

Other individual missionaries like Bishop Joseph Dupont entered Zambia through the east coast route and settled among the Bemba. Dupont built a mission at Mambwe Mwela in 1891. He later on moved south-eastwards where he negotiated with Chief Makasa to stay in his country, and built the present day Kayambi Mission (Andrew, 1976, p.10).

Francois Coillard, a French missionary came and settled among the Lozi people of Western Zambia. Coillard was sponsored by the Paris Missionary Society and, in the previous years, had worked among the Basuto people before crossing the Zambezi river to begin work at Sefula, near the Lozi capital, in 1886 (ibid.).

These missionaries laid the foundation for evangelisation in Zambia. This is because they are the ones who brought in the mainline churches like Catholics and Protestants. As alluded to earlier, these were the churches which introduced religious broadcasting.

When television was introduced in 1961, some of the churches used this medium to promote their activities. The Catholics in particular were renowned for religious programmes on the then Zambia Broadcasting Services. An example of this was the famous *Club House Time* which featured in the late 1970's. This programme was targeted at children. On this programme, bible stories were dramatised in cartoon form. These were aimed at teaching the children good Christian values. By the late 1980's,

another programme known as *Lumen Hour* (now Lumen 2000) also hit the airwaves. This programme was a catholic programme conducted in documentary form, highlighting the various activities that the Catholic Church was engaged in. Up to the time of writing this thesis this programme was still being broadcast on Zambia national television as Lumen 2000. The children's programme, *Club House Time* was, however, discontinued in the late 1980's. The 1990s saw the coming in of televangelism era in Zambia.

Televangelism in Zambia

As indicated earlier, the first television station known as the Northern Rhodesia Broadcasting Corporation (NRBC), was established on the Copperbelt in 1961 by a private firm, the London Rhodesia Company (Lonhro). As alluded to earlier, the introduction of television, the missionary churches found a new avenue to reach the Zambian population (Barrent, 1968, p.12). There was a daily religious programme on television for children known as club house time as alluded to earlier.

With the passage of time, a new form of televangelism became prominent as new evangelists came on the scene. This was during the Third Republic when both local and foreign religious programmes were aired on the ZNBC channel. This is to say that individual evangelists who were not part of the mainstream churches started buying airtime on ZNBC. Initially these evangelists were mainly from America. However with time even local televangelists came on the scene, and have continued to present date.

These programmes became prominent especially after the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation. The figures in this regard are discussed in Chapter II.

Status of Televangelism in Zambia

Televangelism in Zambia is currently dominated by programmes from the American based Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN). This network is said to be the largest Christian television across America and around the world. It is carried by 16 satellites and thousands of cable systems around the world (tbn.org/about/tbnstory/indexhtm.). As pointed out earlier this network now broadcasts in Zambia. It features over 54 evangelists on an exclusive TBN channel. It is the televangelists from this station (Benny Hinn etc.) who initially started braoadcasting on ZNBC, and were later joined by others.

However, there are also televangelism programmes by other evangelists from other American networks such as the Christian Broadcasting Network (CBN) but CBN is, however, also a patner to the Trinity Broadcasting Network. There are local televangelists as well.

Televangelists affiliated to TBN on ZNBC

One of the earliest televangelists to come on ZNBC television is Benny Hinn from USA. The Benny Hinn Ministries is an international ministry that reaches the world by way of television, airing programmes and conducting miracle crusades. This ministry was started in March 1983, by Benny Hinn who founded the Orlando Christian Centre in Florida in the USA. Beginning with a small group of only 250 followers, this inter-

denominational church now reaches over 10, 000 people in the USA, and millions more through televised worship services each week.

The call of God on Benny Hinn's life to take the message and ministry of God's healing power beyond Orlando to the countries of the world opened the way for the development of the television program and miracle crusades. His popular daily half hour television programme called *This is your day with Benny Hinn*, is seen in the United States on more than 90 television stations and national cable outlets (http//wwwbennyhin.org). It is also broadcast in many other countries of the world including Zambia. This programme started its broadcasts in Zambia even before the Trinity Broadcasting Newtork started its independent broadcasts in the country. The programme *This is your day with Benny Hinn* a 30 minutes programme, carries evangelisations sermons and also has healing sessions.

Another early televangelist is Ernest Angley. His programme is popularly known as the *Ernest Angley Ministries* programme. This is a one -hour programme and is an evangelistic and healing type of programme.

 Bishop T.D Jakes founded the T.D. Jakes ministries in 1994. His popular programme is known as *The Potter's House*. This programme is a 30 minutes programme and is a worship type of programme. It features poignant messages by Bishop Jakes. However, Bishop Jakes also occasionally brings guest speakers on the programme.

Paul Crouch and Jan Crouch are the founders of the Trinity broadcasting network. They also run a programme known as *Praise the Lord*, which is broadcast on ZNBC. It is a one-hour programme and is a magazine/evangelistic type of programme. It features different Christian personalities from all works of life who are interviewed on religious issues. The programmes also has segments of music, and also a section where people request for prayers concerning different problems. However, Paul and Jan Crouch, as well as their guest preachers also give evangelistic sermons.

Jessie Duplantis runs the Jessie Duplantis ministries. This ministry was founded in 1981 (http://www.cti.itc.virginia.edu). Currently, he runs a programme on ZNBC popularly known as the *Jessie Duplantis Ministries*. This is a thirty minutes programme and is in form of worship and healing programme.

Oral Roberts runs the programme *Oral Roberts and you* on ZNBC channel. This programme has preaching and musical segments.

Televangelists affiliated to CBN

The Christian Broadcasting Network features a programme known as the *700 Club*. This programme is produced by Pat Robertson. As stated earlier, Pat Robertson is also the founder of the Christian Broadcasting Network.

Turning Point is another programme aired by the Network. This is a magazine type programme produced by Victor Oladukon and Cathy Edwards.

This programme is also affiliated to the Christian Broadcasting Network.

Local Televangelists

Danny Pule is known for his participation in establishing TBN in Zambia. Pastor Pule runs a programme known as *Dunamis Fire Impact*. The programme is in worship format. The pastor has members of his congregation listening to the sermon just in his church building while he also preaches to the television audience at home. It is a one-hour programme. Reverend Danny Pule is affiliated to the Trinity Broadcasting Network.

Joe Imakando produces the *Hour of Blessing* programme. It is also a worship format programme. *Turning Point* is a programme produced by Pastor Elvis Mwewa. Though sharing the same name with CBN's *Turning Point*, there is no connection between the two as this one is by a local televangelist.

All these are some of the religious programmes that run on the ZNBC station. Furthermore, details in terms of the times and days, including other programmes not mentioned here, are given in table 5.

Up until the time of writing this thesis ZNBC station opened at 5:00pm to 00:00hrs every Monday to Friday, 12:00pm to 00:00 on Saturdays and 8:00am to 00:00pmhrs, on Sundays.

Table 5.

Programme schedule for televangelism programmes on ZNBC				
PROGRAMMES	**DAY**	**TIME**	**MONTH**	**YEAR**
Music from the Churches	Sunday	07:30am	January	1996 -2000
Benny Hinn	Sunday	09:00pm	February	1992 -2000
Rema church hour	Sunday	10:30am	April	1993 -2000
Potters House	Sunday	2:30pm	August	1999 -2000
Praise the Lord	Sunday	4:00pm	April	1999 –2000
Turning Point	Sunday	5:30pm	February	1992 -2000
Ernest Angeley Ministries	Monday	6:00pm	May	1992 -2000
Steps to Life	Tuesday	6:30pm	February	1999 - 2000
Turning Point	Wednesday	6:00pm	May	2000 -
Voice of Prophecy	Thursday	5:30pm	February	1998 - 2000
Lift the veil	Thursday	10:30pm	August	1999 -2000
Prophecy Countdown	Friday	6:30pm	June	1998 - 2000
Oral Roberts and You	Saturday	2:30pm	March	1994 -1999
Zambia Shall be Saved	Saturday	3:00pm	February	1992 -2000
Hour of Blessing	Saturday	4:00pm	April	1999 - 2000
Dunamis Fire Impact	Saturday	5:00pm	March	1999 - 2000
700 Club	Saturday	6:30pm	May	1992 -1998

ZNBC Tv Guides. 1991-2000

Note: This study focussed on programmes between 1991 and 2000. However, most of these programmes were still being aired on ZNBC even after the year 2000.

CHAPTER II

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

Televangelism in Zambia is as old as television broadcasting in the country. As stated in Chapter I, the first television station was established in Kitwe, on the Copperbelt, in 1961 by a private firm, the London Rhodesia Company - Lonhro. By that time, a number of churches such as the Free Church of Scotland, the Catholic Jesuit Mission, and the London Missionary Society also had bases established in that province.

Televangelism remained a popular feature on the station throughout the post-independence era. The changes in status of the national broadcast station from corporation to government service, and again to corporation, did not change the tendency to use televangelism programmes, and this continued with the coming of the Third Republic in 1991. However, with the continued featuring of religious programmes, came the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation by President Frederick Chiluba. This declaration was made by the president at the first anniversary celebration of his Movement for Multi-Party Democracy (MMD) on 29th December 1991. The full declaration went as follows:

> Dear God, as a nation, we now come to your throne of grace and we humble ourselves and admit our guilt. We repent from all our wicked ways of idolatry, witchcraft, immorality, injustice and corruption and all other sins that have violated your righteous laws. We turn away from all this and renounce it all in Jesus' name. We ask for your forgiveness dear Father and cleansing through the blood of Jesus.

Therefore we thank you that you will heal our land. We pray that you will send healing restoration, revival, blessing and prosperity to Zambia in the name of Jesus, Amen. On behalf of the nation I have entered into convenant with the living God. Therefore, I want to make the following declaration: I declare that I submit myself as President to the Lordship of Jesus Christ. I likewise submit the government and the entire nation of Zambia to Jesus Christ. I further declare that justice prevails in all levels of authority and then we shall see the righteousness of God exalting Zambia (Chiluba, 1991, p.2).

The declaration was later incorporated into Zambia's Republican Constitution in 1996. The preamble of the constitution now reads in part:

WE THE PEOPLE OF ZAMBIA by our representatives, assembled in our Parliament, having solemnly resolved to maintain Zambia as a Sovereign Democratic Republic; DECLARE the Republic a Christian nation while upholding the right of every person to enjoy that freedom of conscience or religion (Constitution of the Republic of Zambia, 1996).

