

THE USE OF TELEVISION BY BLACKS IN THE PWV AREA

S J Bekker &
H J Groenewald

This article focuses on Rayburn and Palmgreen's (1984) expectancy-value model of gratifications to determine the way in which members of a group of blacks utilize television as a mass medium to satisfy certain needs through selective exposure to their favourite programmes. Also, an attempt is made to test the basic assumptions of the model. The sample consisted of 703 urban blacks in the PWV area, and was divided into four groups, viz. a satisfied, unrealistic, surprised, and passive group for each of news, educational, and story programmes. The results indicate that the majority of the respondents are satisfied with these television programmes of the SABC. It appears as if the model, which was tested for the whole sample regarding various programmes, should be adapted to enhance its applicability for intercultural studies and the use of television in general.

INTRODUCTION

In countries such as the USA, the United Kingdom, Sweden, West Germany, and Australia, research on the use of mass media is mainly in the category called "uses and gratifications". In South Africa this kind of research is not conducted frequently (cf. Oosthuizen, 1986; Venter & Overton, 1987), because of its complex nature and because there is a dearth of trained researchers on mass media in the country.

The present study has made use of the uses and gratifications approach to establish in particular what members of a specific group of blacks give preference



Fanie Bekker is an associate professor in the Department of Sociology of Vista University, Mamelodi Campus, Pretoria. Hennie Groenewald is professor in the Department of Communication of the University of Potchefstroom.

to when they choose television programmes. The data that are discussed here come from a survey done in the PWV area during 1989.

An important point of departure in this study is that people watch television in order to satisfy their needs for information, entertainment, and education. As in many studies that make use of the uses and gratifications approach, these three categories can be subdivided, but here only the main components are taken into consideration. For the purpose of this article it is assumed that audience members derive information, entertainment, and education from the same programme or programmes.

The amount of information, entertainment, and education obtained differs from one programme to another.

Before discussing the results of the empirical study, it is necessary to take a brief look at the most important theories within the uses and gratifications approach.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE USES AND GRATIFICATIONS APPROACH IN THE PAST 15 YEARS

McQuail (1979) points out that since it came into being, this approach has not been part of a single discipline, but it can be described as a hybrid of sociological, psychological, cultural, communications, and even social statistical studies. It is interesting that in sociology a stand has been taken against functionalism and systems thinking that have served as a framework for uses and gratifications research. In communications research itself the emphasis has shifted from media effect studies to the study of media content and organisations (McQuail, 1979:77).

The uses and gratifications approach is mainly about how recipients use the mass media, and the focus is on these recipients and their motives and needs for the use of the mass media (Blumler, 1979; McQuail, 1979). A movement away from functionalism, the structural, cultural, and action motivation theories of the seventies have caused social scientists to look for "new" theories to refine and adapt the uses and gratifications approach (cf. McQuail, 1985; Blumler, Gurevitch & Katz, 1985; Van Leuven, 1981; Blumler, 1979; Swanson, 1977). The new theories have to be reconcilable, and Palmgreen, Wenner & Rosengren (1985) mention in this regard the expectancy-value theory, the dependency theory, and a general use of aspects of the struc-

tural-functional approach, theories on individual differences, social categories, social relations, and the transactional approach. For this reason one can hardly talk of a single theory that satisfies all social scientists: McQuail (1985:163) emphasises that the theoretical foundation of the uses and gratifications approach is not atheoretical, as is sometimes alleged, but rather multitheoretical. Blumler (1979:11) puts it as follows:

"There is no such a thing as a or the uses and gratifications theory, although there are plenty of theories about uses and gratifications phenomena ...".

The multitheoretical nature of the approach contributes largely to its complexity and makes research difficult in many respects.

SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENTS

Since the mid-seventies, important developments in the theoretical field have made a meaningful contribution to uses and gratifications research. In this article only some of the developments, which are reflected to a greater and lesser degree in the empirical study, are reported on.

Gratifications and media consumption

Palmgreen (1984) points out that the greatest part of uses and gratifications research was aimed at explaining the process of individual mass media consumption. This media usage is described as the recipients' choice of, and exposure to, different media and media contents, and it is motivated by the expectations, needs, and requirements of individuals. Palmgreen (1984:22) goes on to say that the "... perceived fulfilment of these manifold needs and

requirements through media consumption constitutes, in the lexicon of uses and gratifications researchers, the perceived 'gratifications obtained' from media experience. These gratifications, when sought by audience members, are viewed as one of the major causes of active, purposive media consumption behavior directed at gratification fulfilment".

This means that perceived gratifications are greater when people expose themselves to their favourite programmes.

Some of the greatest difficulties for researchers are whether recipients are aware of the needs that they are trying to satisfy through media consumption, whether they themselves can express these needs (the results of a questionnaire survey can in part be the product of the specific questionnaire), and whether people satisfy through media consumption one or a whole number of fairly complex needs.

Gratifications sought and obtained

An important development in uses and gratifications research is the distinction that various social scientists have been making since the seventies between gratifications sought (GS) and gratifications obtained (GO), and the relation between these variables on the one hand, and the individual and joint impact of gratifications sought and obtained on media consumption and media effect on the other (cf. Blumler, Gurevitch & Katz, 1985; Levy & Windahl, 1984; Rayburn & Palmgreen, 1984). An important finding of these and other studies is that individual gratifications sought show a medium to strong correlation (0,40 to 0,60) with corresponding gratifications obtained.

An equally important result of these studies is that gratifications sought have

to be distinguished both empirically and conceptually from gratifications obtained. Palmgreen, Wenner & Rosengren (1985:27) give the reasons for that as follows:

"First, despite the 'moderately strong' label that conventional usage would attach to the GS-GO correlations ... there is still considerable variance (65 percent to 83 percent) that GS and GO 5 measures do not share. Gratifications sought and obtained do influence, but do not determine, one another. Second, the dimensions of GS and GO have been found to differ in some studies ... Third, mean levels of gratifications sought often differ from mean levels of gratifications obtained. Fourth, at least two studies have found that GS and GO contribute independently to variance in media consumption and effects measures ..."

In spite of its complicated nature, the distinction between gratifications sought and obtained on conceptual, operational, and analytical levels has contributed much to a better understanding of the process of interaction between recipient and media.

Expectancy-value orientation

A central concept of most uses and gratifications models is expectations. The expectations of recipients as to the characteristics of the media and the potential needs that can be satisfied underlie the assumption of an "active audience" (cf. Galloway & Meek, 1981; Palmgreen & Rayburn, 1982; Levy & Windahl, 1984, 1985; Rayburn & Palmgreen, 1984; Rubin & Perse, 1987; Babrow & Swanson, 1988). If people are faced with a choice of obtaining gratifications from media or non-media sources, they have to have a sound

idea of the possible sources and alternatives that can satisfy their needs.

A problem of the different studies on this approach is the different concepts of expectations. Expectations have been described as gratification possibilities that people allocate to certain behavioural expressions, the recipients' demands of the media, affective anticipation of the possibility that certain events can lead to specific consequences, and lastly, the gratifications obtained. Galloway & Meek (1981:438) describe an expectation as "... the likelihood that certain behavior will lead to an outcome ...". This means that recipients make determined efforts to satisfy needs, and have certain expectations of the media content to which they expose themselves.

The concept of expectation also includes an evaluation component. This component is the value that is attached to gratifications sought. Behavioural intentions are the result of expectations or convictions that an object or matter will have certain qualities or benefits, and of the value attached to the expected result. For this reason there is interdependence between the two variables (Venter & Overton, 1987).

An expectancy-value model of gratifications sought and gratifications obtained

is shown in Figure 1. This kind of model looks fairly easy initially, but becomes far more complicated if the various integrated models of media consumption are considered (cf. Palmgreen, 1984:47; Palmgreen, Wenner & Rosengren, 1985:17).

An important assumption of this model is that all recipients are active consumers of the mass media and of certain programme contents to which consumers expose themselves selectively. The message(s) of the specific content of programmes and the way it is linked to gratifications do not feature prominently in most studies. One reason for that could be that the reinforcement approach of the sixties and early seventies, which places strong emphasis on the message, has since been regarded by most researchers of the mass media as a "backward paradigm" (Littlejohn, 1978).

The uses and gratifications approach focuses on the recipient, and communications experts have insisted increasingly that in this kind of study the message should be taken in to account as one of the important determinants. In this regard Blumler, Gurevitch & Katz (1985:260-267) plead strongly for allocation of meaning to play a greater role, because the particular way in which people perceive reality can be confirmed

FIGURE 1:

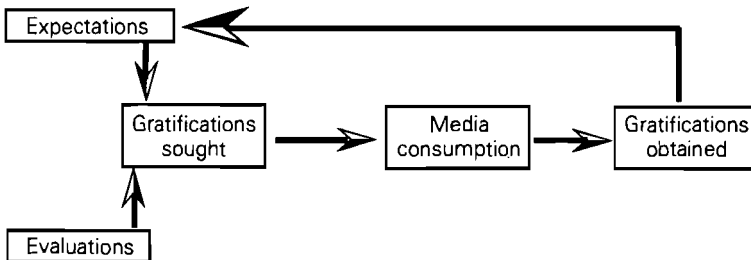


FIGURE 1: AN EXPECTANCY-VALUE MODEL OF GRATIFICATIONS SOUGHT AND OBTAINED.

(Based on Rayburn & Palmgreen's (1984) model).

or revised by selective exposure to media programmes.