As stated in Chapter I, from the declaration, there was an upsurge in televangelism by churches from the United States of America, and some local religious ministries, which had the required resources to produce and air programmes. American religious

programmes like *This is your Day with Benny Hinn* and *the Ernest Angley Ministries* have become a common feature on the Zambian National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) television. Religious programmes account for 22 percent of the total programmes during the week while Saturdays and Sunday have about 30 percent of airtime (ZNBC TV Guide, 1992-1998).

However, it is important to note that this declaration brought about some controversies regarding its appropriateness, and validity. According to the Weekly Post (January 1993) in a story titled *Are Christians in the majority*? investigations by the paper at the Central Statistics Office (CSO) on the distribution of religion in the country, revealed that no national census had ever been compiled on people's religious inclinations. This meant that despite being declared a Christian nation, no numerical data on religious inclinations of people had ever been compiled to show that Christians were in the majority. Therefore, the declaration was not made on the basis of valid data.

In another story run by the same paper (January 1993), the United Islamic Association was reported to have condemned the declaration. This is because after the declaration was made, one of their programmes that was being aired on ZNBC radio 4 was banned by the then Minister of Information, Reverend Stan Kristafor. However, the ban was later lifted by the then Vice President Levy Mwanawasa. This shows that though the declaration did not contravene the Republican Constitution at the time, it however put other religions other than Christianity at a disadvantage. Despite these controversies, this declaration was left to stand and exists up to date.

Another consideration to be made also is that though the proliferation of religious programmes became more prominent after the declaration was made, it is not far fetched to say that it may have been a mere coincidence. That American televangelists who were the first to introduce this kind of religious broadcasting, might still have had their products spreading in the country anyway.

However, the premise on the declaration by this researcher is that it may have incited the American televangelists to bring their programmes into the country, as it qualified Zambia as a good place for such programming. Further, Dan Pule who facilitated the setting of TBN Zambia and producer of Dunamis Fire Impact aired on ZNBC, was a Deputy Minister in the Third Republic. Before the Third Republic (which brought in the declaration), he was unknown on the airwaves.

Background of the Uses and Gratifications Theory

One big tradition in media research is referred to as the Uses and Gratifications approach. This theory concentrates scholarly attention on why people use particular media, rather than on effects of the content itself. This is in contrast to the concern of the older media effects tradition, which focused on what media do to people.

In the effects tradition, people are generally perceived as an alienated, passive and homogenous mass, and particularly in the earlier versions, media messages seen as having a strong and more or less universal effect on all people exposed to them. The

Uses and Gratifications approach, by contrast, places emphasis on the active role of the audience in making deliberate choices and being goal-directed in their media-use behaviour (Blumer, 1979. http://www.ujs.edu/"grubbs/bryant/chap12b.html).

The latter paradigm does not view people as gullible and passive recipients, but as active individuals making deliberate choices as to what media they get exposed to (Chandler, 1994, p.2). The theory provides a lot of stimulating insight into the media audience, and hence its choice by this researcher for this study.

This study followed the theory to find out why people watch these religious programmes, and how they use these in their daily lives. The study also sought to establish whether these programmes had any impact on the people, and also to determine the nature of that influence.

It focused on programmes run on ZNBC from the period December 1991; since the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, up to the year 2000. As pointed out earlier, this period marked a time when there was an intensification in televangelism programmes on ZNBC. Furthermore, ZNBC was chosen for the study because it is currently the only national television station in Zambia. This means that all Zambians with television sets nation-wide tune in to this channel. The other channel Trinity Broadcasting Network (TBN), though allowing free access of viewership, had at the time of study, a very limited range of coverage mainly confined to Lusaka. Furthermore, this channel could be a considered as a 'foreign' channel since it originates from America.

Further, since the study was aimed at investigating the uses and gratifications of the Zambian audience, ZNBC was the most ideal. It was the only local station on which televangelism programmes had been introduced that had a nation-wide coverage.

Statement of the Problem

Since the declaration of Zambia as a Christian nation, religious programming has increased by over 10 percent (analysis of ZNBC TV Guide, 1991- 92). Given the 22 percent and 30 percent respectively, of weekly and week-end religious television programming (ZNBC TV Guide, 1998) during the period of concern, this research aimed at:

1) investigating the uses and gratifications people got from these programmes,

2) gathering other data on the religious television viewing audience relevant to developing a deep understanding of the phenomenon. The data so gathered would constitute a useful audience profile for the ZNBC televangelism programmes.

Justification of the Study

The first mass media survey in Zambia was conducted more than three decades ago by Graham Mytton in 1974. Since then, some smaller regional studies were conducted such as Nyirenda's 1988 study in Chongwe. However, although these studies provided useful audience information, none provided an audience profile pertaining to the phenomenon of televangelism. Furthermore, they did not investigate the uses and gratifications the

audience got from the programmes. This dissertation therefore fills a gap by providing Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) management, other broadcasting stations, scholars, and evangelists themselves, with researched data from an audience perspective, in one of Zambia's major television programming areas.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study were to:

1) ascertain the nature and size of the audience for religious programmes aired on ZNBC television.

2) investigate why and how people use religious programmes.

Research Questions

In view of the above objectives, the questions being investigated in this research were:

1) What are the social, economic, religious and demographic characteristics of people who watch religious programmes on ZNBC?

2) How are televised religious programmes being used by people in their daily lives?

3) What Gratifications are audiences receiving as a result of televised religious broadcasting?

4) What are the predisposition's vis-à-vis ZNBC religious programmes of the audience and why?

CHAPTER III

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The use of the media can be analysed from two perspectives: that of the media producers, and that of the consumers. Both the producers and consumers are interested in using the mass media for their own ends. Media producers find themselves dealing with a variety of people trying to get material into the media. These may include government and their representatives, public relations people from various organisations, advertisers, televangelists, and many others. The aim for putting forth the material could be for various reasons which may include making money, making the audience aware of something, persuading the audience to do something, or converting people to a belief system etc.

With regard to media consumers, these use the mass media to meet their own needs such as the desire for entertainment, information, social interaction and many others. Audience members freely select the media and the programmes they can use to best gratify their needs. The media producer may not be aware of the actual uses to which the media content being broadcast may be put. Furthermore, the different audience members may use the same programme to gratify different needs.

Conceptual and Operational definitions

Televangelism

The Merriam Webster dictionary defines Televangelism as the regular telecasting of religious programmes by an evangelist (http://www.dictionary.com/cgi-bin/dict.pl?term=televangelism). As this definition suggests, these programmes are aired exclusively on television and meant for evangelisation. In this study, this term was used to be the telecasting of both local and foreign religious programmes on ZNBC channel whose content is mainly aimed at evangelisation. Such programmes can be in any form e.g. worship service, music, drama and aired either during the week or week-ends.

Uses

Kiong Liong (1986) defined this term as being the purpose to which media content was used. In his study, he used this term to refer to the uses made of religious programmes by the Erie County viewers in the USA. Similarly, in this study, this term was used to refer to how people viewing religious programmes make use of them. To investigate this, people were asked, using a questionnaire, how they use the programmes they watch. The questionnaire provided a list determined from previous research work, of different media uses, as well as a rating scale with 'unimportant', 'important', 'very important' and 'extremely important'. Examples of uses listed are: 'learn more about the bible', 'salvation purposes' and 'news and information'. The respondents had to tick against the uses while at the same time rating these uses. For a complete list of the uses see questionnaire on page 107.

Gratifications

Fore (1987), defines this term as referring to the satisfaction that people get from the content of programmes content shown on the media. Gratifications could thus be said to be the other side of the coin that has 'uses' on one side: In this study the term represented the satisfaction or gratification derived from religious programmes. To determine the gratifications, the questionnaire had questions asking people the satisfaction they get from programmes on ZNBC channel. Similarly a list of gratifications was given, and a similar rating scale as mentioned above was used. Some of the gratifications indicated were, 'reinforcement of personal values','companionship and support', 'insight into oneself' etc. The two concepts of 'uses' and 'gratification' make up what is known as the Uses and Gratifications Theory sometimes referred to as U & G theory in the dissertation.

Audience Profile

Horsefield (1984) in his study defined this term as referring to the characteristics of a given audience. In his study, he mainly used it to define the denominational status of the Erie county religious audience in the USA. In this study, it refers to the social, economic, demographic, and denominational status of the audience watching ZNBC religious programmes. This was determined in the study by asking the audience questions about their age, marital status, level of education, denomination, geographical location etc. For example, in determining the geographical location, the respondents were asked to indicate which residential area they lived in. These were recorded as the high, medium and low-density areas. The high medium and low categories were made on the

basis of the population density in a given area. As will be seen in the analysis chapter, cross tabulations of the different categories were made to help develop an insight into the audiences profile.

Agnostic

The Oxford English Minidictionary (1997) dictionary defines this term as "a person who neither believes nor disbelieves the existence of God". In the field, people were asked in the questionnaire to state their religious affiliation. The responses provided not only for believers, but also the non-believers and agnostics.

Frequency of viewing

This refers to the number of programmes that a respondent viewed on television in a particular time period. It was used as a measure of the intensity of viewership of televangelism programmes. In practice, the respondent was asked how many religious programmes they watched on television in a week.

Early Communication Theories

One of the earliest theories of communication was the Magic Bullet Theory, which was also known as the 'Hypodermic' Theory. This theory was advanced in the 1920s and suggested that the media acted like a syringe "injecting" messages to induce a narcotic like effect upon the audience (Severin and Tankard, 1979 p. 250). According to McQuail (1987, p. 29), there were some distinct areas in which mass media were first seen to have

a massive universal and potentially powerful effect on the audience. These were the evolution of cinema and then radio, which were used for propaganda purposes during World War One.

Later in the 1960's and 1980's the domain of an all-powerful media and its concept of the mass audience was greatly criticised. American researchers working in different disciplines showed that that the Magic Bullet theory had exaggerated the effects of the media (Lazerfield, 1940). These criticisms brought about the development of other theories such as the Limited Effects Theory and others, which mitigated the influence of the media on its audience. Alongside these was the development of theories, which rejected media-centric type of approach and instead focussed on the audience as active participants. Among these was the Uses and Gratifications approach.

Uses and Gratifications (U&G) Theory

One of the theoretical approaches to the use of the media by people is the Uses and Gratifications Theory. The Uses and Gratifications approach represents a significant part of the trend in communication studies towards studying the audience as an important component in the communication equation. This approach focuses on why people use particular media. It predicts that people have existing needs, and that these needs determine media use. This is unlike the effects tradition, which is more concerned with "what media do to people" as alluded to earlier (Severin & Tankard, 1979, p.250).

Background of the Uses and Gratifications Theory

As pointed out in the previous chapter, the Uses and Gratifications Theory concentrates scholarly attention on why people use particular media, rather than on effects of the content itself. This is in contrast with the concern of the older media effects tradition, which focused on what media do to people.

In the effects tradition, people are perceived as an alienated, passive and homogenous mass, and particularly in the earlier versions, media messages as having a strong and more or less universal effect on all people exposed to them. The Uses and Gratifications approach, by contrast, places emphasis on the active role of the audience in making deliberate choices and being goal- directed in their media-use behaviour (Blumer, 1979. http://www.ujs.edu/"grubbs/bryant/

chap12b.html).

The latter paradigm does not view people as gullible and passive recipients, but as active individuals making deliberate choices as to what media they get exposed to (Chandler, 1994, p.2). The theory provides a lot of stimulating insight into the media audience, and hence its choice by this researcher for this study.

Evolution of the uses and gratifications approach

The Uses and Gratifications Theory arose originally in the 1940s and underwent a revival in the 1970s and 1980s. The approach springs from the *functionalist paradigm* in the social sciences. It presents the use of media in terms of the gratification of social or

psychological needs of the individual (Blumer & Katz, 1974, p.76). It reflects a desire to understand audience involvement in mass communication in terms more faithful to individual users' own experience and perspective. When the approach arose, it sought to replace the image of the audience member as a passive victim (Blumer, 1979, http://www.ujs.edu/"grubbs/bryant/chap12b.html).

Severin and Tankard (1992, p.270) observe:

> The Uses and Gratifications approach was first described in an article by Elihu Katz (1959) in which he was reacting to a claim by Bernard Berelson (1959) that the field of communication appeared to be dead. Katz argued that the field that was dying was the study of mass communication as persuasion. He pointed out that most communication research up to that time had been aimed at investigating the effects of persuasive campaigns on audiences. Katz said this research was aimed at answering the question, What do media do to people? Most of this research had shown that mass communication had little effect in persuading people, and so researchers had turned away to variables that did have more of an effect, such as group influence.

Katz (1959) found it imperative for the field to start asking questions like 'What do people do with the media?'

The Uses & Gratifications Theory was further developed in the work of Lazerfield and

Stanton (1949) with soap opera listeners. They specifically found that people:

1) have existing needs

2) use the media to satisfy these needs which may be classified as

information/surveillance, entertainment/companionship, escape/boredom

(ibid.)

3) assess how satisfied they are (ibid.).

The authors also argued that media uses determine effects

(http://cda.mrs.umn.edu/~burker/spch3710ch15.txt).

Other scholars like Katz, Hass and Gurevitch (1973) later outlined the objectives of the

Uses and Gratifications Theory as seeking to:

a) explain how people use media to gratify their needs,

b) understand motives for media behaviour, and

c) identify functions or consequences that follow needs, motives and behaviour

(http://cda.mrs.umn.edu/~burker/spch3710ch15.txt).

Therefore, this theory represented a fundamental change in evaluating the effects of mass

communication in contrast to what had hitherto been in practice. The recipient, who had

always been viewed as an uncritical consumer of the contents of mass communication,

now came to be identified as an active participant in the process of reception.

Therefore, the ultimate objective of the uses-centred research is not only to analyse the subjectivity derived gratification, but also get an insight into the circumstances surrounding "why" such purposes have arisen. In this regard, several authors (McQuail 1986, Elihu Katz, 1974, Lull, 1990) have come up with potentially useful propositions of various uses and gratifications that people make of the media.

Taxonomies of Uses and Gratifications

As alluded to earlier, Uses and Gratifications researchers have identified various uses and

gratifications that people make and get from the media. McQuail (1986, p.305), suggests that the audience use the media for 'personal identity' and this includes the concept of media reinforcing the personal values of individuals. This is because the viewer may look to a media character in order to gain insight into themselves. The viewers use this character as a role model by identifying with the things that they do and placing themselves in relation to that character. Media speak to peoples' lives in so far as they offer a basis of comparison with their own lived experience. They allow people to explore reality and act to reinforce dominant values in their lives.

Other categories of media use such as 'getting information' suggest that viewers inform themselves about something by using the media. The audience may want to learn about something which they may not have directly experienced themselves (Lull, 1990, p.109). The media meet this need through performing their surveillance or news function.

43

Bryant and Zillman (1994, p.26) identify integration and para-social interaction as another important category of media use. They point out that audiences are able to see the lifestyle and state of affairs of other people, and identify with these people and thus gain a sense of belonging.

The media also help people in their social roles while they can also be substitutes for real life companionship (McQuail, 1974, p.316). Television can also be a companion for people accomplishing household chores and routines, or for lonely individuals.

In a study conducted in 1973, Katz, Hass and Gurevitch saw the media as means by which individuals connect or disconnect with others. They developed five (5) categories of needs met by the media:

1) *cognitive needs* such as acquiring information, knowledge and understanding,

2) *affective needs* or those to do with emotions, pleasure, feelings etc,

3) *personal integrative needs* or those to do with credibility, stability, and status,

4) *social integrative needs* which have to do with links to family and friends, and

5) *tension release needs* linked to escape and diversion.

(http://cda.mrs.umn.edu/~burker/spch3710ch15.txt)

Furthermore, scholars like Weiss (1969, p. 44), point out that the uses and gratifications of the media seemed to fit into four categories of 'time filling', 'relaxation' or 'diversion' and 'social and personal needs'. However, a formulation of such categories

and a generalisation of media use, as identified by these researchers has been criticised as will be elaborated later in this chapter.

A basis for Research

Research on the uses and gratifications of the media has focussed on different aspects over the years. In the early 1940s, research on Uses and Gratifications focused on why people use certain media content. Scholars such as Lazerfield undertook a study on the appeals of radio programmes. In the 1950s and 1960s, research was in favour of personal influence and media functions (Horton etal 1956, p.46). From the 1970s to 1990s, research has examined audience motivations, and developed taxonomies of the uses people make of the media to gratify social and psychological dispositions (McQuail, Blumer, Brown 1972, pp.135-36). The Uses and Gratifications often take the form of using content in strengthening or weakening a connection with aspects such as self, family or society. The scholars categorised types of audience gratifications for television content. They linked social circumstances and viewer background with gratifications sought and formulated a typology of media-person interactions observing that people are motivated to use television for diversion, personal relationships, value reinforcement and surveillance.

Among the other revelations of research in the 1990s is the view that people are motivated to use television for personal reinforcement, to find their personal identity and or to receive information and news (Rubin, 1979, p.75). Furthermore, Rosengren and Windhal (1991, p.45), also point out that the need for interaction can be in form of

someone identifying or connecting themselves to media. This is to say that they can either connect or identify themselves with characters in media programme content.

As indicated earlier, the Uses and Gratifications approach represents a part of the trend in communication studies, which sees the audiences as an important component in the communication equation. As McQuail (1986, p.296) points out, an important assumption of the Uses and Gratifications theory is that the audience is not passive but engaged in deliberate and conscious decisions about the kind of the media content they expose themselves to.

Furthermore Blumer and Katz (1974, *p.159*) also assert the active role of the audience:

Uses and Gratifications researchers assume that the media audiences are active in their choices of media material. From this perspective, the use of the media is highly selective and motivated actively and not just a mindless pastime. In general, people use the media because they expect that doing so will give them some gratifications hence the name of this research tradition. The gratifications are assumed to be related to the satisfaction of social and psychological needs experienced by the individual.

In this regard, gratifications can be obtained from a medium's content (e.g. watching a specific programme), from familiarity with a genre within the medium (e.g. watching soap operas), from general exposure to the medium (e.g. watching TV), and from the

social context in which it is used (e.g. watching TV with the family). Uses and Gratifications theorists argue that people's needs influence how they use and respond to a medium.

The audience cannot therefore be regarded as a lump of clay to be moulded by the master propagandist (Davidson, 1959, p.360). As such, the audience can be seen to be made up of individuals who demand something from the communications to which they are exposed; actively selecting those that are likely to be useful to them. Thus, this theory involves a shift of focus from the purpose of the communicator to the purpose of the receiver. It attempts to determine what functions mass communication is serving for audience members.

The Uses and Gratifications Theory sees media as sources of influence amid other sources, and sees media audiences as variably active communicators. This notion of the active audience has conflated an extraordinary range of meanings including:

Utility - mass communication has uses to people,

Intentionality - media consumption is directed by prior motivation,

Selectivity - media behaviour reflects prior interests and preferences,

Imperviousness - The lessened ability of media to influence an obstinate audience,

(http://google.netscape.com/netscape?query=%22uses+and+Gratifications+Theory%22).

Katz, Hass and Gurevitch (1973) point out that the general trend for uses and gratifications is to be usually concerned with (1) the social psychological origins of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media exposure (5) differential patterns of the mass media exposure (6) need gratifications and (7) other consequences (McQuail and Gurevitch, 1974, p.78). Therefore, the 'causes' of media use lie in social or psychological circumstances that are experienced, by the audience as problems, and the media used for their resolution in the meeting of needs. These causes of media use may have to do with information, social contact, diversion, learning and social development (Bryant & Zilman, 1993, http://www.ujs.edu/"grubbs/bryant/chap12b.html).

Critique of the Uses and Gratifications Theory

Blumer(1979), states that the Uses and Gratification theory is based upon liberal-rationalist beliefs in human dignity, and the potential of the individual for self realisation (http://www.ujs.edu/"grubbs/bryant/chap12b.html). Despite such noble assumptions, the Uses and Gratifications theory has fallen under criticism. In order to have a clear perspective of some of these criticisms, this researcher looks at the new revisionist theories and the culturalist approach.

Revisionist Approaches

Over the last few years the pendulum has swung in the world of audience research. According to Morley (1993, p. 13) any new body of research attracts criticism, and audience research is moving from a phase of enthusiasm to one of self-analysis. The notion of the active audience as theories like the uses and gratification promote, can be

taken too far, thus neglecting the constraining action of the text or treating trivial variations among readings as theoretically important.