Whereas the more traditional application of the uses and gratifications approach concentrates on social and psychological gratifications (the reason for people's use of certain media and the content of certain programmes in a particular way)(cf. Donohew, Palmgreen & Rayburn, 1987; Rubin & Perse, 1987; Atwater, 1986), attention is never paid to explanation of particular media content's generation of those gratifications. Moreover, one should take into account that the uses and gratifications approach rests on the assumption that there are important differences among media consumers about their orientation towards the mass media. Relevant factors such as people's social set-ups and roles, their personal dispositions and possibilities, their real patterns of media consumption, and the process of effects ought to be important for satisfying certain needs (Groenewald, 1980).

Levy & Windahl (1984) examined recipients' activities before exposure (e.g. their choice of what to watch), during exposure (interpretation of a message), and after exposure (e.g. talking to someone about the programme). Active recipients can be defined in different ways, and the degree of activity will differ from viewer to viewer, e.g. someone watching his favourite programme might be less involved in general activities such as talking.

Palmgreen (1984:44) feels that processing information or allocating meaning to media messages is an important dimension of the active recipient. There are indications that recipients process media content actively and that the processing is influenced by motives. This processing could be the basis for explaining the relation between media

consumption, gratifications obtained, and media effect.

Swanson (1987:242) says that processing of messages can be studied by linking the uses and gratifications approach to "... interpretive processes through which audience members perceive media messages". He also proposes the use of an interpretation framework.

Other contributions

There are other contributions to the uses and gratifications approach, which are only mentioned here. One of them is the uses and dependency model, which can also be reconciled with the uses and gratifications approach (cf. Rubin & Windahl, 1986:44). Rubin & Rubin (1984:39) discuss the merits of a model "... that integrates the consumer-orientated notions into the social systems framework of Ball-Rokeach and De Fleur's (1976) dependency model".

Swanson (1987:238) suggests an investigation into the relation between gratifications sought and exposure to mass communication, how gratifications sought influence interpretation of messages, and how gratifications sought and obtained can be linked to the content of mass media messages.

Regarding more recent developments, in the research reported here, there has been an effort to include in the study matters such as gratifications and use of the media, gratifications sought and obtained, and the expectancy-value approach. The concept of the active receiver has largely been taken into account as well. A matter that has not featured prominently is the whole question of messages and their interpretation.

EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

Sample

The sample consisted of 703 urban black people in the PWV area. For maximum representativeness the sample was constructed by conducting proportional to size sampling of urban areas in the PWV area. Thereafter a random sample of the required number of households in every selected urban area was drawn. At each of these households a respondent was randomly selected from all the qualifying persons (i.e. persons 18 years and older) in the household.

However, not all the respondents answered all the questions in the questionnaire. This means for some questions the sample could be smaller, because questions were left blank or respondents refused to answer them. The refusals or blank values are never of such a nature, however, that they bias the data (cf. Table 5). These values are negligible, so that one may still speak of the total sample in terms of the urban areas concerned.

Of the total number of respondents involved in the survey, 55,9% were male and 44,1% female. The distribution, therefore, is fairly realistic in terms of the total population. The respondents were from 18 to 77 years of age. Most of the respondents, namely 81,1%, were between 18 and 45 years of age and the sample represents a fairly young group. As many as 40,7% of the respondents were under 30 years of age.

Of the total group of respondents, 5,7% had no formal tuition, about 30,0% had primary school education, and 61,3% had passed a secondary school standard. Of the total group, 3,1% had post-school qualifications. Seven and a half percent of the respondents earned more than R1 500 per month, 29,8%

between R751 and R1 500, 44,6% between R251 and R750, while 17,2% of the 10 respondents earned between R1 and R250 per month.

Data gathering and processing

The data were gathered by means of personal interviews. The interviews were conducted in English by interviewers who were uniformly trained in the use of the questionnaire.

All data were analysed by means of SAS (Statistical Analysis System). Descriptive statistical analysis techniques were used, such as frequencies, percentages, averages, and correlations. The correlation coefficients were calculated on the basis of Pearson's product moment correlations (Pearson's r) to determine whether there were rectilinear associations between two variables of different characteristics.

Television programme preferences and needs fulfilment

It has been shown that audience members' perceived gratifications are greater when they expose themselves to their favourite media programmes.

For this reason it was decided to determine respondents' expectations of, gratifications sought and obtained from, and evaluation of programmes only for their preferred television programmes. Therefore, since this is an investigation of exposure to favourite programmes, high correlations between expectations and evaluations may be expected. Expectations, evaluations, and gratifications sought were established for favourite television programmes in general (e.g. music programmes), whereas gratifications obtained were established at a slightly lower level of abstraction for a specific television programme (e.g. **Di A Rora**).

For the purpose of this investigation, favourite television programmes were grouped into the following categories: News, music, story, sport and educational programmes.