Though Uses and Gratifications researchers have attempted to answer the question of why people make use of media offering, and others like reception researchers (Hall 1981) also look at what people see in the media and which meanings they get out of them, Morley (1993, p. 14) argues that the question being left out is how people live with the media. In other words how are the media integrated into our daily lives? He points out that when we examine what it means for people to watch television, it may be more important to look at the domestic contexts of the family life in which people use television than to find out interpretations people make of any particular type of programming.

Herman Bausinger (1984, p. 24) a researcher from West Germany also sums up four general points that we need to keep in mind when we want to understand the place of the media in everyday life:

1) To make a meaningful study of the use of the media, it is necessary to take all the different media into consideration, and examine the media ensemble that everyone deals with today. Audiences integrate the contents of radio, television and newspapers.

1) As a rule, the media are not used completely or with full concentration. We read part of sports reviews, skim through magazines and zap from channel to channel when we don't like what is on television.

1) The media are an integral part of the routines and rituals of everyday life. Thus media use cannot be isolated, because it is constantly interrelated with other activities such as talking or doing housework. In other words mass communication and interpersonal communication cannot be separated.

1) Media use is not an isolated, individual process, but a collective process. Even when reading the newspaper one is often not truly alone, but interacting with family, friends or colleagues.

These new approaches to audience research have been termed as the new revisionist or interpretivist perspective. These approaches have begun to map the intricate social circumstances in which patterns of media consumption are organised in people's day-to-day routines.

Furthermore, the diverse notions of "mass" have been questions by recent research. These include the notions of the 'mass audience' and 'mass media'. When talking of the mass media, we must now specify the channel of interest, not because print and television are opposites but because different media channels are received in different ways, and these contexts must be explored. Similarly, the genre of a programme is significant. As the soap opera debate (Livingstone, 1990, p. 122) made clear, the category of television varies enormously with different genres; watching soap opera involves different audiences, patterns of involvement, domestic arrangements and critical modes of interpretation compared with, say, watching the news.

Furthermore, text reader relationships clearly differ according to the genre of programmes. Therefore, different genres specify different contracts to be negotiated between the text and the reader (Livingstone & Lunt 1994, p. 102).

These new approaches therefore present certain implications for the Uses and Gratifications theory. If different genres result in different types of involvement, then this theory has some short falls in that uses and gratifications researchers have formulated categories of gratifications derived from media content e.g. personal identity (McQuail), integration and parasocial interaction (Bryrant and Zilman 1994), getting information (Lull 1990) etc. These categories cut across researchers looking at different programme genres.

Furthermore, these categories are not distinguished from one media to the next. There are generalisations made of the uses and gratifications gained from different media as outlined earlier in the chapter.

Another criticism which is along the same lines as the previous one is by Barkart (1983, p. 39) who points out that dis-oriented research in mass communication can hardly serve as a means of getting reliable statistics about societal phenomenon. He states that in this connection, it is not enough to simply correlate media consumption patterns with such demographic features as age, sex, profession, income level of education and so on and thereby hope to derive comprehensive and acceptable social statistics from them. This is because he argues, such data hardly gives information about the real role which the mass

media play in the life of the recipient and can therefore not provide the basis for an incontrovertible assessment of the gratification which recipients derive from the media.

According to Barkart (1993) a uses-oriented mass communication research should instead be closely correlated to such factors as social background, taste, aspiration, disposition, world view, thought patterns etc. of the recipient, coupled with the specific uses which the recipient makes of the mass media.

Burkart (1983), advocates for a more qualitative analysis of the life of the recipient as manifested in his subjective value hierarchies and preferences in determining the role played by the media in the daily life of the recipient. It is on getting such information that it would be possible to determine realistically what man does with the media and their contents; how he applies the mass mediated message and why.

Other scholars like Rosengren and Windhal (1991), also point out that the uses and gratifications theory is

    a) too individualistic in its focus upon audience members. This makes it difficult for the theory to explain or predict uses and gratifications behaviour beyond the persons studied, or to consider societal implications of media use.

    a) Studies in the field are compartmentalised, producing separate typologies for motives. This hinders conceptual development because separate research findings are not synthesised.

c) There is usually a lack of clarity among central concepts such as social, psychological background, needs, motives behaviour and consequences.

d) Investigators attach different meaning to concepts such as motives, uses, gratifications and functional alternatives.

e) Active audience and the uses of self-report data have also been criticised.

http://www.ujs.edu/"grubbs/bryant/chap12b. html

Rosengreen and Windhal (1991) also see the uses and gratifications as falling short of considering other interrelated factors determining media use.

Cultural Studies

Another form of criticism can be derived from the stance taken by another approach of the study of mass communication, known as Cultural Studies. Cultural Studies theorists start with society as their focus of attention. Culture is understood as a web of interacting levels of meaning through which a particular social order is codified, communicated, explored reproduced, experienced and struggled over (Real 1989, p. 133). Cultural theorists are concerned with power relations, the relationship between texts and their contexts, and the nature of the encounter of individual groups and classes with these texts.

The genesis of this approach can be traced to the German Frankfurt school which was influential in addressing the rise of authoritarianism as an explanation for the demise of democracy (James, 1987). Later in the 1950s another group of American adherents who were members of this school and relocated to America, took the behaviorist and

positivism stance in looking at culture industry. The media were seen as reinforcing the values and norms that contributed to the consensus (http://www/genesis/grubbs"/htm).

Much later, some British and European scholars inverted the American media-society equation to society media relation. This was the time that the approach moved from media effects to that of context (Gerbner 1969, http://www/genesis/grubb"/htm). This researcher will, however, not endeavor to go into details of these different schools.

Looking at the Uses and Gratifications theory, a criticism that will arise from Cultural Studies is that the theory simplifies how the audience will use media texts to gratify certain needs and ignores the context which will determine how media texts are read and then used by different individual, groups or classes.

However, though the Uses and Gratifications theory has come under such attack, scholars such as Rubin (1979, p.40), still argue that current research in uses and gratifications has addressed several of the criticisms thereby strengthening the explanatory ability of the theory. The theory has also furthered an understanding of media uses and effects.

Gottschlich (1978) has also come in full support of the Uses and Gratifications theory, and points out that current research tends to create links among media-use and motives for use, and their association with media attitudes and behaviour. Therefore research work has thus provided indications of consistent patterns of media uses. He also points

out that researchers have also tended to compare the place of audience motives across different mass media categories or their content (Teichert 1979). This has resulted in co-operative analyses on the effectiveness of different media to meet audience needs and wants. http://www.ugs.edu/grubbs"/htm.

Furthermore, Levy and Windhal (1984, p.76) argue that examining social-psychological circumstances of media uses has addressed how elements such as life positions, lifestyles, personality and other traits influence media use. This was also confirmed by this researcher as will be seen in the results chapter. Elements of life position were seen to have an influence on the viewership of religious programming. For example, people who held high job positions, which is usually synonymous with high income, viewed less religious programmes as compared to those in lower job positions. A logical reasoning for this was that the high-income earner would be more involved in social activities such as drinking sprees, as compared to the other group. Furthermore, the highly educated who were most likely those in high positions differed in programmes format preference as compared to the other group. Therefore, the Uses and Gratifications theory does demonstrate how lifestyles may affect media use and even the motives for doing so.

Blumer (1979) says that the Uses and Gratifications theory mainly examines people's needs and motives to express themselves, and how, when they use the media, they are affected. For example, the theory looks at how people use the media to gratify their needs, the issue of understanding the motives of individuals using the media, and to

identify the consequences of such behaviour

(http://www.ujs.edu/grubbs/bryant/chap12b.html).

Similarly, this researcher found that people had different uses and motives for watching religious programming, e.g. getting information, salvation purposes, killing boredom etc.

Current focus for Audience Research

Revisionist theorists have demonstrated a shift of focus for audience research. Morley (1986, p.43) demonstrated in a study that there are gender-related patterns which occur in most families as they watch television. He found that men prefer to watch programmes attentively so as not to miss anything while women tend to combine their viewing with other activities such as knitting, doing house hold chores etc. He, however, noted that the situation may be different in families of different class and ethnic backgrounds, in single-parent or two-career family's etc. Still, these are predominant patterns in the United States as confirmed by several American researchers (Linlof, Shatzer & Wilkinson, 1988 http//www.ucs"grubbs.html). For current research it would be interesting to go further than the male-female relationships in terms of viewing patterns, but also at the relationships between children and parents, among siblings, among friends and colleagues both at home and outside.

Furthermore, the study of media in everyday life depends on methods that are capable of capturing the fine-grained details in which the media are part of our routine activities. Therefore, ethnographic approaches of studying media audiences have recently gained interest among communication scholars. In such approaches researchers attempt to come

to a culturally sensitive understanding of the complex subjective worlds of media audiences, by using a variety of methods of investigation such as in-depth interviewing, focus groups, and spending time with their subjects in participation observation. Ethnographic approaches have also demonstrated that viewers are active interpreters of texts and that viewing contexts vary widely in their impact on these interpretations.

The traditional separation of interpersonal and mass communication assumed in both administrative and critical traditions in untenable. Ethnographic research has shown the significant ways in which family talk about say racism, inevitably takes place in a media dominated environment (e.g. Billig, 1991; Van Dijk 1991). It is therefore not just a matter of including both interpersonal and mass communication in research, but one of recognising their mutuality, each acting to construct the other.

Furthermore, the diverse social contexts of viewing, the variable nature of viewers' involvement, and the proliferation of media technologies have transformed watching television into an activity that is essentially diverse and context dependent.

Another direction pursued by current research is looking at how particular audience groups engage in different ways with particular forms of genres of the mass media in different contexts as has been alluded to earlier. According to the Journal of Communication (1993), researchers must start asking further questions about cultural and societal contexts of viewing. This is because previous research has tended to pool studies from different countries towards a general goal of understanding the 'audience'. For

example Liesbes and Katz (1990) studied different ethnic groups in Israel and America, while Seiter et al (1989) studied German viewers, and Livingstone (1990) studied British viewers. Generally, while audience research has been conducted in very different cultures or countries, insufficient attention has been paid to the specific impact of culture on the research findings obtained.

Cultural contexts of viewing are often discussed in an ad hoc or post hoc manner, to explain specific results rather than give a complex contextual understanding. Therefore, current research attempts to go further than this through the use of ethnographic methods, which allow for a greater insight of people and the media and culture impact on these relations.

Current position of the Uses and Gratifications Theory

Much as the revisionist theories have enunciated the use of more appropriate approaches in the study of the audiences and the media, this does not necessarily see the decline of the Uses and Gratifications theory. As Kasoma (2000) states,

A theory is a set of inter-related propositions that suggest why events occur in the manner they do. We can identify four functions of theories. They include;

a) helping us to extend knowledge by making us go beyond what we see or

data given;

b) stimulating and guiding us to do more research on the issue;

1) helping us to organise a wide variety of experience into relatively few

propositions. In this respect, theories are like maps which serve as

symbolic constructions in highlighting those aspects or features we want

to pay attention to; and,

1) making us anticipate situations and events as well as phenomenon we see

around us.

In this respect the uses and gratifications theory makes it possible for us to understand how people make use of the media. The fact that the applicability of this theory may have some shortfalls does not still in any way diminish its validity as a theory.

As technology moves the universe into an electronic information age people have more options now. Technology has allowed consumers to be more in control of the media. Therefore, specific research in these areas is crucial for media planners, as they should be monitoring the position and direction of the audiences. Therefore, the Uses and Gratifications theory still remains valid.

However, uses and gratification researchers could take still take into considerations use of some ethnographic and other techniques e.g. focus groups or participation observations advanced by revisionist theorists, so as to get greater insights into audiences relation with the media.

CHAPTER IV

LITERATURE REVIEW

Evangelism

Evangelism has been defined as the communication of the Gospel of Jesus Christ to others (Barrent, 1968, p.47). It is not a new phenomenon . Many argue that Jesus Christ himself was the first evangelist (Whitby, 1985, p.15). He was followed by his disciples who did evangelism by face-to-face interaction (ibid.).

Uses and Gratifications and Mass Media

As outlined in the previous chapter, Blumer and Katz (1974, *p.159*) wrote that the audience is actively involved in the selection of media and media content to meet certain needs, psychological, social and otherwise.

This assertion highlights the active role of audiences in the communication situation. Research conducted using the Uses and Gratifications Theory further qualifies this position as true. People have indicated various reasons for watching programmes. For example, the findings in the study conducted by Richard Kilborn (1992, p.123) on soap operas revealed different reasons indicated by respondents for watching the soaps. These included 'being able to identify with characters', 'way of over-coming loneliness' etc. This confirms that the audience was using the programmes for their own gain and not necessarily for the purpose intended for the programmes by the producers.

This researcher in her study also got different responses as the reasons for watching religious programmes, as will be seen in the discussion on findings of the research. In normal circumstances, a common reason would have been 'evangelisation purposes', but in this study, other uses such as 'information and news', 'companionship and support', 'gain insight into oneself' were also selected. This indicates that the audience was using these programmes also for their own benefit as individuals. They were making their own choices for the satisfaction they wanted to derive from these programmes.

As noted in Chapter III, Katz, Gurevitch and Hass (1973) also pointed out that the media are used by individuals to meet the following specific needs as they seek to socially connect or disconnect themselves: cognitive, affective, personal integrative, social integrative, and tension release needs (http://cda.mrs.umn.edu/~burker/spch3710ch15.txt).

Similar identification of media use and gratifications categories has been done by other scholars as well. As indicated in the previous chapter, McQuail (1986) was able to identify 'personal identity' as an important use of religious programming. Others like Bryant and Zilman (1994) identified 'integration' and 'para-social interaction' as other important uses.

One of the major areas of focus for research into why and how people watch televangelism has been the genre of soap operas. According to findings of a research by Richard Kilborn (1992, p. 123) the following were common reasons for watching soaps:

1) soaps were seen as a regular part of domestic routine and entertaining reward for work, 2) soaps were seen as a launchpad for social and personal interaction fulfilling individual needs, 3) soaps were seen as a way of choosing to be alone or enduring enforced loneliness, 4) soaps provided identification and involvement with characters, 5) soaps were seen as an avenue for escapist fantasy, 6) soaps provided areas of focus of debate on topical issues, and, 7) soaps were seen as a kind of critical game involving knowledge of the rules and conventions of the genre.

According to Severin and Tankard (1979, p.252), the Uses and Gratifications approach was used by Blumer and McQuail as the overall research strategy in a study of the 1964 general elections in Britain. The central aim of their study was to find out why people watch, or avoid party broadcasts, the uses they wish to make of them, and their preferences among alternative ways of presenting politicians on television. As the findings depict in Table 6, people have completely different reasons for viewing political campaigns.

In 1995, Arnet and Larson investigated adolescents and their choices of media content. They took the Uses and Gratifications approach which emphasises that people make choices about the media they consume, and that people differ in individual interpretations of media content (http://uts.cc.utexus.edu/~hamilton/leckenby/theory/recent.htm)

Much earlier in 1951, Elihu Katz learned from another study that children had different uses for adventure stories and that these were based on their integration into groups of

Table 6.

Reasons for Watching Party Broadcasts in the British General Election of 1964.	
'To see what some party will do if it gets into power	55percent
'To keep up with the main issues of the day'	52 percent
'To judge what political leaders are like'	51 percent
'To remind me of my party's strong points'	36 percent
'To judge who is likely to win the election'	31 percent
'To help make up my mind how to vote'	26 percent
'To enjoy the excitement of the election race'	24 percent
'To use as ammunition in arguments with other'	10 percent

(http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~hamilton/leckenby/theory/building.htm)

peers (Severin and Tankard, http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~hamilton /building.htm). Those in peer groups used the stories as a source for games, while the non-peer groups used the stories for fantasies (ibid.). Katz concluded that different people can use the same communication message for very different purposes (ibid.).

In October 1997, a study was conducted on 219 university students in USA to discover the origins of mass media exposure by linking personality traits to television, radio, print and film use. The five personality traits pursued included key links in a basic uses and gratifications model: neuroticism, extroversion, openness, agreeableness and conscientiousness. The strongest relationships for mass media use were between

openness and pleasure reading, extroversion and negative pleasure reading, and openness and negative television (http://uts.cc.utexas.edu/~hamiltonleckenby/theory/building.htm).

Rubin and Bantz (1989, p.123) took a Uses and Gratifications approach to study the use of VCR. They found the following motives:

1) library storage of movies and shows,

2) watching music videos,

3) Using exercise tapes,

4) renting movies,

5) letting children view,

6) time shifting,

7) socialising by viewing TV or tapes.

Furthermore, Levy (1980) wrote that people who use VCR's to time-shift programmes, are the most active. The results of both projects show that people use VCR for specific purposes (http//cda.mrs.umn.edu/~burkerbr/spch3710ch15.txt).

Earlier in 1975, Mark Levy (ibid.) conducted a study to investigate the television viewing habits of various people and found a higher percentage of persons viewing television in an active manner and found the results shown in Table 7.

As indicated earlier, the Uses and Gratifications approach has served to emphasise two research perspectives: (1) that the audience has prior social and psychological needs

which are brought to the communication experience, and (2) that these prior needs force the individual actively to seek communications which will gratify the needs.

Table 7.

Percentage of respondents citing specific criteria for news programme choice			
Reasons for watching	6pm	11pm	Network
Active			
News quality	12.0	12.4	7.9
Program format	18.1	6.0	1.8
Newscasters	21.3	29.1	41.8
Subtotal	51.49	47.5	51.5
Passive			
Habit	8.8	4.8	2.2
Channel	24.3	31.2	27.9
Don't know	5.1	5.8	7.2
Subtotal	38.2	41.8	37.3
	N=189	N=140	N=125

http://uts.cc.utexus.edu/hamilton/leckeby/theory/building-htm

Uses and Gratifications and Televangelism

Some research on the audience of religious programmes indicate that there is a correspondence between the nature and content of a programme and the dominant

65

characteristics of the audience it attracts. The Uses and Gratifications approach in particular, has been found to be a valuable theoretical approach for understanding this connection. The appropriateness of this approach to religious television or radio was intimated by Parker et al. in their research project on radio in (1955, p.118) where they noted that:

> There are logical reasons for listening or non-listening that go deeper into
>
> the personal and non-personal social situation of audience members than
>
> their simple identification as Catholics or Presbyterians or non-participants
>
> in any church.

Horsfield (1984, p.121), however, points out that the gratifications found from a particular programme, and uses made of them differ with different population groups. As indicated earlier, it is wrong to assume that because a person watches a particular religious programme he or she is doing so for the reasons for which that programme was devised or intended. A study by Dennis (1962, p.111), found that people viewed religious programmes for other than religious reasons. He identified 'moral', 'information', 'entertainment', and 'substitution' as motives for viewing.

In another in-depth study of the reasons why people may view religious programmes on television by Frank and Greenberg (1980, p.122), it was also found that different population groups watch religious programmes for different reasons. This was due to their different social and economic status. The study was conducted in the USA and

published under the title *The Public use of Television: Who Watches religious programmes and Why.*

In another study by Buddenbaum (1979, p.121), investigating the correlated frequency of nine personal needs, findings showed that only two out of the needs were positively correlated with frequency of religious viewing: the need to 'know oneself better' and the 'need to avoid feelings of loneliness'. She found a weak correlation between the 'frequency of viewing' and the 'need to be entertained'. The other needs studied such as 'the need to have influence', 'to plan one's day', 'to kill time', 'to relax' and 'release tension', to 'hear what others say' and to 'keep tabs on what is going on' were negatively related to frequency of religious television viewing (ibid.). In commenting on these correlations, Buddenbaum noted that the religious television audience reports quite different needs from those of the general television audience (ibid.).

Kyong Liong (1986, p.312) also conducted a study in which he used a self-report questionnaire administered to 188 regular religious television viewers in Erie County, New York. Respondents recorded the uses made of and gratifications sought from religious affiliation.

Analysis of gratifications sought and gratifications received yielded the following results:

Religious consumption was found to be as a result of the desire for 'para-
social interaction' and 'belief system maintenance'.

2) Religious consumption was found to be characteristically a process of belief

system maintenance and quest for entertainment.

3) Orientation towards televangelism was promoted mainly by the active involvement of respondents and their actual experience with religious television as a divergent source of information.

The study demonstrated the utility of the process-oriented uses and gratifications approach to the study of media behaviour and the media effects.

Characteristics of the Televangelism Audience

Research on the characteristics of the audience of religious television has shown that, in general, more women watch religious programmes than men do. According to Horsfield's (1984, p.112) study in Nielsen, USA, the average number of women viewers per household was 74 percent compared to 42 percent men viewers. These trends have been found in other studies of religious programming also. For example, Dennis (1962, p.113), in a study of the radio and television audience in Detroit, and Robinson in a 1964 study of the radio and the television audience in seven cities, found that women were greater consumers of religious programmes than men.