Nine statements about the basic functions of television, namely information, entertainment and education, were included in the questionnaire in order to determine respondents' expectations of, evaluation of, and gratifications sought and obtained from their favourite programmes.

Factor analyses were done on the statements in order to identify information, entertainment, and education components (or a combination of them) for each of the five favourite programme categories. Each of the components, whether it is information, entertainment,

education, or any combination of the three, represents a need that the viewers want satisfied by a specific programme (e.g. a need for informational).

For the purpose of this article only the results for news, story, and educational programmes will be discussed.

For each of those television programmes types, two components emerged, viz. an entertainment and an information component. Table 1 shows the statements that loaded on each component for news programmes, and the factor loadings of each statement for GS (gratifications sought) and GO (gratifications obtained) separately. Tables 2 and 3 show the results of the factor analyses for story and educational programmes respectively.

TABLE 1
RESULTS OF THE FACTOR ANALYSIS FOR NEWS PROGRAMMES

	INFORMATION		ENTERTAINMENT	
	GS	GO	GS	GO
INFORMATION				
1. To obtain information about current issues and events	0,50	0,63	-0,06	-0,02
2. To obtain information about what is going on in the country and the world	0,42	0,80	-0,12	-0,02
3. It provides information about the people of my country and their way of life	0,46	0,83	0,02	0,03
ENTERTAINMENT				
1. It is a good way of passing the time	-0,01	0,00	0,62	0,54
2. It is relaxing and refreshing	-0,05	0,00	0,75	0,75
3. It is enjoyable and sometimes amusing	0,07	-0,12	0,76	0,82

TABLE 2**RESULTS OF THE FACTOR ANALYSIS FOR STORY PROGRAMMES**

	INFORMATION		ENTERTAINMENT	
	GS	GO	GS	GO
INFORMATION				
1. To obtain information about current issues and events	0,75	0,78	0,03	0,00
2. To obtain information about what is going on in the country and the world	0,80	0,77	0,02	0,09
3. It provides information about the people of my country and their way of life	0,84	0,69	0,11	0,17
ENTERTAINMENT				
1. It is a good way of passing the time	0,00	0,00	0,37	0,39
2. It is relaxing and refreshing	0,03	0,24	0,65	0,62
3. It is enjoyable and sometimes amusing	0,04	0,04	0,52	0,43

TABLE 3**RESULTS OF THE FACTOR ANALYSIS FOR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES**

	INFORMATION		ENTERTAINMENT	
	GS	GO	GS	GO
INFORMATION				
1. To obtain information about current issues and events	0,81	0,75	0,18	0,07
2. To obtain information about what is going on in the country and the world	0,84	0,92	0,23	0,02
3. It provides information about the people of my country and their way of life	0,78	0,82	0,17	0,16
ENTERTAINMENT				
1. It is a good way of passing the time	0,02	-0,09	0,27	0,42
2. It is relaxing and refreshing	0,26	0,27	0,48	0,67
3. It is enjoyable and sometimes amusing	0,23	0,11	0,37	0,61

TELEVISION VIEWING GROUPS

Apart from referring to the role of television programme content in needs satisfaction, it was remarked earlier on that the uses and gratifications approach rests on the assumption that media users differ in their orientation to the mass media. Since these differences may be attributed to a variety of factors, such as personal factors (which include expectations and evaluations) and programme preferences (operationalised as favourite programmes for the purposes of this investigation), television viewers might not all be the same. If not, it is important to differentiate among television viewers in order to establish whether the reasons that certain gratifications sought (or not sought) are obtained (or not obtained) may be ascribed to personality factors, to the content of television programmes, or to both.

An important premiss of this study is that only television viewers themselves can give a meaningful indication of this. Investigation and interpretation of specific relations between the elements of the model based only on a sample as a whole, could, therefore, be inadequate and even misleading.

Four groups of viewers were distinguished for each identified component (representing a need that the viewers want to satisfy) of each of the three television programmes. In discussing the respective groups one still has to bear in mind that the emphasis is on favourite programmes. Each group, therefore, satisfies certain needs to such an extent that there is continued exposure to those particular programmes.

The satisfied group

This group has certain needs and satisfies all of them by watching their

favourite programmes. These viewers therefore, get what they want. The group's expectations correspond with what the programmes offer them. They may be regarded as satisfied viewers.

The unrealistic group

This group seeks satisfaction of specific needs from exposure to their favourite programmes, but does not satisfy all these needs. Only some needs are satisfied. This group, therefore, also seeks gratifications that they cannot obtain. They want more than they get. Although this group of viewers is motivated to keep watching specific programmes and they are satisfied with their choice of programmes, they do not obtain everything they seek.

The ostensibly strange media behaviour of this group of viewers can be ascribed to their unrealistic expectations of their favourite programmes. They keep seeking satisfaction of those specific needs, perhaps because they do not know that their expectations and evaluations of the programmes are unrealistic. As long as these viewers are unaware of their unrealistic expectations of the programmes, they will consider the programmes their favourites. Therefore, the fact that they are not getting everything they want cannot be blamed on the programme content as though there were something wrong with the content of such programmes, because then they would have changed their favourite programmes. These viewers may be regarded as the unrealistic group, whose viewing pattern will be adapted once they become media literate.

The surprised group

This group does not seek satisfaction from their favourite programmes of the specific needs that are satisfied by the

programmes, but of other needs. This group, therefore, also satisfies needs that they did not seek to satisfy by watching specific programmes. This group gets more than it wants.

This group has certain expectations of their preferred programmes that motivate them to watch them in the search for satisfaction of these specific needs. However, they satisfy not only those needs but, unexpectedly, other needs as well. One may argue in this case that the media behaviour of these viewers cannot be ascribed to unrealistic expectations - they get what they want and more - but to the content of the programmes themselves. The content of the programmes is such that they contain gratifications that these viewers are not prepared for. This group may be regarded as the surprised or more-than-satisfied group.

The passive group

This group does not seek to satisfy certain needs by watching their favourite programmes, so they do not satisfy those needs. Regarding those needs, for these viewers watching television is an incidental, not very constructive

activity. These viewers may be labelled the passive group.

It is possible to find interaction groups where the group seeks a particular theme, subject, value, or gratification from a television programme and those needs are not satisfied. At the same time they might obtain satisfaction of a need that was not sought. These interaction groups, however, are in the minority, so they will not be taken into account further.

The various groups of television viewers were identified firstly by calculating separately by means of allocating weightings, total scores for GS and GO for each component of each of the three types of television programmes. The weightings for the various responses to the statements that loaded on each of the components were arbitrary calculated as follows: Always = 4, Often = 3, Seldom = 2, Never = 1. After that cut-off points were determined to identify groups of television viewers.

The following cut-off points were used for each component of news, story, and educational programmes:

Television viewing group

Information component

Entertainment component

GS

GO

GS

GS

Satisfied group

>=8 >=8

>=8 >=8

Unrealistic group

>=8 <=8

>=8 <=8

Surprised group

<=8 >=8

<=8 >=8

Passive group

<=8 <=8

<=8 <=8

The size of each television group for each component of news, story, and

educational programmes is given in Table 4.

TABLE 4**THE SIZES OF TELEVISION GROUPS FOR THE INFORMATION AND ENTERTAINMENT COMPONENTS OF NEWS, STORY, AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMES**

Television viewing group	News (N=158)		Education (N=121)		Stories (N=147)	
	Infor.	Enter.	Infor.	Enter.	Infor.	Enter.
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Satisfied group	95,6	55,7	81,0	71,1	80,3	87,8
Unrealistic group	0,6	3,8	7,4	2,5	4,8	2,7
Surprised group	1,3	7,6	1,7	7,4	5,4	3,4
Passive group	2,5	32,9	9,9	19,0	9,5	6,1
TOTAL	100,00	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

Profiles of television viewing groups

Profiles of the four television viewing groups were compiled with respect to news, stories, and educational programmes by using the following variables: Sex of respondent, age, educational level, occupation, monthly income, hours watching television (per week), television channel, and specific television programme. The relative small size of some groups only allows for a general discussion of these groups' profiles, while a more detailed exposition of the profiles of the satisfied group for each programme will be given later.

Testing the model

The point of departure here was that the gratifications a person seeks from a television programme coincide more or less with the gratifications the person obtains before his or her needs are satisfied in terms of the television programme. For this objective, what is sought (GS) and what is obtained (GO) have to coincide before a programme can meet the needs of a television viewer.

As mentioned before, this model can be extended further to include expectations (E) and evaluations (V) (cf. Figure 1). The gratifications sought by a television viewer are influenced firstly by

his expectations, and secondly by his evaluation of them. In order to get a realistic picture, investigations of this kind should establish to what extent viewers' expectations and evaluations coincide with what they want or do not want.