Buddenbaum (1979, p.113), also found that regular viewers of religious programmes in Indianapolis are twice as likely to be female as male. Bruce (1988, p.134), found that 39 percent of the population that watch religious programmes were women while only 27.9 percent were men.

Another characteristic of the audience for religious programmes that has been brought out by research is that people of lower income and lower education levels watch significantly more religious programmes than do those of higher income and education. Robinson, in his 1964 study, found that the lowest levels of formal education were much more likely to listen to or to view religious programmes (Robinson, 1964, p.11). He also found that 30 percent of those whose income was less than $13 000 were non-viewers of religious programmes compared to 67 percent of those whose income was greater than $16 000 (ibid.).

Solt (1971, p.114), and Buddenbaum (1979, p.12), had similar findings. Both found that increasing formal education correlated statistically with decreasing viewership of religious programmes. In yet another study, Buddenbaum (1979, p.11) found that the regular audience for religious television audience for religious programmes comprised mainly blue-collar workers and "others". Only 5.3 percent of the professionals identified by the study reported that they watched religious programmes regularly, compared to 30.4 percent blue-collar workers and 25.3 percent of "others".

Another interesting dimension of the profile of religious programmes is that of religious interest and church affiliation. As may be expected, there is a positive correlation between affiliation to religious organisations and interest in televangelism. The major proportion of the audience of religious programmes are people who already indicate a high interest in religion. According to Horsefield (1984, p.117), Protestants are significantly heavier viewers of religious programmes than either Catholics or Jews.

Robinson (1964, p.116), found that 90 percent of the listeners and viewers of religious programmes were Protestants while more than 50 percent of Roman Catholics and Jews were non-listeners and non-viewers. It should also be noted that, according to that particular study, most programmes aired were Protestant programmes. As such, the low levels of use of such programmes by the two groups may have, at least in part, been due to this factor.

Further, according to Fore (1987, p.102), findings of a study conducted by the Philadephia's Annenburg School of Communication in the USA showed that heavy viewers of religious programmes are largely Southern Baptist (19 percent) and other Baptist (21 percent), followed by Charismatic Christians (10.5 percent), Catholics (10 percent), United Methodist (8.3 percent), and other Methodist (7.1 percent). The rest of the mainline churches, such as Presbyterian, Lutheran, Disciplines, United Church of Christ and Episcopalian, each make up less than 2 percent of the viewing audience. The study also showed that 77 percent of heavy viewers of religious programmes are active church members.

These results were confirmed by a subsequent study in the United Kingdom. According to the Journal of the World Association for Christian Communication 1994, a study conducted in the United Kingdom by the Independent Television Commission (ITC) showed that 73 percent of people who watched religious programmes identified

themselves as 'Christians'.   Of these 40 percent were Anglican, 14 percent were Roman Catholics while 22 percent said they had no religious faith or denomination.

Another important element of the religious broadcasting audience, according to research findings, is that it has a distinct age profile. Buddenbaum (1979, p.25) found that frequent viewers of religious programmes were likely to be over 62 years of age, while those who never watch are more likely to be under the age of 34. Robinson found in his study that as age increased, the percentage of regular listeners and viewers increased to the point where half of all respondents over the age of 60 listened to or watched religious broadcasts. In another study conducted by Katz and Liesbes (1984, p.28) in Dallas-Fort Worth showed that 38.8 percent of those over 35 years old watched these programmes.

According to Horsefield (1984, p.113), this tendency for age cohort-specific viewing habits suggests that television communication should not be considered universally attention-gaining. Televangelism is effective only with certain population groups. However, the interpretation might not necessarily hold water in Zambia where the church is growing rapidly with many young members and where over 60% of the population is below 34years old

Quantitative methods using the questionnaire as data collection tool are commonest approaches in most televangelism uses and gratifications studies. For example, Kyong Lyong used the survey method to conduct his study in Erie County, New York. Other

researchers like Buddenbaum (1979, p.19), Dennis (1962, p.111) etc, have also used this method.

It should, however, be noted that, as the literature review shows, most of these studies were conducted in the north, especially in the United States of America. No studies were found by this researcher that have been conducted in Africa. In this context, the study by this researcher is, therefore, among the first to provide data on the Uses and Gratifications dimension for religious programmes broadcast in a Southern African country. However, scholars have written academic papers on the telvangelism situation in Zambia (Akuffo, 1997). These papers did not however, conduct a research to gather numerical data to determine the characteristics of the Zambian audience or the uses and gratifications the get from religious programming on ZNBC.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology used in selecting the sample, collecting and coding the data for this study and, in analysing the data for the final report. Quantitative research methods were used in this study. This is because over the years, most Uses and Gratifications studies have found quantitative methods to be the most ideal for yielding useful data in research undertakings (Blumer and McQuail, 1969, p. 16; Palmgreen, Wenner and Rayburn, 1981, p. 54).

The specific choice of method chosen for this research study was the Analytical Survey method. According to Wimmer and Dominick (1997, p.137) the Analytical Survey attempts to describe what exists by examining a number of variables. In this instance, a number of variables, and the interrelationship among these variables were examined. For example, in order to examine the social, economic, demographic and denominational status of the televangelism audience, crosstabulations were made of these variables with data on viewing religious programmes. The Pearson Product-Moment correlation coefficient was also used to determine the level, and direction of the relationship between some variables, as will be seen in the next chapter.

This study is also an example of *exploratory research* and makes use of research questions. Research questions are frequently used in areas that have been studied

marginally, or not at all. Exploratory research is used for finding data indications rather than attempt to find causality (ibid. p.228). As stated earlier, no studies have ever been conducted in the field of Uses and Gratifications here in Zambia.

Sample

The sample of the survey consisted of *300 respondents*. A sample of this size is considered "good" for multivariate studies (ibid. p.73). The researcher believes that the size of 300 respondents allowed for more representativeness so that sample characteristics could be said to be at least fairly reflective of the larger universe of the Zambian televangelism viewing population.

The *purposive sampling approach* was used to select the towns where the sample would be drawn. The town and cities selected were Lusaka, Ndola and Mazabuka. The selection was based on the fact that Lusaka constitutes almost one third of Zambia's population while Ndola is one of the cities in the country. These two cities could yield valuable data as they constitute the major cities and therefore likely to be with a large concentration of television viewers. The third town, Mazabuka, was used to provide the study with information on one of Zambia's rural district centres. Due to financial constraints and time limitations, this researcher could not afford to tackle rural district towns which were very far from Lusaka, the researchers base. However, since Lusaka and Ndola collectively constitute over a quarter of Zambia's population – and perhaps even an even larger percentage of the television owning and viewing audience, the loss

from the purposive selection of Mazabuka to represent rural districts is somewhat mitigated.

As Cook and Campbell (1979), in Wimmer and Dominick (1997, p.34),) state: "one way to ensure external validity is to select a sample that is representative of the group to which the results will be generalised and thus this research sample is more than satisfactory from this standpoint.

The selection of respondents in the survey was done in the metropolitan or urban areas of all three towns, the reasons being that:

1) most of the people live in the urban areas as compared to the rural (see Appendix II).

2) like any other developing country, electricity supply powerlines in Zambia are mainly in the major urban areas, namely the Copperbelt and Lusaka and in some major towns. It is these urban centres that have easy access to power for Television. In most of the rural locations, telephone and power lines are non-existent (AAAS 1996, p.45).

3) the reach of ZNBC transmitters is concentrated in the metropolitan areas and surrounding places. This researcher was therefore more likely to get a higher percentage of television owners in urban areas than in rural regions (see Table 3, Chapter 1).

The sample consisted of both male and female respondents aged over 18 years. No one below this limit was used as a respondent to avoid using people who might not have been

able to understand the questionnaire. In this case, the researcher would ask to interview a parent or anyone else, who was responsible enough, if the parents were not in the home.

Sampling procedures

A combination of *probability sampling* procedures and *non-probability sampling* were used in the study. *Multi-stage sampling*, a form of cluster sampling procedure was used to pick the sample. This form of sampling procedure is usually used in nation-wide studies to ensure representativeness in the data obtained (Leedy1974, p.13, Wimmer and Dominick, 1997, p. 69).

The first stage in the data collection was to ensure that the questionnaires were distributed proportionately amongst the three urban areas. To get the number of questionnaires for each city or town, the urban populations for the three towns and cities were first added up. The population figure for each town was divided by that total and multiplied by the total number of questionnaires. The figures are shown in the table below.

Table 8.

Distribution of Questionnaires by city/town.			
	Total Population 1999 estimate	Urban population (1990 census)	No. of Questionnaires
Lusaka	2.5 000 000	760 619	181
Mazabuka	1 000 000	334 177	39
Ndola	500 000	162 321	80
Total	**4 000 000**	**1 257 117**	**300**

After getting the number of questionnaires to be distributed in each town and city, the researcher proceeded to make a list of all the townships or compounds in each town and city. Next, the population figures given in each Enumerators Area (EA's) for a given township (also statistically known as a Central Statistical Area or CSA) were added up to get the total population of the township (The Enumerators Areas are small sections in which a township or Central Statistical Area is divided into during census). These townships were then, on the basis of population density, divided into categories of high density, medium density and low-density townships.

Having done this, the researcher calculated the number of questionnaires to be distributed in each part of the city or town. The next stage was to select the specific townships where the questionnaires would be distributed. This was done by *simple random selection* from a list of all the townships in a particular population distribution category.

The researcher then proceeded to determine the number of questionnaires to be distributed in each township. To achieve, this, the population for each township was divided by the total population of the category it fell under (high, medium or low), and then multiplied by the number of questionnaires to be distributed in that particular population density category.

The researcher then proceeded to pick out the streets where the individual households were to be selected. To do this a total list of the streets in each township was compiled

using street maps for these cities except Mazabuka (at the time of conducting this study the Ministry of Lands had not drawn any street map for this rural town). For Mazabuka, the researcher randomly picked out the streets for the survey from a list she had made. The random selection method was used to pick out the individual streets. This was done by writing the names of the streets on small pieces of paper and then folding them up into small balls. These were then put in a box and individual pieces of paper randomly picked after thoroughly shaking the box.