For the purpose of analysing the data of the survey, it will be assumed that the sum of all observations to do with GS, in other words what is sought, is equal to the sum of the product of the evaluations (V) and expectations (E) that were obtained (cf. Edwards, 1954; Fishbein, 1963; Hackman & Porter, 1968; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Palmgreen & Rayburn, 1982). Since the model is a process model, a person's expectations (E), evaluations (V), and gratifications sought (GS) are influenced indirectly by what the person obtains (GO). Therefore, when the relation between GS and the product EV is investigated, the effect of GO has to be eliminated. If a positive relation between GS and the product EV is found, it may be assumed that viewers' expectations of programmes and their evaluation of them coincide with the gratifications that they seek. A positive relation between the product EV and GO should be found too, via the direct link between E and GO as well as the indirect link between GS and use of the media. Inspection of the model also shows

clearly that a person's expectations (E) of a specific programme are influenced strongly by the gratifications that he obtains from exposure to it (GO). Gratifications obtained (GO) ought not to influence the person's evaluation (V) of a programme as strongly, because evaluation of a programme is linked to a person's system of values, so it is far more stable. A positive relation between GO and E will give an indication of the extent of agreement between the gratification of viewer's needs from and their expectations of a certain programme. Since GS has an indirect influence on GO, E, and V, the possible effect of GS will be controlled when

the relations between GO and E, and between GO and V are investigated.

This is a fairly simplistic model. Other factors could be taken into account (cf. Palmgreen, 1984), but for the purposes of this article these factors will not be considered.

The model was tested for the whole sample regarding the various television programmes. Table 5 below gives an indications of what respondents look for or do not look for in the various television programmes, and of what they obtain (or do not obtain) from them. The correlations give no indication of

TABLE 5

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN GRATIFICATIONS SOUGHT (GS) AND GRATIFICATIONS OBTAINED (GO) FOR THE VARIOUS TELEVISION PROGRAMMES

Television programme	N(GS)	N(GO)	Pearson's r
Educational	120	121	0,822*
Music	105	106	0,887*
News	157	157	0,885*
Stories	145	147	0,836*
Sport	144	145	0,913*
All programmes	697	702	0,879*

* p<0,001

which subgroup represents the high correlations between GS and GO. It could even be a combination of the four subgroups. It is interesting to note that the respondents' preferences are spread more or less evenly over the

various types of television programmes.

Correlations between the respondents' expectations (E) and evaluations (V) were generally high (Table 6).

The next step was to calculate correla-

TABLE 6

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN EXPECTATIONS (E) AND EVALUATIONS (V) FOR THE VARIOUS TELEVISION PROGRAMMES

Television programme	N(E)	N(V)	Pearson's r
Educational	121	121	0,811*
Music	106	106	0,871*
News	158	158	0,885*
Stories	146	147	0,817*
Sport	144	145	0,883*
All programmes	701	703	0,865*

* p<0,001

tions between gratifications sought (GS) and the product EV, from which the indirect effect of gratifications obtained (GO) had been eliminated. The correlations between GO and the product EV

were also determined, with the effect of GS eliminated. These data are given in Table 7.

The Pearson correlation coefficient be-

TABLE 7
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRODUCT OF EXPECTATIONS AND EVALUATIONS (EV), GRATIFICATIONS SOUGHT (GS), AND GRATIFICATIONS OBTAINED (GO) FOR EACH PROGRAMME TYPE

Television programme	Variable	Pearson's r	Partial r ^a	Second order Partial r ^b
Educational	GS	0,870*	0,583*	0,307*
	GO	0,837*	0,434*	
	E	0,931*		
Music	GS	0,857*	0,465*	0,116
	GO	0,833*	0,304**	
	E	0,943*		
News	GS	0,881*	0,530*	0,106
	GO	0,848	0,309*	
	E	0,948*		
Stories	GS	0,899*	0,649*	0,308*
	GO	0,854*	0,411*	
	E	0,934*		
Sport	GS	0,889*	0,347*	0,321*
	GO	0,908*	0,517*	
	E	0,948*		
All programmes	GS	0,879*	0,498*	0,215*
	GO	0,863*	0,395*	
	E	0,944*		

- a Controlled for GO and GS respectively
- b Controlled for GS and E
- * p<0,001
- ** p<0,01

tween GS and the product EV for the various programmes is very high (over 0,80), and the partial correlations between GS and the product EV, with the effect of GO eliminated, vary between 0,35 and 0,65 for the various programmes. The partial correlation coefficient for the total sample is 0,50. The medium to high correlations between GS and the product EV agree roughly with the results of similar surveys.

The positive correlations imply that the

respondents' expectations of a programme and their evaluation of it agree with the gratifications they seek from it.

In contrast to an earlier assumption regarding the model, the Pearson correlation coefficient between GO and the product EV is somewhat lower than those between GS and the product EV for the individual programmes (except sports programmes), and for television

programmes in general. If the effect of GS is eliminated, the partial correlation coefficients between GO and the product EV are far lower than the corresponding partial correlation coefficients between GS and the product EV for the individual programmes (except sports programmes), and for television programmes in general. The implications of that for the generalisability of the model developed by Rayburn &

Palmgreen (1984) are discussed in greater detail later.

Correlations have also been calculated between gratifications obtained (GO) and expectations (E), and between GO and evaluations (V), with the indirect effect of gratifications sought (GS) eliminated (Table 8).