The next stage was to select which side of the street the first household would be picked from. This was done right in the field during the data collection. For this task, a coin was tossed: if the side it landed on was 'heads' then the first house on the right side was picked first. If it landed on the 'tails' side then it was the first house on the left. After this, every 3rd house from the first was picked for distribution of the questionnaire.

Data collection

Data collection was done using a structured questionnaire, through face-to-face interviews (See Appendix III). The face-to-face interviews were used to ensure a high response rate, and overcome the hurdles posed by variations in the educational levels that existed in the sample. The research received a 100 percent response rate, probably made possible by the fact that the researcher personally distributed the questionnaires and conducted the interviews.

The questionnaire instrument was divided into two sections. Section one consisted of questions that investigated why and how people were making use of religious programmes. Other questions focused on the gratification the audience was getting from these programmes, and the preferences of the audience in terms of televangelism programmes offered. There was also a question on preferences for preachers or presenters of the programmes. This section had a total of 12 questions centred around specific variables. In investigating the Uses and Gratifications, the Likert Scale technique was used. Choices were made on scales which ranged from 'unimportant' through to 'extremely important'. Respondents were accordingly required to select and tick one of the various points on the Likert scale against each use or gratification sought from televangelism viewed. The various choices in the categories for the uses gratifications, were formulated on the basis of gratifications identified by other researchers using this theory. For example McQuail (1986, 1974) identified personal identity and substitute for real life companionship while Lull (1990), identified getting information.

The second section contained demographic questions about age, gender, marital status, religious affiliation etc. These provided important information on the economic, social, religious status of the audience for religious programmes in Zambia. This section had a total of 9 questions. These were, like those in the first section, also mainly closed ended, mutually exclusive type of questions (See appendix III).

Coding Sheet

After the data gathering, a coding sheet was designed for coding the data so that it could be analysed by computer. The coding was conducted by assigning numbers to the various responses. In some cases, the coding had to be extended to the actual number of responses shown on the questionnaire. This was because some questions allowed for more than one option in the response. An example is question two (2) in section A, where the respondents were requested to indicate their favourite religious programmes (see appendix III). Some respondents ticked against more than one programme. The researcher had to code such responses as well, and assign different numerical codes both to individual responses as well as combinations of preferences respondents gave.

Nominal, ordinal and interval levels of measurements were used for coding the data. In this study, the nominal and ordinal scale were used to assign numbers to the various categories in Section A of the questionnaire. For example, the two possible responses to question one in Section A were 'Yes' or 'No'. These were assigned the code numbers one (1) and two (2), though this did not signify a mathematical difference to the two responses. On the other hand, the ordinal level was ideal for questions three (3) and four (4) which also used the Likert Scale (See appendix III).

The ordinal and interval level scales were ideal to coding the answers in Section B of the questionnaire. The latter was used where there were mathematical differences between the intervals of age (See appendix III).

Pretesting

Wimmer and Dominick state that the best way to discover whether a research instrument is adequately designed is to pre-test it (1994, p.120). Pretesting refers to measuring the reaction of a group of individuals to communication or set of communication prior to widespread diffusion (Betrand, 1978, p.12). The questionnaire for this study was pretested before conducting the actual interviews. The pretesting was conducted using 20 questionnaires which were distributed in the townships near the University of Zambia, the researcher's base in Lusaka. The experience gave the researcher some ideas for further improving the research instrument.

In answer to the criticisms of the Uses and Gratifications Theory made by Rosengren and Windhal (1991) outlined in Chapter III, this study, as indicated earlier, 1) used social scientific methodology at the sampling and data analysis phase in order to have representative results. Through the rigorous methodology, the focus on individuals in the study has been combined with synthesising analytical approaches thereby strengthening the explanatory and predictive value of the results. 2) The study has also tried a combined approach in terms of the definitions, approaches and taxonomies from Uses and Gratifications research previously done by others. This was to overcome the criticism mentioned earlier that research following the Uses and Gratifications approach was over-compartmentalised.

81

This researcher is in agreement with the argument of Rubin (1979, p.40) who posits that current Uses and Gratifications research has already addressed the above criticisms. She, however, took the steps outlined above to avoid mistakes made by others.

Limitations of the study

1) As indicated earlier, although the study used the *probability sampling* approach, purposive sampling was also used at the level of choosing the towns. Whereas the constraints of this limitation may be negligible at the level of the city (the study used two out of three major cities in Zambia), the selection of Mazabuka to represent rural districts may present problems if one was to generalise the findings. The financial and time constraints meant that this researcher was not able to conduct the research in far away rural towns.

2) The use of research questions rather than hypotheses limits the robustness of the conclusions as stated earlier. It also leaves the study in the realm of 'exploratory' research, which invites further study.

3) Uses and Gratifications theory has its short falls in that though this theory explains how the audience use media messages, it still falls short of explaining how people's different situational context at the time they are exposed to the messages will determine their interpretation. This is one of the marked criticisms of cultural studies.

4) The already laid down categories in terms of uses and gratifications limit

the respondents response. These categories of uses and gratifications as provided

by this researcher which follow suit from the categories identified by other

researchers as alluded to earlier, (McQuail, 1986, 1974) do not distinguish from

one media to the other as pointed out by critics.

5) Use of the questionnaire as a data collection tool does not provide insight into

other interrelated factors that may affect or determine media use.

Inspite of these limitations, however, it is the ardent belief of this researcher that this

work presents fresh and useful insights into the Uses and Gratifications of

televangelism programmes aired on ZNBC television.

CHAPTER VI

DATA ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

This chapter analyses, interprets and discusses the findings of this study. As pointed out earlier, this study was aimed at investigating the uses and gratifications people were making of religious programmes, and also to make a profile of this audience. As stated in Chapter V, the study was conducted using quantitative methods with a questionnaire as a research instrument.

Data analysis was conducted using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), a software programme used on computers. Among the statistical methods used were frequencies and cross tabulations. SPSS frequencies and cross tabulations of the different independent and dependent variables were run. For example, to investigate research question one (1) on the profile of the Zambian audience, cross tabulations were made of viewing religious programmes against age, sex, marital status, employment, etc. The procedure made it possible for one to identify the demographic, social, economic and educational characteristics of those who watch these programmes. The resulting data is presented in detail in the various tables in this chapter. The details also come out in the descriptive discussion.

Analysis and Interpretation of the Findings

According to the data obtained, 89 percent (267) of the total 300 respondents in the study watched religious programmes. Only 11 percent (33) indicated that they did not watch religious programmes. These were people who did not have television sets or those who

were not interested in religious programmes. These findings indicate that a high percentage of the sample watch religious programmes. This contrasts with the findings of the Gallup Organisation of Princeton, USA, in 1982 (Gerbner, Hoover, Gross, p.65) which found that 43 percent of the total population of that country had watched religious programming in the previous 30 days. Another national survey the organisation conducted in 1981 found that 32 percent of Americans said they had watched televangelism programmes during the past week. The Gallup organisation concluded that the viewing audience in the US for the electronic church programmes is far smaller than had been claimed.

Uses and Gratifications of the audience

From the data obtained, the most popular use of religious programmes indicated was 'salvation purposes', which had 58 percent positive response. 'learning about prophecy' and 'entertainment' were also significant uses with 32.4 percent and 36 percent of positive response respectively (See Tables 9 to 30). Others included 'learning the Bible' with 25 percent and 'music' with 23.7 percent positive response.

Table 9.

'Entertainment'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	22	7.3	7.3	7.3
Important	63	21.0	21.0	28.3
Very Important	21	7.0	7.0	35.3
Extremely Important	170	8.0	8.0	43.3
Nil		56.7	56.7	100.0
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 10.

'Kill Boredom'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	37	12.3	12.3	12.3
Important	25	8.3	8.3	20.7
Very Important	19	6.3	6.3	27.0
Extremely Important	16	5.3	5.3	32.3
Nil	20.3	67.7	67.7	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 11.

'Salvation Purposes'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	5	1.7	1.7	1.7
Important	18	6.0	6.0	7.7
Very Important	81	27.0	27.0	34.7
Extremely Important	75	25.0	25.0	59.7
Nil	121	40.3	40.3	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 12.

'Information and News'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	3	1.0	1.0	1.0
Important	21	7.0	7.0	8.0
Very Important	20	6.7	6.7	14.7
Extremely Important	15	5.0	5.0	19.7
Nil	241	80.3	80.3	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 13.

'Learn about Prophecy'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.3
Important	16	5.3	5.3	6.7
Very Important	46	15.3	15.3	22.0
Extremely Important	35	11.7	11.7	33.7
Nil	199	66.3	66.3	100.0
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 14.

'Seeking advice on practical matters'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	4	1.3	1.3	1.3
Important	12	4.0	4.0	5.3
Very Important	19	6.3	6.3	11.7
Extremely Important	26	8.7	8.7	20.3
Nil	239	79.7	79.7	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 15.

'Know myself better'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	7	2.3	2.3	2.3
Important	14	4.7	4.7	7.0
Very Important	22	7.3	7.3	14.3
Extremely Important	18	6.0	6.0	20.3
Nil	239	79.7	79.7	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 16.

'Music'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	28	9.3	9.3	9.3
Important	30	10.0	10.0	19.3
Very Important	26	8.7	8.7	28.0
Extremely Important	15	5.0	5.0	33.0
Nil	201	67.7	67.0	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 17.

'Learn the Bible'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	10	3.3	3.3	3.3
Important	4	1.3	1.3	4.7
Very Important	23	7.7	7.7	12.3
Extremely Important	48	16.0	16.0	28.3
Nil	215	71.7	71.1	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 18.

'Substitute for church'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	8	2.7	2.7	2.7
Important	2	.7	.7	3.3
Very Important	7	2.3	2.3	5.7
Extremely Important	11	3.7	3.7	9.3
Nil	272	90.7	90.7	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 19.

'Release Tension'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	1	3	.3	.3
Important	3	1.0	1.0	1.3
Very Important	5	1.7	1.7	3.0
Extremely Important	5	1.7	95.3	4.7
Nil	286	95.3	100.0	100
Total	300	100.0		

Table 20.

'General Interest'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	0	.7	.7	.7
Important	2	1.0	1.0	1.7
Very Important	3	.7	.7	2.3
Extremely Important	2	97.7	97.7	100
Nil	293	100.0	100.0	
Total	300			

The gratifications of entertainment, kill boredom, release tension etc. (Tables 9, 10, and 13), indicate the audience's desire to escape the daily routine problems, and the boredom of life due to lack of social amenities. Being a third world country, Zambia does not have much to offer when it comes to social amenities.

Furthermore, social economic difficulties experienced by most people due to hard economic times may give rise to stress. Therefore, apart from offering some form of entertainment, religious programmes are also used to derive some form of "emotional rescue". Elihu Katz and David Foulkes also identified this escapistic tendency to the many - sided challenges and vicissitudes of the modern times as far back as 1962 (Katz & Foulkes, 1962, http://www.uses+grats.cgi.htm). Though there is a difference in the type of societies and problems which existed in the 1960s and those and existing now, the similarity in findings show how the media can be used for such gratifications.

Other gratifications sought in religious programmes were 'reinforcement of personal values' (39 percent) positive response followed by 'provision of models of behaviour' (38 percent), 'gaining insight into oneself' (28 percent), 'companionship and support' from viewing televangelism programmes (27.4 percent), 'helping one to connect with family and friends' (24.3 percent) and 'providing one with spiritual guidance' (24 percent).

Table 21.

'Reinforcement of personal values'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	7	2.3	2.3	2.3
Important	40	13.2	13.3	15.7
Very Important	49	16.3	16.3	32.0
Extremely Important	28	9.3	9.3	41.3
Nil	176	58.7	58.7	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 22.

'Models of behaviour'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	13	4.3	4.3	4.3
Important	42	14.0	14.0	18.3
Very Important	45	15.0	15.0	33.3
Extremely Important	27	9.0	9.0	42.3
Nil	173	57.7	57.7	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 23.

'Avenue for me to identify with others'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Unimportant	27	9.0	9.0	9.0
Important	30	10.0	10.0	19/0
Very Important	25	8.3	8.3	27.3
Extremely Important	10	3.3	3.3	30.7
Nil	208	69.3	69.3	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 24.

'Insight into oneself'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	12	4.0	4.0	4.0
Important	34	11.3	11.3	15.3
Very Important	33	11.0	11.0	26.3
Extremely Important	17	5.7	5.7	32.0
Nil	204	68.0	68.0	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 25.

'Companionship and support'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	10	3.3	3.3	3.3
Important	26	8.7	8.7	12.0
Very Important	33	11.0	11.0	33.0
Extremely Important	23	7.7	7.7	30.7
Nil	208	69.3	69.3	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 26.

'Connect with family and friends'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	8	2.7	2.7	2.7
Important	19	6.3	6.3	9.0
Very Important	36	12.0	12.0	21.0
Extremely Important	18	6.0	6.0	27.0
Nil	219	73.0	73.0	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 27.

'Gives me topic to discuss with other people'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	4	1.3	1.3	1.3
Important	23	7.7	7.7	9.0
Very Important	26	8.7	8.7	17.7
Extremely Important	16	5.3	5.3	23.0
Nil	231	77.0	77.0	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 28.

'Provides me with guidelines to carry out my social roles'				
	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	5	1.7	1.7	1.7
Important	10	3.3	3.3	5.0
Very Important	20	6.7	6.7	11.7
Extremely Important	24	8.0	8.0	19.7
Nil	241	80.3	80.3	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

Table 29.

'Spiritual guidance'	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
	4	1.3	1.3	1.3
Unimportant	3	1.0	1.0	2.3
Important	15	5.0	5.0	7.3
Very Important	54	18.0	18.0	25.3
Extremely Important	224	74.7	74.7	100
Nil	300	100.0	100.0	
Total				

Table 30.

'Substitute for social life'	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Culmulative Percent
Unimportant	5	1.7	1.7	1.7
Important	3	1.0	1.0	2.7
Very Important	11	3.7	3.7	6.3
Extremely Important	19	6.3	6.3	12.7
Nil	262	87.3	87.3	100
Total	300	100.0	100.0	

The findings also demonstrate that people do use the media for personal relationships. According to McQuail et al (1972, p. 42), people who feel that they do not have sufficient social contact or consider their lives unfulfilled and uninteresting, aim more at compensating this deficit through para-social interaction.   Para-social interaction involves viewers having quasi-social relationships with the media actors and act as though there exists bonds of friendships and direct contact between them (Horton et al 1956, p. 12). In this particular instance, people may turn to religious programmes to get some fulfilment in their lives. Individuals may feel a bond of friendship with the televangelists who they consider to have had an impact on their lives. They may view these televangelists as personal friends and advisors in their spiritual lives.

Furthermore, the gratifications of ' 'connect with family and friends' (24 percent positive response)', 'give me topics to talk about with others' (21 percent positive response), or 'guides me in my social roles' (18 percent positive response), demonstrate a tendency towards the instrumental use or social utility which conscious media use can bring for the social interaction between real people in an exclusive atmosphere. In other words, people store information they get from the media for use during conversation in the family, at work place, among friends etc. For example, people pick up terminologies which they use in their prayers with family friends etc. (e.g. *In the name Of Jesus*', '*Alleluia-Amen*', '*Holy God's fire*' etc.), frequently used by televangelists. Furthermore, Christian values taught by religious programmes may be used by people to better themselves in their relationships with family members and friends.

Further, people also use the media for personal identity. Burkart (1983) observed that people make use of the mass media in order to know more about themselves. In this instance, the Zambian audience tries to find consistencies between themselves and the mass-mediated message preached by televangelists by trying to identify a personal link with the mediated message, which enables them to relate their personal situation to the message being conveyed. Sometimes they may identify themselves with problems shown in the media. For example, programmes like *Turning Point* show people who were drug or alcohol addicts, or who may have been engaged in various dubious activities and have now given their lives to Christ. These are problems that exist in Zambia which people may identify themselves with and use as an anchor to change their lives.

Findings of this research, and those by others arising from the Uses and Gratifications approach, are of direct importance in understanding the nature of the audience of religious television programmes, and their reasons for viewing such programmes.

An important finding of this study arising out of the Uses and Gratifications approach confirming earlier studies is that the uses of and gratifications derived from particular programmes may, or may not, be religious ones. Horsefield (1984), wrote, "It is wrong to assume that people watch religious programmes for the reasons they were devised" (p. 112). This study, for example, found that entertainment, 'music' and 'information and news' 'companionship and support', 'gaining insight into oneself' and 'connect with family and friends' were popular gratifications and uses. This is, however, not to deny

the fact that there may be some overlap between these categories and the religious sphere or that the quest for spiritual guidance is not a major use.

In addition, these findings are in line with the ones indicated in Chapter IV from researchers like Dennis (1962, p.111) who, in a study conducted in the USA, also found that people viewed religious programmes both for religious and non religious reasons. He identified moral, information, entertainment, and substitution motives for viewing.

Correlating Age against Uses and Gratifications

Also in line with earlier studies, was the finding that uses made by people of religious programmes, and gratifications derived therefrom, differ from one age group to the other. Furthermore, there is also a difference in the programme content preferred by different groups.

The results of the effort to correlate the 'uses' made of religious programmes with age indicated that 90 percent of the older generation (over 35 years) considered 'news and information', 'evangelistic purposes', 'companionship and support', and 'gaining insight into oneself' as important uses and gratifications. The younger generation identified 'entertainment', 'music', 'learn the Bible', 'reinforcement of personal values', and 'know oneself better' as important uses and gratifications.

Results, also showed that the older persons (above 35 years of age) had a higher viewership percentage in worship (84 percent), evangelistic (75 percent) and discussion

programme formats (90 percent), while the younger generation (below 35) had higher viewership in dramatic and musical programmes formats.

Religious programmes appear to fill some specific needs demonstrated by various age groups. For instance, for the older people these programmes may act as a way of meeting the needs for 'information', as a 'substitute for social activity' and a source for 'companionship and support'. The younger generation prefer the 'dramatic' and 'musical' which might more readily meet their needs for 'entertainment' and 'music'.

Marital status against Uses and Gratifications

Another significant outcome of the study is that marital status may influence the kind of uses and gratifications sought. Findings of this study showed that widows/widowers considered 'companionship and support', 'connect with family and friends', 'salvation purposes' and 'learn more about the Bible' as important uses and gratifications. The quest for companionship and support through televangelism by this group may be a way of overcoming the loneliness as a result of losing a spouse. This finding confirms the one by Frank and Greenburg (1980, p.123), who in a study conducted in the USA, found that some main uses and gratifications for widows and widowers in religious programmes are to maintain a sense of social integration and belonging, as well as meet the need to overcome loneliness and to lift their spirits.

Much as this research has revealed that people do make use of, and get certain gratifications from religious programmes aired on the ZNBC channel, these programmes may still fail to meet their intended purpose in some areas.

This is because most of these programmes are originally produced in America and designed for the American audience. Therefore, even certain services offered by some televangelists on these programmes (e.g. *700 Club, Praise the Lord*) such as 'prayer call lines' or sending prayer requests through letters, may be effective in American but will not have a similar effect in Zambia. This is because these services are not easily accessible to this audience. Making a phone call, or writing a letter destined to America is rather on the expensive side for an average Zambian person. On the other hand telephone lines are not readily available to most of the Zambian public.

Furthermore, such practises are relatively new to the Zambian culture. People are used to the face to face contact with their pastors at the churches. Therefore, the practice of phoning or writing letters may not always be effective in this society.

2. More women watch religious programmes than men.

The results of this study indicate that a larger percent of the adult sampled population who watched religious programmes were women (50.6 percent). This confirms the findings of Robinson in 1964 when he conducted a radio and television audience study in the USA. He found that women were greater consumers of religious programmes than

men were. However, the greater number may also be attributed to the slightly more number of women who were interviewed than the men.

The higher number of female viewers may be attributed to the tendency here in Zambia of women being more at home than men. There is a general trend in the country of more men being in employment outside the home than women who are usually full-time housewives. However, this is slowly changing, as more women become educated. Another reason could be that more working women than men tend to stay more at home after working hours, and over weekends. Almost every day, many men spend at least some hours at drinking places, but this can only be said of relatively few working women. Being more at home, the chances of being exposed to televangelism programmes are higher for working women. The intensity of watching also differed in that most men viewed three programmes per week while the women viewed four or five per week.

Of the 11 percent who did not watch religious programmes 60.6 percent were male against 39.4 percent who were female.

3. The older generation views more religious programmes than the youth.
According to the findings, the age cohort of between 50-54 years of age had the highest viewership of televangelism programmes with 93.8 percent who watched such programmes. Those in the age group 40-44 had 84 percent religious programmes viewership. Those between 45-49 had 87.5 percent viewership, those between 35-39 had