One assumption of the model was that

TABLE 8

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN GRATIFICATIONS OBTAINED (GO) FROM SPECIFIC TELEVISION PROGRAMMES, EXPECTATIONS (E), AND EVALUATIONS (V)

Television programme	Variable	Pearson's r	Partial r ^a	Second order Partial r ^b
Educational	E	0,758*	0,327*	0,185***
	V	0,835*	0,413*	0,322*
Music	E	0,804*	0,294**	0,195***
	V	0,820*	0,244***	0,098
News	E	0,822*	0,308*	0,168***
	V	0,852*	0,317*	0,185***
Stories	E	0,784*	0,290*	0,201***
	V	0,836*	0,358*	0,292*
Sport	E	0,862*	0,429*	0,189***
	V	0,909*	0,531*	0,396*
All programmes	E	0,821*	0,342*	0,195*
	V	0,857*	0,364*	0,236*

a Controlled for GS

b Controlled for GS and V, GS and E respectively

* p<0,001

** p<0,01

*** p<0,05

gratifications obtained (GO) would give feedback to expectations of programmes, rather than influence their evaluation (Rayburn & Palmgreen, 1984). However, the data in Table 8 show that this assumption cannot be confirmed. For each type of programme (except music programmes), and for the entire sample the correlations between GO and V were higher than those between GO and E. This means that the respondent's evaluations are influenced

more by the gratifications that they obtain from television programmes than by their expectations of the programmes. In spite of this, the predominantly medium correlations do indicate that there is feedback from GO to E, in other words, that the gratifications that respondents obtain from the programmes do influence their expectations of the programmes.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Profiles of viewers

The satisfied group

News programmes

Information

As for information, the satisfied subgroup constitutes the largest group of television viewers. The group consists mainly of employed males older than 35 years with educational qualifications lower than Std. 10. They usually watch television on TV2 and TV3 but one fifth also watch programmes on TV1. They can be regarded as light television viewers.

Entertainment

As far as entertainment is concerned, the subgroup of satisfied viewers does not differ substantially from the subgroup attempting to satisfy its need for information through exposure to news programmes.

Educational programmes

Information

This subgroup is well represented and consists mainly of employed females 35 years and younger. Their educational qualifications are lower than Std. 10 and they represent the middle to lower income groups. They usually watch programmes on TV2 and TV3 and are light television viewers. About one fifth of these respondents regarded *Educational Rendezvous* as their favourite programme series.

Entertainment

The profile of the subgroup of satisfied viewers with respect to entertainment

is largely the same as that of the subgroup identified for the informational component of educational programmes.

Stories

Information

This well-represented subgroup of satisfied viewers consists mainly of unemployed females, female students and housewives 35 years and younger. Their academic qualifications are lower than Std. 10 and they are mainly from the middle to the lower income groups. They prefer to watch TV2 and TV3, while a substantive number expose themselves to programmes on TV1 and TV4. The members of this group can be regarded as light viewers. The most popular programme was *Bophelo Ke Sempheko*, followed by *Dynasty* and *Ke Morwa Monatong*.

Entertainment

No marked differences exist between the characteristics of the subgroup identified with respect to entertainment and that of the subgroup motivated to watch television in order to satisfy informational needs.

The unrealistic group

News, story, and educational programmes

Information

This group consists mainly of employed women in the age group of 35 years and younger. They represent the middle and low income groups and the educational level of the majority is lower than Std. 10. They prefer to watch TV2 and TV3 and can be regarded as light viewers. An interesting fact is that this group seek information with regard to stories from programmes such as *McGyver*,

Highwayman, Dynasty and Loving.

Entertainment

This subgroup is not very different from the previous one with the exception of being older than 35 years of age and their preferences for story programmes are for programmes in their own languages.

The surprised group

News, story, and educational programmes

Information

This group consists predominantly of unemployed males, 35 years of age and younger. They fall in the lower income group and the majority have qualifications lower than Std. 10. They are light viewers and prefer to watch TV2 and TV3. The group seek information from story programmes such as *Highwayman, Dynasty, and Loving.*

Entertainment

There is no marked difference with the previous group, except their preference for stories, which they prefer in their own languages.

The passive group

News programmes

Information and entertainment

An interesting deviation from the previous profiles is that the informational and entertainment components in the case of news consists mainly of employed males older than 35 years of age. They are also light viewers.

Story and educational programmes

Information and entertainment

In the case of educational and story programmes the passive group is unemployed women of 35 years and younger. About 60% of these women have qualifications lower than Std. 10. These women are light viewers but watched story programmes on TV1, 2, 3 and 4.

In general it thus seems as if it is necessary to distinguish among the four viewing groups in terms of the different programme types. It appears, however, as if it is needless to differentiate between the subgroups for the components information and entertainment for each programme type because these subgroups are very similar.

The model

In order to explain the apparently conflicting findings regarding the model, reported on above and the initial assumptions as to the model, it is necessary to give a brief summary of some of the important findings of Rayburn & Palmgreen (1984) and discuss their implications for the model. In testing the model they found that the partial correlations between GO and the product EV were higher than the corresponding correlations between GS and the product EV (0,54 and 0,47 respectively). The higher correlations between GO and the product EV than between GS and the product EV can be ascribed to the direct link between GO and E. Moreover they found that the partial correlation between GO and E was 0,53 and that between GO and V was 0,31. This implies that the partial correlations between GO and E must be higher than those between GO and V if they are to meet the requirements of the model in Figure 1. Furthermore one ought to keep in mind that Rayburn & Palmgreen (1984) developed the model mainly from

research based on only one type of programme, viz. news programmes. If these assumptions were valid in general, the partial correlation between GO and E for sports programmes in the present study would have been higher than that between GO and V, because the correlation between GO and the product EV is higher than that between GS and the product EV for the same programme (Table 7). However, inspection of the data in Table 8 shows that for sports programmes the correlations between GO and E are lower than those between GO and V.

When second order partial correlation coefficients are calculated regarding sports programmes for GO and the product EV, with the effects of GS and E eliminated, the correlation between GO and the product EV is much lower than that between GS and the product EV (Table 7). This explains the apparently conflicting results for sports programmes in Table 8. In this case Rayburn & Palmgreen (1984) did not eliminate the effect of E, which implies that they did not eliminate all the variables that could have had an influence. If so, the correlations between GS and the product EV could have been higher than those between GO and the product EV.

Another example of the inadequacy of the basic assumptions of the present model regarding intercultural surveys and television programmes in general is given with regard to music programmes in the present study. As for music programmes, the data in Table 7 show that although the partial correlations between GS and the product EV are higher throughout than those between GO and the product EV, this does not necessarily mean that GO has to correlate higher with V than with E, as in the case of other programmes (cf. Table 8). The partial correlation in Table

8 shows clearly that GO correlates higher with E than with V. To eliminate here, too, the effect of the variables other than GS, second order partial correlation coefficients were calculated to check the effects of V and E. However, the order remained the same.

As for the model, it seems at this stage as though

- * the correlations between GO and the product EV ought to be lower than those between GS and the product EV, if the effect of all variables involved is eliminated;

- * the order of these correlations does not necessarily influence the order of the GO - E and GO - V relationships; and

- * it is possible to find higher partial correlations between GO and V than between GO and E via the direct link between GO and E.

With the above in mind, the model in Figure 1 could be adapted as follows to increase its generalis-ability regarding intercultural surveys and the use of television in general (Figure 2):

Values of blacks

One of the most ambiguous aspects of the uses and gratifications approach and specifically the expectancy-value orientation, concerns the concept of values. In South Africa it seems that the values of blacks are in a transitional stage because of their daily contact with traditional as well as Western cultures. Television is potentially a powerful agent in influencing, changing, strengthening, weakening, and even creating values. This concept complicates uses and gratifications research to a large extent and necessitates more attention in the South African society.

FIGURE 2:

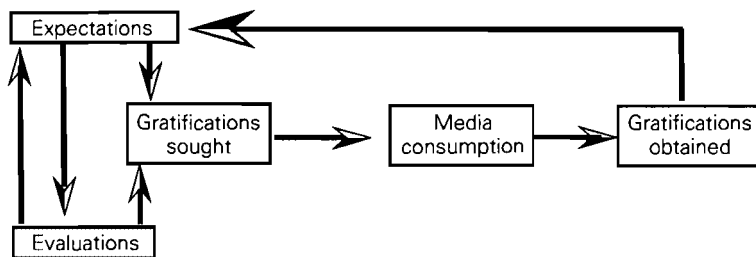


FIGURE 2: AN ADAPTED EXPECTANCY-VALUE MODEL OF GRATIFICATIONS SOUGHT AND OBTAINED.

Visual literacy

One should keep in mind that in the past five years black people in South Africa have been exposed to three different television channels and that most of them do not have the same level of media literacy as other population groups. For blacks television is more of a window to the outside world than for others, because of the political situation of this population group. Furthermore one should not forget that the respondents experience the medium as very realistic and that television reflects mainly Western values.

CONCLUSION

At this stage it appears as if

* Blacks in the PWV area are largely

satisfied with the television programmes of the SABC. It is likely that members of the unrealistic and possibly the passive groups may complain about specific programmes.

* The relationship between gratifications sought and obtained can provide some useful indications of the needs of certain target audiences.

* The utilisation and applicability of uses and gratifications research for programme development are invaluable because this approach allows the viewer to provide information about his or her own needs and expectations.

* Television should encourage and assist Black people to utilise the medium to maximise the educational opportunities available to them.

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